

# THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

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# Socialists demand: 'Open all CIA files!'

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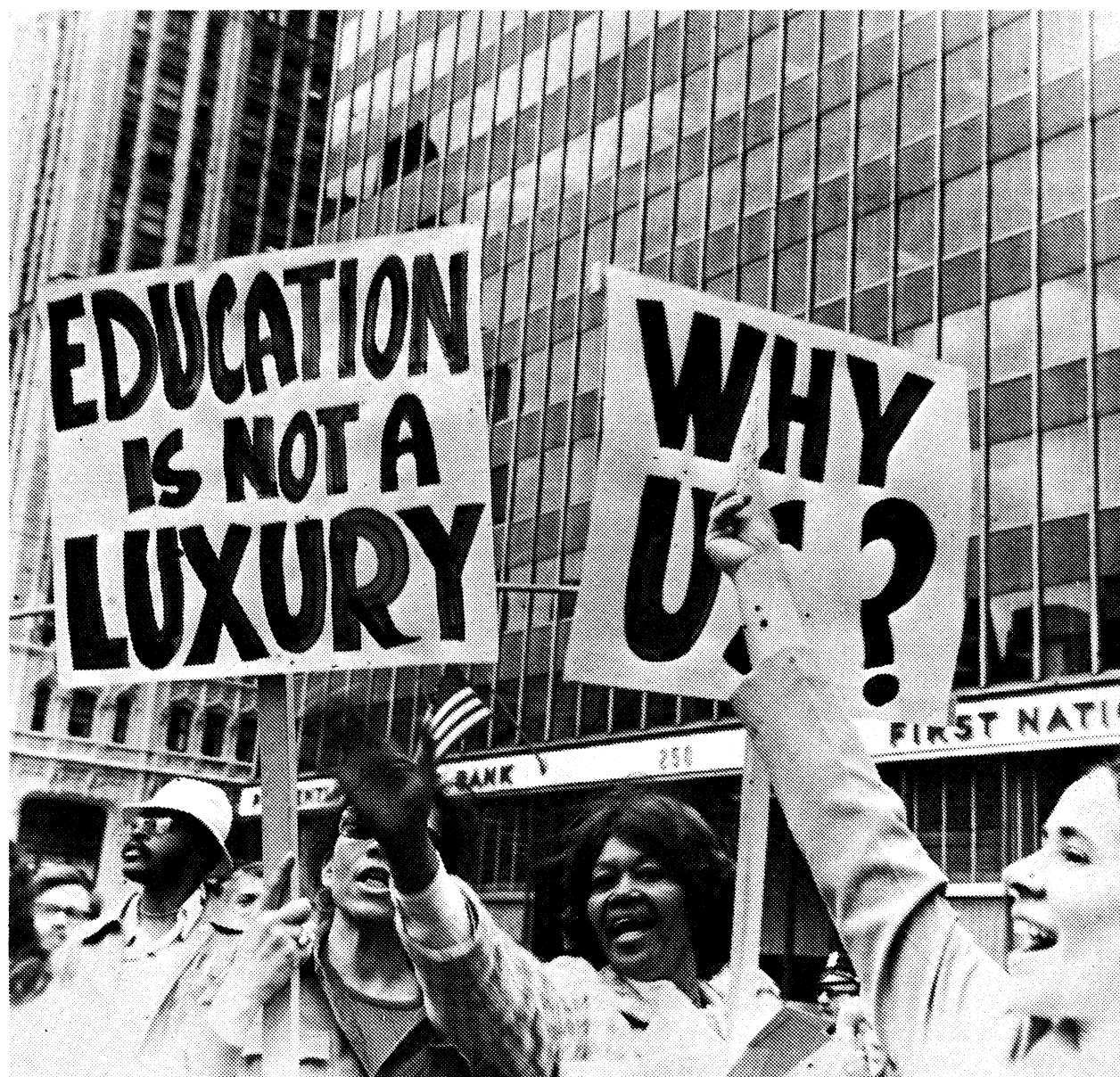
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## THE MILITANT

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**BLACK JOBLESS PUT AT 25.7 PERCENT:** The National Urban League has developed what it calls the "hidden unemployment index" to determine the figure for unemployed Blacks not reported in official government statistics. Counting workers who are not included in the government figures because they are either no longer actively seeking work or are part-time employees who want full-time work, a new Urban League report put total Black unemployment at 2.9 million for the first three months of this year. Government estimates put the figure at 1.5 million. Either statistic sets a record.

In poverty areas Black unemployment hits 50 percent and above, with teen-age joblessness going even higher, the report found. Unemployment for Black Vietnam veterans twenty to twenty-four years old rose from 22.7 percent for the last quarter of 1974 to 30 percent in the first quarter of 1975. During the same period the statistic for unemployed married Black males doubled from 5 percent to 9.8 percent.

One statistic provided striking confirmation of the charge that Blacks are the victims of preferential firing. "Blacks accounted for almost all of the increase in unemployment in the nation during the latter half of the first quarter of 1975," the report stated. "Of the 49,000 new officially unemployed workers between February and March, 47,000 were black."

**BULLETIN**—A Houston jury of six women took less than ten minutes on June 10 acquit Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers party presidential candidate, of charges of interfering with a police officer. "This is a victory for everyone," Camejo said. "This is just one more little step to show the people that they can exercise their First Amendment rights." The charges stem from a March 11 arrest during a campaign tour through Texas. A fuller report will appear in next week's Militant.

**HELP THE 'MILITANT' GET AROUND:** Ever think about introducing your friends or co-workers to the Militant? One good way is through prepaid subscription cards. It works like this: You buy the cards in advance—each is good for a two-month subscription. When you sell an introductory subscription to someone, you just fill in their name and address and drop the card in the nearest mailbox.

Last week Steve Craine in Boston ordered eleven and has already sent back two. Another Bostonian, Don Gurewitz, sent in two in May, as did Ben Harris from Nashville.

Detroit United Auto Workers member Don Bechler sent in another card recently. A number of his fellow unionists now read the paper regularly after getting introductory subscriptions. And Gustavo Gutiérrez of Tempe, Arizona, just returned four cards. "I am sending in the last card of my batch," he wrote. "Please send me eleven more. Hasta la victoria siempre!"

The prepaid cards are available from the Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014. You can get five cards for five dollars or eleven for ten dollars.

**BOWLING GREEN ANTIRACIST RALLY:** Two hundred students, overwhelmingly Black and Chicano, attended a Student Coalition Against Racism (SCAR) rally May 30 demanding additional Black and Chicano students and faculty at Bowling Green State University in Ohio. Cosponsors of the protest included the Latin-American Students Union, Black Student Union, and the Human Rights Alliance. Students recently succeeded in turning back administration attempts to deny funds to Black, Chicano, and political groups on campus.

**COP KILLINGS IN INDIANAPOLIS:** Of the twelve persons killed by Indianapolis cops during the past year, ten have been Black. Acting under the auspices of the local branch of the NAACP, an investigative team of attorneys has begun an independent probe of the most recent killing.

The police shooting of nineteen-year-old Byron Richardson sparked angry protests in the Black community. The cop responsible claims his revolver went off accidentally while he was struggling with the youth after pulling him over for speeding. However, there are charges that Richardson was shot while standing spread-eagled with both hands over the fender of his car.

A coalition of Indianapolis Black community organizations, including the NAACP, called a June 8 protest rally. Active in the protests has been the local chapter of the National Student Coalition Against Racism.

**AAUP RESOLUTION BACKS STARKY:** By unanimous vote the 369 delegates at the American Association of University Professors annual convention in Washington, D.C., on June 7 called on the U.S. attorney general and Congress to take measures to guarantee constitutional rights. "The revelation this year of the furtive attempt of the FBI to destroy the academic career of Professor Morris Starky at Arizona State University proves once again the need for eternal vigilance to protect the fundamental freedoms of this society," the AAUP resolution said.

The convention gave a warm reception to an address by Starky, who was fired in Arizona because of his socialist views. The Political Rights Defense Fund, which is soliciting support for Starky's fight against FBI harassment, distributed 500 packets on both Starky's case and the Socialist Workers party suit against government surveillance and intimidation.

**TWO CONVICTED IN FOSTER MURDER:** Two members of the Symbionese Liberation Army were convicted in Sacramento, California, on June 9 of the 1973 killing of Oakland school superintendent Marcus Foster. Russell Little and Joseph Remiro had denied their guilt, and one of their attorneys said he will ask for a new trial.

One witness brought by the prosecution, Clifford Jefferson, a thirty-year prison veteran who claims to have helped found the SLA, told the court that he ordered Foster's killing and others had carried it out. The only eyewitness to the shooting, Foster's assistant Robert Blackburn, could not identify either defendant.

**ARREST WAVE IN DOMINICAN REPUBLIC:** Using the pretext that a group of guerrillas has allegedly invaded the country, the Dominican government has instituted a widespread crackdown on its political opponents. United Press International reported that 250 have been arrested, including trade-union leaders and members of several political parties, among them the Partido Revolucionario Dominicano, Partido Liberación Dominicana, and the Movimiento Popular Dominicano.

Although the government has dispatched troops to the hills in search of guerrillas, none have been found according to the June 8 *El Nacional*, a Santo Domingo daily.

Jailed leaders of the central labor council include Julio de Peña Valdez and Francisco Antonio Santos, as well as Julio Anibal Suárez, the council's lawyer.

The United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) and several Dominican groups, including Comité pro Defensa de los Derechos Humanos en La Republica Dominicana, called a picket line in New York City June 11 to protest the arrests and demand the release of those in custody.

**ALGER HISS EVIDENCE SOUGHT:** For the first time since Alger Hiss was convicted of perjury in 1950 after denying charges that he had spied for the Soviet Union, he is going to court in an effort to prove his innocence. Richard Nixon first came to national prominence when Whittaker Chambers testified before Nixon's congressional committee that Hiss, a State Department official, had given him secret documents to pass on to the Russians. To prove his charge, Chambers dramatically produced microfilm of documents hidden in a pumpkin on his farm.

Hiss and several academic scholars studying the case are suing under the Freedom of Information Act to force the release of FBI papers and suppressed evidence that they believe will reveal an elaborate FBI frame-up. Attorney Randy Walster, on behalf of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Foundation, is representing Hiss.

—Nelson Blackstock

### YOUR FIRST ISSUE?

### SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT



Municipal workers in New York and cities around the country are facing layoffs, and we all face a deterioration of the services we depend on. To find out how people are fighting back and socialist answers to these problems, subscribe to the Militant.

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## Avalanche of pink slips

# Unionists plan actions to halt layoffs

By Andy Rose

NEW YORK, June 11—New York City was "rescued from the brink of bankruptcy" yesterday, but the news is little comfort to the thousands of city workers who will be out of a job come July 1.

The city was "saved" by state legislation creating a "Municipal Assistance Corporation" that will refinance part of the city's short-term debt.

But the new corporation does nothing to stop the drastic budget cutbacks ordered by Mayor Abraham Beame. On the contrary, it's all part of the game plan. As the *New York Post* admitted, "The price of the legislation will be years of restricted spending by New York City, with accompanying job and service cutbacks."

City hall is pressing ahead with a "crisis budget" for the next fiscal year that is balanced by eliminating a total of 67,000 jobs. Beame has an alternative "austerity budget" with "only" 30,000 layoffs, based on receiving additional state aid. Nearly 10,000 city employees have already been dismissed, and more get their notices every day.

The avalanche of pink slips is rapidly dispelling the illusions of many city workers that Beame's threats were a bluff. The mood in many workplaces has suddenly turned from cynicism and suspicion to bristling anger, and demands for effective action to halt the layoffs are growing within the municipal employee unions.

Thousands of workers have turned out for a June 4 rally on Wall Street, a June 9 demonstration at city hall, and other smaller protests against the budget cuts. Local 371 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, representing social service workers, has now called its own protest for June 17 at city hall.

Local 371 and AFSCME Local 1930, representing New York public library workers, have jointly called for an emergency meeting on June 18 to discuss united action against the cutbacks.

A letter signed by Local 1930 President David Beasley and Local 371 President Patrick Knight is now being circulated to unions and community groups urging participation in the meeting, which will be held at 6:30 p.m. at the headquarters of District

1199, National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees.

In an interview with the *Militant*, Beasley explained the thinking behind this call. "What we're going to do at this meeting," he said, "is to get all of the community organizations working with the unions and see if there can't be a way to turn this whole thing around."

"Instead of cutting back services," Beasley said, "we really should be talking about expanding them. We should be talking about employing more people rather than laying people off."

The New York public libraries will be cut back anywhere from 15 percent ("austerity budget") to 54 percent ("crisis budget"), Beasley explained.

"I think there's going to have to be concerted action involving all of the unions and all of the community people behind them," he stated.

"There's been so much disconnected action—so many rallies and demonstrations by individual groups—but there doesn't seem to be much coordination. This is the beginning of a coordinated effort."

One of the largest unions in New York, with a history of militancy and

involvement in social struggles, is District 1199, National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees.

Several delegates in District 1199 have begun circulating and gathering signatures for a letter to their executive council, stating in part:

"The communities in which the majority of our members live will suffer most from the cutbacks. Our members in city hospitals are directly threatened with layoffs. . . .

"If successful, the attack on city workers will serve as an encouragement to all employers, including those in the voluntary [private] hospitals, to try to force us to accept layoffs, reduction of work hours and pay, and reduction of benefits. . . .

"We not only have a direct stake in the fight to maintain and increase jobs and community services, but a responsibility to act in solidarity with our union brothers and sisters who are under attack."

The letter concludes by urging the District 1199 executive council "to initiate and actively build a massive, united demonstration with all unions, groups and individuals opposed to the cutbacks, on a Saturday prior to the July 1st budget deadline, to demand no cutbacks and no layoffs."

Union members have been "enthusiastic and glad to see such an initiative being taken," according to Caryl Towner, a delegate in the Guild Division of District 1199 and one of the initiators of the letter.

At a June 5 delegate assembly meeting, Towner said, "every single delegate we approached—more than fifty—signed the letter, and many of them took copies to circulate in their hospitals."

In AFSCME District Council 1707, which represents day-care workers and other community and social agency employees, the women's committee met and urged the district executive board to work with others toward a mass demonstration against cutbacks.

These initiatives being taken by union activists, explaining the need for unity and mass action, are still modest in scope. But they are winning a hearing among union members and are pointing toward the only way working people in New York can protect themselves from the assault on their standard of living.



'This hurts me more than it does you'

## 'Rescuing' NY: Why bankers relish 'Big Mac'

NEW YORK—The state-created Municipal Assistance Corporation—"Big Mac"—is being touted as the answer to New York's financial crisis, but the lettuce is all going to the Wall Street bankers.

Just from the financial viewpoint, "Big Mac" is yet another mechanism for wealthy bondholders to plunder the city treasury. It works like this:

The corporation was set up to pay off part of the city's short-term indebtedness by selling up to \$3 billion of its own long-term bonds. To guarantee the interest payments on these bonds, income from the city's sales tax and stock transfer tax—more than \$1 billion a year—will go directly to the corporation.

This does not involve one penny of real state aid to the city. Instead, it is an arrangement for the city to borrow, at whatever interest rate the banks set,

to pay off earlier high-interest loans now coming due.

As the *New York Times* pointed out, "The costs are going to be high in dollar terms—as every homeowner knows, it costs more to borrow long-term than short-term. . . ."

Since this means more money that would otherwise be used for city operating expenses will go directly toward interest payments to the rich, it will actually widen the budget deficit for the coming fiscal year by some \$200 million—the equivalent of about 11,500 city jobs!

Even more important, the corporation is granted a series of direct controls over the city budget. The purpose is to allay the fears of what is now delicately referred to as "the financial community" that the city has been living beyond its means, with lavish social services for its residents

and extravagant wages for its employees.

In case there is any question about whose interests the "Big Mac" board members will be looking after, here are their credentials:

- Francis Barry, president of Campbell and Gardiner, a brokerage firm.
- George Gould, chairman of the board of the investment banking firm of Donaldson, Lufkin & Jenrette.

- Simon Rifkind, senior partner in law firm of Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison, former director of Sterling National Bank & Trust Company.

- Donna Shalala, the token woman, political economist from Columbia University.

- Robert Weaver, the token Black, also former trustee of Bowery Savings Bank.

- Thomas Flynn, accounting indus-

try executive, former director of Household Finance Corporation.

- William Ellinghaus, president of New York Telephone, member of boards of directors of Bankers Trust and Union Dime Savings Bank.

- John Coleman, senior partner in brokerage firm of Adler, Coleman & Company, former governor and vice-chairman of New York Stock Exchange.

- Felix Rohatyn, investment company executive, director of IIT, and former finance committee member of Rockefeller Brothers.

And if anybody starts complaining to their elected officials like Mayor Beame about cutbacks and layoffs, he can always say, "I don't like it either, but 'Big Mac' made me do it."

All in all, the working people of New York will find "Big Mac" pretty hard to stomach. —A.R.



# Camejo: unity, mass action needed to stop assault on jobs, social services

By Debby Woodrooffe

NEW YORK—Massive, united action by the labor movement and its allies, especially the oppressed Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese communities, is urgently required to halt the present wave of cutbacks and layoffs in New York City.

That call for action was the theme of a panel discussion held here June 6 on "The Fight Against Beame's Cuts: Where Do We Go From Here?" The meeting, attended by 300 people, was jointly sponsored by the Militant Forums in the Upper West Side, Lower Manhattan, and Brooklyn.

The panel came just two days after an anticutback rally on Wall Street called by city employees' unions. That demonstration, which drew an estimated 5,000 to 10,000 participants, protested the role of the banking profiteers in New York's "budget crisis."

Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers party candidate for president in 1976 and the featured speaker at the panel, said that the Wall Street action and other protests were steps in the right direction, proving that people are ready and willing to take action. The essential next step, he stressed, is to bring together all working people hurt by the cuts into a powerful social movement.

## Interest rip-off

Camejo blasted Mayor Abraham Beame for safeguarding the profits of the rich while jobs and essential social services are being slashed. He directed particular fire at the tax-free interest payments to wealthy bondholders. These constitute one of the largest expenses in the city budget—nearly \$2 billion in the next fiscal year alone.

Calling for a moratorium on bond payments to the rich, Camejo said, "There is no need for the entire city to suffer to make these people even better off."

Camejo also called for an end to military spending as a way to provide funds for social services. The \$100 billion squandered yearly on war, he said, is utter waste from the standpoint of society's needs. "We can't eat bullets; we can't drive tanks!"

Panelist Ray Markey focused attention on "the human side" of Beame's cuts, which could mean the loss of 67,000 city jobs. Markey is a member of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1930 and a delegate to the AFSCME District Council 37 delegate assembly.

"If you're a sanitation worker and you have less than eight years' seniority, as of July 1 you don't have a job," he said. "If you happen to work in a public library, 302 of the 600 branch



PETER CAMEJO: 'Ruling class wants to have us fighting each other instead of them.'

library employees are scheduled to be laid off.

"In the Human Resources Administration, 151 out of 250 case aide workers have received their pink slips, and almost every single one of them is Black or Latino. Fourteen thousand teachers are being laid off. And on and on, down through every department."

Beyond the city employees themselves, Markey pointed out, "every single resident of New York will be affected."

He enumerated what the cuts will mean for the quality of life in the city: garbage piling up in the streets, schools that have no bilingual programs, inadequate transportation, and hospitals that are, as a speaker at the Wall Street rally put it, "no more than transmission belts to the morgue."

The meeting was chaired by Pat Wright, a day-care worker and shop steward in AFSCME Local 205, District Council 1707. Wright said that Beame's cuts will force many day-care centers to close, and thousands of women will have to quit their jobs and stay home.

"Women have a lot at stake in the fight," she said. "We fought for the right to go out and work in the early days of the women's liberation movement. And you can expect to see us in the forefront of the developing movement to get the recession off our backs."

The next speaker, Sam Manuel, coordinator of the New York Student Coalition Against Racism, zeroed in on the racist nature of the cuts.

"All of the proposed cutbacks will have a doubly devastating effect on the Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese communities of this city," he said.

"The social services being cut back are the ones most needed by these communities. The unemployment rate for Black youth, already two times that for white youth, will rise even higher."

Manuel pointed out that the \$125.7 million cut in education will wipe out open admission and free tuition at the city university—gains that were won through struggles of Black and Puerto Rican youth in the 1960s. He urged young people to join with the student coalition "in responding in the same manner to protect these gains and guard our right to an equal education."

## Racist hysteria

Manuel warned that efforts are already in motion to whip up racist hysteria as a way of getting white workers to support the cuts.

He cited a newspaper account of how whites in Queens attacked welfare spending as the most "wasteful" item in the city budget. One woman even said, "If this city really wants to save money, it ought to stop forced busing"—although, as Manuel pointed out, less than \$500,000 is spent on busing in New York City.

Camejo also cited the attempts to foment divisions among working people as a prime weapon in the ruling class's offensive. "They are very consciously pitting one against another—city workers against those in private industry, Black against white, employed against unemployed."

"They want everyone to say, 'We're the most important. Cut someone else, but not us.' They want everyone to just look out for their own group."

The Democratic and Republican politicians, including those who claim to speak for workers and the oppressed, are joining in this vicious antilabor maneuver. Camejo pointed to Rep. Herman Badillo, the city's most prominent Puerto Rican Democrat, who recently called for limiting wage increases of city workers to 5.5 percent as a "solution" to the budget crisis.

"That is exactly what the ruling class wants," Camejo said, "to have us fighting each other instead of them."

The most important lesson that must be discussed in the unions, in the schools, in the communities, and among all those opposed to the cutbacks, Camejo said, is the need for a united response by all victims of the cuts.

Such a fight can be victorious, Camejo asserted, once the working class of New York becomes aware of its common interests and its tremendous

power. "We produce and run everything that happens in this city," he said. "It could not run without us."

"The rich own the wealth and completely control the political arena through the Democratic and Republican parties. But they've got one problem—they are so tiny! The thing they fear most is that our power will begin to reveal itself."

Many different groups—hospital workers, community groups, students—have demonstrated against the cuts, Camejo noted. But these actions, so long as they are separate and fragmented, will not be enough to stop the cuts.

*They must be welded together into a powerful force that can stop the assault on jobs and social services.*

To that end, Camejo urged all those present at the forum to work within their labor, student, and community groups to initiate united actions.

The numbers who understand and join in at first may be small, he acknowledged, "but here in this hall we're talking to hundreds, and these hundreds can turn into thousands, and bring hundreds of thousands into action."



SAM MANUEL: 'Cuts are doubly devastating for Black, Puerto Rican, Chinese communities.'

Camejo explained that the Socialist Workers party is campaigning on a program to transform society on the basis of human need rather than private profit. It raises demands from ending military spending to reducing the workweek with no cut in pay, from escalator clauses for wages to workers' control over the factories.

"This is the type of program we will need to defeat the attacks on our standard of living," he said. "But while we campaign to win people to this entire program, we also must be able to answer the question: *what can we do right now?* We have to begin fighting together on whatever level we can."

Setting masses of people in motion around their common interests as workers is the first step toward independent labor political action and the formation of a labor party based on the unions, Camejo said.

He added that under the blows of the economic crisis, tens of thousands more people are coming to view socialism as a realistic and necessary alternative.

"We're moving into what may well be the most decisive twenty-five years in American history," he said, "with the real possibility of not only a mass labor party, but also of a mass revolutionary party—the only vehicle that can move us to a socialist triumph."

## SWP blasts Beame budget

NEW YORK—Hundreds of people turned out for public hearings on the New York City budget June 4, most of them to voice their opposition to cutbacks and layoffs.

Among those who testified was Ed Heisler, cochairperson of the Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee.

"Mayor Beame proposes to make working people and the unemployed, the poor, pay for a crisis we did not create," Heisler said. "The Socialist Workers party proposes to make the bankers and other rich people pay for the crisis they created."

"A moratorium should be placed on all interest payments to the rich. This city is not broke. There is plenty of money down on Wall Street," Heisler said to loud applause. "Make them sacrifice their profits!"

The audience also responded with applause when Heisler urged "a march of hundreds of thousands of people—everyone who is affected by the cutbacks—on city hall to demand an end to the layoffs and cutbacks."

Heisler's testimony was carried live over Channel 31 television.



# 20,000 teachers, students & parents march on city hall to 'save our schools'

By Lee Smith

NEW YORK—The streets surrounding city hall were filled June 9 as thousands of Black and Puerto Rican parents and students joined teachers and other school workers in the largest demonstration yet against the cuts in the city budget proposed by Mayor Abraham Beame.

The action opposing cutbacks in the education budget was called by the United Federation of Teachers, the Council of Supervisors and Administrators, and the board of education. It began about two p.m. with several thousand people picketing on the sidewalk around the building housing the mayor's office.

As buses arrived from schools all over the city, the crowd swelled to 20,000 and spilled into the streets.

At least half of the demonstrators were Black, Puerto Rican, or Chinese.

There were hundreds of signs printed by the UFT that said, "Save Our Schools," "Save Our Children," or "No Budget Cuts." And there were hundreds of printed signs from Local 372 of AFSCME, which represents board of education employees. Many marchers also wore bright yellow "Save Our Schools" buttons put out by Local 372.

In addition there were thousands of hand-lettered signs bearing the names of community groups, parent associations, schools, and school districts. "Let People Learn," "No Layoffs," "Down with Class Size," "Give Us the Tools for a Good Education," and "Don't Short-change Our Children," they demanded.

There were also several mock coffins labeled "Special Education," "Kindergarten," and other programs threatened by the cuts, accompanied by muffled drums and a bugle playing taps, as well as a large, green papier-mâché lizard with a sign reading, "Don't Let the Financial Dragon Slay Our Schools."

The crowd chanted, "Save our schools!" "No cuts!" and other slogans. One group of college students, behind an elaborate blue-and-gold South Bronx Community College banner of the type carried by school bands, chanted, "Two, four, six, eight! Beame is a big mistake!"

After four p.m., there was a rally around a sound truck set up on Murray



Protesters jam several blocks near city hall for June 9 rally against education cutbacks

Militant/Andy Rose

Street, off Broadway across from city hall.

Entertainer Sam Levenson, a former New York City high school teacher, chaired the rally. Speakers included UFT President Albert Shanker, board of education President James Regan, and other school board members, as well as representatives of the Council of Supervisors and Administrators, of the community school boards in School Districts Two and Six, and of the New York School Boards Association. Also speaking were School Chancellor Irving Anker and a high school student.

In addition, the rally was addressed by Victor Gotbaum, executive director of AFSCME District Council 37 and head of the Municipal Labor Committee, a coalition of city unions in which the UFT does not participate. A UFT vice-president spoke the previous week at a Wall Street demonstration against the city cutbacks, called by the Municipal Labor Committee.

Both Levenson and Joseph Monser-

rat, a board of education member, addressed the crowd in Spanish as well as English.

Board Vice-president Isaiah Robinson, who is Black, asked the crowd, "If 75 percent of the students in these schools were not Black or Puerto Rican, do you think we would have these cuts?"

The crowd roared, "No!"

Robinson concluded by exclaiming, "We need more minority representation in our teaching staffs, in the administration, and on the board of education!"

Robinson's remarks point up the contradiction in which Shanker finds himself today, with massive cuts proposed in the education budget just as the UFT's present contract with the city has expired.

Shanker has built his present position in the union bureaucracy by basing himself on the privileges enjoyed by older white teachers at the expense of Blacks and Puerto Ricans

trying to break into the field. He maintains the UFT as a white job trust and takes a hard line against preferential hiring for oppressed minorities.

The UFT leadership has allied itself with the board of education and city hall against the parents of Black and Puerto Rican children, who have been fighting for a role in running the schools in their communities.

Following this racist strategy, Shanker has up until now been able to win for his nearly all-white membership contracts that compare favorably with other urban-area teachers' contracts.

Now, however, the worm has turned. The proposed cuts—even under Beame's "austerity budget," the "lesser evil" to his "crisis budget"—will mean wholesale layoffs and increased work loads and class sizes for all teachers.

With teachers under attack on all fronts from the very forces Shanker has told them to rely on, the union

Continued on page 26

## Minority student gains jeopardized by cutbacks

By Baxter Smith

NEW YORK—Even though a couple of them couldn't blow a good chance to get in some clowning, to the other thirty students who came over from Brooklyn's John Dewey High School for the anticutback rally June 9, the whole thing is no laughing matter.

They know the budget cutbacks are serious. Novel projects in a school like Dewey are considered frills and will be among the first to go. If things really get tough, the whole school might have to close.

Dewey is an experimental or special high school with innovative programs not found in others. Students there either pass or fail a course, proceed more or less at their own rate of learning, and pursue outside activities and other projects.

"Hey, mister. You want a good picture? Take ours," one of the "pallbearers" said to a photographer. "But hurry up, this body's getting heavy."

The "body" was actually no body at all. What the students carried was an empty mock coffin that had a sign "R.I.P. Our Education" written on it.

There were knots of high school and college students throughout the demonstration. Many of them had come at the urging of their teachers, and others had come simply out of concern for their future education.

Claudette McPherson, an eleventh grader at Art and Design High School, came with about fifty of her classmates, mostly Blacks and Puerto Ricans. They alternately chanted militant political slogans, then broke into gutsy football-style fight songs, some with the words altered to mention the cutbacks.

"Teachers' aides and lots of people are being laid off at Art and Design, and all my teachers are worried," Claudette said. "This morning in one of my classes we spent the whole period talking about what these cuts will mean.

All of the teachers are scared. They're getting real spooky because they don't know who'll be next."

Claudette has a brother going to city college under the SEEK program, which is slated to be cut, and he is worried too.

Leaflets distributed by the New York Student Coalition Against Racism explained: "Twenty thousand students (half the incoming students to the City University) are to be eliminated. The SEEK and College Discovery programs which helped thousands of Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese students gain a higher education are to be abolished. . . ."

The student coalition has been organizing students to participate in the many anticutback actions in New York, and they were prominent at city hall with two big banners: "Jobs For All Youth!" and "stop racist attacks—no cuts in seek!—defend open admissions!"



Militant/Baxter Smith

# Dist. 1, Shanker & fight over cutbacks

By Cliff Conner

NEW YORK—The June 9 demonstration against educational cutbacks attracted many Black and Puerto Rican parents from community school districts throughout the city. Some parents from School District One also participated.

District One parents have been waging the city's longest and best-organized struggle in defense of their children's education.

The district's schools are more than 95 percent Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese. Over the past few years, parents and supporters have taken to the streets by the thousands to fight against racist cutbacks, to demand bilingual programs, and to win some voice in their children's education.

Many District One parents were suspicious of the June 9 demonstration—and justifiably so, in light of Albert Shanker's prominent role in organizing it. Shanker, as president of the United Federation of Teachers, has led a vicious, racist campaign against the right of District One parents to control their schools.

In the past year alone, a Shanker-backed majority on the local school board has fired parent-chosen principals, suspended Luis Fuentes (the parent-supported superintendent), and virtually destroyed the district's bilingual education program.

A heated campaign for school board this spring resulted in a 6-to-3 majority for the Shanker-backed slate. During the campaign, the "Brotherhood" slate's literature, financed by the UFT leadership, called District One parents "hoodlums," "Ethiopian bandits," and "gangsters."

The week before the June 9 demonstration, District One parents and supporters discussed whether and how to participate. Some activists felt that a Shanker-led action would be a mobilization of racists and therefore should be actively opposed.

Others recognized that regardless of Shanker's role it could turn out to be a significant show of force against cutbacks in the city's educational budget and against the impending drastic cuts in teachers and programs in District One.

At the demonstration, the *Militant* interviewed Carmen Barreto, a long-time parent activist and former member of the District One community

school board. She summed up the feelings of many parents:

"We aren't fighting to defend the teachers' positions—that's the union's business. But we, the parents, have to fight for our children, and we're here to support education for our kids."

"The problem is that when the parents demonstrate for something, the UFT doesn't support us. But when Shanker wants something for the teachers, he asks for the parents' support."

"When the [Shanker-controlled District One] school board removed principals that the parents selected, and removed the bilingual teachers, and ousted the superintendent, Mr. Fuentes, we demonstrated."

"And what did Shanker say? He said we were a bunch of bums!"

Barreto explained another reason that many District One parents are hesitant to join in common actions with the UFT:

"Shanker is against bilingual education. Maybe he will negotiate with [Mayor Abraham] Beame—they're good friends, you know—and they'll decide to cut bilingual education."

The *Militant* also interviewed Catarina Garza, a bilingual teacher and a member of the UFT. Garza explained what he sees as the effect of strong leadership from District One in the struggle against education cutbacks:

"District One parents have always been in the forefront of the struggle against cutbacks. They have fought to defend bilingual teachers, paraprofessionals, and other teachers while Shanker was doing nothing."

"Their leadership in this movement and in demonstrations like the June 9 action could have a powerful impact on parents and students in other districts and on teachers."

"Why? Because what militant parents can provide is a fighting program against the cutbacks. Shanker has no program to offer except to rely on the very Democratic and Republican politicians who are ordering the cuts, and to offer to accept 7,000 teacher cuts instead of 16,000."

"What an impact it would have if parents marched into a big demonstration with banners that read: 'Not one teacher to be cut!' 'We demand more money for bilingual education!' 'No layoffs of Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese teachers!' and 'Support the parents' struggle for community control of schools in District One.'"

"These demands stand in stark contrast to Shanker's willingness to sell out minority teachers, young teachers, and bilingual education, and to trade off a few thousand more teacher jobs to stay in favor with his friends at city hall."

Garza added that strong participation by parents in all anticutback actions can deal a powerful blow against Shankerism, because "it can cut right through the ignorance and bigotry of many white teachers and break down Shanker's racist propaganda against the communities."

If the movement against education cutbacks in New York City is less unified than it could be, the blame must fall squarely on the Shanker leadership of the UFT.

The lesson for the teachers in the present crisis is that they cannot hope to defend their jobs by themselves. Their natural allies are those most directly affected by the cuts, and that means the Puerto Rican, Black, and other oppressed communities.

# Means charges BIA plot in N.D. shooting

By Lee Gearhart

MINNEAPOLIS—American Indian Movement leader Russell Means was shot in the back on the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation in North Dakota June 7.

Means was reported in "satisfactory condition" in a Bismarck, North Dakota, hospital.

Means, in a telephone interview, charged the Bureau of Indian Affairs with plotting the shooting.

Means said he was shot by the son of a BIA policeman. He said that after he was shot he was taken to a jail in Fort Yates, North Dakota, where he bled for two hours before being transferred to St. Alexis Hospital in Bismarck.

The bullet apparently went through his spleen, according to doctors.

The irony is that Means, the victim of a number of government frame-ups, now may face yet another because of the shooting. He was charged June 9 by the FBI with assaulting a federal officer.

shooting was "an accident."

Means told newspaper reporters he did not assault anyone in a bar nor was he in a bar.

"The BIA made that up to discredit anything I have to say to the press, and make it seem that whatever incident I'm in has something to do with a bar," Means said.

The AIM leader said that the BIA claimed that Kelly did the shooting because Kelly's son was not authorized to carry or shoot a gun.

As for whether or not Means was shot from the front or behind, a hospital spokesperson said Means was probably shot in the back.

Means has been one of the principal Indian spokespersons in the United States for Indian treaty rights and sovereignty. He was one of the main leaders of the seizure of Wounded Knee, South Dakota, in 1973 by American Indians.

The government singled Means and Dennis Banks out and charged them



Militant/Muffie Page

Russell Means, leader of American Indian Movement. Means was shot in back during confrontation with cop from Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Means gave the following account of the shooting:

He said that he was driving in a four-car caravan to a ranch to some "riding and roping" when BIA Lieutenant Pat Kelly drove up and ordered the car he was riding in pulled over.

Means said that Kelly grabbed the driver of the car, Tom Poor Bear, by the hair and started to pull him. A scuffle ensued.

Means said he wanted no trouble so he and the other AIM members got out of their cars to break up the scuffle. When he moved in to separate Kelly and Poor Bear, Kelly's son shot Means in the back.

Means said the BIA has been out to stop him since he applied for a job to head a youth ranch on the Standing Rock Reservation.

The BIA has been putting pressure on the tribe not to hire him, Means said. The BIA threatened to cut off the ranch's funds if Means was hired.

The BIA came up with another version after the shooting.

BIA officials told the news media that Means was wanted by police in connection with a barroom incident earlier in the day in which the police allege Means assaulted two persons.

The BIA said that Lieutenant Kelly and his son were driving along when Means beckoned Lieutenant Kelly to stop his police car. The BIA says that Means started the fight and that Kelly—not Kelly's son—shot Means.

The official BIA line is that the

with ten felony counts in connection with the seizure. After a nine-month trial in St. Paul, charges against the two were dropped because of government misconduct.

Besides the latest assault frame-up, Means is charged with being an accomplice in a murder, though Means denies any knowledge of it.

"I still face six trials and 200 years' life imprisonment at hard labor if I'm convicted," Means said.

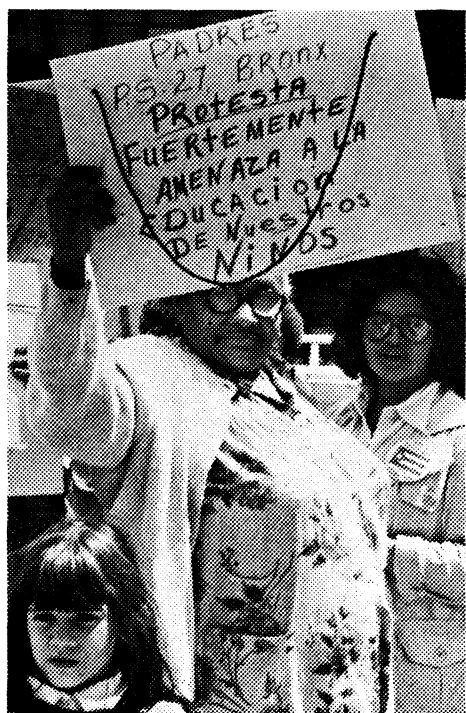
Three leaders of the American Indian Movement were convicted June 5 by a U.S. District Court in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, on charges stemming from the 1973 occupation at Wounded Knee, South Dakota.

Carter Camp, Stanley Holder, and Leonard Crow Dog are the first of seven indicted AIM leaders to be convicted in connection with the seizure. The three were convicted of aiding and abetting in the detention of a postal inspector and taking a pistol from another.

The government did not try to prove the defendants were personally involved, but claimed that since the three were persons in authority during the occupation they were responsible.

None of the government witnesses was able to identify any of the defendants in court.

Each of the leaders faces a maximum penalty of eighteen years in prison and a \$5,000 fine. Attorneys for the defendants said they would appeal.



Militant/Martha Harris

Participant in June 9 rally: 'P.S. 27, Bronx, parents strongly protest threat to education of our children.'



## 'Operation CHAOS' bared

# Socialists demand: 'Open all CIA files!'

By Cindy Jaquith

WASHINGTON—The Rockefeller commission report on the CIA's illegal activities, released here June 10, concludes that published charges of "massive" violations of the law have contributed to "widespread public misunderstanding of the Agency's actual practices."

"A detailed analysis of the facts has convinced the Commission that the great majority of the CIA's domestic activities comply with its statutory authority," the report asserts.

But the text of the report itself confirms almost all the charges that have been made in the press over the past six months.

Perhaps the most explosive issue—the planning of assassinations of Fidel Castro and other foreign leaders—was omitted entirely. President Ford argued that this section was "incomplete" and too "sensitive" for the American people to see. Concern over the CIA murder plots has escalated in recent weeks with the surfacing of evidence that President Kennedy and his brother Robert were directly implicated in the plots aimed at Castro.

Promising that "there's not going to be any possibility of any cover-up," Ford has dumped the assassination data in the laps of the Democrats heading congressional investigations.

The Rockefeller panel was set up by Ford last January to head off mounting demands for a full disclosure of the CIA crimes. In an off-the-record conversation at that time, summarized in the June 11 *New York Times*, Ford had explained that "the C.I.A. as an institution was needed to protect the security interests of the United States and should not be destroyed."

"For that reason, he had picked a commission to investigate charges against the C.I.A. that could be relied upon to understand and respect the agency's national defense role."

However, the facts on illegal CIA activities continued to surface. Just as Nixon was unable to keep the lid on Watergate, Ford has been unable to squelch the revelations on the CIA.

The details contained in the Rockefeller report—however sketchy and sanitized—will only add new impetus to the demands for a full and complete disclosure of all CIA activities.

### 'National security'

In a statement released June 11, Socialist Workers party presidential candidate Peter Camejo said, "The American people have the right to know the full truth about the criminal activity of the CIA here and around the world. The Rockefeller commission concludes that secrecy about CIA activities is justified by 'national security'—the very same excuse Nixon used to cover up Watergate."

"The threat to our security and to our democratic rights comes precisely from the CIA, the FBI, and other police-state agencies. We demand that all the files of the CIA be opened up, so that the American people can learn the full extent of the crimes carried out against dissidents at home and those struggling against U.S. domination around the world."

One chapter of the Rockefeller report examines "Operation CHAOS," which accumulated data on 300,000 people and organizations, and maintained files on 7,200 individuals in the United States.

Operation CHAOS was set up in the late 1960s in response to the Black liberation movement and the growth of massive opposition to the Vietnam War.

In 1967 the CIA set up a department called the "Special Operations Group."



'I gotta go now—here, you try it. It ain't work, it's fun.'

This group investigated the Black movement as well as student and antiwar activists. The CIA's cover for participating in this spying was that it was looking for "foreign connections" to protest movements in the United States.

Over the next few months, the CIA group issued a series of reports to President Lyndon Johnson on such topics as "International Connections of the United States Peace Movement," "Demonstration Techniques," and "Student Dissent and Its Techniques in the United States."

In mid-1968 the group became known as Operation CHAOS as the agency stepped up its surveillance of U.S. radicals. The increased spying, the Rockefeller report says, came "as disorders occurred in Europe in the summer of 1968," an apparent reference to the workers and students' uprising in France, which had a profound effect on the thinking of student radicals in this country, pushing many of them in a socialist direction.

By October 1969, Operation CHAOS had become deeply involved in infiltrating antiwar, Black, and student organizations in the United States.

### 'Acquiring assets'

In CIA lingo, the planting of the agents in these groups was called "acquiring assets."

One CHAOS agent, according to the report, infiltrated one of "the dissident groups" in order to provide "detailed information on the activities and views of high-level leadership."

Another CHAOS agent, says the report, "was 'to get as close as possible' and perhaps become an assistant to certain prominent radical leaders who were coordinators of the... 'Mayday' demonstrations" in 1971. Information on "planned violence" was of special interest to the CIA, the report added.

The most detailed account concerns Operation CHAOS-type activities in Washington, D.C. There the agency launched an intensive surveillance program with the cooperation of the local police.

In April 1967, the CIA sent agents into Women Strike for Peace, the Washington Peace Center, the Student

Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and the Congress of Racial Equality.

In September 1967, the CIA added the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam to its list. This coalition was organizing a mass antiwar march on Washington for October.

Groups added to the list later included the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Black Panthers, War Resisters League, Black United Front, Washington Mobilization for Peace, Washington Urban League, and the Black Muslims.

Through its surveillance, the CIA tried to dig up information on these groups' sources of funds. It sent special details out to follow prominent antiwar and Black leaders when they arrived in Washington to speak at demonstrations. Agents photographed their automobiles, followed them home to get their addresses, and, of course, took photographs of participants in all the major marches.

The Rockefeller report says that nationally a total of 1,000 organizations and movements were harassed in this manner. It lists only a few—American Indian Movement, women's liberation movement, Students for a Democratic Society, Young Workers Liberation League, Venceremos Bri-

gade, and Clergy and Laity Concerned About Vietnam.

The report does not include in this list either the Socialist Workers party or the Young Socialist Alliance, although both organizations were clearly CIA targets. Peter Camejo, for example, using the Freedom of Information Act, recently was able to obtain heavily censored excerpts from his CIA file, which indicate that he was spied on under Operation CHAOS.

Operation CHAOS was not officially terminated until March 15, 1974, months after the American people were told they had heard the "full story" on government spying.

But the Rockefeller report's only suggestions for reform are stricter "guidelines" and more "oversight" from Congress. The report emphatically rejects the idea that the CIA should be abolished.

### 'Intelligence needed'

"During the period of the Commission's inquiry," the report states, "there have been public allegations that a democracy does not need an intelligence apparatus. The Commission does not share this view."

To back up its argument the report resorts to cold-war-like warnings about the "stealthy action of 'enemies, foreign or domestic'" and the threat of "violent change."

In addition, the report makes recommendations that would actually lead to strengthening the CIA's ability to conduct illegal spying in the United States.

One proposal, which the *Washington Post* called "the CIA's long-sought version of an official secrets act," would "make it a criminal offense for employees or former employees of the CIA willfully to divulge to any unauthorized person classified information pertaining to foreign intelligence or the collection thereof...."

A second recommendation would give the CIA explicit authority—for the first time—to conduct domestic spying, under the guise of investigating "persons suspected of espionage or other illegal activities relating to foreign intelligence."

In response to the report, the Democrats have offered a few mild criticisms. But they are hardly in a position to escape blame for the cover-up. The House committee investigating the CIA has just had to disqualify its own chairperson—Rep. Lucien Nedzi (D-Mich.)—because he was told about CIA assassination plots a year ago and never challenged them. The Senate committee, headed by Sen. Frank Church (D-Idaho), has yet to hold a single open session where the Ameri-

Continued on page 26



Militant/Brian Shannon

One month before this October 1967 antiwar march on Washington, CIA agents infiltrated New Mobilization Committee, which sponsored demonstration.



## Reid winds up West Coast tour

# Oregonians hear SWP solution to jobs crisis

By Stacey Seigle

PORTLAND, Ore.—Willie Mae Reid shook hands and smiled as shoppers at a Portland supermarket responded to a loudspeaker inviting them to meet the Socialist Workers party candidate for vice-president of the United States.

Reid, along with local supporters of her campaign, distributed 200 copies of "A Bill of Rights for Working People," the 1976 SWP platform. This supermarket campaigning was one activity of Reid's Oregon tour, the last stop on a campaign swing through Western states.

Many of the shoppers mentioned that they had seen Reid on TV, and campaign organizers here estimate that Reid reached hundreds of thousands of Oregonians through a series of media engagements. This included three TV interviews and three half-hour radio interviews.

How to solve the problem of unemployment is point number one of the Bill of Rights for Working People, and

Reid uses every interview to explain the socialist solution to growing unemployment lines.

Urban League director George Rankins interviewed Reid for "Albina Report," a Black segment of KPTV's Saturday evening news. Reid addressed her remarks to why socialists believe everyone has a right to a job and a right to a decent—not "minimum"—wage.

"What we need is a shortened workweek with no reduction in pay," Reid told Rankins. "Our concern is not the profits of the corporations but the needs of human beings, of working people. We need to demand a halt to the mammoth defense budget, and to demand that the money be used to benefit working people through a massive public works program."

In taping a show to be broadcast Sunday, June 15, Bob O'Donnell of KOIN-TV's "ACCESS" said that he could understand why socialism would be attractive to poor people, to people



SWP vice-presidential candidate Willie Mae Reid campaigns at Portland supermarket. Militant/Jim Watson

who have been locked out of the system. But how, he asked, could "middle-class" people relate to socialism?

Reid pointed out that the system is failing for almost everyone now. "Unemployment lines are no longer made up of 'hard-core unemployables,'" she said. "People with skills, with college degrees even, cannot find jobs nowadays."

Reid will also appear on KATU-TV's "Reflections on Women," scheduled for airing in Portland on June 29.

In addition to speaking at three Portland college campuses, Reid marched in a picket line May 30 at the Portland Airport to call attention to the racist hiring practices of construction companies. The picket line was called by the United Minority Workers and the Student Coalition Against Racism.

A high point of Reid's four-day tour here was a rally May 31 attended by more than seventy people. Greetings were given to the meeting by a national officer of the Organization of Arab Students, an Oregon organizer of the United Farm Workers, and Joyce Fol-

lingstad, one of twenty-five nurses currently on strike against Woodlawn Park Hospital.

SEATTLE—Willie Mae Reid spent several days campaigning in Seattle and one day in Vancouver, Canada, as part of her West Coast tour.

The highlight of the Seattle tour was a socialist educational weekend sponsored by the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance. Featured speakers during the weekend were Reid; Evelyn Reed, author of *Woman's Evolution*; and Stephanie Coontz, a professor at Evergreen College in Olympia, Washington.

While in Seattle Reid also spoke to several Black studies classes at the University of Washington and met informally with Black faculty involved in a fight against cutbacks at the university, which are affecting both Black and Chicano studies departments.

The League for Socialist Action, the Canadian section of the Fourth International, invited Reid to speak at their forum in Vancouver. Attended by forty-five people, the meeting was one of the most enthusiastic of the tour.

## Join the socialist campaign

Here's how you can get involved:

( ) I want to come to a local campaign meeting to help plan activities.

( ) I can do volunteer office work.

( ) I can help distribute campaign literature ( ) on Saturdays ( ) during the week.

( ) I speak Spanish and can help translate and/or campaign in Spanish-speaking communities.

( ) Please send me one copy of the Bill of Rights for Working People free of charge.

( ) Please send \_\_\_\_\_ copies of the Bill of Rights. Enclosed is \$\_\_\_\_\_ (three cents each; two cents each for orders of 1,000 or more).

( ) Enclosed is my contribution of \$\_\_\_\_\_. Funds are urgently needed.

Clip and mail to: Socialist Workers

1976 National Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Telephone \_\_\_\_\_

Occupation \_\_\_\_\_ Union \_\_\_\_\_

Business address \_\_\_\_\_

School/Organization \_\_\_\_\_

Officers of the committee—Chairpersons: Fred Halstead, Ed Heisler, Linda Jenness, Andrew Pulley—Treasurer: Andrea Morell.

A copy of our report is filed with the Federal Election Commission and is available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C.

# Michigan unemployed sign to put SWP on ballot

By Mike Kelly

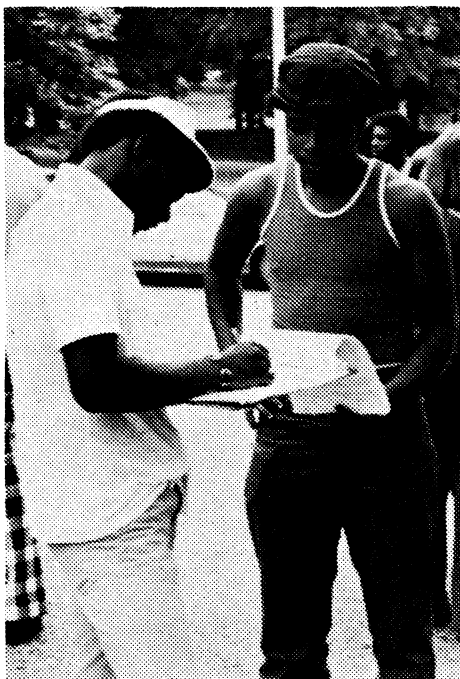
DETROIT—In the first two days of gathering signatures at area unemployment centers, hundreds of unemployed auto workers have signed nominating petitions to put the Socialist Workers party presidential ticket of Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid on the ballot in Michigan for the 1976 election.

Campaign supporters are taking advantage of Michigan's election law, which allows smaller parties to complete the requirements for ballot status this far in advance of the election date.

Warm weather and a desire to get the petitioning done early in order to leave the remaining time before the election free for campaigning were the chief reasons for doing it this summer, according to Margaret Scott, Michigan's SWP campaign manager.

The law requires that 17,600 signatures of registered voters be collected to win ballot status for parties other than the Democrats and Republicans. At least 100 of these must come from each of nine different congressional districts, and no more than 35 percent from any one district.

The goal of petitioners, according to Scott, is to gather 25,000 signatures to discourage any attempts to challenge the petitions as falling short of any of



"I'll sign anything that will get rid of the Democrats and Republicans."

these requirements.

Campaign supporters will be mobilizing for the first three weeks in June in weekday and weekend teams to circulate petitions throughout the state. A campaign barbecue and rally has been scheduled for June 28 to

celebrate the completion of petitioning.

Willie Mae Reid will make her first campaign appearance in Detroit around this time. Plans are being made to bring her campaign to area unemployment lines and to the Black community before she speaks at the petitioning celebration.

Important support in the petitioning drive is coming from two special "campaigning for socialism" teams that hit the road for the first time this week. Each team, composed of four young campaign supporters, will be carrying the socialist campaign to area unemployment lines and plant gates throughout the summer months. During the three-week petitioning drive, they plan to collect 9,000 to 10,000 signatures.

I talked with three of the team members to find out how the campaign is being received by Detroit residents, where unemployment is the highest in the country. The three—Hugh Piercey, Tom Campion, and Dean Athans—are all members of the Young Socialist Alliance.

With school out and job prospects dim this summer, all three decided that spending their time hanging around the house would be a waste. So they, and others in similar situations, volunteered to campaign full-time.

Campion told me that petitioning at the unemployment lines was easy. "Almost everyone signed," he said. "In fact, inside one of the centers, the boards were passed up and down the aisles."

Athans said that one Black man, about thirty years old, had come up to the petitioners and shouted for everyone to hear, "I'll sign anything that will get rid of the Republicans and Democrats!"

Athans said many were surprised that the party wasn't automatically on the ballot like the two capitalist parties.

While some of the unemployed were so angered about being thrown out of work that they didn't want to talk with anyone while waiting in line, the team has met only one person hostile to socialism.

All of the team members are excited by their first few days on the road and are looking forward to an intensive summer of campaigning.

The campaign committee is encouraging supporters in Michigan to volunteer their help for the petitioning drive. For more information write: Michigan 1976 Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 3737 Woodward Avenue, Detroit, Michigan 48201. Or call (313) 831-6135 or 833-4246.

## Party Building Fund

# Our critics tell why you should help SWP

By Barry Sheppard

The Socialist Workers Party Building Fund is a way for supporters of socialism to put their tax rebates to work to help bring socialism closer.

There are different groups in this country and the world claiming to be socialist, and for a person new to socialist ideas it can be confusing. For those who really want to fight for

their concept of "socialism."

Their leaflet attacking the SWP is full of lies, as you might expect from people who supported Washington's war in Vietnam. However, it also levels some charges against the SWP that are illuminating because they show some of the basic differences between the two organizations.

Here are some of these charges. YPSL says the SWP was opposed to the 1968 strike by the United Federation of Teachers in New York. "They attempted to break through picket lines, openly encouraged scabbing, and joined with antisemites like Lesley Campbell in spreading vicious racist propaganda against the United Federation of Teachers."

The "racist propaganda" the YPSL is referring to is the SWP's position in support of the right of the Black community to control its own schools.

Prior to the 1968 strike, the city government in New York tried to contain Black demands for a voice in the education of their children by allowing some experiments in this direction in Brooklyn's Ocean Hill-Brownsville sections. Black parents

used this opening to take some actual steps to implement Black control by demanding the removal of some racist teachers.

Shanker then led the UFT into a self-defeating racist strike, not against the school board in the interest of teachers, but against the Black community and the right of the Black community to control its own schools. The SWP backed the Black community in that battle and did everything it could to break the racist strike. This was a proud chapter in the party's history.

The YPSL leaflet also charges that the SWP supported the "Por los Niños" slate in the recent District One school board election in New York, against the UFT-backed candidates. They don't mention that District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees also supported "Por los Niños."

The issue is the same as in the 1968 racist UFT strike. The "Por los Niños" slate backed suspended District One superintendent Luis Fuentes and the struggle of the Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese parents for control over schools in District One. The UFT-backed candidates were not pro-union—they were against Puerto Ricans, Blacks, and Chinese in this fight. That's why Shanker supported them.

The SWP position is that the UFT has to break from the reactionary policies of the Shanker leadership, which have led the UFT into head-on confrontations with the minority communities in New York. This racist stand will surely mean the destruction of the union itself unless it is reversed in time.

The teachers should be fighting side by side with the oppressed, instead of looking on their union as a white job trust.

The YPSL leaflet goes on: "Though they claim to support the United Farmworkers' struggle for union recognition and justice in the battle against the big growers, the SWP has opposed the UFW's effort to restrict the flow of illegal aliens into the fields."

YPSL is right on that one. We think the UFW's leadership's campaign against the "illegal aliens" harmed the UFW and we are glad that the UFW leadership has backed off from this dangerous and self-defeating campaign.

In the first place, the "illegal aliens" are fellow workers and should be treated as such. The UFW should take the lead in organizing them and in fighting for their full civil rights, against the U.S. government's victimi-

zation. It is this victimization that makes the undocumented workers prey to the extreme exploitation that is used by the growers against attempts to organize. So it is in the interests of the UFW to fight this victimization, not support it.

The leaflet charges that the SWP "has a long history of anti-labor activities and alliances with racist and reactionary forces seeking to undermine the labor movement." We leave it up to the reader to judge just who is aligned with "racist and reactionary forces" that do indeed undermine the labor movement.

Finally, YPSL says that the *Militant* "weekly carries the most vicious and slanderous attacks on the leadership of the American labor movement." They are talking about the bureaucracy, of course, and especially the Meanys and Shankers.

Well, they can have them. We see a revitalized labor movement shorn of the dead hand of these reactionary misleaders, a movement that will take the lead in the fight against capitalism and for all the workers and all layers of the oppressed.

Your help in supporting the SWP will speed the day. Send your tax rebate (or as much of it as you can afford) to the SWP Party Building Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

## Scoreboard

Area	Pledged	Collected
Atlanta	\$3,000	\$335.00
Boston	1,865	797.95
Brooklyn	3,700	2,024.14
Chicago	2,500	700.58
Cleveland	2,000	
Denver	715	370.00
Detroit	200	
Houston	2,100	1,495.75
L.A. (Central-East)	2,200	1,258.80
L.A. (West Side)	3,000	
Lower Manhattan, N.Y.	5,000	1,694.10
Milwaukee	820	100.00
Oakland/Berkeley	2,500	745.35
Philadelphia	1,000	170.00
Pittsburgh	900	141.00
Portland, Ore.	730	205.00
St. Louis	1,200	859.75
San Diego	425	
San Francisco	1,400	
Twin Cities	1,500	460.00
Upper West Side, N.Y.	3,000	614.08
Washington, D.C.	2,200	608.00
General		1,259.25
Totals	41,955	13,838.75



Pro-community-control demonstration of New York teachers and students against 1968 racist teachers' strike. Social Democrats attack SWP for supporting such actions.

## Milwaukee labor unites to support meatcutters

By Tom Mauer

MILWAUKEE—In a demonstration of united labor support for Milwaukee's striking meatcutters, some 700 people, mostly trade unionists, participated June 4 in a rally and picket line called by the Milwaukee County AFL-CIO Labor Council.

The militant demonstration showed the widespread support among the city's workers for the 750 members of Meat Cutters Local 248, who have been on strike since January 28. It also provided an example of united action by the labor movement.

While the majority of participants were meatcutters, sizable contingents were present from American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees District Council 48; Fire Fighters Local 215; and Machinists Local Lodge 2110.

Other AFL-CIO affiliates sending

contingents included: International Molders' and Allied Workers' Local 125; Boilermakers Local 107; United Farm Workers; AFSCME Local 1954, which is currently on strike; Communications Workers of America; and the Milwaukee Coalition of Labor Union Women.

Nonaffiliated unions participating included the United Auto Workers Region 10 and the United Electrical workers. Notably absent was the Teamsters union, which has been crossing the meatcutters' picket lines.

The demonstration was about 40 percent Black and Latino, with community leaders present on the picket line. Other participants included civil rights activist Father James Groppi, the Socialist Workers party, the Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee, and the Wisconsin Alliance.

Turnout for the "Day of Labor

Solidarity" was high considering the rally and picket line took place on a weekday afternoon, when many people are working. The labor council publicized the event through a notice in its weekly paper, *Labor Press*, and a leaflet distributed at plants throughout the city.

The picket line was set up at two p.m. outside the Peck Packinghouse and lasted three hours. Peck is the largest firm being struck by Local 248 and has tried to continue operations with scab labor.

A sound truck at the site blared out such labor songs as "Solidarity Forever," "We Shall Not Be Moved," and "The Union Makes Us Strong." A local radical singing group, the Cream City News, also appeared. Between songs, officials from the labor council and the various unions presented messages of solidarity with the meatcutters.

Scattered scuffling between picketers and cops occurred when some picketers tried to break through a police line set up to defend scabs as they left the company parking lots.

The windshield of one strikebreaker's car was shattered by a brick. One picketer was arrested, although police say it was for a previous charge and not related to the demonstration.

From a struggle that began around basic economic issues, the strike by Local 248 against eight firms has become a battle to save the union from an all-out assault by the Meatpackers Association.

The meatcutters are counting on support from the entire organized labor movement. The Day of Labor Solidarity was an important beginning and an example of what is needed to assure the strike's success.



## That 'veto-proof' Congress revisited

Despite a lot of rosy predictions out of Washington about an "imminent" economic upturn, unemployment lines continue to grow longer. The official government figures showed a jump in unemployment last month to 9.2 percent, up from 8.9 percent in April, and the highest rate since 1941.

At the White House, where the bitterness and degradation of being denied a job are viewed as someone else's problem, officials casually noted that the increase in the jobless rolls is "about in line" with administration forecasts.

The official statistics are notoriously understated. The National Urban League has made its own calculations of Black unemployment to show the real picture. Taking into account the "discouraged" workers and those involuntarily working only part-time, this index found a catastrophic 25.8 percent jobless rate among Blacks.

What solutions are being put forward to deal with this crisis?

The Ford administration defends the view that the best thing to do is nothing. It openly states that unemployment can be expected to remain above 7 percent through the middle of 1978.

The employing class has indicated its readiness to endure with stoicism the hardships this will inflict on those who work for a living. "There is a tendency to think that the recovery means a prompt return to full employment, and that is wrong," says Leif Olsen, senior vice-president at First National City Bank in New York.

R. Heath Larry, vice-chairman of U.S. Steel, told the *Wall Street Journal*, "I think we will have a continuing high level of unemployment" for the next ten years.

And what about Congress? With great fanfare they adopted a \$5.3 billion measure to provide public service jobs. It wasn't much—low-paying make-work for less than 10 percent of those out of work. But, as expected, Ford vetoed the bill, and it became a test case on economic policy. *And the so-called veto-proof Congress upheld Ford's veto.*

The same day the Democratic-controlled House acted to kill the jobs bill, the Democratic majority in the Senate refused to cut even a measly \$1.2 billion out of a \$25 billion fund for military research and weapons.

There could be no question about the priorities of the Democratic Congress: billions for death and destruction, not a dime for socially useful projects or jobs.

The trade-off is gruesome. The cost of one Navy A6-E Intruder jet—\$9 million—could build 257 new apartments in Harlem. Just the past cost *overruns* on the C-5A transport plane and the Pentagon's Main Battle Tank—\$2.3 billion— would cover nearly half the price tag on the vetoed jobs program.

Six days later, the "veto-proof Congress" again showed its fundamental agreement with Ford's policies by upholding his veto of a strip-mining bill that would have placed some limits—however inadequate—on the rape of the environment by profit-hungry coal bosses.

Last year the unions spent an estimated \$7 million to elect "friends" in the Democratic and Republican parties, with what seemed to be overwhelming success. Seventy percent of the AFL-CIO-endorsed candidates were elected. Now these "friends" are proving beyond the shadow of a doubt where their real allegiance lies. In fact, in New York and other cities the unions are forced to demonstrate in the streets against layoffs and wage cuts imposed by the very same Democratic mayors and governors they elected just a few months ago!

The futility of the union leadership's policy of supporting Democratic and Republican candidates has never been more obvious. Yet the bureaucrats continue to insist that it is "not realistic" to launch an independent labor party.

Nothing could be further from the truth. Masses of working people are fed up with the racist, prowar, antilabor policies of the Democrats and Republicans—but they see no alternative on the scene. They register their disgust by staying away from the polls in droves.

A labor party with a program to meet the needs of working people—not the bankers, not the Pentagon, not the corporate profiteers—could rally these discontented millions behind it. It could spearhead a social and political movement to *reverse* the priorities upheld by both Ford and Congress.

The labor movement has the organization, the votes, and qualified representatives to run for office. And if it had \$7 million to pour down the drain of capitalist politics, it certainly has the money.

A labor party is needed and a labor party is "realistic." Indeed, it is the only way workers can begin to resolve the present social and economic crisis.

### Pipeline to socialism

Of all the periodicals that I get, yours is (and has been) the most informative and well balanced.

I also am seriously considering distributing copies up and down the [Alaska] pipeline to brothers and sisters who are as anxious as I am to keep up on what's happening. You'd be pleasantly surprised at the astounding number of militants on the line.

I would like to get (to begin with) about ten or twenty copies of your next issue, as I am always running off copies of articles for friends as I like to keep all my own issues for my library.

I don't want to be a distributor per se due to this damnable ITT creature I have the misfortune to work for. But I do wish to turn on some good people up here to your newspaper. I'm sure they will enthusiastically welcome it and then they can subscribe via you.

Also, if you could send copies of Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers party literature, I will gladly distribute them. It would add depth to the info.

M.B.

Fairbanks, Alaska

### Easier to sell, too?

Enclosed is a money order for five dollars. Instead of sending the exact amount I will always (at least for the immediate future) send more than I am billed because I consider the *Militant* a very worthy enterprise.

I also read the *Guardian* and the *Workers Vanguard*. The *Militant* is far above both. That is why I chose to sell the *Militant*.

L.D.

Endicott, New York

### Unfunny comic

Did you know that "parolees" and "ex-cons" are your prime source of worry if you are carrying large amounts of money? In the May 25, 1975, "Dick Tracy" comic strip, his "Crimestoppers" says, "A fool and his money are soon parted. Don't flash your money in public."

This is good advice and I agree with him all the way. The real snag comes with the illustration. A man is pictured in the foreground talking to a bartender. In the background are two people labeled "parolee" and "ex-con."

This is derogatory and degrading to a group of people that have made a mistake and paid for it. The ex-offender has enough problems without Chester Gould, who for years has brainwashed the public about criminals and police control, planting even more distrust in the public's mind.

The implication is that an ex-offender will see your money and rob you. Statistics show that the bartender would be more likely to rob you.

A prisoner

California

### Tax rebate fund

Regarding your request for contributions to the Socialist Workers Party Building Fund from President Ford's income-tax rebate, I want to notify you that I have not received this at the present time. But I am enclosing a contribution that you can use for this purpose anyhow.

I am sorry to say that if this tax rebate should come to me, I will be using most of it to supplement the low compensation benefit payments I am now getting. However, I will send you

some portion of this rebate when I receive it.

Best wishes to you all as you continue on in the liberating of the working class from whatever enslavement is being conducted by the employing class, and also in your work of restoring democracy to *all* the people.

A.S. Farris

Chicago, Illinois

### No comparison

Eleven United Farm Workers are gunned down in Texas May 26. How often are strikers gunned down in this country? That's equivalent to Kent State or the Attica massacre.

Compare the news coverage of this atrocity:

1) The May 27 *San Francisco Examiner* buried this story on the bottom of page 8. The headline: "UFW plans Texas melon boycott." This is practically news suppression.

2) I might have missed the *Examiner* article but for a twenty-second summary of the shooting on an educational TV station, KQED, the previous evening. But the story was sandwiched among local trivia, a typical practice of "Newsroom," the Bay Area "alternative" news program.

3) This story is front-page news for the *Militant* (June 6, 1975). Who else?

My compliments to the *Militant* for getting the real news around.

Duncan Gordon

San Francisco, California

### An inspiration

The United Farm Workers' work in South Texas should be inspiring to all. Organizing mexicano workers shows the power across the United States of this potent force on the side of the UFW.

I remember well in 1970 during the Aztlán tour that as candidates of the Socialist Workers party, Mariana Hernández, Antonio Camejo, and myself had the most memorable occasion in South Texas. With thirty-six hours' notice close to 200 Chicanos, most of them from Donna, Texas, honored us with a barbecue-beer bash.

Among the first to meet and welcome us was Antonio Orendain, the UFW's regional organizer in the lower Rio Grande Valley. With his leadership, the melon strikers cannot but succeed.

Fróben Lozada

Oakland, California

### 'Necessary measures'?

Although I agreed with many of the labor issues brought out in the *Militant*, the cover story on the *Mayagüez* incident [May 23 *Militant*] was too much.

There are several things wrong with this country, things which should and will be righted constructively. You do not achieve positive results by taking divisionistic and degrading attitudes toward necessary measures.

Dennis Smit

Louisville, Kentucky

### Bigger and better

A while ago [May 23 issue] the *Militant* carried an article on the demonstration in New York in support of the United Farm Workers. If I'm not mistaken, you reported that it gathered 1,000 persons.

Though it may have been 1,000 or under at the rally, and 500 or under at the start of the march, I am positive (I





was there) that it swelled to well over 2,000 during the procession itself. Since we walked from Fifty-ninth to Sixteenth Street, a good forty-three blocks, many people joined in along the way.

I write this because I am proud of the work our brothers and sisters of the United Farm Workers are doing to win the right to have free elections and decide who *they* want to run their union. Otherwise, the *Militant* is the only paper I know I can get the truth from.

J.H.

Brooklyn, New York

### Stalinist cover-up

In her June 6 article on CIA-Mafia attempts to assassinate Fidel Castro, Cindy Jaquith pointed out that Senate "investigators" are covering up the role of John and Robert Kennedy, who were president and attorney general at the time.

Well, it seems their former colleagues in Congress are not the only ones anxious to downplay the murderous plots approved by these "heros" of the liberal Democrats.

The *Daily World* reported the revelations on May 28, but with some curious omissions.

"This plot reportedly was carried out during the Eisenhower administration," the *Daily World* says. Possible, but not likely. All the newspaper reports I have seen place the assassination plans in 1961 and 1962, under the Kennedy administration.

Then the *Daily World* lists the membership at a top-level meeting on August 10, 1962, that discussed "eliminating" Castro: Robert MacNamara, Dean Rusk, John McCone, and McGeorge Bundy.

But the Stalinists conveniently forget to mention that *Robert Kennedy was also a member* of this committee, which had responsibility for approving secret CIA operations against revolutionary Cuba.

And if there was any doubt left, Nicholas Horrock reported in the May 30 *New York Times* that investigators now have a May 1961 memo on the CIA-Mafia connection, personally initialed by Robert Kennedy. This report has yet to find its way into the *Daily World*. From people who claim to be defenders of the Cuban Revolution, the silence is deafening—and revealing.

The Communist party, you see, is still trying to dupe workers into supporting "good" capitalist politicians against the "bad" ones, and the Kennedys, like Roosevelt, are supposed to be classic examples of "peace-loving," "pro-civil rights," "friend of labor" Democrats.

"Impeach Nixon" is one thing, but besmirching the name of the "martyred" Kennedys is something else. It's just too embarrassing for their Stalinist apologists to admit that the shining knights of Camelot were up to their elbows in counterrevolutionary murder plots.

G.A.

New York, New York

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

## CP & women political prisoners

At a banquet celebrating thirty-seven years of publication of the *People's World*, the West Coast newspaper of the U.S. Communist party, editor Carl Bloice gave a speech honoring International Women's Year. The speech was reprinted in the May 24 *People's World*. It's an object lesson in hypocrisy.

Titled "Women in prison," Bloice's speech attempts to pay tribute to many of the women imprisoned and tortured by reactionary regimes.

"I do not feel that International Women's Year would be worth a damn," says Bloice, "unless special recognition is given to the suffering and courage of women of color, if special recognition is not given to the role played by women in the movements for national liberation. . . ."

It won't be worth a damn, either, unless the courageous women imprisoned and tortured in Soviet prisons are defended—none of whom Bloice even mentioned.

In the Ukraine, in particular, there are many women imprisoned for fighting for freedom of expression and against the national oppression of their homeland.

Does Bloice believe that Stefania Shabatura, a Ukrainian tapestries artist, should spend five years in labor camps and three years in exile for defending Ukrainian historian Valentyn Moroz? Shabatura was arrested in January 1972 and accused of introducing political, "anti-Soviet motifs" into her art.

Writer Iryna Stasiv-Kalynets, microbiologist Nina Strokata-Karavanska, poet Iryna Senyk, and philologist Nadia Svitlychna-Shumuk, along with artist Stefania Shabatura and others, are in a labor camp for women political prisoners in the Mordovian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic.

Their "crimes" include fighting for democratic rights; defending victims of Soviet authoritarianism; pleading for the freedom of Valentyn Moroz; and refusing to forget their national culture, art, and history.

Carl Bloice, if asked, would undoubtedly claim that

these women are counterrevolutionaries and antisocialist. He'd simply repeat what his mentors in Moscow tell him.

But it was hardly "counterrevolutionaries" who, in September 1974 in response to an appeal appearing in the Soviet journal *New Times*, asked to be allowed to donate all the wages that they earn while prisoners to a fund for the victims of the Chilean junta. It was these Ukrainian women political prisoners. Their request was denied by Soviet authorities.

The Soviet Union was one of the main initiators of the United Nations designation of 1975 as International Women's Year. Yet it is the Soviet government that sentenced one of the first women political prisoners during this year. Just a few days before International Women's Day, 1975, Oksana Popovych was sentenced to eight years in a labor camp and five years of exile for "anti-Soviet agitation" and circulation of literature not "approved" by the Stalinist authorities.

Oksana Popovych has already spent ten years in labor camps—from 1944 to 1954—for participation in the Ukrainian freedom movement. Those ten years physically crippled her. During her interrogation in the current arrest, the Soviet secret police, the KGB, denied her a needed operation and access to medical care.

Her "anti-Soviet activity" consists of her signature on a petition in behalf of Svyatoslav Karavansky, another Ukrainian political prisoner, and her acquaintance with others who defend Valentyn Moroz.

If the U.S. Communist party can so easily dismiss these victims of repression, and simply mimic the slanders of the Stalinist bureaucracy in Moscow, they are not reliable defenders of anyone.

International Women's Year is a good time to demand freedom for *all* women political prisoners—including those crowding the prison camps of the USSR.

## By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



## UN debate on Namibia

John Vorster, South Africa's prime minister, has been playing the Captain Ahab role to the hilt these days.

Trying to skipper a course for his white-settler government through the tricky Namibian straits, he's run headlong into trouble. But like the storybook Ahab, who knew he was up against more than he could handle, Vorster likewise remains as stubborn, salty, and ruthless as ever.

Vorster's newest problems stem from South Africa's control over neighboring Namibia, which the United Nations—and just about everyone else—says is illegal.

Last December the UN Security Council gave South Africa six months to outline its plans for withdrawal from Namibia, or face "appropriate measures."

Formerly known as South-West Africa, Namibia was seized from Germany during World War I and administered under an old League of Nations mandate. As in South Africa, white settlers rule over the Black natives. There are about 90,000 whites and 750,000 Blacks in the country, which is twice the size of California.

South Africa's apartheid laws have been in effect in Namibia since 1966 and only whites can hold public office.

Copper, uranium, and diamond mining are the largest industries in the country, and the U.S.-owned Tsumeb Corporation, Ltd., runs one of the largest operations.

Getty, Phillips, Continental, Texaco, and Standard Oil of California have all run exploration ventures off the Namibian coast but have recently abandoned them even after favorable preliminary findings, because of what Getty cites as "political changes that appear in the offing."

Although the pressure is mounting, Vorster's intention is to hold onto Namibia for as long as possible. He wants to grant it his version of "self-determination."

Vorster's "self-determination" means the creation of

Black "homelands," or Bantustans, and forced residency in them for the various tribal groupings. The settler government has already set up such Bantustans in South Africa.

But because of the steps toward independence in the Portuguese colonies of Mozambique and Angola, and what he sees as a troubling situation in Rhodesia over the mounting Black nationalist pressure, Vorster in recent months has been seeking a conciliation or "détente" with various Black African governments. He hopes to show that apartheid is flexible and can be softened.

Just the other day, the Namibian government announced it would remove from all public buildings signs proclaiming "whites only" and "nonwhites," and would allow Blacks into white hotels and restaurants.

The announcement was timed to influence the discussion going on in the Security Council on what to do about South Africa for refusing to get out of Namibia.

The most serious talk has been of mandatory trade sanctions like those imposed on Rhodesia in 1967. But it is unlikely that such measures will be taken. On June 6 the United States, Britain, and France vetoed a resolution in the United Nations to impose a mandatory arms embargo on South Africa.

Several years ago the United Nations asked for voluntary arms sanctions against South Africa, and the United States complied. But Washington, looking out for U.S. corporate investments, and allied with the most reactionary regimes throughout the world, is not about to call for tough, economic sanctions.

Even still, the way things are going, it's only a matter of time before Namibia wins its independence.

And just like old Ahab one day got done in by a big, bad, white whale, some day soon John Vorster and his government will get done in by something bigger—but Black—and badder than them.

## Defense fund urges actions

# Joan Little solidarity day set for July 14

By Cindy Jaquith

WASHINGTON, D.C.—July 14 will be a day of solidarity with Joan (pronounced JoAnn) Little, the Black woman who faces trumped-up murder charges in the death of a white jailer who tried to rape her. Little goes on trial July 14 in Raleigh, North Carolina.

In a recent interview with the *Militant*, Yvonne Davis, coordinator of the Joan Little Defense Fund, Inc., described some of the activities

filled with supporters. A rally is also tentatively scheduled to take place that day.

Supporters of Little are also planning solidarity activities in other cities for July 14. "We're definitely encouraging any kind of support rallies that take place," said Davis.

The National Student Coalition Against Racism, for example, has issued a call for picket lines in as many cities as possible the day the trial opens, demanding "Free Joan Little! Drop the charges!" NSCAR has suggested that the protests be held at jails or prisons, to dramatize the racist, inhuman treatment of inmates, or at federal buildings.

Davis told the *Militant* that the efforts of all groups are welcome in defending Little. "More than welcome," she emphasized, "because the more support you get, the more people you reach. The more people you reach, the more awareness there is. That's important."

Many of those reached and activated in the case thus far have been women, she explained. This is partly due to the issues involved.

Little is charged with first-degree murder in the death of Clarence Alligood, a sixty-two-year-old white jailer, on August 27, 1974. At the time, Little was imprisoned in Washington, North Carolina, on breaking-and-entering charges. She was the lone woman in the cell block.

Alligood entered her cell with an ice pick and tried to rape her. She fought back and escaped. Alligood was found dead of stab wounds the next day.

After a massive dragnet was launched by the state of North Carolina—a search that could have easily ended in the death of Little—she decided to surrender, with the aid of attorneys Jerry Paul and Karen Galloway, who are now representing her.

When the case first began, explained Davis, "We felt that something had to



Joan Little speaking to May 31 rally in Washington, D.C. Demonstrations will be held in Raleigh, North Carolina, and around country to coincide with opening of her trial.

## Chicago rally will hear Little

CHICAGO—Joan Little will be the featured speaker at a rally here Saturday, June 21, to demand that the charges against her be dropped. The rally, which will begin at 2:30 p.m. at Shiloh Missionary Baptist Church, 4840 S. Dorchester, in Hyde Park, is being organized by the Chicago Women's Defense Committee (CWDC).

Other speakers will be civil rights attorney Thomas Todd; Kathleen Thompson, author of *Against Rape*; Barbara Garrison, CWDC; and representatives from the Delbert Tibbs Defense Committee, CASA, and others. Admission is free. For more information contact CWDC at (312) 643-1104.

planned to win support for Little as the trial opens. The defense fund, which operates out of Durham, North Carolina, is raising money for legal expenses and publicizing Little's case.

"Basically, we're trying to get as many people down to Raleigh as possible," said Davis, "especially for the first day of the trial, July 14." She said she hoped the courtroom will be

be done because of the injustice Joan had been subjected to. And we felt that this was also a big opportunity to bring out and make people aware of the injustices that Black women in particular have been subjected to in the past.

"From this, fortunately, other prison systems are being investigated now, and they're finding out that a lot of the same things are going on."

"I would say that much of Joan's support is woman-based or woman-oriented," said Davis, "because this is a woman who was victimized. In particular, Black women have taken a stand on it, and that's a good thing, because Black women had been kind of sitting back—up until the last few years—and now, they've started to get up and start dealing with issues like this."

Davis, who is Black, said she thought most Black women see the case "as a racist issue first, then as a sexist issue. Because Joan is a woman, they identify with her more."

But all kinds of people have responded, she added, once they understand the facts in the case. "A lot of

people don't know, for instance, that Alligood's shoes were found in the corridor; that the TV cameras [used for surveillance of Little in her cell] had been turned off, so that whoever was at the main desk couldn't see what was going on; that Alligood's pants were hidden from the public for a good while afterward, because there were stab wounds on his legs but no stab wounds on the pants."

Although the mass media have given unusually extensive coverage to the case, "they've given only a partial view," Davis noted. "They've left out the political issues, of course."

She said she felt that movement and underground newspapers have played an important role in clarifying these issues. "We are trying to get as much of the press, especially the underground press, to the trial as possible," she explained. "We are appealing to people such as yourselves and any other such publications that exist, radio stations, and the like, because this is the only means through which the people are going to know what's really happening."

## Demand end to cutbacks

# UCSD teaching assistants stage work stoppage

By Mark Schneider

SAN DIEGO—More than 500 teaching assistants and their supporters demonstrated on the University of California at San Diego campus June 4 demanding an end to education cutbacks and an adequate income for teaching assistants. The day before, 1,000 students attended a campus-wide rally to support the teaching assistants. The actions occurred as part of a two-day work stoppage called by the 520-member Graduate Student Union (GSU). There are 1,000 graduate students at UCSD.

The newly formed union has tried to negotiate the following demands with the UCSD administration:

- a salary equal to one-half the salary of a full-time employee (about \$4,700 per year);
- full-year contracts instead of the present quarterly contracts;
- no increase in the student-teaching assistant ratio;
- tuition and fee waivers for all graduate students.

At the June 4 demonstration the union negotiating committee reported that the administration would only consider the demand regarding contracts and rejected all other demands. For the past five weeks the administration has claimed that there is no money and nothing to discuss.

Speaking at the San Diego Militant Forum on May 30, Jim Cavanagh of

the GSU said, "Of course, the state education budget is inadequate. But our negotiating committee told them, 'Find the money.' When they want to build a new house for a university president they find the money, so they can find the money for us."

At the June 3 campus rally, GSU President Phil Protter explained, "What we are asking for is less than one-tenth of 1 percent of an education budget of \$500,000,000. . . . What they are asking of us is that we live on food stamps."

He also pointed out that the university is planning to spend four times the amount of money needed to meet the teaching assistants' demands, to build an art gallery in La Jolla—one of the wealthiest cities in the country.

"The University of California system spends more on fertilizer than on teaching assistants at UCSD!" another member of the GSU told the rally.

The UCSD administration tried to undercut the work stoppage by portraying it as a strike against the undergraduates. This lie was effective-

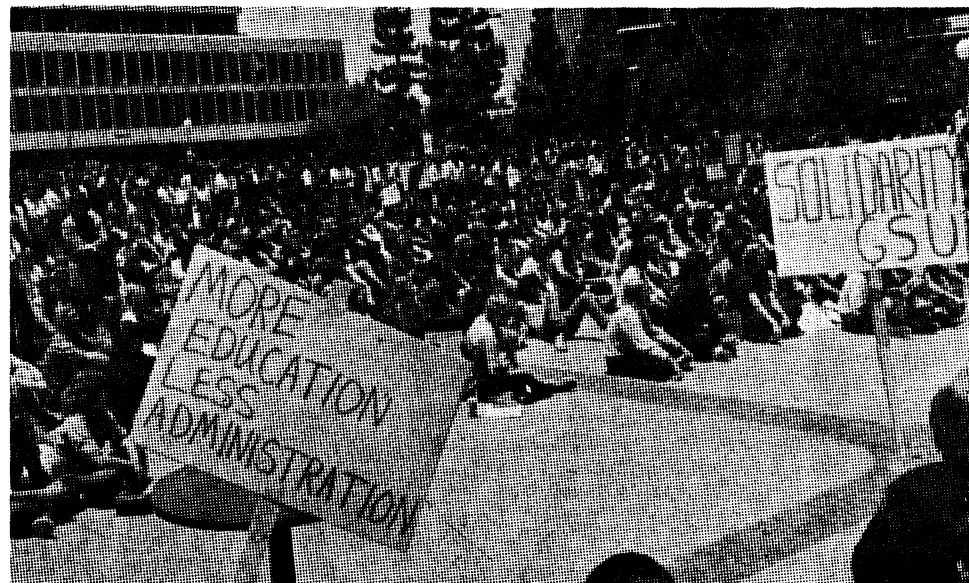
ly demolished by the June 3 solidarity rally.

Undergraduate speakers from the Black Student Union, MECHA, San Diego Student Coalition Against Racism, the Women's Center, the student government, and the Young Socialist Alliance solidarized with the GSU's aims. They focused on the debilitating effect the cutback of teaching assistants would have on the quality of education at UCSD. Some departments face a 50 percent cutback in staff.

Messages of solidarity were read from the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) Local 1695 in Berkeley and from the GSU in Wisconsin. A representative of the UCSD AFSCME local gave greetings from his union and from the AFSCME local at the University of California at Los Angeles.

Socialist Workers party vice-presidential candidate Willie Mae Reid sent a message to the June 4 demonstration, which was well received by the protesters. She said, "Your struggle helps establish that students and working people should not and will not bear the brunt of inflation and depression. Your fight against deteriorating conditions in our educational system is part of a fight that students are waging across the country. I salute you and pledge the solidarity of my party."

The GSU has vowed to continue its fight in the fall if its demands are not met when school reopens.



One thousand students at University of California at San Diego rally to support Graduate Student Union demands for end to cutbacks in education and adequate income for teaching assistants.



## 'Daleygate' continues

# Army called tune for rightist terrorists

By Suzanne Haig

CHICAGO—The revelations of massive police spying that have rocked Chicago in the past few months have led even ultraconservative commentators to hint at a certain "police-state mentality" of Mayor Richard Daley's administration.

But Chicago's "Daleygate" is more than just the excessive shenanigans of the last of the "machine" politicians. Disclosures have linked Daley and his police intelligence unit ("red squad") with the FBI, military intelligence, and a right-wing terrorist group in an effort to wipe out groups they considered a threat to the status quo.

Despite a spy network that targets virtually every known Daley opponent—from the Organization for a Better Austin to Illinois Democratic Governor Dan Walker—the real wrecking operations were aimed at Black organizations, the antiwar movement, socialists, and other radical groups.

The most startling revelation to date is that a right-wing paramilitary group, the Legion of Justice, acted at the behest of Chicago's "red squad" and military intelligence during its terrorist campaign in 1969 and 1970.

The Chicago *Daily News* recently revealed that the 113th Military Intelligence Group—in coordination with the Chicago police—helped finance, equip, and direct the legion in its attacks on the Socialist Workers party, Young Workers Liberation League, Chicago Peace Council, and others.

Tear gas, Mace, and electronic surveillance equipment were supplied to the terrorists, and the army unit recruited "young men" to join the legion, either paying them directly or arranging to have the legion subsidize their expenses.

The documents and lists taken in burglaries carried out by the legion were shared with army intelligence, the FBI, and the "red squad."

According to the *Daily News*'s unidentified informants (former legion members who have had a "change of heart"), the legion strongly supported U.S. involvement in Vietnam and openly advocated violence to disrupt antiwar demonstrations and meetings.

Legion members were also enlisted as agents provocateurs at Northern Illinois University in DeKalb, Illinois, during the antiwar upsurge of May 1970.

"They were told to be the most violent persons there," an informant told the *Daily News*.

### Police 'inaction'

At the time of the right-wing campaign, police refused to take any action against the terrorists. A united defense effort, organized by the Committee for



DeKalb Northern Star/James Bliss

Legion of Justice 1969 prowar march in DeKalb, Illinois. Army helped recruit legion members and supplied them with Mace, tear gas, and electronic surveillance equipment.

Defense Against Terrorist Attacks, brought the police inaction to public attention and apparently forced the cops to reconsider such blatant collaboration with the terrorists. After 1970, the attacks subsided.

Some of the recent disclosures linking cops, of both the federal and local variety, with the Legion of Justice include:

- A November 1969 armed attack on the Chicago headquarters of the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance during which people were Maced and a YSA member was clubbed. Files, tapes, and a cash box were stolen. Police cars waited outside to ensure that the attack was not interrupted.

- A March 1970 incident in which legion members tried to enter a Chicago Peace Council meeting, and when refused admission, burned the hand of one of the meeting's organizers with a cigarette. The "red squad" helped the attackers escape and later arrested the man who had been burned.

- The February 1970 legion beating of a participant in a Young Workers Liberation League meeting. Police present allowed the beating to occur and then threatened to arrest the victim.

- The July 1969 raid on Newsreel, a radical film group. Police cars waited

outside as the invaders broke in and stole films and documents.

- The disruption of performances of the Soviet Union's Moiseyev Dance Company in 1970 and China's Shenyang Acrobatic Troupe in 1971 was the work of legion members. Tear-gas grenades used in these disruptions were supplied by army intelligence.

- The "red squad" and military intelligence also worked with the legion in spying on the defense of the Chicago 7, a group of antiwar activists tried for their participation in the 1968 Democratic party convention demonstrations.

### Grand jury

In response to the public furor created by these and other disclosures, State's Attorney Bernard Carey convened a Cook County Grand Jury in March to investigate the spying and police links to terrorist groups.

Police officials resisted testifying and turning over their files, charging that to do so would endanger the lives of police informants.

On May 14, Laura Miller, a member of the Socialist Workers party and former secretary of the Committee for Defense Against Terrorist Attacks, testified before the grand jury. In December 1969, Miller had been present as legion goons forced themselves into an apartment in DeKalb, Illinois, and beat and Maced the YSA members present.

In April of this year, representatives of the SWP met with Police Deputy Superintendent Mitchell Ware, head of the intelligence division. They demanded that police files on SWP members be turned over and that police spying and harassment of SWP members and supporters be ended.

Ware defended the "right" of police to pay agents to spy and referred to the existence of a list of about fifty organizations where "a valid police concern" exists for "monitoring."

When asked about police files on members of the SWP and YSA, Ware complained that the press had wrongfully accused the police department of having files on hundreds of people. He denied knowledge of any files on the SWP and YSA, at which point an SWP member present showed him a "red squad" document listing her and other

members of the SWP with police file identification numbers next to their names. Ware refused to comment.

### Leaks continue

Like its national counterpart Watergate, the scandal in Chicago continues to unravel. Some of the more recent leaks include:

- The Chicago state's attorney's office is investigating the possibility that Chicago police data on persons with no criminal records were fed into a nationwide computerized intelligence file. This national Law Enforcement Unit, with computerized files containing about 20,000 names, was established supposedly to aid in exchanging information between police agencies on crime syndicate figures. It seems, however, that it has "expanded" to include information on political activists.

- The FBI conducted widespread surveillance of the Afro-American Patrolman's League, which filed a discrimination suit against the Chicago Police Department. The FBI file, some 500 pages, was shared with army intelligence and the Chicago Police Department. Contained in the files are hundreds of names of members of the Black Panther party, reporters, clergy, local politicians, and others.

Response to the spying has taken different forms. A speak-out on police spying on April 19 at Chicago's Civic Center Plaza heard authors Sid Lens and Studs Terkel, State Sen. Richard Newhouse, Bill Hampton (brother of murdered Black Panther leader Fred Hampton), and representatives from the SWP, Communist party, and Operation PUSH.

Lawsuits demanding an end to the spying have been filed by the Citizens for a Better Environment and by John Hoellen, Daley's Republican opponent in the recent mayoral election.

*Continued on page 26*

## Socialists file suit

CHICAGO—Disclosures of right-wing violence and police spying against socialists in Chicago have added substantial evidence to the Socialist Workers campaign's challenge to the Illinois campaign finance disclosure law.

On May 23, the socialists filed suit in U.S. District Court charging that provisions of the "Act to Regulate Campaign Financing" requiring that they report the names and addresses of their contributors are unconstitutional. SWP vice-presidential candidate Willie Mae Reid, who was the SWP's candidate against Daley in the April mayoral election, is also a plaintiff.

The suit, prepared by attorney Lance Haddix, cites widespread surveillance and intimidation of supporters of SWP campaigns and contends that to reveal the identities of new supporters would only subject them to similar harassment.

The suit also points to a 1973 Chicago Police Department order setting up a special unit to gather intelligence on "organizations or individuals which present a threat to the security of the country, state, or city."

The spy unit also "conducts investigations and identifies the leaders and membership of organizations or groups" and "investigates and identifies sources of financial support."

## 'Progressive' cops

Mayor Richard Daley is noted for his ringing, if ludicrous, defense of his "boys in blue." The following quotes by the mayor and his cronies prove no exception:

Responding to the cop scandal, Daley called the Chicago Police Department "the most progressive in the United States" and added that he hoped the newspapers would print that statement in boldface type.

"Hell, our job is to investigate. I'll investigate you; I'll investigate the pope. We investigate ourselves. We are out to protect the people—that's what investigating is about."—Joseph Pecoraro, head of the Chicago Patrolmen's Association.



"Knowledge of their [community groups] demonstrations enabled us to prevent traffic tie-ups."—Deputy Police Superintendent Michael Spiotto.



# Why reformists fail to meet the test

## Socialism & democracy--key issues

By Gerry Foley

From Intercontinental Press

By resisting the attempt of the military government and the Communist party to restrict its influence and its role, the Portuguese Socialist party not only created a crisis of governmental authority in its own country but on an international scale raised some fundamental questions about the nature of socialist revolution.

In the context of the world economic crisis and the rapidly reviving interest in socialism among the masses in the developed capitalist countries, especially the less stable ones concentrated in Western Europe, the question of the relationship between socialism and democracy was bound to take on a crucial importance.

The closing down, through the combined action of the military government and a Stalinist-controlled union, of a daily newspaper associated with the party that got by far the largest vote in the April 25 elections raised this issue dramatically.

The Stalinist Portuguese Communist party gave a clear answer to the questions that were raised, and its attitude was echoed and supported by the Soviet bureaucracy. Alvaro Cunhal, the general secretary of the Portuguese CP, was quite frank in explaining this position to *Le Monde* reporters in Lisbon on May 27.

The reporters asked him whether, if the Socialists—who won 38 percent of the vote in the April 25 elections—were excluded from the government, an alternative coalition could be built.

*This article is abridged from the June 16 Intercontinental Press, available for \$.75 from: Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Village Station, New York, N.Y. 10014.*

Showing political realism, Cunhal went to the heart of the matter and ruled out any coalition that did not include the SP. In such a case, clearly, the facade of parliamentary rule could not be maintained, and the alternative of the military sharing responsibility for running the country with the CP alone was neither likely nor desirable.

If, however, the SP continued to prove intractable, a purely military government would be an acceptable solution:

"If a coalition government proves impossible, an alternative will have to be found—for example, a government comprising officers and civilians who do not represent parties as such."

The CP general secretary explained that a government installed by the armed forces over the heads of the people should not necessarily be considered a dictatorship:

"A military government is not on the horizon at the moment. But in any case, I should make it clear that such a government would not be incompatible with the exercise of liberties in Portugal. It was, in fact, the MFA that established the freedoms that exist in this country."

### Why CP Is Vulnerable

Cunhal assured the reporters that the Portuguese CP favored democracy, freedom of speech, and freedom of association. However, his real attitude toward democracy was revealed when he tried to explain why he was opposed to the holding of elections soon for the municipal governments, where the CP has gained many positions by virtue of its machine and its special relationship with the MFA. He said:

"The Socialist party wants to set up



Socialist party leader Mário Soares and supporters protesting closing of 'República.' This incident dramatically raised issue of democracy in Portugal.

an anti-Communist holy alliance. Blocs designed to isolate the PCP [Partido Comunista Português—Portuguese Communist party] would, in fact, have every chance of winning. You see, there are two roads coexisting in Portugal today—the electoral process and the revolutionary dynamic. Sometimes they run parallel, at others they diverge. In a revolution, sometimes you have to defend a policy that may not always be popular. Supporting wage demands that our economy cannot afford, calling for cutting the workweek to thirty-five hours can help get you votes. But in view of the state of our economy, this is demagoguery, and can lead to disaster for us."

### Stalinist Strikebreakers

Cunhal was setting up a straw man. He did not give real examples of the "demagoguery" he had in mind, because the CP's role in holding back workers struggles and breaking strikes in order to defend the economic policy of the government has become a scandal among the most militant sections of the Portuguese working class. This is one of the main reasons why "blocs designed to isolate the PCP would, in fact, have every chance of winning." This is why the CP has in fact been badly defeated in some elections by blocs opposing the Stalinist machine. This occurred, for example, in the bank workers union in Oporto, where the former CP minister of labor in the first provisional government was buried by a 2-to-1 vote.

The French CP apparently felt freer to refer to actual cases where its Portuguese comrades had shown more "responsibility" than the SP. An editorial in *l'Humanité* said:

"Organizing production is the primary task. But while Mário Soares talks about everything and nothing, he has been maintaining a total silence on this subject. His friends and allies are involved in fomenting strikes and disorders under various bad pretexts in TAP [Transportes Aéreos Portugueses—Portuguese Airlines], in the chemical industry, and in other key sectors. Mário Soares remains silent. And in any case he is taking no practical steps to get the Socialist party to participate in the economic struggle, which is the prerequisite for the survival of democracy and freedom in Portugal."

Actually, the SP leaders have not

remained silent about the "Battle of Production." They have indignantly rejected the accusations of the CP, while responding with a pained defense to similar charges from the military government. For example, Soares said at a May 22 news conference in Lisbon's Hotel Altis:

"We support the Battle for Production. And, to the contrary of what has been suggested, we Socialists are involved in waging this battle of production. But for this purpose, it is necessary to organize discipline on the job, to have a plan. And the Portuguese people must be conscious of the choices made and not feel constantly insecure, not knowing what fate holds in store for them."

On the other hand, Soares pointed out (from a Social Democratic point of view) the contradictions that arise from trying to use socialist-sounding appeals to get the workers to work harder to save the capitalist economy in Portugal, and the utilization of Stalinist methods to enforce "labor discipline."

"On the other hand, the Battle for Production requires the involvement of all the workers, and if some workers have transformed themselves into policemen over other workers and discriminate in a partisan way against other workers, obviously this battle will be weakened."

At the same time, Soares made a more profound point. The Portuguese workers want to catch up with West European standards; they are not looking forward to a "great national effort" or a "socialist revolution" that would mean dropping further below the level of West European bourgeois democracy.

This means that the totalitarian methods of the Communist party, monolithic control of the press and the trade unions, along with massive intimidation of the workers by government and party transmission belts could not "win the battle of production" in Portugal. And so, the SP was a better political partner for the military government than the CP. It could achieve the same results by more flexible means.

It is hard to say whether Soares is correct about this, in view of the worldwide economic crisis and the narrow limits in which Portuguese capitalism has to operate. It may be that in these circumstances and in the conditions of the détente, the Commu-

nist party can better defend capitalism in Portugal by its methods. But it is clear that in a real sense, the Communist party's policy is certainly no less demagogic than that of the SP.

### Birds of a Feather

The demagoguery of the Communist party has been so obvious that the ousted dictator Marcelo Caetano himself could score a point in the apologia he published in Brazil under the title *Depoimento* (Testimony for the Defense).

"And suddenly a demand arose, promoted by a group of agitators, that was designed to undermine any reasonable effort by the government—the demand for a minimum wage of 6,000 escudos [US\$249 a month]. From that point on, whatever the government did would be insufficient. The worst thing was that the maneuver dreamed up by Communist elements to embarrass my government was to produce unexpected results when a Communist took over the Ministry of Labor [in the first provisional government installed in May 1974]. There were some who took him seriously and demanded what it had been claimed was easy and just to grant. Then this was found to be neither just nor easy. It was the justice of fate."

In fact, the CP dropped the demand for a 6,000 escudo minimum wage after joining the first coalition government set up as a facade for the military. Not only did it oppose this as a statutory minimum, but the CP machine in the trade unions opposed this demand in contract struggles and pushed for settlements as near as possible to the minimum wage of 3,300 escudos (US\$137) set by the military government.

Only after the mass upsurge touched off by the March 11 coup attempt did the government increase the minimum wage to 4,000 escudos (US\$166), an increase of 21 percent, while inflation has remained above 30 percent a year under the new regime.

Neither the CP nor the SP had any intention of leading a socialist revolution. This was specifically excluded by both groups in their own way, the SP stressing the "unviability of a people's democracy in Portugal," the CP stressing that what was on the agenda was "national liberation on the road to socialism."

However, the CP had both the capacity and the willingness to act as a transmission belt and police for the government in the labor field; while the SP did not.

### Stalinists Oppose Democracy

The Stalinist training of the CP activists made them resistant to pressure from the rank and file. They were inculcated with the idea that only an omnipotent machine can lead the workers toward a socialist transformation. Despite the electoralism of the Stalinist parties, their fundamental conception remains that revolution can never win the support of the majority of workers, that revolutionary policies cannot be popular, that "discipline" must be imposed on the masses by the party machine and the government.

Otherwise, how could the iron-fisted dictatorship that exists in the bureaucratic workers states, to which the Stalinist parties remain inseparably tied, be justified? The leadership and the members of Stalinist parties may idealize the situation in the Soviet Union and similar countries, but they are neither complete idiots nor deaf, dumb, and blind. They know that a dictatorial regime exists in those countries and justifying it is one of the

# Facing the Portuguese revolution

fundamental components of their political outlook.

This attitude was revealed very clearly in Cunhal's statements May 27 to the *Le Monde* reporters. Elections were a tool of the right, because the workers would inevitably succumb to "demagogy," even in a country like Portugal, where the Communist party already dominates the decisive sections of the press and heavily influences most of the rest.

The logic of this attitude was already clear at the time of the struggle over the "trade-union unity" bill. Because of the way in which it had subordinated the interests of the workers to the needs of the bourgeois military government, the CP had lost a series of key union elections. No doubt this confirmed Cunhal's fears about the susceptibility of workers to "demagogy."

## Reason for 'Unity' Law

Thus, it was essential to preserve the foundation of the CP machine's power, its control of the national federation. In order to do this, it was necessary to prevent the SP from going around the CP-controlled structure. For this the government's help was needed and was forthcoming. The result was the "trade-union unity" law.

The bourgeois regime, essentially a repressive apparatus, as all who call themselves Marxists should know, was entrusted with keeping the workers from succumbing to "demagogy," that is, attempts to "divide" them by setting up another federation. This law was the first attack on a fundamental democratic right under the new regime—the right of association. It was complementary to the attack on trade-union rights that began with the antistrike law of September 1974. It was an indication of the antidemocratic direction in which the regime and its Stalinist defenders had to move in order to safeguard their demagogic hold—that is, the control they claimed to exercise for the benefit of the workers but which was not subordinated to the workers or to the immediate or historic interests of the workers.

The demagogic campaign in support of the "unity" law was momentarily effective. In the first place, the claims that the SP's alleged moves to establish a rival federation represented a CIA plot provoked the kind of "patriotic" reaction the government had sought to foster since it took power. This fitted in also with the rulers' strategy of presenting their government as a kind of "national liberation front." The accusation hurled at the Socialists by Admiral Rosa Coutinho shows the advantages of such a formula. He claimed that by making such noisy protests against the shutdown of *República* they had, at least partially, "betrayed the country."

Secondly, there was a large layer of workers and the left outside the Communist party who shared a certain outlook of the Stalinist ranks. They wanted to fight imperialism and capitalism and were quick to align themselves with forces linked to noncapitalist states and insurgent military officers, against Social Democrats with ties to openly procapitalist parties, some of which have been, or are, in power in imperialist countries.

Ultimately such a view springs from illusions in Stalinism similar to those held by the ranks of the Stalinist parties, illusions reinforced by reactionary anti-Communism. However, both the Stalinist and the Social Democratic parties represent bureaucratic forces in the working-class movement and as such are allied with capitalism on a world scale.

This alliance is a contradictory one, especially in the case of the Stalinist parties, which were formed historically on the basis of the socialist revolution and the abolition of capitalist property in Russia. But it does not follow from this that they will always be in sharper conflict with capitalism than the Social Democratic parties. The opposite, in fact, has been true at times.

Because of its search for accommodation with international capitalism and because of its antidemocratic nature, Stalinism may subordinate the interests of the workers completely to the needs of deals with the bourgeoisie of individual countries or with the imperialist powers. During the Nazi-Soviet pact, the Kremlin press actually defended fascism.

One example of this logic was the attitude of the Portuguese CP toward strikes opposed by the military government. The CP, too, opposed them.

Another example was the no-strike pledge of the CP in the United States during the Soviet-American wartime alliance. At that time, the Social Democrats, although they were thoroughly proimperialist and later became enthusiastic red-baiters and cold warriors, were less subservient to capitalism and more responsive to the demands of the workers than the Stalinists. It was largely because the Social Democrats were dependent specifically on their

base in the labor movement rather than on identification with the Soviet Union that workers struggles could develop at all in that period.

Likewise, it is clear that if the Stalinists could unite the Portuguese trade-union movement under their control, they would—as long as they remained allied to the regime—turn it into a labor police for the government and ruthlessly purge the very forces that supported them in the mistaken belief that they were more anticapitalist or anti-imperialist than the Social Democrats.

## Democracy—a Sharp Issue

The most immediate danger is that by succumbing to the illusions held by a section of the workers vanguard in the Portuguese Communist party, the militant youth and workers who are breaking from reformism will isolate themselves from decisive sections of the masses.

The majority of the workers and radical petty-bourgeoisie are looking for a better life now, including not only a better standard of living but more political and cultural freedom, all of which are being fervently opposed by the CP in the name of the needs of the "national revolution."

In fact, there is no reason why revolutionary-minded youth should let the

Social Democrats or the bourgeois press seize the issue of democracy. If Soares wants a more flexible alternative than the CP and the MFA leadership at the moment, he is no less committed to supporting the bonapartist military regime. As a reformist, he could hardly be. He is committed to class collaborationism, and the MFA is at present the only viable bourgeois political leadership in Portugal.

In his Hotel Altis news conference, Soares made quite clear that he really would not mind an outright military dictatorship as long as it allowed the SP to function.

"One thing the Communist party general secretary has said I think is correct. That was, if there is a completely military government, it doesn't mean that a military dictatorship has been established in Portugal.

"The government can be military, but if public freedoms are respected, if we have pluralism in the media, elections in the unions and in the municipalities, etc., if Portuguese political life continues to operate normally until there is a new constitution, and then, within the terms of the pact-program [which gives the effective power to the MFA], elections are held for the legislative assembly, there will not in fact be a military dictatorship here in my opinion."

That is, a dictatorship is not a dictatorship when it does not interfere with business as usual for the politicians. Respect for the principle of popular sovereignty has nothing to do with it.

## Washington's Attitude

Nor is popular sovereignty what Washington is worried about. One of President Kennedy's former advisers, Arthur Schlesinger, warned U.S. officials in the June 3 *Wall Street Journal* not to shout too loudly about dictatorship lest they reduce their options unnecessarily:

"Portugal going Communist is not a happy prospect. It is also a considerable exaggeration. The immediate prospect, if the democratic forces fail to sustain themselves, is not a Communist takeover. It is rather the establishment of a military regime, Nasserite in its model and neutralist in its foreign policy, using the Portuguese Communist Party for counsel and support. Such a regime might well deny military bases to the United States, but there is no reason to suppose that, any more than Egypt or Peru, it would turn overnight into a Soviet satellite. . . .

"But, where the Communists are giving the dominant Armed Forces Movement unconditional support, the Socialists, under the leadership of Mario Soares, have irritated the military by their demands for democratic liberties."

Other well-informed bourgeois commentators have noted that the conflict between the Socialists and the military officers is not exactly based on irreconcilable differences of political principle.

"The clashes between the officers and the Socialists have been more conspicuous, but public and private statements by most leading members of the Movement show strong suspicions of Communist efforts at infiltration and a cold appraisal of a Communist party drive for power," Richard Eder cabled from Lisbon to the May 27 *New York Times*.

"Most of our members are ideologically closer to the Socialist than to any other group," a leading officer said not long ago. "But the party's leaders give us trouble; they criticize us and want to take over from us. The Communist leaders support us consistently."



Stalinists have made clear that they prefer military rule in Portugal to rule by the masses of workers and peasants. Although radicalization has penetrated into armed forces, military remains a repressive force.



## On-the-scene report

# Texas farm workers face continuing

By José Pérez

SAN JUAN, Tex.—As the United Farm Workers' strike against melon growers in Hidalgo and Starr counties entered its fourth week, a significant portion of the melon harvest was left on the ground to rot.

Heavy rains alternating with an intense Texas sun have combined to ferment the juice of the ripe melons into wine. Nature is thereby coming to the aid of the striking Chicano and Mexican workers by creating an even heavier burden for the growers.

The growers have retaliated with arrests, stepped-up harassment, and a barrage of injunctions against picketing.

Two strikers were arrested on June 11. Benito Peña was charged with "obstructing traffic" while attempting to talk to workers on a bus owned by Brand and Griffin Produce Company, one of the area's biggest growers.

Ismael Ibarra, one of the eleven workers who had been shot by grower Chestley Miller on May 26, was arrested on criminal mischief charges. After Ibarra and nine others filed assault charges against their assailant, Miller filed the criminal mischief charges against them. Three others had already been picked up and released on bond.

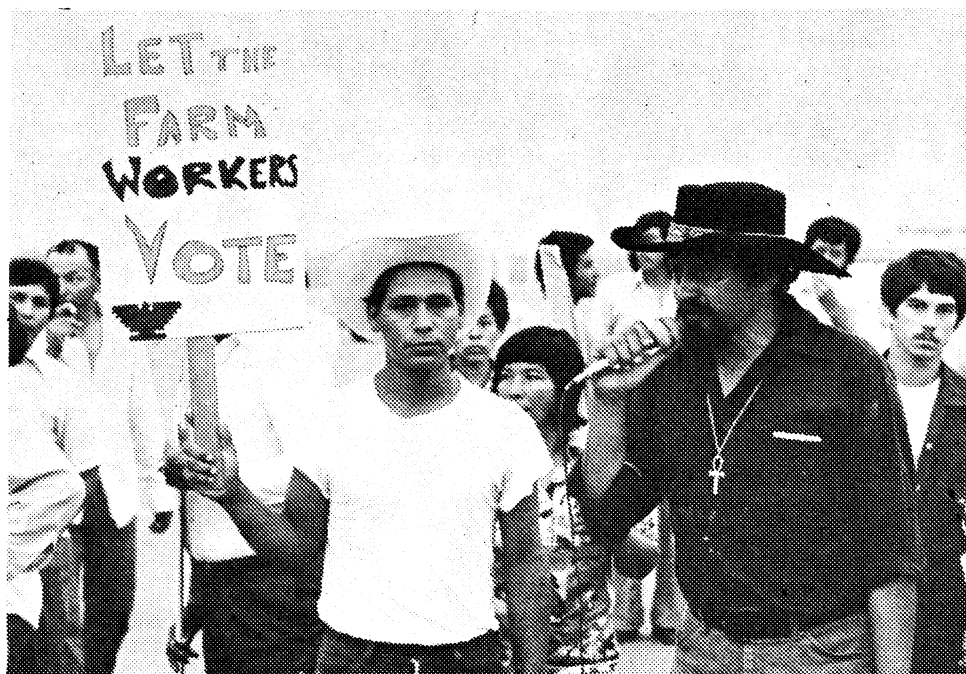
Hidalgo County sheriff's deputy Elías Juárez struck Ibarra several times during the arrest. UFW attorney Jim Harrington said that he intends to file assault-and-battery charges against Juárez.

### Huge ranches

The rich Rio Grande Valley on the U.S.-Mexico border is covered with huge agricultural ranches. The UFW strike is directed at the wealthy growers who own these ranches.

Access to the fields where the farm workers cultivate and harvest the crops is limited to a series of small roads, some public and some private. A court decision recently established the UFW's right to picket on both the public roads and those private roads that have generally been accessible to the public.

No Trespassing signs have rapidly appeared on these roads, including some that are clearly, public, in an attempt to block picketing by striking workers. This is coordinated with a legal offensive by growers to petition



UFW leader Antonio Orendain addresses striking farm workers at rally on border between Texas and Mexico.

the compliant courts for injunctions against picketing.

The growers' strategy is to tie the union up in court fighting the injunctions. In many cases it is necessary for the union to prove that a disputed road is publicly owned or has been generally open to the public, which is a difficult and time-consuming task.

Farm workers who violate the injunctions can be hit with stiff bail and fines.

Attorneys for several growers made the mistake of citing the Texas "right to work law" in their petitions for injunctions against picketing. Because of a quirk in this law, this opened the door for the union to demand an election in the field to determine if the workers want the union. Although such an election would not have bound the growers to recognize the UFW, a union victory would have been a powerful morale boost for the strikers.

Willing judges, however, allowed the growers' attorneys to wiggle out of their blunder, and they filed corrected court papers. Nonetheless, the spectacle of these lawyers deriding democratic elections as "an exercise in futility" and "a popularity contest" at a June 6 hearing helped to expose the wealthy ranchers.

Despite the heavy odds, strike leader

Antonio Orendain told the *Militant*, the struggle will continue until the harvest ends. Orendain believes that this strike has been an important step for the union and has laid the basis for future organizing drives.

### Strike continues

Despite all the obstacles, the strike continues, although the demonstrations associated with it have been smaller in recent days than during the first weeks of the strike.

Each morning organizers and strikers who live on this side of the border go to the Hidalgo international bridge, just a few miles south of San Juan. They get there at about 5:30 a.m. and talk to those who commute from Mexico. During a period of two or three hours a crowd of several hundred gathers, and from there they are organized into teams to go and picket various ranches.

On Monday morning, June 9, the strikers went a step further in using the bridge between the two countries as an organizing center. They went out into the center of the bridge itself and began stopping everyone who was walking or driving across to talk to them about the strike.

Orendain explained why they decided to adopt this tactic. "Everywhere

else we could talk to the workers, signs say 'private property.'"

Some of the strikers recalled using the same tactic during the 1966 UFW strike here. The notorious *rinches*—as Chicanos call the Texas Rangers—were called in to brutally smash that strike.

At about seven a.m. the strike leaders moved the crowd—by now more than 100—to a nearby parking lot. There they rallied and chanted for an hour.

It was an ugly day. The sky was dark and overcast, and many people, both strikers and nonstrikers, simply did not bother to cross over from Mexico that day.

It was getting darker and darker as the strike leaders began to speak.

Jesús Luna explained once again the reason for the strike, why the workers will accept nothing less than union recognition. He is an older man and has been active in the farm workers movement for many years. He is also one of the eleven who was wounded by Miller when he declared "open season" on strikers with a shotgun two weeks ago.

Luna spoke of the injustice of the courts and the cops who would not arrest Miller after he almost murdered the strikers. Even now the cops are not seriously pressing the aggravated assault charges ten of the eleven wounded workers have filed.

Lupe Cásares, a young Chicano activist who has played a big role in the strike, told the crowd that the strike would continue "despite injunctions, arrests, and even if they sent in *los pinches rinches* [the fucking rangers]."

He also singled out the importance of the unity that has been forged between the commuting workers and those who live permanently on this side of the border.

Orendain, the main leader of the strike, was the last speaker. As soon as he approached the microphone, everyone became quiet. Dressed in his well-known black shirt and black hat, he is a striking and immediately recognizable figure.

He said that the gringos call this valley the magic valley because they make so much money out of it. But the field workers call it "the valley of tears, the valley of misery."

Although it was starting to rain, not

# How labor contractors rob farm workers

SAN JUAN, Tex.—The main demand of the United Farm Workers' strike against melon growers in the Rio Grande Valley is for union recognition. One advance all of the strikers are determined to win under a union contract is control of hiring through a union hiring hall, which would do away with the hated labor contractors.

The recruitment of field hands here is done exclusively by the contractors, called *troqueros* by the workers. Many of the field hands are Mexicanos or Chicanos who reside permanently on this side of the border and travel all over the country, going from one harvest to the next. The rest of the labor force consists of workers who commute each day from Mexico.

The labor-contractor system assures that both the commuters and those who reside permanently in this country suffer inhuman exploitation.

Here is how the system works.

The farm workers here never deal directly with the grower, but rather

with the contractor. These contractors are paid a certain amount by the grower, out of which they are supposed to pay the workers, deduct Social Security tax, and pay for gasoline and upkeep for the trucks that transport the workers.

Invariably, however, the *troqueros* fail to give the workers the full rate they are supposed to get. According to one striker who was until recently a *troquero* himself, this is easy to do, and a totally accepted practice. Since the fields are right next to a few Mexican cities with extremely high unemployment rates, there is always someone to replace the worker who refuses to work for low pay.

With some jobs the pay is on an hourly rate, for others it is on a piece rate. Wages are supposed to be \$1.80 an hour under the federal minimum wage law for the bigger ranches, and \$1.40 an hour under state law for the smaller ones. But these minimum wage laws are never enforced. Actual wages

are between \$1.30 and \$1.50 an hour, and when things get really bad they go down to as low as \$.90 an hour.

This, of course, never shows up in the grower's books. There it says he gave the contractor so much to pay the workers \$1.80 an hour or even more. It also never shows up in the contractor's records, which are completely fabricated.

The worker who is subjected to this superexploitation cannot file a complaint with the authorities because he or she has to sign a voucher the contractor prepares at the end of each day. If a field hand refuses to sign, the *troquero* simply forges a signature.

If the worker did not work fast enough under the piece rate to come above the minimum wage, the contractor simply puts down fewer hours worked.

One of the first things that strike leader Antonio Orendain showed me when I arrived at the UFW office here

was some of these little yellow pieces of paper the workers have to sign. On them were wages paid to some of the melon strikers who had gone to pick peppers, which are also being harvested here.

On May 20, one worker worked ten hours at the piece rate and received \$17. Another day he worked ten hours, and received \$11. For the first day, the *troquero* put down six hours worked, for the second, only three hours.

Another worker put in three full days and received \$13, \$14, and \$2.40.

Older people and women workers are heavily discriminated against, particularly in piece-rate work, since the contractors' income for the day depends on the amount of production.

The workers here see the fight for union control of hiring as central to their struggle. Other gains, such as higher wage rates, will have little impact unless the scheming *troqueros* are put out of business. —J.P.



# grower assaults

one person stopped listening or went for cover when the drizzle began.

Orendain denounced the antipicketing injunctions and said strikers would return again and again to the bridge while the court orders were in effect because that was the only place they could talk to the mexicano workers.

He wound up by telling everyone to go home. At first, strike leaders had thought of proposing that there be picketing of the ranches, he said, "because by tomorrow there might not be a public road left in the county." But instead, they had decided to program some rain, "which is just as effective as picketing."

Just as Orendain had finished those words, it started to rain in earnest. Some of the workers returned to Mexico. Others went to El Cuhamil, the local UFW office, in the town of San Juan.

## El Cuhamil

At El Cuhamil strikers spent the afternoon discussing strategy, evaluating the progress of the strike to date, and discussing possible future actions.

The strike is now beginning to wind down as the cantaloupe harvest comes to an end. No other major harvest will begin here until October. In addition, many of the workers can stay out on strike for only a limited time, because there are no strike benefits.

Nevertheless, the union has established a very powerful base of support among the workers, even those who have returned to the fields.

One indication of this was given by Freddy Calderon, a reporter for the *McAllen Monitor*. He spent a day working in the fields and reported on his experiences.

Almost all the workers he talked to were favorable to the union. One of the reasons is that the growers have raised the pay to \$2.15-\$2.25 an hour in an attempt to undercut the strike. The workers view this as a victory won by the union.

Another indication of support is that whenever strikers are able to set up a picket line near a group of field workers, many come out and join the strike.

Alongside the county roads in several ranches are row after row of unpicked melons, reflecting the growers' fear of placing the workers near roadside pickets.

More than 1,500 workers have signed cards authorizing the UFW to bargain on their behalf.

## Moving with harvest

Despite the gains, the central objective of the strike—union recognition—has not been achieved. Once this strike is over, union organizers plan to travel to other parts of Texas where melons are also being harvested, particularly in western Texas and the panhandle.

One reason for this tactic is that many of the workers from here will also be harvesting those melons. In several instances the same agricultural companies are involved, and this tactic will keep pressure on them while there are no big harvests in the Rio Grande Valley.

In assessing the gains and limitations of the strike, organizers for the UFW stressed that a serious drawback has been the lack of funds. This has made it impossible to pay strike benefits and has even made it difficult to have such simple things as sufficient transportation to take several hundred people from the international bridge to picket lines at the ranches.

*La Voz del Cuhamil*, which is published by the UFW office in San



Militant José Pérez

Despite all-out grower offensive, strike is making new gains for farm workers.

Juan, has been unable to publish since the beginning of the strike, partly owing to lack of funds. It used to be published every two weeks.

The strikers have asked that expressions of support for the ongoing organizational campaign take the form of financial or food contributions. Checks payable to the Texas Strike Fund and food should be sent to: United Farm Workers, Route 1 Box 149-B, Alamo, Texas 78516.

## UFW fight draws support

SAN JUAN, Tex.—The farm workers' struggle here has become a rallying point for the Chicano movement throughout Texas. Chicano activists from around the state have been traveling here to express their support.

Groups such as TU-CASA, the San Antonio-based antideportation organization, and La Raza Unida party chapters around the state have sent contributions of food or money.

Significant, too, is the union support. In response to rumors circulated in the press that the national UFW has disassociated itself from the strike because of farm worker violence, UFW Secretary-Treasurer Gilbert Padilla issued a statement here stating that "the United Farm Workers union supports their efforts for justice in the fields." Violence, Padilla noted, "is a tactic of the grower, not of the union. In this strike—as in all its work—the United Farm Workers is guided by principles of nonviolence."

Texas state AFL-CIO President Harry Hubbard endorsed the strike at a news conference and lent his support to efforts being made by campus groups at the University of Texas in Austin to collect food and funds for the workers.

The National Coordinating Committee of the Coalition of Labor Union Women also passed a resolution backing the farm workers' struggle at their recent meeting in Houston.

# Spanish voting-rights bill passed by House

By Nancy Cole

The U.S. House of Representatives voted June 4 to extend the Voting Rights Act for another ten years and to broaden its coverage to Spanish-speaking and other non-English-speaking minorities.

If passed by the Senate and signed into law, the act will require all or parts of some states to provide bilingual (or possibly multilingual) ballot materials and voting assistance. States or districts that will be affected under the act are those where 1) more than 5 percent of the voting-age population is made up of any one of four "language minorities" and 2) where the "illiteracy" rate of that minority is higher than the national rate.

The four minorities protected are those speaking Spanish, Asian, American Indian, and native Alaskan languages.

As with the Voting Rights Act of 1965, states covered must continue to submit any changes in their voting laws and procedures to the U.S. attorney general for approval, and the federal government may intervene in federal elections where there is apparent discrimination.

The 1965 voting act, along with the 1964 Civil Rights Act, were major victories for the civil rights movement. Under the pressure of massive mobilizations of Blacks and other civil rights fighters, the Democratic and Republican party politicians decided to give up the Jim Crow system of legal segregation.

"Ten years ago the dramatic demonstration at Selma brought to this Congress and to this country very significant facts indicating that Blacks had not been allowed to vote," Rep. Robert Drinan (D-Mass.) said during the House debate June 3.

The 1965 law has been credited with major advances in Black voter registration and in the number of Black elected officials. In 1965, for example, there were seventy-two Black elected

officials serving in the eleven Southern states. Today there are 1,587.

While passed by the overwhelming majority of the House—341 to 70—the voting-rights extension evoked heated opposition and last-ditch efforts to "amend" the bill out of existence.

The state legislature in Texas even rushed through a watered-down voting-rights bill of its own at the last minute to provide an argument for that state's exemption from the federal act.

Supporters of the bill presented evidence of intimidation at polling places, inconvenient location of polls or locations where minority voters feel unwelcome, and lack of bilingual materials as justification for the bill's extension.

"In House hearings, witnesses testified that Texas law-enforcement officials patrol Mexican American, but not Anglo, precincts on election days; sheriffs reportedly walk around polling places brandishing guns and billy clubs," Rep. Andrew Young (D-Ga.) told the Congress.

"In Uvalde, Texas, some Chicanos are afraid that their welfare checks will be reduced because of their political activity," Young said.

Members of Congress arguing against the bilingual provisions charged that there was no proof of discrimination and that the bill would only encourage "multilingualism."

Quoting Theodore Roosevelt, Rep. Robert McClory (R-Ill.) said, "In America there is only one language—English."

Spanish-speaking communities have been fighting for years on a local level to institute bilingual voting procedures. In 1973 a suit filed in New York City by the Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund resulted in bilingual ballots for the general election that year.

In areas where La Raza Unida parties have begun to attract increasing numbers of Chicanos away from the Democratic and Republican parties, the Voting Rights Act should prove an aid in their efforts.

# Rhodesian police kill 11 Blacks, wound 28

By Tony Thomas

Rhodesian riot police on June 1 murdered eleven Blacks and wounded twenty-eight others in attacks on the African population of several Black townships near Salisbury, the Rhodesian capital. The cops started with an attack on several thousand Blacks who were demonstrating outside a meeting of that country's African National Council in Highfield African Township.

The cops claimed they were trying to break up fighting between supporters of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), two factions of the ANC.

After a crowd of 2,000 outside the meeting did not disperse in the face of police blank fire and tear gas, the cops opened fire with guns into the crowd. The demonstrators shouted slogans calling for Black majority rule, such as "Zimbabwe shall be free" and "Zanu has decided on liberation to free Zimbabwe."

After this confrontation, Africans in Black townships around Salisbury attacked cars with white passengers, attacked shops, and battled with police. These actions reportedly ended the next morning.

After the gunning down of the Blacks, Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian

Smith praised the police for their "exemplary conduct."

The African National Council issued a statement that criticized the supporters of ZANU and ZAPU for using violence against each other but also attacked the police for intervening.

The ANC has been holding negotiations with Smith's white-settler regime since December. The great majority of Rhodesia's population are Blacks, yet they are deprived of most political and economic rights and ruled over by a white-settler regime.

The pressure of gains by liberation forces in the Portuguese colonies and of guerrilla struggles and mass actions in Rhodesia itself had forced the Smith regime to open negotiations.

Plans for a constitutional conference in which substantive negotiations would take place have been blocked by the Smith regime's demand that ANC guerrillas lay down their arms and his refusal to free political prisoners.

The *New York Times* reported that on June 3, Gordon Chavunduka, secretary general of the ANC, announced that preliminary talks leading to a constitutional conference would take place. He stated that the government had stopped insisting on a guerrilla cease-fire while the ANC had agreed not to insist on the release of political prisoners.

## Basic problems untouched

# Why Mideast peace moves won't work

By David Frankel

The Middle East seesaw has changed direction once again. When Henry Kissinger's last round of shuttle diplomacy broke down March 22, the threat of war was in the air. Now the immediate threat has been sharply reduced.

Egypt has reopened the Suez Canal after eight years; Syria has renewed the mandate of United Nations forces on the Golan Heights for another six months; Israel claims it has pulled back some of its forces in the Sinai; and Washington has begun to explore the possibility of new moves toward some type of agreement.

Nevertheless, the underlying situation is unchanged. No matter how many diplomatic trips and penny-ante concessions are made, the basic war threat will remain.

The danger of war in the Middle East arises fundamentally from two factors: the imperialist domination of the region, and the existence of the Israeli colonial settler-state.

### Imperialist intervention

In all the dozens of countries it has intervened in, Washington always poses as the impartial and disinterested champion of peace and democracy. After Chile and Vietnam, to name only the two latest examples, the veneer has begun to wear a little thin.

Washington is tied to the most reactionary dictatorships in the Middle East. It arms and supports the shah of Iran, King Hussein of Jordan, and King Khalid of Saudi Arabia.

The next step in such situations is no secret. We have seen the results in Korea, in Vietnam, and in the Dominican Republic. In the Middle East U.S. troops have also intervened, most notoriously during the occupation of Lebanon in 1958. In 1970 Washington openly prepared to step into the civil war in Jordan, mobilizing troops in Germany and North Carolina and massing the units of the Sixth Fleet.

It is only a matter of time until Washington's determination to preserve capitalism in that region, regardless of the interests of the masses of people living there, results in another Vietnam-type situation. Despite the rhetoric about the danger of the Soviet Union taking over the Mideast, what the imperialists are really afraid of is the Arab masses taking control of their own destiny. As in Vietnam, Washington has intervened against native revolutionary movements, and threatens to do so again.

As in Indochina, what is needed first of all is for the United States to get out. And also as in Indochina, all of Washington's "peace" proposals are intended to do precisely the opposite—to ensure a situation in which the U.S. rulers can continue their interference in the Middle East.

### Role of Israel

The Arab masses are strongly anti-imperialist; they want an end to U.S. domination of their countries. Even the most conservative Arab regimes must sometimes bow to this powerful Arab nationalist sentiment. However, Washington has one ally in the Middle East that does not have this problem.

The Jewish population in Israel is overwhelmingly in favor of Washington's presence in the Middle East. Having stolen a whole country from the people that lived there, the Israeli colonizers need whatever support they can get to maintain their position. The more economically developed the Arab countries become, the more they overcome the divisions among themselves, the more progress they make in casting off imperialist domination, the



Palestinian refugees crossing into Jordan after 1967 war. Israeli state was established through expulsion of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians from their homeland. This injustice is at root of Mideast conflict.

greater the threat they pose to Israel.

The conflict between the Israeli settlers and the Arab population rests on the dispossession of the Palestinian people. Writing from a Zionist point of view in the February 28 issue of *Al Hamishmar* (the daily of Mapam, one of the two main parties in Israel's ruling coalition), Adam Zartel put it this way:

"The tragic problem, faced by Zionism since the beginning of the Jewish settlement in this country, has been the problem of what is called the expropriation of the Arabs. Weizman and others tried to square the circle: They tried to create a Jewish settlement, without harming the Arabs. This process was successful, as long as it concerned swamps, deserts, and/or rotten effendis who were prepared to sell their country for money.

"As a whole, however, the country was not empty—as it has been described in children's songs more than once. Sooner or later, collision of interests over the land was bound to occur, and it did occur. Ownership of the land is the essence of the settlement and the essence of the struggle. Those who did not try to delude themselves knew well that when the Arabs' interests came into collision with the Jewish settlers the latter would have to win.

"It is difficult to guess what the Jewish state and the Jewish settlers would have done had the War of Independence not broken out and if the Arabs had not run away and deserted the best lands of the land of Israel. . . .

"Is it not true that most of our kibbutzim are on land, which once was inhabited by Arabs and which passed to us as a consequence of war?"

The Palestinian people were the first to feel the impact of the Zionist colonization of Palestine, and they have suffered the most from it and fought the hardest against it. But they are not alone.

Israel's territorial disputes with its Arab neighbors and its alliance with imperialism are built into the very

foundations of the state. That is why the current search for a Mideast agreement may produce temporary deals, but will never produce peace.

A comment by *Christian Science Monitor* writer Jason Morris on the recent political crisis in Lebanon vividly illustrated the role played by Israel in maintaining the imperialist-imposed division of the Arab world. In a dispatch from Jerusalem published May 29, Morris said that "even if the Lebanese Muslims were to summon the figures of a population census to prove that they constitute a majority of Lebanon's population, there would be little likelihood of Israeli indifference to establishment of a Syrian, Egyptian, or Libyan-style Lebanese Arab republic.

"And Israel certainly would move if proof that Muslims preponderate in Lebanon were to serve as justification for merger or annexation under which Lebanon would become part of a greater Syria."

In conclusion, Morris refers to the frequently raised Israeli threat to take over southern Lebanon, noting, "The Israelis long have considered the Litani River, which bisects southern Lebanon, as a natural security border."

Similarly, the Israelis openly threatened to invade Jordan in September 1970 when it appeared as if the population there might succeed in overthrowing King Hussein. The struggle of the Arab masses for economic and political progress and for an end to humiliation by foreign imperialism is inseparable from the fight against Israel.

### Current 'peace' moves

Since the October 1973 Middle East war, Washington has tried to appear as an impartial mediator between the Arabs and Israel. Like any crooked umpire, it has made a few gestures to both sides, but Washington's basic commitment to maintaining its Israeli client-state has never been in doubt.

As Dan Margalit wrote in the Israeli daily *Ha'aretz* April 25, "President Ford has not delayed arms shipments to Israel. Ships loaded with the best of everything are leaving even at the

moment for Israel. . . .

"It is convenient for the USA that Israel and the Jews are complaining about delays in the delivery of Lance missiles, Laser bombs or F-15 aircraft, because such complaints strengthen the position of the United States in the Arab world."

This tactic is hardly new. Following the joint British, French, and Israeli invasion of Egypt in 1956 aimed at reversing Nasser's nationalization of the Suez Canal, President Eisenhower went so far as to demand that Israel withdraw from the Sinai Peninsula, which it had occupied.

The imperialists, however, never stopped pouring their guns and money into Israel. In the latest example, on June 6, the Senate voted to extend the authorization of military credits to Israel until 1978. As Sen. James Abourezk said, this was "another blank check signed by the Senate for Israel."

A letter signed by seventy-five senators and released May 22 argued in favor of continuing U.S. arms aid to Israel by saying, "We believe that preserving the peace requires that Israel obtain a level of military and economic support adequate to deter a renewal of war by Israel's neighbors."

In other words, Israel must militarily dominate the Middle East. But despite the David versus Goliath propaganda, that has been the real military situation in the region for the last twenty-five years. It has hardly "preserved the peace."

There is a way to peace in the Middle East. It requires the establishment of a Palestinian state in which Jews and Arabs could live together, instead of an Israeli state that aspires to be "as Jewish as England is English." Such a state would not be in endless conflict with all the people who live around it, nor would it serve as an imperialist base helping to keep the Arab peoples in subjugation.

It is the struggle of the Arab masses, in particular the Palestinians, for such a state, not Kissinger's shuttle diplomacy or the Geneva conference, that holds out the real hope for the future in the Middle East.



# World Outlook

A WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL SUPPLEMENT TO THE MILITANT BASED ON SELECTIONS FROM INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS, A NEWSMAGAZINE REFLECTING THE VIEWPOINT OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM.

JUNE 20, 1975

## 'Great battle of Argentine workers movement'

### Meaning of Villa Constitución metal workers' strike

By Judy White

[As a result of their role in supporting and helping to organize the Villa Constitución strike, several members of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Argentina) have been jailed by the Peronist regime. *Avanzada Socialista* is the PST's weekly newspaper.]

On May 19 the 6,000 metalworkers who had been on strike in Villa Constitución for two months went back to work.

*Avanzada Socialista*, describing the strike as "one of the great battles of the Argentine workers movement," offered a balance sheet of the strike in its May 24 issue:

"The assembly of Saturday, May 17, drew 2,500 compañeros who unanimously decided to continue the strike three days longer and to make a final try for serious negotiations. . . . but their endurance had reached a limit. With quarrels masking their feeling of impotence, some in tears, persecuted, exhausted, with thousands of problems built up in the course of the two-month work stoppage, the strikers could not hold out any longer.

"Nonetheless, the morale was not that of an army that had been smashed. The word that began to circulate was 'continue it inside.' That is why the police and the government mounted the final provocation against the strike: They prevented the general assembly from meeting and spread the lie that there was a helter-skelter, disorganized return to work.

"The reality was different. Over the weekend, meetings were held in the neighborhoods and an organized return to work starting Monday was approved. . . . [but] on Monday and the following days the bosses began the systematic firing of activists, the total now reaching more than 500.

"Sad as the truth may be, it does not stop being the truth: The strike in Villa ended in a defeat. It did not achieve its objectives—the compañeros are still in

jail—and it led to a terrible bloodletting. . . ."

Describing the forces arrayed against the strikers, *Avanzada Socialista* said:

"The bourgeoisie, which began claiming to have had nothing to do with the March 20 attack, showed its true colors: By firing more than 500 compañeros it showed the real extent of its participation.

"... the true initiator of the attack was the government. The false use of a supposed 'plot' was the pretext to take over the union and launch a direct provocation against the 6,000 compañeros."

#### Greatest Responsibility

"But of the three allied forces, the one that has to answer directly to the workers, the national trade-union leadership, has the greatest responsibility. In the first place because the real origin of the conflict must be sought in the local's four years under trusteeship. And, in the second place, because although the national UOM was supposedly ignorant of the attack launched by the government, it is responsible for the total isolation of the struggle, for not having helped economically, and for not having taken any steps to have the membership of the union support it. Not to speak of its silence in face of the criminal actions—one that cost the life of compañero Mancini—carried out by rightist gangs against dozens of compañeros.

"It is this entire policy of the trade-union bureaucracy, culminating in the refusal of Lorenzo Miguel [national president of the UOM] to recognize the strike committee, that caused the defeat."

*Avanzada Socialista* pointed out that there were also weaknesses in the leadership of the union local that contributed to the defeat.

"We described them as a combative, democratic leadership that had not yet become an authentic, consistently class-struggle leadership. The two best examples of this are their positions on the coordinating committee and the guerrillas.

"[They] did not have a consistent class-struggle position on the problem of the isolation that the bureaucratic trade-union leadership had imposed on us. The attempt to form a coordinating committee at the trade-union plenary of March 1974 was quickly dropped when it was opposed by the JTP [Juventud Trabajadora Peronista—Peronist Worker Youth], the Communist party, and Salamanca [leader of the militant Córdoba section of the auto workers]; and only received verbal support from Tosco [leader of the militant light and power workers in Córdoba]."

"Thus Villa remained isolated at the critical moment, as had happened previously to SMATA, Luz y Fuerza, and Gráficos.<sup>1</sup>

"The same centrist, vacillating position was repeated on the question of the guerrillas. The Pichi [Piccinini] leadership never spoke straightforwardly to the ranks, posing to them the problem of these non-working-class organizations that were not pursuing working-class objectives or using working-class methods. For example, the leadership was silent when Breuss was assassinated at Acindar.<sup>2</sup>

"By not having done this, they permitted the guerrillas to grow in an atmosphere of indiscriminate goodwill that gave people the idea that 'they are good guys' or 'that they are helping.'"

"This was fatal in Villa, as it can be in other places. Not only did it mean providing the government unnecessarily with arguments—the 'subversive plot'; it also disarmed the ranks on the negative role played by guerrilla actions isolated from the mass movement."

1. SMATA (Sindicato de Mecánicos y Afines del Transporte Automotor—Union of Automotive Machinists and Allied Trades), Luz y Fuerza (Light and Power Workers), and Gráficos (Printers Union) are three militant unions that were attacked by the regime in the last year.

2. Breuss was an executive at the struck Acindar plant in Villa Constitución. He was assassinated by guerrillas while the strike was going on.

*Avanzada Socialista* assessed the role of the neighborhood support committees:

"Starting with its leadership jailed, the strike continued for two months thanks to the colossal drive, the semispontaneous organization, the consciousness of the ranks, and the participation of women and merchants. All of these positive features were shown in the community organizations that kept arising and were converted into the symbol of the resistance. Almost all initiatives came from there—from those for obtaining subsistence to those for stopping scabs—and a real community to serve the strike was forged."

"Another thing that greatly helped the resistance was the solidarity shown. Although there were no mobilizations, in many factories and other sections of the populace all over the country there were currents that supported the struggle."

#### Rapid Recovery

*Avanzada Socialista* is certain that a rapid recovery can be made:

"Five months after the smashing of SMATA in Córdoba the compañeros took up the fight again. What at the time was a harsh defeat was rapidly overcome by the drive of the ranks.

"The same thing, perhaps even more rapidly, can happen in Villa Constitución where the fundamental priority task posed is the reorganization of the union in the factories.

"In addition, in the struggles now going on in Rigolleau, Grafa, among the bank workers, and in those to come, the lessons of Villa and the meaning of that tremendous strike that shook the country will be fundamental. Understanding how to distinguish what unites and what divides the bourgeoisie, the bureaucracy, and the government; understanding how to follow a truly class-struggle policy to overcome isolation and to distinguish ourselves from all non-working-class and centrist currents, especially the guerrillas, will help us in the coming battles in which the unforgettable memory of the great strike in Villa Constitución will always be present."



Workers march in Villa Constitución during earlier fight. Trade-union bureaucracy bears greatest responsibility for defeat.

## Funeral of Billy McMillen: Tribute to IRA leader

By Gerry Foley

Liam Mac Maolain, commander of the Belfast Brigade of the Irish Republican Army ("Officials"), was shot April 28 in Belfast by unknown assailants. He was forty-seven years old and had been in the republican movement since the age of seventeen. He was gunned down in the presence of his wife, to whom he was married only a few months.

Thousands of mourners followed Mac Maolain's coffin to Milltown Cemetery on April 30, where Cathal Goulding, chief of staff of the "Official" IRA at the time of the 1969 split and in subsequent years, gave the funeral oration.

It was also Goulding who gave the funeral oration for Seán Fox, a member of the "Official" IRA who was shot February 25 in a clash with members of the Irish Republican Socialist party (IRSP). At that time, the "Official" leader leveled threats against the rival organization. At the Mac Maolain funeral, his remarks were even more violent:

"An Orange junta sent Liam McMillen to prison because he fought for separation. The Provisional Alliance attempted to assassinate him because he held his socialist principles and fought for civil rights. The RUC [Royal Ulster Constabulary] and the British Army of occupation harassed and hounded him because he was a socialist republican. A small, mad band of fanatical malcontents, the sewer rats of Costello and McAliskey [i.e., the IRSP], finally laid him low."

Fox shooting, the "Official" organ, the *United Irishman*, said in its May issue: "We sincerely hope that there will not be a series of reprisals which would feed the flames of hatred in the North."

Unfortunately, the membership and local leadership of the "Officials" seemed to be more responsive to the tone of Goulding's statements than to the specific recommendation of the *United Irishman*. Incidents between the "Officials" and the IRSP escalated qualitatively after the Mac Maolain shooting. By mid-May more than thirty "Officials" had been caught carrying weapons by the British army, apparently as a result of the conflict with the IRSP. Weapons charges carry draconian penalties in Northern Ireland, and such losses could not help but be very serious for the shrinking and already demoralized "Official" movement.

The "Officials" claimed that Mac Maolain's assassins fled to the Divis flats, a complex of high-rise housing projects at the foot of the Falls Road regarded as an IRSP stronghold. No further basis was offered for claims of IRSP involvement.

The "Officials" have been quick in the past to blame their political opponents for any attacks on them. When Seán Garland, the organizer of "Official" Sinn Féin, was wounded on March 1, a statement was issued within twenty-four hours blaming the IRSP. "Official" representatives claimed that the would-be assassins had been "positively identified," and privately they even named the persons

most intelligent, and most sincere revolutionists of the "Official" leadership. His death could be expected not only to evoke a strong reaction from the membership and local leaders but to remove the figure in the leadership most likely to have the stature and objectivity to rise above the factional frenzy that has gripped the "Officials." Furthermore, Garland is one of the very few who would have sufficient authority to change the disastrous course of the organization.

Mac Maolain was not of similar stature. He did not have Garland's national reputation, his political breadth and flexibility, or his grasp of socialist principles. But he had an essential quality that seems gravely absent now in the "Official" leadership—realism. And he had the toughness and organizational skill to resist emotionalism.

That is not to say that Liam, or Billy McMillen, as most knew him, did not deceive himself at times, as the other "Official" leaders have been wont to do in the last two years in particular. I remember him trying to convince me that the "Officials" really had more support in Belfast than the Provisionals when it was obvious to everyone that they were rapidly losing out to their rivals in the Catholic ghettos.

### Belfast Ghettos

But Billy McMillen was bound up completely with the Belfast ghettos. He would not have survived as a local leader for so long if he had not been. He could not have failed to recognize the aberrant character of the "Official" line that the Protestant terrorist gangs have a "primitive" form of working-class consciousness or how disastrous attempts by the "Officials" to turn these gangs against the IRSP would prove to be in the Catholic ghettos.

In the 1972 congress of "Official" Sinn Féin, McMillen was one of the leaders of a move to get the organization back on the track on the national question. He sponsored a narrowly defeated resolution that would have defined the Protestant gangs as reactionary, an essential step toward realism, not to say sanity.

McMillen grasped in an instinctive way the disastrous logic of sacrificing the unity of the oppressed people in hope of ingratiating sections of the Protestant workers: "We're not getting any Protestant workers," he told me at the time. "And we're not getting what we should be getting from our traditional supporters either."

When Billy saw that the Communist party would not and could not use the positions it had won by opportunistic methods in the Northern Irish trade unions to assist the struggle of the oppressed Catholic people, he drew the realistic conclusion: "The CP hasn't produced what it promised, so fuck the CP." If the "Official" leadership as a whole had been capable of facing that reality, it would not have followed the Stalinist leaders of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association into oblivion.

McMillen did not accept the downgrading of the national question and national consciousness that came into the movement from Stalinist advisers and was inculcated into the middle leadership by Stalinist-inspired educational programs. That was one of the things that stood out in him when I first met him in July 1970, just after the Battle of the Falls between the "Official" IRA and the British army.

I had been to a march by Catholic



Billy McMillen

United Irishman

schoolchildren protesting the repression. They were carrying the Irish national flag and singing the national anthem. That infuriated the Stalinist civil-rights activist who was with me. "The stupid fuckers . . ." will "alienate the Protestant workers." But McMillen thought it was wonderful. "We try to encourage patriotism."

McMillen was a product of the Catholic ghetto and a nationalist fighter through and through. That was his strength and it made him worth immeasurably more than all the centrist and Stalinist "socialists" who came into the movement looking for a bigger bandwagon than the Communist party of Ireland, although because of his own political weaknesses he apparently began to defer more to this element in the last period of his life.

In the funeral oration, Goulding tried to weave a web of proletarian romanticism around him. That reflects Goulding's own formation as a Dublin radical and the extreme economism the "Officials" have developed since 1972, as they have tended to collapse into a sect. It was what the new generation of "Officials" has been trained to expect. But it had a rather false ring. Proletarian romanticism is still a fairly exotic style in Belfast.

### Irish Language

Despite the overuse of certain traditional devices, Goulding's introduction in the Irish language rang truer. Perhaps part of the reason was that these introductions, which are a standard feature of republican oratory, tend to be general evocations. Thus it was not so distorted by the heavy-handed dogmatism Goulding tried to put across in the portion of the oration, given in English, that could be expected to be more generally understood.

Not many republicans, especially in the North, learn Irish to the point of fluency. But many among the mourners must have responded to the traditional phrases, the Gaelic poetical forms, and the mythological references. It was the language of Irish nationalism and the only one that could be used to offer a fitting eulogy of Billy McMillen. Only a small part of its evocative force can be transferred into English:

"This is a great loss for us. But it is a greater one by far for you, the armed warriors of Belfast, because, believe me, there will never be the like of Liam again. The savior of the Cause of the Republic is dead. Our hero, our Champion, our shield in battle has fallen. Let us stand our ground nonetheless, facing our ancient enemy, although the traitor dogs snap at our heels. Soldiers of Belfast, before you the



Children at play in Catholic ghetto of Northern Ireland. 'McMillen was a product of the Catholic ghetto and a nationalist fighter through and through.'

IRSP representatives have not denied that members of their organization were responsible for the Fox shooting, although they claim that they acted in self-defense. The new organization, however, has denied any involvement of its members or supporters in the assassination of Liam Mac Maolain. IRSP representatives said that the "Official" commander had been killed just before he was scheduled to issue a new statement on the conflict between the two organizations, a statement that they expected would end the violence.

A few weeks after the shooting, Tomás Mac Giolla, president of "Official" Sinn Féin, the political wing of the "Official" republican movement, confirmed that Mac Maolain was preparing a peace initiative at the time of his death.

The IRSP argued that the Belfast "Official" leader was probably killed by a British "counterinsurgency" team entrusted with inciting conflict between the two organizations.

In contrast to its attitude after the

they considered responsible. These claims proved to be without any basis whatsoever.

On the other hand, since the escalation of the conflict in Belfast, Séamas Costello of the IRSP has said that his organization would accept the protection of shadowy armed groups that have developed out of the breakup of the "Official" organization in Belfast but that have not joined the IRSP or subordinated themselves to its discipline. This move greatly weakens the political credibility of the IRSP and creates favorable conditions for provocateurs and uncontrollable elements.

Nonetheless, as yet no evidence whatsoever has been produced that the IRSP or its supporters were responsible for the Garland or Mac Maolain shootings or that they have played an aggressive role in the conflict.

There is also a suspicious similarity between the shootings of Seán Garland and Liam Mac Maolain. Both incidents were decisive in escalating the conflict between the two organizations. Garland is one of the most respected,



tumult of battle. But you must fight according to the words of our fair and noble Liam.

"Soldiers and people of Belfast, the task now is yours. Our hope is in you. Not soft or easy the task before you without Liam Mac Maolain as chief over you. You are now like children without a father, like the Fianna without Fionn."\*

McMillen was one of the patriot visionaries who have preserved the national tradition of the Irish people and carried it from generation to generation through all the disasters of the conquest and imperialist exploitation of the country. In every Catholic ghetto in the North there are men and women like him who have struggled against poverty and oppression to learn the difficult old language of the Irish people that has been driven back into a few remote corners of the country by centuries of subjugation to the English.

Billy McMillen spoke Irish fluently and with relish, although without losing any of the pungent twang of his Belfast English. He seemed anxious to speak specifically Ulster Irish, which he called "our dialect," although Irish for him as for generations of Belfast Catholics was a learned language. But in a way he maintained the link going back to the time when the Falls Road was the Bothair na bhfál, the road of the hedges, the native Irish settlement outside the garrison city of the invaders.

McMillen's strength of character, like that of most Northern nationalists, did not lie in a consciousness of the power of the workers as a class. Most of the Catholic workers are unskilled and without security of employment; a high proportion of them are permanently unemployed. Their confidence has not been built up by great industrial victories.

McMillen's strength lay in his consciousness of the tradition of the Irish people and his confidence that one day they would regain their heritage. He was aware that the Catholic people were overwhelmingly proletarian and poor and that the only allies they could find were other workers and poor masses. He did not believe that there was such a thing as a "Green bourgeoisie," at least not in the North. But he never became a proletarian romantic. He was a very practical person, and his goal was national liberation.

McMillen was not a romantic of any kind, although he was devoted to a fugitive and rather mythologized national tradition. That tradition was the sword and the buckler of the outcast in Belfast, the pride and sustenance of

the lowest layer of the proletariat and the poor. He was a seasoned leader of a ghettoized people, shrewd, realistic, quietly brave, as well as ruthless and rather narrow.

Outside Belfast, he was like a fish out of water. During his exile in the period after the internment raids until the "Official" cease-fire in May 1972, I hardly recognized him. All his weaknesses were magnified, and his strengths were barely visible. He could not, it seemed, readjust to a wider field of activity.

Billy never seemed to really regain his footing. For one thing, under the smokescreen of an "antiterrorist campaign," British capitalism had bulldozed his Belfast virtually out of existence. The old, tight-knit Catholic communities of the lower Falls Road were replaced with an urban jungle of high-rise flats and sprawling housing estates.

And then, he was particularly unlucky. He was charged with possession of "illegal documents" just before the internment raids and so he was unable to take advantage of the relaxation in the repression after April 1972 to operate openly.

Besides this, Billy returned to Belfast at a time when the "Officials" were starting to go into a rapid decline, as a result of their gravely wrong line on the national question and the aberrant misestimation of the dynamic of the Protestant paramilitary groups that went with it. All of his shrewdness and tactical acumen could not halt that decline.

Furthermore, as their political activity stagnated and all perspective for effective political action was lost, the "Officials" tended more and more to become a business operation, an empire of drinking clubs. This process apparently did not bring out the best in any of the "Official" leaders.

### Symbolic of Tragedy

The obscure death of Billy McMillen is symbolic of the whole tragedy of the "Official" leadership. Perhaps that explains the emotional tone of Goulding's funeral oration, although it does not excuse its bitter, partisan, provocative spirit, which could only deepen this tragedy. The tragic implication was made explicit by the phrase, "there will never be the like of Liam again." It is an echo of a statement by one of the last members of the Gaelic-speaking Blasket Island community about the extinction of their way of life.

The "Official" leadership set out on the most difficult political path there is, the path of building a socialist movement, of leading the Irish people into a qualitatively higher historical stage, without any guide but crude



British soldiers are common sight. "Under the smoke screen of an "antiterrorist campaign," British capitalism had bulldozed his Belfast virtually out of existence."

pragmatism. As a result, it mistook a few commonplace nostrums for the whole truth of socialism. It was misdirected by bad advisers and lost its way. It was driven into a corner by terrible pressures, the constant threat of death, mutilation, and repression, continual heavy human losses, the wearing out of the small group of experienced leaders, a growing feeling of helplessness in the face of impending disaster.

It was unable to reorient itself. As a result, a team cemented together by long years of common experience was torn apart. Most of the components did not have the political training to understand what was happening to them, much less know how to resolve the fundamental political differences in a constructive way. What few elements did have a little scientific training were swept away by the flood of factionalism and did not contribute any objectivity. Inevitably the most distorted personalities, the most dogmatic, the most fanatical, the most violent, the most paranoid, began to set the tone and to transform the movement into their image.

In an armed movement based largely on the permanently unemployed, the irregularly employed, and individual adventurers, violence is never far from the surface. Once the bonds of brotherhood in arms are broken, anything is possible. That is one of the reasons why harsh discipline is essential. That is probably also why the "Official" leadership fear Costello so much. They come out of the same tradition and they know what they might do if they were in his position. Furthermore, of all of them, Costello was apparently the most ruthless, the least bound by the ties of comradeship and personal loyalty. That apparently is why he was able to break from a policy and from leaders that had been proved wrong in practice and the rest were not.

Goulding was mistaken about the howling he heard behind him. It was not the yelping of "traitor dogs." It was more like the *mór-rioghna*, the devils of militarism that the old Irish believed drove warriors mad in battle. It was the fears that came out of a tradition of militarism, and from false ideas that, when they are not corrected by an honest look at reality, become paranoid delusions.

Another devil is Stalinist dogmatism. Although the threat of violence in political disputes is part of the republican tradition, the virulent dogmatic factionalism displayed in the "Officials'" attacks on the IRSP is completely alien and unknown to that tradition. The idea that the greatest danger to revolution is revolutionists with "wrong ideas" and that political

opponents are always manipulated by the enemy has one classical source in our time—the ideology of Stalinism.

But Billy McMillen's ghost should not become one of the devils that are driving Goulding, his followers, and no one knows what others, to destruction. McMillen deserves better than that. He was like the elder brother in a slum family, who, although he himself could not overcome the pressure of his environment, has made the breakthrough for those who will come later. He was really a seasoned old warrior. Goulding's comparison with Fionn, the wise old chief, and of all the Irish mythological heroes, the one with the most human weaknesses, was an apt one. It is hard to believe that Billy was only forty-seven years old when he was killed.

### Vast Experience

I remember sitting in his living room in the Lower Falls in 1970 and watching one youth after another come in and ask advice. He had a vast experience, especially with the ways of the courts and the police.

I remember how sharp a political sense he had, how reasonable and well balanced he was, how open to new ideas. He was like many "Official" leaders in those days after the Provisional split who were thinking about how to build a socialist movement in Ireland. Many of them gathered in the same living room. It was a time full of possibilities, few of which were ever realized, unfortunately. Events moved too quickly, and the "Officials," unable to adjust, withdrew into a dogmatic shell that made a mockery of their positive achievements.

In the increasing gloom of later years, one of the best of these leaders told me how he looked forward to having political discussions again in Billy McMillen's living room on Ton Street. It was like a lost golden age. As far as I know Billy never returned to that house after the internment raids. The British soldiers used to hold parties in it on Fridays to let the neighborhood know who was boss.

Now that hope is gone forever. There can be no return to those days. But there can be a return to the rational thinking of better times if the "Official" leaders stop to think objectively where their course and the logic of their statements are leading them.

In the Belfast of 1970, Billy McMillen told me that a good soldier always keeps open a path for retreat. That applies to politics too. And it still seems like good advice. Perhaps it is the best advice Billy could leave behind him to the leadership to which he remained loyal to the end and defended the only way he knew how.



Masked Protestant terrorists at news conference. "The IRSP argued that the Belfast "Official" leader was probably killed by a British "counterinsurgency" team encharged with inciting conflict between the two organizations."

## From Switzerland

# A socialist view on nuclear energy

[The following article appeared in the April 28 issue of *La Brèche*, the fortnightly newspaper of the Ligue Marxiste Révolutionnaire, Swiss section of the Fourth International. The editors explained in an introductory note that it is "the most succinct possible condensation" of a dossier on nuclear energy published in the April 2, June 21, and July 12, 1974, issues of *La Brèche*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

The technical means to counteract almost all industrial pollution already exist; in some cases they have existed for a long time. But they are not applied because it is in the capitalists' interests to limit costs of production in order to maintain profits.

Each capitalist keeps his eye on his own profits alone, and not the satisfaction of the real needs of the population.

We seek a socialist society, where the productive forces will be developed to satisfy everyone's needs through democratic planning of production on a world scale.

Within this perspective, extensive industrialization and increased automation are indispensable. Worldwide planning, carried out entirely with a view to the broadest interests of the whole population, will incorporate the research and apply the techniques that are required to do away with pollution.

At the same time, however, there is one technology—nuclear technology—that we must reject for the present, for reasons that we will explain.

Apart from the effects of massive radiation that directly threatens workers in the nuclear industry in the event of an accident, even small doses of radioactivity can eventually induce cancer as well as serious and even fatal genetic and hereditary damage among all living beings.

The full scope of these risks becomes evident when you consider that:

- There is no known cure for cancer,

declines very slowly, at least in the case of some elements. Safety in the nuclear industry therefore requires absolute confinement of radioactive materials in all nuclear installations so that no artificial radioactivity increases the natural radiation (which is harmful enough!) in an environment inhabited by human beings and other living organisms.

Considering the present state of technology:

- Even if it were possible to isolate all radioactive wastes (which is certainly not the case today), the problem

**Can nuclear power give you whiter teeth?**



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of eliminating these wastes, which will remain active for centuries (!), has not yet been satisfactorily resolved.

- The corrosion and fatigue of material in a nuclear plant limits its life span to twenty or thirty years, and reduces its safety with age. Moreover, the dismantling of a plant will not only necessitate the isolation of large amounts of radioactive waste, but will also involve considerable risks for the workers and the surrounding population.

- The nuclear industry as a whole is far from being completely automated. It is still necessary to periodically open the innermost casings. Thus it is unavoidable that workers in the nuclear industry will be exposed to appreciable amounts of radiation.

- Besides the dangers inherent in the normal functioning of nuclear installations we are still a long way from having the means to eliminate the dangers resulting from possible accidents during transportation of materials or even in the core of the installations.

But in addition to these risks, which are inherent at the present stage of development of the technology, there are the risks associated with its application under capitalism. The profit motive, which leads to cutting corners on safety at all levels, profoundly contradicts the extreme vigilance that the safest management of the nuclear industry would require.

Some energy sources have been generally underutilized, even though their existence has been known for a

long time. They include:

- Solar energy in all its forms.
- Geothermal energy—the use of heat from the depths of the earth.
- Tidal energy—using the difference in sea level between high tide and low tide.

Research in techniques whose principles have been known for some time, in order to facilitate their large-scale utilization, is consistently underdeveloped for the simple reason that these techniques offer the capitalists no assurance of profits in the short run.

Also worth noting is that traditional energy sources such as coal, oil, natural gas, and hydroelectric energy are far from having been exhausted.

To mention only one example: In Switzerland, the potential hydroelectric energy that technically could be harnessed amounts to 145 billion kilowatt hours a year. But in 1973, only 27.7 billion kilowatt hours were produced this way! As for oil, natural gas, and coal, it must be repeated over and over that technologies permitting their use without pollution exist, and that if it were not for the requirements of capitalist profits, they could be implemented immediately.

It must be added that the capitalist system wastes enormous quantities of energy in the following ways:

- The production by competing companies of two and three times as many identical commodities as are required.

- The production of commodities such as cars and washing machines with built-in obsolescence, to provide a replacement market.

- Production and activities that are socially useless, such as most pharmaceutical products, advertising, and so forth.

- The priority given to private transportation over public transportation (at a much higher cost in energy).

- The use of cheap but shoddy building materials as a substitute for adequate thermal insulation.

- Without collectivized property and economic planning, there is no hope of recycling the large amounts of thermal energy produced by some industrial complexes.

It is profitable for the capitalists to exploit nuclear energy for the following reasons:

- Nuclear technology was first developed at the taxpayers' expense primarily for military objectives. (In the United States, more than \$15 billion was allocated to nuclear research between 1947 and 1957.) At a later



Storing atomic wastes. No solution exists for eliminating these wastes, which will remain active for centuries.

stage the bourgeois state began to hand it over gradually to certain trusts, such as Westinghouse in the United States, at very profitable terms.

- The massive infrastructure involved in nuclear industry offers important markets for key sectors of heavy industry, such as steel, and electrical and chemical engineering companies.

- The short life span of nuclear plants, about twenty or thirty years, assures the constant renewal of the market.

In face of the waste of energy resulting from the anarchy of the capitalist system, and the fundamental disrespect for the public interest that the laws of private profit involve, we demand:

- A complete and immediate end to the nuclear industry.

- Nationalization under workers control of the whole energy sector.

In addition to these demands, we are fighting for a socialist revolution, that is, for the establishment by the working class of a social system in which the imperatives of private profit will no longer play a role, in which the whole economy and state apparatus will belong to the workers and serve their interests. This is the only kind of social system that will provide for harmonious and coordinated growth of the productive forces on a world scale, so as to meet the material and cultural needs of the whole of humanity.

## Swiss protest

More than 15,000 persons participated in a national demonstration in Bern April 26 to protest the Swiss government's plan to build a nuclear plant at Kaiseraugst.

Protesters had occupied the site of the proposed plant for almost a month, blocking its construction.

especially leukemia, or for the diseases linked to genetic damage.

- Besides the fact that some new and unknown dangerous genetic mutations are more likely to appear among humans, there is the danger that new stocks of microorganisms, impervious to human antidotes, can arise through genetic mutations.

- Concentrations of radioactive substances build up in some living organisms, creating stronger emissions than in the surrounding environment. This can occur in certain plants and animals, in some natural foods consumed by humans, and in some human organs.

Radioactivity is indestructible, and it

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## The Senate's 'great debate'

# Are 655,000 nuclear bombs enough?

By Cindy Jaquith

WASHINGTON—Led by Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.), the Senate held its "great debate" on U.S. foreign policy June 2-3. The occasion was a Defense Department request for \$28.6 billion for new weapons in 1976.

The "great debate," Kennedy had promised, would probe "the underlying foreign and military policy issues facing the nation in the aftermath of the Indochina tragedy" and would offer "a series of challenges to the assumptions which underpin the Defense Department recommendations for spending in this fiscal year."

But in two days of long-winded speeches, not one senator challenged the basic tenets of U.S. foreign policy—tenets that have been spelled out in recent weeks by President Ford's brazen "rescue" of the *Mayaguez*, threats of new U.S. aggression in Korea, and Defense Secretary Schlesinger's assertion of Washington's willingness to use nuclear weapons in Europe.

In fact, after the dust had settled, all that had happened was that the senators had voted to fatten the Pentagon war chest by another \$25 billion.

### Bombers, yes; jobs, no

In the meantime, the Democratic-controlled House had voted to uphold Ford's veto of a paltry \$5.3 billion jobs bill. The message from the "veto-proof" Congress was clear—B-2 bombers and nuclear warheads, yes; relief for the more than ten million unemployed, no.

Then what was the "great debate" all about?

The Defense Department's total budget request for 1976 is \$104.7 billion, up \$15.7 billion from last year. Included in the request is the \$28.6 billion in "military procurement," which pertains to nuclear weapons, bombers, military research, and troops.

Despite the fact that the United States has supposedly reduced its commitments in Southeast Asia, the military procurement request is 38 percent higher this year than last. The overkill this entails is almost beyond comprehension. Sen. Stuart Symington (D-Mo.) explained that with its current nuclear stockpile, this country could produce 655,000 bombs of the type that devastated Hiroshima.

The Senate Armed Services Committee, by shaving off a few dollars here and there, managed to bring this request down to \$25 billion. At this point Kennedy stepped in, announcing that there must be "debate" over the defense budget.

He and his "dove" colleagues offered a counterproposal in the form of amendments that amounted to cutting a few cents out of the most bloated programs, winding up with a grand total of \$23.8 billion, a mere \$1.2 billion less than the "hawks" proposal. "This will still give the department a 14 percent increase over last year's spending," Kennedy reassured the senators.

### 'Extraordinary seriousness'

With so little difference between the two proposals, it is hardly surprising that the "great debate" was such a flop. All but one of the amendments was defeated, by votes of roughly 2 to 1.

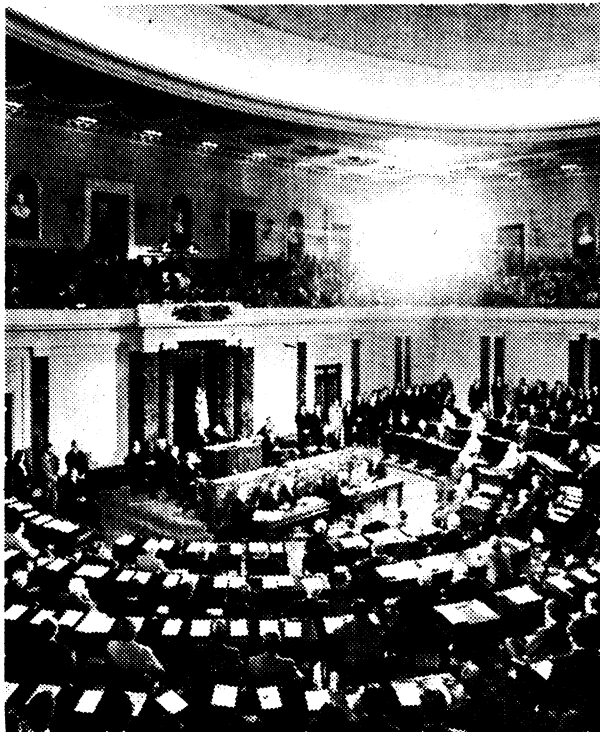
At most, perhaps twenty senators appeared on the floor at any one time during the "debate." (The *New York Times* took this turnout as an expression of "extraordinary seriousness" on the part of the senators, noting that the number was "far more than the usual complement on a day when no votes were to be taken.")

Debates are not exactly the norm in Congress. As *Washington Star* reporter Martha Angle pointed out, "Genuine debate, particularly on broad policy questions, is rare in the Senate. Members are more accustomed to addressing the galleries than each other. Take away their prepared texts and their vocal cords seem paralyzed."

A few of the senators had their vocal cords loosened up for the occasion. Sen. Thomas McIntyre (D-N.H.), a stalwart of the Armed Services Committee, delivered a ringing praise of the *Mayaguez* incident.

"I am bullish on America," he declared. "And I was greatly encouraged by the unanimity of the nation's support of our quick and highly effective reaction last week to a blatant act of piracy on the high seas."

The most lengthy speeches came from Sen. Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.), who painted a picture of



THE U.S. SENATE: Putting on a show for the folks back home.

"terrible things: of war, of subjugation, of the prostitution of ancient values and the dimming of future hopes—all brought about in pursuit of the theoretical nonsense first dreamed up more than a century ago by an unworldly and impractical German named Karl Marx."

### 'Craft and subtlety'

On the other side, the "doves" were arguing that defeats like Vietnam could be prevented if the United States would just try to look a little less violent and greedy. As Sen. Gary Hart (D-Colo.), the ex-McGovern campaign manager, put it, such embarrassments "could be avoided if we exerted more craft and subtlety and discretion and diplomacy in our dealings with other nations."

A little more "subtlety" could be applied in South Korea, suggested Sen. Alan Cranston (D-Calif.). Cranston comanaged the floor debate with Kennedy.

"In Korea, as in Vietnam, we are allied with a military dictator identified as a collaborator with a colonial power, a burden for him to carry in relationship to his own people," Cranston observed. "... we should do our utmost to persuade President Park to avoid President Thieu's error of stifling legitimate expressions of legitimate political opinions and differences. . . ."

Cranston bemoaned the fact that the United States has many "intimate ties with dictatorships—worst of all, those that brutally torture their own people." However, he added, "Relationships with dictatorships are unfortunately unavoidable."

They're "unavoidable," that is, if the United States is to continue to protect its investments abroad and attempt to crush liberation struggles around the world. And on this point, there was 100 percent agreement among the Senate "debaters."

Ever since the defeat in Vietnam, the liberal Democrats have gone out of their way to take a tough stand on "defending our commitments abroad." Most recently, Senators Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.) and Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.) gushed with praise at Ford's diplomatic trip to Europe. Humphrey pointed out that since Vietnam, Congress and the White House are "not as far apart on foreign policy as it may appear."

Lest anyone have any doubts, Kennedy himself sought to make this clear once again during the "great debate."

### No 'Fortress America'

"The senators who speak today do not propose a withdrawal into Fortress America," he said. "They do not seek to turn away from the world. For there is no turning away from the facts of international involvement. . . ."

"Nor could we avoid those involvements even if one wished. The degree of our reliance on imported oil, our massive level of trade with other nations, our existing alliances—all clearly deny this option to any foolhardy enough to pursue it."

Getting down to specifics, Cranston emphasized that the "doves" have no serious intention of urging the reduction of U.S. troops in other countries. "I

was an advocate of cutting down on our troops in Korea until the events that accompanied the collapse in South Vietnam and Cambodia led me to feel that this is not an appropriate time to do that, since it might appear to be an invitation to the other side to move in," he explained.

The "other side," of course, is the people of South Korea, who might be so bold as to try to take over and run their own country, without the aid of the Americans and their puppets.

The need to maintain U.S. military might in Europe was also agreed upon, particularly with regard to Portugal. Sen. Edward Brooke (R-Mass.), who recently returned from there, warned that "the moderation of the upper military ranks [in Portugal] is not paralleled at lower levels. It is rumored that some high military officials question whether the lower ranks will be willing to obey orders from their superiors that ran counter to the wishes of the radical left."

### Reaffirmation

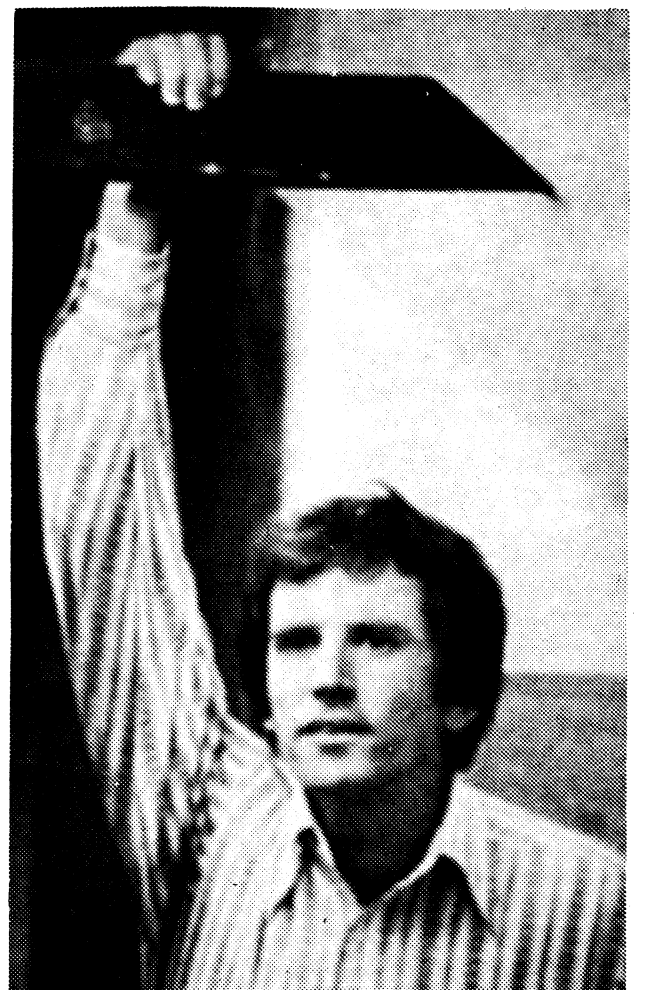
In sum, the "great debate" amounted to a reaffirmation of the fundamentally bipartisan foreign policy of U.S. imperialism. It was staged only to give the Senate chambers the appearance of discussion and serious "reappraisal" of foreign affairs, and, of course, to build up the image of ambitious politicians like Kennedy.

The "doves" were particularly conscious of the need to restore some kind of public confidence in U.S. military policy. Sen. Walter Mondale (D-Minn.) explained the problem:

"As we try to define America's future world role, we must take full account of the fact that the citizens of this country are profoundly skeptical. They know only too well that their patriotism has been exploited by political leaders who could no longer justify their actions with candor. I do not believe that the United States is about to become an isolationist country, but the American people no longer want to be the world's policemen nor go on one-man crusades."

It will take more than empty "debates" among those who already agree on the basic point under discussion to convince the American people that policing the world is in their interests. The skepticism that worries the Democrats so much is bound to grow, not shrink, with the news that Congress is willing to throw away \$25 billion on weapons of death and destruction, but won't spend a fifth of that to provide jobs.

That skepticism can only deepen the realization that the capitalist politicians in Washington, whether they be "dove" or "hawk," are not here to represent the interests of working people, but the greed of the wealthy war makers who run this country.



SENATOR HART: Calls for 'more craft and subtlety.'

# CLUW leaders debate stand on seniority, layoffs, and affirmative-action programs

By Linda Jenness

The effect of the economic crisis on women workers and the role of the Coalition of Labor Union Women in response to the crisis was the main topic of discussion at CLUW's National Coordinating Committee (NCC) meeting held in Houston May 31-June 1.

The meeting was attended by eighty-five voting representatives and twenty-five observers.

The most important job facing the NCC meeting was that of formulating CLUW's position on how to defend the gains made through affirmative-action plans by women and by Blacks and other oppressed minorities in the face of the massive layoffs.

The current economic crisis is wiping out many of the gains made in hiring, promotion, and upgrading by disproportionately laying off women and Blacks under the "last hired, first fired" rules of seniority provisions.

A wide debate is taking place within the labor movement over whether to uphold the "last hired, first fired" setup, or to modify seniority provisions in order to protect the gains of women and Blacks.

Defenders of affirmative action are demanding that the layoffs not be used by the employers to reduce the percentage of Blacks and women at any workplace, and that seniority provisions in union contracts be adjusted to accommodate that demand. The AFL-CIO Executive Council and the leadership of the United Auto Workers (UAW), on the other hand, have recently released statements attacking those demanding preferential seniority for women and Blacks.

The debate on this issue at the NCC focused on three resolutions.

The resolution that passed, receiving forty-two votes, was presented by Connie Kopelov, associate national education director of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and member of Newspaper Guild Local 3. This resolution represented the views



Militant/Mark Satinoff

Jean Tussey, of ITU, presented strong resolution in defense of affirmative-action gains.



Militant/Norman Oliver

Women waiting for unemployment checks. 'Last hired, first fired' means women and Blacks bear brunt of layoffs.

of Olga Madar, national president of CLUW and retired vice-president of the UAW.

While acknowledging that "aspects" of the seniority system "have not served women and minority workers fairly," the resolution in effect upholds the conservative position of the AFL-CIO hierarchy by ducking the crux of the question of discriminatory layoffs.

The Kopelov resolution states: "That CLUW pledges itself to renewed efforts to organize unorganized women, noting that unionized women suffer proportionately less in layoffs and noting that a union contract provides almost the only safeguard against capricious or selective layoffs, which most harm women and minority group members. . . ."

Of course, working to organize the unorganized is one of CLUW's goals, and it must be done. But that is not the vital question at stake here.

To answer the question "What must be done to stop the discriminatory layoffs?" with "Organize the unorganized" is hedging—at best. How about the many women who *do have union contracts* and are still subject to 'selective layoffs'?

For instance, the Ford Motor Company's Brook Park complex near Cleveland has laid off 2,000 of the 10,000 workers at the plants. These workers are members of UAW Local 1250. The layoffs included 600 of the 700 women employed in the plants, most of them hired only last year. In other words, before the layoffs, women composed 7 percent of the workers. Now, they are 1.25 percent.

The closest the Kopelov resolution comes to addressing the issue is when it states: "That CLUW and its mem-

bers will take vigilant action in their unions to see that seniority for all purposes is measured on the widest possible base in any work place, thereby safeguarding workers against layoffs that run counter to seniority. . . . Again, the question is begged.

The plain fact is that sometimes defending the gains of women and Blacks won through affirmative-action plans runs up against strict seniority. Where does CLUW stand then?

These questions are left unanswered, and these are the questions being asked.

## Tussey resolution

The resolution that went to the heart of the issue, and that offered a clear position in defense of women and Blacks, was the one presented by Jean Tussey, a member of the International Typographical Union and a CLUW state convener from Ohio. Tussey's resolution was titled "Resolution on Discriminatory Layoffs."

It read, in part:

"Whereas: The current economic crisis has brought massive layoffs, adversely and disproportionately affecting newly hired women and minorities who recently won jobs in industry under affirmative action programs; and

"Whereas: These massive layoffs threaten to wipe out the gains of the women's, civil rights, and labor movements against discriminatory hiring, employment, apprenticeship and upgrading practices; therefore, be it

"Resolved: That the Coalition of Labor Union Women oppose in every way possible any reduction through layoffs in the proportionate number of women and minority workers hired

under affirmative action programs, wherever layoffs occur, and be it further

"Resolved: That wherever a seniority system is used to perpetuate the discriminatory hiring, firing, and employment practices of an employer by allowing a reduction in the percentage of women and minority workers gained through affirmative action struggles, CLUW stands for altering or amending that seniority system so as to protect these gains. . . ."

This resolution was defeated with forty-two voting against it and thirty-three voting in favor.

A third resolution was submitted by the Madison-Janesville, Wisconsin, CLUW. This resolution tried to appeal to both sides and suffered the contradictions of fence-straddling. The resolution proposed in detail a number of ways workers could voluntarily attempt to alleviate the discriminatory character of the layoffs, but failed to call unequivocally for no percentage decrease in the number of women and Blacks in the work force.

The Madison-Janesville resolution was defeated with fifty votes against and twenty-one for.

## Buckling to pressure

Many of those voting for the Kopelov resolution were buckling to the pressure on the leadership of CLUW to toe the line of the AFL-CIO and UAW officials.

But CLUW was formed to fight for equality of women on the job, in the unions, and in society as a whole. And if this union women's organization cannot take a firm stand in practice against discrimination, then the whole

Continued on page 26

# Colorado teachers march for right to strike

By Joyce Newell

DENVER—Throughout the country today, public employees are waging militant struggles to secure the basic rights already won—to one degree or another—by other organized workers.

On May 27, the Colorado Education Association brought out 1,000 teachers from around the state to demand these rights.

The teachers converged on the state capitol in Denver demanding the right to collective bargaining ("not collective begging," as one demonstrator's sign put it), the right to strike, and more public funds to provide a decent education for all students.

The demonstration was built in one

week simply by word of mouth, but teachers came by car pools and chartered buses from Greeley, Loveland, Pueblo, Hudson, and other parts of Colorado.

The action was specifically aimed against the collective bargaining bill recently passed by the state senate. Colorado is one of only eight states that have no collective bargaining law for public employees.

The bill requires the immediate firing of any public employee who strikes. It would also impose fines of \$5,000 a day against any public employee or organization that strikes.

According to Democratic State Sen. Eldon Cooper, an opponent of the

senate bill, if the measure is passed by the state house of representatives it will take away collective bargaining rights that have been won on a local level by many teachers.

Republican Senate Majority Leader Richard Plock addressed the rally and tried to tell the teachers the bill was really in their interests. He said it would grant the teachers everything they were demanding—with the sole exception of the right to strike.

Citing England, France, and Italy as examples, Plock claimed that "strikes of public employees have brought the economy of those countries to their knees," placing the blame for the instability of the capitalist economy on

those who are suffering from it—those who work for a living.

The fact is that the bill not only denies public employees the right to strike, but it does not meet the other demands they are raising.

The CEA supports the demands for a right-to-strike clause, an agency shop, and "broad-scope" negotiations (the inclusion of demands other than salary and hours as negotiable items).

Given the stand of the senate majority, it appears unlikely that teachers will be able to win their demands unless they and other public employees continue to show, as they did May 27, that there is mass support for their right to strike.



## Pa. strike in fourth month

# Black city workers fight drive to bust union

By Jay Johnson

PHILADELPHIA—A long and bitter strike by eighty-eight municipal workers in Cheltenham Township, Pennsylvania, has become a significant test for the labor movement in this area.

The workers, who have been out since February 24 in their first strike ever, face a determined effort by the township commissioners to break their union, Teamsters Local 115.

Cheltenham is a predominantly white, middle-income, suburban township northwest of Philadelphia. The municipal workers organized by Local 115 include trash collectors; drivers; garage mechanics; and highway, park, and sewer maintenance workers. About 60 percent of the workers are Black, and most of them live in Philadelphia.

Their average wage is currently four dollars an hour, two dollars less than workers doing the same jobs in Philadelphia. The ninety-five-cent-an-hour wage increase they are asking for is barely enough to catch up with inflation.

The union is also asking for a retirement plan that would allow workers to retire after twenty years employment at the age of fifty-two.

To the township commissioners' surprise, a state-appointed fact finder recommended that the ninety-five-cent wage increase and the twenty-year-and-out retirement plan be granted.

According to Joe Yeoman, Local 115 business agent, the fact finder also found there is enough money in Cheltenham's budget to pay for the wage increases and retirement plan. The township is saying they can't afford to meet the demands.

"We know it's not true," Yeoman says, "but why not put the budget on the table and let us look at it."

The commissioners have consistently refused to deal seriously with Local 115. After the workers voted to affiliate with Local 115 in May 1974, they had to get the state labor board to force the township to recognize the union and open negotiations.

The union has made many conces-



SCLC's Ralph Abernathy (center) leads march in support of striking Cheltenham, Pennsylvania, workers. Township commissioners in white suburb aim to crush mainly Black union.

sions already. It has accepted a two-year contract, as long as the ninety-five-cent raise comes in the first year. It has accepted a compromise on the retirement plan.

The seven township commissioners, however, have refused to empower their negotiating team to make any concessions. A tentative agreement worked out April 17 was disavowed by the commissioners, who said the township negotiators could only "debate and discuss." Only the commissioners themselves could negotiate.

The union has had to resort to subpoenas to bring the commissioners to "negotiating" sessions. At the most recent session, on May 29, the commissioners arrived nine hours late and then refused to sit in the same room with the union representatives.

The commissioners' contempt for the workers and their union is just as evident if you go to the picket lines at the Cheltenham Township Public Service Facility. One's first impression is that there is little militancy. Only two pickets sit quietly by the gate. But, as a *Militant* correspondent found out, there's a reason.

A stringent injunction forbids more than two pickets at a time from going within 200 yards of the plant or any of the improvised dumping sites. These two pickets are not allowed to walk around or to make any gestures or mouth motions, let alone speak to the scabs who operate town equipment for the private contractors moving the trash.

The township has brought in state troopers as well as police from surrounding communities to protect the scabs. At one time, more than 200 outside cops were brought in when the township first decided to move the trash.

"To me it looks like they want to provoke violence," one picket commented. Asked what the main issue in the strike was, he replied, "I think the issue is the union. In fact, this county doesn't want a union in."

The Cheltenham municipal workers are the only unionized municipal workers in Montgomery County. Jim Smith calls this strike a "battle for the whole county." It's a battle for the right of the union to exist.

Cheltenham residents have been

encouraged, through a slander campaign against the union, to bring their own trash to the dumping grounds, where private trash collectors pick it up. The commissioners, who "can't afford" to pay \$4.95 an hour, have been paying up to \$33 an hour to scabs.

In the fourteenth week of the strike, the township announced what amounts to a lockout—accepting bids from private contractors to take over the municipal workers' jobs permanently.

The strikers have responded to the slander campaign with leaflets and an ad in the local paper explaining their bargaining position.

In mid-April a meeting of some 200 Teamster officials and business agents voted to suggest a perimeter picket around the entire Cheltenham township.

The perimeter strike was held April 25, sealing off the township from all truck and bus traffic for one day.

That day the township said they were ready to negotiate. As soon as the picket ended, the commissioners backtracked. One picket commented, "If we had continued we'd have been all right."

Around this time the Southern Christian Leadership Conference approached Local 115 to offer their support. SCLC went on to organize a march of about 1,000 unionists and civil rights activists on May 17. SCLC Executive Director Ralph Abernathy came to the area several days before the march to organize support.

Local 115 has filed an unfair-labor-practice grievance against Cheltenham for refusing to bargain, and has appealed the antipicketing injunction.

The strikers don't intend to go back "till it's over," as one worker picketing for the first time put it.

But in order to win they'll need determined support from the labor movement in the Philadelphia area. The effectiveness of the perimeter picketing organized by their fellow Teamsters and the march organized by SCLC show where their strength lies.

# Minn. unionists rally, demand 'Jobs for all'

By Bill Onasch

ST. PAUL—Two hundred people rallied on the steps of the state capitol here May 31 in a demonstration demanding "Jobs for all." Most of the demonstrators were young, and about half were women.

The action was organized by the May 31 Committee, an ad hoc group of trade unionists. It was endorsed by the Minneapolis Central Labor Union Council; St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly; Teamsters Joint Council 32; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees District Councils 3 and 6; United Electrical Workers Political Action Committee; and more than two dozen union locals.

Speakers at the rally represented a broad spectrum of unions. In addition, greetings were read from David Roe, president of the Minnesota AFL-CIO, and from Virgil Moline, president of the Minneapolis Central Labor Union Council.

Claire Cunningham of the Twin Cities Coalition of Labor Union Women told the rally how CLUW initiated the call for the action by urging the Minnesota labor movement to organize a local action similar to the April 26 jobs rally in Washington, D.C.

CLUW members took this proposal to their local unions and secured the impressive list of endorsers for the rally.

Cunningham told of CLUW's program for combating unemployment, including a shorter workweek with no reduction in pay and a massive public works program at union wages.

"It has been nearly forty years," she said, "since organized labor won the eight-hour day and the forty-hour week, and there have been tremendous breakthroughs in technology and productivity in this period."

"It's time working people started sharing in the benefits of these breakthroughs instead of being faced with layoffs, penalizing us for our increased productivity."

The theme of a shorter workweek was also taken up by UE's Joe Miller, who said his union will demand a seven-hour day in their next negotiations.

Bernie Bromner, business agent for AFSCME District Council 6, told how the union had successfully fought plans by the state to close several state hospitals. "We fought these closings," he said, "not only because our members would lose their jobs, but also because it would have been a drastic reduction in care for the patients involved."

Dale Holstrom, executive secretary of the Minneapolis Federation of Teachers, declared that it was a disgrace that "thousands of qualified

teachers are unable to find work in their chosen profession."

The rally closed with the spirited singing of "Solidarity Forever."

Although the rally was endorsed by organizations representing nearly 150,000 workers, few unions actively tried to mobilize their members. Only AFSCME Local 1164 and MFT Local 59 actually organized contingents with banners. CLUW and the Student Coalition Against Racism also had contingents.

The May 31 Committee had to rely mainly on leafleting of workplaces,

shopping centers, and unemployment offices to publicize the action.

Although the media emphasized the modest size of the action, rally organizers were not discouraged. Claire Cunningham told the *Militant* that this action was the first such protest sponsored by the Minnesota labor movement in many years. "We remember that the first demonstrations against the war were small too. Twin Cities CLUW sees today's rally as a modest step in a long, hard struggle to win full employment in Minnesota and America," she said.



Dale Holstrom of Minneapolis Federation of Teachers addresses May 31 rally. Action, initiated by CLUW, won endorsement of broad range of unions.

# Calendar

## CHICAGO

**SOCIALIST SOLUTION TO THE CURRENT ECONOMIC CRISIS.** Speakers: Peter Camejo, SWP presidential candidate; Willie Mae Reid, SWP vice-presidential candidate. Sat., June 21, 6 p.m., reception; 8 p.m., rally. 428 S. Wabash, Fifth Floor. Donation: \$1.50 for rally. Ausp: 1976 SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (312) 939-9356.

## LOS ANGELES

**RALLY TO PROTEST POLICE INACTION ON TERRORIST ATTACKS.** Fri., June 20, 8 p.m. Fritchman Auditorium, 2936 West 8th St. Ausp: PRDF. For more information call (213) 483-8855.

## MILWAUKEE

**THE WORLD CRISIS OF CAPITALISM.** Three classes by Dick Roberts, *Militant* staff writer. Fri., June 20, 8 p.m.: **The Financial Crisis of America's Cities.** Sat., June 21, 1:30 p.m.: **How Finance Capital Leads to Depression and War.** 3:30 p.m.: **The Myth of Keynesian Capitalism.** 207 E. Michigan St., Room 25. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (414) 289-9340.

**SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN PICNIC.** Guest: Peter Camejo, SWP presidential candidate. Sun., June 22, 1 p.m. Washington Park, picnic area #1. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: Socialist Workers 1976 Campaign Committee. For information about rides call (414) 289-9340.

## OAKLAND-BERKELEY

**THE MIDDLE EAST TODAY.** Speaker: Bahram Atai, Iranian student activist. Fri., June 20, 8 p.m. 1549 University Ave., Berkeley. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 548-0354.

## SAN DIEGO

**WHO RULES SAN DIEGO?** Speaker: Manuel Barrera, member, YSA National Committee. Fri., June 20, 8 p.m. 4635 El Cajon Blvd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 280-1292.

## ...CIA

*Continued from page 7*

can people can find out what is going on.

"The buck will stop with the Senate committee," Church has promised. He claims that he will report in full what his committee learns about CIA assassinations: "The American people are entitled to know what their government has done, the good and the bad, the right and the wrong."

If this is the case, why doesn't Church simply release the eighty-six-page report on CIA murders compiled by the Rockefeller commission? Why not let the American people judge "the good and the bad, the right and the wrong"?

Neither the Democrats nor the Republicans want a true accounting of the CIA's activities, because they know it would be an indictment of the crimes of both capitalist parties. These crimes—and the gangsters responsible for them—should be fully exposed before the American people.

## ...Chicago

*Continued from page 13*

The scandal, however, has done little to weaken Daley's support among Democratic politicians in the state legislature. A bill seeking to make "undercover police spying on law-abiding groups illegal unless police first obtained a court order" was overwhelmingly defeated in Springfield May 21.

Daley's legislative "bloc" blasted the bill. Brandishing two antique pistols on the house floor, one legislator exhorted that the bill "would deny police the tools they need to maintain order."

After the vote, the bill's sponsor commented that he was glad he wasn't "asking for a majority vote on the Bill of Rights."

## ...schools

*Continued from page 5*

desperately needs an alliance with those who are truly interested in saving education: the parents, the students, the community groups, and other unions.

The June 9 demonstration proved that the allies most ready to fight in a battle against cuts in education are the very forces Shanker has been pitting the UFT against for years—the Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese communities of New York.

Shanker is bitterly hated by the most conscious parents and activists who have had to fight him in their struggles for community control and bilingual education.

But the enormous response by the Black, Chinese, and Puerto Rican communities showed conclusively that these parents are ready to turn out in the streets to fight for their children's education—even in an action cosponsored by the UFT—*provided the UFT fights for the educational needs of*

*their communities and not for the narrow interests of a white job trust.*

The fact is that the June 9 demonstration was in complete contradiction to Shanker's racist policies, and in that sense represented a setback for Shankerism and a step forward for the UFT.

It could not have been lost on the white teachers at the demonstration that the parents and community organizations they have heard their leadership vilify as hoodlums, anti-Semites, and troublemakers were the very forces that turned out and made June 9 an impressive show of strength.

Although Shanker led the crowd in a demagogic catechism—"Will you let them cut out kindergartens?" "No!" "Will you let them cut out summer schools?" "No!" . . . "Are you ready to shut the whole place down if they try to make these cuts?" "Yes!"—he had no real proposals for further action to stop the cuts.

But just as Robinson contradicted Shanker's racist policies by calling for minority hiring, another speaker, from the District Two community school board, struck a responsive chord when she suggested where to get the money. "Education must have a priority higher than the military," she said, to loud cheers. "We must have money for our schools before any money spent on military imperialism!"

Some veterans in the march around city hall agreed with her. They were there to protest the proposed closing of a special school for veterans on West Ninety-third Street. When they were asked, "Do you believe there's no money?" they told the *Militant*, "No! So long as they're building planes and bombs, they've got the money."

Coming in the wake of other mass actions against the city cutbacks, the June 9 demonstration pointed up the potential response to a city-wide campaign led by the union movement to stop *all* the cutbacks.

## ...CLUW

*Continued from page 24*

purpose of its existence comes into question. If CLUW fails to oppose discriminatory layoffs and to honestly point to and challenge the discriminatory aspects of strict seniority, it cannot hope to be seen as a fighting organization for women's rights.

The discussion begun at the NCC

meeting is far from over. CLUW members around the country will continue to discuss this issue through panels, educationals, and debates. The vote at the NCC, taken after a hasty and poorly organized discussion, was only an initial expression of opinion. The question will come up again at future NCC meetings and will be a major question at the next national convention.

The NCC called for the next convention to be held in the Midwest in December 1975. The convention will be open to all CLUW members.

Several other resolutions were passed at the NCC meeting. Among the more important was a resolution in support of the undocumented workers, calling for "the cessation of the inhumane activity of deportation," and a resolution in support of the organizing drive of the farm workers in the Rio Grande Valley.

## ...LA cops

*Continued from back page*

tings, federal grand juries were convened to harass political activists. But now that radicals are the targets there is complete inaction.

Rose Chernin, a leader of the Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights, cited recent revelations proving police complicity with right-wing terrorists in Chicago, and asked Bradley whether similar complicity accounts for the inaction of the Los Angeles Police Department.

Byron Ackerman of the PRDF urged Bradley to take personal responsibility for ensuring an effective investigation. Bradley, visibly angry, refused, stating, "What do you mean, take responsibility? That is the biggest bunch of nonsense I've ever heard."

The day before the meeting with Bradley, a similar delegation picketed police headquarters and then crowded into a meeting of the Los Angeles Police Commission to demand police action.

The media gave wide coverage to this event and the meeting with the mayor. Representatives of the delegation to the mayor vowed to continue their campaign to focus public attention on the city administration's inaction until the right-wing terror is brought to a halt.

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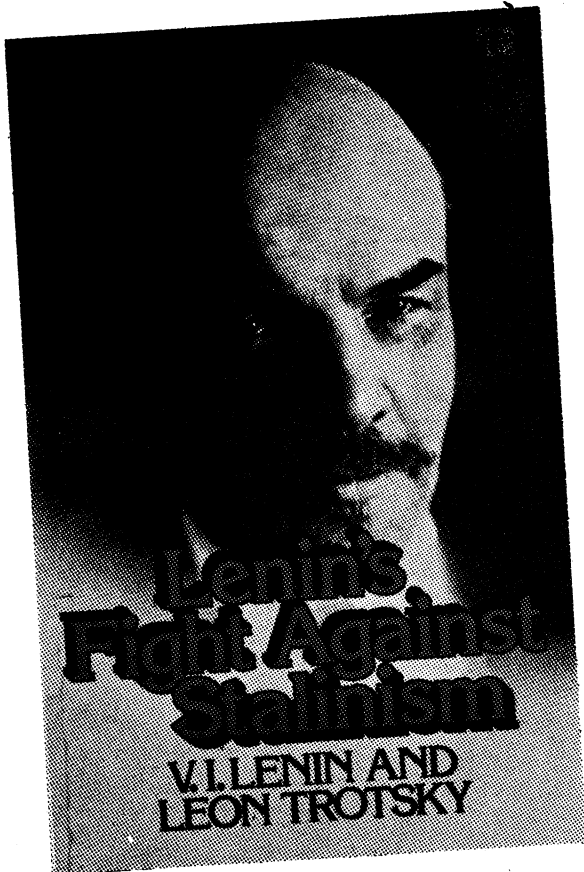
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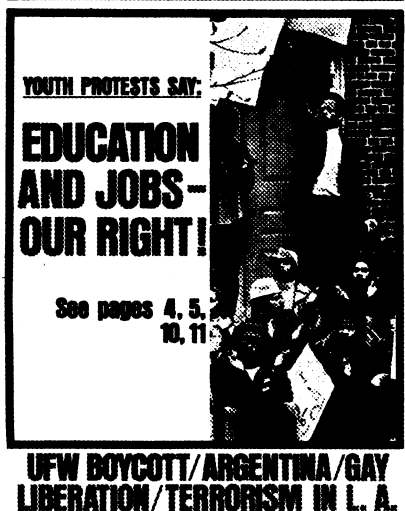
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# THE MILITANT

## Delegation confronts Bradley

# Demand L.A. cops halt terror bombings

By Arnold Weissberg

LOS ANGELES—A forty-five-member delegation met with Mayor Tom Bradley and police representatives June 6 to demand that the Los Angeles police put an end to the recent wave of right-wing terror bombings here.

The delegation included representatives of groups that have been victims of the attacks, including the Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case, the Socialist Workers party, Arab Community Relations Council, and the Midnight Special bookstore.

Also present were representatives of the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF), Campaign for Democratic Freedoms, American Civil Liberties Union, the Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights, Social Services Union Local 535, and representatives of three Los Angeles City Council members.

Since early February there have been fourteen right-wing bombings here, beginning with a February 2 tear-gas bombing of a rally of several thousand sponsored by the Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case.

Two days later, a lethal fragmentation bomb was exploded in the Central-East campaign headquarters of the Socialist Workers party. Twenty-five campaign workers narrowly escaped serious injury. That same night the Unidos bookstore, run by the October League, was similarly bombed.

In an interview in the March 21 issue of the *Los Angeles Free Press*, a leader of the National Socialist [Nazi]



Steve Schmuger of Political Rights Defense Fund, demanding Mayor Bradley (right) act to stop right-wing attacks.

Liberation Front, Joe Tommasi, boasted that his organization was responsible for the bombings of the SWP headquarters and Rosenberg rally.

*Free Press* reporter Jeanne Cordova wrote, "Explaining that the SWP has 'a potential that far surpasses any other left-wing group,' Tommasi said it was his organization's purpose to 'stop' the Marxist group. 'We wanted them to know the score,' the Nazi confirmed, 'We've had our eye on them and they don't get to get away with what they're doing . . . or they get to end up in the river.'"

Tommasi referred to the Rosenberg rally as "just another Red function" and called his group's bombing of the event "significant and successful."

He told the *Free Press*, "We know the cops aren't interested if we bomb the Left."

And indeed, the police showed no interest in arresting Tommasi in spite of his public admissions of the bombings. In the face of this deliberate inaction, it was no surprise that the bombings continued.

On the night of May 2, a pipe bomb exploded above the roof of the Westside SWP campaign headquarters while ten campaign workers were inside. The police refused to call the bomb squad, insisting that a "large firecracker" was responsible for the explosion. The next day campaign workers found bomb fragments all over the roof and the police were forced to admit that indeed a bomb had been thrown.

### Protests mount

In response to the inactivity of the police and city administration, which has had the effect of encouraging the bombers, the PRDF initiated a campaign to force action against the terrorism. Public meetings, picket lines, and letters of protest to Mayor Bradley were organized. The June 6 meeting with Bradley was a direct result of these efforts.

At the meeting, Steve Schmuger, of the PRDF, told the mayor, "Since

campaign headquarters is that SWP leader Lew Jones, who witnessed the attack and gave a full report to the police, is unwilling to submit to police hypnosis for the alleged purpose of "sharpening his memory" of the event!

When asked why they refused to arrest Nazi leader Tommasi after he boasted of the bombings, police representatives said they had questioned Tommasi but since he now denies carrying out the bombings, there is nothing they can do.

### 'Joint task force'

In the memorandum, Davis claims, "There presently exists a joint task force consisting of L.A.P.D., L.A.S.O., Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and the District Attorney's investigative personnel. All of these agencies have combined their efforts in an attempt to solve the Socialist Workers Party bombings in the greater Los Angeles area."

The fact that Davis would have the public believe that such an impressive array of law enforcement agencies has been unable to come up with a single clue to the bombings is a sign of his contempt for basic democratic rights. At a National Rifle Association meeting last April he said that the police could no longer protect people and urged the formation of armed vigilante groups.

Jeff Cohen of the Campaign for Democratic Freedoms reminded the mayor that when the Weather Underground was accused of several bom-

*Continued on page 26*

## Protest rally

LOS ANGELES—On June 20, a rally to defend civil liberties and protest police inaction in apprehending the right-wing terror bombers will take place at 8:00 p.m. at Fritchman Auditorium, 2936 West Eighth Street, Los Angeles.

Speakers will include Aris Anagnos, president of the Southern California American Civil Liberties Union; Deborah Chankin of the National Women's Political Caucus; Rose Chernin of the Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights; Donald Freed of the Campaign for Democratic Freedoms; Rev. Stephen Fritchman; Dr. Morris Starsky, "Cointelpro" victim; and John T. Williams, of the Teamsters union.

Among the sponsors of the meeting are the Political Rights Defense Fund, the board of directors of the Southern California American Civil Liberties Union, the City Terrace chapter of La Raza Unida party, and Social Services Union Local 535.

Telegrams and messages of support to be read at the rally can be sent to the Political Rights Defense Fund, Post Office Box 57031, Los Angeles, California 90057; telephone, (213) 483-8855.

