

# THE MILITANT

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

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# S.D. Indians say: 'FBI off our land!'

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## THE MILITANT

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# In Brief

**FREE RAY MENDOZA:** The Ray Mendoza Defense Committee is planning a July 10 candlelight march in Milwaukee to rally support for Mendoza, who was railroaded to prison on two counts of first-degree murder. Mendoza was framed up on murder charges in the deaths of two drunken, off-duty cops.

Despite the fact that neither the defense nor the prosecuting attorney requested a change of venue, the judge moved Mendoza's trial to a rural, virtually all-white town 200 miles from Milwaukee. His supporters believe the move was made to isolate Mendoza from growing support in Milwaukee.

At the trial Mendoza was not allowed to enter a plea of self-defense. Crucial evidence was suppressed, and lie-detector experts say the results of their tests were distorted in court.

The march is set to begin at 7:00 p.m. on Walker Square. For more information call (414) 244-0422.

**PRSC DENOUNCES RED-BAITING:** Rep. Larry McDonald (D-Ga.), a member of the national board of the John Birch Society, filled three pages of the June 2 *Congressional Record* with a red-baiting attack on the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee. "The level of detail in McDonald's remarks suggest the hand of intelligence gathering organizations in its preparation, perhaps the Federal Bureau of Investigation," said the PRSC in a news release denouncing the smear.

"The government has sent FBI agents to our offices to question our staff and has had paid informants involved in our activities," charged PRSC Executive Secretary Alfredo Lopez. "This throwback to the McCarthy-type witch-hunts recognizes the importance of our work and tries to harass and intimidate people to keep them from supporting the independence movement in Puerto Rico."

**NEW McCARTHY?:** McDonald's red-baiting tirades have not been limited to the Puerto Rican independence movement. "To prove the need for a HISC [the recently abolished House Internal Security Committee, whose work is now formally in the hands of the House Judiciary Committee], he has been inserting into the *Congressional Record* lengthy papers documenting the alleged Communist affiliations of a wide variety of groups and individuals," says *Rolling Stone*.

Among the Bircher's targets have been energy activists (who "are attempting to use the energy crisis as an organizing tool to promote Marxist socialism in this country"), the People's Bicentennial Commission, and the Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance.

Where does McDonald get all his inside dope? From his own research, he says. "That's absolute bullshit," Frank Donner, an expert on the right-wing, told *Rolling Stone*. "He's sort of holding the fort for the Red-hunters. They usually pick one guy to feed the files to."

"There hasn't been anything like this since the fifties," said an aid to an anti-HISC member of Congress, "McDonald's the new McCarthy, and if it wasn't for congressional immunity, he'd have some libel suits slapped on him."

**CHESTER MEMORIAL—** A Memorial meeting for Bob Chester, the veteran socialist who died June 22, has been scheduled for Sunday, July 6, at 8:00 p.m. in San Francisco at 1519 Mission Street. Speakers include Carol Lipman, Marvel Scholl, Paul Montauk, and Asher Harer. Last week we erroneously reported that the meeting would be held July 5.

**CHICANO PROFESSOR VS. DISCRIMINATION:** Dr. Manuel Guerra was hired as head of the Foreign Languages Department at California Polytechnic State University at San Luis Obispo in 1973. When Guerra asked for an investigation of discrimination against Chicanos and called for setting up an affirmative-action program, his dean moved to fire him.

A faculty committee challenged the dean, and Guerra was rehired for the next school year. However, Guerra still filed complaints charging discrimination against Chicanos with both federal and state fair-employment commissions.

The dean again moved to fire Guerra. Despite further protests from the faculty committee, the university president gave Guerra notice on December 13, 1974, that he would not be rehired.

The Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund has now filed a class-action suit on Guerra's behalf.

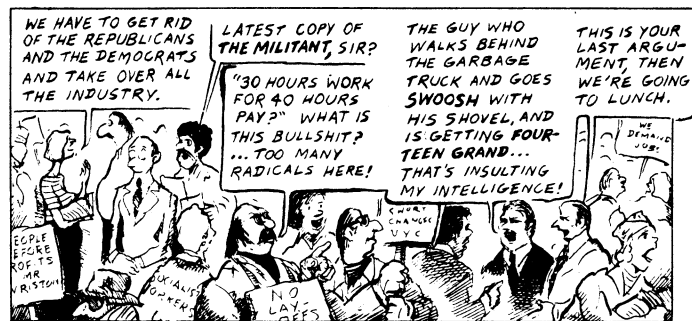
Besides monetary damages and reinstatement of Guerra, the suit asks that the state university system establish concrete goals for hiring Chicanos. Less than 5 percent of system employees are now Chicano. Nearly 20 percent of California's population is Spanish-surnamed.

**TARBORO THREE TO BE RELEASED:** Once sentenced to death for allegedly raping a white woman, three young Black men will go free August 18. Jesse Walston, Bobby Hines, and Vernon Brown were sentenced in 1973 to the North Carolina gas chamber.

A series of demonstrations and an appeal by the Southern Poverty Law Center resulted in a reversal of their conviction by the state supreme court.

The three continued to maintain their innocence but pleaded nolo contendere (no contest) to a lesser charge to avoid the ordeal of another trial. Consequently, prosecuting attorneys agreed to suspend their sentences as of August 18.

**THE MILITANT GETS AROUND:** "Stan Mack's Real Life Funnies" is a regular feature of New York City's *Village Voice*. "Guarantee: all dialogue is recorded verbatim" is the pledge affixed to each comic strip. The artist features his impressions of various happenings around the city. The topic for the June 16 issue was the Wall Street rally called by municipal unions on June 4 to protest cutbacks and firings. Below is a panel from the strip, verbatim.



**AFRICAN VICTIMS OF U.S. RACISM:** The official representative of the Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) African National Union in the United States, Tapson Mawere, and an associate, Synos Mangazva, face up to two years in prison after a run-in with U.S.-style racism in Delaware.

A bus the two were travelling in broke down while in Delaware. Along with many other passengers, they went to a nearby restaurant to wait for a new bus. They were waiting to be served when a plainclothes cop, who failed to identify himself, tried to haul away Mangazva. When he resisted, he was pushed through a glass door and seriously cut.

Mawere protested, and cops then arrested both of them and held them in jail overnight. They were charged with resisting arrest, disorderly conduct, and interfering with police in the performance of duty.

The African Defense and Aid Fund to the American Committee on Africa is asking that protests be sent to the Harrington Police Department, Harrington, Delaware.

—Nelson Blackstock

## YOUR FIRST ISSUE?

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Joanne Little's fight for freedom is winning support from opponents of racism everywhere. The *Militant* carries regular reports on this important defense effort. To keep up with this case and other developments in the Black movement, subscribe to the *Militant*.

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## Walkout '100 percent effective'

# Garbage strikers vow: 'No layoffs!'

By Fred Richards

NEW YORK, July 2—"We may be garbagemen, but we will not be treated like garbage!"

With that determined spirit, New York City's 10,000 sanitation workers began a powerful wildcat strike July 1. As an estimated 50,000 tons of garbage piled up by the end of the second day, city officials conceded the strike was 100 percent effective.

The strike was sparked by the layoff of 2,934 sanitation workers as part of Mayor Abraham Beame's "crisis" budgetary measures. A total of 19,000 city employees were notified July 1

For editorial on New York sanitation workers' strike, see page 10.

that their pink slips were on the way.

The sanitation strike is the first major union challenge to the layoffs and cutbacks being implemented by the Beame administration.

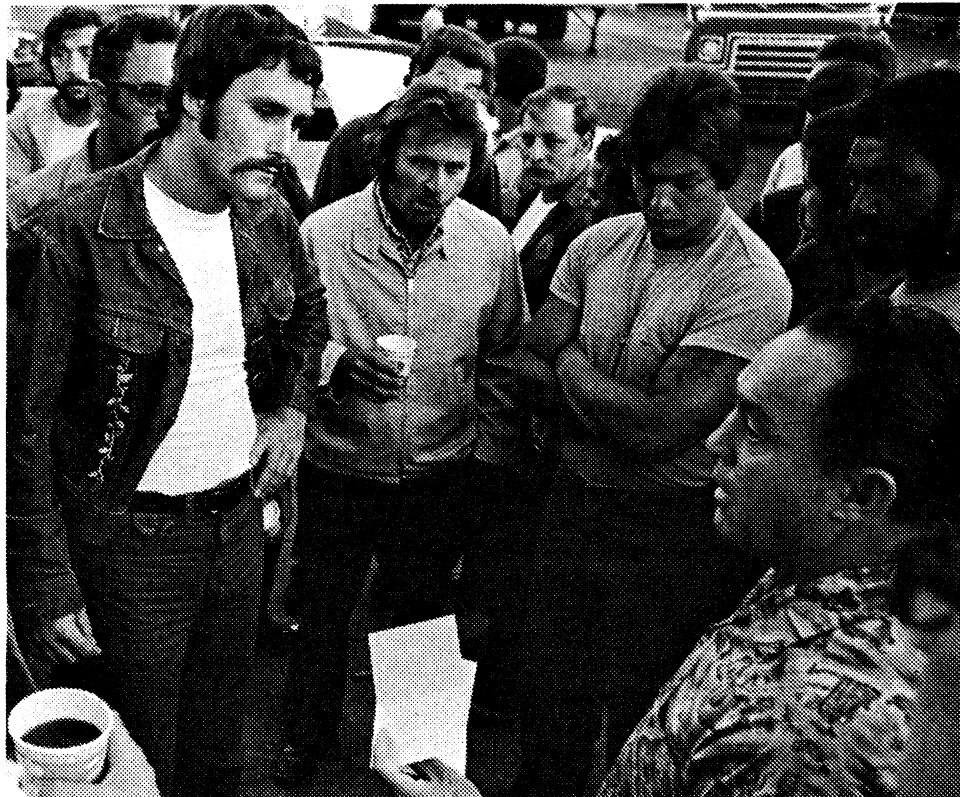
Shortly after the 6:00 a.m. day shift began July 1, hundreds of sanitation workers set up picket lines outside the department garages. Others, who had already signed in, refused to take their trucks and equipment past the picket lines. Still more workers called in sick.

At the Ninety-first Street garage, only a few blocks from Mayor Beame's Gracie Mansion, pickets blocked the ramp with their cars and shouted: "Wait'll Abe Beame gets a whiff of this" and "The hell with those politicians."

The strike came only hours after the Appellate Division of the State Supreme Court ruled that the city had the right to lay off members of the Union of Sanitationmen's Association, an affiliate of the Teamsters union.

This ruling overturned a previous decision by a supreme court justice barring the layoffs because of a contract provision guaranteeing the sanitation workers 261 days of work a year.

Sanitation union President John DeLury has refused to publicly sanction the strike. He says it's now beyond



Sanitation workers at Garage Thirty in Brooklyn hear union representative (right) tell them strike is not authorized. Response: 'We're going out anyway!'

his control. "I, the mayor, Christ Almighty is not going to stop this," he told reporters.

On July 2 the city obtained a court order directing the sanitation workers to halt their strike. The union opposed the city's action, arguing that the leadership had done everything possible to get the men back to work. They also charged that the city had "deliberately provoked a strike to put pressure on the legislature" to produce the money needed for the city budget.

It appears unlikely that the strikers will comply with the order. "We'll go back provided everybody has a job," was the comment of one worker on the first day of the strike. That sentiment of unity is strong, and nobody expects the court order to dampen it.

On July 2 Gov. Hugh Carey refused to rule out the possibility of using the

National Guard to break the strike, saying only that he is ready to aid the mayor "in every way."

"They'll need a big section of the National Guard," a worker at Garage Five on Manhattan's West Side told the *Militant*. "Because they're not coming out of here with trucks. They'll have to put garbage in the army trucks," he said.

While the younger workers, for the most part those facing the layoffs, appear to be leading the strike, it has the support of the overwhelming majority of the sanitation union members.

At the District 30 garage in Brooklyn, many of the men are Vietnam veterans. A veteran with five years' seniority talked with *Militant* reporter Martha Harris about his feelings on the layoffs.

"I took this job for twenty years, and

the city guaranteed twenty years of work," he said. "Don't think we like this work. It's hazardous. We contract diseases. We risk our health and lives picking up dead animals and things people won't touch."

"Last week a guy loaded seven sticks of dynamite onto his truck without knowing it," he continued. "It's eight hours of struggling, from six in the morning to two in the afternoon, with a half-hour for lunch and a few minutes for a coffee break at eight o'clock. We pick up sixteen tons a day per truck. We have this job for the security we were promised."

While Harris stood talking to the men, six cop cars drove up. "Why are they here?" she asked.

"To protect the city's property," one man answered. "Most of our trucks are stashed away at another garage because they think we'll smash them up if anyone tries to move them out."

"Will you?" Harris asked.

"You bet!" came the unequivocal reply. "We'll punch holes in the tires. We'll do anything to keep them from crossing our line."

Many workers not laid off will now be demoted. Four hundred supervisors will be put back on "street duty" to replace some of the 3,000 workers eliminated.

But demotions and speedup aren't the only concern of those still on the payroll. "If they lay these guys off now, what are they going to pull on us later? Take our pensions away?" a Garage Five worker asked.

There are already indications that the sanitation workers' action may spread to other city workers facing similar layoffs. A walkout of Highways Department workers closed down the city's largest maintenance yard July 1. And those workers have appealed for support from laborers of the Water Resources Department.

Pickets closed down a Parks Department garage in Brooklyn July 2. Later in the day the strike spread to the Sanitation Department central repair shop in Queens.

## United march protests Beame's cutbacks

By Andy Rose

NEW YORK—Five hundred unionists, students, parents, and community activists staged a united protest against city budget cutbacks and layoffs here June 28.

The action was initiated by Locals 1930 (New York Public Library Guild) and 371 (Social Service Employees Union) of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

Demonstrators assembled at Union Square, then marched two miles through the Lower East Side of Manhattan to city hall for a brief rally.

Marching through the predominantly Puerto Rican community, which will be one of the hardest hit by social service cutbacks, they kept up a nearly constant barrage of spirited chants:

"United we stand/Divided we fall/Join the struggle/Jobs for all"; "Workers get laid off/Bankers get paid off"; "All city workers/Are in the same boat/Beame and the bankers/Are out to cut our throat"; "They say cut back/We say fight back"; and "Join the struggle/For jobs for all/March with us/To city hall."

Onlooking shoppers and strollers took leaflets and some joined the march. Supporters of the Por los Niños coalition fighting for Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese control of schools in Community School District One

formed a contingent with their own banners and joined the march along the route.

The protest was quite a bit smaller than organizers had initially hoped, but it had a significance that went beyond its numbers.

Although there have been many protests against the New York cutbacks, staged separately by different groups, this was the first to raise the perspective of appealing to all victims of the cuts to join together in demanding that there be no cutbacks and no layoffs.

The initiators of the June 28 action persistently warned that the city is trying to pit different groups of workers against each other over who should be cut back and who spared. They argued that only a united response could be effective.

Called on just a week-and-a-half notice, the June 28 march did not involve big enough forces to be a real example of the power of united mass action. It nevertheless served as an example of the approach that is needed and a first step toward mobilizing more powerful forces.

"It's a beginning," Patrick Knight, president of Local 371, told the rally. "We will be back. We've got to broaden out, we've got to continue. Remember we're in this for the same reason, and unless they divide us, we will be here at the end and we will win."

Speakers from various unions and community groups detailed how the cuts would affect their areas. David Beasley, president of Local 1930, explained how library closings and reduced hours were putting the city's cultural resources beyond the reach of most working people.

Other speakers included José Alvar-

ez Feblez of the Puerto Rican Socialist party; Sam Manuel of the New York Student Coalition Against Racism; Mary Vasiliades of the National Organization for Women; Joseph Schwab, vice-president of the United Regional Opportunities Center Employees; Nicomedes Sánchez of Por los Niños;

Continued on page 26



June 28: 'United we stand/Divided we fall/Join the struggle/Jobs for all!'



# Impact: a program to save education

By Jeff Mackler

SAN FRANCISCO—The thirty-third annual convention of the California Federation of Teachers, held here over the Memorial Day weekend, was marked by the emergence of the Impact Slate, a newly formed grouping that presented a comprehensive program for teachers to meet the crisis in public education.

Teachers in California, as across the country, are faced with massive layoffs, frozen salaries or actual wage cuts, drastic elimination of programs, and increased class sizes.

The California State Department of Education has reported that 15,000 teaching positions will be lost in the coming year. More than 150,000 positions will be lost nationally.

The Democratic-controlled state legislature has voted down even minimal stop-gap measures to deal with the school finance crisis. Democratic Governor Edmund Brown, elected with the support of both the CFT and the California Teachers Association (affiliated with the National Education Association), recently announced he would veto the only pending school

*Jeff Mackler is executive secretary of the Hayward, California, Federation of Teachers, AFT Local 1423. He was an Impact Slate candidate for vice-president of the California Federation of Teachers at the recent CFT convention, polling 45 percent of the vote.*

finance bill, S.B. 220.

With this action, most of the state's 1,000 school districts will make even more drastic cuts in staff and programs. In the face of huge local school budget deficits, teachers have been justifiably reluctant to conduct strikes at the local level, feeling that isolated strikes cannot compel the necessary state and federal funding.

## Impact program

The traditional remedies offered by the CFT leadership—local action and lobbying “friendly” Democratic and Republican politicians—were sharply

challenged by hundreds of delegates, who for the first time were open to the kind of far-reaching program presented by the Impact Slate.

To deal with the mounting crisis, the Impact program emphasized that “our strength lies in mobilizing teachers for action, rather than depending on the ‘good will’ of board members and legislators.”

The program proposed that while continuing to “exert maximum pressure at the local level,” the CFT should “begin to plan and organize coordinated actions on a regional and state-wide basis geared to compelling the state government to properly fund education.”

Such a strategy “would include consideration of coordinated bargaining, coordinated demonstrations and/or work stoppages, and perhaps coordinated strike action,” the Impact program stated.

It continued: “It is obvious that such a strategy *cannot* be fully implemented by the CFT alone. To be effective, we must seek to involve all teachers, as well as our allies in the labor movement and in the community.”

Impact Slate speakers stressed the need for a campaign to lessen rivalry between the CFT and the CTA and to promote coordinated action between the two teacher organizations.

## Cut war budget

To provide funds for education, the Impact program called for “drastic reductions” in federal military spending. “The reordering of priorities away from guns, bombs, missiles, and foreign military adventures can free us to finally solve the serious need for jobs, minority rights, and basic human welfare which our society presently faces,” the program stated.

It also called for revision of the tax structure to place the burden of financing education on banks, corporations, and the wealthy, instead of on working people.

Impact speakers warned that the current system of school financing, which relies almost entirely on regressive sales and property taxes, has the effect of dividing teachers from potential allies in the community and the labor movement.

The degree of support for action around such a program could be gauged when it was proposed to recess the convention for a demonstration in San Francisco's Union Square on the question of school financing.

The proposed demonstration was to demand “that the legislature and the Governor provide sharply increased funding for education through corporate taxation and pass a collective bargaining law which conforms to CFT policy.”

Simply to bring this resolution to the convention floor as a special order of business required a two-thirds vote. It was opposed by the CFT leadership, including President Raoul Teilhet, who had earlier led a fight at a CFT state council meeting against a resolution to initiate statewide demonstrations on this issue.

Nevertheless, the motion received the necessary two-thirds of the more than 700 registered delegates. After debate, to the dismay of the CFT leadership, the resolution to hold the demonstration passed overwhelmingly.

The Impact Slate did not limit its program to narrow “bread and butter” questions, but explained the need for a strong commitment on major social and political issues as well. In addition to the position against war spending, it



Militant/Howard Petrick

Teachers join California demonstration for jobs earlier this year. Impact Slate calls for slashing war budget to make funds available for schools.

put forward resolutions calling for:

- Affirmative action for women and oppressed minorities, including support for preferential hiring and a modification of the seniority system so that recently hired Blacks and women don't suffer a disproportionate share of layoffs.

- Support for the right of Black students to attend desegregated schools; support for busing as a means to desegregate schools; and unconditional opposition to racist antibusing attacks in Boston, in Pasadena, California, and elsewhere.

- Full support for the United Farm Workers union, noting that passage of a collective bargaining law does not mean the end of their struggle for social and economic justice.

A positive stand on issues such as these is vital for teachers to win and keep allies among the most oppressed workers and the minority communities.

A significant discussion on affirmative-action policy was begun at the convention, sparked by recent remarks of American Federation of Teachers President Albert Shanker in opposition to “goals,” “timetables,” and “guidelines” in affirmative-action programs. Shanker characterizes such steps to guarantee the effectiveness of affirmative action as “discrimination in reverse.”

Several CFT locals submitted resolutions before the convention affirming support to goals, timetables, and guidelines. In addition, the CFT Women in Education Committee, the only elected committee in the CFT, passed a resolution calling for censure of Shanker because of his public statements on affirmative action, which appeared to be contrary to AFT and CFT policy.

Resolutions supporting the setting of goals and timetables were passed in committee, but, like most of the convention resolutions, never reached the floor because of the heavy schedule. As a result they were referred to the state council, which meets quarterly and consists of elected representatives from all CFT locals.

Impact Slate resolutions on Boston and busing, school financing, coordinated teacher action, and other issues were also passed in their respective committees.

## CFT elections

The Impact Slate ran eleven candidates for the sixteen open positions for CFT vice-president. The slate did not contest the position of CFT president.

All Impact candidates have been deeply involved in building the teacher union movement; all were past or present officers of their locals.

The Unity Caucus, headed by CFT President Teilhet, ran a full slate of

sixteen candidates for vice-president. They presented no program on the key issues facing California teachers, contenting themselves with the knowledge that the five or six major local voting blocs, including San Francisco and Los Angeles, would be enough to ensure victory. Indeed, Teilhet's campaign literature boasted that his candidates were from locals that collectively held 55 percent of the total vote.

The Impact candidates averaged an impressive 30 percent of the vote, with three receiving more than 40 percent. The Unity Slate averaged 59 percent, while various independent candidates and other groupings received the rest of the votes.

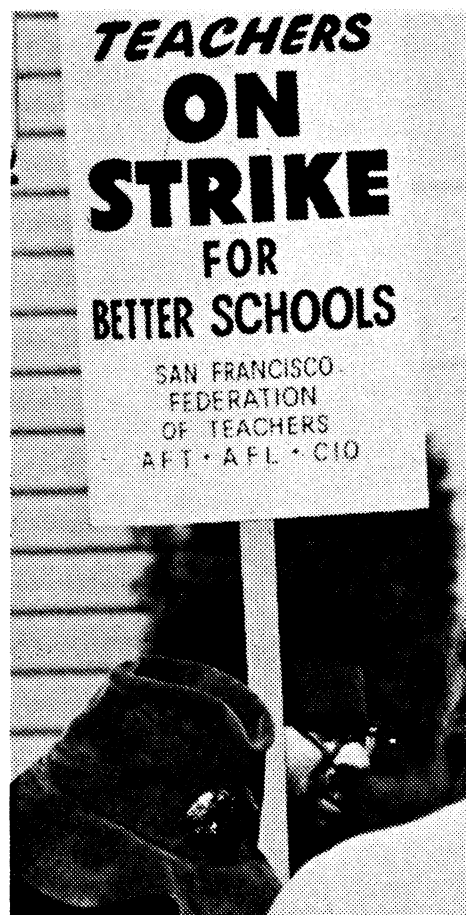
The election results were clear evidence of the responsiveness of delegates to the Impact program—especially when taken together with the support for Impact resolutions.

The Impact program was seen as entirely appropriate for the national AFT and NEA as well. Several of the Impact resolutions to the CFT convention were also submitted to the national AFT convention, scheduled for July 10-16 in Hawaii.

AFT President Shanker has publicly opposed cuts in war spending, coordinated strike action, and meaningful affirmative action. He remains “neutral” in the confrontation between racists and the Black community in Boston.

Many CFT delegates, keenly aware of Shanker's reactionary positions, welcomed the clear statements of opposition presented by Impact candidates.

Prior to the convention it was announced that both Shanker and Governor Brown would address the delegates. Neither showed up. They may have felt that the militant climate at this convention was not appropriate to their style of politics.



Militant/Howard Petrick

San Francisco strike last year. Now huge budget cutbacks make teachers reluctant to conduct strikes on local level.

## Which Way for Teachers?

Anthology. 22 pp., \$.50.

Includes: “A Fighting Program for Teacher Unionists,” “In Defense of Quotas: A Reply to Shanker,” “‘Teacher Unity’ in New York: The Real Record,” and “Teachers Discuss the Fight to Defend Jobs, Salaries, and Schools.”

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# NEA report blasts racist book-burners

By Cindy Jaquith

WASHINGTON—Today the battle lines in the fight of Blacks for equal education are drawn most sharply around the question of busing to achieve desegregation. But a related struggle, in the form of a controversy over textbooks, is raging in Kanawha County, West Virginia.

At the root of the textbook fight are the issues of racism in the schools and academic freedom—questions of special concern to all teachers, students, and oppressed minorities.

The Kanawha County battle began more than a year ago when right-wing fundamentalist preachers and their followers began denouncing public school use of textbooks that included writings by Black authors.

When classes opened in the fall of 1974, the book burners mobilized sizable demonstrations against the books and boycotted the schools. They broadened their targets to include virtually every book used in the schools, condemning these texts as "anti-American," "anti-Christian," and "anti-white."

Encouraged by the failure of the board of education or elected officials to stop their censorship drive, the right-wingers escalated their actions, frequently employing violence to intimidate supporters of the books.

One of the few organizations that has sought to organize counteractions to the book-burning campaign is the National Education Association, which represents teachers in Kanawha County. The NEA has been on a drive to educate the public about the real issues involved in the textbook controversy.

In December 1974 the NEA conducted public hearings in West Virginia. The results of those hearings have been published in an informative report issued by the NEA's Teacher Rights Division.

The report seeks to expose the reactionary motives of the textbook opponents, particularly their attacks



Birds of a feather: Flag-waving bigots who tried to ban school books in West Virginia (above) have joined forces with Ku Klux Klan and antibusing racists.

NEA Reporter

on Black education.

The book burners have denied they are racists. But as the report points out, they display "a pervasive concern with writings related to race." Frequently they mask their opposition to literature expressing Black pride by charging that such books are "anti-white."

The NEA report quotes some of the right-wing objections made to the books:

- On *My Childhood*, by James Baldwin: "The story is anti-white. . . . Has the White man caused all the problems of the Negro race in Ameri-

ca? Is Mr. Baldwin, in any way, responsible for his own problems?"

- On *A Toast to Harlem and Temptation*, by Langston Hughes: "Anti-Christian in a satirical fashion."

- On a text stating that the problem of race is a white problem: "Writer's opinion. Should not be stated as a proven fact."

- On a text discussing what to call Black people: "This is ridiculous. What does this have to do with the instruction of English?"

In other words, if the book burners had their way, every text that tells the truth about racism or reflects Black

pride would be thrown out the window. The censorship campaign, states the NEA report, "poses another threat to rights that have been newly won: the right of racial and ethnic minority groups to be included in the textbooks. . . ."

This threat is linked to the attacks on desegregation taking place in Boston and other cities, the report explains: "For the textbook issue in Kanawha County, like the busing issue in Boston, has become a focus of national attention. Both issues involve race. And both books and busing have been a continuing target of extremist attack."

The book burners see this link also. This spring, textbook protest leaders joined with the figures directing the antibusing movement in Boston to form a national racist organization, called ROAR, after the Boston antibusing group.

Ultrarightist groups such as the Ku Klux Klan have also come out of the woodwork, holding public rallies in Kanawha County to cheer on the textbook opponents. KKK Imperial Wizard James Venable has denounced the books as "part of a Communist plot."

Thus far, the reactionary forces in Kanawha County have been better organized than defenders of the books. They have outmobilized those in favor of academic freedom and the right of Blacks to learn their own history and culture. Undoubtedly, the racists will rear their ugly heads again next fall when schools reopen.

The campaign to get out the truth about the textbook controversy needs to be broadened to effectively counter the right wing. The NEA can play an important role in uniting teachers, students, and the Black community in defense of the right to freedom in education. Without such a countermobilization, the racist forces will be able to inflict a defeat for civil rights in West Virginia that can have powerful repercussions elsewhere.

## Houston: 'magnet schools' or desegregation?

By Dan Fein

HOUSTON—Public schools in Houston are segregated. No one denies this fact today. What it means in practice is that Chicanos and Blacks receive an inferior education.

This discrimination is reflected in the fact that a lower proportion of Chicanos and Blacks than whites graduate from high school and go on to college. Texas has become the number-one state in the nation for high school push-outs.

Under federal court order to desegregate, the Houston school board voted approval of a "magnet school plan" May 12 and sent the plan to the courts for approval.

"Magnet schools" are supposed to attract students from all races and from all over the city because of the special programs they offer. However, the forty-three proposed "magnet schools" will affect at most 5.5 percent of Houston's 200,000 students.

The figure may well be lower. The *Houston Post* conducted a survey at three schools where the plan is to be implemented and found that students, by a 2-to-1 margin, would not participate in the plan.

The real essence of the "magnet school plan" was summed up by Houston school board member Hazel Bracken recently when she stated, "We

never said we're going to desegregate."

The fact is that the school board concocted this plan to keep most Blacks and Chicanos in segregated, inferior schools, and to guarantee that the schools in the wealthy southwest area of Houston will remain lily-white.

The racism rampant in the Houston school system is typified by Bracken, who stated in an interview with the *Houston Chronicle Magazine*: "I want to provide for the district's poor children, but when I put pencil to paper, I realize there's got to be an end to the giving. I can see where people get carried away in wanting to take from those who have and give to those who have not. But this is contrary to man's basic nature. It makes lazy, slothful beggars, so to speak, out of the group that doesn't have."

Bracken continued, "I've talked to the minorities about this a good deal. I've told them that I'm giving up four years of my life to help their children learn to help themselves, and in the meantime, I think they need to help us with some kind of birth control."

The only members of the seven-member Houston school board who opposed the "magnet school plan" were David Lopez, a Chicano, and Rev. D. Leon Everett, who is Black. All five white board members voted for the plan.

C. Anderson Davis, executive director of the Houston NAACP, calls the plan a "hoax." He also asks why, if free busing is provided to transport students to "magnet schools," the school board cannot use busing to genuinely desegregate the schools.

The Houston Area Urban League issued a statement at the June 3 school board meeting denouncing the plan because of the negligible desegregation it will achieve.

*El Barrio News*, a new Chicano newspaper in Houston, devoted a special issue to exposing the plan.

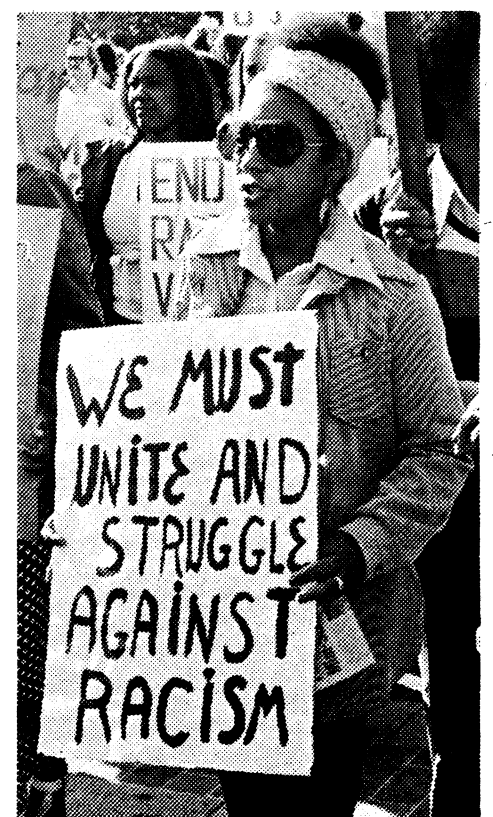
So far neither the Houston Teachers Association nor the Houston Federation of Teachers has taken a position on the issue.

The National Education Association is on record in support of full integration of schools and for busing to bring about desegregation. NEA President James Harris wrote in the March-April issue of *Today's Education*, journal of the NEA, that "every teacher has the responsibility to combat racism here at home. . . . The NEA is actively engaged in combating discrimination here and abroad."

The only way to carry out this policy in Houston today is to reject the "magnet school plan" for continued segregation and join with the Black and Chicano communities in demand-

ing immediate desegregation of the schools.

Through active support of such a struggle, teachers could take the fight for equal education a big step forward.



Militant/Harry Ring

# Can Shanker defend jobs in cutback crisis?



SHANKER: Demands more billions for Pentagon while school funding is slashed.

By Catarino Garza

NEW YORK—The end of the school year is usually a happy occasion. There are graduations, farewell parties, and visits from former students. Summer programs are announced, and students and teachers are off on vacation.

That was not the picture in New York City this June. Massive city budget reductions—\$125.7 million in education, the largest single cut—

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mean teacher layoffs, school closings, and elimination of programs.

Summer school this year, for example, will accommodate only 11,000 students, 44,000 fewer than last year.

Teachers were apprehensive about what next September would bring. Thousands were "excessed"—told there was no job for them at their school. Many wondered aloud whether the extra courses they had taken to improve as teachers had been worth the bother, and whether they should start writing revised job résumés.

These cutbacks pose what may well be the most severe test ever faced by the United Federation of Teachers and its leadership, headed by Albert Shanker. The UFT is the largest and most powerful teachers' local in the United States. Victory or defeat here will have repercussions for all teachers.

In addition, Shanker knows very well that his prestige and authority in the teachers' union movement nationally rest largely on his reputation for winning gains in New York.

## Shanker spells it out

Shanker had a good opportunity to spell out exactly where he stands at the final UFT delegate assembly meeting of the school year. Attended by 700 delegates, it was one of the largest delegate meetings of the year.

Shanker said that reports in the press about the severity of the layoffs and the fighting between Democrats and Republicans were generally accurate.

He went on to point out that he had not taken a public posture of protest as other municipal union leaders had. He said his reason for not doing so, which must have puzzled many of those listening, was that protesting was a sign that you had lost.

Instead, Shanker said, he had met privately with Governor Hugh Carey, Mayor Abraham Beame, and state legislators.

Shanker said that he did not want to be placed in the position of asking for something to be taken away from

anybody. Nevertheless, to prove the efficacy of his policy, he asserted that the sanitation budget had been cut 33.7 percent; police, 27 percent; parks, 26 percent; and education, only 11.2 percent.

His estimate of the situation was that parents would react once the budget was nailed down. Up to now, Shanker claimed, the parents' groups had done very little for education.

Negotiations for a new three-year contract, which Shanker had earlier expected to have wrapped up by this time, would probably begin in July or August, he now reported. Shanker insisted the union would stand firm on maintaining the contract and improving it. (A city labor negotiator recently told the *Wall Street Journal* that "our position at this point is zero" on new wage offers.)

The present UFT contract limits class size to thirty-two in elementary schools. Layoffs of teachers will mean larger classes, predicted at up to forty-five. Of course, if the class size is held down, many more teachers would be kept on. But where the funds to pay for these teachers would come from was not explained. Shanker said it was not the union's problem but a problem of management.

Delegates will be mailed reports on the progress of negotiations, Shanker said, and called into a meeting early in September to vote on contract ratification. At the end of the meeting the union's traditional position of "no contract, no work" was unanimously reaffirmed.

After Shanker's report, several proposals were put forward by a spokesperson for a group called Independent

Delegates for a Democratic Union.

They suggested a number of possible sources for increased education funding, including a moratorium on city interest payments to the banks and various measures to increase taxes on banks, insurance companies, and the wealthy.

They called for using the \$100 billion federal military budget to provide social services and full employment. They also said the UFT should demand that the Central Labor Council call a one-day general work stoppage.

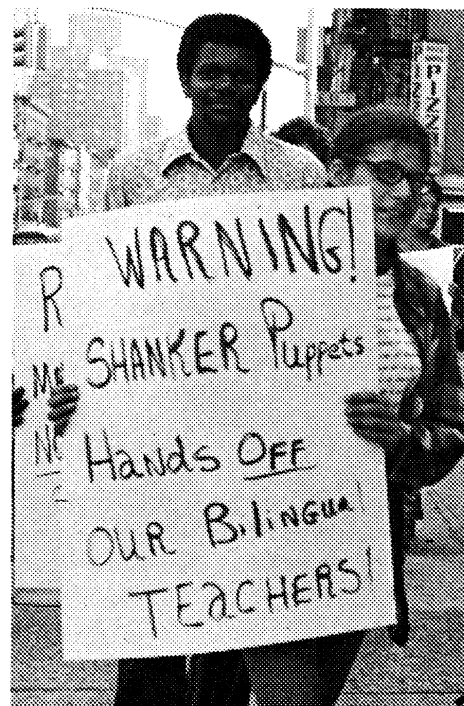
Shanker usually chairs delegate assembly meetings himself. But at this point he turned the chair over to Jules Kolodny, secretary of the local, and entered directly into a debate against these proposals.

## Backs war budget

He vehemently objected to the idea of cutting the Pentagon budget. He was asked if it were true he had signed a statement by the "Coalition for a Democratic Majority" that called for an \$18 billion increase in war spending.

Shanker answered that he certainly had, and argued that the country could pay for both "defense" spending and education if tax loopholes were closed.

This reactionary war-hawk position is not shared by many teachers today, nor is it in their interests. The billions spent for bombs and missiles, for propping up corrupt dictatorships from Chile to Spain, for CIA spying and subversion, and for hated military adventures like the war in Vietnam, do nothing to defend teachers and other working people from the real attacks we face.



Militant/Michael Baumann

Shanker's record of opposition to demands of Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese communities is major obstacle to united struggle against school cutbacks.

It is no accident that President Ford is pouring more money into the war budget while he slashes spending on education and other social services. Yet Shanker joins him in demanding even more for the war makers.

Nor did Shanker like the idea of taking money away from the banking profiteers through a debt moratorium. He argued that a moratorium would lead to the city being turned over to a receiver with dictatorial powers who could declare union contracts null and void.

In reality, if city workers built a movement powerful enough to force the administration to stop paying off the banks, they would be in a lot better position to defend their contracts than they are now. But Shanker doesn't think in those terms.

He did agree that it would be a good idea to increase taxes on the wealthy, but he failed to explain why all the Democratic and Republican "friends" the UFT has helped elect have not done this.

When Shanker had finished, a motion to close debate was passed. The Independent Delegates' proposals were voted down by an overwhelming majority.

## Teachers not pleased

Teachers in many schools did not seem pleased by reports about the policy adopted at their delegate assembly. Even staunch Shanker supporters in the South Bronx, where I teach, felt that his proposals didn't have much to say to laid-off teachers about what would happen in September.

In one school, disaffected teachers voted to go off the checkoff (UFT dues are checked off or deducted from paychecks) and place their money in escrow until they had a meeting with Shanker.

Although their anger is understandable, these teachers may not be able to vote on the contract or participate in union deliberations in September.

Their action did cause discussion among teacher representatives. One said that if the UFT were forced on strike in September for a contract that did nothing for new teachers, there would be little to prevent these teachers from crossing picket lines.

Shanker's policy of depending on "friendly" Democratic and Republican politicians is not bringing results. Governor Carey has not eliminated the repressive sections of the Taylor Law as he promised. (New York's Taylor Law bans public employee strikes). Carey hasn't come up with the funds for education he promised, nor has the Democratic majority in the state assembly. Mayor Beame's friendship has not managed to save jobs.

Teachers need an alliance with the community to save education in New York City. Yet Shanker's long-standing and virulent opposition to the aspirations of the Black and Puerto Rican communities—for a voice in their children's education, for more minority teachers, for bilingual and bicultural programs—has made Black and Puerto Rican militants justifiably suspicious of the UFT.

Shanker has not backed down one inch from his racist positions or outlined any serious proposal for common action with the communities.

Teachers will have the summer to ponder these questions. The opening of the new school year in September will pose a serious challenge to the entrenched concept that the union's task is simply to provide decent hours, wages, and conditions. This concept will have to change.

It will take a union leadership with confidence in its members and in the exploited people of New York City even to defend existing living standards. That is the challenge before the UFT and before the leaders of teachers and other public employees throughout the country.



# Antistrike bills threaten teacher rights

By Paula Reimers

DETROIT—Michigan teachers face the most serious challenge to their collective bargaining rights in many years. The state legislature is now considering laws to "solve the problem" of teachers' strikes—by severely limiting the right to strike and by imposing compulsory arbitration.

Fundamental issues confronting teachers across the country are at stake as the various antistrike bills are discussed by the 80,000-member Michigan Education Association and the 20,000-member Michigan Federation of Teachers.

A look at the background to the current debate clearly shows that the legislature's aim is to roll back gains won by teachers through their own militant actions in recent years.

The 1965 Public Employees Relations Act gave Michigan public employees, including teachers, the right to bargain collectively for their contracts. Even though strikes were still technically illegal, teachers quickly concluded that collective bargaining is meaningless without the right to strike.

At first the strikes were of only a few days' or weeks' duration. There were few attempts to get injunctions forcing the teachers back to work, giving rise to the myth that Michigan courts were reluctant to intervene in labor disputes.

Strikes became more numerous as teachers sought to maintain their standard of living against

*Paula Reimers is vice-president of Wayne County Community College Federation of Teachers, AFT Local 2000.*

the ravages of inflation. In September 1973 there were strikes by more than 100 teacher locals.

Most significant was the six-week strike of the Detroit Federation of Teachers, which idled 10,600 teachers and 270,000 students. The Detroit teachers refused to return to work under court injunction.

The subsequent proposal of Mary Ellen Riordan, DFT president, to end the strike by accepting binding arbitration, caused a deep split in the leadership and membership, but the union went back to work.

The second strike wave, in September 1974, while involving fewer locals (several dozen), showed a further rise in teacher militancy, more intransigence by boards in negotiations, and a stepped-up use of the courts in attempts to break strikes.

Leaders of the East Detroit Federation of Teachers and the Garden City Education Association were jailed for refusing to comply with back-to-work court orders. In the Crestwood school district, the board fired all striking teachers and hired scabs to replace them. The Crestwood Education Association reluctantly agreed to return to work under arbitration when a court ruled that the firings were illegal.

Last April, however, the Michigan Supreme Court ruled that the Crestwood firings were legal, thus



Striking Garden City teacher gives clenched-fist salute as he leaves jail in chains. Teachers cannot rely on courts to be 'neutral' in contract disputes.

putting the job of every Michigan teacher in jeopardy in case of strike. The Crestwood board has announced its intention to reaffirm the firings.

These three militant strikes have had an impact on the consciousness of teachers. They have seen the importance of solidarity among different teachers' locals, cutting across the narrow lines of MEA or MFT affiliation.

The power of the organized union movement and labor solidarity has impressed many teachers and caused them to more consciously seek allies among the rest of the union movement.

Large numbers of teachers are becoming aware of the antiunion role of the courts, although this is still widely misunderstood.

Illusions in the Democratic party and to some extent the Republican party are still strong. Governor William Milliken, a Republican, was endorsed by the MEA, while the Democratic majority in the state legislature was supported by the MFT. All these politicians in both the Republican and the Democratic parties are now supporting antistrike legislation.

All of the legislation proposed so far is completely reactionary and antiunion. It contains such features as negotiating timetables, severe limitations on the right to strike, strict penalties against individuals and unions engaged in "illegal" strikes, and, at some stage, compulsory arbitration.

The leaders of both the MEA and MFT have so far failed to challenge the government's antiunion offensive in any meaningful way. They have relied on lobbying with "friendly" legislators and have fallen in with proposals to help write "compromise" legislation.

Despite public statements of support for the right to strike, the leaderships of both organizations have backed deals with the legislature and expressed willingness to accept some form of compulsory arbitration.

In February the majority of the MFT Administrative Board, the state executive body, passed a resolution in favor of the unqualified right to strike and in opposition to all forms of compulsory arbitration. Opposing the resolution were Henry Linne, MFT president, and Mary Ellen Riordan, DFT president. However, the majority could not see the necessity for mounting an aggressive campaign to win public support, and refused to pass a resolution calling for such a campaign.

The debate continued at the MFT convention May 2-3. Wayne County Community College Federation of Teachers, Local 2000, introduced a resolution reaffirming the MFT's position in favor of the right to strike and against all forms of compulsory arbitration, *and stating opposition to any legislation that would violate that position.*

Riordan proposed deletion of the section on legislation. Her motion passed by a vote of 492 to 216, but only three locals (Detroit, Detroit Paraprofessionals, and Dearborn) voted for deletion, while the majority of MFT locals voted against. Because of weighted voting, the DFT alone commanded a mechanical majority at the convention.

## MFT presidential campaign

The debate also carried over to the election of state officers, with two challenges to Linne, the incumbent president. Tony Kaiser, president of the Hamtramck Federation of Teachers, gave verbal support to the right to strike but proposed no practical orientation to win it.

I ran for president of the MFT on a platform of absolute opposition to any limitation on the right to strike and to all forms of compulsory arbitration. The purpose of the campaign was to make sure there would be a full discussion of these crucial issues and to pose a clear alternative of reliance on the strength of teachers and their allies in the labor movement, not on the legislature and courts.

Although Linne was reelected, the vote showed a small but significant group of teacher delegates willing to back this position.

The likelihood is that antistrike legislation will pass the Michigan legislature this term. That means Michigan teachers will face an important test this fall, when some 300 local union contracts expire.

Both teachers and school administrators from around the country will be watching the developments in Michigan this fall. If the teachers bow to antistrike laws and court injunctions, the drive for further antiunion restrictions will be spurred on.

On the other hand, vigorous resistance by teachers, especially if they appeal for and win broader support from other unions and from the communities, can force the antilabor forces to pull back from trying to break the unions by legislative fiat or court decree.

## 'No compulsory arbitration!'

The following are excerpts from the position paper issued by Paula Reimers in her campaign for president of the Michigan Federation of Teachers.

I believe that teachers must have the same right to strike as any other workers. Limitations on that right to strike are totally inimical to the concept of unionism.

I oppose any form of compulsory arbitration, including that ordered by the courts, because it destroys collective bargaining by putting contract decisions in the hands of so-called "neutral" third parties.

[My position] states that negotiations are between the union and the employer and are not to be settled by third parties. It places no confidence in the legislature, the courts or so-called "neutral" arbitrators to decide our contracts. We will win good contracts or bad ones depending upon our own strength, not on the whims of third parties.

We should begin by understanding that we are not necessarily at the mercy of the legislature. Brothers and sisters should remember that we

helped to wipe legislation restricting the right to strike off the books. The reason new legislation is being proposed now is because teacher strikes have effectively voided the Public Employees Relations Act [which banned strikes]. PERA is now a dead letter. This is no thanks to the legislature. We did it ourselves. We can do it again.

We should undertake a massive campaign to win the working public to our side. We should work with the MEA if possible on this. We should place ads in the papers, hold press conferences and issue press releases to the media. We should send speakers to the meetings of our fellow unionists in the AFL-CIO, the UAW and the Teamsters. We should go on radio and TV talk programs, speak before community groups and hold public meetings and rallies for the right to strike.

I do not deny that the public has been poisoned against us by various reactionary forces, not the least of which are many of our school boards. It will not be easy to change those opinions; it cannot be done if we don't try.

## Rocks, bottles & fire bombs

# Boston: racists attack Blacks, vandalize homes

By Jon Hillson

BOSTON—"My son was terrified," Verna Staples said. "He had never experienced anything like this."

Verna Staples is Black. What she, her ten-year-old son, and her thirteen-year-old daughter experienced was being trapped in traffic on the edge of South Boston, unable to flee an ambush by rock- and bottle-throwing white racists.

This incident was one of twelve reported between June 21 and June 23 by Blacks who tried to drive through South Boston or stop at a beach on the fringes of the neighborhood whose name has become synonymous with racist violence. "Southie" has been the center of attempts by white bigots to stop school desegregation.

Another Black woman reported that her children were injured and the windows of her car smashed by young white hooligans as she approached a beach bathhouse.

Despite repeated incidents the police have not beefed up the "force" of one patrol car assigned to the area, and no arrests have been made.

The attempt to use terror to seal off South Boston to Blacks is part of a pattern of stepped-up violence against Black and Puerto Rican people in the city as a whole, growing out of the racist frenzy whipped up by opponents of school desegregation.

On June 10, the East Boston apartment of the Perry family was fire bombed. Soon afterward, another Black family in the same housing project received a fire-bomb threat over the phone. Blacks make up less than 2 percent of East Boston's 40,000 residents.

Also in East Boston, on June 18, 100 whites, some armed with bats and clubs, battled 40 Blacks. The whites initiated the attack after a gang of white thugs from nearby Orient

Heights had been repulsed from assaulting a group of Black youth several hours earlier.

In May, Orient Heights was the scene of fire bombings of the homes of Puerto Rican families.

On June 19, a Jamaican family—the Daleys—moved into a predominantly white section of Hyde Park, another center of opposition to school desegregation.

They were met by a gang of white "neighbors" shouting racist epithets, tossing rocks, and threatening to burn down their home. When Mrs. Daley and her younger brother tried to walk to a local supermarket, they were met by a hail of bottles, rocks, and a baseball bat thrown by white teenagers. Mrs. Daley's cheekbone was broken by one of the missiles.

When the cops finally arrived they told the *Boston Globe* that the Daleys were attacked because "they were shouting racial slurs at the whites." This fantastic story satisfied the "guardians of law and order." No arrests were made.

That evening, emboldened by their warm treatment from the police, forty thugs attacked the Daley house, smashing windows and uprooting a picket fence around the yard. It was only after the Daleys won their demand for around-the-clock police protection that the harassment abated.

These incidents raise the specter of further violence when school opens in the fall under Phase Two of court-ordered desegregation.

In spite of the terror campaign, however, the racists recently received a blow to their attempt to derail school desegregation. On June 23 the Supreme Court rejected an appeal filed by the Boston Home and School Association to delay implementation of Phase Two.



East Boston Community News

Richard Perry at his apartment in East Boston. Despite campaign of terror against Blacks and Puerto Ricans, cops refuse to make any arrests.

On the same day, Federal District Judge Arthur Garrity, who originally ordered desegregation, issued a statement that may help undercut attempts by the Boston School Committee to disrupt the extension of school busing.

The school committee had been dragging its feet on pupil assignments and refusing to meet with the forty-two-member Citywide Coordinating Council appointed by Garrity to monitor the workings of Phase Two.

Garrity said, "Where the plan [Phase Two] makes a specific provision, the power of the school committee is superseded and it is not just in the matter of student assignments, it is across the board."

"There are all sorts of things which the school committee has simply lost

the power to do," he said. Garrity has appointed two "experts" with the power of the court to oversee implementation of desegregation for the fall.

If enforced, the Garrity ruling would reflect a shift in favor of the Black community, which last fall found itself in the position of having the racist school committee—which has waged a ten-year fight against busing—administer the busing plan.

The racists have threatened that there will be "chaos" at the opening of school. The mounting incidents of terror over the summer indicate that this is no idle threat. It is imperative that Garrity be impelled to act with all necessary force—including federal troops if necessary—to prevent the racists from carrying out their threat.

## Where socialist candidates stand

# Discriminatory layoffs: what's the answer?

The following exchange is based on a discussion at a recent meeting for Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers party candidate for vice-president. A young supporter of Reid's campaign asked the candidate to clarify her stand on defending the job gains women and Blacks have won through affirmative-action plans.

**Question:** Many Blacks and women have been hired, or moved into higher-paying jobs, in the last few years through affirmative-action plans that they fought for. Now, through the "last hired, first fired" practice, they are being fired first in the layoffs. Some of them say that they think this is unfair and say they should not be the first fired. Do you think they are right?

**Reid:** Absolutely right. If the affirmative-action gains can just be wiped out under the seniority system when times get tough, then they didn't mean much, did they?

Look at what this means. When women and Blacks forced the bosses to hire and upgrade them, it was a victory over racism and discrimination against women. It was also a step forward for the whole labor movement. Why? Because it weakened one of the bosses' weapons—dividing the working class and pitting Black against white and male against female. It cut across the notion that Blacks and women don't deserve jobs, that we are expendable.

Now, the bosses are taking advan-



Militant/Joseph Ryan

**REID:** 'Disproportionate layoffs are discrimination and that's what I'm against.'

tage of the layoffs to further divide working people, by firing Blacks and women first and taking back what we have won. The bosses gain by this, not the workers.

**Question:** So you think they should fire the white male workers first?

**Reid:** No. What I'm saying is that the bosses shouldn't be allowed to use the layoffs to reduce the percentage of women and Blacks. That's all. The percentage of women and Blacks in the work force—won through struggle—

should be maintained.

Look. If a factory was 90 percent white and 10 percent Black before layoffs, and is still those same percentages after the layoffs, then Blacks have not been disproportionately affected. Right?

But that's not what's happening. In many places the percentage of Blacks and women is being reduced. Blacks and women are being disproportionately laid off. That's discrimination and that's what I'm against.

Take the example of Continental Can Company in Harvey, Louisiana. They laid off 200 workers, including 48 of the 50 Black workers at the plant. All but two of the Black workers had been hired since 1965. Now, some of the Black workers there went to court and said that the fact that they didn't have as much seniority as the whites was because of the boss's racist hiring policy. They said they shouldn't have to continue to pay the price of discrimination.

The judge ruled that some of the Black workers had to be rehired—enough so that the percentage of Blacks in the factory was the same after the layoffs as before. I think the judge was right, don't you?

**Question:** Yes, I do. It's true that your proposal would knock out the discriminatory aspect of the layoffs. But there's still a problem. People are still being laid off.

**Reid:** Absolutely true. There's still an enormous problem. It's a different

problem: how to stop the layoffs and provide everyone with a job.

I have a proposal for that, too. To stop the layoffs and provide jobs for all we need to shorten the workweek with no reduction in pay. We also need a government-funded massive public works program to provide useful jobs.

That's what I propose. But, unfortunately, what I propose isn't being implemented yet. And we have to deal with the fact that there are massive layoffs taking place, and the layoffs are hitting Blacks and women first and hitting us hardest. Now, I'm against the discriminatory aspect of the layoffs that are taking place—and that's what this whole fight by women and Blacks to protect their gains is all about. It's about fighting discrimination.

The union movement has to carry out a fight on both fronts. It has to fight against the discriminatory aspects of the current layoffs and it has to fight for jobs for all.

Remember, for many, many years Blacks and women have been locked out of many jobs, of the best jobs.

Companies refused to hire us. And, with all too few exceptions, the unions went along with this. Some unions became the enforcers of this discrimination policy. The bosses used reactionary prejudices of many workers to keep the working class divided.

We had to fight the companies and the union bureaucrats to win

Continued on page 26



# S.D. Indians say: 'FBI off our land!'

By Holly Harkness  
and José Pérez

PINE RIDGE, S.D., July 1—Despite protests from the Indians living here, more than 200 heavily armed FBI agents and Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) marshals are continuing their occupation of the Pine Ridge Oglala Sioux reservation. They have instituted a reign of terror since the killing of two FBI agents and a member of the American Indian Movement, Joe Stuntz, near the tiny reservation village of Oglala June 26.

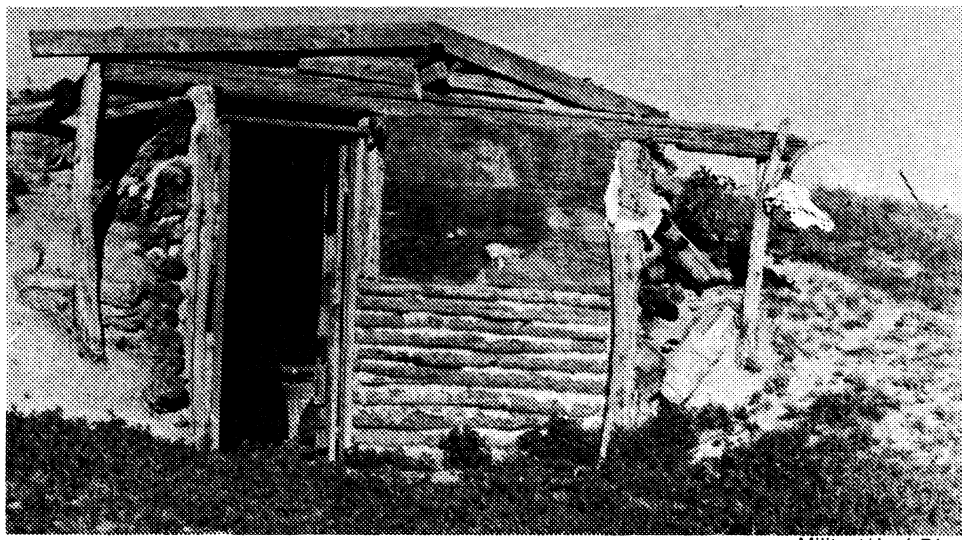
Searching homes without warrants and brutalizing the residents, the government agents have been operating under cover of the hysterical press campaign that followed the killing of the two FBI men. South Dakota Gov. Richard Kneip called the killing a "prepared ambush," while FBI officials described it as an "execution."

The June 26 confrontation came after a week of FBI harassment of Indian activists. The FBI force on the reservation was beefed up, supposedly to put an end to violence, which had included some killings. However, AIM supporters on the reservation report that the FBI went on a campaign of intimidation and harassment against them.

The pretext the FBI used was that it was looking for James Eagle, a militant on the reservation. Gladys Bissonette, grandmother of Eagle and also a relative of murdered AIM activist Pedro Bissonette, who was killed in 1974, told the *Militant* that the FBI came to her house several times in the days before the shooting, looking for Eagle.

The FBI also visited a number of other houses of AIM activists. Among the places repeatedly harassed in this fashion was the group of four tiny houses where the June 26 shootings took place.

The June 26 visit by FBI agents to these houses was the third that week. One of the houses was being used by AIM leader Dennis Banks and his family. Banks is on trial in Custer, South Dakota, a two-hour drive. AIM members and supporters have also



Militant/José Pérez

'Bunkers' and 'trenches' FBI claims Indians used in 'ambush' turn out to be chicken coops and root cellars.

stayed at the house or camped nearby during the trial.

The capitalist press has generally reported the official version of the shootout without any qualification. The government statements, however, are full of inconsistencies and lies. Among the most widely reported falsifications are the following:

- The shooting supposedly occurred when the FBI agents went to serve a warrant for the arrest of James Eagle.

Actually, the agents did not have any warrants with them, officials now admit, and Eagle was not at the houses where the shooting supposedly broke out.

## 'Sophisticated bunkers'

- The G-men were supposedly met with a carefully prepared ambush, caught in a cross-fire between "sophisticated bunkers" or "trenches" and one of the houses supposedly containing thirty Indians. Presumably there were more Indians in the "bunkers" and "trenches."

Actually, there was no "ambush." Even the FBI has backed away from this fabrication. There were no "bunkers" or "trenches"—only chicken coops

and root cellars. The thirty-plus Indians were later reduced to sixteen, and how the FBI arrived at this figure remains a mystery.

The FBI has not released the names of the sixteen, nor has it tried to get warrants for their arrest.

- Police reinforcements—300 according to the *Minneapolis Star*—rushed to the scene of the shooting. These supposedly engaged in a six- to ten-hour shoot-out with the Indians hiding in a house. The Indians supposedly escaped at dusk—the FBI suggested that perhaps they had ridden out of the place on horseback!

Actually, whatever shooting did occur that involved Indians had to be over by 3:00 p.m. Edgar Bear Runner, one of the eight elected district chairmen on the Pine Ridge Reservation, had received permission from the BIA to attempt to mediate the confrontation. When he got to the area shortly after three he found the houses empty. Although this was reported to the forces surrounding the houses, they continued their firing. Were the government forces ever surrounding sixteen Indians?

- The Indians supposedly "executed" the two dead FBI agents by dragging them out of their cars and shooting them "fifteen to twenty times each."

However, the government refuses to release autopsy reports, pictures of the corpses, or even the caliber of the weapons with which the agents were shot. That is, there is not a shred of evidence to back up this claim so far.

## Disappearing flak jacket

- The FBI at first claimed that the Indian killed in the incident was wearing a flak jacket taken from the body of one of the dead agents. Later, this was changed to a green army fatigue jacket taken from the trunk of a car belonging to one of the dead agents.

However, reporters have not been allowed to view the jacket or even see pictures of it. It should show bullet holes and bloodstains if Stuntz was really wearing it when he was gunned down.

The government refused reporters access to the site of the shooting until Sunday, June 29, three days after the incident occurred. When reporters questioned the FBI about the obvious inaccuracies on Monday, daily news briefings were canceled.

Even residents of the houses where the shooting had taken place were denied entry to their homes for about one day. During this period the FBI, BIA, and other government agents ripped apart their belongings, destroying everything in sight. Particularly vicious was the destruction of traditional Indian cultural objects and possessions of obvious sentimental value.

The FBI claims that its search is

directed at finding the sixteen people supposedly involved in the shootout. But all evidence indicates that its drag-net is being conducted with the aim of provoking a confrontation that would permit the government to carry out yet another massacre.

The Pine Ridge Reservation is the second-largest in the country. A large number of its 10,000 Sioux residents are supporters of the American Indian Movement. This was the site of the AIM-backed occupation of the town of Wounded Knee in the spring of 1973. Since then, both AIM and reservation residents have been the target of frame-ups, violence, and an intense campaign of provocation and harassment designed to break their struggle.

## A small army

The FBI refuses to give precise figures on the number of men and the amount of equipment it has assembled on the reservation. However, a small army of agents has been brought in from Chicago, Denver, Minneapolis, Omaha, and Quantico, Virginia. They have at their disposal helicopters, airplanes, jeeps, armored personnel carriers, and plenty of automatic weapons. Also present are two BIA Special Weapons and Tactics teams, and similar FBI units.

Agnes Lamont, a resident of Pine Ridge, watched "busloads of khaki-uniformed men" arriving at the BIA headquarters in this city June 27. "The bus doors were opened, and I saw boxes and boxes of ammunition," she said. "It looks like they're going to shoot every one of us Indians once and for all."

The government forces ride around the reservation in groups of at least half a dozen. It is the kind of force that became famous during the Vietnam War's "search and destroy missions."

While gathering material for this story, these reporters got a small glimpse of what the government's terror campaign is like. At 3:15 in the afternoon of June 29 we were in the living room of Gladys Bissonette's house when government agents started to question her son outside.

Four men were in front of the house, all carrying rifles with telescopic sights. Their leader approached the door, and Bissonette demanded that he leave her son alone, since he suffered brain damage in a car accident some years ago and is emotionally unstable.

Without identifying himself or his companions, the plainclothes agent began questioning her in a very hostile manner about the whereabouts of two Indian men, claiming that they had been in her house only minutes before. Bissonette demanded that the agents either identify themselves and produce a search warrant, or leave.

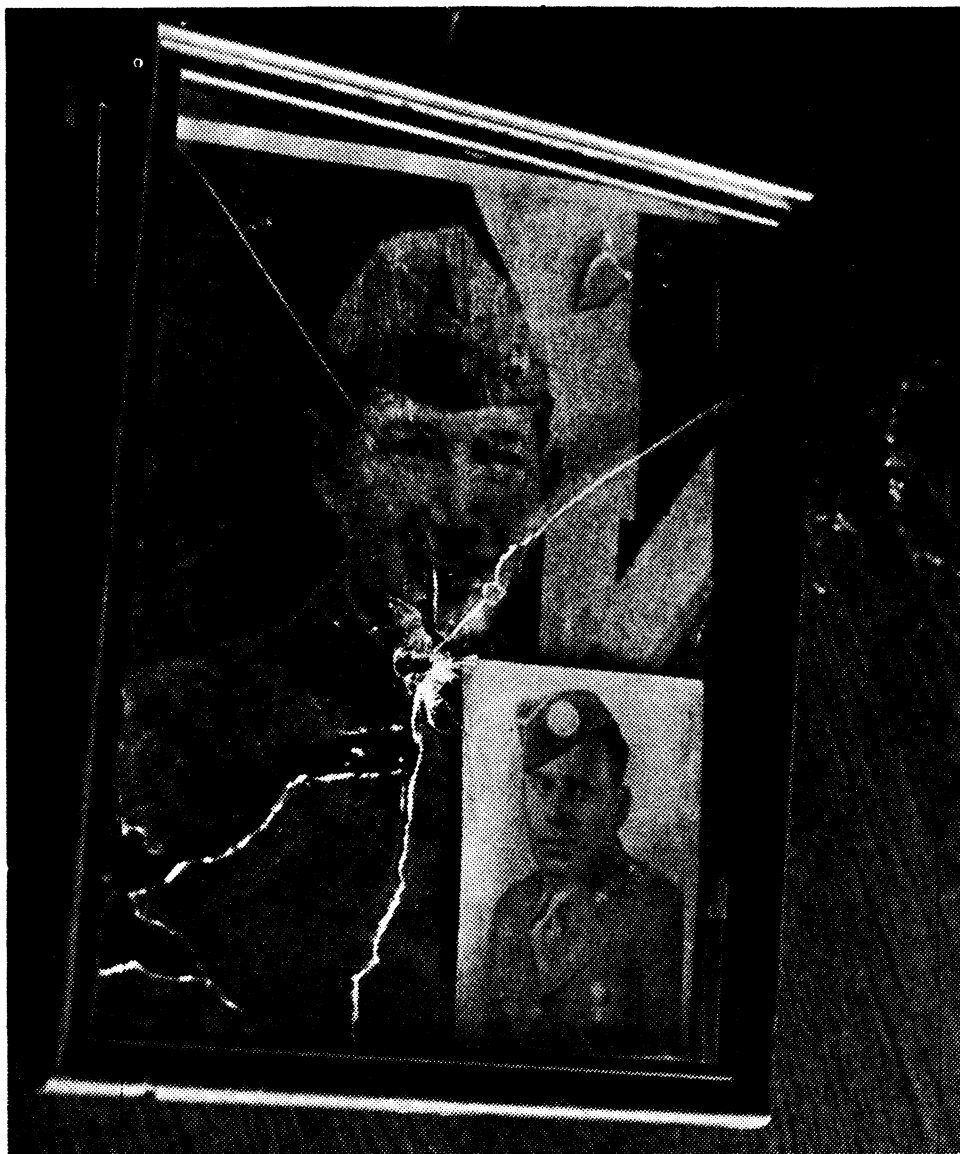
When the agents did not respond, she began screaming at them to get out. As they began to leave, four more men dressed in green army fatigues and heavily armed emerged from behind the parked cars on the road and from either side of the house. They climbed into a yellow minibus with "Head Start" painted on its sides, and roared off.

## No warrant—just a gun

There are frequent unreported incidents, as bad as this and worse, on the reservation each and every day. No warrant, no identification, just a gun in case any "natives" get "uppity."

Although none of the unidentified people being sought by the FBI have been found, many arrests have been made. One pattern that has already become clear is that suspected AIM members or supporters are picked up for vague charges such as vagrancy—charges that are later changed to ones such as assaulting a federal officer.

Continued on page 26



Militant/José Pérez

After shoot-out at Pine Ridge Reservation, FBI agents vandalized homes of Indian residents. One agent took aim at this photograph in home of Harry and Cecilia Jumping Bull. Photos are of family members—one killed in Korea, the other in Vietnam.

## The fight for jobs

"The recession for all practical purposes is over," Alan Greenspan, President Ford's top economic adviser, declared June 22. This flippant statement is no consolation to the millions of workers across the land who are unemployed.

A week after Greenspan's pronouncement, the Congressional Budget Office, an agency of the U.S. Congress, predicted that the unemployment rate will stay near 9 percent through this year and still will be near 8 percent by the end of 1976.

At his June 25 news conference, Ford rejected the idea of a federally funded jobs program, saying, "Economic recovery need not be bought at the price of unwise legislation and costly inflation."

The administration's argument against spending money for jobs is that it would be inflationary. But this is double-talk. It is certainly true that whatever Washington does, the economic cycle will begin to turn upwards only at the cost of a new round of virulent inflation.

But Ford's concern about inflation isn't deep enough for him to cut out the \$100 billion the government spends on preparations for war—a waste of resources that is highly inflationary.

The fact is, as Ford made amply clear at his news conference, the administration plans to do nothing to relieve the plight of the unemployed. And the Democrats have made it equally clear that they are going along with this policy of inaction.

Congress sustained Ford's veto of the "emergency jobs bill," which provided for few jobs anyway. Congress sustained another Ford veto of a bill to provide minimal aid to the depressed construction industry. And it is pretty clear that Congress is also going to go along with Ford's plan to drastically raise energy prices.

That's the Democratic-controlled Congress that was supposed to be such a help to working people.

No, working people are not going to be helped out of this economic crisis by the Democrats or the Republicans, because these two parties represent only big business—and big business is profiting from the joblessness that has spread across the land.

Ford's arrogance and the complicity of Congress with his economic program underline the need for the trade-union movement to break from the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties and form an independent labor party.

A labor party, directly responsible to the unions, would press for solutions in the interests of all working people. High on the list would be demands for:

- Immediate launching of a massive emergency public works program to provide millions of jobs at union wages.
- Shortening the workweek with no reduction in pay so that all who need jobs can have them.
- Providing cost-of-living escalator clauses for all wages and social benefits to keep the incomes of working people abreast of rising prices.

## Back N.Y. strikers

Ten thousand striking sanitation workers are today in the front lines of the battle to save jobs and public services in New York City. When Mayor Beame tried to fire one-third of their number and inflict crushing speedup on the rest, they shut garbage haulage down tight.

Their action has become the first serious test of strength between the municipal unions and city hall over the massive layoffs. The *New York Times* bluntly spelled it out July 3: "The city's tactic, if successful, is to break the sanitationmen's solid front, and thus to weaken the resolve of the other municipal unions that have in the last two days demonstrated in sympathy with the strikers, and against their own layoffs."

Court injunctions, jailings, fines, and use of the National Guard as strikebreakers are all being weighed by the city's rulers. If they succeed, it will be a heavy blow against any other attempt to stop the layoffs.

When sanitation workers struck in February 1968 and mayor John Lindsay asked for the National Guard, the New York Central Labor Council threatened a general strike. Governor Nelson Rockefeller then declined to authorize the guard strike-breaking on the grounds that it might lead to "fighting in the streets." That strike netted the sanitation workers a \$425 pay increase.

Today the sanitation workers are standing up for the interests of all working people. They need and deserve the prompt, active solidarity of New York's labor movement, community groups, and everyone else who has a stake in stopping the layoffs and cutbacks.

### Criminals & victims

Mr. Ford, in discussing the crime rate and what to do with criminals, recently stated that "we have to be concerned with the potential victims" of crimes—that they are the ones who must be protected. This is true, very humane. "Criminals ought to be dealt with severely," the administration warns pompously.

By "criminals" I assume that reference is being made to those who blight lives, rip off, and think first of their own gains at the expense of others' very lives, at the expense of the rights of other people to have the opportunities, materials, and chance for survival itself.

The funny thing about this whole business is that, while Rockefeller informed officials that tuitions will have to be charged at the City University of New York, there was being delivered to his home a \$35,000 bed, mink-covered, complete with mirrors.

I agree with Mr. Ford that criminals ought to be dealt with severely and that potential victims—like students, minorities, women—should be protected. The difference is that Mr. Ford and I would disagree as to who the criminals really are.

*Erin Molenaar  
Seattle, Washington*

### Partial accounting

Governor Dan Walker of Illinois has been going around holding "accountability sessions." These are supposedly "town meeting" kinds of things where the governor "accounts" for what he and the government are doing.

A standing-room-only crowd of over 700 attended the accountability session on women's issues held June 17. The session was sponsored by Women Employed, Coalition of Labor Union Women, National Organization for Women, Illinois Women's Political Caucus, League of Black Women, League of Women Voters, and the YWCA.

A woman from CLUW asked the governor if he would support a bill for a four-day workweek with five days' pay. The governor said no. He did agree, however, to support the Secretaries Bill of Rights drawn up by Women Employed, which demands basic work rights for secretaries.

*Debbie Gobat  
Chicago, Illinois*

### Layoffs in steel

The layoff situation is getting very bad in steel. As of June 12, unemployment in basic steel is 18 to 20 percent. Most remaining employees are on a reduced work schedule and are working four days a week or less.

The situation is going to worsen in July. My plant, South Works, will then shut down nearly the entire operation for two weeks.

Some workers I have talked to believe that this is a created situation. One said, "It's as phony as the oil shortage and price increases. I know of customers who can't get delivery of steel. They just want to raise prices again."

Ed Sadlowski, United Steelworkers of America district director here, has not to my knowledge made any specific public statement about the problem. Some of his supporters, however, are talking about a reduction of the workday with no loss in pay (30 for 40).

They also say that when there is a significant number of layoffs in a plant the remaining workers should walk off the job. There is as yet no

carefully organized preparation for these walkouts or for defense against retaliatory measures by the steel corporations.

It is certain that whatever moves the corporations make will be in consultation and collaboration with the international (USWA President I.W. Abel and other top union officials) against District 31, the largest and most strategic of the union. Abel and the top officialdom have been conniving to regain control of this district since Sadlowski was elected last year.

It would be good if district leaders who support Sadlowski against the international could begin now to make the rounds of USWA locals in District 31 and explain what is behind the layoffs, expose the corporations, and make plans to force them to take back everyone who is being turned out.

*J.D.  
Chicago, Illinois*

### Joan or Joanne?

I can't understand why the *Militant* can't get the spelling of Ms. Little's first name right. Until your issue of July 4, you spelled it Joan. Then, without explaining why, you changed it to Joanne, but in a picture of a news conference, you show a banner spelling it Joann. The least you could do is find out how to spell the woman's name.

*Leo Stone  
New York, New York*

[In reply—There has been quite a bit of confusion on this among those defending Joanne Little and in the press. Her name has been reported to be Joan, Joanne, Jo Ann, or Joann, among other variations.

[The *Militant* originally used the Joan spelling because that was the way she signed her name to legal documents in North Carolina. Recently, however, at a news conference in Chicago, she answered a reporter's question on this by saying she spells it Joanne. This is also the spelling generally used by the Joanne Little Defense Fund, Inc.]

### What's really needed

I have been impressed with the *Militant's* coverage of rightist terrorist activity. One thing that I think needs to be pointed out is the danger presented to minorities and progressive causes if George Wallace should be elected president.

Regardless of whether Wallace has changed or not, his election would give a "license to kill" to all racist, fascist, and other reactionary forces.

I shudder to think that the American people may face a choice in 1976 between Wallace and Reagan (or the butcher of Attica). It points certainly to the need for a strong, socialist movement in this country, the need for a party that is nonrevisionist and non-Stalinist, but not something that hopes to reform the Democratic party.

In other words, what's needed is a truly democratic Marxian party whose goal would be to attain power and build a socialist society, not reform a monopoly capitalist system.

*Patrick Alther  
Charlottesville, Virginia*

### Block that kick

Although the issue will have probably been settled by the time you run this, I thought you might be interested in knowing that apparently the only ones who can stop or slow





## The big fix

down the number-one-rated University of Oklahoma football team are a group of workers responding to inflation.

Carpenters walked off the job on the new stadium that is going up here, demanding another eighty cents an hour. If the stadium isn't finished according to schedule, the contractor will have to pay \$35,000 for each home game missed because of incompleteness. T.B.

Norman, Oklahoma

### Suggestion

How about an article regarding the biological and chemical warfare agents being developed by the United States?

As you know, ratification of the Geneva agreement forbids research and development of such weapons for offensive action. Yet the Department of Defense has appropriations for research and development of offensive programs. Let's look into this.

Michele Mooney

Los Angeles, California

### On the orphans

You published a letter by W.D. Hackney [May 30 issue] about kidnapping Vietnamese babies. Hackney's sentiments are admirable but show ignorance of the situation. Most of the orphans brought here were racially mixed children of American GIs, and most Oriental people hate mixed-blood children and call them mongrels.

They see them as symbols of white oppression, as living examples of white men taking advantage of native women, and they frequently stone these unfortunate children to death. The women and their racially mixed children are rejected by both their families and by the whole society, and so in desperation the women put their children in orphanages.

The American government refuses to accept any responsibility for these children of American citizens. The native governments refuse to accept any responsibility for these children, saying that the children belong to their fathers only.

So the children are denied citizenship in their own country, education, all the rights of a citizen. Being rejected by both races they have no place of acceptance anywhere in the world.

T.S.

San Diego, California

### Appreciation

I'd like to send you four dollars for a six-month subscription as part of a wedding present for my sister. She and her husband will appreciate being able to receive it again.

Also, I am including a dollar extra to put in the Prisoner Fund.

I have really appreciated receiving the *Militant* myself, also. It is the only newspaper covering major issues that writes of the truth. I don't know how I'd get along without it.

E.W.

St. Francis, Kansas

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.

The capitalist economic crisis is causing politicians in the Democratic and Republican parties some new headaches. This is being demonstrated in the drastic cutbacks of public employees and social services in New York City.

These politicians are quick to engage in self-serving promotion of the "free-enterprise system" when the economy is on the upswing. But in times of economic decline, they take no responsibility for anything.

The New York situation is a case study. The city needs \$12 billion this year.

New York has operated at a deficit for a long time. It spends more than it collects in taxes. Consequently, it has borrowed heavily to meet its debts. Because it has to pay the banks interest on these loans, the city goes even further into debt. It is estimated that the budget deficit for the past year alone was nearly \$3 billion.

Now, with the depression, tax revenues are way down, and likely to stay that way for a while. So the private banks refused further loans unless city hall agreed to make some drastic reduction in spending. They insisted that a new agency, which they control, supervise the city's accounts. Having imposed this condition (the Municipal Assistance Corporation), the banking consortium floated a \$1 billion loan at up to 9.5 percent interest.

In order to satisfy the demands of the bankers, the politicians have all agreed to lay off workers and reduce expenses. The trick is how to do this so that no one blames it on the politicians. This shouldn't be surprising. It's what capitalist politics is all about.

Mayor Beame shuttled between Washington and the state capital in Albany, making a show all year of trying to find federal and state aid. He was turned down everywhere by fellow Democrats and Republicans alike. But he keeps trying because under the rules of the game that's his job.

Democratic Governor Carey pretends to help, but claims to be handicapped by the Republicans, who have a majority in the state senate.

Take one example of this shell game. School teachers in New York City are paid out of the city budget. In the rest of the state, teachers' wages come from the state budget. The Republicans in Albany say they won't vote for more taxing authority for New York City unless it's coupled with more state aid for education elsewhere. The Democrats favor more city taxes, but oppose more state aid to education.

## Women In Revolt

Linda Jenness



## Canadian government's vendetta

Dr. Henry Morgentaler, the Canadian surgeon railroaded to prison by the Canadian government for performing abortions, has suffered a second heart attack. The heart attack occurred while he was confined naked in an unlit isolation cell. He has been hospitalized under guard.

Morgentaler had a mild heart attack during his trial in 1973. He has written from prison that the authorities deny him necessary medicine for his ailing heart.

This scandalous abuse of the fifty-two-year-old doctor is another—and very serious—part of the Canadian government's vendetta against him.

A quick review of the facts in Morgentaler's case shows the extent of the undemocratic and malicious crusade by the Canadian government.

Morgentaler was arrested in the summer of 1973 on charges of performing an illegal abortion. He operated a clinic in Montréal and made no secret of the fact that he had performed thousands of medically safe abortions. He also made no secret of his opinion that abortion is a woman's right to choose and that the restrictive Canadian abortion laws should be repealed.

The French-speaking jury that heard the case acquitted Morgentaler. The government appealed the verdict to a higher court, which reversed the jury's decision. In an unprecedented move, the Canadian Supreme Court upheld the higher court's decision and Morgentaler was sentenced to eighteen months in prison. He began serving his time.

But that wasn't enough for the Canadian authori-

ties. While in prison Morgentaler was tried again, on another charge of performing an abortion.

In this second trial he was charged with performing an abortion on a seventeen-year-old woman in 1973. Morgentaler admitted to performing the abortion and told the court he had no regrets. "I have seen her. . .," he said, "in good health and happily married, which is much better than seeing her on the dissecting table at the morgue."

Again the jury acquitted Morgentaler. And again, the government said it would appeal the jury's decision! Morgentaler still has to face ten more charges.

In the meantime, Morgentaler is mistreated in prison. To throw a prisoner naked into an isolation cell for supposedly refusing to obey a curfew rule is more than a little outrageous.

The latest Gallup poll showed that 62 percent of the Canadian people believe that abortion should be a decision made between a woman and her doctor. Only 31 percent were opposed to abortion rights.

Following his acquittal by the second jury on June 9, Morgentaler said: "I have been acquitted by two juries on two separate charges of abortion and I demand that I be released from prison. The people of Canada have spoken."

Yes, the people of Canada have clearly spoken: they want the abortion laws repealed and Dr. Morgentaler freed.

Voices from around the world must be added to those of the Canadians.



**Spiritual division**—The Guru Maharaj Ji declined to return to India on a bail-jumping charge. A spokesperson said it would be "like a justice of the peace telling the pope what to do." Recently deposed by his mother, the former Perfect Master was sued by his brother and designated successor for stating he had been free with foreign women. Meanwhile, the guru enjoined an Indian weekly from running a cover photo of him passionately kissing an American woman. His mother said he had fallen into the hands of gangsters and CIA agents.

**The man's a comedian**—Sen. Edward Kennedy said he would introduce legislation that would make it a crime for government officials to lie to the people.



"It's just that they don't consider us a practical purpose."

**Oops**—A Sacramento, California, detective filed assault-and-battery charges against two fellow officers who mistook him for a robbery suspect and Maced him.

**Defining the difference**—Charging that Democratic proposals for coping with unemployment represented "a shotgun approach," Treasury Secretary William Simon declared, "I'd like to deal with the unemployed with a rifle."

**Broad consensus**—Soviet officials reported record turnouts and support for official candidates in recent elections. Soviet Mongolia led the way with a 99.9 percent turnout and a 99.9 percent vote for official (uncontested) candidates. Of the 655,338 people who

went to the polls, 8 cast their votes against the candidates, either by crossing their names out or writing critical comments. We hear that's known as the graveyard vote.

**Serving the people**—In a move to aid the victims of unemployment and inflation, Rep. Henry Reuss of Milwaukee sent a letter to constituents including a suggestion on "eating well in a time of high prices." It's a recipe for the "famous" House restaurant bean soup.

**Diet revolution**—The Ann Arbor People's Bicentennial Committee marked the anniversary of "the shot heard around the world" by hanging Ronald McDonald in effigy.

## By Any Means Necessary

### Baxter Smith



## Hidden Unemployment Index

**Question:** I know that unemployment for Blacks is high, but just how high is it, and how bad is the situation?

**Answer:** During the first quarter of the year the unemployment rate for Blacks jumped to 14.2 percent, up from 10.9 percent in the previous quarter, officially.

**Q:** Why do you say "officially"?

**A:** Because that's the official rate calculated by the Department of Labor. That figure is way off. The National Urban League uses a Hidden Unemployment Index to come up with what is closer to the real figure.

**Q:** What is the Hidden Unemployment Index?

**A:** The HUI incorporates "discouraged" workers, those who want a job but are no longer actively seeking one, and part-time workers who want full-time jobs. The Labor Department's figure does not include these groups.

**Q:** Then what does the Urban League say is the Black unemployment rate?

**A:** It was 25.8 percent for the first quarter of the year, up from 21.1 percent in the previous quarter.

**Q:** Just what does that mean?

**A:** It means that the rate of unemployment for Blacks has been soaring much faster than the rate for whites. Blacks, who were always the last hired, are being the first fired in disproportionate numbers. Of the 49,000 new officially unemployed workers between February and March, 47,000 were Black.

**Q:** That sounds pretty bad. What else does it mean?

**A:** It means that in many poverty areas 50 percent or more of Black workers are unemployed, with the unemployment rate for Black teen-agers in these areas much higher. It means that the unemployment rate for Black Vietnam veterans between the ages of twenty and twenty-four rose to 30.3 percent in the first quarter of this year.

**Q:** Now just a minute. Not so fast. President Ford at his news conference the other day said that the worst is over and we can "gradually decrease unemployment." How about that?

**A:** *Gradually?* Even if the economy were on an upswing, past experience has shown that the Black community will remain in a near depression in jobs and social conditions long after the unemployment

rate for whites goes down. While one out of every five Black workers was unemployed in the last quarter of 1974, one out of every four was unemployed in the first quarter of this year, and Black workers average longer periods of unemployment than whites.

There need to be special measures taken in regard to the Black community, like a program to clean up the slums. And if the government can't guarantee a job right now to every Black person who wants one, it ought to at least take measures that guarantee that Blacks don't have to shoulder the full weight of the layoffs because of discriminatory hiring practices in the past.

But Ford didn't even speak to these measures, so it gives a good idea of what he thinks of Blacks.

**Q:** Well, I think the government is trying, and I think we have to give the president a chance. You're talking as though you don't think the president can or really wants to do anything for Blacks, or that the government will ever do anything to change the situation that Blacks face. And those measures you spoke of—you sound like some sort of radical.

**A:** C'mon.

## Their Government

### Cindy Jaquith



## The Kennedy connection

WASHINGTON—Something of a replay of the Watergate affair is going on here. The characters and their party affiliations have changed, but the plot is basically the same.

Back in 1972 and 1973, the Nixon White House met every new charge related to Watergate with a stock answer—the president could not respond to such charges when they were based on "leaks," "innuendos," and "hearsay." As each new revelation tightened the noose of guilt around Nixon's neck, he simply screamed all the louder about "character assassinations" and "partisan politics."

Today the subject is not a "third-rate burglary" but a first-rate assassination attempt, carried out by Mafia gunmen hired by the CIA. The intended victim was Cuban leader Fidel Castro.

All signs point to the direct involvement of President John Kennedy and his brother Robert, then U.S. attorney general. Robert Kennedy was a member of the clandestine "Operation Mongoose," which met at the White House to supervise covert action against Cuba. According to Maj. Gen. Edward Lansdale, orders came down from Robert Kennedy, on behalf of the president, to start laying plans to "eliminate" Castro.

Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.) and his aides

have responded to these revelations with self-righteous anger and cries of "smear" and "innuendos."

"This commission," charged Adam Walinsky, a former aide to Robert Kennedy, "is engaged, with the assistance of the CIA, in a concerted effort to absolve the CIA for any of its questionable or scummy activities, and, after the fact, to place the responsibility on public officials who are, from the CIA's point of view, conveniently dead. . . ."

Kennedy denounced Rockefeller's suggestion that his brothers were in on the plot. Making such "innuendos is utterly irresponsible," he declared, adding that he hoped Rockefeller would "have the decency to maintain his silence now, while the Senate investigating committee and others do the job he should have done."

But no one in the Kennedy camp has offered a shred of information that would refute the basic charges. In fact, Walinsky concedes that Robert Kennedy knew about the Mafia contract on Castro, but he claims that the attorney general tried to put a stop to such plots.

But isn't it the height of "irresponsibility," as Senator Kennedy would say, to know about an assassination plot and not tell the American

people? After all, isn't the attorney general's job to prevent crime?

And why should we "have the decency" to "maintain silence" about the role of the Kennedys until after the Senate investigation? Doesn't this contradict Senator Kennedy's claim that he wants all the facts to come out on the CIA murder plots? Why not make public the Rockefeller commission report on assassinations, the minutes of the secret White House meetings, and the CIA files right now.

Even if Senator Church can help Kennedy cover up his brothers' crimes, this will not be enough, because just as the Watergate scandal eventually unraveled, so will this one.

It was John Kennedy, after all, who was so enamored with the special killer squads he had sent to Vietnam—the Green Berets—that he kept his own beret on his desk in the Oval Office.

After ordering the invasion of Cuba by a CIA-led band of mercenaries, the launching of the secret war in Laos under CIA direction, and the sending of U.S. "advisers" to Vietnam, why in the world would Kennedy have stopped short of ordering the killing of Fidel Castro? It was only one more life on top of the thousands already slaughtered during his administration.



## Party Building Fund

# Help the SWP fight for democratic rights

By Barry Sheppard

The U.S. Communist party recently took two stands against democracy and the needs of working people in Portugal and India.

Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has suspended civil liberties, arrested hundreds if not thousands of political opponents, forbidden demonstrations or even "shouting of political slogans," sent police to brutally break up protest rallies, and imposed press censorship.

These measures were hailed in the June 28 issue of the *Daily World* in an article by Tom Foley. This Stalinist hack takes for good coin Gandhi's

*Barry Sheppard is the national organization secretary of the Socialist Workers party.*

flimsy excuse for imposing dictatorial rule—her charge that she is merely forestalling a rightist "conspiracy" against her government.

Gandhi heads up a capitalist government. The repression she has unleashed will fall hardest on workers and peasants. It is aimed at depriving them of the means to protest and organize against the miserable conditions they face under Indian capitalism. Why does the CP support such an obviously reactionary action by the Indian ruling class?

The answer lies in the diplomatic needs of the Soviet bureaucracy. The Stalinists in the Soviet Union long ago

turned away from defending the interests of the working people of the world. In place of a proletarian internationalist outlook, Stalin developed the theory of "socialism in one country," a rationalization for subordinating the needs of the working people internationally to the narrow interests of Kremlin diplomacy in search of "peaceful coexistence" with the capitalist world.

Currently, the Kremlin is developing friendly relations with the Indian regime, and backs it against China. (The Peking Stalinists, who also hold the theory of "socialism in one country"—but in a different country—in parallel fashion support NATO in Europe against the Soviet Union.) In return for this diplomatic bloc, the Kremlin supports the Gandhi regime against the Indian masses.

After listening to "his master's voice," the CPUSA dutifully repeats the same tune.

Likewise with the *República* affair in Portugal. The *Daily World* has been presenting the attempt by ruling Armed Forces Movement, with the aid of the Portuguese CP, to muzzle the Socialist party press as a mere "labor dispute." For the Portuguese capitalist government to shut down *República* is sort of like the printers' unions striking the *New York Times* for better wages, you see.

The Portuguese CP, with the full backing of Moscow, is whipping up support for the military government, which remains a capitalist and imperi-

alist government in spite of its "socialist" demagoguery. The need of the Portuguese working people for democracy is trampled underfoot by the Stalinists in the process.

Genuine revolutionary socialists, real Marxists, fight for democracy, not against it. Democracy is important in two ways. First, under capitalism the workers need all the democracy they can get from the capitalist rulers to better organize to fight for their interests. The more democracy there is, the better it is for building a socialist movement.

The transparent falsity of Gandhi's talk about blocking a "conspiracy" can be seen from the fact that her attack on democracy has *weakened* the working people's struggles and organizations, the only real bulwark against rightist forces. Her suppression of political liberties has moved India to the right and paved the way for even more reactionary forces in the future.

Second, socialism itself cannot be built except through developing and extending democracy. Under a workers government in the United States, we will have more democracy than what the capitalists now allow us, not less.

As against the Stalinists, the Socialist Workers party is fighting for democracy here and abroad. One indication of this is that we tell the truth about Portugal and India.

We don't cover up reactionary moves by capitalist regimes with tortured "socialist" lawyers' arguments. Another

is the suit we have launched against Washington's Watergating of ourselves, which strikes a blow for the rights of all Americans.

The special Party Building Fund we have launched is one way to help build the SWP, the fighter for democratic rights and socialist democracy.

Send all or part of your tax rebate to: SWP Party Building Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

## Scoreboard

Area	Collected
Atlanta	\$ 474.20
Boston	1,172.95
Brooklyn	2,997.14
Chicago	1,540.33
Cleveland	894.85
Denver	370.00
Detroit	150.00
Houston	1,745.75
L.A. (Central-East)	1,975.80
L.A. (West Side)	978.25
Lower Manhattan, N.Y.	2,802.97
Milwaukee	769.55
Oakland/Berkeley	1,410.35
Philadelphia	590.00
Pittsburgh	595.00
Portland, Ore.	560.00
St. Louis	1,168.75
San Diego	128.00
San Francisco	635.00
Twin Cities	831.95
Upper West Side, N.Y.	1,358.55
Washington, D.C.	1,473.27
General	2,611.15
Total	27,233.81
Goal	40,000.00

# 25,000 at London abortion rights march

By Maureen Blackburn

From Intercontinental Press

LONDON—Twenty-five thousand persons, mainly women, marched here June 21 in a demonstration organized by the National Abortion Campaign (NAC). The march, which was the biggest women's rights action since the days of the suffrage movement, called for the defeat of the Abortion (Amendment) Bill, which would roll back the limited rights won under the liberal 1967 Abortion Act. Five hundred persons marched on the same day in Glasgow.

The bill, if passed, would have the effect of outlawing two-thirds of the abortions now permissible under the 1967 act. It would limit health grounds for abortion to those involving a risk to the life of the pregnant woman; it would make it impossible for women from other countries to obtain abortions here unless they had conceived on British soil; and it would bring forward the deadline for obtaining an abortion from the twenty-eighth week of pregnancy to the twentieth.

Other clauses impose restrictions on doctors entitled to perform abortions; limit the types of agencies able to counsel and refer abortions; restrict freedom of the press to publish abortion-related material; and restrict the giving of advice on abortion to women under sixteen.

The bill is sponsored by Labour Member of Parliament James White. The Labour party has refused to take a stand on the right of women to abortion, calling it a matter of individual conscience for Labour MPs. However, resolutions opposing the bill have been sent to NAC by twenty local Constituency Labour parties, the Labour party Southern Regional Conference, and more than forty trade-union branches.

The biggest blow to the bill so far

was undoubtedly the massive turnout on the June 21 march, which the *Observer* described as "an overwhelmingly successful demonstration."

Spirits were high along the route of the march. Hundreds of banners could be seen, many of them brightly coloured trade-union banners. Many marchers wore green, white, and purple sashes in the style of the suffragists. A float organized by doctors opposed to the bill illustrated the horrible alternatives to legal abortion.

The banners reflected the wide support for the demonstration. The Working Women's Charter Campaign, the Women's Abortion and Contraception Campaign, and women's liberation groups and NAC groups from scores of towns up and down the country were represented. Among the sponsors of the march were the International Marxist Group (IMG), British section of the Fourth International; International Socialists; Communist party; Young Communist League; Young Liberals; and Labour party

Young Socialists.

Seventeen trades councils and more than forty trade-union branches sent contingents. There were marchers from twenty hospitals in London alone. Twenty-four colleges sent buses paid for by the student unions.

The central role played by the IMG in building the campaign contrasted sharply with that of most left-wing groups, who have given at most half-hearted support. Linda Smith, a leading NAC activist and member of the IMG, spoke at the rally on behalf of NAC. She stressed the need for continued action to defeat the bill, declaring that "the campaign will continue until all restrictive legislation is abolished and abortions are freely available to all women, in terms of the law and in terms of National Health Service facilities." She scored James White as "a disgrace to the Labour movement" for his sponsorship of the bill.

Isabel Pereira dos Santos of the newly formed Portuguese Abortion and Contraception Campaign told of the 2,000 women who die each year in

Portugal as a result of back-street abortions and how women taken to hospitals with botched abortions were treated without anaesthetic as a punishment for their "sin."

An atmosphere of international solidarity pervaded the rally. Contingents from France and the Netherlands had come to march with their British sisters. Between the speeches, messages of solidarity were read from abortion groups and women's groups in Australia, the United States, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, and Switzerland.

A message from Willie Mae Reid, vice-presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers party in the United States, was also read.

A message was sent from the demonstration to Dr. Henry Morgentaler, a Canadian doctor imprisoned for performing abortions. The rally also passed a resolution demanding the release of Eva Forest, a Spanish feminist threatened with the death penalty by Franco.



Massive London march was big blow to attempts to restrict right of women to abortion

## Promises socialism--in 30 years

# Portuguese military junta reassu

By Gerry Foley

From Intercontinental Press

Although the capitalist press in the United States expressed relief at the Lisbon military government's statement June 21 denying that it intended to establish "socialism" by dictatorial means, the commentary in the week following was not especially flattering to the ruling junta.

In a column in the June 25 *New York Times*, James Reston suggested that the Armed Forces Movement was being brought to its senses both by the consequences of its folly and by pressure from "outside" sources, including Moscow.

London, Paris, and Bonn had "insisted," Reston wrote, "that, while the worst might happen, the moderate forces in Portugal still had a chance and should be supported, and also that the play of other forces outside Portugal would begin to influence the internal struggle."

Now these predictions were being borne out and Washington was reevaluating earlier drastic conclusions by Henry Kissinger, who wanted to "deal with" the "reality" of a radical regime in Lisbon.

Moscow and the local Stalinists were pressing for "moderation".

The Kremlin, Reston explained, "has larger political objectives of its own," that is, a new agreement with Washington on mutual noninterference in the two spheres of influence.

Then, in the same paragraph, Reston suggested that the Communist party was responsible both for the entire radicalization in Portugal and for imposing a moderate turn on the regime.

What caused these contradictions was that Reston had a double objective. One side was to explain that Moscow and the Portuguese CP could and should be expected to shore up capitalist and imperialist stability in Portugal. The other was to score points against the Stalinists both as opportunists and tools of Moscow and as the manipulators of the military regime, to make them responsible for everything that goes wrong in the country.

Reston presented international Stalinism as a defender of the status quo, at the same time as portraying the very existence of its influence as the result of an international conspiracy against the "Free World" and the democratic institutions it claims to stand for.

This position was not logically consistent, and these contradictions made it impossible for him to give a coherent view of what has been going on in Portugal. However, in practical politics it is all too likely that capitalist propagandists like Reston can have their cake and eat it too.

### Stalinist attacks

The fact is that the Communist party was forced to attack the democratic rights of the workers and toiling masses in order to play its role as a guarantor of capitalist stability. Serving as the labor policeman of the government, it became unpopular among important sections of workers and could not win the confidence of other poor strata. Since it seemed to be the most powerful force in a government that could not solve the problems of the poor masses and came to preside over a deepening economic crisis, the CP became the focus of widespread resentment.

The resentment has become increasingly sharp, in particular because the Communist party has gained and held



Portuguese troops outside offices of Socialist newspaper 'República'

Informations Ouvrières

its influence by the power of its machine and through its alliance with unelected military rulers. It has not won the support of the masses but appears to have imposed its domination over them by manipulation and conspiracy.

Thus, the imperialists can rely on the Communist party as a guarantor of stability in Portugal; at the same time they can exploit the disappointment of the masses with the demagogic bourgeois government and the revulsion provoked by the CP's antidemocratic methods to reinforce their anti-Communist propaganda.

### Economic deterioration

The rapid deterioration of the economic situation in Portugal and the failure of the government to impose labor "discipline" and austerity help explain why the Western capitalist press has offered so little praise for the military government's rejection of "socialist dictatorship." Besides, the obvious signs of disillusionment with the regime among larger and larger sections of the poor masses show that its usefulness is rapidly wearing out.

*New York Times* correspondent Henry Giniger drew this picture in the June 29 issue of the most authoritative American capitalist paper:

"It could well be that in the face of all the cumulating difficulties the military will be led into a dictatorship. Last week's document talked a great deal about the need for repression of challenges from the extreme right and the extreme left. 'One or more' newspapers are to be transformed into government mouthpieces, as in the old days, and the political parties are being put 'to a test' of their own capacity to govern. It is the armed forces that will be doing the testing but some time or other the armed forces will run out of people to blame: International imperialism, internal reaction, self-seeking politicians and pseudo-revolutionaries may not be enough in the end to explain the mess."

As an example of the government's failure, Giniger mentioned:

"Thus there is never ending trouble in TAP, the national airline which was completely taken over by the state last summer. Despite exhortations to win the battle of production and forgo unreasonable wage demands in the common interest, TAP workers still feel exploited enough to lock their managers in the office."

The government has not been particularly gentle with the TAP workers either. It has denounced them as counterrevolutionary provocateurs. It even sent troops to occupy the airport and establish "military discipline."

Not only have such pressures and intimidation not achieved their objective, this kind of demagoguery has produced an increasing malaise. More and more press controls have been necessary to maintain it. And the Stalinist journalists who have taken on the role of propagandists for the regime have not proved skillful.

This is the picture of the Portuguese press that Dominique Pouchin gave in the June 26-27 issue of *Le Monde*:

"To read the front page of the evening papers, you might think that June 19 [the day the government statement was made public in Lisbon] was not really a tense day."

"One of these papers did mention the demonstration [outside the offices of the closed daily *República*], another the communiqué of the Conselho da Revolução. But this seemed to have no more importance than the purchase of about a hundred boats by Poland—which was the headline of a third paper—or a round table on Angola announced by a fourth. None of these papers had to send its proofs to the third floor of the filthy building on the Rua da Misericórdia that was formerly occupied by the censors. . . .

"But why this silence, this refusal, this hesitation, to say that not everything was clear sailing on that day, that the country was going through a difficult phase, to explain it, to comment on it? The Armed Forces Movement denounced 'alarmist rumors,' and every paper conscientiously published this warning. But don't rumors inevitably arise when people feel that some-

thing important is being hidden from them? Self-applied chloroform is often more harmful than the scissors of the censors."

This kind of dogmatic thought-control also tends to lend credence to the crudest anti-Communist fabrications. One example is the reaction to the story that some of the editorial staff of *República* chose to print in space offered them in the June 23 issue of *Le Quotidien de Paris*. The story claimed that a top Kremlin official had given Western CPs a directive to take power by "gagging the press." The embittered former editor of *República* could defend the authenticity of this incredible story by saying that the Portuguese Stalinists were actually attacking freedom of the press in Portugal. The closing of his paper was proof of it, and so they were obviously following the directive.

If it were not for the sensation caused by the *República* case, moreover, this lame falsification could have aroused little interest. Reportedly it had already been published in other European newspapers and gone virtually unnoticed.

### SP helped stifle press

In reality, Raul Régio could not put all the blame on the CP for stifling the press. He was the minister of information in the first provisional government when the slow strangulation of freedom of the press began. In fact, he presided over the application of sanctions against his own paper, without making the slightest public protest.

Nor has Régio, as a leader of the Socialist party, protested against the SP's capitulation to the military government on the issue of democracy, although this party sank to the level of organizing a demonstration June 23 to thank the Armed Forces Movement for its devotion to freedom.

The only remaining paper in Lisbon close to the SP, *Jornal Novo*, hailed the June 21 declaration in the most abject terms: "An exemplary document, an indispensable document. The MFA [Movimento das Forças Armadas—



# res U.S.

Armed Forces Movement] has assumed the fullness of its mission, of its calling, of its moral responsibility. The MFA analyzes, concludes, decides."

The military's attacks on democratic rights had nothing to do with the needs of abolishing capitalism. One of the most outspoken in denouncing "electoralism" and the SP's protests at the closing of *República* explained this clearly. A June 27 *New York Times* dispatch noted:

"Adm. António Rosa Coutinho, an influential member of the High Council of the Revolution, told a group of foreign and Portuguese businessmen . . . that they still had some time. 'While we are on our way to socialism, we are not yet a socialist country,' the admiral said at an American Club lunch. He added that socialism might take 30 years to achieve and, in the meantime, there was a place for private production."

## 'Liberal' investment code

"We are drafting an investment code which will establish clear rules," he said. 'I think they will be very liberal.'"

The military and their Stalinist allies have simply been obliged to use a heavy demagogic cover for repressive moves required to maintain capitalism.

But while the capitalists need these opportunists at the moment to divert the mass upsurge, they are also determined to use their failures in order to discredit "socialism" in the eyes of the masses. In fact, not the least service the military demagogues and Stalinists have offered the imperialists and capitalists is the chance to avoid responsibility for the economic crisis in Portugal. And these interests are determined to seize the opportunity.

Democracy cannot be defended in Portugal in reality without supporting the struggles of the workers and poor masses against the results of the failure of the capitalist system and against the attacks of the bosses.

A Socialist leader in the Constituent Assembly, Lopes Cardoso, admitted this in effect when he said:

"No revolutionary constitution will come out of this hall unless we raise our voices to back the workers' struggles. . . ."

## Constituent Assembly

In fact, the only national body elected by the workers will be shoved to the side or eliminated unless it supports the struggles of the workers against the system and the class upheld by the military government and the reformist parties. Lopes Cardoso was right when he said: "Limiting the activity of this assembly to discussing . . . mere legalistic articles would mean hamstringing it socially and politically. Limiting our discussions to justifying this or that principle would be betraying the confidence the Portuguese people placed in us, believing that our democratic and revolutionary voice would be attentive to the daily struggles of this people."

The coming weeks will show if any leaders of the SP take their talk about democracy seriously. Hundreds of thousands of workers will demand that they represent them as they promised, or else they will put them in the same bag as the Stalinists and the military as demagogic betrayers.

The only way a disastrous demobilization of the Portuguese workers can be prevented is if they can find a way of asserting their will on the political level and ending the dictatorship of the military.

# L.A. rally hits rightist terror

By Arnold Weissberg

LOS ANGELES—Three hundred fifty people joined in a united rally at the First Unitarian Church on June 20 to demand that the Los Angeles Police Department end the wave of right-wing terrorism that has plagued this city for the last five months.

Initiated by the Political Rights Defense Fund, the meeting was sponsored by a broad range of groups and individuals in Los Angeles.

The spirit of unity was made evident by the broad endorsement and speakers list at the rally. Representatives of sixteen organizations expressed their outrage at the persistent attacks and the lack of police action.

The rally was chaired by Aris Anagnos, president of the Southern California American Civil Liberties Union. Anagnos opened the rally by declaring that the terrorism threatened the rights of everyone in Los Angeles, not just those of the immediate victims. He emphasized the need for a united response.

That theme was stressed by speaker after speaker. Representatives of several of the victimized groups described their experiences. Rev. Amos Murphy spoke on behalf of the Los Angeles Committee to Re-Open the Rosenberg Case, whose February 2 rally was the first victim of the wave of rightist terror.

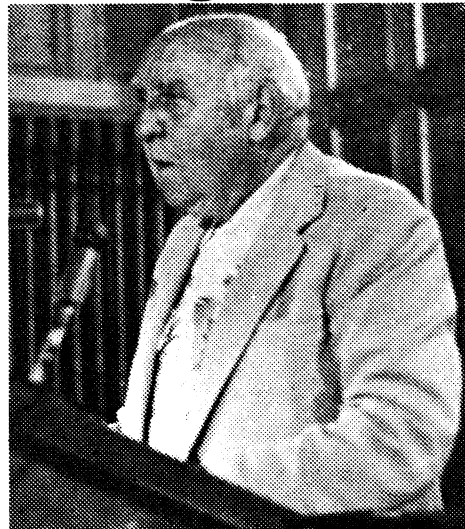
Dr. Morris Starsky described the two attacks against the Socialist Workers party on February 4 and May 3.

Harriet Elliot described the attacks on the Unidos bookstore, which is operated in East Los Angeles by supporters of the October League. The store was bombed February 4, hours after an attack on the SWP hall, and again on April 13.

Jeanne Kohlmeier, a member of the collective that operates the Midnight Special, a movement bookstore, discussed the recent fire-bomb attack they experienced.

One of the most warmly received speakers of the evening was Rev. Stephen Fritchman, the widely respected Minister Emeritus of the First Unitarian Church. Fritchman discussed the implications of the terrorism in relation to freedom of speech and the need for resolute action to compel the authorities to act against the bombers.

"What an irony," he declared, "that our national anthem boasts of bombs bursting in air. We've had them bursting in this church!"



Militant/Arnold Weissberg  
REV. STEPHEN FRITCHMAN: 'Bombs bursting in church.'

The First Unitarian Church has suffered four major terrorist attacks in recent years. Fritchman received a standing ovation from the crowd.

Jeanne Cordova of the *Los Angeles Free Press* made a slashing reply to the police report of Nazi leader Joe Tommasi's denial that his gang was responsible for the bomb attack on the SWP and tear-gassing of the Rosenberg committee rally. Cordova, who interviewed Tommasi, reaffirmed that Tommasi had explicitly boasted of these attacks. The interview was published in the *Free Press*.

Mustafa Siam, editor of the *Palestinian Voice* newspaper, spoke about the

numerous attacks that have taken place against the Arab community in Los Angeles.

An eloquent fund appeal was made by Teamster official John T. Williams.

Statements of support to the rally were made by representatives of the Los Angeles National Women's Political Caucus; La Raza Unida party, City Terrace Chapter; the New American Movement; and the Campaign for Democratic Freedoms.

Andrea Baron of the Political Rights Defense Fund emphasized the need for a broad defense effort.

Other speakers included: Ellery Allen, of the Philip Allen Defense Committee; Vern Harrell, Social Services Union Local 535; and Marilyn Katz, of the New American Movement.

Numerous messages of solidarity, sent to the rally from around the country, were read by Burt Wilson, a radio and television commentator.

A resolution was presented to the rally calling on the mayor, members of the city council, and other officials to ensure that the Los Angeles Police Department takes necessary action to assure the arrest and prosecution of those responsible for the terrorist attacks. The crowd passed the resolution unanimously.

The audience seemed especially encouraged by the range of groups that have joined in the antiterrorist drive, and there was a strong sense that with continuing work, even broader forces can be involved.

## 'People are behind you'

LOS ANGELES—Statements of support from around the country were sent to the June 20 rally.

Tom Hayden, now running for the Democratic nomination for U.S. Senate from California, wrote, "I would like you to know of my support for your objectives and my willingness to speak out. . . . Let me know how my campaign for Senate can be of help in bringing attention to these problems. . . ."

The message from Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers party presidential candidate, noted, "When the federal government carries out illegal activities such as CIA assassinations and the FBI 'disruption programs,' it encourages right-wing terrorists to believe that they, too, can break the

law with impunity. . . . We salute the efforts of the people gathered at the June 20 meeting to fight back against the assault on civil liberties in Los Angeles."

From Kentucky, Anne Braden wrote, "Your mobilization against right-wing terrorist violence in Los Angeles is a service to all people all over this country. . . . Thank you for doing this in Los Angeles, and many people in many places are behind you."

From Atlanta, AFSCME Local 1644 sent a copy of a message it had sent to Mayor Tom Bradley, declaring, "As mayor, it is your responsibility to take action to prosecute and put behind bars these right-wing terrorists responsible for these attacks."

# New attack on Quebec unions

By Tony Thomas

On June 20, a judge in Joliette, Québec, condemned Louis Laberge, president of the Québec Federation of Labor, to three years in prison for "inciting" workers at a nearby household appliance factory to "sabotage" in a labor dispute there one year ago.

The QFL is the Québec affiliate of the Canadian Labor Congress and the AFL-CIO. It is one of the three major trade-union federations in Québec.

The QFL has been the prime target of a recent government antilabor offensive that opened with the report of the Cliche commission, a government investigation into "corruption" in the QFL construction unions.

In May several antilabor laws were passed, including one that would bar Laberge from holding any posts in the trade unions because of his conviction—even if the sentence is waived.

Before the conviction, Québec Minister of Justice Jérôme Choquette had urged judges to be more severe in regard to "agitators." This involved

not only the prosecution of Laberge but also the government's decision to hold in prison four workers jailed after a demonstration and occupation of the United Aircraft Corporation's plant near Montréal.

Leaders of the other union federations in Québec have branded the prison sentence as "revolting."

In 1972, tens of thousands of workers walked off their jobs across Québec,

when Laberge and other union leaders were jailed because of their role in leading a public workers' strike. One of the main aims of the current antilabor drive is to intimidate workers in the coming public workers' negotiations.

Laberge intends to appeal the court's decision. His appeal deserves the support of unionists in this country, especially his fellow members of the AFL-CIO.



Québec unionists rally during 1972 public workers' strike

# The Cointelpro Papers (Part 11)

## FBI's crusade to fire teacher activists

By Nancy Cole

"The decision not to issue a new contract or consider the subject further for employment after the termination of her current contract is based upon information received from [deleted] the Austin Police Department."

The above is quoted from a March 31, 1970, FBI memorandum captioned "Evelyn Rose Sell, SM-SWP [Security Matter-Socialist Workers party]." This security matter was in actuality an FBI vendetta against Sell, a Head Start teacher in Austin, Texas. The top-secret information referred to is the fact that in 1968 Sell ran for public office in Michigan as an SWP candidate.

This data was sniffed out by the FBI in Detroit at the request of the San Antonio bureau and was confidentially passed on to the Austin police, who then tipped off the Austin Independent School District. School officials had been waiting for some hard evidence, according to the FBI files, and with it in hand, they refused to renew Sell's contract at the end of the 1970 school year.

It wasn't that any of these conspirators had any gripes about Sell's teaching. Immediately preceding the passage already quoted, the San Antonio agents shamelessly report, "The subject was described as an intelligent, excellent teacher who was well qualified in her field."

No. The Austin school officials, the police, and the FBI wanted Sell fired because she was a socialist and because she shared the sentiments of what became the majority of Americans that the United States should get out of Vietnam.

This interstate, interagency conspiracy against Sell has been forced into the open five years after it began because of a lawsuit filed by the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance charging the federal government with illegal persecution of its members and supporters.

Sell is not the only socialist teacher to have incurred the wrath of the FBI.

In January of this year, Morris Starsky, in the process of suing for his reinstatement as professor at Arizona State University, received his files from the FBI under the Freedom of Information Act.

### Poison-pen letters

Starsky had been fired from the university because of his antiwar and socialist views. The FBI files revealed that the federal snoops were behind this effort to stifle dissent at ASU. The FBI prepared a series of anonymous poison-pen letters. These slanderous letters were sent to members of a faculty committee considering Starsky's case and were intended, in the FBI's own words, to tarnish his "reputation and standing in the academic community."

Starsky's files provided the first publicly available details of the FBI's Cointelpro ("Counterintelligence Program") operations. They evoked an outraged response from teachers and civil libertarians alike.

The American Association of University Professors demanded that the FBI agents responsible for the operation be fired, and they later cosponsored a national speaking tour for Starsky with the Political Rights Defense Fund, the group financing and publicizing the SWP's suit. Locals of the American Federation of Teachers also joined in cosponsoring several of his meetings.

The *New York Times* called the clandestine scheme against Starsky an "illegal and despicable act of faceless persecution and slander" and cautioned: "But beyond one professor's right to justice lurks the question of how many more dissident faculty members may have been similar targets."

That question has now been partially answered as a result of the SWP's lawsuit. Volumes of additional FBI files detailing more contemptible Cointelpro operations have been made public under court order, and more are expected before the case comes to trial in early 1976.

### Cointelpro-New Left

The latest FBI files released in the SWP's suit, including those of Evelyn Sell, outline a campaign to destroy the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance under the FBI's Cointelpro-New Left. This program was designed, according to FBI memoranda, to "expose, disrupt and otherwise neutralize" the activities of any group or individuals that the FBI characterized as part of the "New Left."

The Cointelpro-New Left was aimed at the core of the antiwar movement—the college and high school campuses. Teachers were an obvious target with their strategic access to the "fertile" minds of students, as one FBI memo described it.

I talked with Evelyn Sell recently to find out why she thought she had been targeted for such an extensive "counterintelligence" operation.

Before moving to Austin in the summer of 1969, Sell had taught in the Head Start program (preschool-age children) in Detroit for four years. She had helped organize a special unit of the Detroit Federation of Teachers

encompassing the preschool program, and had been a delegate to the 1969 Michigan Federation of Teachers convention in the spring of that year.

Sell's political beliefs were no secret. She joined the SWP in 1948 and had been active in socialist politics since then. She was nominated by the party several times as a candidate for public office.

"All my cards were on the table," says Sell. "It was the FBI and the Austin school district officials who were underhanded and secretive."

It wasn't until after the school district refused to renew her contract in 1970 that she became aware of the FBI's keen interest in her. The only indication before that time that the FBI was keeping tabs on her was an incident shortly after she moved to Austin.

Her son Eric, then a student at Austin High School and an activist in the Student Mobilization Committee, was called into his principal's office. There he was informed that the FBI had paid the school a visit and had told the principal of his antiwar activities. The principal warned Eric that he was not to organize any antiwar activities at school, and then added that they were aware that his mother was a teacher.

from the Texas Education Agency. And I asked to be retained by the school district to teach in the new kindergarten program."

When Sell's contract was not renewed, she immediately applied to the new agency set up to direct the Head Start program, the Human Opportunities Corporation. She was accepted as an educational services supervisor. By early 1971 she had been promoted to director of the Child Development Program.

The FBI files released on Sell end with the notation that Sell had been hired by the HOC and that the information about her socialist activities would be furnished to that agency.

What the files don't report is that the FBI streamed in and out of the HOC offices, repeatedly visiting at least three of Sell's supervisors in an attempt to convince them that, qualified or not, this socialist did not deserve a job.

"The HOC directors were outraged by the visits," Sell says. "One of them told me that he was seriously considering filing a lawsuit against the FBI because of the harassing visits."

The HOC resisted the FBI pressure because they considered Sell an asset to the program. In her personal files,



An apple for the teacher

"Eric came home and told me about his 'interrogation,' and I said, 'Well, the FBI must be in contact with my school,' and I expected to hear something about it. But they never brought it out into the open."

The fall of 1969 saw massive protests against the war, and Austin was no exception with its large university population. Eleven thousand marched to the state capitol building for the October 15 Moratorium. And organizing meetings on the campus would draw from 100 to 150 people. Sell was a consistent participant and organizer of these events.

Did she connect her antiwar activity with the decision not to renew her contract in 1970?

"I suspected at the time that the FBI may have had something to do with it. The school used the excuse that the Head Start program, which had been administered by the school district, was no longer to be under its control. But I knew that was a phony excuse," Sell recalls.

"Texas had passed a law establishing a kindergarten system for the first time in its history, and they had very few qualified teachers. As a matter of fact, they were scrounging around trying to find teachers who had kindergarten endorsements. I was one of the few who had such an endorsement

Sell has a letter from the parents' council of Head Start praising her for her work. It says in part:

"We wish to commend Mrs. Evelyn Sell . . . for a job well done! The fairness and efficiency in her willingness to always make herself readily available if she could be of any help in any situation was quickly recognized." (The emphasis is in the original.)

Sell left the Head Start program in January 1972, not because the FBI visits frightened or intimidated her, but because she was again to run for public office as a socialist in the 1972 elections.

"But I don't doubt that the FBI visits continued until the day I left," Sell comments. "And they certainly continued past the April 1971 'termination' of the FBI Cointelpros."

### Two other victims

The Cointelpro-New Left files also document FBI schemes to have two other teachers fired. In 1969 the Detroit bureau received approval from Washington to send a series of letters on Prof. David Herreshoff to Michigan State Sen. Robert Huber. Huber was chairman of a legislative committee investigating student dissent on state campuses.

The letters were signed "A Fed-up Taxpayer!" They document seventeen

## Support PRDF

The Political Rights Defense Fund is publicizing and raising funds for the socialists' suit against government harassment.

You can help the PRDF in this important effort by sending a donation today.

Clip and mail to: PRDF, Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

( ) Enclosed is my contribution of \$ \_\_\_\_\_  
( ) Please send me more information.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

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



years of Herreshoff's political activity from 1951, when he was a student at the University of Minnesota, through 1968, while he was a member of the faculty at Wayne State University.

Compiled from "public source material" to ensure the FBI would not be revealed as the letters' source, the information was intended to make a case for ridding Wayne State of Herreshoff's "peculiar" influence.

Herreshoff's "disruptive" activities included a debate with a former FBI agent in 1952 on the topic "Does the FBI Menace Civil Liberties?"; his participation in the University of Minnesota's Socialist Club, which spearheaded a campaign in 1955 to remove restrictions on outside campus speakers; and his election to the Detroit executive board of the American Civil Liberties Union.

### Caught FBI's fancy

"Maude Wilkinson, 29, is petite and gentle-voiced—the kind of teacher who can catch the fancy of kids.

"She also caught the fancy of the FBI."

Thus began the *Washington Post's* story on the FBI anonymous letter campaign to get Maude White (now Wilkinson) "separated from her employment" as a preschool teacher in Washington, D.C.

At the suggestion of J. Edgar Hoover's office, the local FBI initiated a Cointelpro operation against Wilkinson in April 1969. An anonymous letter purporting to be from Wilkinson's neighbor was sent to the superintendent of the D.C. school system informing him that "Miss White has held weekly meetings of a socialist youth group" in her apartment.

After expounding upon the classical FBI distortions of the YSA as a group supporting "violent activities against established authority," the letter continues, "I bring this information to your attention in order to protect the D.C. School System from the menace of a teacher who does not have the interests of the children or the country at heart."

Wilkinson's reasons for becoming a socialist reduce that demagoguery to the FBI claptrap it is. "Of course, being a teacher, especially in the D.C. schools, I saw how rotten the schools were, how much money was spent on war and how little on education," she told the *Post* reporter.

Wilkinson's files also document a three-way collusion between the FBI, the intelligence unit of the Washington police, and the school administration. According to an FBI memo, one local cop was delegated responsibility for conducting intelligence investigations within the D.C. school system at the direction of the assistant superintendent of schools in charge of personnel. Information on Wilkinson compiled by the D.C. police was forwarded to the FBI.

At the time of the anonymous letter, Wilkinson was a member of the AFT. Now a special-education teacher in Fairfax County, Virginia, she belongs to the Fairfax Education Association, an affiliate of the National Education Association.

### 'No messing'

In a telephone interview with the *Militant*, John Radcliffe, executive director of the FEA, told of his response to the Cointelpro operation. "As soon as I found out about the situation," Radcliffe said, "I called the school district and told them that . . . we, acting as the union, would absolutely and categorically not tolerate anyone messing with Maude's job."

Radcliffe has no doubt that the FBI is continuing its efforts to get people with dissident views fired. But he thinks that the political climate has changed and that the FBI doesn't have such an easy time of it today. "As far as Maude's job goes in Fairfax County, it's secure," Radcliffe concluded. "She can belong to any political party she wants to."

## The Cointelpro Papers

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT  
**Memorandum**

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 10/8/69

FROM : SAC, SAN ANTONIO

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO

RE: EVELYN ROSE SELL

On 10/3/69, Austin Independent School District, 1100 Guadalupe, Austin, Texas, advised that EVELYN ROSE SELL is a teacher in the Head Start Program under the auspices of the Austin Independent School District. The school district desires to terminate her services but is unable to do so because of a lack of information from the Detroit Public School System concerning her background.

LEADS:

DETROIT DIVISION:

AT DETROIT, MICHIGAN: Through established sources, furnish information that can be disseminated, with Bureau approval, concerning SELL.

The Head Start Program will be operated by an independent group commencing with the 1970-1971 school year and will no longer be under the auspices of the Austin Independent School District.

The subject was described as an intelligent, excellent teacher who was well qualified in her field.

Bureau attention is directed to San Antonio letter to the Bureau captioned "COINTELPRO, IS - DISRUPTION OF NEW LEFT," dated 1/13/70. The decision not to issue a new contract or consider the subject further for employment after the termination of her current contract is based upon information received from the Austin Police Department. Information furnished to the organization which will be handling the Head Start Program in the 1970-1971 school year.

Dear Senator:

I am indeed pleased to note that you are chairing a committee to investigate the activities of dissident elements on our college campuses. I trust that this effort will not become just another "study" but will actually result in concrete results to rid our universities and colleges of the disruptive activities of radicals, leftists and nihilists.

In this connection, I have taken upon myself a small project regarding the background of Professor David Herreshoff, of the English Department at Wayne State University.

It occurs to me that our college youth, who are going through a period of their lives during which they are most liberal and idealistic in their attitudes, are being exploited and subverted by certain faculty members in our colleges. Students by and large, experience these libertarian attitudes, graduate, then pass into the society and address themselves to their personal needs and objectives within the framework of our ongoing society. Very few of them become, and fewer yet, remain active in radical or disruptive activities such as campus take overs. However, it is these peculiar members of faculty who year in and year out use their positions to imbue the students with the philosophies and ideologies that provide a continuous stream of chaotic, militant incidents across the nation.

Why must the taxpayers of this state continually funnel their money into institutions which provide financial security and a ready made captive audience to professors who openly support through word and deed, avowed enemies of this country? Their heroes are the Che Guevaras, Maoists, Trotskyites, Stalinists and the anti-Christians. If they support any form of government at all it is at best socialistic or communistic.

Let these destroyers spew forth their ideas in public halls to those audiences who seek their words, but let us deny them speakers platforms in the classrooms of our educational institutions!

Prof. Herreshoff is active in political action and social groups existing on the campus at Wayne State University. However, it is rather enlightening to note which groups these are. He is the listed faculty sponsor for: the W.E.B. DuBois Club; Students for a Democratic Society; Student Mobilization Committee; and, the Young Socialist Alliance. I'm sure you recognize these "groups" as the very ones continually noted

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT  
**Memorandum**

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 7/3/69

FROM : SAC, WASHINGTON

SUBJECT: MAUDE WHITE (WILKINSON)

Re Bulet, 6/3/69.

Intelligence Unit, Metropolitan Police Department, (MPC), Washington, D.C. (MPC), telephonically contacted WFO on 6/25/69, concerning captioned subject. WFO has the responsibility of conducting intelligence investigations within the D.C. public school system and was making inquiries regarding WHITE's activities at the direction of the newly appointed Assistant Superintendent of Schools in charge of Personnel. The information which was furnished to WFO was the same as that contained in WFO's counterintelligence effort approved by referenced communication.

WHITE was currently employed with Headstart in WDC, earning approximately \$6.00 per hour.

WHITE was recontacted on 7/1/69, and advised that he was conducting a continuing investigation with regard to WHITE's association with subversive organizations. WHITE was furnished information concerning WHITE's public activities as a YSA member.

WHITE advised that WHITE's salary under the Headstart program consists of 80% Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), funds and 10% D.C. Government funds.

Since Headstart is not 100% funded by OEO, WFO is not considering a security of government employee case on WHITE.

Document 1: Initial FBI memo suggesting the Detroit bureau seek out information on Evelyn Sell that could be furnished to Austin, Texas, school board. Document 2: Third page of March 31, 1970, memo reporting 'success' of bureau's campaign to drive Sell out of teaching job. Document 3: First page of eight-page phony letter from 'Irate Taxpayer' containing FBI-compiled information on David Herreshoff. Washington office approved sending series of letters to a state senator investigating student dissent. Document 4: 1969 memo describing ongoing investigation of Maude White (Wilkinson) by Washington police.



Minnesota Daily/Phil Hernandez



Militant/Howard Petrick



Militant/Walter Lippmann

From left to right: Starsky, Herreshoff, and Sell. FBI disrupted these teachers' lives through anonymous campaigns to get them fired. Their only 'crimes' were their socialist ideas and their antiwar activities.

## Pitts. steelworkers laid off

# 'We could run the mill better than them'

By Paul LeBlanc

PITTSBURGH—"Although Pittsburgh's steel industry has escaped the recession so far," the *Pittsburgh Press* reported recently in a front-page story, "the 'other shoe' is about to drop. Unemployment is rising as mills cut production schedules to match dwindling orders."

For many workers at the Pittsburgh Works of Jones & Laughlin Steel Corporation, the "other shoe" dropped June 6. Pittsburgh's second-largest steel employer, which had already idled 1,400 of its 5,400 workers, shut down its iron and steelmaking facilities, laying off an additional 1,200 steelworkers.

Neil Berns, a steelworker at U.S. Steel's Clairton Works and Socialist Workers party candidate for Allegheny county commissioner, visited the J&L works the day of the layoffs to discuss the problems and possible solutions with the workers there.

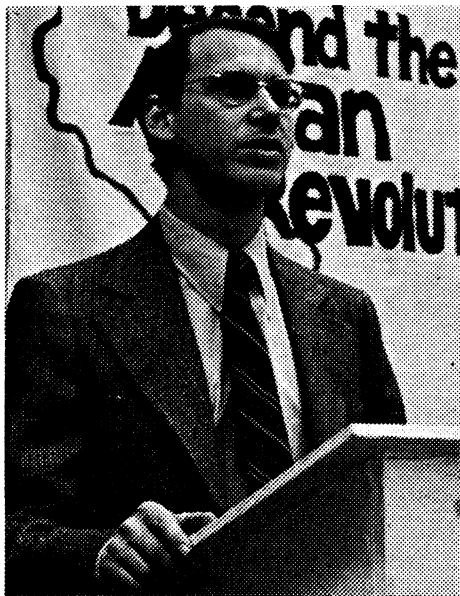
Most of the workers at the mill gate on Pittsburgh's South Side were middle-aged or older. "You need twenty-eight years' seniority to keep a job here," one man explained.

"Most of the younger men got laid off a long time ago," another said.

Workers expressed little confidence in the ability of their union, the United Steelworkers of America, to counteract the layoffs.

The South Side Unemployment Office took the unusual step of opening that Sunday, June 8, to deal with the expected wave of 900 laid-off steelworkers.

Steelworkers waiting in line in the office had mixed feelings and differing opinions on the layoffs. Many hoped



Militant/Cindy Jaquith  
SWP candidate Neil Berns calls for opening steel corporations' books for inspection by union members.

they would be back to work by October. Some pointed out that those being laid off were older, more secure workers who could count on sizable unemployment benefits.

"In the twenty-two years I've been at J&L," one man said, "there have been bigger layoffs than this. There have been seven or eight shutdowns. I don't think we have to worry much here."

Others were less optimistic. "It's going to get worse before it gets better," an older Black worker predicted.

"It depends on the economy," another man noted. "If it picks up, the layoffs will last until September or November. If not, it's indefinite."

A few comments blamed the layoffs on foreign steel imports and pollution controls, reflecting complaints made by the steel corporations. But most workers focused on cutbacks in orders, antiquated equipment, and poor management.

"It costs more to make steel here than at some of the more modern plants," *Militant* reporters were told. "When the orders stopped coming in, we were the ones to get laid off first, before workers in some of the more profitable mills."

"If the corporations would ask the men how to do things and take our say-so," one worker argued, "then they would get much better production."

Another added: "We have men in that mill who could probably run the mill better than the management people they have there."

The laid-off steelworkers were also asked if the Democratic or Republican politicians seemed to be offering any solutions. "That's where the problem starts!" exclaimed one.

"Where were they when these things were coming?" another complained.

Still another, when asked about the possibility of a public works program, charged: "Every time the government puts its finger in something, they screw things up. They've been sticking things together with Band-Aids, and it keeps coming apart."

The layoffs have sparked a response in the Arlington District on the South Side, where close to 40 percent of the male workers are employed at J&L Steel.

At a June 19 news conference called by the Arlington Civic Council, Connie Bilski, president of the council, said

that even before the layoffs many men in the neighborhood had not had a full paycheck since last December. They would work four days in the mill, then were off a week on unemployment compensation before being called back to work a few days again.

"We're not blaming anyone for now," Bilski said. "But we want to know what's in the future. Jobless, we're nowhere with nothing."

She said the council wanted to know if J&L would go ahead with modernization plans and was disturbed that the company was avoiding any definite answer. She called on the company, the union, and the government to "resolve the uncertainty."

In a leaflet distributed to J&L workers, socialist candidate Neil Berns charged Jones & Laughlin with placing profits above the needs of steelworkers. He called for "public hearings where the corporation's complete financial books would be open to inspection by USWA members and the public in general."

The leaflet stated: "We need jobs, and we need steel—for new housing, hospitals, schools, transportation."

If J&L refuses to keep the plant operating at full capacity, the leaflet concluded, "the city and county government should expropriate the plant and turn it over to those who work there."

Berns told the *Militant* the J&L workers were receptive to the SWP campaign leaflet. "They also liked the 'Bill of Rights for Working People,' the national SWP platform," he said.

"Some told me they were glad that someone other than 'those politicians' was campaigning for public office."

## Cleveland Blacks demand halt to police terror

By Shirley Pasholk

CLEVELAND—In the space of twelve days recently, two young Black men—Dwain Hawkins and Derrick Browne—were murdered in cold blood by Cleveland cops. The killings have sparked a protest movement in the Black community, and a panel discussion on police terror opened the new Cleveland Militant Forum hall on Friday, June 27.

A large banner at the front of the hall demanding "Stop cop terror" summed up the feelings of the ninety people present. The panelists included relatives of the slain youths, witnesses to their murders, and community leaders and activists.

Eva Hawkins and Louise Hawkins, mother and sister of Dwain, described his murder on May 26. During a family argument, Hawkins had picked up two knives. In an effort to help calm her son, Eva Hawkins called the police. In the meantime, Hawkins's relatives persuaded him to drop the knives.

When the cops arrived, one jumped out of his car with a rifle. Ignoring Eva Hawkins's pleas not to kill her son, the cop rushed to the back door and, without warning, shot Dwain in the back.

Louise Hawkins described how the family had tried to prosecute the murderer. The day after Hawkins was killed, his uncle, a witness to the murder, went to file charges with the police prosecutor. He was not permitted to see her that day, but returned the next day.

The police prosecutor then told him she could not take any action because she had already ruled the killing a "justifiable homicide." This was based on the cops' testimony that Hawkins

had lunged at them with knives in both hands.

Twelve days after Hawkins's death, Browne was murdered. According to Jane Johnson, who witnessed the killing, and Gloria Adams, Browne's mother, police claim they suspected Browne of having stolen the motorcycle he was riding. They say they were chasing him when he turned around—on the moving cycle—and aimed a gun at them. Hours after the murder, police returned to the scene and "found" a gun allegedly dropped by Browne.

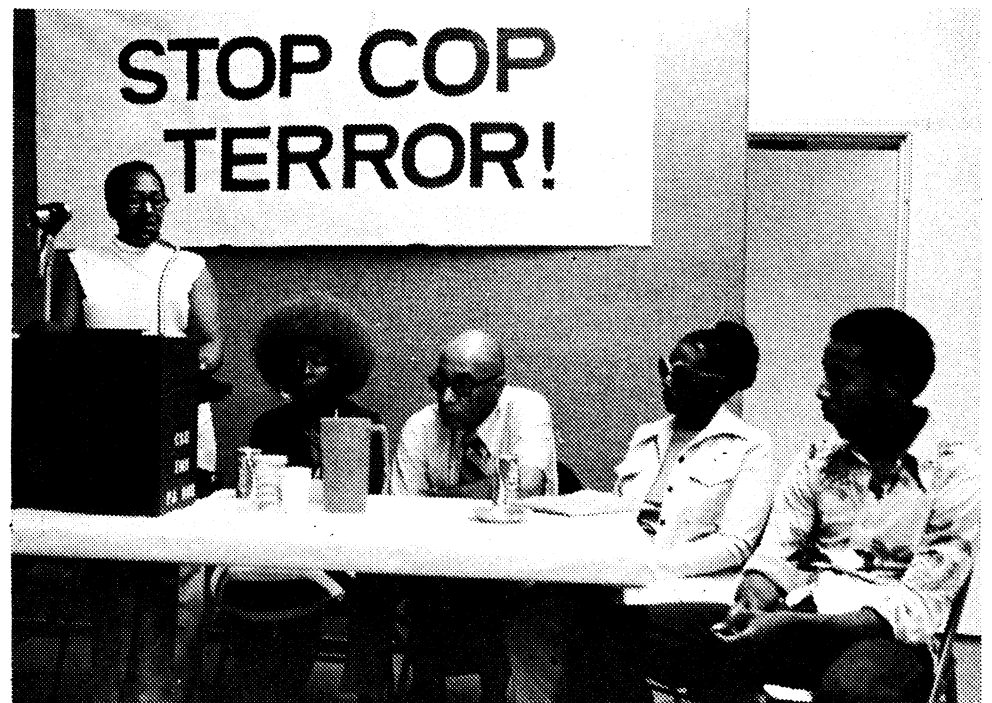
Johnson said that all fifty-three witnesses who appeared before the police prosecutor and the grand jury testified that Browne was unarmed and did nothing to provoke the shooting.

Following a public outcry against this murder, Patrolman Ralph Thomas was indicted for negligent homicide, a misdemeanor charge with a maximum sentence of six months in jail and a \$1,000 fine.

Terming the indictment "pure white-wash," Adams read a definition of "negligent homicide": "a case where a weapon is accidentally aimed or left aimed at a person and it goes off." She questioned how the deliberate shooting of her son with a shotgun could possibly fall under that meaning.

The response to her son's murder is different from previous incidents of police terror, Adams said, because "I'm not going for it. They killed the wrong little Black boy this time." She said that some victims' families have been too afraid of police reprisals to act.

Jeff Moffitt, representing the Ohio Student Coalition Against Racism, said, "People are sick of hearing about



Militant/Herman Kirsch  
From left to right: Eva Hawkins, Gloria Adams, Bishop A.E. Warde, Jane Johnson, Jeff Moffitt. Panel discussed plans to fight cop terror.

Blacks being shot down and beaten by cops, and they're scared they might be next."

This anger has led to several protest meetings, including a city-wide rally of 250 sponsored by the Cleveland NAACP June 21.

The panel discussed plans to continue the fight against police terror. Adams has filed suit against the Cleveland city government and against the cops who killed her son. The suit asks for \$2 million in damages. She has also challenged Mayor Ralph Perk to a public debate.

Despite the grand jury cover-up, demands continue to indict Browne's

murderer and the cop's superiors. Socialist Workers party mayoral candidate Robert Bresnahan suggested that future protest meetings elect a committee of inquiry to hold public hearings on the murders of Hawkins and Browne.

Bresnahan said that murders will continue as long as police are allowed to remain in the Black community. He proposed replacing the cops with safety forces elected by the Black community.

Also speaking at the June 27 forum were Bishop A.E. Warde, pastor of the Anolitic Church of Christ, and Jim Cox, a reporter.



# World Outlook

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

JULY 11, 1975

## Opposition in India rounded up as Gandhi assumes dictatorial powers

By Ernest Harsch

In a series of secretly plotted moves that began shortly after dawn June 26, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi abolished democratic rule in India and seized personal power, converting herself into a dictator.

In her first actions, she declared a state of emergency that in effect abolished the constitution and enabled her to govern by decree; she ordered the arrest of all opponents, whether they stood to the right or the left, who might offer a serious challenge to her coup; she set up a tight censorship of the press; and she mobilized the police and armed forces.

Caught by surprise, all opponent forces appeared momentarily stunned, giving the impression to some observers that the coup engineered by the would-be Empress of India was being passively accepted. Within a few days, however, it became clear from bits of information trickling through to the foreign press that protests were beginning and that demonstrations had flared in various parts of the country.

### 'Get Off Your Throne!'

Demonstrations in the capital area began June 29 as hundreds of youths marched through the streets of the old city of Delhi chanting, "Indira Gandhi, get off your throne!" They poured onto the grounds of the Delhi city hall and shouted, "Down with Indira!" and "Indira Gandhi's rule will not last!" One youth shouted in English, "This is brutal murder of democracy by Indira Gandhi."

About 700 police, armed with lead-tipped clubs and bayonet-fixed rifles, charged the unarmed crowds, striking anyone within reach. "The frightened demonstrators sought refuge in homes, shops and alleys of the crowded ancient city, but the police charged in after them," reported a June 29 United Press International dispatch from New Delhi.

The police arrested at least thirty persons, dragging some of the youths by their hair to the waiting police wagons a block away.

A few hours after the proclamation of the state of emergency, Gandhi claimed in a national broadcast that the dictatorial measures had been taken to "save democracy" in India. "I am sure you are all conscious," she said, "of the deep and widespread conspiracy which has been brewing ever since I began introducing certain progressive measures of benefit to the common man and woman of India."

"In the name of democracy, it has been sought to negate the very functioning of democracy."

But was there really a "conspiracy"



Gandhi during 1971 campaign. Moves to establish dictatorship were supported by her Stalinist allies.

involving thousands of persons? Gandhi's justification for the state of emergency, echoing the similar "conspiracy" stories that accompany almost every dictatorial coup, is a patent fake.

Gandhi's real intent was to hang on to power in the face of a developing Indian Watergate. Her coup came only two weeks after she was convicted of illegal campaign practices.

The growing popular distaste for the rampant corruption of Gandhi's ruling Congress party, combined with mass discontent over the deteriorating economic conditions, threatened to further erode the position of Gandhi and her cohorts. Instead of following Nixon's example in a similar situation and resigning, Gandhi decided to throw all those hot on her trail into prison.

President Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, at Gandhi's orders, declared an internal state of emergency shortly after dawn on June 26 (India has been technically under an "external" state of emergency since December 1971, when the Indian regime went to war against Pakistani forces during the Bangladesh independence struggle).

### Scope of Arrests

As of June 28, government representatives admitted that more than 1,100 persons had been arrested across the country. But according to other sources, cited in a June 28 dispatch from New Delhi by *Washington Post* correspondent Lewis M. Simons, as many as 4,000 persons were under arrest by mid-afternoon on June 28. A.R. Baji, a government information official, claimed June 27 that "only around one-third were political work-

ers." He said the rest of those arrested had been picked up "to prevent a breach of the peace."

Jaya Prakash Narayan, a leader of the Indian independence struggle during the 1940s and since 1974 the major political figure identified with the mass anticorruption movement in Bihar state, was one of the first opponents of Gandhi to be arrested.

On the same day the state of emergency was decreed, the district magistrate of the Union Territory of Delhi (which includes the federal capital of New Delhi) issued an order prohibiting all meetings, the carrying of weapons, the shouting of slogans, participating in marches and demonstrations, and publishing or circulating literature "likely to cause disharmony amongst different sections of the community."

Orders were issued in various parts of the country banning public gatherings of more than four persons.

The most stringent censorship regulations ever applied in India were also put into effect. A list of "guidelines" issued to newspaper editors June 26 barred the printing of articles that dealt with, among other subjects, "any attempt to subvert functioning of democratic institutions," "anything relating to violence and agitation," "reports of false allegations against leaders," "anything denigrating an institution of the prime minister," and "any attempt to threaten internal stability, production and prospects of economic improvement."

The *Indian Express*, one of the few New Delhi newspapers that managed to put out an extra edition on June 26 reporting the initial arrests (power had

been cut off to some newspapers) was ordered by the police to burn its extra editions.

The new information minister, Vidya Charan Shukla, informed foreign journalists June 28 that they would be expelled from the country if they did not abide by the new censorship regulations.

A few reports of scattered opposition to the state of emergency appeared in Indian newspapers before the censorship rules went into effect. Other reports were admitted by government officials.

On June 26, Indian news agencies reported student disorders in Patna, the capital of Bihar, a state where the mass anticorruption movement has one of its strongest bases.

Baji told reporters June 26 that "a few acts of hooliganism, incidents of pelting of stones on city buses and putting up of roadblocks were reported" in Ahmedabad, the capital of Gujarat state. He said police fired tear gas "to disperse unruly crowds." In a June 26 speech over All-India Radio, Gandhi admitted that there were "strikes in some places in Gujarat." A correspondent for the *New York Times* witnessed one peaceful march of several thousand persons held in Ahmedabad to protest the repressive measures.

According to Baji, the Jan Sangh led a march in Mehsana, Gujarat, which was followed by a bandh (general strike); in Poona, Maharashtra, about 1,000 persons demonstrated; and strikes took place in Haryana state and in parts of Bombay, the capital of Maharashtra.

### Mass Unrest

A June 27 Associated Press dispatch from New Delhi reported that according to a government representative, "persons opposed to the emergency were also trying to hurt the economy by calling citywide general strikes. He said that four such strikes occurred today."

Gandhi's assumption of dictatorial power came at a time when mass protests against corruption and against the country's worsening economic conditions—famine, unemployment, inflation—continued to mount.

One recent indicator of the Congress party's declining support was the elections for a new state assembly in Gujarat two weeks before the state of emergency was imposed. The Congress party won 75 seats in the assembly, while an opposition bloc of right-wing parties won 87 seats. In the 1972 elections in Gujarat, the Congress party won two-thirds of the assembly seats. The Congress administration in the state was ousted in February 1974 after a massive upsurge that was sparked by food shortages in the government-run ration shops. (Because of the failure of the Communist parties to provide any leadership to the mass movements that developed in Gujarat and Bihar, the rightist groups were able to intervene to some extent and increase their influence.)

Gandhi's position was further threatened by the June 12 ruling of the High

*Continued on page 22*

## Result will encourage new attacks on workers

# The British Common Market referendum: why 'Yes'

By Tony Hodges

LONDON—"A wonderful result." That was the verdict of the *London Times*, the most prominent mouthpiece of the British bourgeoisie, after the announcement of a 2-to-1 majority for continued British membership in the Common Market (EEC—European Economic Community) in a national referendum held June 5. A total of 17,378,581 persons voted "Yes" to British membership in the EEC (67.2 percent of those voting), and 8,470,073 voted "No" (32.8 percent).

The massive "Yes" vote was a big defeat for the labour movement. The Trades Union Congress (TUC), the Labour party, the Labour party Young Socialists (LPYS), and most major trade unions had urged British withdrawal from the Common Market. The Confederation of British Industry (CBI), the Conservative and Liberal parties, and the ruling class press had all fought vigorously for Britain to stay in.

The "Yes" landslide was also a shot in the arm for Labour Prime Minister Harold Wilson, the Labour cabinet, and the right wing of the Labour party who violated the party's conference decision to oppose the EEC and hooked up with the Tories and big business to urge continued EEC membership.

The Tory government of Edward Heath signed a Treaty of Accession with the original six member states of the EEC in January 1972 against considerable opposition from the labour movement. The Labour party was committed in its manifesto for the February 1974 general election to renegotiate Britain's terms of membership.

Reelected to government, the Labour leadership opened "renegotiation talks" in Luxembourg on April 1, 1974. After winning a few minor concessions for British capitalism, announced this year at the Dublin EEC summit on March 11, Wilson rushed a bill through Parliament to hold a referendum to approve Britain's continued EEC membership on the new terms.

This was the first nationwide referendum ever held in Britain. Most Tories opposed holding it, charging

that it undermined the authority of Parliament and set a dangerous precedent for the future. But Wilson and his class-collaborationist colleagues in the Labour leadership saw the referendum as a manoeuvre to rally greater public support behind the government's entire economic strategy.

In urging a "Yes" vote, the Labour government was once again acting out its traditional role as a loyal servant of British imperialism. Reduced to second-rank status as a world power, outpaced by its rivals in the United States, Japan, and continental Europe, and battered by the world recession, the British capitalists have no option but to stay in the EEC.

### Behind Capitalist Campaign

The British capitalists' determination to stay in the EEC reflects the shift in their trading since the loss of the British empire. In 1958 more than 43% of British exports still went to the Commonwealth countries. These markets have now been invaded by Britain's imperialist rivals. Last year only 16% of British exports went to these countries.

More and more, British firms need access to the markets of Western Europe. While in 1958 only 19.5% of British exports went to the other eight states now making up the EEC, last year more than 33% of exports were sold to these countries. Outside the market, the British capitalists would face high tariff walls (the EEC's Common External Tariff) against their exports to Europe.

The British ruling class also needs to participate with continental capitalists in the process of fusion of capital in the Common Market countries to create giant European firms capable of challenging their American and Japanese rivals.

In 1972 the Paris EEC summit urged "the elimination particularly in the fiscal and legal fields, of barriers which hinder closer relations and mergers between firms, the rapid adoption of a European company statute . . . and the promotion on a European scale of competitive firms in the field of high technology."



Right-wingers demonstrate against Common Market. Labour party 'lefts' and Stalinists joined in flag-waving instead of proposing socialist alternative.

A CBI report, "Britain In Europe" stressed the need to create "fully integrated multinational European firms in the advanced technology industries."

The "free movement of capital" is a central tenet of the EEC, one which the British ruling class must take the advantage of if it is not to be ruthlessly squeezed by its imperialist rivals.

The Labour Research Department (LRD) has noted the importance of EEC membership to British capitalists' continued exploitation of the semicolonial countries. In a pamphlet, "The 1975 Referendum, the Common Market, In or Out," the LRD says that "the British state is no longer strong enough to protect the foreign trading and financial interests of British companies in the way that it used to be able in the days of the British empire. It is therefore necessary to become part of a West European trading bloc which can wield the power that Britain cannot wield on her own."

### Ruling Class Unanimous

Almost every British bourgeois politician and institution of any importance urged a "Yes" vote in the referendum.

The CBI stressed in a letter to Wilson on April 17 that membership in the Common Market was "even more essential now than it was in 1970." A survey of business attitudes to the EEC published in the *London Times* on April 9 revealed that out of 419 replies received from company chairmen, 415 were in favour of continued EEC membership. The *Times* commented that "the survey is perhaps the most striking evidence yet of the extent of support for continued membership at the very top of Britain's largest companies."

Every major bourgeois newspaper in the country backed a "Yes" vote. And millions of pounds were poured into the coffers of the "Britain In Europe" campaign by the big corporations.

The right wing of the Labour party, led by Wilson and Home Secretary Roy Jenkins, stumped the country beating the drum of the capitalist class for EEC membership—in open disregard of a 2-to-1 vote against the EEC by a special Labour party conference on April 26.

The International Marxist Group (IMG), the British section of the Fourth International, denounced the Common Market as an imperialist bloc opposed to the interests of working people, the

workers states, and the semicolonial countries. It campaigned in the run-up to the referendum for a "No" vote, counterposing a united socialist Europe to the Common Market of the bosses.

The EEC, the IMG explained, "represents above all the interests of the great trusts and monopolies which operate on a European-wide scale. Every trade unionist is aware of the threat which these multinationals represent. They can transfer investment to low-wage areas, break strikes by shifting production from country to country, and play off workers of one country against another."

In the IMG's opinion, "overall, the EEC seeks to unify the ruling classes of Europe against the common internal enemy—the working class—and the external enemy—the threat of world revolution." The British Trotskyists pointed out that the working class has no interest in supporting a bloc of one gang of imperialist thieves in their competitive drive for markets against their rivals in the United States and Japan.

As internationalists, the IMG condemned the Common Market as a new mechanism for maintaining the European imperialists' exploitation of the semicolonial countries. The IMG also denounced the EEC's Common Agricultural Policy, which through a system of "intervention" buying keeps food prices artificially high and is responsible for the storage and destruction of thousands of tons of edible food.

### Response of Labor Movement

The IMG urged the labour movement to mount a massive campaign to mobilize working people against the EEC and win a "No" victory. But although the Labour party, the Labour party Young Socialists, the TUC, and most major unions came out against the market, the labour bureaucrats refused to launch a real campaign.

On April 30, just four days after the Labour party conference had voted overwhelmingly against the EEC, the party's National Executive Committee (NEC) decided against mobilizing the party's resources in a general-election campaign. No rallies or news conferences for a "No" vote would be held and the party's headquarters would distribute both pro- and anti-Common Market speeches to the press.

London *Sunday Times* reporter Stephen Fay reported the disquiet among many militant workers at the inactivity of the labour bureaucrats. After attending a rally of engineering workers in Liverpool addressed by Ernie Roberts, assistant general secretary of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, Fay reported on May 18 that "there was unease afterwards about the campaign. The questioners reflected it. Why was there no literature available? Why had no emergency committee been established? Why were the local Labour Party, the trades council and the other unions in Liverpool doing so little?"

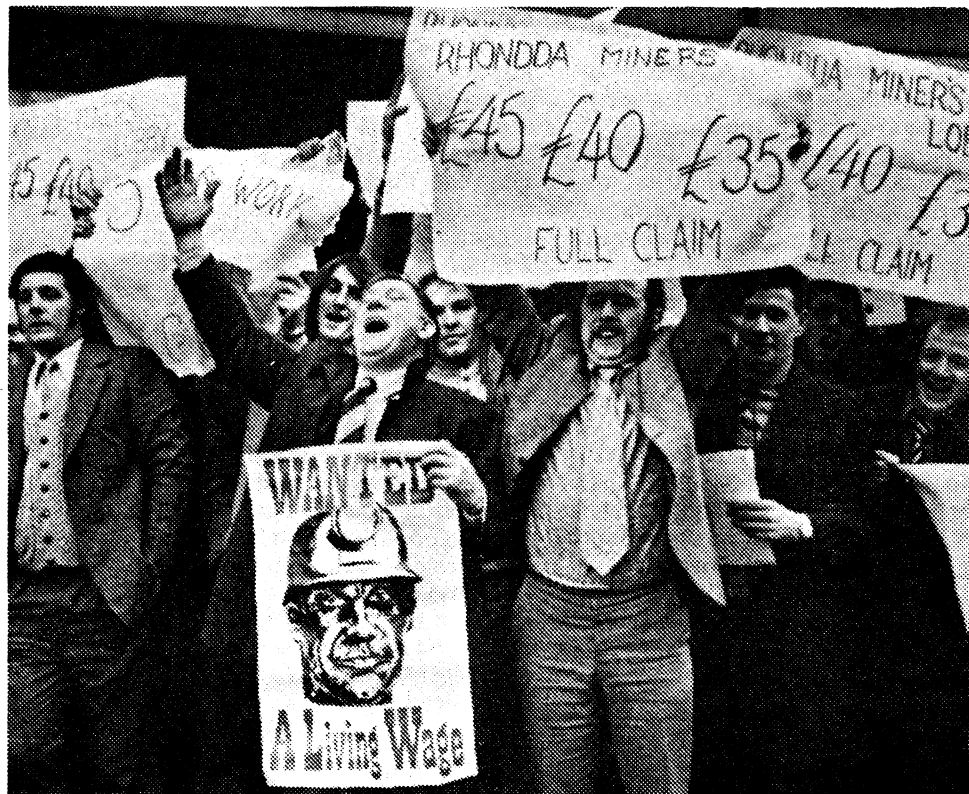
The trade-union officialdom did not make the slightest attempt to appeal to workers in socialist, class terms. Their opposition to the EEC was voiced in the narrow, backward manner typical of labour bureaucrats. For some, the



Fireworks in London following British entry into Common Market. Capitalists had reason to rejoice.



# vote was a defeat for labor movement



British miners demonstrate during 1974 strike. Labour government is trying to outdo Tories in holding wages down.

Common Market and its system of high food prices would upset the social contract, the class-collaborationist deal between the Labour government and the union bureaucracy to hold down workers' wages.

Jack Jones, general secretary of the Transport and General Workers Union, said in the *Sunday Times* on June 1 that "if we stay in the EEC I am very pessimistic about industrial relations." If there is a "Yes" vote, "the outlook for political stability could be very serious indeed," this defender of the status quo lamented.

Most poisonous of all was the virulent chauvinism and jingoism of the trade-union bureaucrats and left Social Democratic *Tribune* group of Labour members of Parliament. These "left-wingers" wrapped themselves in the Union Jack and accused the promarketeers of surrendering British sovereignty to foreigners.

Barbara Castle, one of seven cabinet ministers who came out against Wilson's call for continued EEC membership, warned a crowd of 2,000 at a *Tribune* rally in Manchester that "Germany and France will walk into our markets under trading conditions that serve their national interests and not ours." She went on to claim that the EEC would undermine "our social democratic system—the 'model' for the world." If that happened, "cynicism would result and that would open the doors to Communism."

And a leading *Tribune* MP, Ian Mikardo, told a rally in London April 16: "Eurofanatics who say the British are too weak-kneed, stupid and incompetent to stand on their own feet are as wrong as Hitler was in 1940."

Is it any wonder that a campaign waged with such reactionary claptrap failed to rouse the support of the majority of workers? By working so hard to defend the "national sovereignty" of British imperialism, the Labour "left" allowed the Labour right to cloak their procapitalist support for the EEC in the mantle of "socialist internationalism." The Labour "left," by ardently defending the "British nation," suggested that the British work-

ers have more in common with their domestic exploiters than their class brothers and sisters in the other Common Market countries.

But perhaps the biggest failure of the Labour "left" was its failure to propose any socialist alternative to the Common Market. All it could offer was the dismal prospect of an isolated capitalist Britain "sovereign and free" amid the storm of the world capitalist recession.

*Sunday Times* correspondent Hugo Young predicted May 4 that the referendum would be a victory for the promarketeers because of the "gut terror of many people about what would happen to Britain at this moment of economic and political alarm if it got out of the EEC."

## Socialist Alternative

Only a clear socialist alternative could have countered these fears: To defend workers' living standards against inflation, which according to official figures for retail prices was running at nearly 35 percent a year between February and April and is expected to get worse, the labour leaders should fight for a sliding scale of wages that would automatically raise pay to match increases in the cost of living.

To combat unemployment, now over 900,000, the labour movement should fight for a crash programme of public works to provide jobs and needed public services and fight for a sliding scale of hours to spread work to all who need a job. Firms threatening redundancies should be nationalized.

The only real solution to the world capitalist recession is the nationalization of industry, the land, and the banks under workers control, and the establishment of a planned economy in a united socialist Europe.

The Communist party, like the *Tribune* wing of the Labour party, failed to put forward such a fighting socialist alternative to the Common Market. The Stalinist anti-EEC campaign was shot through with national chauvinism. Defence of national inde-

pendence and Parliament were the two key issues.

"Is Britain," asked CP General Secretary Gordon McLennan, "going to be an independent, self-governing country, whose people will have the right to make their own laws and decide their own future through an elected Parliament and the pressure they exert on it? That, nothing less, is what we shall decide when we vote on June 5th in the referendum in the Common Market. We have never before in peacetime had to face such a vital question."

## CP Defends Imperialism

Although unable to explain why Communists should leap to the defence of the national interests of an imperialist country, McLennan was at pains to refute the charge that the CP was "indulging in jingoism or narrow nationalism."

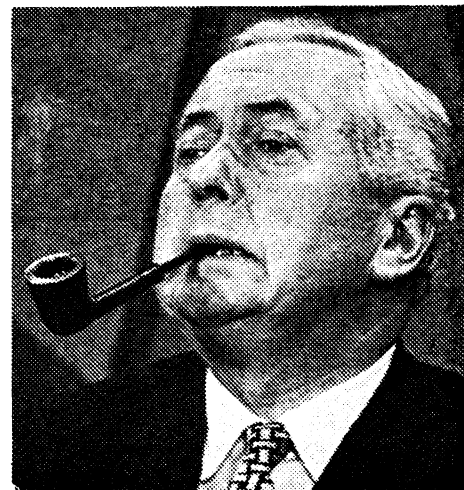
He went on: "The Labour movement cannot be indifferent to this issue. If Parliament loses its sovereign right to plan basic democratic changes, the whole fight for socialist advance would be far more difficult. The Communist Party's programme, the British Road to Socialism, is based on the aim of transforming Parliament into an institution serving the working class and its allies."

So the Stalinists fought for a "No" vote around two basic themes: defence of the national sovereignty of British imperialism and defence of the capitalist Parliament as an instrument for advancing towards socialism.

A third reactionary theme ran through the Stalinists' propaganda. The CP-controlled Labour Research Department argued that outside the EEC, "we shall have the power to impose selective import controls which have now become an absolute necessity." In this way the Stalinists urged British workers to fight for jobs at the expense of their fellow workers in other countries, instead of fighting for a sliding scale of hours, a public works programme, and nationalization of industry.

Like the Tribunites, the CP offered no socialist solutions to the problems of inflation and unemployment that are besetting workers in or out of the EEC. McLennan proposed merely freezing prices "for six months" as a "solution" to inflation. Not an ounce of internationalism was to be found in the Stalinist campaign—just flag-waving and import controls.

While the pro-Moscow Stalinists paraded around as the best patriots against the "take-over from Brussels," the pro-Peking Stalinists, of little



WILSON: Acted as loyal servant of British imperialism.

consequence in Britain, urged workers to join Wilson, the Tory party, and the CBI in building a strong capitalist Europe against the "two superpowers": Soviet social-imperialism and U.S. imperialism.

"Say 'No' to Superpower Domination! Vote 'Yes' to Europe!" urged the London Marxist-Leninist Communists. Communists For Europe, another group of Maoists and dissident CP members, favoured British membership in the EEC to give the European ruling classes more "muscle." According to these class collaborators, "to be effective in world trade among the various blocs, the first essential is strong bargaining power and plenty of economic muscle. Britain can have that as part of Europe, and that is why membership of the EEC is in the interests of the British working class."

## Sectarians Go Astray

The grotesque display of national chauvinism by the Tribunites and the Stalinists encouraged some sectarian groupies claiming adherence to Trotskyism to advise workers to abstain in the referendum. While the International Socialists (IS), a quite large centrist group, favoured a "No" vote, some of its members and one of its long-standing leaders, Michael Kidron, publicly favoured abstention in letters to the IS weekly *Socialist Worker*. Their French supporters, the *Lutte Ouvrière* (Workers Struggle) group, accused the IS of abandoning internationalist principles by calling for a "No" vote and bowing down "to the deepest prejudices of the British working class." (*Class Struggle*, May 1975.) "Whatever one might say or think, it boils down to abandoning all internationalist propaganda worthy of its name."

According to the small sectarian groupie *Workers' Fight*, the IMG added "its tin whistle to the cacophony of chauvinism" by urging workers to vote against British membership in the EEC.

In the opinion of another small "Trotskyist" sect, the League for Socialist Action, the IMG's call "No to the bosses' Common Market—for a

*Continued on next page*

Coming in the July 14

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## Free Portugal's new political prisoners

[The following article is from the News Analysis section of *Intercontinental Press*.]

In a June 15 speech, General Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho told a group of military men that one of the biggest problems of the Portuguese revolution was that just putting somebody like Arnaldo Matos in jail caused a "tremendous scandal." He was referring to the secretary of the Maoist Movimento Reorganizado do Partido do Proletariado (MRPP—Movement to Reorganize the Proletarian Party).

On May 29, Carvalho's Copcon military security forces raided MRPP

headquarters, jailing hundreds of members of this group. When the Maoist lawyers charged later that their clients were tortured, he did not deny that the prisoners may have been beaten by guards.

In the period since the arrests, demonstrations at the prison have been forcibly dispersed by Carvalho's troops as well as by other security forces.

The truth is just the opposite of what was alleged by the demagogic general on June 15. It is precisely because of mass protests and outcry against attempts at political repression that the revolutionary process has been able to go forward and the Portuguese

workers have gained confidence to demand their rights.

Unfortunately, the danger now is that there will not be enough of a "scandal" made about these jailings. The Maoists are very isolated. The group is quite sectarian, and in typical sectarian fashion has resorted to more and more provocative language in an attempt to impress an increasingly indifferent and hostile public. Moreover, following Peking's lead, it has made tactical alliances with rightists against the Communist party.

These arrests also came at a time when most groups to the left of the CP were trying to shout each other in support for the military, mistaking its repressive moves for "revolutionary determination."

Nor have the other Maoist groups been quick to come to the aid of their cothinkers. The most widely circulated Maoist paper in the United States, for example, the *Guardian*, has barely noted the case. Its old Stalinist correspondent in Lisbon, Wilfred Burchett, is too dizzy from the MFA's "success."

Those Maoist groups not seeking a place on the MFA's bandwagon are

generally too sectarian to show any solidarity. As for Peking, it is interested only in whether Moscow strengthens its international position through an alliance with the Lisbon regime. It is not going to risk antagonizing the military just to defend a few thousand young activists who swear by the "Helmsman."

Almost alone, the Portuguese Socialist party youth organization, Juventude Socialista, has taken a principled stand against the MRPP arrests, and opened a campaign that deserves the support of all defenders of democratic rights in Portugal and internationally.

In a May 29 communiqué, it said:

"Today the target of these arrests is the MRPP. Who knows who will follow tomorrow? The Juventude Socialista expresses its concern strongly about the possibility of an organization being eliminated from the Portuguese political scene solely on the basis of an allegation that it kidnapped three persons. This action by Copcon does not defend the revolution. It only harms it, because a climate of physical and psychological insecurity can only benefit reaction."

## ...India

Continued from page 19

Court of Allahabad, her home town in Uttar Pradesh, which found her guilty of illegal campaign practices during the 1971 elections. The charges had been filed against her in April 1971 by Socialist party leader Raj Narain, whom Gandhi had defeated for the parliamentary seat in the Rae Baraeli constituency of Uttar Pradesh. The court ruling barred Gandhi from holding any elected office for six years.

Gandhi's lawyers asked for a complete stay in the enforcement of the verdict until she had appealed, but the Supreme Court on June 24 stripped her of her right to vote in the Lok Sabha (lower house of Parliament). The ruling, however, allowed her to keep her position as prime minister, pending the outcome of her appeal.

The opposition figures renewed their drive to force Gandhi out of office. At a rally of 50,000 in New Delhi June 25, Jaya Prakash Narayan called for a week of civil disobedience actions beginning June 29, which were to



Slum in Calcutta. Gandhi's coup was result of mounting mass discontent.

include a massive sit-down and hunger strike in front of Gandhi's official residence. He called on the police and army to ignore "illegal orders."

Although Gandhi used the announcement of the civil-disobedience campaign as a pretext for the imposition of the state of emergency, it appears that her plans were made at least ten days before the New Delhi

rally. In a June 28 dispatch from New Delhi, *Washington Post* reporter Lewis M. Simons quoted an "informed source" as saying, "She had drawn up contingency plans as soon as the Allahabad court pronounced the conviction. The efficiency with which the police made the arrests all over the country makes this clear. They knew just where to find every one of the

people on her list."

Gandhi attempted to win support for her repressive measures by claiming that the opposition forces were responsible for India's economic stagnation. In her June 26 speech she said, "The threat to internal stability also affects production and prospects of economic development."

Her Stalinist allies have portrayed the state of emergency as an attack against "reactionary elements" bent on undermining Gandhi's "progressive" regime. Although a significant number of right-wing leaders were included in the roundup, the real aim of the state of emergency—beyond the immediate goal of ensuring Gandhi's political survival—was to stifle the developing mass movements, which have not yet come under the clear control of any opposition party.

In case the Congress party's capitalist backers may have been confused about who the repression was directed against, Gandhi clarified the regime's intentions. In a June 27 speech, she attacked Narayan for "giving respectability to all kinds of forces, including Marxist Communists." Gandhi also stated that she did not intend to nationalize any industries (as had been rumored) or place new government controls on industry.

## ...Britain

Continued from preceding page

United Socialist Europe" in fact "tells workers—in the meantime—that they should support British as against European capitalism" because "there is little chance of getting a 'socialist Europe' by June 5th."

All these groups made the error of using a subjective criterion—the chauvinist views of many of those leading the antimarket campaign—to determine revolutionists' attitude to an objective phenomenon, the Common Market itself. Revolutionists cannot be neutral to the attempt by their "own" bourgeoisie to combine in an imperialist bloc against the interests of the workers, the semicolonial countries, and the workers states. Revolutionists can no more abstain on British mem-

bership in the EEC than they can on British membership in NATO or any other imperialist bloc.

The best way, of course, for revolutionists to challenge the reactionary chauvinist propaganda of the Stalinists and the Tribunites was to campaign unequivocally for a "No" vote, and simultaneously, to advance a programme of revolutionary socialism and internationalism.

This was the course followed by the IMG. The Trotskyists, while rejecting the capitalist common market, advanced a thoroughly internationalist programme, proposing international action by workers against the multinational trusts (like the joint strike by the Italian workers of Pirelli and the British workers of Dunlop), international solidarity with workers in struggle (like the worldwide support given the British miners in their strikes against the Tories in 1972 and 1974), international solidarity with the Portuguese revolution, support for the political prisoners in Spain, and action

to defend the Irish freedom struggle.

The IMG called for a real mobilization of the resources of the labour movement against the EEC and for socialist solutions to the crisis wracking the capitalist economy—against incomes policies, for a sliding scale of wages and hours, for nationalization of industry, and a Socialist United States of Europe.

The IMG held several rallies in major cities against the EEC and for a socialist Europe. Ernest Mandel, a member of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, addressed meetings of several hundred in London, Birmingham, Manchester, Bristol, and Oxford.

The victory of the capitalist class and the right wing of the Labour party on June 5 is widely expected to encourage Wilson to launch new attacks against workers' interests in the months to come. Retail prices in April were 21.7 percent higher than a year before and in the first three months of

the year rose at an annual rate of nearly 35 percent.

With an inflation rate more than double that of its major competitors, British capitalism will soon be forced to mount new attacks on workers' living standards. According to the June 7 *London Times*, the Labour government is "looking for a norm for the next round of pay negotiations of less than 15 per cent," which at present inflation rates would amount to a severe cut in the standard of living of British workers.

But the Labour right cannot rest so assured that the easy victory of June 5 can be repeated in a head-on confrontation with the major battalions of the trade-union movement over the cost of living. The railway workers are now planning a nationwide rail strike to back up wage demands, a reminder to the Labour government that any direct assault on workers' living standards can spark a powerful response from the ranks of the labour movement.



# Pa. state workers strike for wage boost

By Duncan Williams

PHILADELPHIA, July 1—Ninety thousand Pennsylvania state workers walked off their jobs today, spurning the state's final offer of a 3.5 percent wage increase.

Governor Milton Shapp immediately moved toward obtaining court injunctions ordering at least some of the strikers back to work.

PHILADELPHIA, June 26—"The possibility is very great at this point" that there will be a strike by more than 90,000 state employees beginning July 1, Ed Keller, executive director of District Council 88 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, told the *Militant* in a telephone interview.

AFSCME represents about 80,000 of the employees involved, who work in a wide range of clerical, maintenance, health-care, and other capacities. Ten thousand more are represented by the Pennsylvania Social Services Union (PSSU), a state local of the Service Employees International Union.

The main issue, according to spokespersons from both unions, is wages. AFSCME, which is renegotiating its wage agreements for the final year of a three-year contract, has demanded a 30 percent wage boost. Keller estimates that the average wage of most employees represented by AFSCME is between \$8,500 and \$10,000.

PSSU has called for a 15 percent wage increase. Both unions are also trying to establish cost-of-living clauses to battle the effects of inflation.

The state has made a single across-the-board offer of 3.5 percent. According to Bob Posusney, vice-president of the Philadelphia chapter of PSSU and chairperson of the local strike committee, that low offer doesn't even apply to all workers. Those already at the top of their salary levels will only get 1.75 percent, he said.

Overwhelming rejection of the state's offer was expressed in AFSCME-sponsored rallies of 20,000 in Harrisburg and 400 at the state office building in Philadelphia.

The state has not even begun to

consider contract questions other than wages, according to Keller and Posusney. In addition to a reduced work load and better conditions, PSSU is demanding that newly hired CETA (Comprehensive Education and Training Act) employees be included in the PSSU bargaining unit. AFSCME is trying to establish a dental plan and to eliminate inequities in the pension program.

Governor Milton Shapp, a Democrat, has been on a public relations campaign to discredit the union demands and to foster public opposition to the state workers. Shapp, who had the support of both unions in his reelection campaign for governor in 1974, claims that there is no money in the state budget.

On June 25, the state legislature passed a budget based on the paltry 3.5 percent increase, plus layoffs of more than 4,000 employees. The real priorities of the capitalist politicians were revealed by an earlier settlement worked out with the state police: \$1,300 across the board and a full dental plan.

Unfortunately, AFSCME has come

out for increased income taxes, which fall hardest on working people, as a solution to the budget crisis. Posusney outlined the position of the PSSU: "We say we don't want to tax other working people around the state. A lot of fat can be trimmed off the budget. If other funds are needed, the businesses and corporations should be taxed."

The Democratic and Republican politicians and officeholders have all taken their distance from the state workers and have given at least quiet approval to Shapp's antiunion drive. In contrast to the capitalist politicians, Terry Ann Hardy, Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor of Philadelphia, has spoken out in support of the state workers.

"Governor Shapp is trying to make the state workers pay for the economic depression affecting the working people of Pennsylvania," said Hardy. "I say working people did not cause this depression, and they should not have to suffer for it. I support unconditionally the state workers' demands for higher wages and better working conditions."

## Atlanta public employees win dues checkoff

By Lynn Henderson

ATLANTA—Local 1644 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees scored a major victory here recently when the city administration was forced, after a long and bitter struggle, to grant dues checkoff to the local.

This gain followed on the heels of another important victory for Local 1644 two weeks earlier, when the city council announced it was abandoning plans to force all city employees to take a one-week unpaid vacation.

This scheme would have meant a 2 percent wage cut for AFSCME members. It was vigorously opposed by Local 1644, which held a series of demonstrations last March around both the wage-cut and dues checkoff issues.

The city council had planned to begin the unpaid vacations in July with a staggered schedule that would allow them to maintain city operations by increasing the work load on a reduced number of workers.

Local 1644 leaders, at a rally after the March demonstrations, announced that if the city went ahead with its plan all AFSCME members would take their "vacation" simultaneously and shut down the city for a week.

Bill O'Kain, secretary-treasurer of Local 1644, commented that both recent victories "are a direct result of



Militant/Meg Rose

Atlanta city government revoked Local 1644's dues checkoff rights as part of attempt to crush union following 1970 strike (shown above).

the strength we showed through our demonstrations. These actions made it clear to the mayor and the city council that Local 1644 intends to take whatever steps are necessary to defend the jobs and living standards of its membership."

Until 1970 Local 1644 was the recognized representative of city employees, with dues checkoff rights. In 1970, however, after a month-long strike by city employees for a 4 percent wage increase, Sam Massell, then mayor, arbitrarily withdrew checkoff

privileges in an attempt to crush the union.

Through this and other actions, the city has also encouraged raiding of AFSCME by rival AFL-CIO organizations, especially the conservative Laborers' International Union.

The events of the past weeks are a setback for these policies. However, the city still gives little indication that it intends to engage in serious negotiations with Local 1644 leading to a signed contract with the union.

Last January the city council indicated its real intentions by passing a viciously antiunion ordinance. The new law recognizes a union only if it refuses to act like a union.

Dues checkoff, for example, is suspended if the union demonstrates, pickets, or strikes. Checkoff can also be suspended if even a single member is caught discussing union activities on the job.

"The mayor and the city council think that they can use the threat of withdrawing dues checkoff to club the union into selling out city workers," commented O'Kain.

"It didn't work in 1970 and it won't work now. We don't want to have to strike or demonstrate, but if the city refuses to negotiate in good faith, then city employees will take whatever actions are necessary to obtain the economic justice they are entitled to."

## San Antonio Chicanos rally for 'la causa'

By Pedro Vázquez

SAN ANTONIO, Tex.—Nearly 400 Chicanos rallied June 21 at Las Palmas Shopping Center here, showing support in Texas for *la causa*, the farm workers' struggle for justice.

Antonio Orendain, leader of the recent cantaloupe-pickers' strike in the Rio Grande Valley south of here, gave an account of that battle. Speaking in Spanish, he described the plight of the farm workers and the viciousness of the attacks by the racist growers, and he appealed for support to ongoing organizing efforts among field hands in Texas.

In mid-May a strike was begun against the cantaloupe harvest at La Casita ranch, site of an organizing drive by the United Farm Workers nine years earlier that had been brutally crushed.

As word of the new effort reached other field workers, the strike spread to

include 3,000 people and several other ranches. The demand of the strikers was that the growers recognize the UFW and sign contracts with the union.

One rancher, Chestley Miller, responded to a walkout by several hundred from his melon fields by opening fire with a shotgun as the workers were leaving, wounding eleven. Other growers also attempted violence. In addition, they sent their lawyers into court and obtained strike-breaking injunctions denying the union the right to picket on many roads adjacent to the ranches.

The strike ended in mid-June, with the winding up of the melon harvest, which is the last large harvest in the valley until the fall.

Orendain reported, however, that for the duration of the summer the strike would follow the melon crop to Pecos in West Texas and then to the northern

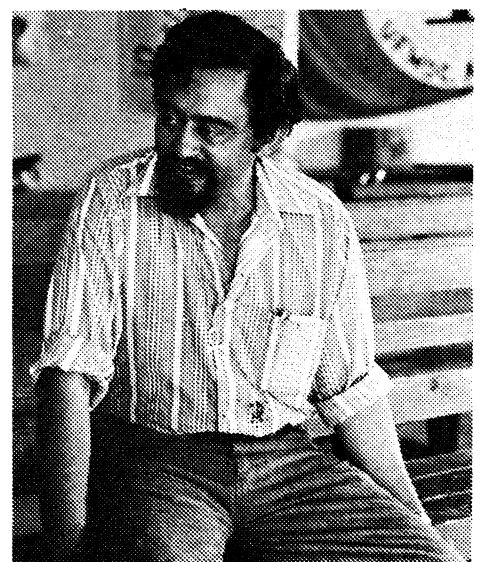
part of the state.

Orendain told reporters his visit to San Antonio was motivated largely by the need to get food for strikers, and as he spoke, shoppers sympathetic to *la huelga* went into supermarkets and returned with bags of groceries to donate to the union.

Antonio Cabral, a leader of the San Antonio antideportation organization TU CASA, told the *Militant* that the rally, organized by Raza Unida party activists, would be followed by more activities.

TU CASA is holding a benefit dance and rally July 5.

TU CASA is trying to involve other groups in organizing the farm-worker benefit, and several have already agreed to help publicize it. Well-known San Antonio Chicano activist Mario Cantú has donated use of his restaurant as distribution center for tickets to the benefit.



Militant/José Pérez

Antonio Orendain, a leader of farm workers in Rio Grande Valley, described recent strike against cantaloupe growers.

## Seattle offices attacked

# Socialists demand action against vandals

By Jeff Ford

In the early morning hours on June 26 the Seattle Socialist Workers campaign headquarters was attacked for the second time in less than a month. People living across the street were awakened by the noise and were able to supply the police with a description of the vandals.

According to the witnesses, two men emerged from a pickup truck, crossed the street to the entrance of the campaign headquarters, and began to kick at the door. Although their assault did considerable damage to the front door, they were unable to make their way inside. The two then fled across the street between two houses, leaving their truck behind.

When the police were called to the scene, the witnesses were able to describe the attackers and give the license number of the truck.

Just three weeks earlier, someone attacked the same headquarters in Seattle with a crowbar, doing damage to the front entrance and scratching



SWP city council candidate Toby Emmerich examines battered door after June 26 attack on campaign offices.

"free nam" into the door.

Other parts of the country have seen similar attacks on the Socialist Workers party. These include the bombings of two SWP offices in Los Angeles, an attempt by uniformed Nazis to break up an SWP campaign open house in Boston, and an armed demonstration by members of the Ku Klux Klan in front of the SWP offices in Houston.

The SWP has not been the only victim of these assaults in Seattle. Two local cooperatives run by young people have been attacked in the past two months. The Little Bread Company was the victim of a tear-gas bomb during a Vietnam victory celebration, and the Country Doctor (a free medical clinic) suffered an attempted break-in.

The Socialist Workers campaign responded immediately to this latest attack on the civil liberties of all Seattle citizens. A statement issued June 26 stressed that these attacks have taken place following the revelation of a massive FBI program to disrupt the SWP, known as Cointelpro.

The statement pointed out that because of programs such as Cointelpro any right-wing hoodlum feels free to physically attack people with whom they disagree.

The socialists demanded that the Seattle Police Department take immediate action to arrest the individuals responsible for this latest attack. "Unless quick action is taken," they said, "these hoodlums will feel free to carry out further attacks that could endanger people's lives."

The statement pointed out that the police have the license number and description of the truck and that there is no obstacle to apprehending those involved and bringing them to justice.

The statement concludes by stressing that the "Socialist Workers party will not be intimidated by these right-wing attacks. We intend to continue our efforts to bring our ideas to the people of Seattle and to convince them of the necessity of building a socialist America."

## Guardsmen admits he lied about Kent massacre

By Nancy Cole

A former Ohio National Guard officer admitted June 30 that he lied about finding a gun on the body of one of the students killed at Kent State University on May 4, 1970. On that day five years ago, guardsmen broke up a rally protesting the United States invasion of Cambodia, and then opened fire on the students. Four students were killed and nine wounded.

J. Ronald Snyder, a captain in the guard at the time of the massacre, testified June 30 that he first concocted the story about the gun two months after the killings to quell fellow guardsmen's fears about legal actions.

"I told them I have the answers to that problem; it was self-defense," Snyder said. He then produced the gun, which was rusted and missing the trigger assembly, and a pair of brass knuckles. The brass knuckles, he told guardsmen, were taken from a student he had beaten before the shooting began. This story was also a complete fabrication.

Snyder is one of thirty-eight guardsmen named as defendants in a \$48 million damage suit filed in U.S. District Court in Cleveland by the parents of the four slain students and by the nine wounded students.

In addition to the guardsmen and

several of their superiors, Gov. James Rhodes and former Kent State president Robert White are defendants.

The plaintiffs plan to prove to the jury that the National Guard dispersal of the peaceful rally was illegal, unconstitutional, and provoked reactions from the students. The guardsmen were not in danger when they opened fire on the protesters, the parents and students contend.

Rhodes, they say, created an atmosphere conducive to violent confrontation through his "inflammatory, volatile, and irresponsible" rhetoric.

The defense is trying to show that "burning, looting, rioting, terrorism were the order of the day at Kent." They also claim that a single shot was heard before the guardsmen opened fire on the students.

In the jury selection, defense attorneys excluded those under thirty and those with long hair.

Harry Montgomery, a former Kent State student, testified June 4 that he saw a guardsman fire the first shot. Guardsmen moved up a campus knoll, Montgomery said, but one lagged behind carrying a .45-caliber pistol. "I saw him tap some guardsmen on the back. . . . Then he turned and he fired with the .45 pistol in his left hand. Almost simultaneously, the men in

front of him . . . turned and fired with rifles, downhill toward the students."

Snyder's testimony yesterday was the first public disclosure that he had lied about the gun and brass knuckles. In October 1970 he told the same false story to the special state grand jury that later exonerated the National

Guard, but indicted twenty-five of the victims for rioting.

He became "locked into" the lie, Snyder says, when his superiors seized upon it as evidence to bolster their "self-defense" argument.

The trial is now in its seventh week and is expected to run through August.



Kent State students under fire from National Guardsmen during May 1970 murderous assault.

## Attica defendant acquitted of frame-up charges

By Kurt Hill

BUFFALO, N.Y.—Attica defendant Bernard "Shango" Stroble was acquitted June 26 of frame-up charges of murder and unlawful imprisonment stemming from the 1971 prison rebellion.

As foreman Otto Leff reported the jury's findings, defense supporters in the courtroom cheered and applauded. The defendant's mother, Mozie Lee Stroble, fainted when she heard the verdict.

Stroble had been charged with murdering another prisoner, Barry Schwartz, and with the unlawful imprisonment of Schwartz and Kenneth Hess, who also died during the uprising.

Charges of kidnapping and felony murder (homicide as a result of another crime) were dismissed June 18

because the state could not establish that an abduction had taken place. First-degree imprisonment was substituted for the kidnapping charge.

The prosecution claimed that Stroble kidnapped Schwartz and Hess and held them until they were killed in the following two days.

Leff stated that the jury could not accept the testimony of Jimmy Ross, the state's key witness. Ross was the only one to claim that he saw Stroble slit Schwartz's throat.

It was the "vagueness" and "stumbling" nature of the testimony, Leff said, that failed to convince the jury of seven women and five men of Stroble's guilt. He said that inconsistencies between trial testimony and prior statements gave rise to a feeling that the state witnesses had been "fed" their stories by the prosecution.

Ross's credibility had been shattered June 10 as questioning by the defense exposed numerous contradictions in his story.

The first contradiction in Ross's testimony was his location during the alleged murder. He claimed at the trial that he was standing directly in front of the cell where the killing occurred.

However, the defense introduced diagrams that illustrated how Ross had previously placed himself in an entirely different position. Ross's testimony was also challenged by another prosecution witness, Warren Cronan. Cronan testified that he had occupied a cell just down the corridor from the "scene of the murder." Under cross-examination by the defense, he stated that there were only four men present on the gallery during the killing, and Ross was not one of them.

Defense attorney Ernest Goodman emerged from the courtroom tearful, but smiling. He told reporter, "I just couldn't help it. This is my last major trial, and it's been a long six months. But they were tears of joy. It's a good way to leave."

"This should be an end to the Attica tragedy," Haywood Burns, another defense attorney, said. "How many more millions of dollars will they spend in this useless prosecution?"

Stroble's trial was the third trial of Attica inmates to end in total acquittal. Five defendants have been found innocent of all charges. Charlie Joe Pernasilice was convicted of assault, and John "Dacajewiah" Hill, of murder. Thirty of the original sixty-two indicted because of the rebellion still have charges pending against them.



# CIA cover-up continues

## Gov't secrecy vs. people's right to know

By Cindy Jaquith

WASHINGTON—One of the things that upsets the U.S. rulers most about the current unmasking of CIA crimes is the erosion of capitalism's "right" to secrecy.

The June issue of *Fortune*, the big-business magazine, posed the problem in a cover story on "Why We Need the CIA":

"[The CIA] is a victim of, among other things, the pervasive mistrust of government secrecy," *Fortune* said. "Watergate, along with all its other bad consequences, tipped the balance in the contentious issue of the government's right to secrets."

"Some people apparently believe that the government has no right to any secrets, a view that, if it prevails, will be fatal to the function of intelligence."

As the *Fortune* editors realize, this mood also threatens all other institutions of capitalist rule. They all need to keep the truth about their goals and methods from the American people.

### Business secrets

The giant corporations, for example, insist on the right to keep their employees in the dark about company profits. The government insists on its right to keep the lid on its secret deals and treaties abroad. The military says it has a right to lie about its policies and actions when "national security" is involved. It even carries out "secret wars," such as its aggression in Laos.

These secrets are all interrelated. A chink in the armor of one institution threatens them all. Thus CIA Director William Colby, testifying before the House Subcommittee on Government Information and Individual Rights June 25, defended his agency's need for secrecy.

"These intelligence secrets," he said, "are as important to our nation and the preservation of our Constitution as . . . congressional secrets of executive session discussions, the trade secrets of American industry and commerce, the diplomatic secrets of our negotiations, and the military secrets of our national defense."

The CIA's secrets are particularly delicate. Exposure of the agency's tactics of murder, sabotage, and intimidation lays bare the fundamental methods of capitalist rule, the rule of a minority through lies, deception, and brutal force.

Because the actions of this government are not in the interests of the majority, the cloak of "national security" is draped over them. The activities of the CIA, FBI, the State Department, the army, and other capitalist institutions are kept hidden from the American people.

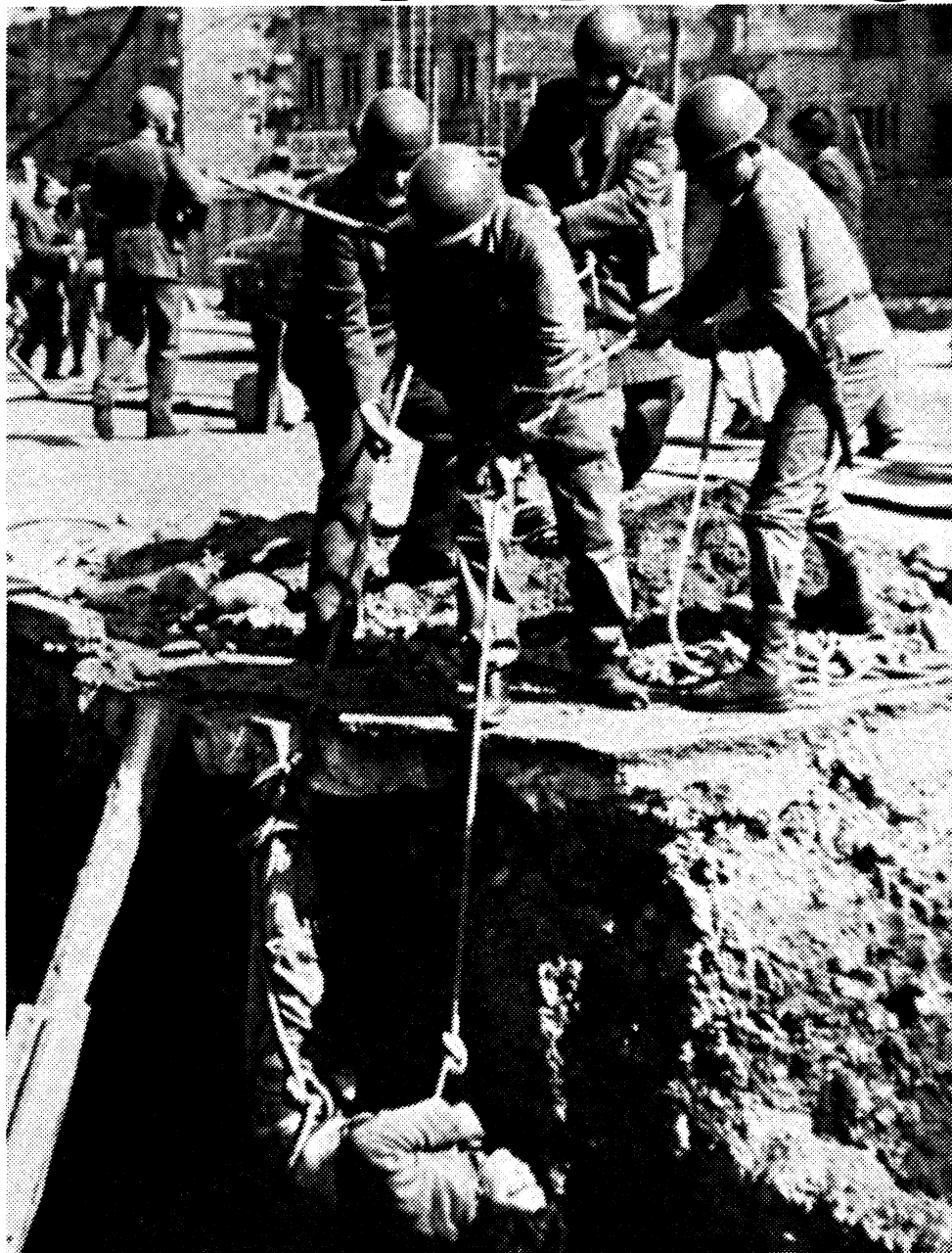
The problem faced by the capitalists today is that some of those secrets have begun to come out. And this has only whetted the appetite of the American people for the whole truth.

In the face of the mounting demand for full disclosure of CIA crimes, the capitalist politicians are trying to come up with a formula that will convince people that the CIA has been reformed, while actually maintaining—and strengthening—the CIA's right to secrecy.

### Role of Democrats

Now that Vice-president Nelson Rockefeller has finished his whitewash of the agency, the burden for restoring support to the CIA has fallen to the Democrats in Congress who are heading up "investigations" of the CIA.

Sen. Frank Church (D-Idaho), who is chairing the Senate investigation, has refused to hold a single open session of his committee thus far. "I thought it was important to gain confidence from the agencies to allay fear the commit-



Street scene following rightist coup in Chile. Government is determined to continue secret operations such as 'destabilization' of Allende regime.

tee would be a sieve through which state secrets would pour like water and inundate the republic," he said.

On June 26, Church announced that hearings on CIA assassination plots would be held in secret. He said that he didn't want to "hold up this whole sordid story before the world and telecast it to every corner of the globe." Public hearings, Church said, would cause "the maximum injury to the country."

While Church is heroically sparing the American people from the truth, the House intelligence committee has itself become inundated with its own little Watergate scandal. The head of the committee, Rep. Lucien Nedzi (D-Mich.), has been forced to admit that as head of CIA "oversight" for the House Armed Services Committee, he has known for the past year that the CIA plotted the assassination of Fidel Castro.

Liberal Democrats on the House intelligence committee, embarrassed by this rather inauspicious beginning for their "no holds barred" investigation of the CIA, tried to force Nedzi to resign his post.

The debate over this issue produced some revealing comments on the House floor when Nedzi threatened to quit unless he got a vote of confidence. Appealing to his colleagues' sense of loyalty to "national security," Nedzi declared, "I do not favor having our nation stand naked before its enemies."

"In any event," he asked, "what was I to do when I learned of a foreign policy decision, made long ago, with which I may, in retrospect, have disagreed? Rent a stadium and reveal all? Call in television cameras and expose things ten, or fifteen, or twenty-five years old?"

Nedzi's real fear, of course, was not that the U.S. government would

"stand naked before its enemies," but that it would stand naked before the American people, exposed as a gang of assassins, plotters, and liars.

Sympathizing with his dilemma, Nedzi's fellow members of the House voted 290 to 44 to reject his resignation.

Even the forty-four dissenters made it clear that what was at issue was not the principle of honesty, but a tactical question of restoring faith in the discredited House investigation. As Andrew Young (D-Ga.) put it, to keep Nedzi on might make people think the House was trying "to give a whitewash to the CIA."

Rep. Richard Ottinger (D-N.Y.), explained that Nedzi was "simply not in a position today to inspire the necessary confidence."

### 'Preserve proper secrecy'

The trick, Ottinger explained, is that congressional oversight must be conducted in such a way "so as to preserve the proper secret operation of the agency. The integrity and usefulness of the agency is jeopardized by spreading its secret activities across the front pages of our newspapers." (Emphasis added.)

But if oversight is done clumsily, Ottinger warned, "there will always be a heavy suspicion that the secrecy granted is being used as a cover for improper activities such as have been revealed in the past months."

The sympathetic treatment given Nedzi by the House contrasts sharply with that given Michael Harrington (D-Mass.). On June 16 the House Armed Services Committee voted to deny Harrington any further access to its secret documents, on the grounds that he leaked the story of how the CIA helped "destabilize" the Allende regime in Chile.

The leak was based on an April 22, 1974, executive session of the commit-

tee, at which William Colby described the CIA's illegal sabotage in Chile. Harrington read transcripts of the testimony later on, and the story made its way into the press in the fall of 1974, much to the consternation of the CIA.

In the eyes of Congress, Nedzi's crime was to be stupid enough to get caught in a cover-up. Harrington, on the other hand, was guilty of breaking one of the cardinal rules of Congress—never tell the public what goes on in executive sessions of Congress. Especially if the secret session takes up illegal actions that the American people would oppose!

The penalty against Harrington—which violates a House rule guaranteeing every member of Congress access to committee documents—is part of a growing pattern of restrictions on the release of secrets to the American people. Congress is also now considering the new federal crime bill, known as "S. 1." This bill includes new criminal penalties for reporters who publish "national security" information and for government employees who reveal official secrets.

On June 24, the U.S. Supreme Court issued a ruling on the Freedom of Information Act that makes a mockery of the idea that the people have any right to know what the government is really doing. The justices ruled that the government can deny public access to documents if it can be shown that to disclose them would not be "in the interest of the public."

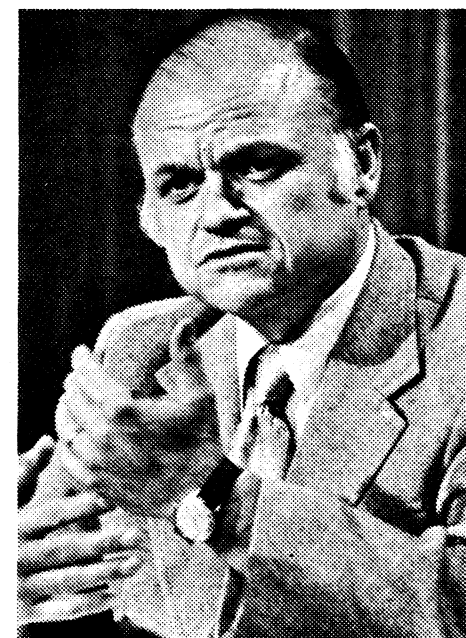
### Bipartisan policy

This drive to tighten up on "state secrets" is a bipartisan one. Both the Democrats and Republicans favor these moves in the hopes they will help preserve the "integrity" of outfits like the CIA.

By their insistence on the "right" to secrecy, these capitalist politicians have made it clear that they have no intention of reforming the CIA, much less abolishing it.

It will take a workers government to carry out this task—abolishing the CIA, FBI, and all other secret-police agencies and publishing all their files. A workers government would make the disclosure of official secrets one of the first items of business, opening up the minutes of the secret White House meetings, exposing the executive sessions of Congress, baring the financial books of big business, and publishing all the treaties and agreements made behind the backs of the American people.

Under a workers government the capitalists' right to secrecy would be replaced by a new right—the right of working people to know the truth and make the decisions that affect our lives.



NEDZI: 'What was I to do . . . ? Rent a stadium and reveal all?'

# Calendar

## CLEVELAND

**THE ROSENBERG FRAME-UP TRIAL.** Speakers: Harold Ticklin, Committee to Re-Open the Rosenberg Case; Carol Knoll; SWP. Fri., July 11, 8 p.m. 2300 Payne Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 861-4166.

## LOS ANGELES

**THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS—** From the American Revolution of 1776 to the Coming Socialist Revolution. Speaker: Evelyn Sell, teacher fired because of FBI harassment. Wed., July 9, 8 p.m. 710 S. Westlake Ave. Donation: \$.50 Ausp: L.A. Socialist Summer School. For more information call (213) 483-1512.

**ANNUAL SHISH KABOB.** Sat., July 19, 4 p.m.—1321 Palms Blvd., Venice. Donation: \$.50; \$2.50 h.s. students. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (213) 483-1512 or (213) 394-9050.

## PHILADELPHIA

**REVOLUTIONARY UPSURGE IN PORTUGAL.** Speaker: Tony Austin, activist in African liberation support movement and former SWP candidate for Congress. Fri., July 18, 8 p.m. 1004 Filbert St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) WA5-4316.

## SEATTLE

**SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN BARBECUE.** Sun., July 13, 1 p.m. 9720 Ranier Ave. S. Donation: \$.35. Ausp: Socialist Workers campaign committee. For more information call (206) 522-7800.

## TWIN CITIES

**THE STRUGGLE OF LA RAZA TODAY.** speaker: Peter Camejo, SWP 1976 presidential candidate. Thurs., July 10, 7:30 p.m. Chicano Neighborhood House, 179 East Robie St., St. Paul. Ausp: SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

**200 YEARS AFTER THE FIRST AMERICAN REVOLUTION.** Speaker: Peter Camejo, SWP 1976 presidential candidate. Mon., July 14, 12 noon. 347 Coffman Union, Univ. of Minnesota. Ausp: YSA. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

**SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN BANQUET AND RALLY.** Speakers: Peter Camejo, SWP 1976 presidential candidate; Mary Hillery, SWP candidate for mayor of Mpls.; Holly Harkness, SWP candidate for Mpls. school board. Sat., July 12, 5:30 p.m.: refreshments; 6:30: banquet; 8 p.m.: rally. 25 University Ave. S.E., Fourth Floor, Mpls. Donation: \$.35 dinner, \$1 rally only. Ausp: SWP 1975-76 Campaign Committee. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

## ...June 28

*Continued from page 3*

Moses Harris of Black Economic Survival; and Dave McReynolds of the Coalition on the Economic Crisis.

Organizers of the June 28 action had hoped to draw the support of more

union locals and especially of AFSCME District Council 37, which represents about half of the unionized city workers.

The central leaders of District Council 37, notably Victor Gotbaum, instead denounced the march as "antiunion" and actively discouraged people from participating.

Ray Markey, a leader of Local 1930 and delegate to the District Council 37 delegate assembly, told the *Militant*: "In a situation where Gotbaum is not taking effective action to save union members' jobs, he evidently felt that for anyone else to initiate action was like challenging his leadership.

"We believe very strongly that this kind of protest against city hall is what is needed. The jobs of all city workers cannot be saved through a few people lobbying in Albany. They cannot be saved through secret deals with Beame.

"We are convinced it will take mass protest," he said, "and we would like nothing better than to see the district council take the lead. Where our locals turned out a few hundred people, the entire council, together with other city unions, could obviously bring out hundreds of thousands."

Markey concluded: "We intend to keep talking to people about this perspective, winning over more unions and more community groups, and we won't stop until these cutbacks have been defeated."

## ...Reid

*Continued from page 8*

affirmative-action plans. Now, it seems obvious to me, those gains must be defended.

**Question:** O.K. But won't the white workers who get laid off be resentful?

**Reid:** Anybody that gets laid off is going to be resentful! Period. And no one is more resentful than women and Blacks. We have been resentful for a long time about being laid off first. If resentment could guarantee a job, we'd all be working.

The issue is this: how can we deal with the bosses to make the attacks they are now carrying out against the working masses as a whole as ineffective as possible? And that means uniting the working class. That can not be done by surrendering to the backwardness of white workers at the

expense of Blacks and women.

And I'll tell you something else. If the union movement would unite in defense of the gains of Blacks and women, it would strengthen the unions for other fights—such as the fight for a shorter workweek. It would make it possible for the unions to take on other fights *united*.

## ...Indians

*Continued from page 9*

Ethel Merrivale, an older woman who proudly describes herself as an "AIM militant," told the *Militant*, "That's what they've been doing here all the time—torturing us mentally, and physically if they can. It's just a repetition of what happened years and years ago."

The massive military occupation has met with heated protests from both AIM leaders outside the reservation and from residents of the Oglala area. The Sioux residents of the area have sent the government a petition demanding the immediate withdrawal of its troops.

John Trudell, national chairperson of AIM, told reporters at a June 30 news conference in Rapid City that "the FBI were the aggressors in the situation." He insisted that the shooting of the agents was done in self-defense, and expressed the opinion that those who may have participated in the shooting incident were "long gone" from the reservation.

The real reason for the military occupation, he charged, was to crush the struggle for Indian rights among the reservation residents.

AIM spokespeople in Rapid City also told the *Militant* that members of the clergy plan to come to the reservation to help halt the abuses being carried out by the FBI, BIA, and other government forces.

The AIM national office has called for solidarity rallies to support the people on the reservation.

## ...Little

*Continued from back page*

Following are some of the actions being planned:

**Atlanta:** July 12 rally at Georgia

State University. A busload of supporters from Atlanta will also be going to Raleigh, North Carolina, for the opening of Little's trial.

**Chicago:** picket line and rally on July 12 at 1:00 p.m. at the Federal Building (corner of LaSalle and Jackson.) The rally will send off buses of supporters to attend the trial in Raleigh.

**Denver:** rally at noon at Community House, 2828 Fairfax, on July 12. A picket line is also planned for July 14 at the Federal Office Building at noon.

**San Francisco Bay Area:** rally on July 11, 8:00 p.m. at the Intercommunal Youth Center, 6118 East Fourteenth Street, Oakland. A picket line will be held at the San Francisco Federal Building on July 14 at noon.

**New York City:** speak-out on July 11, 7:30 p.m., at the Riverside Church, 490 Riverside Drive. A picket line is planned for July 14 at the State Office Building at 4:30 p.m.

**Houston:** rally on July 12 at Texas Southern University, King Auditorium, 3 p.m. A picket line will be held on July 14 at noon at the Harris County Courthouse.

**Portland, Oregon:** July 13 benefit at the Euphoria Tavern, at 10:00 p.m. A picket line at the county courthouse in downtown Portland will be held on July 14.

Picket lines will also be held in many cities, including Boston, Washington, D.C., Philadelphia, Detroit, Los Angeles, San Diego, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, and Minneapolis.

## The issues in Boston

**The Racist Offensive Against Busing: The Lessons of Boston; How to Fight Back** by Willie Mae Reid, Peter Camejo, and others. 50 cents

**Who Killed Jim Crow? The story of the civil rights movement and its lessons for today** by Peter Camejo. 60 cents.

**From Mississippi to Boston: The demand for troops to enforce civil rights.** An Education for Socialists bulletin. 75 cents.

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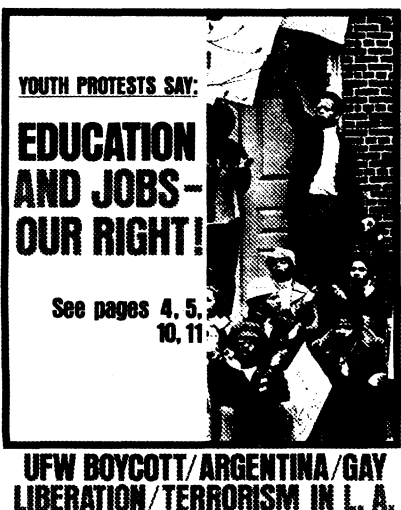
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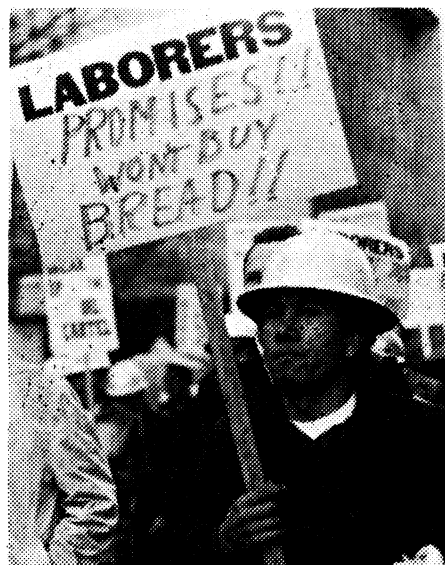
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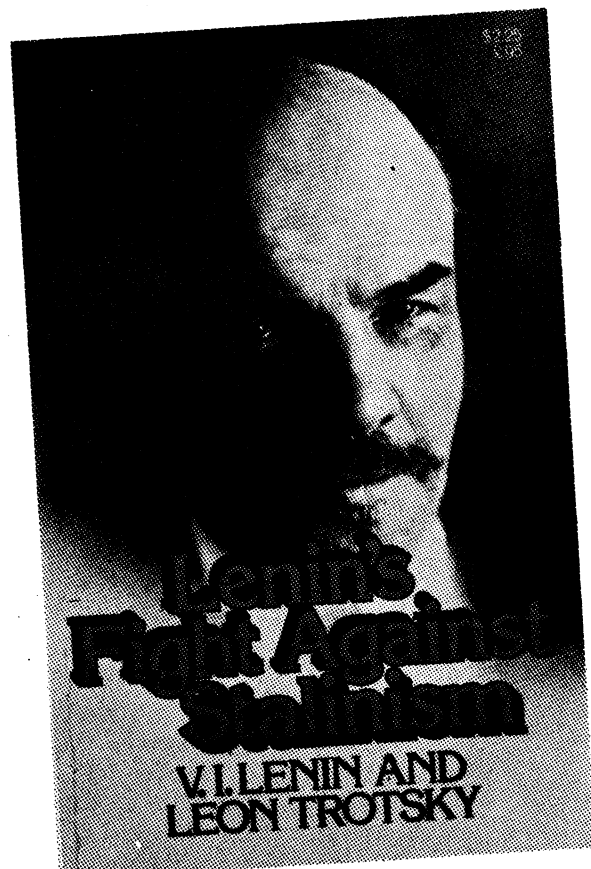
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# Lenin's Fight Against Stalinism

## V. I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky

Edited with introduction by Russell Block.

Few myths have been more generally accepted than the view that Stalin and the Soviet bureaucracy are the legitimate heirs to Lenin and the Bolshevik party. But this unique collection demonstrates that in the last years of his life, Lenin joined with Leon Trotsky in a struggle against the rising Soviet bureaucracy. Lenin carried out a multifaceted struggle against the first signs of Stalinism, concluding with his call for Stalin's removal as general secretary of the Communist party. This book documents Lenin and Trotsky's parallel fight against Stalin on major political questions of the day: the treatment of national minorities, the state monopoly of foreign trade, and the growth of bureaucratism. Here are speeches, articles, and letters from this crucial period, including Lenin's suppressed testament.

160 pp., \$7; paper \$2.25.

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## UFW launches drive to win union elections

By Harry Ring

INDIO, Calif.—Several thousand field hands from the Coachella area turned out June 22 for a United Farm Workers rally here. It was the first public action by the union since adoption by the California legislature of an agricultural labor law providing for secret-ballot union elections for farm workers.

The turnout was a demonstration of the continuing strength of the union. Attendance was at least as large as at a similar rally held here two years ago when a full-scale strike was in progress.

The overflow crowd at the Indio fairgrounds amphitheater heard union Director César Chávez discuss the opportunities he saw ahead with enactment of the farm labor bill.

He outlined the rights extended to field workers under the statute and declared the union was launching a full-scale campaign to have elections held and to win back the contracts lost to the grower-Teamster conspiracy. In 1973, when UFW grape contracts expired, the growers avoided renewing them by signing "sweetheart" agreements with the Teamsters behind the backs of the workers.

The new law provides that a union cannot be certified as a bargaining agent unless it wins a majority vote in a secret-ballot election. Fifty percent of the workers at a given ranch can petition for an election, which must be held within seven days.

With honest, properly conducted elections, Chávez said, the United Farm Workers will have no trouble winning. The Teamsters, he said, have declared they will spend \$1 million in the fight to win union representation in the fields. While the UFW can't match the money, he said, it can win because it has the support of the people.

While petitioning for elections, Chávez said, the union will intensify the boycott of grapes, head lettuce, and



Militant/Harry Ring

UFW demonstration June 23 at wholesale produce market in Los Angeles. Union will continue boycott of grapes, Gallo wines, and lettuce until contracts are won.

Gallo wines. The boycott will continue, he pledged, until union contracts are signed.

UFW supporters, he said, must now build unity in the fields.

"Everyone must become an organizer," he declared as he appealed for hundreds of volunteers to work full-time for the union to assure victorious elections.

Chávez announced the union will hold its second convention August 15-17 in Fresno, California. He urged supporters of the union to turn out for a windup rally on the seventeenth.

The rally heard declarations of solidarity from various speakers including a representative of a Mexican *campesinos* union from Mexicali.

Another speaker was California assembly member Richard Alatorre, one of the sponsors of the new farm labor law.

Several musical groups provided entertainment, and an excellent meal was served.

The spirited, enthusiastic gathering was a testimonial to the attractive power of the union. The grower-Teamster conspiracy may be rich and ruthless, but this power is something the UFW has that it cannot hope to match.

To begin with, the Anglo-controlled Teamsters union could not hold such a rally—a rally where the food is Mexican, as is the entertainment, and where most of the speaking program is in Spanish. The farm workers and their families obviously felt at home.

During the 1973 strike, I recall asking a picketer why he supported the UFW. He replied simply, "Because it is a *mexicano* union."

That appeal to the national sentiment of a bitterly oppressed people is

one of the strongest things the UFW has going for it. Along with broad public support for the boycott, it means that despite the obstacles, the United Farm Workers can give the growers and their Teamster stooges a run for their money.

LOS ANGELES—More than 250 farm workers and their supporters staged an early morning demonstration at the huge wholesale produce market here June 23 to promote the grape boycott. The chanting demonstrators, many of high school age, marched through the market area several times, stopping to picket in front of individual stalls that had scab grapes on display.

One prosperous-looking produce operator crossed through the pickets in front of his place and spoke to the cops. He crossed back, shaking his head and declaring to one of his assistants, "It's a new world. You can't make them get off the sidewalk."

After picketing at the market from 6:00 a.m. to 8:00 a.m., the marchers set off briskly for the Grand Central Market, a big downtown food complex patronized mainly by Chicanos.

### 'Militant' & farm workers

INDIO, Calif.—The June 27 issue of the *Militant*, with its special coverage on Texas and California farm workers, was extremely well received at the UFW rally. Salespeople had only 112 copies available and these went quickly. Many more could have been sold.

In addition, twenty-five copies of the *Young Socialist* were sold and many copies distributed of the Socialist Workers campaign brochure, "A Bill of Rights for Working People," in both the English and Spanish editions.

## Little files suit for women prisoners



Joanne Little

Militant/Joel Britton

By Cindy Jaquith

WASHINGTON, D.C.—A legal challenge to the sexist conditions in North Carolina jails has been filed by Joanne Little, whose murder trial begins July 14 in Raleigh.

Little, a twenty-one-year-old Black woman, faces the death penalty for defending herself from the rape attack of a white prison guard on August 27, 1974.

The guard, Clarence Alligood, invaded Little's cell at the Beaufort County jail in the middle of the night, threatening her with an ice pick. She wrested the pick from him, stabbed him, and fled. Alligood was found dead in the cell, naked from the waist down.

Little's suit, filed in federal court in New Bern, North Carolina, demands \$1 million in damages for the physical and emotional injuries she sustained in Alligood's attack and for the denial of her right to adequate care while she was in the jail. She had been imprisoned on a breaking-and-entering charge.

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Defendants in the suit are the executor of the Alligood estate, the past and present sheriffs of Beaufort County, and the Beaufort County Commission, which is responsible for providing decent care to prisoners.

This is also a class-action suit, demanding that the court set and implement constitutional standards for the treatment of female prisoners in the Beaufort County jail.

At the time of Little's incarceration, male guards in the jail had complete control of the female prisoners. The women, many of whom were Black, faced the constant threat of sexual attack from the jailers. There were no female matrons.

The women inmates were even denied the right to privacy while taking a bath, using the toilet, or changing clothes. In Little's cell, a closed-circuit television recorded her

every move. The television set was shut off, however, the night Alligood tried to rape her.

The suit charges that there are no exercise or recreation provisions for women inmates at the jail, nor any counseling or educational programs.

According to a summary of the suit prepared by Little's defense committee, "Such conditions flagrantly violate those women's rights to privacy, due process and freedom from cruel and unusual punishment as guaranteed by the eighth, ninth, and fourteenth amendments to the U.S. Constitution. The court is asked to enjoin the defendants from continuing to provide inadequate care to women inmates and to establish standards which would eliminate such atrocities."

As the July 14 trial date nears, supporters of Little are stepping up defense activities around the country.

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