

THE MILITANT

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

Stop discriminatory layoffs!

NAACP vows to defend Black jobs

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UNCOMMON CAUSE: The *Militant* has been reporting how Common Cause chief John Gardner has been going to bat for the two-party system. The *Washington Star* recently asked him if he didn't think that this was a strange cause for the so-called People's Lobby to embrace "when many voters are expressing no confidence in either the Democratic or Republican parties." The question referred to the Common Cause-promoted public election financing law, which provides tax money to the Democrats and Republicans, and excludes smaller parties.

Gardner spelled it out. The Democrats and Republicans, he said, "are in deep trouble, and if this provides them some mild strength, I would not begrudge them that."

Wouldn't this financing scheme be unfair to any other political party? Not one for too much democracy, Gardner proclaimed that any party besides the old two "clearly has to face some qualifying test or you would have a thousand candidates."

MORE UNCOMMON CAUSE: Mitchell Rogovin, general counsel of Common Cause, has just gone to work as a lawyer for the CIA. Although the agency has access to Justice Department attorneys, the CIA decided to hire Rogovin to serve as its counsel during upcoming congressional hearings.

PHILIP ALLEN TRIAL OPENS: Jury selection in the murder trial of Philip Allen began July 1 in Santa Monica, California, Superior Court. The young Black is charged with first-degree murder in the death of a deputy sheriff last New Year's Eve.

The jury in his trial is certain to be nearly all white, since the pool from which the jury will be selected is overwhelmingly white.

The prosecution claims that Allen, who is five feet and three inches tall and weighs 135 pounds, successfully resisted six armed deputies who were clubbing him. He allegedly grabbed one of their guns and shot three of the cops, wounding two and killing one. None of the bystanders saw Allen with a gun.

Funds are needed to help the defense effort. Tax-deductible donations can be sent to the Philip L. Allen Defense Fund at the First Unitarian Church, 2936 West Eighth Street, Los Angeles, California 90005.

U.S. MERCENARIES TO RHODESIA: The State Department has confirmed that American citizens are now being actively recruited to fight in the pay of the racist white regime in Rhodesia.

"About sixty Americans are there already fighting, and many more are being actively recruited in the United States," charged Tapson Mawere, representative to the United States from the Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) African National Union.

Robert Brown of Phoenix Associates, located near Denver, says he has been recruiting white mercenaries since last September.

PSYCHOLOGICAL CONDITION: "It became obvious that the psychological condition of the American public was as important as the military equipment of the two armies on the battlefield," Sen. Edwin Garn (R-Utah) made that observation about Vietnam during a Senate discussion on Korea.

The continuing antiwar sentiment—that's what Garn was talking about—helps to explain the psychological condition of the war makers today.

A poll taken not long ago for the *Los Angeles Times* is revealing. "If North Korea invaded South Korea," 33 percent of Californians interviewed thought the United States should get out "as soon as possible." Another 32 percent thought "U.S. forces should not take part except to defend themselves." Only 24 percent thought this country "should send aid and troops to help South Korea."

MORE ON KOREA: Defense Secretary James Schlesinger's recent threat to use nuclear weapons in Korea inspired Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) to new heights of verbal saber rattling. Schlesinger's message, as Helms sees it, is that the United States will get in there and nuke any uppity Koreans "before the pacifist lobby in this country gets cranked up."

The brutal dictatorship in South Korea doesn't bother Helms. "The internal problems of South Korea should not be our business," he piously declared. Besides, "The rights of complete freedom of speech and democratic participation in government are exotic plants grafted upon the more sturdy roots of life, liberty, and property." They can't grow such plants over there.

The "we're over there to protect freedom and democracy" line is obsolete, as far as Helms is concerned. It's a matter of dollars and cents. Korea "is a shield thrust forward in

front of Japan; and if Japan were directly exposed and threatened," Helms said, "her intricate economy—interwoven so closely with the needs and stability of the Western economies—would collapse."

GAY RIGHTS GAIN: The U.S. Civil Service Commission has backed off from its policy of excluding homosexuals from government jobs. Newly issued guidelines state that court decisions and injunctions require "the same standard in evaluating sexual conduct, whether heterosexual or homosexual." That standard allows firing someone "where the evidence exists that sexual conduct affects job fitness."

GAY WACS FIGHT DISCHARGE: Meanwhile, the army is moving to get rid of two WACs who announced they are lesbians. They said they were "tired of living a double life." A board of officers at Fort Devens, Massachusetts, is recommending discharge. An army spokesman said that regulations make it clear "that homosexuals are considered unfit for military service." Pfc. Barbara Randolph and Pvt. Debbie Watson are fighting back with the help of the Civil Liberties Union of Massachusetts and a local chapter of the National Organization for Women.

DICK GREGORY JAILED IN D.C.: Black activist Dick Gregory was arrested two consecutive days in Washington, D.C. After his release from jail July 5, where he was held on charges of demonstrating without a permit in front of the White House the previous day, Gregory resumed his protest and was rearrested on the same charge.

Gregory has vowed to fast until a "thorough, honest, and satisfactory congressional investigation of the Central Intelligence Agency has been conducted, including a complete probe of assassinations, and the necessary reforms have been implemented." He is demanding an investigation of the assassinations of John Kennedy and Martin Luther King.

KENNEDY ASSASSINATION FORUM: Some 225 people turned out last month for a Houston Militant Forum on the John Kennedy assassination. It featured a screening of the controversial Zapruder film, which was shot by an amateur photographer who witnessed the assassination.

Penn Jones, a nationally known authority on the assassination, hit the Warren Commission report as a cover-up and debunked the lone-assassin theory. Houston Socialist Workers party organizer Stu Singer linked the new interest in the assassination to Watergate and the new revelations of FBI Cointelpros and CIA assassination plots. Singer also discussed the reactionary policies of Kennedy when he was in office and how they are often obscured. He pointed to the dangers of idolizing Kennedy because of the assassination.

Penn Jones is available to speak and show his copy of the Zapruder film. His address is Box 1140, Midlothian, Texas 76065.

—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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Union leaders retreat from jobs fight

By Andy Rose

(First of a series)

NEW YORK, July 9—Round one in the battle of the New York City budget has ended, and so far the working people of the city, especially municipal employees, are the losers.

The outcome was summed up July 6 by the *New York Times*, the most authoritative voice of the city's banking and corporate oligarchy, which observed that the balance of political forces in the city has changed, "probably irrevocably":

"New York no longer has full control over its fiscal affairs; it has, for the first time in decades, gone a small step backward in those programs and amenities it provides for its citizens; its unions of municipal workers have experienced the greatest erosion of their power in years."

The *Times* was referring to—more accurately, gloating over—Mayor Abraham Beame's success in laying off thousands of city workers July 1 with no serious opposition from their unions.

Some have since been rehired, but as the *Times* pointed out, "the number of union members permanently laid off is less significant than the fact of their membership's apparent vulnerability." And having established this vulnerability, Beame is driving ahead to extort further concessions on wages and working conditions.

The only powerful action challenging city hall's mass layoffs had come from the 10,000 sanitation workers who struck for three days—without official sanction from their union leadership—to stop the firing of nearly one-third of their ranks (see story on page 4).

But the strikers were cajoled back to work July 3 in return for shaky promises that the city would make a "good-faith effort" to restore the jobs of those laid off. In the meantime, sanitation workers head John DeLury dipped into the union treasury—which had not provided one penny in strike benefits—and handed the city \$1.6 million to cover the wages of those rehired.

No solidarity

The response of other union leaders in New York to the sanitation strike was an unmistakable signal of their headlong retreat from any confrontation with the Beame administration. While the city threatened to call out the National Guard and slap punitive fines on strikers, *not one word of solidarity with the embattled sanitation workers was heard from any union official in the city.*

Hardest hit by the wave of layoffs



Militant/Mary Jo Hendrickson
GOTBAUM: Offers low interest rate, but fails to turn workers into bankers.



Sanitation strikers showed that unions have power to change city hall's plans

was District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, representing 110,000 city workers. District Council 37 Executive Director Victor Gotbaum is generally acknowledged to be the central spokesperson for municipal labor.

Despite his reputation as a "progressive" labor leader, Gotbaum publicly dissociated himself from such "irresponsible" behavior as the garbage strike, as well as sporadic job actions taken by members of his own union.

Yet the sanitation strike, no thanks to the union officialdom, accomplished in three days what weeks of negotiations had conspicuously failed to do. It forced the state legislature in Albany to stop stalling and make some provision for greater city funding. With 58,000 tons of garbage rotting in the streets of New York, a deal was hurriedly worked out for Albany to approve \$330 million worth of new taxing powers for the city.

Thus the strike had a mixed outcome. On the one hand, sanitation workers got a raw deal at best, with no guarantee they will all keep their jobs. On the other hand, everyone in the city could see that while others were passively accepting layoffs, those who resorted to the strike weapon were rapidly rehired, for the time being at least. It was a much-needed reminder that the unions *do* have the power to change city hall's plans, and Albany's too.

Some jobs saved

Beame said the new taxes would make it possible to save 19,300 of the 40,000 jobs eliminated in his recently implemented budget for the 1975-76 fiscal year.

The city also holds out the possibility that by imposing a series of so-called nuisance taxes it might restore a few thousand more jobs, and the union officials are busy with cutthroat maneuvers over who will get them.

Meanwhile, in a move that can only cut the unions off from desperately needed support in the Black and Puerto Rican communities, Gotbaum and other union officials continue to demand that civil servants be rehired by kicking others—largely minority workers—out of the federally funded CETA (Comprehensive Employment and Training Act) jobs program.

An across-the-board job freeze at pre-July 1 levels and reduction of the work force through attrition are now the *most* the union leaders are asking for. All their schemes for saving jobs now boil down to acceptance that *the workers must bear the costs of balancing the city budget.* The dickering is over exactly who and exactly how.

While DeLury has turned the workers into paymasters, collecting wages out of their own union funds, Gotbaum proposes to turn them into bankers. AFSCME's contracts with the city provide for a 6 percent wage increase due July 1. Gotbaum suggested that all AFSCME members *voluntarily loan* their entire raise to the city for two years. Instead of money, the workers would get city bonds paying 6 percent interest.

Fiscal wizardry

If the city and all the other unions agreed to the deal, Gotbaum calculated, it would save the city enough money to rehire everybody. His fiscal wizardry was coolly received by city officials, however. It is not in the nature of things for workers to collect any part of the \$2 billion paid out annually for debt service on city bonds.

Among those who frowned on this plan was Thomas Flynn, head of the Municipal Assistance Corporation ("Big Mac"), the state agency set up to oversee the city's finances. Big Mac just marketed \$1 billion worth of city bonds at interest rates up to 9.5 percent. As for Gotbaum's brainchild, Flynn commented, apparently with a straight face, that "we don't approve in general of the city going into future debt to meet present operating expenses."

Gotbaum's scheme was a monumental blunder. It conceded without a struggle one of city hall's major objectives: to call into question existing contract provisions. He might as well have announced, "We don't really need the raise—if you push hard enough we will probably give it up."

In reality AFSCME members have seen their purchasing power steadily eroded by inflation and they need a raise *now*—not two years from now. Even a 6 percent increase will not catch up with inflation; forgoing the raise means accepting a *pay cut*.

No one except Gotbaum could have been surprised when Beame turned the offer down flat and demanded a complete wage freeze instead. Beame also let it be known that he was conferring with Democratic state legislators on a bill to void the union contracts.

'Perfect solution'?

Legislators wistfully recalled a similar measure in 1932 that slashed New York municipal salaries by up to 14 percent. An unnamed "top Democratic staff aide" told the *New York Times*, "It was the perfect solution then and it's the perfect solution today."

The unions' retreat on jobs has only emboldened Beame to new attacks.

The editorial writers of the daily press are rooting for him to get in a few more punches while he has the offensive.

"If Gotbaum and other labor chiefs want to save the jobs of their followers," sneered the *Daily News*, "then a pay freeze or a reduced work-week is the only real answer."

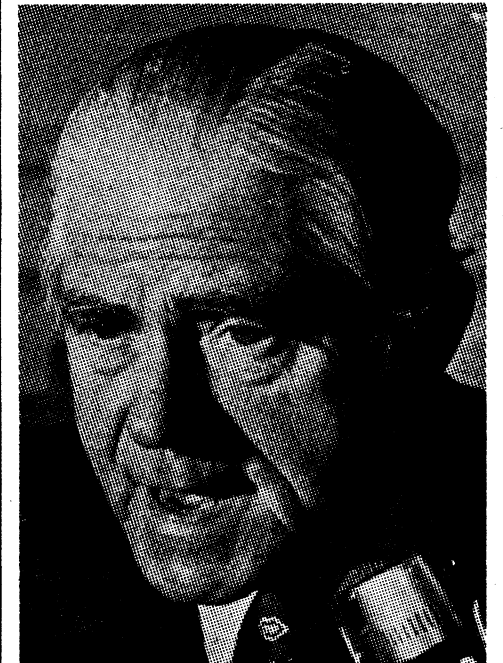
The *New York Times* editors July 8 urged a massive speedup campaign: "Thousands of employees can be dropped with no reduction in services to the public if everyone is required to do an honest day's work."

"The second test," the *Times* editors advised, "will be in the new wage agreement covering 60,000 teachers, currently in negotiation. . . . To negotiate [an increase of 6 percent or more] for the United Federation of Teachers will simply launch the city on another stratospheric flight toward budget inflation."

The next day the *Times* gave prominent attention to a proposal by some members of AFSCME Local 1930, New York Public Library Guild, to accept a four-day week, with reduction in pay, to avert layoffs.

Local 1930 President David Beasley pointed out that such concessions offer no long-term solution. "There is no guarantee that there will not be further layoffs," he told the *Times*, "and it would be impossible for the lower-paid people in our union to survive on a shorter work week."

Sadly enough, many city workers,



BEAME: If you don't like it, you can take a pay cut.

not only librarians, would by now jump at the chance to give up a wage increase or even take a wage cut, in return for their jobs. Given the failure of the central union leaders to offer any fighting perspective to save *all* jobs and maintain union wages and conditions, most workers are by now desperate for any possibility to *individually* minimize the disaster they face.

This sorry outcome was not necessary. It did not come about because the unions lack the power to force a better solution, or because union members are not willing to fight for their interests. It came about solely because of the abject default of the leadership of the New York unions.

The battle is not yet over, though. New struggles are certain to erupt as the workers resist new encroachments by the city. By uniting all victims of the cutbacks and mobilizing them in massive actions in the streets and on the job, the unions can still turn Beame's plans around.

But to do so it will be necessary to draw the lessons of the first stage of the New York crisis and the failure of the past policies of the union leadership.

(Next week: roots of the crisis)

'We should have gotten more'

AFSCME ends Pa. strike with few gains

By Duncan Williams

PHILADELPHIA, July 7—A tentative settlement has been reached between the Pennsylvania state government and the 73,000-member state chapter of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, ending the first general strike by state employees in this country.

The strike, which began July 1, involved 17,000 other workers in addition to the AFSCME members.

Gov. Shapp's true colors

PHILADELPHIA—Terry Ann Hardy, Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor of Philadelphia, gave full support to the Pennsylvania public workers' strike.

Hardy's stand was in sharp contrast to the antiunion position taken by virtually all Democratic and Republican politicians in the state.

On July 3, Hardy and several campaign workers visited an early morning picket line at Broad and Spring Garden streets. They distributed copies of the "Bill of Rights for Working People" and sold copies of the *Militant*, while talking with pickets about the issues in the strike.

Stu Gross, a member of the Pennsylvania Social Services Union, told Hardy that "[Democratic Governor] Shapp doesn't think very much of working people. I think there's no question his true colors are showing now. He's not a little people's candidate, he's a management candidate."

Charles Bond, a PSSU shop steward, agreed that Shapp was "playing games with the union."

The idea of the unions running their own independent candidates for public office appealed to Bond, "as long as they could relate to and know the problems people are facing. We don't need big businessmen in office. They have what they need."

Almost all state services ground to a halt during the strike, including welfare offices, state hospitals, and unemployment centers. There were militant picket lines of several hundred workers at state office buildings in major cities. Several strikers were arrested by state police.

It became clear during the strike that the state administration, under the personal direction of Democratic Gov. Milton Shapp, had prepared and provoked the strike. The administration freely admitted, for example, that it had spent only seventeen minutes in negotiations before the strike deadline.

In spite of Pennsylvania Public Law 195, which permits public employees to organize and strike, Shapp secured a number of court injunctions and back-to-work orders. These rulings chipped away at the strike's effectiveness, forcing several large groups of strikers, including the 3,300 members of the Pennsylvania Nurses Association, back to work on the grounds that they were hindering essential services.

The settlement includes major concessions by AFSCME. It provides for wage increases of 3.5 percent now, 2.5 percent next January, and 6 percent next July.

AFSCME had originally demanded a 30 percent increase and a cost-of-living clause. The state had offered 3.5 percent. Shapp says, the extra 2.5 percent can be paid out of money the state saved because of the strike, so that there is no net gain for the workers.

The present contract was extended for one year. Also, the settlement introduces a new classification system that will mean lower wages for newly hired and newly promoted workers.

A new first step has been introduced in each job category, so that a newly hired state employee will start at 5 percent below the old starting salary. Someone who is promoted into a new job category will start at a salary 5 percent below the old one for that position.

Discontent with the settlement is apparent in a number of work units in the Philadelphia area. Blacks and



Cops attack strike picket in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania

women make up a large part of the work force. Many of the state workers are young. They had just begun to feel their power in the three days that the strike was most effective.

"The spirit on the picket lines was very good," a clerk in the Boulevard District of the welfare department and a member of AFSCME Local 2588 told the *Militant*.

"Most of the people I've been talking to are planning to vote the settlement down. They think we should have gotten more than we did, and they're pretty angry."

The settlement terms, approved by AFSCME's 250-member negotiating committee and 600-member policy committee, still must be ratified by membership vote.

The Pennsylvania Social Services Union and the Pennsylvania Employment Security Employees Association, representing about 12,000 welfare and unemployment workers, have not settled with the state.

Ed Purcell, PSSU's chief negotiator, said that the AFSCME agreement "stinks." He said PSSU is planning to continue negotiations on wages and other issues, and that it will fight any injunctions.

PSSU picket lines are still up, but AFSCME officials have ordered their members to cross them. In some cases disgruntled AFSCME members have refused to do so, instead cheering for the PSSU members who are still holding strong.

But for how long?

Sanitation strikers win jobs back in N.Y.C.

By Fred Richards

NEW YORK, July 8—Ten thousand striking sanitation workers returned to their jobs here July 3, but there was little enthusiasm for the settlement that ended their three-day wildcat protest against layoffs.

The workers had closed down garbage collection July 1 when Mayor Abraham Beame tried to fire 2,934 of them. The walkout was officially opposed by John DeLury, president of the Uniformed Sanitationmen's Association, who said he could not control the ranks.

To end the strike Beame agreed to temporarily rehire all the sanitation workers while he continued to search for federal and state aid.

As a direct result of the strike, the state legislature agreed to give the city \$330 million in new taxing authority. But by July 8 only 750 sanitation jobs had been "permanently" restored, and Beame was making no promises that any more would be forthcoming.

In return, DeLury took the extraordinary step of putting up \$1.6 million of the union's money to repay the city if it cannot find enough new funding to pay the wages of the workers originally laid off. This will cover only about three weeks' payrolls.

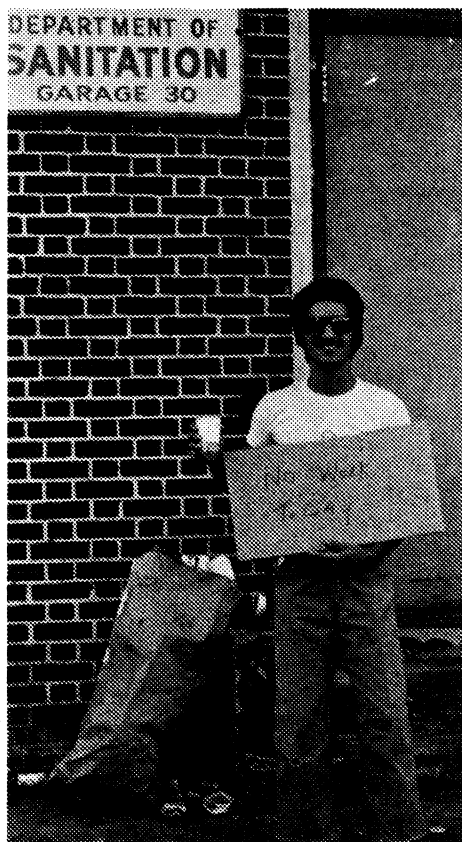
In another ominous sign, the city refused to suspend legal action against the union or individual strikers. They may still be victimized under New York's infamous Taylor Law, which forbids strikes by public employees under penalty of jail terms and individual fines of two days' pay for every day on strike.

Militant reporters interviewed workers at Garages Three and Five on the west side of Manhattan. While many were glad to be making overtime pay for working on the July 4 holiday weekend, they were bitter about having yielded their position of strength without any solid guarantee against future layoffs.

They knew full well what even the city administration was admitting: that the strike was 100 percent effective, with tens of thousands of tons of rotten garbage piling up in the summer heat, and that the city could not hold out indefinitely.

"We had 'em," one sanitation worker said. "We should never have gone back without a guarantee."

Others responded to questions with angry silence or abrupt comments like "the whole damn thing makes me mad and I don't want to talk about it."



Militant/Lou Howort
'No work today,' strike picket declares. Few were happy with terms of settlement.

There was a lot of disapproval of using union money to pay their own wages. Asked whether he thought the city would use up the fund, one sanitation worker replied, "Most likely. Most likely, they'll take anything they can get. But the men aren't too happy with that idea. They feel that we're paying ourselves with our own money. And one million six-hundred thousand isn't going to last too long."

One young worker, now temporarily working but on the list to be laid off, was frustrated and angry that the strike had ended with no long-term results.

"I don't even want to talk about our going back to work," he said.

Others were taking a wait-and-see attitude. How many men would really get their jobs back? Would the city try to fine or prosecute them under the Taylor Law?

If the city doesn't rehire all the sanitation workers, another job action is possible. They are aware that it was only the power of their strike that forced the city to rehire anyone, even if temporarily.

"If the city doesn't rehire these young guys, we'll stick together," an older worker told the *Militant*. "We'll strike."

Cabinet resigns as crisis deepens

Argentine gov't rocked by massive strikes

By Judy White

From Intercontinental Press

On the eve of the second general strike in two weeks, the entire cabinet of President Isabel Martínez de Perón resigned July 6. The action came after a ten-day confrontation between the regime and the trade-union movement that brought industrial activity to a standstill.

The July 7 general strike, scheduled to last forty-eight hours, was called after union bureaucrats found that they were unable to either force the regime to back down on its austerity program or to control the angry ranks of the labor movement.

A dispatch by Jonathan Kandell in the July 5 *New York Times* reported that the strike call was merely a "formality," since "workers have aban-

doned factories in Buenos Aires and other large cities during the last several days."

The confrontation began June 27 when tens of thousands of workers in major unions walked off the job, protesting the government's announcement that collective-bargaining agreements would not be ratified if they exceeded a 50 percent ceiling on wage increases, despite a jump of 100 percent or more in prices in the past year.

About 100,000 workers massed in front of the presidential palace demanding approval for contracts they had just negotiated that included raises of between 80 and 130 percent. In addition, the demonstrators called for the resignation of Economics Minister Celestino Rodrigo and the regime's right-wing strongman, Social Welfare Minister José López Rega.

On July 3 another march of thousands of workers heading toward the presidential palace was broken up by police using tear gas.

The unions spearheading these protests—the metalworkers, construction workers, textile workers, and public employees—had been the backbone of the Peronist regime in the struggle against what the caudillo used to call the "infiltrators who work from within . . . the majority of whom are mercenaries in the service of foreign capital." The union bureaucrats provided the goons who assaulted radicals and dissidents of all hues whenever they protested Perón's policies.

The confrontation sparked increasing talk about the possibility of a military coup.

In a July 1 editorial, the French daily *Le Monde* pointed to the "extreme gravity" of the step taken by Isabel Perón in refusing to ratify the contracts.

"Deprived of one of the pillars of the regime, will Mrs. Isabel Perón and Mr. José López Rega, who guides her policies, now try to base themselves on the army?" the editors asked.

The only reason there had not already been a coup, Kandell said in the July 3 *New York Times*, was "the



Argentine labor movement has history of militant struggle. Above, strike meeting in city of Tucumán in 1973.

continued reluctance of the armed forces to take over with no easy solutions to the economic and political problems in sight."

However, he continued, "Many officers undoubtedly share the opinion of the retired army general who said: 'When the time comes, the military does not want people to say we did not give the Peronists a real chance. Better an hour later than an hour early.'"

The Argentine economy is in deep crisis. Among the problems are a triple-digit rate of inflation, a burgeoning black market, and foreign debts of \$2 billion falling due shortly with only \$750 million on hand to meet them.

On June 5, the government announced the first in what were to be a series of "shock treatments." It devalued the peso 50 percent, raised fuel prices 300 percent, and lifted almost all price controls.

On June 6, Isabel Perón announced a new minimum monthly wage of 330,000 pesos (about US\$132) and issued an appeal against strikes and absenteeism. As a trial balloon, a 38

percent ceiling on wage negotiations was suggested.

Throughout June continuing strikes and protests demonstrated the unions' unwillingness to accept a wage ceiling that signified a deep slash in their standard of living.

A survey published by the Fundación de Investigaciones Económicas Latinoamericanas (Foundation for Latin American Economic Research) revealed that only workers receiving the minimum wage registered an increase (49 percent) in their real wages during the last two years. All other workers suffered a loss.

This study was completed in March, several months before the most recent austerity measures. According to figures released July 1 by the Movimiento de Integración y Desarrollo, these measures have meant that "real wages today are the lowest they have been in the last thirty years."

Protest actions reported in the July 2 issue of the Buenos Aires daily *La Nación* give an indication of the scope

Continued on page 26



Isabel Perón announcing her assumption to Argentine presidency. Behind her is right-wing minister José López Rega.

Prisoners charge Dominican gov't with torture

From Intercontinental Press

Three supporters of the Puerto Rican independence movement, arrested in early June in the Dominican Republic, confessed to trumped-up charges of aiding a "guerrilla invasion" only after they were savagely tortured, they testified at a court hearing June 30.

In statements at the Santo Domingo hearing, the three prisoners—Raúl García, Johnny Sampson, and Angel Gandía—charged that they were beaten with rubber saps, given electric shocks, and kept naked and bound for two weeks until they agreed to sign the phony confessions. All three are members of the Puerto Rican Socialist party (PSP).

The hearing capped a series of disclosures that have completely discredited the Balaguer regime's assertion that it is the victim of a powerful guerrilla-warfare operation, imported from nearby Cuba.

Sweeping repressive measures started with a June 5 roundup of more than 300 opponents of the Balaguer regime and an official announcement two days later that a band of guerrillas had invaded the island. Dominican authorities claimed that Claudio Caamaño, Torbio Peña Jáquez, Manfredo Casado Villar, and other unnamed Dominican rebels had been transport-

ed from Cuba and dropped off somewhere near San José de Ocoa.

On June 11, Juan Bosch, former president of the Dominican Republic and leader of the Partido de la Liberación Dominicana (PLD—Dominican Liberation party), announced that three Puerto Ricans had been arrested off the coast of the Dominican Republic. They were accused of having transported Caamaño and the others from Aguadillas, Puerto Rico, in a fishing boat.

The story that the guerrillas had been brought from Cuba was quietly dropped.

Puerto Rican attorneys who flew to the Dominican capital to defend the three prisoners could get no information on their clients.

Then a United Press International dispatch, published in the June 24 issue of the *New York Times*, reported that García, Sampson, and Gandía had confessed to the charges. At a news conference held at a military installation, the three prisoners said they had acted under orders from the PSP.

The habeas corpus hearing for the three on June 30 placed the story in an entirely different light.

The prisoners testified that they were tortured and constantly threat-

ened with death during their detention. Hence the "confessions" and the staged news conference.

Sampson said that in addition to the other tortures, he was threatened with castration and told that his wife would be a young widow. All three were threatened with being thrown out of an airplane, shot, or simply made to disappear, Gandía testified.

The prisoners were promised that they would be returned to Puerto Rico if they signed a statement saying they had brought Caamaño and the two other rebels to the Dominican Republic.

Explaining how they happened to be on Dominican soil, Sampson and Gandía said that they had accompanied Caamaño on an expedition to survey Mona Island in the channel between Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic. They were attempting to confirm reports that the United States had begun constructing a superport there.

There has been ongoing protest in Puerto Rico over U.S. plans to build such a facility, which would pose a serious ecological threat to the region.

Bad weather drove their boat off course. They were lost and running out of fuel when they met a fisherman who told them that the Dominican town of La Romana was nearby. They were in La Romana refueling the boat and

buying provisions when they were arrested.

In addition to the "invasion" charge, at the habeas corpus hearing García, Sampson, and Gandía were also accused of trafficking in drugs. The district attorney produced no evidence to substantiate either charge, but claimed that on the political charge, he considered the confessions sufficient proof.

Protests in Puerto Rico against the frame-up have begun to mount. The 15,000-member Teamsters Union has announced that it will not move any cargo destined for the Dominican Republic until the prisoners are returned to Puerto Rico. Rubén Berríos, the president of the Partido Independentista Puertorriqueño (PIP—Puerto Rican Independence party), made an appeal for setting aside ideological differences to defend the human rights of García, Sampson, and Gandía. Even the bourgeois daily *San Juan Star* made an editorial appeal that the rights of the three be guaranteed.

Meanwhile, almost one month after the alleged guerrilla landing, not a shred of evidence has been presented to confirm the presence in the Dominican Republic of Caamaño, Peña Jáquez, Casado Villar, or any other members of the phantom guerrilla band.

'NAACP will continue the struggle to fully realize the promise of equality'

Following are excerpts from an address by Herbert Hill, national labor director of the NAACP, at the workshop on "Employment: Affirmative Action for Jobs" held at the recent NAACP convention.

For Black workers, and indeed for the entire Black community, the civil rights issue now is the job issue. What is a recession for whites has become a catastrophic depression for Black workers. As a result of traditional patterns of employment discrimination, Blacks are more vulnerable to long-term economic dislocation than any other group in American society. And many of the gains made during the past twenty years are being rapidly wiped out.

Official government reports on the unemployment crisis tell us that the Black unemployment rate is more than double that of white unemployment. But bad as they are, official unemployment figures are just the tip of the iceberg and the true condition of Black workers is obscured.

- In the major areas of urban Black population concentration the rate of unemployment for Black workers is not merely double but in some instances *four times* greater than the jobless rate among whites.

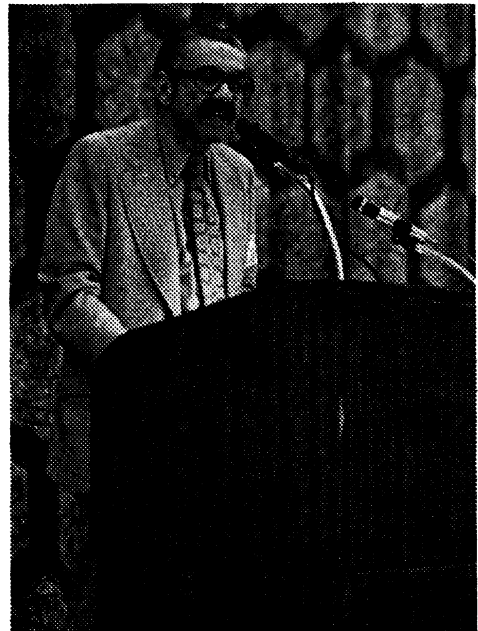
- Blacks make up 30 percent of those living in officially defined poverty—three times their proportion of the total population.

- In 1970, Black family income for the nation was 61 percent of white family income—the all-time high! In 1971, it dropped to 60 percent, in 1972 to 59 percent, and in 1973 to 58 percent. And every indication is that this downward trend continues.

- At the beginning of 1975 the unemployment rate for white local government workers was 1.7 percent; the unemployment rate for Black local government workers was 11.2 percent—more than *six times* the rate for whites.

Heaviest burden

- In every industry, in every sector of the economy, Blacks bear the greatest burden of unemployment and endure the heaviest deprivation. Of the greatest significance is the fact that the highest rate of unemployment among all categories is now experienced by Black teen-agers and young workers—in excess of *50 percent*. This obviously means that at least half of the young Black population is in a



Militant/Baxter Smith
Herbert Hill addressing affirmative action and jobs workshop.

permanent condition of hopelessness and despair and that the social and psychological costs in wasted lives constitutes a major tragedy in contemporary American life.

It is within this context that we must understand the growing nationwide campaign against Black workers and their families. The shrill and paranoid attacks against affirmative-action programs are the cutting edge of the new racism. Given the incontrovertible data on the rapid deterioration of the economic status of Black wage earners; given the fact that Black people suffer the unequal burden of joblessness; given the growing despair and misery in the ghettos of America, the strident shouts of "reverse racism" are based on a totally false assumption. It is another example of the big lie technique; repeat a falsehood long enough and loud enough until so many fools believe it that it becomes an unquestioned "fact."

Gains being erased

The effort to eliminate the present effects of past discrimination, to right the wrongs of many generations was barely underway when it was aborted. And now, even the very modest gains made by Black men and women through affirmative-action programs are being erased, as powerful institutions turn the clock of history back to the dark and dismal days of "separate but equal."

Judging by the vast outcry, it might be assumed that the use of goals and timetables to eliminate racist job patterns has become as widespread and destructive as discrimination itself. As with the much-distorted subject of busing, the defenders of the racist system have once again succeeded in confusing the remedy with the original evil. The word "quota," like "busing" and "open housing," has become another code word for resistance to demands for the elimination of widespread patterns of discrimination based on race.

The extensive body of case law under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 has clearly transformed the negative duty—not to discriminate—into a positive obligation. Under the guise of defending "merit systems" that in reality do not exist, the opponents of affirmative action are, in fact, attempting to maintain the unstated but traditional discriminatory practices that result in the exclusion of Blacks and other minorities from desirable jobs in every sector of the economy. A major factor in the resistance to new legal remedies is that white expectations based on the systematic denial of the rights of minorities has become the norm. Thus any alteration of this norm is considered "reverse discrimination."

It should be evident that what is really involved in the debate over affirmative action is not that Blacks will be given preference over whites but that a substantial body of law now requires that discriminatory systems which operate to favor whites at the expense of Blacks must be eliminated.

This leads us to the burning issue of the moment. That is, the validity of "last-hired, first-fired" seniority provisions in collective bargaining agreements. In legal terms, the issue may be stated as follows: Is it lawful to invoke seniority as the basis for furlough and dismissal where its application has a



Lining up for jobs in Atlanta. 'What is a recession for whites has become a catastrophic depression for Black workers.'

disparate impact on Blacks, women, or other minorities. In practical terms, the question is whether those groups that have benefited from Title VII litigation will be forced back into the discriminatory job patterns which existed prior to the enforcement of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. In effect, will the gains of the past decade now be wiped out as a result of traditional seniority procedures codified in union contracts?

There are some who argue that seniority is a vested right. This, of course, is sheer nonsense. The argument that white men have a prior right to a job and that Black people must wait until there is full employment before they too can work is the essence of the racist mentality.

A prime example of resistance to Title VII requirements is to be found in the response of the United Steelworkers of America, a major industrial union. In 1970, after many years of protest by Black steelworkers, a federal court found the steelworkers union and the Bethlehem Steel Corporation in Lackawanna, New York, to be in violation of the law. In *United States v. Bethlehem Steel Corp.*, the court stated:

"The pervasiveness and longevity of the overt discriminatory hiring and job assignment practices, admitted by Bethlehem and the union, compel the conclusion that the present seniority and transfer provisions were based on past discriminatory classifications. . . . Job assignment practices were reprehensible. Over 80 percent of black workers were placed in eleven departments which contained the hotter and dirtier jobs in the plant. Blacks were excluded from higher paying and cleaner jobs."

On October 14, 1971, the court issued a decree defining as members of the affected class some 1,600 Black steelworkers who were entitled to receive benefits as a result of the court's decision.

Seniority & discrimination

After a decade of litigation under Title VII, it is absolutely clear that seniority provisions in union contracts that perpetuate the present effects of past discrimination are illegal. The Supreme Court in *Griggs v. Duke*

Power established that intent is irrelevant and that neutral principles which have the effect of continuing discriminatory patterns must be substantially modified or eliminated. It may be anticipated that Black workers, women, and other minorities will make a sustained attack on contractual seniority systems which have a disparate effect and that attempts by employers and organized labor to ward off judicial interference will be futile. In the several decided cases on the "last-hired, first-fired" issue the law is in conflict. Given the contradictory results in the decided cases and the crucial importance of the issue, this controversy will, of necessity, have to be decided by the Supreme Court. It will have an opportunity to do so in *Franks v. Bowman Transportation Co.*, which the court agreed to review on March 24, 1975. This case was initiated by two Black men who had been discharged by the Bowman Transportation Company in Atlanta. Also named as defendant is the collective bargaining agent, the United Steelworkers of America.

Despite the current well-organized political campaign in defense of the "last-hired, first-fired" principle by corporate enterprise and organized labor, the NAACP will continue the struggle to fully realize the promise of equality contained in the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The association will do this in the courts and outside the courts. And what we are fighting for is grounded on the basic principles of justice.

In the cases in which we are currently involved, Black men and women were systematically denied jobs until major corporations were threatened with lawsuits under Title VII. With the operation of the "last-in, first-out" principle, the recently employed Black workers are, naturally, the first to be dismissed. Thus, Black workers are doubly penalized. So we are now proposing in the courts that at the very least—as a minimum—that wherever furlough or dismissals occur, the same proportion of nonwhites be retained on the job as existed prior to the layoff.

'We must not yield'

It is absolutely essential that whatever gains were made, that however modest the foothold, we do not yield. Because it must be understood that those jobs taken from Black men and women today will belong to white men and women tomorrow. And as history teaches us, tomorrow is a very long time.

This struggle involves the fundamental interests of the Black community for many years to come and, therefore, is a crucial issue for the NAACP. And what makes the NAACP unique is that we never subordinate the vital interests of the Black population to other concerns. For us there can be no "other" considerations because for the NAACP there is only one basic responsibility—advancing the interests and welfare of Black Americans. Given the racism which permeates so much of our country we need make no apology for this perception of our role.

We know that if the NAACP does not do it, no one else will. And if we fail, then the future of Black Americans will be nothing more than a dismal repetition of the past. With your help, our just and honest cause will prevail.

NAACP vows to defend Black job gains

By Tony Thomas

WASHINGTON—The NAACP, the country's largest civil rights organization, has reaffirmed its determination to fight against discriminatory layoffs that are erasing many of the Black job gains of recent years.

This stand, taken at the group's sixty-sixth annual convention here June 30-July 4, came in the face of a concerted campaign by officials of the AFL-CIO to force the NAACP to reverse its position. Some 3,558 delegates, virtually all Blacks, attended the gathering.

At a recent conference of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, William Pollard, head of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department, had announced that the AFL-CIO would wage war on the NAACP to force a reversal of this stand. One of the special targets of the AFL-CIO's hierarchy has been

NAACP National Labor Director Herbert Hill. Pollard urged the union officials present to join the NAACP, "go to conventions, and challenge his [Hill's] irresponsibility."

This challenge, however, was defeated. The convention passed the following resolution:

"We call upon EEOC [Equal Employment Opportunity Commission], The Civil Service Commission, The Office of Federal Contract Compliance, and other administrative agencies, Federal and State, and upon the courts, and if necessary, Congress, to act to assure that blacks, and other minorities and women who have secured employment as a result of equal employment legislation not be deprived of the benefits of that employment under the last hired first fired theory."

After the resolution was adopted, both Hill and Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive director, said they would continue the organization's campaign of suits and other legal action to defend affirmative-action programs and prevent discrimination in layoffs.

Hill told the *Militant* after the resolution was adopted, "This is exactly what we want. This authorizes us to go ahead and actively pursue our litigation."

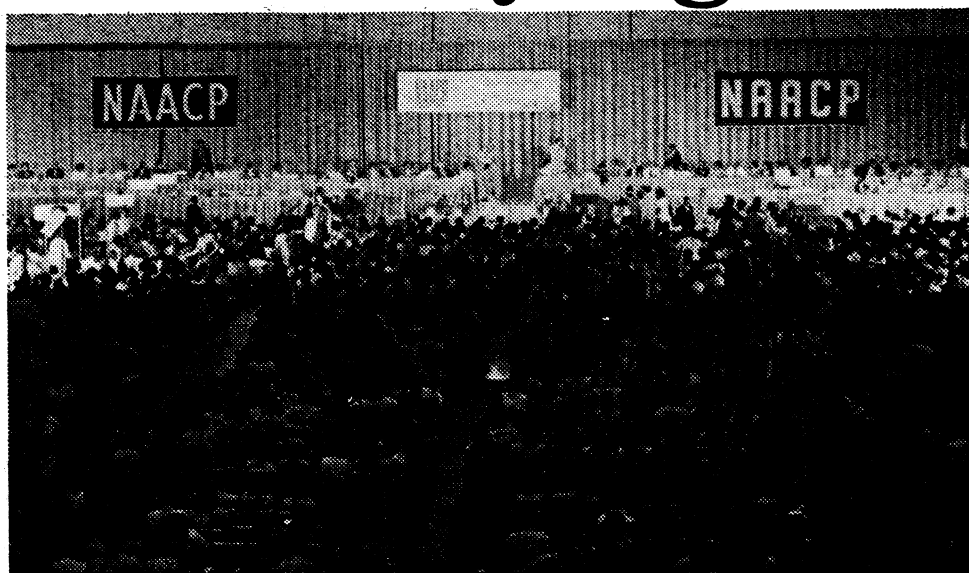
Wilkins told a postconvention news conference that the resolution "empowers us to go ahead with increased vigor in the fight for affirmative action."

School desegregation

Another key issue discussed at the convention was school desegregation.

Ever since its initial victory in the historic 1954 Supreme Court ruling, the NAACP has played a major role in legal battles for total school desegregation.

In the past year the school desegregation battle has been sharpest in



Militant/Baxter Smith

Convention delegates discussed many issues, but debate over discriminatory layoffs was central one.

Boston. Thomas Atkins, the Boston NAACP leader who has helped lead that battle, moderated a workshop that dealt with desegregation.

The Boston NAACP initiated a march held May 17 to commemorate the Supreme Court ruling and to demand its implementation today in Boston.

Maceo Dixon, a coordinator of the National Student Coalition Against Racism who recently became a member of the Dorchester, Massachusetts, NAACP, asked the panelists whether they agreed that actions like the one on May 17 were still necessary.

Maxine Smith, a leader of the Memphis, Tennessee, NAACP and a member of that city's school board, responded:

"Yes, we need more actions like that, that is what we had to do in Memphis to force steps toward school desegregation." She related how Memphis Blacks had launched a school and shopping boycott in 1969 to force

desegregation of the schools.

She stated that Blacks had to get back into the streets and exert political pressure to gain school desegregation as well as to ensure the hiring of Blacks as teachers and school administrators.

Symbolized by Boston, the struggle for school desegregation today is largely in Northern and Western states.

Suit launched

On July 3 NAACP General Counsel Nathaniel Jones announced that the NAACP is launching a suit against the Department of Health, Education and Welfare for failing to enforce desegregation in thirty-three Northern and Western states. It is the most sweeping school desegregation suit ever filed. (See story on page 9.)

Jones also announced at the convention that in a few months the NAACP will host a special leadership meeting. The NAACP, he said, has been encountering stiff political resistance from racist forces in recent months to its legal efforts, and the meeting will discuss counter political efforts to back its legal campaigns.

Other workshops included those on housing, political action, urban and inner-city programs, veterans' affairs, youth, and revenue sharing.

Young people

About one-fifth of the convention was comprised of young people of college age and younger. Several sessions specifically for young people were held, including a college workshop and an awards banquet.

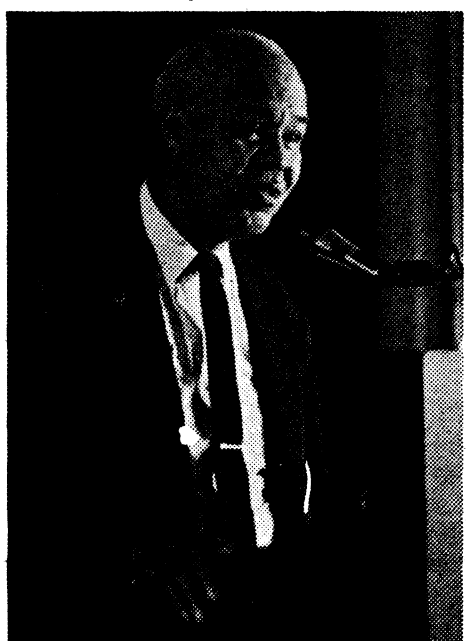
About 40 percent of the convention participants were women. Most participants appeared to be in the forty-five to sixty-five-year-old range. People converged on the capital for the convention from the four corners of the country and there were many veterans of the Southern civil rights struggles present.

Several government officials addressed the convention, including President Ford and Treasury Secretary William Simon. Simon unashamedly stated that it was impossible to contemplate any Black progress until there was a full economic recovery. Simon's remarks, like those of Ford, fell on unappreciating ears.

"Those opening words were too arrogant," Tina Mayberry, sixty-two, of Richmond, Texas, said in a typical comment. In opening, Ford had spoken disparagingly of public remarks by Roy Wilkins several days earlier.

"He's supposed to be the president of all the people so he should be able to

Continued on next page



Militant/Baxter Smith

WILKINS: Affirmative-action proposal 'empowers us to go ahead with increased vigor.'

NSCAR well received at gathering

By Baxter Smith

WASHINGTON—Pretty soon there might be some letters coming up from Down Under bearing the address 612 Blue Hill Avenue, Dorchester, Massachusetts 02121. They'll be requesting more information about the occupant, the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR).

At the NAACP convention Maceo Dixon, a coordinator of the coalition, was interviewed about the student group by the Australian Broadcasting Commission. ABC is the government-operated network there.

Dixon and other coalition activists came here from a half-dozen Eastern cities to spread the word about the student group, enlist support for its activities, and help form new chapters.

And if any folks Down Under do decide to form a chapter of the student group, they'll be among those from Painter, Virginia; Clarksdale, Mississippi; East Orange, New Jersey; Storrs, Connecticut; the predominantly Black Morgan State College campus in Baltimore; and two Massachusetts towns that decided to do the same thing at the NAACP convention.

"In the past few months we have built a good relationship with the NAACP," Dixon said, in explaining why the student group came to the convention. "We especially applaud their strong stand for school desegregation."

The student coalition was formed last February at a conference in Bos-

ton, where resistance to school desegregation has been sharp.

Thomas Atkins, president of the Boston NAACP, announced his group's plans for the May 17 school desegregation demonstration at the student conference. The student group endorsed the demonstration and went to work to help build it.

The demonstration drew about 15,000 people, and in a recently published pamphlet the NAACP singled out the student group for helping to turn people out for it.

"The march was organized by the NAACP National Office and the Boston NAACP Branch. The National Student Coalition Against Racism was a principal participant," the pamphlet reads. It also mentions that Dixon spoke at the rally.

On the opening night of the convention here, NSCAR greetings were read to those present.

"The National Student Coalition Against Racism would like to express its appreciation for the collaboration we have had with the NAACP since our founding conference in February 1975. We actively support the effort of the NAACP in fighting an uncompromising battle for the right of Black students in Boston to an equal education," the greetings began.

"The NAACP-called May 17 march for quality school desegregation... brought the struggle for Black rights a tremendous step forward. It was a powerful statement to racists in Boston

and elsewhere that they will not turn back the equal rights of Black people won through many years of struggle. The leadership displayed by the NAACP in calling for and organizing the march is an inspiration to NSCAR as well as the Black people across the country fighting for equality."

The student group was well received by conventioners. The young activists brought 3,000 *Student Mobilizers*, their four-page newsletter, with them, and all were distributed. Six thousand leaflets titled "What is NSCAR?" were also distributed—3,500 stuffed into delegates kits—with the volunteer help of youthful NAACP members. About fifty May 17 buttons were sold.

Interested young NAACP members also attended a meeting the student coalition held to explain its activities. Another meeting between NSCAR leaders and young NAACP members produced a resolution that was submitted calling for freedom for Joanne Little.

By the time Dixon spoke before a youth workshop, attended by 300 young people, scores of individuals had signed mailing lists or expressed a desire to join the student group.

So, if you want more information or want to help form a chapter of the coalition, call them at (617) 288-6200, or drop a letter to the address back in the first sentence. Better hurry, though. The coalition staff might soon be deluged with requests from Down Under.

...NAACP vows to defend Black job gains

Continued from preceding page
 behave better than that," Mayberry said. "His whole speech seemed to be trying to pacify Black people. And Lord knows, we don't need any of that. We've had enough of it."

While there were a great number of issues discussed, the debate over discriminatory layoffs was the central issue facing the organization.

Since the civil rights act of 1964 was adopted, with its Title VII outlawing job discrimination on the basis of race and sex, the NAACP has carried out a fight, primarily through court suits, seeking preferential hiring and job advancement to overcome discriminatory hiring practices.

With large-scale unemployment, employers have been firing many of the workers hired under the affirmative-action programs. The NAACP is now taking up the fight against this new attempt to eliminate the gains that have been won.

At a news conference during the convention, Herbert Hill gave an example of a case demonstrating the NAACP's position.

In a recent court suit, Hill reported, "United Airlines admitted that as a matter of policy and practice they did not hire Black men for the pilot's classification."

"As a result of the threat of a lawsuit under Title VII in the late 1960s, the company began employing Black men in that classification. In 1969, they had 10 Black men out of 6,000."

"In 1972 comes the recession, the company is required to lay off 10 percent of its work force. Under its contract with the Air Line Pilots Association, an AFL-CIO affiliate, every one of those ten Black men gets laid off."

"The union affiliate says 'That's right, under our contract, under the last-hired, first-fired principle, they all must be laid off.'"

'Blacks doubly penalized'

"The NAACP says no. We say absolutely not. We say that formula is racist and illegal. Those Black men are being doubly penalized. The company and the union admit it. Black pilots were not hired until the 1960s."

"What are we supposed to say? We're not arguing for the whole hog. We say that the same ratio of Black folk on that job classification should be re-



People came to the convention from four corners of country

Militant/Baxter Smith

tained after the layoffs as before, despite seniority. Which means that instead of all ten Black men being wiped out, only one would be dismissed and nine would be retained.

"We can't let the company back off from gains we've won on account of years of struggle."

Hill attacked the AFL-CIO's position that "seniority is a vested right."

"It is nothing more than an expectation," he said. "And for many generations white workers in America have had an expectation of job, advancement, promotion, and seniority status based upon the systematic deprivation of the rights of Black workers."

"This is the issue that will be fought in the streets, in front of factory gates, in union halls as well as in the courts," he continued.

He said that the NAACP would not permit the labor bureaucrats to dictate its policy.

Behind the conflicts over discriminatory layoffs is the conservative, job-trust mentality of the bureaucratic union leaders. From the very beginning of trade unions in this country, union officials, as a rule, have favored the exclusion of Blacks from the skilled trades and better-paying jobs. While the capitalists have amassed untold profits from this discrimination, and used it to keep the working class divided and weakened, many white workers have seen the exclusion of Blacks as a way to safeguard their own positions.

Today, the narrow-minded, reaction-

ary union bureaucrats believe in collaborating with the corporations in maintaining discriminatory practices in hiring because they think they can protect jobs for the white union members by doing so. They are striving to protect their own privileged position at the expense of unemployed or poorly paid minority and women workers. To justify this discriminatory policy, they claim that seniority provisions in union contracts cannot be violated for any reason.

At the convention workshops, labor bureaucrats demagogically argued that the NAACP is trying to destroy the whole seniority system. This is not the question at all. The NAACP is asking that, where necessary, seniority provisions be modified so that the percentage of oppressed minorities and women on a job not be reduced through layoffs.

Misuse of seniority

The seniority system was a victory won in struggle by workers to prevent the bosses from arbitrarily picking and choosing who to lay off. It should not now be turned around and used as a weapon to perpetuate discrimination through the "preferential firing" of Blacks and women.

The key issue in the debate, reflected at the convention, is whether the labor movement is going to defend itself against layoffs by fighting for the interests of the most oppressed workers, or whether it is going to allow itself to be divided and weakened by adopting a strategy of protecting the interests of the relatively privileged workers at the expense of the oppressed minority and women members of the working class.

"What is really tragic," Hill pointed out, "is that organized labor is not really responsive to the needs of the over one-and-one-half million organized workers who are Black."

Citing the case of the Steelworkers union, which is one-third minority workers, Hill pointed out that the issue is not simply one of a conflict between the NAACP and the union officials. "The issue will be and already is," he said, "the conflict between the Black rank and file of these unions and the conservative bureaucratic leadership of organized labor that apparently doesn't give a damn about its own Black members."

Despite the highly organized pressure campaign of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy, which flooded the convention with union staff workers trying to line up support for the position of the union officialdom, the leadership of the NAACP appeared to be in favor of maintaining the organization's stand against discriminatory layoffs.

According to Hill, sixty of the sixty-four members of the NAACP board of

directors, the real decision-making body in the association, were in favor of the stand on affirmative action. The four opponents, he said, were all trade-union functionaries.

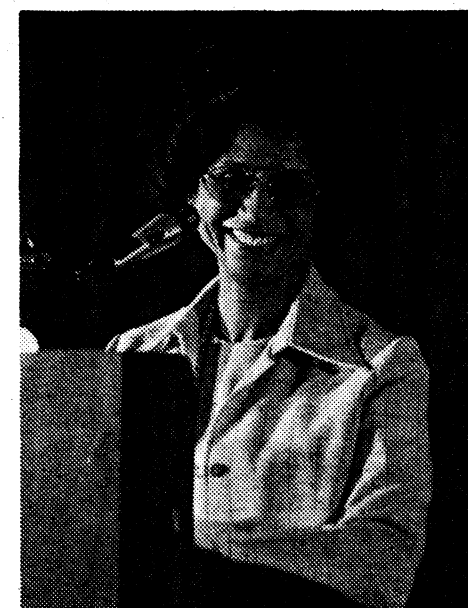
This view also represented the thinking of the majority of the delegates here. Beulah Wallace, an older woman from Indianapolis, told a workshop on affirmative action:

"There are a lot of people on the job today who wouldn't have their jobs if it wasn't for the NAACP. It's true that a lot of Black folks have seniority, but we have it for menial jobs. Affirmative action helped us get out of those menial jobs and into some better-paying jobs and we can't lose that now."

Most delegates were aware that this was going to be a controversial issue as they arrived for the convention. There was discussion about it in regional caucuses and in the corridors in anticipation of scheduled workshop and plenary session debates.

Shankerites mobilize

Union staffers, whose way was paid by union officials, were present in force. Albert Shanker's home local, American Federation of Teachers Local 2, mobilized people for the convention. This union, which has very few Black and Puerto Rican members, has established a record as one of the most hated by the Black and Puerto Rican



Militant/Baxter Smith

Chairperson of NAACP board of directors, Margaret Bush Wilson.

communities for its racist opposition to community control of the schools.

Other paid union representatives, most of them Black, came from the United Auto Workers, the Steelworkers, the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, and other unions. The heavy hand of these operators was felt throughout the convention.

Two workshop sessions were held on the affirmative-action question, on successive days. Both had the same format and heard the same talks. At the first session, Herbert Hill and James Jones, a Black law professor, received a warm response.

Hill gave a stirring speech (see excerpts on page 6) and received a standing ovation. Jones, who has been involved in a number of affirmative-action suits, explained the legal basis for these actions.

A different reception awaited Hill and Jones the next day. The same speeches received scant applause and even a few catcalls. The reason for this was that the workshop of some 200 people was packed with union functionaries bent on overturning the NAACP's defense of affirmative-action plans.

Continued on page 26

A woman vs. U.S. Steel

PITTSBURGH—Until June 14, Sue Em Davenport was an extra crane operator and laborer at U.S. Steel's Homestead mill. Then she and about 100 other women were among the first of 1,500 steelworkers to be laid off.

In a *Militant* interview, Davenport described how she got the job as a steelworker: "I heard on the news they had signed a consent decree and had to hire some women. So, at eight o'clock the next morning I ran down to the Homestead mill and put my application in."

Davenport was hired in August 1974, when there was only a handful of women in the mill. Not long afterwards, however, there were 25 women working the open hearth department, and more than 100 women in the entire mill.

Davenport said, "The open hearth is considered one of the dirtiest, most disgusting places to work. Therefore, that's where the highest concentration of women and Blacks was."

"Some of the men had a really bad attitude toward the women at first," she said. "And they treated you like you were an oddball. But after a while, most men realized you were just another person who needed a job."

At this point the open-hearth shop has laid off more than 200 out of 800 workers, including all but 3 of the women. Plant-wide, almost no women are left. Of the women she's talked with, Davenport says, "They are irritated, angry, and realize it's a totally discriminatory move."

What are the women doing about the layoffs? "A number of us are getting together and filing a grievance with the United Steelworkers union. Depending on their reaction, what we want to do is file with the Equal Economic Opportunity Commission, and probably the state Human Relations Commission, as part of a pattern of discrimination cases against U.S. Steel."

Suit filed to halt funding of segregated schools

By Baxter Smith

WASHINGTON—Attorneys for the NAACP have filed suit against the Department of Health, Education and Welfare for failing to enforce public school desegregation in districts in thirty-three Northern and Western states.

Forty-eight school districts within those states receive HEW funding for segregated systems in violation of Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. The funding came in spite of HEW's knowledge of the segregation.

The suit, filed July 3 and announced at the NAACP convention here, is the broadest legal assault on school desegregation ever amassed.

Joining the NAACP are lawyers for two other civil rights organizations, the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, and the Center for National Policy Review.

Named as defendants are HEW Secretary Caspar Weinberger and Peter Holmes, director of HEW's office for civil rights. HEW is responsible for distributing funds and policing compliance with federal school desegregation statutes.

"In the entire 11 years since Title VI was enacted," states a summary of the complaint, "HEW has only initiated compliance investigations of 100 Northern and Western school districts. It has begun administrative enforcement proceedings against only five isolated districts and terminated the funds to but a single district."

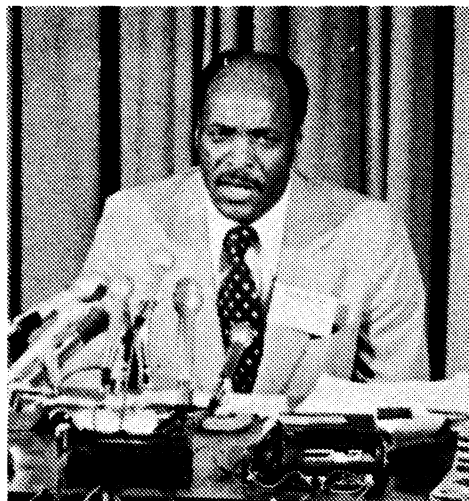
The suit seeks to compel HEW "to commence good faith implementation of Title VI with respect to student or faculty segregation practices."

The suit charges that HEW, besides adopting a go-slow attitude toward compliance, has stalled or abandoned investigations of actual instances of segregation.

HEW has only reviewed small districts and has shunned investigations of larger metropolitan districts, the suit also states.

"Of the 100 HEW investigations over the last 11 years, 58 remain pending; 24 of these pending investigations are, incredibly, six or seven years old, while 18 were begun three to five years ago," the complaint charges. "The average age of these investigations is approximately 44 months old (as of HEW's last public report in February 1975)."

The NAACP hopes to compel HEW to begin "fund termination proceedings" against the forty-eight named



Militant/Baxter Smith
NAACP General Counsel Nathaniel Jones announcing school suit at July 3 news conference.

school districts within sixty days. Some of the districts include Akron, Ohio; Columbus, Ohio; San Diego; Richmond, California; Racine, Wisconsin; Fort Wayne, Indiana; and Fresno, California.

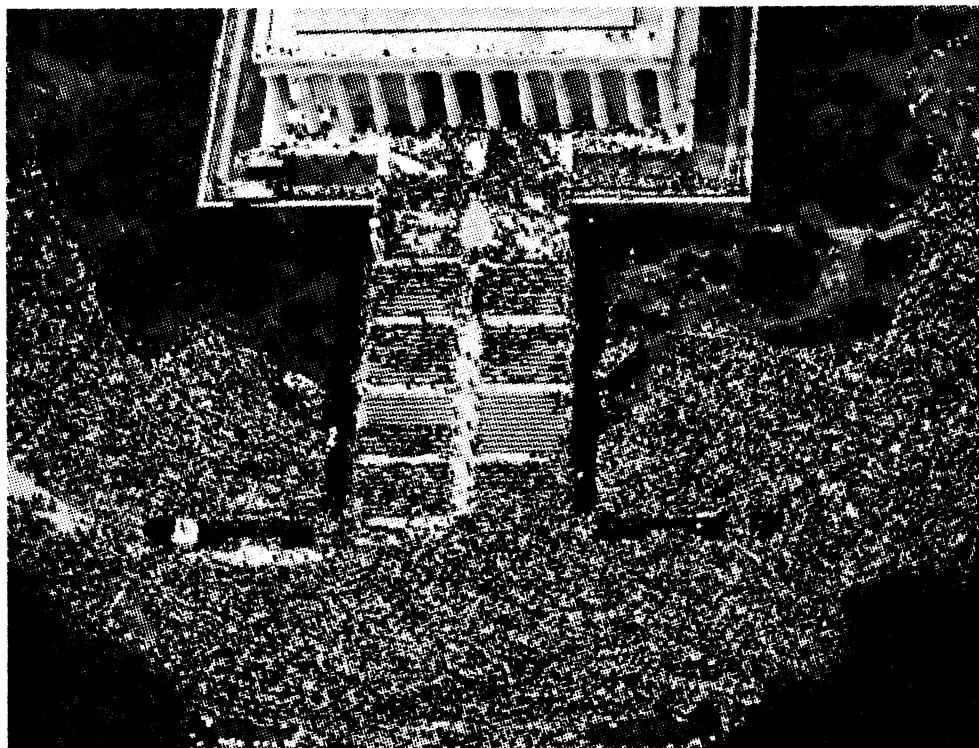
"In sharp contrast to its initiation of many hundreds of administrative enforcement proceedings against Southern school districts in the early years after Title VI was enacted," the NAACP states, "HEW has begun such proceedings against only 5 Northern-Western districts in the eleven years of the statute."

The NAACP also charges that HEW has sought to fund districts that it acknowledges are segregated.

"In the spring of 1973, HEW declared the school districts of Los Angeles, Detroit, Rochester and Richmond, California ineligible for [federal] assistance because of their segregated faculties. When HEW then tried to fund these districts despite this finding, the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia enjoined HEW from such action. While stopping the funding under [one federal statute] HEW nevertheless continued to subsidize the faculty segregation under other statutes, in obvious violation of Title VI."

In cases like this, the NAACP wants all federal funding halted until compliance is restored.

This new multiple district suit, NAACP lawyers say, will not hinder the association from pursuing any single instance of school desegregation that may arise.



Massive 1963 march on Washington helped produce 1964 Civil Rights Act pertaining to school desegregation.

6,000 at international conference on women

By Caroline Lund

From Intercontinental Press

The United Nations International Women's Year conferences ended July 2 with the adoption of a World Plan of Action. The document says that women should have "in law and in fact, equal rights and opportunities with men" in political affairs, education, and employment.

The conference, held in Mexico City, was the first major UN gathering to discuss the problems of women. It was attended by about 6,000 official delegates and unofficial participants. Its size and impact are testimony to the growing influence of the international struggle for women's rights.

Although the Plan of Action is not binding on the participating governments, it adds legitimacy to the demands that are being raised and fought for by women throughout the world.

The document does not mention the right to abortion, which has been the most widespread single focus of women's struggles internationally. But it says: "Individuals and couples have the right freely and responsibly to determine the number and spacing of their children and to have the information and means to do so."

Among other things, the plan calls for equal pay for equal work; for the rewriting of textbooks to "reflect an image of women in positive and participatory roles in society"; and for equal rights for unmarried mothers and for children born to unmarried parents.

It also called for "socially organized services," including "services for children," to lighten work in the home and to allow for "women's equal participation in all societal activities."

The plight of women political prisoners throughout the world was discussed at the UN-sponsored "Tribune," a forum for official conference participants. Among those who spoke was Hortensia Bussi de Allende, the widow of Salvador Allende. She called on the UN to name a committee of women to investigate the crimes of the Chilean junta against women.

The issue of women political prisoners was "unexpected" by conference organizers, according to a report by Judy Klemesrud in the July 1 *New York Times*. But it received widespread support among the delegates. A major topic of discussion was the relationship between the struggle for women's rights and for broader social change. Most of the official delegates counterposed this, in a debate that saw delegates from the colonial and semicolonial world lined up against those from the advanced capitalist countries.

The first position was typified by the speech made by Mexican President Luis Echeverría Alvarez in opening the conference. He said that "the worldwide crusade for women's rights is meaningless with a total transformation of the world's economic order."

The second position stressed narrowly defined "women's issues." Patricia Hutar, co-head of the U.S. delegation, contended that "women must be in decision-making positions in the power structure along with men to build a more just world order."

The debate was largely phony. The delegates "representing" the peoples of the colonial world included such figures as Imelda Marcos, wife of the Philippine dictator; Princess Ashraf Pahlavi, sister of the shah of Iran; and Sirimavo Bandaranaike, prime minister of Sri Lanka, who crushed in blood the 1971 movement of young people who were demanding democratic rights and social reforms.

These delegates generally had little in common with the masses of women



Mexico's President Luis Echeverría with Hortensia Bussi de Allende.

in their own countries. For example, Annie Jagge, delegate from Ghana, told a reporter that she had no problem with housework. "In Africa, you have house help," she explained. "You pay through the nose for it, but you have it."

On the other side, posing as a supporter of women's rights, was the U.S. delegation, headed by Daniel Parker, administrator of the CIA front, the Agency for International Development, and Patricia Hutar, former assistant head of the Republican National Committee.

Wynta Boynes of the Congress of Racial Equality, a black civil-rights organization, was among a group of American women who accused the Washington delegation of being unrepresentative. According to Stanley Mislj, reporting in the June 22 *Los Angeles Times*, Boynes contended that "the delegation reflected the thinking mainly of the State Department and AID—agencies that, she said, subvert the rights of men and women throughout the world."

Both sides in this debate were more interested in making demagogic appeals than in bringing out the fact that the struggle for women's rights and for broader social change complement and strengthen each other.

Delegates from the workers states, especially the Soviet Union and China, did nothing to clarify the issue or to explain the stake of women in the fight for a socialist revolution. They concentrated on attacking each other and attempting to cover up for the gross inequality that women still face in those countries despite the great gains brought about by the revolutions.



Imelda Marcos, wife of Philippine dictator Ferdinand Marcos, came to conference masquerading as representing needs of women in colonial and semicolonial countries.

Your money...

Listening to President Ford address the NAACP convention July 1, one would hardly have known that a quarter of all Black workers are unemployed, or that half of Black teen-agers in poverty areas cannot find jobs.

Momentarily tipping his hat to "unpleasant reality," Ford acknowledged that the economic crisis has "unquestionably hit hardest at Blacks and other minorities." But there's no rush to do anything about it, he said, because "the economic decline is over."

The news will be welcomed, no doubt, by the hundreds of thousands of Black workers victimized by discriminatory layoffs under the "last hired, first fired" rule, and by their families trying to squeeze out a living on welfare or unemployment benefits. Jobs would be welcomed even more.

But no, Ford restated his long-standing opposition to any special government spending to provide jobs, housing, education, or any other aid to the casualties of the depression.

To justify his do-nothing policy, Ford claimed the present economic crisis is the result of the "spending spree" of government programs in the 1960s to help "the poor, the elderly, and the disadvantaged."

There was a government spending spree in the 1960s, all right, one that continues to this day and is the main cause of inflation: not the pitiful spending on social welfare, but the mammoth Pentagon war budget.

Just a few days after his insulting remarks at the NAACP convention, Ford let it be known that he favors construction of a new nuclear-powered cruiser for the Navy. Each ship, with a price tag of \$1.2 billion, will cost as much as the entire annual health services budget of New York City.

In an effort to win support for these reactionary policies, Ford wraps himself in the cloak of opposition to big government. He claims his rallying cry in 1976 will be less spending, less regulation, less interference with the lives of citizens.

In this demagogic double-talk, a few lousy pennies for jobs and human welfare are denounced as "inflationary government spending." But \$100 billion a year for war—that's "national defense."

The slightest effort to protect the environment and job safety from rapacious corporate giants—that's "government bureaucracy curbing the individual." But thousands of FBI and CIA snoops wiretapping, spying, and hounding political dissidents—that's "national security."

This country has the resources to provide jobs and a decent standard of living for everyone. It has the money to build schools, homes, hospitals, and parks for everyone. Elimination of the war budget would be a big step toward rational use of this wealth for human needs.

...or your life

One of the more bloodcurdling results of the billions in arms spending is a stockpile of nuclear weapons sufficient to wipe out human life several times over. Still smarting from the U.S. defeat in Indochina, Ford and Kissinger have gone out of their way to make it clear they will not hesitate to use these doomsday weapons against any challenge to U.S. imperialist interests.

According to information leaked to columnist Jack Anderson, the finger on the nuclear trigger is getting itchier every day. Anderson reported July 8 that the Pentagon is prepared to use tactical nuclear weapons "not only to repel aggression but also to respond to 'minor incidents.'"

The new policy is intended to increase the president's "flexibility," Anderson's highly placed sources explain. "An oil refinery or industrial complex, for example, could be leveled in one swift nuclear strike. . . . In preparation for this possibility, missile and bomber crews are now practicing dozens of complicated new missions."

Anderson's sources further "point out that Ford is less in awe of nuclear weapons than any man who has occupied the White House since Harry Truman." Since Truman! Truman was the first and so far only person to order the use of nuclear weapons—incinerating more than 300,000 human beings when he bombed Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Any "tactical" strike by the United States could rapidly escalate into a worldwide holocaust that would destroy the human race. But the Dr. Strangeloves responsible for the new "Nuclear Weapons Employment Policy" are willing to risk all our lives to protect U.S. corporate profits around the world. "Peace on earth" will only be achieved when they are disarmed once and for all.

Sostre sentenced again

On June 3 Martin Sostre was sentenced to up to four years concurrent with the thirty years he is now serving. The new sentence was imposed after his conviction by an all-white jury for allegedly assaulting three Clinton prison guards—who in fact assaulted him for his resistance to the practice of forced rectal examination of prisoners as part of a strip search.

Sostre was offered a suspended sentence in exchange for a guilty plea. He refused to deal because the charges were false and because he wanted to use the trial and ensuing publicity to expose the brutality, racism, and corruption in New York State prisons.

It is now eight years since Sostre was arrested. During these years he has spent four years in solitary confinement; endured eleven beatings by Clinton guards, on one occasion choked unconscious; been denied visits from his attorneys, friends, and clergy; and been subject to countless other forms of harassment and degradation.

That the state of New York has not succeeded in breaking Sostre's spirit is a tribute to his courage and determination.

The Martin Sostre Defense Committee is in dire need of funds to appeal this latest conviction and to continue the struggle for his freedom. We ask all people of conscience to contribute generously at this time of need.

Sharon M.H. Fischer
Martin Sostre Defense Committee
P.O. Box 839 Ellicott Station
Buffalo, New York 14205

Three points & thanks

It took you long enough! I've been reading for a year now, and finally, an article on ecology [June 20 issue]. More!

It seems I must bring up another point. Your stand on Vietnam refugees is inconsistent with your stand on Palestinian refugees. All refugees, *anywhere*, are merely pawns of a system they have no control over.

It seems the Socialist Workers party is approaching too close to declaring *themselves* to be the vanguard in this country. This could be dangerous. I suggest some self-inspection and reflection.

Good paper. Thanks!
Dennis Thurlon
Wabash, Indiana

Shackles on building trades

In the June 27 *Militant* Frank Lovell warned of the threat represented by a recent Supreme Court ruling. The court found that a Texas Plumbers local had violated antitrust laws by forcing a contractor to sublet work only to union labor.

Now there is a further development in the government's insidious union-busting campaign against the building-trades workers.

Testifying before Congress just a few days after the Supreme Court ruling, Labor Secretary John Dunlop proposed sweeping new legislation to govern construction-site picketing. The bait is the long-sought legalization of "common situs" picketing, that is, the right to shut down an entire site in a dispute with any one contractor.

In return, Dunlop proposes to:

1) Require ten days' notice to all national labor and management organizations whose members are involved before any picketing is allowed. (This "would assure at least a

limited cooling-off period," Dunlop says.)

2) Require that national unions authorize any local strike.

3) Limit construction picketing to thirty days to reduce "the potential for disruption!"

Dunlop is a dangerous and wily expert in putting government shackles on the unions. Even worse court restrictions are in store, he obviously implies, unless the unions go along with his plan.

And the sad thing is that the national building-trades bureaucrats are likely to jump at the chance to curb "unruly" locals with "unreasonable" demands.

It's time to wake up!
G.A.

New York, New York

Rebates & refunds

Since my earning power as a student is not that great, I do not receive a tax rebate. I do, however, receive from the Internal Revenue Service a tax refund since they usually take more out of my payroll checks than they need to. Consequently, I'm sending it on to the SWP Party Building Fund.

As a member of the Young Socialist Alliance, I have witnessed the Socialist Workers party's participation in quite a few important struggles, especially the fight for equal rights in Boston.

The SWP has been my shining light. I look forward to important growth and development of America's revolutionary vanguard party in the months and years ahead of us.

I'm proud to be a member of the revolutionary socialist movement.

Dan Marksel
Watertown, New York

Conditions no better

The June 27 issue of the *Militant* was well read and deeply appreciated by prisoners here due to coverage of conditions at [Kirkland Correctional Institute].

No improvements have been made, and seemingly the situation has gotten worse in respect to postal service. As a matter of fact, when letters take eleven days and packages take over two weeks to be delivered, perhaps the federal government should be notified and requested to investigate such discrepancies.

Excuses of the guards never vary. It's the usual "passing of the buck" to other persons or departments.

The same goes for the canteen, which has been in the "process of a new schedule" for a couple of weeks, causing much resentment and hard feelings from those doing without needed supplies for so long.

My telling all may be a risk, but suffering in silence is no better.

Thank you again for your concern, and keep the presses rolling with a truthful report on capitalist America.

A prisoner
South Carolina

Teachers' right to strike

Colorado teachers will have to wait at least another year for the right to collective bargaining. The state general assembly was unable to come up with a bill before they adjourned until next year.

On May 27, the Colorado Education Association brought out 1,000 teachers to demonstrate at the state capitol demanding the passage of a collective

bargaining bill (see June 20 *Militant*). Demonstrators demanded a right-to-strike clause, an agency shop, and "broad scope" negotiations (the inclusion of demands other than salary and hours as negotiable items).

In spite of this demonstration of support for the collective bargaining bill passed by the house, the Republican caucus in the senate took a totally adamant position in opposition to the right of teachers to strike.

Democratic Sen. Eldon Cooper, who projected himself as the champion of the teachers' demands, then presented a minority report aimed at finding an acceptable compromise. This report, however, failed to mention the right to strike and raised the concept of an agency shop as something that would be negotiated by each CEA local, thus falling quite short of meeting the teachers' demands.

Even this compromise was rejected.

Once again the Democrats and Republicans in the state government have proven that they cannot be relied upon to fight for the interests of public employees and teachers. Only a coordinated, mass response of teachers and other public employees will force the legislature to meet any of our demands.

Joyce Newell
Denver, Colorado

Martin Hall

Martin Hall, a veteran fighter for progressive causes, died here June 1. He was seventy-four.

An antifascist exile from Hitler's Germany, he was long associated with the First Unitarian Church here and with the social causes it related to. He was widely known as a radical journalist and lecturer.

In 1960 he visited Cuba and became an ardent supporter of the revolution.

He was a founding member and a leading figure in the Los Angeles Fair Play for Cuba Committee. The committee embraced within its ranks a diversity of political views. Martin Hall played an important role in achieving that. He was firmly committed to the idea that partisans of fair play for Cuba should not permit differences on other questions to stand in the way of a united effort on that issue.

Earlier, in 1957, he played a key role in building a united defense for five Spanish seamen who jumped ship in San Diego to escape the Franco dictatorship.

During that same period he participated in a united socialist electoral coalition that supported Holland Roberts for state superintendent of public instruction.

He is survived by his longtime companion and comrade, Marie Hall.

A memorial meeting was held for him July 6 at the First Unitarian Church.

Della Rossa
Los Angeles, California

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.

Their Government

Cindy Jaquith



Candid camera at the Capitol?

WASHINGTON—Congress is toying with the idea of allowing TV cameras into the hallowed chambers of the House and Senate.

Television has traditionally been banned from sessions of Congress. In fact, it was only four years ago that the House decided to let TV into its committee hearings.

Now, however, the political climate has changed. The capitalist politicians feel pressured to make a show of opening up their proceedings to the American people. "All of us share a deep concern at the dangerously low regard in which the people hold their Congress," explained Rep. Jack Brooks (D-Tex.), who is sponsoring a bill to experiment with TV coverage.

Some of Brooks's colleagues don't agree that televising Congress is the answer to their popularity problems. They would much prefer to continue functioning hidden away from the view of their constituents.

Their distress is understandable. For one thing, if there were regular TV coverage, these fakers would have to show up for work once in a while (if you can call it work). As it is now, most members of Congress belong to the "Tuesday-to-Thursday Club"—they only put in a three-day week.

The first time I visited the Senate, for instance, I was amazed to see Sen. Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.) delivering a eulogy on Chiang Kai-shek to an absolutely empty chamber, save for the clerks and the pages who were asleep in one corner.

Brooks's bill seeks to minimize such embarrassments by outlawing shots of vacant seats or snoring senators. It also stipulates that the footage will

initially be shown only on closed-circuit TV, only on Capitol Hill.

That still isn't enough to satisfy some members of Congress. Rep. James Delaney (D-N.Y.), for example, has expressed the fear that TV will injure the self-respect of his fellow Democrats and Republicans. "In the local bars, if they had nothing to do, they would say, well, turn on the TV and see what the clowns are doing," Delaney warned.

Whether Delaney knows it or not, many people are already fed up with what the clowns are doing. We don't need a TV to know about the campaign bribes, the pork-barrel legislation, or the secret meetings between the CIA and congressional "oversight" committees. Nor do we need to see these "veto-proof" jokers on TV to know that they have given the green light to Ford's veto of jobs, housing, and strip-mine legislation.

What bugs these politicians about TV coverage is that it might break down the notion that working people shouldn't try to interfere in the weighty deliberations of "our" representatives.

This idea is written directly into the Constitution. *New York Times* columnist James Reston once explained it like this: "It was the assumption of the Founding Fathers . . . that most things were too complicated in a vast continental country to be decided by referendums or popular vote."

"Too complicated" for the capitalist government, that is. Because if there were popular votes on such things as the billions spent on war, the slashing of social service funds, and the layoffs of millions of U.S. workers, the clowns in Congress, and in the White House, might not be around very long.

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



'Take to the streets'

WASHINGTON—Graham Watt, director of the federal Office of Revenue Sharing, at first tried to defend his program, then he simply clammed up. His eyes were glued to the floor and he grew antsy as the criticism rained down. A.W. Stanley, and the square-shouldered guy from southern Illinois, and everyone else gave him the devil. He must've felt like a Christian up against lions in the Roman Coliseum.

If he had any sense he would have never agreed to be a panelist at the revenue-sharing workshop at the NAACP convention. He knows nobody Black is crazy about the way revenue sharing is run. And when he quoted those false figures that was all the folks needed.

The federal revenue-sharing program was set up in 1972 to return federal funds to local areas. Its designers saw it as a way to trim federal social welfare spending that critics said was wasteful.

Under *general* revenue sharing, local areas receive the funds and can use them as they see fit. *Special* revenue-sharing funds are allocated for specific, designated local projects, such as improving a transit system.

During the twelve-month period ending July 1974, state and local governments spent close to \$7 billion in general revenue-sharing funds.

Blacks have raised two principal objections to revenue sharing. First, although federal statutes prohibit distribution of the funds to agencies that discriminate on the basis of race or sex, the funds have found their way to such agencies anyway.

One hundred forty-eight cases of such discrimination have led to charges being brought against the Office of Revenue Sharing since the program's inception. Forty-six of them were brought by the

NAACP. Eight cases are closed or settled.

Second, rather than use the federal funds for local social programs, city governments have used funds chiefly to beef up local police departments.

In his presentation, Watt said—to groans of disbelief—that 23 percent of revenue-sharing funds have gone for cop budgets, and 4 percent for social services specifically for the poor and the aged. According to the NAACP, however, local areas have spent 46 percent of their revenue-sharing funds on cop budgets, and 2 percent for social services for the poor and aged.

The two other panelists—Herrington Bryce of the Joint Center for Political Studies, a research outfit; and William Taylor, head of the Center for National Policy Review, a civil rights group—backed the NAACP's findings.

Taylor called revenue sharing a way to "promote urban apartheid."

Speakers from the floor offered high-octane remarks on revenue sharing and other subjects.

"This is nothin' but old 'states' rights' in disguise," declared A.W. Stanley, head of the NAACP in Darlington, South Carolina, who says he's been beat up, shot at, and run out of town. "'Give us back the money and we'll take care of the niggers.' We're tired of this old antique, Confederate mess. We need to take to the streets again like we did in the sixties."

The crowd went wild but Watt was speechless.

Then a square-shouldered man got up and complained bitterly about how revenue-sharing funds were supposed to do something about the poor sewage in the Black neighborhood of his town in southern Illinois, but instead went to buy dum-dum bullets for cops.

Watt told him to go write a letter.



The Jackson Hilton—A Michigan judge ruled that the state could collect room and board from an inmate at Jackson State Prison who inherited some money. A prison official estimated this would come to \$12.33 a day. Which sounds like a real bargain, especially when you consider it includes the food.

Speak for yourself, Jeb—"The whole Christian church accepts that man is basically a sinner."—Watergater Jeb Stuart Magruder.

It's those goddamned cherry blossoms—The Environmental Protection Agency disputed a naval re-



'You'll be glad to know that the latest figures show you're holding steady.'

search finding that smog blanketing Washington, D.C., in August 1973 was caused partly by natural emissions from trees, not entirely by auto exhausts.

To suffer is divine—Assailing the "contraceptive mentality," Irish Catholic bishops declared it "tends to regard comfort, wealth, worldly success, and pleasure as the aims of life. The contraceptive mentality contradicts the Christian understanding of family life."

No hang-ups—Moving from their suburban chateau to a petite seventeenth-century Paris hotel, which

they purchased for a home, the Baron and Baroness Guy de Rothschild solved the problem of excess furniture and bric-a-brac with a garage sale that netted more than \$4 million. Commented the baroness, "I'm a bit ashamed of being rich."

Can lose your shirt—Urging anticipatory planning, Henry Ford II complained: "We never plan anything. Take air and water control, for instance. Suddenly there is a great big flap and everybody gets excited and all of a sudden some law is passed; it gets to be done within a very short time frame and it costs you a fortune."

National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



Veto-proof but not foolproof

While AFL-CIO President George Meany rails against the Ford administration for failing to create jobs, his hirelings are busy trying to explain away the failures of Congress to override Ford's vetoes. This performance is a fitting accompaniment to the sham battle between Congress and the White House.

One of Meany's hirelings is Prof. John Roche, a former CIA operator and now one of the band of fake socialists calling themselves Social Democrats, USA. They cluster around the Meany gang in the union movement. Their role is to formulate occasional ideas and frequent justifications for Meany and his cohorts to use in public speeches.

Roche writes a column of advice and solace appropriately called "A Word Edgewise" in the weekly *AFL-CIO News*. His task in the June 28 issue was to analyze the failure of the "veto-proof" Congress to enact any legislation favoring working people. This is a timely subject. The AFL-CIO poured millions of dollars into electing this Congress, promising union members it would solve everything.

Instead, the Democratic-controlled Congress has become the butt of the political cartoonists and columnists, and the target of growing anger among union members, for its inability to override Ford's vetoes or take any other meaningful action.

Roche undertakes to defend House Speaker Carl Albert ("one of the nicest men in town") and to blame the structure of Congress for all the failures.

The problem is, Roche says, there's no "discipline" because 1) the Democratic majority is too big, and 2) "there are simply too many unseasoned newcomers who have yet to work out a pecking order."

These excuses aren't likely to sit well with workers whose jobs have been taken away by the economic crisis.

Union men and women want jobs and they are running out of time. Part of their problem is that they have no representatives in Congress. They are poorly represented, instead, by the AFL-CIO lobby. This lobby tries to persuade members of Congress who accepted union campaign money last year to vote for bills such as the watered-down jobs bill, the housing bill, and the strip-mine control bill.

These bills would have created some jobs, but hardly enough to put the eleven million unemployed back to work. Anyway they were all passed by large majorities and then vetoed by Ford, as predicted. The Congress failed in all three instances to override the presidential vetoes, also predicted.

This is in the nature of the two-party political system. It is not determined by the committee structure, lack of "discipline," or by which of the two capitalist parties happens to control the White House.

In Congress Democrats and Republicans alike are responsible to the class that controls the parties that put them in office. It is easy for them to invent minor differences over particular bills, to wrangle among themselves, and to conveniently make the

record on union-endorsed legislation when they know in advance that it will be vetoed and that the necessary two-thirds majority will not be mustered to override the veto. This is the old political game, no longer a mystery.

Congress has no trouble uniting to enact legislation demanded by the employing class. When railroad workers strike, Congress in a matter of hours holds committee hearings, drafts emergency legislation, and in a joint session orders the strikers back to work. This has happened repeatedly in recent years. The seventy-five new faces in this Congress, regardless of "pecking order," will fall in line to do the same thing again if postal workers are forced to strike this year. They will all be on hand to vote overwhelmingly for any legislation that the employing class deems urgent.

The working class needs its own representatives who will pass laws that workers deem urgent. But such representatives do not come with a Democratic or Republican label. They will most likely be working men and women elected on a labor party ticket sponsored by the union movement.

The most important thing for the union movement in politics today is to break up the old two-party system, to stop pretending that these parties of the employers will serve the needs of working people, to create a mass party of working men and women that operates on the reality of class politics and the class division of society.

That is the plain truth.

The American Way of Life

U.S. exports 'work ethic' to Colombia

Does the *Wall Street Journal* circulate in U.S. prisons? Probably not very widely, at least since the Watergate crew got out of stir. However, those *Militant* readers in prison who have no stock portfolios to follow may still be interested in a recent *Journal* article describing some of the efforts of U.S. corporations in behalf of prisoners in the South American country of Colombia.

Action in Colombia, a group backed financially by seventy large Colombian and U.S. concerns, including the Bank of America, Dow Chemical Company, and IBM, has put forward a plan to improve the lot of Colombian prisoners.

"This is completely a rehabilitation program," says Oscar Franco, director of the Villanueva prison. "The businesses are coming here on a social mission. . . ."

The social mission was explained by one U.S. official in Colombia, apparently a cynic, who said, "It could be labeled as exploitation of slave labor for a profit."

Although the exploitation of prison labor by private companies such as Container Corporation of America and B.F. Goodrich has been going on for years, Action in Colombia is proposing to turn the entire Colombian prison population into "employees" in private industry.

While insisting that the project is motivated solely by concern for the welfare of prisoners, director of prisons Ramiro Carranza notes, "Many companies that need manual labor can benefit from this even if they aren't doing it for the socially right reasons."

The statutory minimum wage in Bogota, the capital of Colombia, was recently raised to \$1.33 a day. Prisoners, however, get the privilege of working for around \$0.45 a day. They get no fringe benefits, and are forced to surrender 10-to-30 percent of their pay to prison authorities for "administrative expenses."

"It's important to instill a work ethic in these

people," says warden Franco. He does not mention that 75 percent of the inmates in Colombian prisons have never been tried. "Some have been jailed eight to 10 years without a trial," writes *Journal* reporter Stephen Sansweet.

According to the Colombian legal system, the accused usually stays in prison until tried or until serving the term that would have resulted from a conviction. Explaining another aspect of the proposed labor program, Sansweet writes:

"For every three days of work, one day is cut from a prisoner's jail term, but that calculation can be tricky when the term is indefinite."

Under these circumstances, it may prove more difficult than expected to "instill a work ethic in these people." Moreover, in a country where unemployment and underemployment is estimated at 30 percent, those who managed to absorb the "work ethic" would just have to unlearn it after being released from prison.

—David Frankel

Bob Chester: Trotskyist leader & educator

By Ed Harris

SAN FRANCISCO—Bob Chester, a dedicated Trotskyist, Socialist Workers party activist, and Marxist educator, died here suddenly on June 22.

Bob was born in Brooklyn, New York, in 1912. His parents, Jewish refugees from tsarist oppression, had fled Russia in 1903. Bob's political education began as a child, when his mother told him about the traditions of the Russian labor movement.

Bob had a scientific bent, and in 1930 he entered Cooper Union, a technical school, to study chemical engineering. But as the Great Depression deepened, and job prospects worsened, he quit school and went to work with his father, a well-known scenic artist.

Under the impact of the depression, the American working class was radicalizing, and New York was a center of political debate.

One night Bob and his brother, Morris Chertov, attended a Socialist

American Workers party, led by A.J. Muste. In 1934, the Muste forces fused with the Trotskyist Communist League of America to form the Workers party.

Bob became exposed to Trotskyist books and newspapers, and he met leaders such as Art Preis, Ted Grant, and Sam Pollock. He listened carefully to the long discussions that took place in the family household.

By 1936, when the Workers party decided to send its members into the Socialist party in order to win over the growing left wing, Bob was a convinced Trotskyist. He entered the SP with the Workers party members, and left in 1937 when the Trotskyists, having recruited many SP militants, were expelled.

Founding SWP convention

Bob attended the founding convention of the Socialist Workers party, held in Chicago in 1938. After the convention, he became the organizer of the Brooklyn branch of the SWP. Later, he was organizer of the Manhattan branch.

In 1940, Bob met Anne Fisher, who had been a mill worker in Paterson, New Jersey. He and she became constant companions, were married in 1943, and worked together as a team until his death.

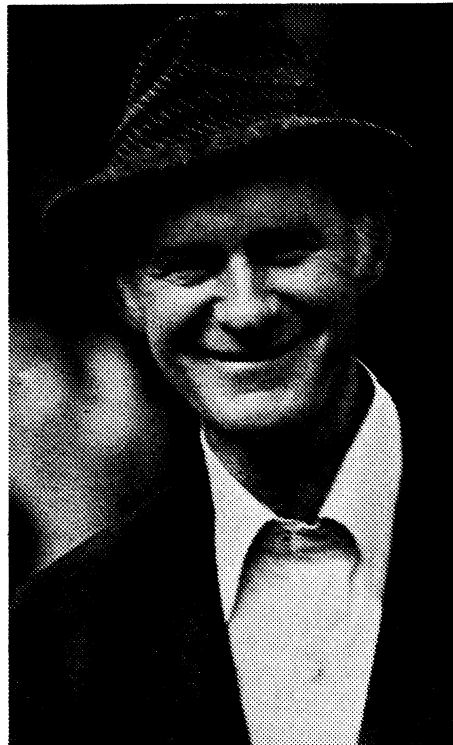
In 1944, after working as a merchant seaman and joining the Marine Firemen's union, Bob became organizer of the party branch in San Francisco. The San Francisco SWP was made up largely of seamen, and its finances went up and down depending on how many party members were in port. Under Bob's leadership the financial difficulties of the branch were solved by instituting long-range financial planning.

With the surge of labor militancy at the end of World War II, the San Francisco branch flourished. Three-quarters of the new recruits were industrial workers.

I remember one of my first conversations with Bob when he and Anne came to San Francisco. I was a longshore worker at the time, and when Bob asked me what I did in the branch, I said I was just a trade unionist. Bob replied, "In the SWP we have no one who is 'just a trade unionist.' We are socialist politicians—or should be—no matter where we operate."

Bob encouraged me to read, to study, and to give classes. He helped give self-confidence to others in the same way. He was, above all, a fine educator.

In the late 1940s, as the McCarthy period set in, Bob had to work as a house painter in addition to organizing the branch. He later became the Bay Area organizer, when a party branch was established in Oakland. He also ran for mayor of San Francisco during



Militant/Howard Petrick

Bob Chester on recent picket line protesting U.S. threats against Cambodia in wake of 'Mayagüez' incident.

this period.

Bob was elected to the SWP National Committee in 1950. In 1951 he went to study at the Trotsky School in New Jersey, an institution set up by the SWP to provide intensive education for younger party leaders.

Established printshop

One of Bob's most important contributions to the revolutionary movement was his role in helping to establish a printshop. During the 1940s and 1950s, the Trotskyist movement had to rely on outside printers to produce its literature. Bob was one of the first to see the need for a printshop that would publish the SWP's books and pamphlets, and to recognize that establishing such a shop was a realizable goal.

In 1955, when the SWP's resources were extremely low, Bob and Hayden Perry took the first small steps toward setting up a printshop in New York. All they had was a Davidson press, slightly larger than a mimeograph machine. "We operated on a rock-bottom budget," Bob later recalled. "Practically all the equipment was made by hand—the camera, the darkroom, the light tables, and so on."

Despite its limitations, the shop began putting out pamphlets on the Black struggle, and printed a pamphlet by Joseph Hansen called *The Socialist Workers Party: What It Is—What It Stands For*.

It printed campaign literature for the SWP's 1956 presidential election campaign. The party ran Farrell Dobbs for president and Myra Tanner Weiss for vice-president.

In the late 1950s, Perry moved to the West Coast and Bob became manager of the shop. The equipment was moved to the basement of the apartment of Bernie Goodman, a member of the New York SWP. "If you ever wanted to see an underground printshop, that was it," Bob once quipped.

But the shop continued to acquire more and improved machinery. In 1960, 200,000 brochures for the SWP election campaign were printed. Dobbs and Weiss were again the presidential candidates. The shop also began to produce literature for the newly formed Young Socialist Alliance, and, later, pamphlets in defense of the Cuban revolution.

'Labor's Giant Step'

"The work was all strictly volunteer," Bob once explained, "done after working hours and on weekends." He and Anne set an example in this regard, devoting three years of work to put out Art Preis's *Labor's Giant Step*, a history of the rise of the CIO. Anne did the typing and Bob did the paste-up. Both helped on editing.

In 1964, Howard Mayhew, who had a small press in Chicago, moved his equipment to New York. He and Bob established a new printshop to meet the expanding needs of the revolutionary movement.

Bob's interest in cameras and other technical equipment led him to introduce other innovations to the party as well. He initiated the use of cameras at political events of the SWP, taking many of the early photographs that today help preserve party history.

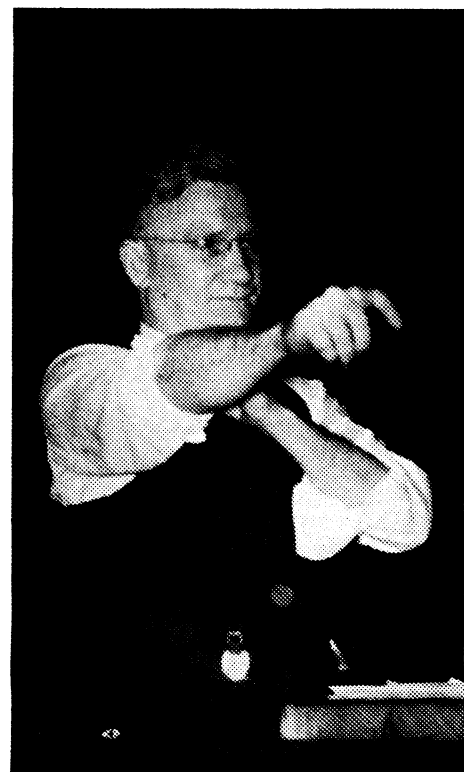
He also introduced the use of tape recorders to the party as a means of maintaining a record of speeches, classes, and debates. Bob had purchased a cheap tape recorder back when the tape itself was made out of paper, and he would bring it to party conventions, plenums of the national committee, and other events.

In 1967, Bob and Anne returned to San Francisco. Bob became active in the Painters union and in the party branch.

More and more, he played the role of educator for the many young people who were joining the YSA and SWP at that time. He had all the qualifications of a fine teacher: vast knowledge, skill in making complex ideas understandable, and above all, patience.

He also did independent research on the question of the workers states. At the time of his death, he was preparing an educational on "Stalinism and Internationalism."

Bob helped train many of the revolutionary cadres who were to take his place. He did his share, and more, to bring socialism to the United States and the world.



Militant/Bob Chester

Chester pioneered use of photography to record SWP history. He took above photo of James P. Cannon, the party's founding leader, in 1940.

party meeting. Algernon Lee, a prominent figure, was to speak on historical materialism.

At the time, recalled Morris, "Neither the subject nor the speaker made much of an impression on us. But we could not escape politics. The intersection of Second Avenue and Twelfth Street—near where we lived—was one of the places where all the various left groups soap-boxed. Bob and I used to make the rounds like everybody else."

Shortly thereafter, Morris joined the

'A worker-Bolshevik devoted to the movement'

The following message to the July 6 memorial meeting held in San Francisco for Bob Chester was sent by Jack Barnes on behalf of the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers party.

From his first days as a professional revolutionist, Bob Chester took a special interest in socialist education. He was so dedicated to this that he became recognized by younger members for his aptitude in the party leadership as a socialist educator.

But his revolutionary life encompassed much more than this. In forty years, Bob organized branches, took difficult assignments in expanding the party, organized and led all kinds of campaigns, helped found the party's printshop and put

it on a professional basis, and was an active member of several union fractions.

And he did much of this when the resources of the party and its members were extremely limited, and initiative, determination, and unstinting unpaid labor were crucial. It was, for instance, above all the conviction that Anne and Bob Chester had of its importance, plus their readiness to carry the project through personally, that made possible the production of Art Preis's important book, *Labor's Giant Step*.

Bob always thought for himself on the difficult political and organizational questions that the party had to grapple with, and he did not hesitate to voice his opinions. At the same time, he always maintained sharp interest in the opinions of others and an objective attitude toward himself.

And these qualities did not diminish as he grew older. In fact, gauging how best he could contribute to solving one of the big problems facing the party in the past decade, that of a transition in leadership, Bob acted in a model way. He kept up his educational activities and selected a special field in which he thought he could make a contribution. He thus became a source of strength to those who will continue his work.

Bob is an example of a worker-Bolshevik who devoted his life to the revolutionary movement and who was always ready to pull up stakes and go wherever the party needed him. And he knew that the work he and the party were doing would result in a new generation being won to the socialist goals he understood and strove for.

What role for Constituent Assembly?

How CP distorts lessons of Russian re

By Doug Jenness

When big revolutionary developments occur, it is natural to look back at previous revolutions to determine what is similar and what is different. Useful analogies can be drawn between past events and present-day social upheavals that help revolutionists see more clearly what should be done today.

But this is only helpful if the limits of historical analogies are recognized and only if the past is accurately reported.

Erik Bert, a columnist for the Communist party's *Daily World*, flunks on both counts. In his June 24 column entitled "Russia's constituent assembly vs. Portugal's Communists," Bert attempts to refute a letter to the editor of the *New York Times* by a Joseph Clark, who charges that the "military junta of Portugal seems bent on proving an axiom established by the Russian Communists more than 57 years ago."

This "axiom," according to Clark, is that communists sometimes support constituent assembly elections, but then turn around and repudiate them if they don't win a majority. The comparison he seems to be making is between the dissolution of the Russian Constituent Assembly on January 6, 1918, by the new Bolshevik-led workers government, and the Portuguese Communist party's (PCP) opposition to the recently elected Constituent Assembly in Portugal.

Clark is way off base, but it's not his letter that interests us. Rather, it's Bert's attempt to give a "socialist" rebuttal to him.

Bert argues that "Clark neglected to tell the Times' readers what this Constituent Assembly [Russia in 1918] was, who promoted it, what were its policies, what its intentions."

He then takes twenty paragraphs to describe the events between the February 1917 revolution and the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly in order to show who *really* supported the Constituent Assembly.

Bert argues that the demand for a constituent assembly was "an attempt to protect feudal landlordism" and was "the capitalist alternative to the Bolshevik slogan, 'All power to the Soviets!'"

But this is a one-sided and distorted view of what actually happened.

What happened in Russia?

From the February revolution through the October revolution, the Bolsheviks were the most *consistent* and *energetic* advocates of a constituent assembly.

A book of selected articles by Lenin, *Constituinte e Revolução Socialista (Constituent Assemblies and Socialist Revolution)*, recently published by Trotskyists in Portugal, includes an article written on July 26, 1917, entitled "Constitutional Illusions."

Lenin explains, "The bourgeoisie have all along been waging both in the open and under cover a continuous and relentless struggle against calling a Constituent Assembly. This struggle was prompted by a desire to delay its convocation until after the war. It expressed itself in the fact that several times they postponed the date of convocation. When, after June 18, or more than a month after the formation of the coalition Cabinet, the convocation date was at last set, a Moscow bourgeois paper declared this had been done under the pressure of Bolshevik propaganda."

It was the landlords and the capitalists who most strongly opposed holding elections and convening a constituent assembly. And the reformist parties—the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries—who participated in several coalition governments with the capitalist parties during 1917, acquiesced in continually postponing elections.

"The Constituent Assembly in Russia today," Lenin wrote in July, "will yield a majority to peasants who are more to the left than the Socialist-Revolutionaries. The bourgeoisie know this and therefore are bound to put up a tremendous resistance to an early convocation. With a Constituent Assembly convened, it will be impossible, or exceedingly difficult, to carry on the imperialist war in the spirit of the secret treaties concluded by Nicholas II, or to defend the landed estates or the payment of compensation for them."

The Bolsheviks explained that the only way to assure the convocation of the constituent assembly was by "increasing the number and *strength* of the soviets and *arming* the working class."

The soviets were workers councils, peasant councils, and soldiers councils that sprang up during the February revolution.

Workers in a given factory or soldiers in a particular military unit would hold mass meetings, elect representatives, and send them to meetings where the representatives of similar soviets from other factories, villages, or army units would gather. These meetings would in turn elect representatives to broader assemblies, which organized themselves on a countrywide basis.

The soviets, in addition to being representative bodies, involved the masses of workers, peasants, and soldiers in weekly, and sometimes daily, meetings. Representatives could be recalled and new ones elected at any time. Political issues could be debated and positions adopted not merely by individual representatives, but by the masses themselves. And their decisions could then be enforced.

After Lenin arrived in Russia from exile in April 1917, the Bolshevik party declared that these soviets provided the basis for an alternative government to the capitalist Provisional

Government—a government of workers and peasants.

However, until September the Bolsheviks held a minority of the delegates to the soviets. The Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, who held a majority in the soviets, subordinated them to the Provisional Government. They tried to transform the soviets from independent organizations of class struggle into instruments for disciplining the masses.

During 1917 the Bolsheviks urged the Mensheviks and S-Rs to break from their coalition with the capitalist parties and form a workers and farmers government based on the soviets.

The class collaborationists refused to do this. In August an attempted military coup by General Kornilov, commander in chief of the army, was defeated by a mass mobilization led and organized by the Bolsheviks. The reformists were discredited, and the Bolsheviks won a majority in the soviets. They then did what the reformists refused to do—led the soviets to power on October 26.

The capitalists, landlords, Mensheviks, and right-wing S-Rs—all those who had previously opposed or shilly-shallied on convoking the constituent assembly—now became its most enthusiastic advocates, counterposing it to the new government of workers and peasants.

What attitude did the soviet government take to the demand for a constituent assembly? First of all it permitted elections, which had previously been scheduled to take place in early November.

Then, it allowed the Constituent Assembly to convene, on January 5, 1918.

Constituent Assembly dissolved

But when the Constituent Assembly refused to adopt a motion by the All-Russia Central Executive Committee in support of the soviet government, the Constituent Assembly was dissolved.

The upsurge that had brought the soviets to power, and the policies of the new government, convinced millions—who had previously believed that a constituent assembly was necessary and would be the principal form for a democratic government—that the soviet government was more democratic.

The Bolsheviks did not have one ounce of fetishism about parliamentary forms. They advocated the formation of the Constituent Assembly when it advanced the struggle for the democratic rights of the masses, and they dissolved it when it was clearly shown to be in opposition to the democratic will of the majority, expressed in the soviets.

These are the facts about the Bolshevik policy toward the Constituent Assembly.

But why does Erik Bert bother to discuss the Constituent Assembly at this time? Why does he want to create the false impression that the Bolsheviks always opposed this slogan?

He doesn't say. But the facts about the Portuguese Communist party's attitude to the Constituent Assembly elected in Portugal on April 25 of this year throw some light on the matter.

The PCP vigorously supports the Movimento das Forças Armadas (MFA—Armed Forces Movement), which is now governing Portugal. It hailed the government's undemocratic repression of *República*, the principal voice of the Portuguese Socialist party (PSP), and it supports the government's attacks on the Constituent Assembly. The capitalist government, supported by the PCP and its sister party in the United States, issued a document June 21 ordering the Constituent Assembly, the only body elected by the masses, to limit itself to making a constitution. According to Henry Giniger in a dispatch to the *New York Times*, the document forbade "any other kind of official interference in national political or administrative life." The elected parliament is restricted simply to a technical and formal role.

The PCP and its cheerleaders such as Erik Bert oppose the only popularly elected governing body in Portugal—one where the mass workers parties hold between 50 and 60 percent of the seats.

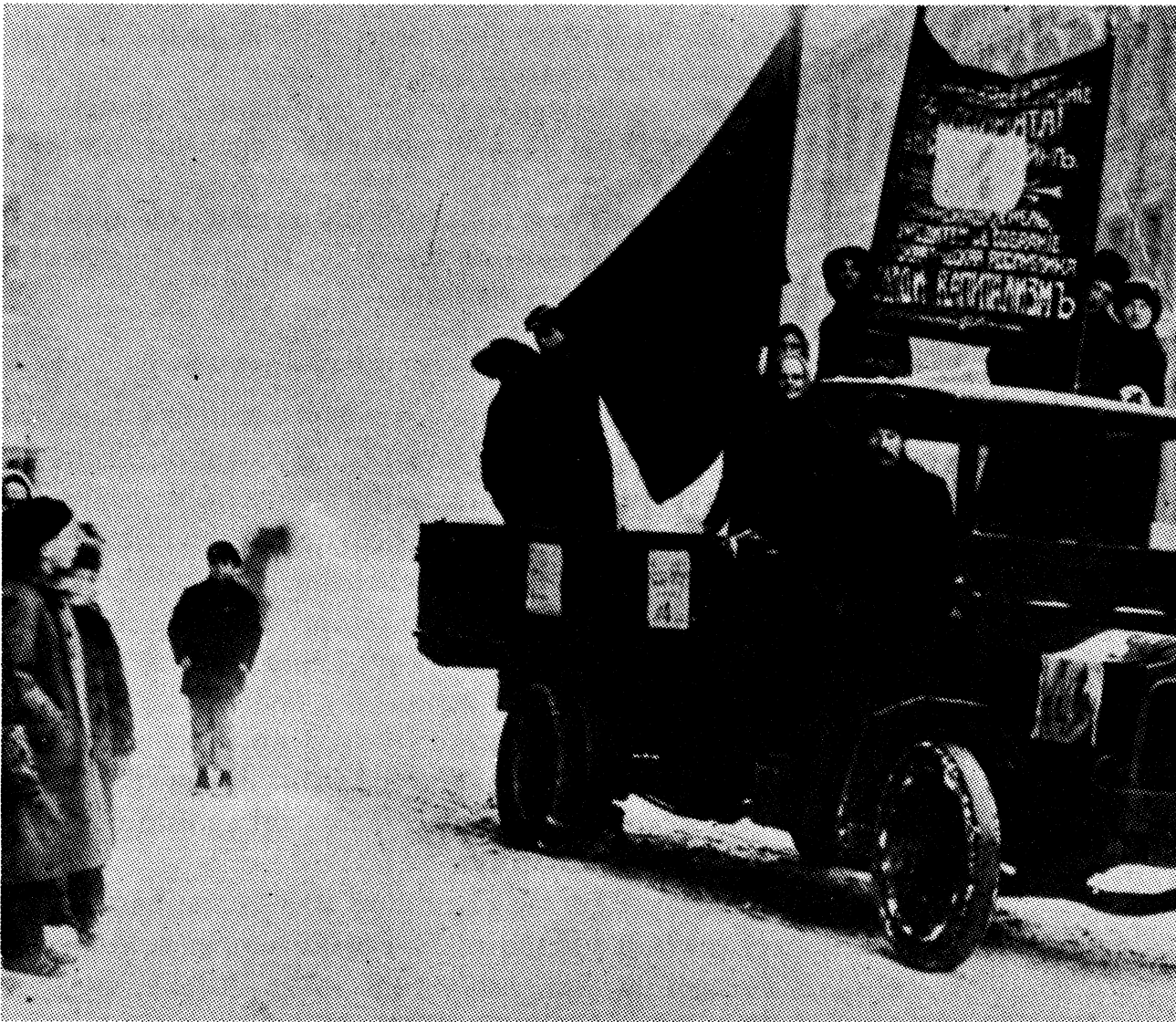
Is MFA a soviet?

Does Bert believe that some sort of parallel exists between the situation in Russia on January 6, 1918, and Portugal in 1975 that would justify dissolving



Meeting of soldiers' delegates sent from war front to Petrograd shortly after overthrow of tsar in 1917

Revolution to support Portuguese junta



Bolsheviks in Moscow urging support to their party during Constituent Assembly elections in October 1917

the Constituent Assembly? If so, the implication is that the military junta governing Portugal today is comparable to the government of soviets led by the Bolsheviks.

This is exactly how the CP portrays the MFA. A report in the April 11 *Daily World* on a meeting of the MFA stated that "in certain respects [the MFA assembly] reminded observers of the soldiers' and sailors' councils which played such a great role in the 1905 and 1917 revolutions in Russia."

There you have it. Why support the Constituent Assembly when the MFA is like real live soviets?

The facts, however, tell a totally different story. The MFA is the political arm of the military hierarchy and the instrument on which the imperialist ruling class relies. It is a body of military officers with only token representation of rank-and-file soldiers. For example, its general assembly includes 160 officers, 40 sergeants, and 40 privates, distributed from among the different military branches. It is *not* a mass organization of workers, peasants, and soldiers.

Imperialist government

Since the April 1974 overturn that ousted the Salazarist dictatorship, the MFA has been the real government of Portugal and its empire. It has presided over and maintained a capitalist, imperialist system, consistently taking the side of the capitalists against the workers in economic conflicts. For example, when nearly 4,000 metalworkers met in Lisbon on May 15, the Continental Operational Command (Copcon), the special military security force, was there and clubbed a group of metalworkers who opposed accepting a forty-five-hour workweek.

At every stage, the MFA has strived to maintain as much control over the colonies as possible without endangering the conversion to neocolonialist methods of domination. It still has 24,000 troops stationed in Angola.

The government has made only such concessions to the mass movement as were inescapable if popular support was to be retained.

But the MFA is demagogically attempting to create the impression that it is establishing genuine grassroots democracy. In the June 21 proclamation referred to earlier it calls for "the formation of popular organizations that would be directly linked with the armed forces and would constitute a beginning of direct democracy."

The PCP is also organizing committees. According to a report from Lisbon in the July 1 *Daily World*, "The PCP is making an effort to unify the people through various non-partisan organizational forms. This includes committees 'to defend the revolution' and 'for vigilance, for security.'"

The editor of *Avante!*, the PCP newspaper, told the reporter, "We think the future of our country will not be decided in the Constituent Assembly but by the people."

'Direct democracy'?

But what kind of "direct democracy" by the "people" can this possibly be if the MFA and CP committees are set up from the beginning to support the government and its reactionary antilabor, neocolonialist policies?

In reality they are instruments to help provide demagogic cover for the CP and MFA to police the working class and discipline it by helping to suppress criticism of the government. They are agencies for helping to promote sacrifices on the part of the working class in the interest of the government's "Battle for Production"—that is, capitalist production.

It's no accident that when the government suppressed *República*, it was Gen. Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho, commander of the military security force, who spoke most strongly in favor of replacing the parties with "direct democracy."

The PCP counterposes a campaign to establish these institutions of class collaboration to struggling for the sovereignty of the Constituent Assembly.

Erik Bert's attempt to twist history to imply that imperialist Portugal today is parallel to Soviet Russia in 1918 is totally false. The workers government in Russia immediately repudiated the secret military pacts made between the previous government and its capitalist "allies," recognized the right to self-determination of all nations and nationalities oppressed by the tsarist regime, and recognized the right of the peasants to take over the land.

The MFA government, on the other hand, maintains its membership in NATO, attempts to impose a neocolonialist solution on its former colonies rather than totally pull out, breaks strikes of workers, and refuses to take over the big rural estates and distribute the land to the poor farmers.

In this context, the Constituent Assembly in Portugal, far from being an obsolete and isolated instrument of capitalist reaction against a workers government, is in fact the only body that masses of workers and farmers helped elect, and in which the parties they look to—the CP and the SP—hold a solid majority.

The Portuguese ruling class fears to permit the Constituent Assembly anything but twelfth-rate responsibilities because they know that it will become a place where the demands and pressures of the masses will be heard—albeit distorted through the reformist parties.

They resist giving this parliamentary body any authority for the same reason the capitalists and landlords in Russia opposed convoking the Constituent Assembly. They fear that it will restrict their prerogatives and will advance the revolutionary expectations of the masses.

Like the Russian Mensheviks and S-Rs, the PCP and PSP have failed to mount a struggle to establish the sovereignty of the Constituent Assembly. To do so requires a *revolutionary* policy in the tradition of the Bolsheviks.

Instead of covering up for the criminal policies of the PCP by using the good name of the Bolsheviks, Bert should suggest to his comrades that they call upon the CP and SP to break their pact with the MFA and establish a government of working people and farmers. They could do this by exercising their majority in the Constituent Assembly and appealing to the masses and the rank and file of the armed forces to mobilize in support of it.

Unfortunately, there are no soviets or workers councils in Portugal today, although factory committees and other beginning stages of independent organization by the working class have appeared.

But if the CP and SP were to repudiate their support to the military government and form a CP-SP government, it would give tremendous impetus to the creation and extension of independent organizations of the workers, farmers, and soldiers. Rather than organizing committees to rally support to the capitalist MFA government as the Stalinists are doing, factory committees and neighborhood committees could be rallied behind the struggle for a workers and farmers government and in defense of the democratic right of popular sovereignty.

If there is any parallel in the situation in Portugal today and Russia in 1917 it is that the PCP and the PSP are playing the same treacherous role as the Mensheviks and S-Rs did in bolstering the Provisional Government, its imperialist war policies, and its fierce resistance to the democratic struggle for a constituent assembly.



In Portugal today Stalinists oppose Constituent Assembly because they know that any democratic assembly reflecting interests of masses would soon come into conflict with MFA.

Behind FBI invasion of Pine Ridge

Two years of terror for S.D. Indians

By José Pérez

PINE RIDGE, S.D.—Terror reigns among the 10,000 Indian residents of this reservation. The FBI military occupation of their territory entered its second week here July 4.

The pretext for the stationing of a virtual army of government agents on the reservation is the June 26 shooting death of two FBI men on the reservation.

At first, government mouthpieces put out lying reports that the agents had been "ambushed" from "sophisticated bunkers" as they approached a small cluster of houses to serve arrest warrants. The agents were supposedly dragged from their cars and, in an "execution," hit "fifteen to twenty" times with bullets. A band of more than thirty Indians (later mysteriously changed to sixteen) "escaped" through open fields after a ten-hour gun battle and after a reported 300 police reinforcements had surrounded the site.

This concoction fell apart quickly. Officials were forced to admit there was no "ambush"; there were no "bunkers"; there were no "executions"; the agents were not "riddled with bullets"; they were nowhere near the houses; the FBI does not know who its "sixteen suspects" are; and officials are not sure when, where, or how they "escaped."

Nevertheless more than 200 G-men were immediately rushed to the reservation with armored personnel carriers, jeeps, helicopters, airplanes, automatic rifles, and ammunition.

This army swept through every nook and cranny of the reservation for a week. Finally, newspaper stories ruefully admitted it had been a "fruitless sweep" that had failed to turn up "any trace of the suspects." Despite this, the FBI force remains on the scene, purportedly engaged in "gathering information to identify the suspects."

Airborne assault

What this phrase means is explained by an article in the July 5 Rapid City *Journal*. Sylvester Black Crow is quoted as reporting that twenty-four agents with two helicopters conducted an "assault landing" on the home camp and Sun Dance grounds that he maintains.

Black Crow said the armed agents "surrounded and searched at gunpoint" the grounds, without a warrant, on the pretext that they were looking



BICENTENNIAL

for three "fugitives." The FBI found no one it was claiming to look for.

Contacted by the *Journal*, the FBI confirmed Black Crow's story. This incident can be considered unique only in the sense that the victim was courageous enough to call reporters and tell them about it.

Reign of terror

Such people are not numerous on the reservation. The 1973 American Indian Movement-backed occupation of Wounded Knee has been followed by a two-year campaign of hundreds of frame-ups of activists and a bloody reign of terror unleashed by tribal president and government puppet Richard Wilson.

Wilson admits he has what even he calls "a goon squad" of his followers "who do whatever is necessary to keep the peace and discourage outsiders like AIM leaders from coming here."

For example, a defendant in a frame-up case arising from Wounded Knee and about a half-dozen legal workers, including lawyers, were assaulted and badly beaten on the reservation February 26.

They had come in a small plane to inspect the site of the 1973 events. After driving around in a car, they returned to the aircraft to find it had a bullet hole in it. Afraid to use the plane, they were unloading it when a fifteen-car caravan led by Wilson arrived.

'Stomp 'em'

"I want you to stomp 'em," Wilson told his goons. They did. Eventually the attackers let up, telling the legal workers, "Get the hell out of here—if you come back, we'll kill you."

Wilson and his thugs were brought up on misdemeanor charges in tribal court, fined ten dollars with eight dollars' court costs, and released.

Murder threats from the goons are not to be taken lightly. Under Wilson's regime, life has become cheap on the reservation.

For example, three members of the family of Gladys Bissonette have met violent, politically related deaths since Wounded Knee.

Pedro Bissonette, one of the leaders of that occupation, was killed by a BIA

agent in October 1973.

Jeannette Bissonette was killed by a sniper across the street from Wilson's country home after her car had had a flat tire.

When Gladys Bissonette returned from Jeannette's funeral, she found her eleven-year-old grandson, Richard Eagle, dead from a gunshot wound. Officially it was recorded as "accidental homicide."

The latter two deaths were part of a string of interrelated political killings that, in the space of a few weeks, left an additional half-dozen people dead.

Murder a week

The early summer edition of *Akwesasne Notes* devotes four and a half pages to one of a series of articles detailing this violence. The *Notes* reports the violence has been increasing: In 1974, twenty-three were murdered; during 1975, it's been "a murder a week."

Things reached such a state this spring that the BIA superintendent of the reservation—who could never be accused of AIM sympathies—denounced Wilson's military dictatorship. Shortly after this statement, the superintendent was ordered transferred.

A federal grand jury was convened, the FBI beefed up its investigative force, and the Department of the Interior said it was taking special measures to "alleviate the situation."

The grand jury began to persecute AIM supporters, and the FBI stepped up its harassment of the activists. The government claims it is caught in the middle in a private war between followers of AIM and of Wilson. This is false. Wilson rules in Pine Ridge because the BIA lets him.

Rigged election

The U.S. Civil Rights Commission in January 1975 issued a twenty-eight-page report on "widespread irregularities" in the February 1974 election in which Wilson narrowly defeated AIM leader Russell Means, concluding that the election was "invalid." Wilson's response was that the commission was "just a bunch of hoodlums" who had no power to order new elections. The

government agencies with the power to do so have refused to investigate the charges that the elections were rigged.

With unemployment estimated at 70 percent on the reservation and the majority of the population living in abject poverty, the base of Wilson's dictatorship is a thin layer of several hundred U.S. government employees, who live like royalty by reservation standards.

Wilson's power comes only from the outside and from the minority of Indians whose relief from poverty stems from supporting his regime.

I was repeatedly told stories of alleged abuses by Wilson and his goons. But, people would frequently add that they were afraid to have their names used.

The *Militant* is known and well respected by many on the reservation as a paper that supports their struggle. But still, only a few were willing to be identified.

I tried to interview one person who has been a prominent activist for many years. This person would only agree to meet if no names were used and if the meeting was arranged for some anonymous spot.

At the Mount Rushmore July 4 AIM rally, *Militant* reporter Holly Harkness interviewed about a half-dozen participants, most of them from this reservation. Even there, not a single one would give their name.

No photographs

Both at Pine Ridge and at the rally, numerous individuals asked this reporter not to take their pictures. Others would turn their face or move away while a shot was being lined up.

Many young residents of the reservation have fled, knowing that they could be gunned down by the FBI at any time as one of the sixteen unidentified suspects in the deaths of the agents.

One woman legal worker reports that after attending the funeral of Joe Stuntz, the Indian killed by government agents in the June 26 shoot-out, the people at the house where she was staying asked her to move out—not because they were sympathetic to Wilson, but because they were afraid.

Gladys Bissonette is one of those still not silenced by the wave of terror. "This is my weapon," she says, pointing to her mouth and then to her telephone. Her house is under constant surveillance by the government and armed FBI agents came to her door not once, but four times in the seven days following the shootings.

Her grandson, Jimmy Eagle, was the focus of an FBI manhunt that led to the deaths of the two agents. Bissonette is convinced the government is determined to see Jimmy dead, just as three others of her family have died before.

"I'm not afraid to walk up to any court with my grandson," she said, "if there was any justice in this country. But they want to kill both of us, and more."

Despite numerous news media stories that the government is phasing out its occupation and that negotiations for the surrender of the "sixteen suspects" may be in the offing, there were no reservation residents the *Militant* interviewed who gave an ounce of credence to such stories.

On the contrary, the view is that the government is now determined to terrorize any opposition to Wilson's dictatorship out of existence. If present government efforts are unsuccessful in doing this, the Indians believe, the FBI will provoke another "incident" and get more of its agents killed, as a pretext for staging a massacre at Pine Ridge.



Government agent watches over body of Joe Stuntz, gunned down by FBI June 26.

AIM rallies at Mt. Rushmore July 4 to honor fallen Indians

By José Pérez

KEYSTONE, S.D.—Some 300 members and supporters of the American Indian Movement marched four miles July 4 from here to Mount Rushmore and then held a two-hour rally.

The demonstration was called by AIM to "honor our chiefs and our warriors who gave their lives so we can carry on," according to Clyde Bellecourt, national director of AIM, who spoke at the rally.

One of those being commemorated was Joe Stuntz, who was gunned down by government agents in a June 26 shoot-out on the Pine Ridge reservation near here.

The march stepped off from the tourist town of Keystone shortly after noon and followed the winding, climbing path of the highway that leads to Mount Rushmore, the so-called shrine of democracy where gigantic reproductions of the faces of four presidents have been carved into the mountain-side.

The rally began with several traditional Indian prayers. After these, Bellecourt spoke. He explained that the rally was part of AIM's "See South Dakota Last" boycott of tourism in this state.

Bellecourt was followed by the state AIM chairperson, Ted Means. Pointing to the gigantic white stone faces, Means said, "Those are not our founding fathers!" to loud shouts of approval from the mostly Indian crowd.

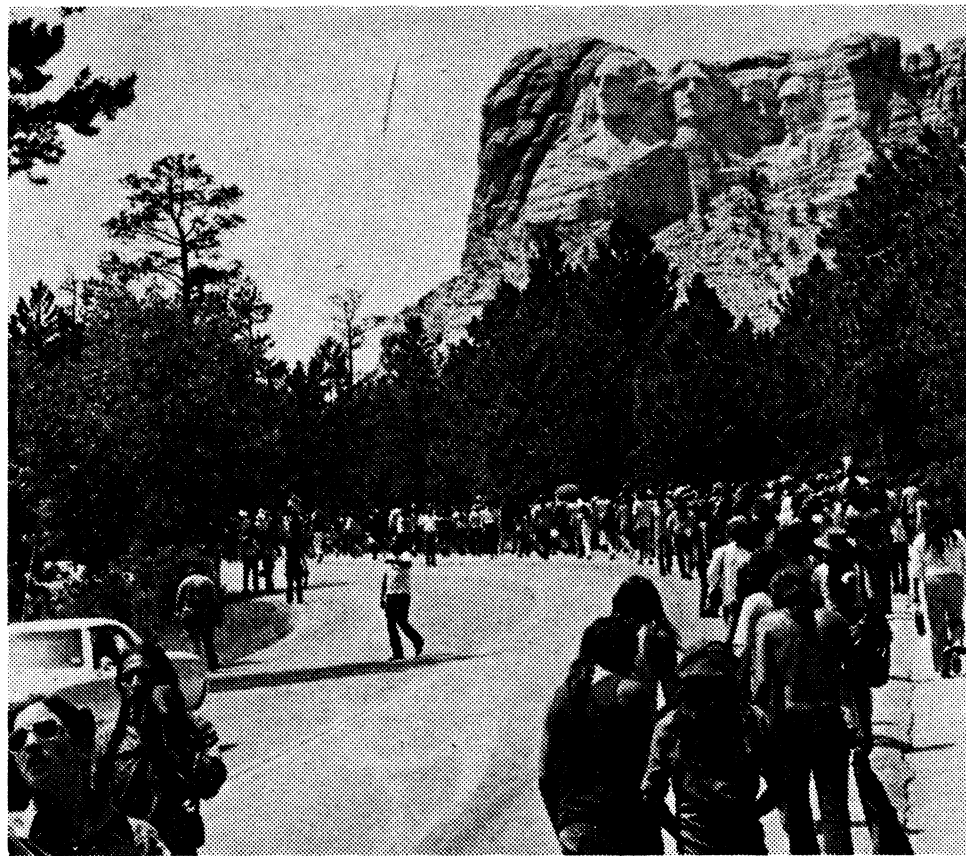
He reminded participants that each of the four presidents—Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, and Theodore Roosevelt—had played a large role in developing and perpetuating the U.S. government's genocidal policies against Indians.

"Those four faces," he said, "are an example of the hypocrisy that exists in this country today."

The next speaker was Dennis Banks, who is currently facing trumped-up charges of rioting, robbery, and arson in nearby Custer, South Dakota. Banks told the demonstration, "we've made a commitment—the next 200 years will not be like the last ones."

After Banks, Agnes Lamont spoke. Lamont, an elderly resident of the Pine Ridge reservation, talked about her son, Buddy, who was killed during the 1973 AIM-backed occupation of Wounded Knee.

Lamont spoke again later, about the June 26 shooting on the reservation. She charged that it was "not an



Marchers approach Mt. Rushmore. 'Shrine of democracy' is located in territory stolen from Indians.

'incident'—they planned it weeks before."

Lamont had relatives living at the Jumping Bull compound, where the shooting took place, and she visited the site after the government was through with it: "Everything was on the floor. The roof torn up, bullet holes everywhere."

Lamont explained the latest "incident" is the most recent of a long series, referring to the 1890 massacre of Sioux on the Pine Ridge reservation: "My great grandmother and grandfather are lying in that grave in Wounded Knee. And today, it's the same."

She concluded, "Snakes are the lowest animals, but the FBI is lower than that."

Floyd Westerman, a singer, performed several songs, among them "Custer Died For Your Sins" and "BIA, I'm Not Your Indian Anymore."

During one short intermission, Westerman said you could tell this was a dying system because authorities are terrified of even a peaceful memorial service like the one being held.

There were at least two dozen armed national park service cops in or around

the parking lot where the rally was being held. A helicopter and a light plane circled overhead. News reports after the rally indicate that additional government forces were standing by out of sight.

The Black Hills, where Mount Rushmore is located, were stolen from the Indians despite U.S.-Indian treaties guaranteeing the area to them.

This is a beautiful, wooded area, with thousands of streams and pine trees covering mile after mile of terrain. Quite a contrast to the hot, dusty, semi-arid Pine Ridge reservation. White settlers originally stole the land, however, not for its beauty but because the hills contain large deposits of gold.

Today, the beauty of the hills is jarringly interrupted every few miles by one after another tourist trap dedicated to glorifying the U.S. wars of extermination against Indians.

As the rally was breaking up, a preschool, blond-haired, blue-eyed child asked a woman next to him with fear in his voice, "Mommy, I thought all the Indians were dead."

The woman answered, "Don't worry. There's only a few left, and the government is taking care of them."

Judge gags press in Banks trial

The state judge presiding over the trial of American Indian Movement leader Dennis Banks in Custer, South Dakota, has issued a gag order that "appears to be in violation of several appellate court decisions," according to a front-page article in the July 6 *Minneapolis Tribune*.

Banks and the defense lawyers were unable, under the gag rule, to discuss the case with the *Militant*.

The order prohibits lawyers, defendants, and witnesses from talking to reporters about the trial. In addition, it prohibits news media from reporting anything except what occurs in open court, "adduced only in evidence and in argument."

Tribune staff writer Dennis Cassano explains, if a written motion were filed by the defense asking that the trial be postponed because of the hysteria that has been whipped up in the area against AIM by government lies about the shooting death of two FBI agents June 26, this could not be reported.

This is an interesting hypothetical

case. A Rapid City newspaper has reported that "as a result of a defense motion" that the judge "declined to make public," news broadcast tapes and information from five area television and radio stations have been subpoenaed.

News media in this area have regularly carried an "Indian militants" section in their broadcasts, lumping together such varied items as Banks's trial, bombings of Bureau of Indian Affairs offices in California, the June 26 Pine Ridge shoot-out, the FBI military occupation of that reservation, and an explosion at Mount Rushmore—allegedly a bombing, for which no one has taken responsibility.

The judge's order warns reporters not to "speculate." Therefore, this writer feels compelled to add that the following comments are in no way "speculation":

The judge's order tramples on the constitutional guarantees of freedom of the press in order to facilitate conviction of Dennis Banks on trumped-up

charges and railroad him into prison.

The charges against Banks are a travesty of justice. They stem from a February 1973 demonstration in Custer during which cops brutally attacked Indians who were protesting the government's failure to even speak with several eyewitnesses to the murder of an Indian by a white man.

Twenty participants in the AIM-backed demonstrations have been subsequently framed up on charges such as "rioting," "arson," and "being present at a riot where arson occurs."

The first cases came up a year ago. Three people—including the mother of the Indian who had been murdered—were found guilty in a trial marked by a brutal state police riot against unarmed defendants and spectators inside the courtroom.

It is interesting to note that the judge's order would prohibit the reporting of a similar police riot inside his courtroom—government savagery is not on the judge's list of approved topics to be reported.

—J.P.

Boston SWP files mayoral petitions

By Maurice Baker

BOSTON—On July 2, the Socialist Workers party here filed nominating petitions containing 22,000 signatures to place its candidates on the ballot for the city's September "nonpartisan" primary election. This is more than twice the number of signatures required.

The socialist candidates are Norman Oliver for mayor; Reba Williams and Jon Hillson for city council; and Deborah Clifford and Ollie Bivins for school committee.

Supporters of the candidates put in 1,800 hours of work to achieve the petitioning success.

In the Black community of Roxbury, one petitioner was approached by a young Black woman who asked what party the candidates belonged to. When the petitioner told her that they were the candidates of the SWP the woman exclaimed, "That's my party!"

Petitioners found that many people knew about Oliver's campaign for mayor and were favorable to it. A recent poll by the *Boston Globe* found that 11 percent of the voters in the Black community supported Oliver. Oliver is the only mayoral candidate who supports busing to desegregate the schools.

In sections of the city where the racist antibusing movement has a lot of support, petitioners for the SWP candidates were harassed on several occasions, and opponents of school desegregation tried to discourage people from signing their petitions.

While some people were influenced by this tactic, in other cases it backfired. People who favored desegregation were directed to the SWP petitioners, and some who oppose busing agreed to sign anyway on the basis that the SWP has a right to be on the ballot.

Now that the various candidates have gathered the signatures they need to get on the ballot, it is expected that the municipal race will begin to heat up. Two Democratic party contenders have dropped out of the mayoral race—Thomas Eisenstadt and Raymond Flynn. Both oppose school desegregation.

Eisenstadt withdrew after a scandal over his management, as sheriff, of the Suffolk County Jail. Flynn decided to run for city council instead of mayor when it became clear that incumbent Mayor Kevin White had the backing of the major antibusing organization, ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights).

The Socialist Workers campaign committee is planning a rally for its candidates on July 26. Featured speakers will be Oliver and SWP vice-presidential candidate Willie Mae Reid.

If the good reception the socialist candidates and their supporters received while petitioning is any indication, Boston's socialist alternative in this election should get a wide hearing.



Norman Oliver, socialist nominee for Boston mayor.

Investigation a fraud

L.A. cops distort facts on terror bombings

By Walter Lippmann

LOS ANGELES—The Los Angeles Police Department, attempting to divert attention from its failure to take effective action against those responsible for terrorist attacks against the Socialist Workers party, is trying to smear the victims and suggest that they have refused to cooperate with police investigators.

This effort was best seen in a May 20 memorandum to Mayor Tom Bradley by Police Chief Edward Davis and R.E. Ruddell, Commanding Officer, Investigative Services Group.

The memorandum was presented at a June 6 meeting between the mayor and representatives of groups concerned with police inaction in stopping a recent wave of right-wing bombings here. The delegation of some thirty people included representatives of the Political Rights Defense Fund, the American Civil Liberties Union, and others.

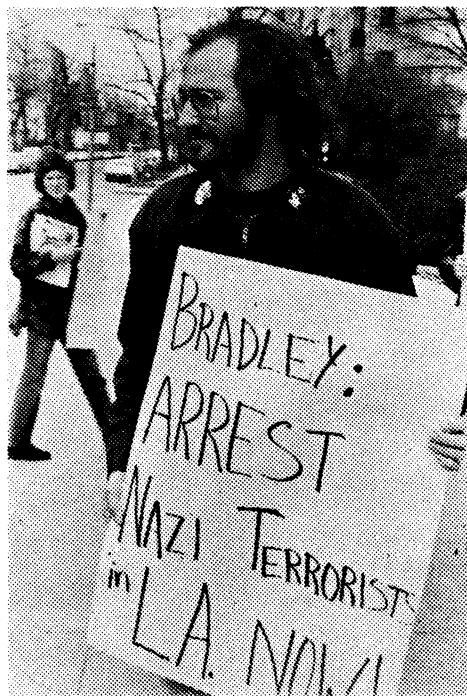
Earlier, the mayor's office had said a full report on what was called an "extensive" police investigation would be made available at the meeting.

Instead, the delegation was offered a one-and-a-half-page memorandum crammed with distortions and misrepresentations.

The police memo states that Joseph Tommasi, local Nazi leader, denied taking credit for the attacks on the SWP and told the cops that a March 21 *Los Angeles Free Press* interview in which he did take credit was only "partially true."

The memo further asserts that Lew Jones, the eyewitness to one of the attacks, was "unavailable for interview from March 25 through May 5."

The memo further states that Jones had refused to be hypnotized by the LAPD even though his attorney, Mark Rosenbaum of the ACLU, had advised



Militant/Eric Simpson

Pickets demand police arrest terrorist bombers.

Jones to do so.

The memo also asserts that *Free Press* reporter Jeanne Cordova had refused to discuss the Tommasi interview with the police.

On June 19, Mark Rosenbaum wrote to Mayor Bradley in response to the police memorandum:

"Since the representations [in the memorandum] formed the basis for inaccurate public statements by you regarding police investigation of the SWP bombing of February 4, 1975, I feel it is essential that you know what I actually said so that the public record may be justly corrected.

"Contrary to Commander Ruddell, at no time did I urge my client, Lewis Jones, to submit to hypnosis. Mr. Jones has always been completely

cooperative with the police. He has met with them and me on several occasions, and, if the meetings have been largely unsuccessful, it is only because the police investigation has so far failed to furnish the sorts of identifying materials necessary for a positive identification. The fact that Mr. Jones refuses to be hypnotized . . . really should not make him the scapegoat for police ineffectiveness.

"I am quite distressed over the way police have here treated those willing assist them with their work. It certainly appears that the police are placing public relations as a higher priority than forthright investigation."

Speaking at the June 20 rally against right-wing terrorism, Jeanne Cordova also assailed the police report.

She told the rally that the police did not even approach her until two weeks after the interview appeared. She said they told her at the time that they had not yet spoken to Tommasi.

She said that on the advice of the paper's lawyer she had declined to sign an affidavit testifying to the accuracy of the interview.

She denied, however, that, as the police report asserts, she had refused to comment on the interview. She said she had told the police that every word of it was true.

On behalf of the Political Rights Defense Fund, Steve Schmuget wrote to Bradley responding to additional points in the police memorandum.

"Since the [Tommasi interview] contains explicit admissions of illegal activity," Schmuget wrote, "we urge you to . . . inform us whether or not Tommasi confessed to any of the criminal acts he boasted about in the *Free Press*."

Responding to the police effort to give the impression that eyewitness Lew Jones was uncooperative, Schmu-

get pointed out that the memo omitted the nearly one dozen meetings Jones had with the police, including one less than two weeks before the memo was written.

Davis's memo also refers to Jones's "hazy memory." The PRDF reply explained that Jones spent several hours the night of the bombing giving a police artist a full, detailed description of the bomber.

The LAPD also claimed that "numerous arrests have been made" in connection with the bombings.

The memo cites only one, that of an alleged member of the Jewish Defense League charged with bombing the office of Iraqi Airways. This is the only arrest reported during a five-month wave of bombing.



'Extensive' investigation promised by Mayor Bradley turned out to be page-and-a-half memo full of distortions and lies.

Socialist campaign has reasons to be optimistic

By Nancy Cole

A few weeks ago, a rather elite corps of politicians, journalists, and pollsters met at Harvard University to assess the state of the Democratic and Republican parties. *Washington Post* columnist David Broden described the resulting forecast for 1976 as "pretty gloomy."

Broden summarized: nobody believes what politicians say anymore, nobody votes, and what's more, there's a specter of "third forces" that might— heaven forbid—be on the ballot in 1976.

Adding their voices to the chorus of dismay, the pollsters told the gathering that the percentage of adults who

say that "over the past 10 years this country's leaders have consistently lied to the American people" reached 69 percent this spring, up from 38 percent in 1972.

"That makes it a little tough to be optimistic about 1976," Broden concluded.

Well, that may be so for the Democrats and Republicans, but for the socialist "third forces," things have never looked better.

After a season of campaigning, the supporters of Socialist Workers party candidates Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid are finding it easy to be optimistic. Since announcing the slate in December—Camejo for president

and Reid for vice-president—the candidates and national chairpersons Ed Heisler and Linda Jenness have toured twenty-three states.

And they've received a heartening response, according to the staff in the SWP national campaign office. One thing bolstering their optimism is the success of the initial drive to circulate the campaign platform, "A Bill of Rights for Working People."

Since January, campaign supporters from coast to coast have distributed 302,000 copies of the sixteen-page pamphlet. Of this total, 27,000 were the Spanish edition.

And, as long as 1972 statistics are in order, that compares with a total of 350,000 platforms distributed during the entire SWP 1972 presidential campaign.

In some cases the distribution campaign was self-perpetuating. Individuals were handed a platform, and after reading it, they wrote to the national campaign office for a bundle to pass out themselves. A sampling of June requests from newly won backers of the Camejo-Reid campaign includes an order for 30 from Santa Maria, California; 100 from Parlin, New Jersey; and 1,000 from Norfolk, Virginia.

The fifteen Young Socialist teams, which visited 211 campuses this spring, were responsible for getting out 56,000 platforms. They found that college students—"in training to be the world's best-educated unemployed" as Camejo puts it—were extremely interested in the SWP's proposals for "protection from high prices, unemployment, wars, racism, and oppression of women."

"People who took the platform would read it cover-to-cover and then often

ask specific questions about one or another aspect of the program," the Northern California team reported. "Numerous people after a short rap and having glanced through it would take a stack for their classes or friends."

Having depleted the first run of the Bill of Rights for Working People, the national campaign recently printed a new, updated version.

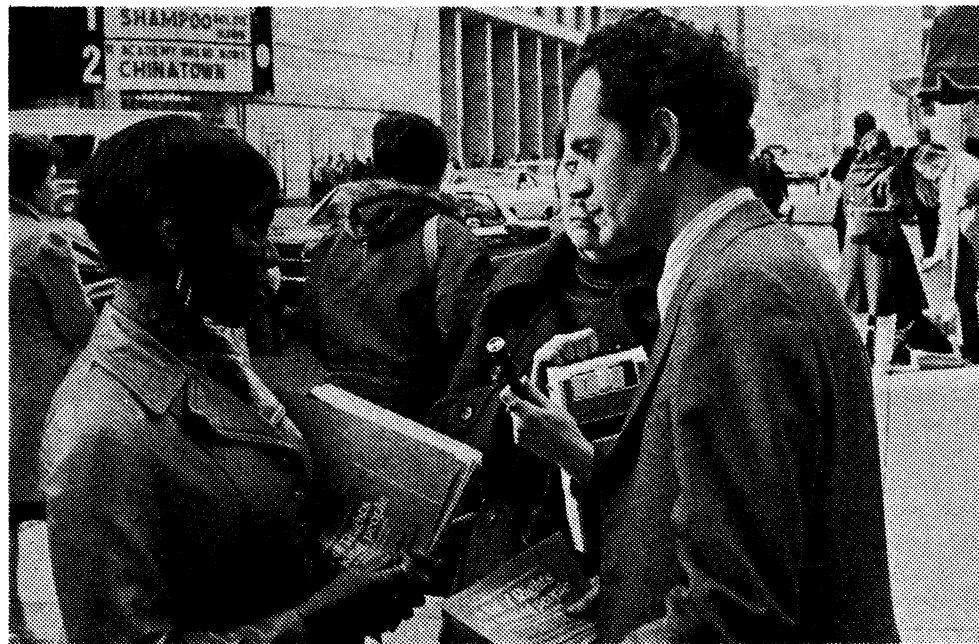
Another indication that the socialist alternative is reaching more and more people is the news coverage Camejo and Reid have received. The media exposure is still glaringly sparse compared with that of the capitalist politicians. But the seriousness of the SWP campaign and its appeal are causing some journalists to sit up and take notice.

"Spelling Socialist with Optimism" headlined a full-page article on Camejo in the May 1 issue of the Long Island paper *Newsday*. With a circulation of 440,000, its one of the largest daily newspapers in the country.

The wire services picked up the story and, as a result, nineteen papers across the country have reprinted the article in full or in part. These include the *Los Angeles Times*, *Miami Herald*, *Atlanta Journal*, and the *Seattle Times*. Circulation figures for the nineteen papers total more than 3 million readers.

Add that to the millions who saw Camejo on the March 19 "Today Show," and those who read the 300-plus other news articles this spring, and you come up with an impressive total of people who have heard of the socialist campaign during its first six months.

And that's just the beginning, they tell me.



Militant/Kris Kimmell

SWP presidential candidate Peter Camejo campaigning with 'Bill of Rights for Working People.' Since January, campaign supporters have distributed more than 300,000 copies.

World Outlook

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

JULY 18, 1975

'Advanced democratic' regime

S. Vietnam: Where does it stand? Where is it going?

By Peter Green

What is happening in Saigon? Two months after the liberation from imperialist domination, confusion still exists over the intentions of the new regime. Will there be rapid reunification with the North, or will the South retain an independent existence for an indefinite period? Who is actually running things in the newly liberated areas? Will the new regime move to introduce a planned economy in the South?

At least on one matter the North Vietnamese leaders are quite frank: the new regime in the South is not socialist. In a report to a meeting of the North Vietnamese National Assembly that ended in Hanoi June 6, Premier Pham Van Dong categorically stated that while the regime in the North was socialist, that in the South was "advanced democratic."

Veteran Stalinist apologist Wilfred Burchett is also very clear on this point. In an article in the June 11 issue of the American Maoist weekly the *Guardian*, he quotes approvingly from an interview he had in 1965 with "leaders of the People's Revolutionary Party (PRP)—the Marxist-Leninist party within the NLF."

"Democracy for us means a real national, people's democracy, based on the unity of workers, peasants, intellectuals and patriotic bourgeoisie of all tendencies. We are carrying out a national-democratic revolution with the unity of all sections of the population as a basic element. We have to think of it at two levels: the present rather low level, based on an alliance between workers, peasants and the lower strata of the bourgeoisie, which we consider as a sort of people's democracy; and, on the higher level, of still broader unity which we are aiming at and which we would call a national democratic union to include the upper strata of the bourgeoisie."

Upper Strata

"Our present people's democratic alliance must approve measures acceptable to this upper strata as well. It may seem strange for outsiders to find communists fighting for the interests of the upper class, but we understand the vital necessity for national union at the highest level, not only now during the period of struggle but for the years of postwar reconstruction as well." (Burchett's emphasis.)

The development of the economy in the two months since the liberation of Saigon bears this out. The leaders of the new regime show little interest in introducing measures that are socialist in principle. However, they are probably finding it very difficult rounding up enough members of the "upper



North Vietnamese Premier Pham Van Dong says Hanoi regime is socialist while Saigon government is 'advanced democratic.'

strata of the bourgeoisie" to unite with. Most of these types packed their booty and fled with the Americans.

Although on May 1, the day after the liberation of Saigon, a decree was broadcast announcing the nationalization of factories, farms, and businesses, reports since then indicate that the new regime is intent on retaining capitalist enterprises. According to a United Press International dispatch in the May 29 *Los Angeles Times*, "the new government is jostling private firms to reopen businesses. Fears that private enterprise would not be permitted under the Communists have so far proved unfounded."

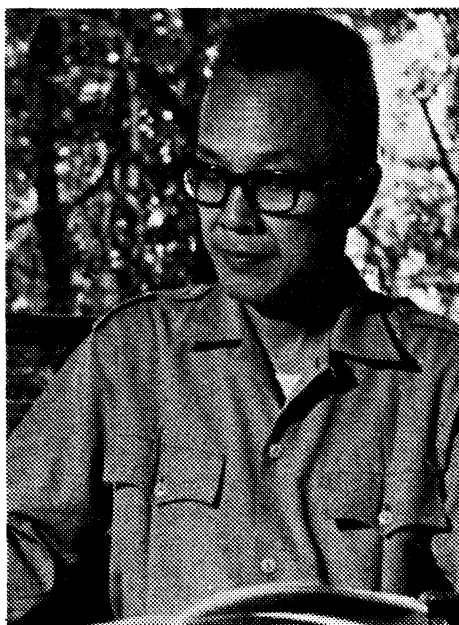
Nayan Chanda reported in the June 6 *Far Eastern Economic Review* that the Military Management Committee of Saigon was even providing credit to a number of factories in order to revive industrial activity.

As for foreign companies—which were mostly French and Japanese—Chanda reported that apparently only establishments abandoned by their foreign owners were being nationalized. Those foreigners who remained were allowed to stay in business.

The May 29 *Wall Street Journal* reported that two Japanese joint ventures in South Vietnam have resumed production of electric appliances.

French-owned businesses are opening up again also, James Laurie reported from Saigon for the June 6 *Far Eastern Economic Review*:

"Although there are many sceptics in the still fairly large Saigon-French business community, it appears, at least for the time being, that the Government wants the operation of foreign firms to continue. Several



National Liberation Front President Nguyen Huu Tho calls for diplomatic relations between Saigon and other countries despite desire of masses to reunify Vietnam.

French business leaders were recently invited to Independence Palace and advised that some French firms would be asked to stay on indefinitely. Heading the PRG list was the Michelin and other rubber plantations in Dau Tieng and Tay Ninh provinces. Other major French firms in Saigon, such as Brasserie Glacier Indochine (BGI), Denis Freres and Lucia, will, apparently, also be allowed to operate."

With the overthrow of the puppet regime, North Vietnamese currency began to circulate. It has now been withdrawn, and the piaster of the former regime is still the main currency. The Provisional Revolutionary Government announced June 17 that the national bank was resuming its activities, but other banks in the capital remained closed. In Da Nang, some banks opened on very restricted hours, with depositors being permitted to withdraw only one-third of their savings.

Faced with the problems of acute unemployment and a consequent rise in crime, the new regime has responded by shooting thieves on the spot or else bringing them before a public tribunal.

The "reeducation" courses for officers and officials of the old regime are getting under way in Saigon. The courses last three days for minor officials and a month for those in the higher echelons. (Top leaders such as Duong Van Minh and Tran Van Huong have reportedly been excused from attending the courses.) Those attending are told exactly how much money to bring to cover food for the period of the course, as well as a detailed list of other items required—

blanket, towel, mosquito net, pullover, toothbrush, paper, pen, and so on. According to persons coming from the central coast, army and police officers in reeducation camps in Quang Ngai and Quang Nam have been filling up bomb craters, clearing mines, and reclaiming fallow land, besides studying the PRG program and learning revolutionary songs.

A police clerk in the former regime said each student in the reeducation courses is required to tell of at least one crime he committed while working for the old government.

The Military Management Committee of Saigon launched its own "cultural revolution" on May 15 with a decree prohibiting the sale or possession of literature published "under the former regime." Films and music were also included in the ban. By May 22 most bookstores and stalls in Saigon had closed down, and sound trucks toured the city broadcasting the new orders.

Several hundred students marched through the streets on May 23 and May 27 in support of the campaign, exhorting residents to discard any copies of *Playboy* and *Oui* magazines and all other items identified with the "decadent culture" of the departing Americans. They carried banners saying: "Students and youth are determined not to read, not to keep at home, not to distribute, books and magazines, pictures and tapes that are reactionary and decadent."

Books Burned

The Saigon newspaper *Liberation Daily* reported a huge bonfire in a downtown residential sector of the city on May 25. It said residents tossed books, tapes, and magazines onto the fire. "The crowd applauded as a girl threw her hippie clothes onto the fire," the official newspaper said. Saigon radio said that from May 23 to 25 more than a thousand books were burned. According to Hsinhua News Agency, in a few days young people and students had "confiscated nearly 135,000 reactionary and pornographic books."

On May 28, however, the regime issued a new decree halting the burning of books. Instead they were to be handed over to qualified organizations.

"We are a civilized people, we respect the culture of others, even that of the American people. We respect scientific research," said the Saigon management committee's chief of information and culture. The committee, he said, had only given the order to stop the sale of "decadent and reactionary" books. "We must abolish a culture of slaves and save the culture of our people by all methods, but we have never demanded the burning of

Continued on page 22

Post-referendum offensive

Labour gov't out to make workers pay for crisis

By Tony Hodges

LONDON—Flushed with its success in achieving a 2-to-1 majority in the June 5 referendum for continued British membership in the Common Market, the Labour government is redoubling its drive to place the burden of the crisis wracking British capitalism on the backs of the workers.

British capitalism, long ago reduced to the status of a second-rank power, is less and less able to compete in world markets. With retail prices up 25% in May on a year ago—and rising in the past two months at an annual rate of more than 50%—British capitalist prospects on the world market are looking even gloomier. Britain now has an inflation rate well over double that of all its major competitors.

Reflecting Britain's weakened role, the pound is sliding downwards. By June 12, after several days of heavy selling of sterling, the value of the pound against major world currencies was down 26.5% from December 1971. The National Institute of Economic and Social Research now forecasts that the pound's devaluation will reach 32% by the end of next year.

Falling profit rates and business confidence brought an 8% decline in manufacturing investment from the last quarter of 1974 to the first quarter of this year. And the Department of Industry predicts that manufacturing investment will slump 15% this year. Symptomatic of the decrepit state of British capitalism was a decision by the Labour government in late April to salvage Britain's largest—and bankrupt—car company, British Leyland, with massive state handouts reaching £700 million (£1 = US\$2.25).

Successive Conservative and Labour governments have been plagued by the problem of how to restore British capitalism's flagging fortunes. The 1970-74 Tory government of Edward Heath tried by imposing statutory wage controls on workers in 1972. But the fierce resistance of the miners and the eventual defeat of the Tory government in the February 1974 general election forced the ruling class to turn to a new line of attack.

The reelected Labour government led by Harold Wilson announced a "social contract" between the government and the union bureaucrats under which workers would "voluntarily" keep their wages in check. Wilson hoped that the social contract, trading off the unions' loyalty to a Labour government, would succeed where the Tories failed in cutting real wages and boosting the capitalists' profit and ability to compete.

But despite the near-unanimous



British workers are fighting back against assault on their standard of living. Above are miners during militant 1972 coal strike

support for the social contract at last September's congress of the Trades Union Congress (TUC), the union bureaucrats have been singularly incapable of policing its observance by workers at a time of high inflation.

British workers, accustomed to a rising standard of living during the years of the postwar boom, are no more likely to accept drastic cuts in their living conditions today than the miners were in 1974. One sign of the potential for militant resistance came on June 2 when the National Executive Committee of the National Union of Railwaymen (NUR) voted 21 to 3 for a nationwide rail strike by 130,000 British Rail workers beginning June 23. Three days before the strike was to begin, the NUR won a two-stage wage increase that will total 30% by August 4.

Rising Disquiet

There are other signs of rising disquiet among workers about the runaway inflation.

- 40,000 seamen are demanding an 80% pay rise. They recently rejected a 30% offer by the employers.

- 65,000 workers at Imperial Chemical Industries are seeking a 70% pay increase.

- 120,000 steelworkers want a 30% pay rise and a threshold agreement to defend themselves against inflation.

- Most revealing of all, perhaps, was a recent vote by delegates representing 400,000 local government workers, whose "professional" status has kept them straitjacketed for years. They voted to call a strike ballot after rejecting an offer of a 21.7% rise in basic pay. If the local government workers vote to strike, they will hold a one-day national walkout, the first in their history. This will be followed by an indefinite strike in ten major regions, with ten more districts joining the strike each week.

Despite the failure of both the Tories' statutory wage controls and the Labour government's "voluntary" wage restraint, Wilson is now embarking on a tough new strategy to "tighten up" the social contract. According to Peter Jay, economics editor of the *London Times*, Labour Chancellor of the Exchequer Denis Healey "is looking for a norm for the next round of pay negotiations of less than 15 per cent."

Nora Beloff and Colin Chapman, writing in the June 8 *Observer*, said: "Mr Healey intends to warn trade unionists that he will slash public spending, allow unemployment to rise and introduce extra taxes unless they

can assure him that ways will be found for keeping wage claims in the next round below a 15 per cent ceiling."

A 15% wage-rise norm at a time when inflation is running at more than 25% a year would obviously amount to a drastic slashing of living standards. TUC leaders have shown themselves open to such cuts.

Keith Harper and Simon Hoggart explained the government strategy this way in the *Guardian* on April 24: "The plan is to replace the Government's offerings under the social contract with steadily increasing warnings of mass unemployment and social service cuts if the unions do not honour their side of the bargain. Implicit in the strategy is the threat that the Government will refuse to increase public spending to pay for wage rises in nationalised industries, and will be prepared to allow huge layoffs in the public sector if necessary."

The union bureaucrats too are attempting to cajole workers with threats of redundancies. Jack Jones, writing in the TGWU monthly *Record* in June, advised that "the interests of working people will be best served at the present time—and let me be frank about this—by sacrificing a few per cent extra in wage increases so that we can halt unemployment and defend the 'social wage.'" By "social wage," Jones meant the social services.

Implying that workers had been living it up in recent times, Tony Crossland, secretary of state for the environment, warned on May 9 that "the party is over" and that local authorities would have to curb increased spending. On April 23, Healey said that if workers did not accept the social contract, the government would introduce public expenditure cuts that "would slash at the very programme on which we all fought and won the last two general elections."

There is every sign that the Labour government will seek a "voting coalition" in Parliament with the Tories to push through these austerity measures. One Labour cabinet minister, Reg Prentice, even went so far as to call on June 1 for a "government of national unity" that would command the support of all "moderates" in the Conservative, Liberal, and Labour parties. Nothing could show more clearly the intentions of the class-collaborationist labour leaders in the government than this attempt to seek an alliance with the parties of big business to push through anti-work-ing-class policies.

Wilson has taken advantage of his

referendum victory to move against dissidents in his own cabinet who fear that the measures now being prepared will drive a dangerous wedge between the government and the ranks of the labour movement. On June 11, Tony Benn, the major leader of the anti-Common Market campaign and darling of the left Social Democratic *Tribune* wing of the Labour party, was demoted from his ministerial post as secretary of state for industry and given the lesser post of secretary of state for energy. Tribune Minister for Overseas Development Judith Hart was sacked from the government the same day.

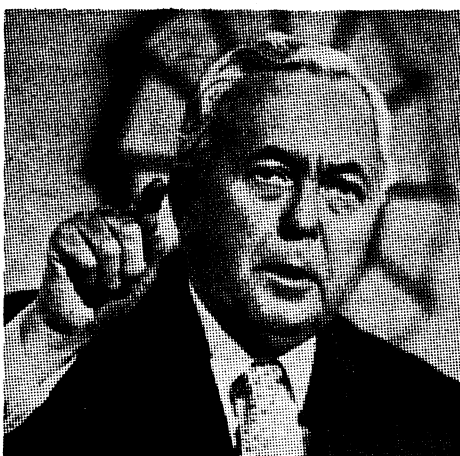
'Tribune' Letter

In a letter of reply to Wilson forty *Tribune* members of Parliament said that they "reject the acceptance of coalition policies which embrace those of the CBI [Confederation of British Industry], the City of London financiers, the Conservative Party and the Cabinet as reflected in your shuffle of ministers. We cannot be satisfied that you now have any resolute intention to implement the major parts of the election manifesto or to operate the principles which inspired them."

"Consequently, we serve notice that we shall oppose by all means and campaign within and without the House to ensure that the policies of the Labour movement are pursued with the utmost vigour. Having been elected to carry through manifesto policies we reject reductions in public expenditure and the drift towards mass unemployment as being incompatible with those policies."

These belated protests by the *Tribune* wing of the party, which claims the support of about seventy Labour MPs, show that the "left" is trying to impress on Wilson that his probusiness policies run the risk of backfiring by sparking increased radicalization in the ranks of the labour movement. This, above all, is what the *Tribune* group wishes to avoid. That is why the group has done nothing to mobilize workers in *action* against the government offensive.

The coming weeks will show workers' response to the rising unemployment, the social service cutbacks, and the ever-rising rate of inflation. But at this time it seems unlikely that Wilson will be any more successful than previously in convincing workers to "uphold" the social contract and accept a severe cut in the standard of living.



Harold Wilson's moves against dissident cabinet members are preparation for all-out push for austerity measures.

Arrests 'all agitators & saboteurs'

Shah hit by protests on anniversary of '63 rebellion

By Majid Namvar

Confronted by the first substantial rebellion against the shah's regime since 1963, the government-controlled Iranian press reported June 10 that "street riots" broke out in the shrine city of Qum, ninety miles south of Tehran.

The demonstrations marked the twelfth anniversary of the massive rebellions in June 1963. They were said to have started at the theological schools of Faizieh and Dar al-Shafa, ending in street clashes with the police. No casualties were reported.

Tehran's two major evening newspapers, *Etelaat* and *Kayhan*, published identical reports, presumably handed out by the police. The report said the demonstrations began June 5 and continued June 7. "Shouting anti-patriotic slogans and waving red flags," it said, the demonstrators "recalled one of the most shameful events in 1963, initiated by black reactionaries in our country." (The shah often uses the term "black reactionary" to refer to his militant Islamic opponents.)

Without disclosing further details, the shah's press reported that "all agitators and saboteurs were identified and arrested." Police searching the demonstrators' homes allegedly seized

"a homemade bomb as well as a quantity of Communist books and documents."

A related protest by Muslim students took place June 5 at the Arya Mehr Industrial University in Tehran. Reporting this incident, the editors of *Kayhan* said: "These students who sometimes call themselves religious intellectuals are followers of a person who has always been an opponent of any reform in the country, particularly the land reform and the liberation of women."

The "person" referred to is apparently Ayat-Ollah Khomeini, a prominent Islamic figure whose arrest in 1963 led to rebellions in five major cities, including Tehran. These protests were brutally crushed, leaving an estimated 5,000 to 10,000 persons dead or wounded. Khomeini, who was then expelled from Iran, is reported to be living in Iraq at present.

Following the shah's decree earlier this year proclaiming Iran a one-party state, Khomeini issued a statement denouncing the action and urging all Islamic organizations to boycott the new party. One indication of the shah's concern over this call for a boycott was the government's recent announcement that all eligible voters were required to cast a ballot in the June 20 parliamentary elections.

Despite the shah's claim that opposition to his repressive rule is confined to "black reactionaries and stateless reds," a more general discontent appears to be rising in Iran, particularly among the youth.

In part, this is because the regime has failed to meet growing expectations that increased oil revenue would

improve the standard of living.

The shah's main response to increasing unrest has been to further tighten his rule, going so far as to eliminate the political parties he himself established. The recent demonstrations indicate that this has only increased popular dissatisfaction with his dictatorial regime.

Iran weekly reviews Trotsky in Persian

"Entesharate Fanus [Fanus Publications] has published a new book by Leon Trotsky under the title *The Permanent Revolution*."

This note, part of a brief review of the first Persian edition of Trotsky's *Permanent Revolution*, appeared in the "Book Evaluation" column of the November 30, 1974, issue of the Iranian weekly *Tehran Economist*.

The Persian edition was published in June 1974. It has an introduction, entitled "Permanent Revolution in Iran," by Javad Sadeeg, a contributor to *Intercontinental Press*.

In the introduction, Sadeeg examines the revolutionary history of Iran and outlines a general perspective for future developments, showing the applicability of Trotsky's theory of

permanent revolution to the objective conditions in Iran. The volume has stirred some interest in Trotskyist ideas among Iranian students abroad.

Because of the shah's strict censorship regulations, the *Tehran Economist* limited its comments on the book to praising the quality of the translation.

The review also mentioned that in November 1973, "Entesharate Fanus published *Nationalities and Revolution in Iran* by Javad Sadeeg."

The Persian edition of *Permanent Revolution* and the book *Nationalities and Revolution in Iran* are available for \$3 each from Entesharate Fanus, P.O. Box 170, Village Station, New York, N.Y. 10010

Mass rally greets independence in Mozambique

On June 25 tens of thousands of Mozambicans celebrated the winning of independence after 470 years of Portuguese colonial rule. The ceremony, held in the Lourenço Marques football stadium, was described as jubilant.

Two days earlier a massive demonstration greeted Samora Machel, Mozambique's new president, when he arrived in Lourenço Marques from the interior of the country. Machel is head of Frelimo (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique—Mozambique Liberation Front), which led the ten-year war of independence.

In his message to the nation following the independence celebration, Machel denounced the centuries-long rule by Portugal. "Portuguese imperialism and colonialism robbed us of our

riches," he stated. "International concessionaries made fabulous fortunes while the people starved."

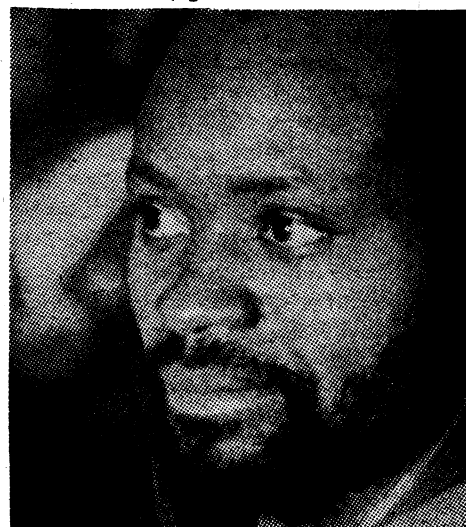
Machel said that the People's Republic of Mozambique (the country's new name) would become the "first truly Marxist state in Africa." The program of changes he outlined, however, does not call for any fundamental social transformation.

Private ownership of industry will be permitted unless it is thought to conflict with state interests. Machel made no mention of nationalization of industry. Foreign investment will be welcome. Mozambique is to be a one-party state, with Frelimo decreed to be "the vanguard of the revolution."

Machel made no mention of the new government's plans in regard to ending economic relations with the white-

supremacist regimes in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and South Africa. More than 80 percent of Rhodesia's foreign trade is transported through ports in Mozambique. Before taking power, Frelimo had pledged to carry out the United Nations-recommended economic sanctions against the Smith regime by cutting this lifeline to the sea.

South Africa also ships its goods through Mozambican ports. In addition, 100,000 Mozambicans work each year in South African mines. In all, more than 25 percent of Mozambique's foreign exchange comes from South Africa. According to a dispatch in the June 26 *Christian Science Monitor*, "various economic arrangements are already being made discreetly between the two countries, although formal diplomatic relations have lapsed."



SAMORA MACHEL: 'Portuguese imperialism and colonialism robbed us of our riches.'

'Le Monde' exposes Israeli colonization of Arab land

"While tens of thousands of Israeli children planted trees in cities and towns throughout the country during the traditional 'festival of trees,' huge bulldozers were uprooting thousands of blossoming fruit trees in parts of the region known as the 'Breech of Rafa,' in the northeast part of Sinai. The Arab owners of these orchards had been driven from their land and their houses have been destroyed to make way for Jewish colonists. After the trees, the local school and mosque were razed."

So began an account by Amnon Kapeliouk, special correspondent of *Le Monde*, of the Israeli colonization movement in the occupied territory south of the Gaza Strip.

"It was a gripping scene," he wrote in the May 15 issue of the Paris daily. "Women and children returning to

their land, gathering for firewood the branches of almond trees and pomegranates they had been cultivating for years."

The model for these Israeli resettlement schemes was developed in 1967 in the occupied Golan Heights and on the West Bank of the Jordan, Kapeliouk explained. The Arab population is removed, and then the Jews move in. But in the Rafa region, a member of a neighboring kibbutz explained, "the problem is much more serious."

"Here," he said, "the inhabitants who have been expelled, whose homes and possessions have been destroyed, return to their lands to work as laborers for the *colons* who have come to replace them."

The colonization of the Rafa region began in 1969, when 1,500 hectares of land were expropriated. In January

1972, troops commanded by General Ariel Sharon drove out almost 10,000 farmers and Bedouin herdsmen, bulldozed or dynamited their homes, tore down their tents, destroyed their crops, and filled in their waterholes.

Today there are already ten Jewish settlements in the region—four collective villages, five "paramilitary agricultural colonies," and the first houses of a proposed new town, Yamit.

These expropriations continued even during the October 1973 war. On October 8, Israeli soldiers arrived, arrested Sheikh Hassan Ali Al-Sawarkeh, expelled him and one thousand members of his tribe from Al-Jora, confiscated 36,000 hectares of fertile land, and erected barbed-wire fences around it. According to residents of neighboring kibbutzes, the Israeli authorities plan to establish

about fifteen Jewish settlements on this land.

In some cases, the Israeli officials have tried to force Arab proprietors to sell their lands. When they refuse, various pressures are applied, ranging from halting the distribution of CARE packages from the United States to layoffs of workers and false arrests.

"We have been ruled by the Ottomans, the English, and the Egyptians, one after the other," an old man told Kapeliouk, "but none dared to touch our land. With the Israelis, their main activity consists in expropriating us."

The Israeli government's atrocities have aroused opposition even among the residents of some Jewish kibbutzes in the surrounding area. They have joined with the Arabs in protesting the land seizures.

...Where does S. Vietnam stand? Where is it going?

Continued from page 19

books." He said that the "decadent and reactionary" books would be submitted to a qualified commission.

Although Vietnamese leaders have made it clear that the establishment of a workers state is not on the agenda in the South, they have been much more ambiguous in their pronouncements on a likely timetable for reunification of the country and on who is actually in control in Saigon.

In their more rhetorical moments, the leaders of North Vietnam and the PRG speak as though the country were already reunited:

"We hail the beautiful land of Vietnam, from now on whole again from Langson (on the Chinese border) to the Cape of Camau (far in the south), from now on completely independent and free," North Vietnamese Communist party leader Le Duan told a victory rally in Hanoi May 15, according to the May 16 *Washington Post*. The North Vietnamese army's newspaper printed a map showing all of Vietnam as a single country, with Hanoi as its capital. This line was echoed in the South:

"The division of the country no longer exists," General Tran Van Tra, president of Saigon's Military Management Committee, told a victory rally in Saigon May 15.

But estimates as to when the country will be reunified in reality have varied widely. A special United Nations envoy who spent three weeks in Hanoi said May 12 that although the "final aim" was reunification, North and South Vietnam might exist separately for a year or longer. A Saigon official said May 14 that reunification "might even take years."

United Press International correspondent Alan Dawson reported May 30 that after a three-week series of meetings, North and South Vietnamese officials agreed that political reunification is at least five years away. "The attitudes of the people, the manner of life in the two zones is completely different now, and it will

take some years to bring them close enough to reunify the country," one senior official said. As for the people of Saigon, "It may take 20 or even 30 years to change their thinking," said another official.

In many practical ways links between the two areas have already been repaired. Communications have been restored; cadres and aid for reconstruction have been flowing into the South from the North; both now even operate on the same time zone.

But the central question is whether a separate government will be retained in the South, whether the PRG will administer full control in its zone.

The revolutionists took power in the name of the PRG on April 30, but the PRG did not make the first announcement in its own name until May 10. It did not hold its first cabinet meeting in Saigon until June 6, and apart from that it has held one or two receptions.

Yet the president of the National Liberation Front, Nguyen Huu Tho, called on May 15 for diplomatic relations to be established between Saigon and other countries. And both Hanoi and Saigon have told UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim that they intend to apply for UN membership as separate delegations in time for next fall's session of the General Assembly.

The PRG's ambiguous status was analyzed by Jacques Decornoy in an article in the June 18 *Le Monde*, under the heading, "How Can One Be United and Divided at the Same Time?" What is the PRG? Decornoy asked.

"Or rather: what will it be—at the UN, for example, or in other international gatherings? A way for Hanoi to get two votes? Or a useful fiction the North will use to join, via the intermediary of the South, the nonaligned world, something very useful to anyone wanting to get a little respite from the subtle game, really quite tiring, of balancing between Moscow and Peking? Or else the transposition, onto the diplomatic level, of a local division that is difficult to resolve completely, like a bad fracture?"

"It is a delicate game to play. The Vietnamese have proclaimed thousands of times since the start of their fight that they are one people, one country. But their actual declarations on the subject of reunification are as imprecise as one could imagine. Basically, they would like the impossible: to be 'one' and 'two' at the same time. 'One,' because that corresponds to the historical analysis, to the political line, to common sense from the point of view of economics. 'Two,' because it is necessary to take into account the special features of the two zones, and because of the international considerations set out above."

The delay in the emergence of either a separate PRG government or a firm move toward reunification led to speculation among some observers of a possible rift between the PRG and Hanoi. According to "authoritative French sources" cited by Flora Lewis in the June 12 *New York Times*, as the North Vietnamese forces pressed ever closer to Saigon, the PRG asked France to arrange negotiations with ever more urgency. She said the PRG "preferred negotiations for fear of being eclipsed and left powerless by the North Vietnamese if the war ended with the entry of Hanoi's troops in the southern capital and without any agreement. . . .

"That is what did happen," Lewis

said. "The new information is that the Provisional Revolutionary Government now has virtually nothing to say in the South."

But are there really any big disagreements between the North Vietnamese leaders and the leaders of the PRG? Certainly, the North Vietnamese Communist party is thoroughly in control of the situation in the South, exercising power mainly through the army at this stage, with some assistance from local committees that serve to implement directives.

Further confirmation of North Vietnamese dominance was provided by a high-ranking official in Hanoi, who told Japanese newsmen that the Communist parties and armed forces of North and South Vietnam have been merged.

The delays, confusions, and ambiguities in the situation in the South, however, are not the result of any rift, but the result of the contradictions between the objective dynamic of the situation, the needs of the Vietnamese masses, and the political line projected by leaders of North Vietnam and of the PRG that the revolution in the South stands only at the "democratic stage."

In face of the pressure to reunify the country and to move toward socialism it remains to be seen how long the leadership can succeed in holding the revolutionary process back.

Coming in the July 21

Intercontinental Press

- "The Baader-Meinhof Trial—German Justice Puts on a Show."
- "An Interview with Séamas Costello." Costello, one of the most prominent leaders of the Irish Republican Socialist party, discusses the feud with the "Official" republicans, the shooting of Billy

McMillen, and the issue of Stalinism in the republican movement. An *IP* exclusive.

For a copy send \$.75 to Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Village Station, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Italian abortion petition tops 500,000 signatures

By Estelle Cordano

NAPLES—"Does the question of abortion concern only women? No! It concerns all the exploited. Let's sign the referendum!"

This is the heading on a leaflet written by the Naples branch of the Gruppi Comunisti Rivoluzionari (GCR—Revolutionary Communist Groups, Italian section of the Fourth International). It is being distributed here as part of a national campaign in support of the effort to put a referendum annulling Italy's anti-abortion law on the ballot next fall. (See *Intercontinental Press*, February 17, p. 217.)

A total of 519,000 signatures has already been collected. Supporters of the referendum are continuing to collect signatures, however, to gain a large margin over the 500,000 required.

The Communist party, the largest of the workers parties (1.5 million members), has no official position on the referendum. Instead it has introduced into parliament a law that would remove abortion from the criminal code but still forbid it.

Abortion is now punishable by a one-

to five-year sentence in prison. The CP bill would make it punishable by a 100,000 lire fine (about US\$160). The CP proposal would allow abortion only under certain conditions—poverty, or danger to the health of the woman—and then only if a commission of doctors and social advisers grants permission.

The GCR leaflet says: "The fact is that the CP wants to confront the Christian Democrats and the Vatican as little as possible. Thus it did not find the conflict over the divorce laws pleasant, and it doesn't want a similar test of forces on the question of abortion either." This would only make it more difficult for the CP to bring about its "historic compromise"—a popular-front government based on a CP-Christian Democratic coalition.

Support for the abortion referendum is strong among Italian workers of all political viewpoints, including sizable numbers of CP rank-and-filers. I saw an example of this in Naples as I watched members of the GCR passing out their leaflet at the Alpha Sud plant, an auto factory of 15,000 workers, where the CP has considerable strength.

A worker who identified himself as a CP member asked for leaflets to take inside and said he would bring his fellow workers to sign the petition. A few days later the factory Council of Delegates at Alpha Sud passed a motion to support the referendum. The CP delegates voted for the motion.

The requirements to get a referendum on the ballot are quite complicated.

The problem now is to force the city halls to process the signatures. Officials in Rome and Naples say they can process only 500 signatures a day. This would make it impossible to meet the ninety-day deadline. Yet when the Christian Democrats were collecting signatures for the divorce referendum, 3,000 persons were hired in order to process the signatures in just two days.

The referendum is only the beginning of the fight for the right to abortion. Under Italian law, referendums can only be used to annul old laws. If the referendum wins, the Christian Democrats are prepared to introduce new laws almost as reactionary as the old fascist laws. The fight to make abortion legal and available to all women must continue.



Italian women demonstrate for abortion rights. Communist party opposes campaign.

Gay pride demonstrations draw thousands

By Steve Beren

NEW YORK—Fifteen to twenty thousand people marched from Sheridan Square up Sixth Avenue to Central Park here June 29 in the annual Christopher Street Liberation Day gay pride demonstration.

Among the groups participating in the demonstration were the New York Gay Activists Alliance, branches of the Metropolitan Community Church, Lesbian Feminist Liberation, National Gay Task Force, Gay Activists Alliance of New Jersey, Gay Youth, Parents of Gays, Mattachine Society, Brooklyn Gay Alliance, Gay People at Columbia, Gay People at Princeton, and gay activist groups from Washington, D.C.; North Carolina; Maine; and Pennsylvania. There was also a contingent representing Comunidad de Orgullo Gay of San Juan, Puerto Rico.

Many people hawked the *Gay Community News*, a Boston-based biweekly. Others sold buttons and gave out leaflets covering activities in defense of Joanne Little, the struggle to pass Intro 554 (the New York City gay rights bill), the gay rights amendment introduced in Congress, and various literary and cultural events.

The Socialist Workers party marched with a banner that said, "Full Rights for Gays—Pass Intro 554." Supporters of the socialist presidential ticket of Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid sold *Militants* and *Young Socialists* and passed out copies of the Socialist Workers party action program, "A Bill of Rights for Working People."

The keynote speaker at the Central Park rally was Sarah Montgomery of

Parents of Gays. She stressed the need for unity in the gay movement despite differences in politics and life-styles. She got a favorable response from the audience when she blasted the Catholic church for its opposition to gay rights and its efforts to defeat Intro 554.

The high point of the rally was the introduction of four gays currently serving in the armed forces. Each of those introduced received a prolonged standing ovation from the crowd.

Bruce Voeller of the National Gay Task Force outlined the efforts of his group, the American Civil Liberties Union, and others to win equal treatment for gays in the armed forces and urged people to support them.

CHICAGO—Gay Pride Week was capped off here June 29 with a parade and rally attended by 3,000 people. The demonstrators marched through the city's near North Side and gathered for a rally at Lincoln Park.

Debby Adams, representing the Camejo-Reid campaign committee, told the crowd that the rights of gays "would not be won by depending on politicians in Congress, state legislatures, or city councils."

"What is needed," said Adams, "is a massive movement of gays in the streets demanding equal rights and an end to discrimination."

Nancy Rosenstock, speaking for the Joanne Little July 14 Committee, told of plans to send Chicagoans to the opening of Joanne Little's trial in Raleigh, North Carolina, July 14, saying, "If we win freedom for Joanne



Boston march drew 1,200

Gay Community News

Little it will be an inspiration to women around the country."

Other activities during Gay Pride Week included a rally of 150 at the Chicago Civic Center on June 24, a picket line at the Cook County Jail, and a series of social activities. A number of lesbian groups had declared the same week Lesbian Pride Week, organizing separate activities, demonstrations, and workshops.

BOSTON—June 21 marked the fifth annual gay pride march in Boston, with 1,200 people taking part in a three-mile march through the city's downtown section and a rally on the

Boston Common.

State Rep. Elaine Noble and Rita May Brown, author of the best-selling book *Rubyfruit Jungle*, spoke at the rally.

Deborah Clifford, Socialist Workers party candidate for Boston School Committee, marched in the action and campaigned among the crowd.

In Los Angeles, several thousand people turned out for a June 29 parade, while in San Diego a demonstration of 350 was held June 26.

Gay pride marches also took place in a number of other cities, including Providence, Rhode Island; Worcester, Massachusetts; and Pittsburgh.

Court gets evidence in J.B. Johnson case

By Nancy Makler

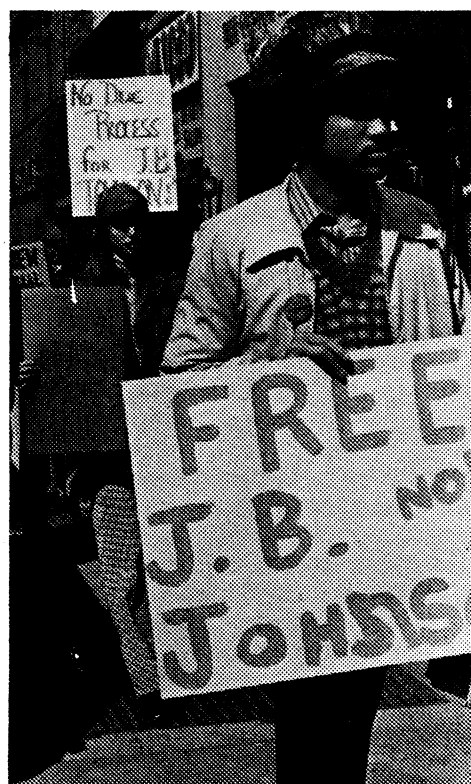
ST. LOUIS—On June 11 a brief documenting efforts by the prosecuting attorney to suppress evidence favorable to the defense of J.B. Johnson was accepted for consideration by the Missouri Supreme Court. Johnson, twenty-five, is a Black man now serving a life sentence on frame-up charges stemming from his alleged role in the killing of a cop.

The brief, presented by attorney William Kunstler, was accepted over the objections of Missouri Attorney General John Danforth.

The brief is based on discrepancies between the statement given to the police by an eyewitness immediately after the robbery at which the killing took place and his later testimony at the trial.

The agreement of the Missouri Supreme Court to accept the supplemental brief came as the full court is considering whether it should uphold an earlier decision by a partial panel of judges to grant Johnson a new trial.

The frame-up of J.B. Johnson began minutes after two young Black men robbed a jewelry store on January 23,



St. Louis picketers support J.B. Johnson. Mo. Supreme Court is considering whether to grant him new trial.

1970. In the course of the robbery, one of the men shot and killed a cop and was immediately apprehended. The second man fled.

The police arrested J.B. Johnson, who had nothing to do with the robbery, while Johnson was sitting in a taxicab. Police claimed Johnson was the second man involved in the robbery.

A routine police report of Johnson's arrest states that he was wearing a yellow sweater and green pants at the time.

Police reports, however, show that the jewelry store owner, Adam Bakos, told police immediately after the robbery that the second man had worn dark clothing. Bakos altered this testimony when Johnson's case came to trial more than two years later. At the trial, when asked what color jacket the second man in the robbery had worn, Bakos answered, "It was a bright color . . . or should I say light-colored."

The defense was unable to challenge this contradiction between Bakos's first and second accounts of the robbery because despite defense attor-

ney requests, prosecuting attorney Noel Robyn initially refused to make police records of the incident available.

Johnson's attorney finally received copies of the requested records three months after the trial.

The suppression of important evidence is only the most recently discovered incident in a parade of frame-up tactics used to convict Johnson.

Eyewitness Bakos also failed to pick J.B. Johnson out of a police lineup. Bakos said, "All coloreds look alike to me anyway."

Robert Lee Walker, the man convicted of shooting the policeman, stated he had never seen J.B. Johnson before he got to the St. Louis County Jail.

The attorney general's office is expected to file an answer to Kunstler's supplemental brief in late June. Meanwhile, the Committee to Defend J.B. Johnson has pledged itself to continue getting out the facts on this case. Endorsements, donations, and requests for information should be sent to the committee at Post Office Box 4713, St. Louis, Missouri 63108. Telephone: (314) 725-0319.

Myths about 'illegal aliens' exposed

By Arnold Weissberg

LOS ANGELES—A joint federal-state program to deport undocumented workers ("illegal aliens") and have U.S. citizens take their jobs has been labeled a failure by both federal and state authorities.

In June, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) deported 2,154 undocumented workers here. State employment officials then contacted the former employers of those deported, offering them U.S. citizens as replacements. Nearly 99 percent refused the offer.

Officials of the INS admit the employers prefer undocumented workers because they are easier to exploit than American citizens.

Employers are able to pay substandard wages to undocumented workers because of the constant threat of deportation.

Fred Brenner, head of the California Employment Development Department here, said, "Almost all employers who have lost illegals to the Immigration authorities say they don't want to use our services, or give us substandard job orders to which we cannot refer American citizens because they pay less than the minimum wage laws allow or pay less than the wage rates prevailing in their industries."

The failure of this "employment" program underscores the emptiness of the claim that the present massive deportations will help U.S. workers.

In fact, undocumented workers are forced to take jobs that no citizen would take—jobs with the worst conditions and the lowest pay.

Another myth was punctured here when a special study by Los Angeles County officials proved that the charge that "illegal aliens" are a burden on the welfare system is a complete fabrication.

The county checked more than 14,000 noncitizen welfare recipients and found only fifty-six undocumented workers receiving welfare. And of these, all but two were eligible under state law, which provides that any needy person not under an order for deportation may get welfare.

Communist party convention fails to select

By Bruce Bloy
and Joel Britton

CHICAGO—The Communist party ended its twenty-first national convention without nominating a presidential slate. The CP had previously said it would announce its 1976 candidates at a rally here. The CP also emerged from its convention unable to take a position on the Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

The decision not to launch a presidential ticket leaves the Socialist Workers party candidates—Peter Camejo for president and Willie Mae Reid for vice-president—as the only working-class alternative to the Democratic and Republican candidates.

Camejo-Reid supporters took their campaign on June 29 to the International Amphitheater, the site of the so-called People's Bicentennial Festival, the CP's postconvention rally. Angela Davis and CP General Secretary Gus Hall were the featured speakers. Also on the program were other CP leaders, several independent speakers, and various entertainers.

The 3,000 people who filed into the amphitheater were handed the SWP's 1976 election platform—the "Bill of Rights for Working People." They were also given a copy of "Ten questions for Communist party leaders" from Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid.

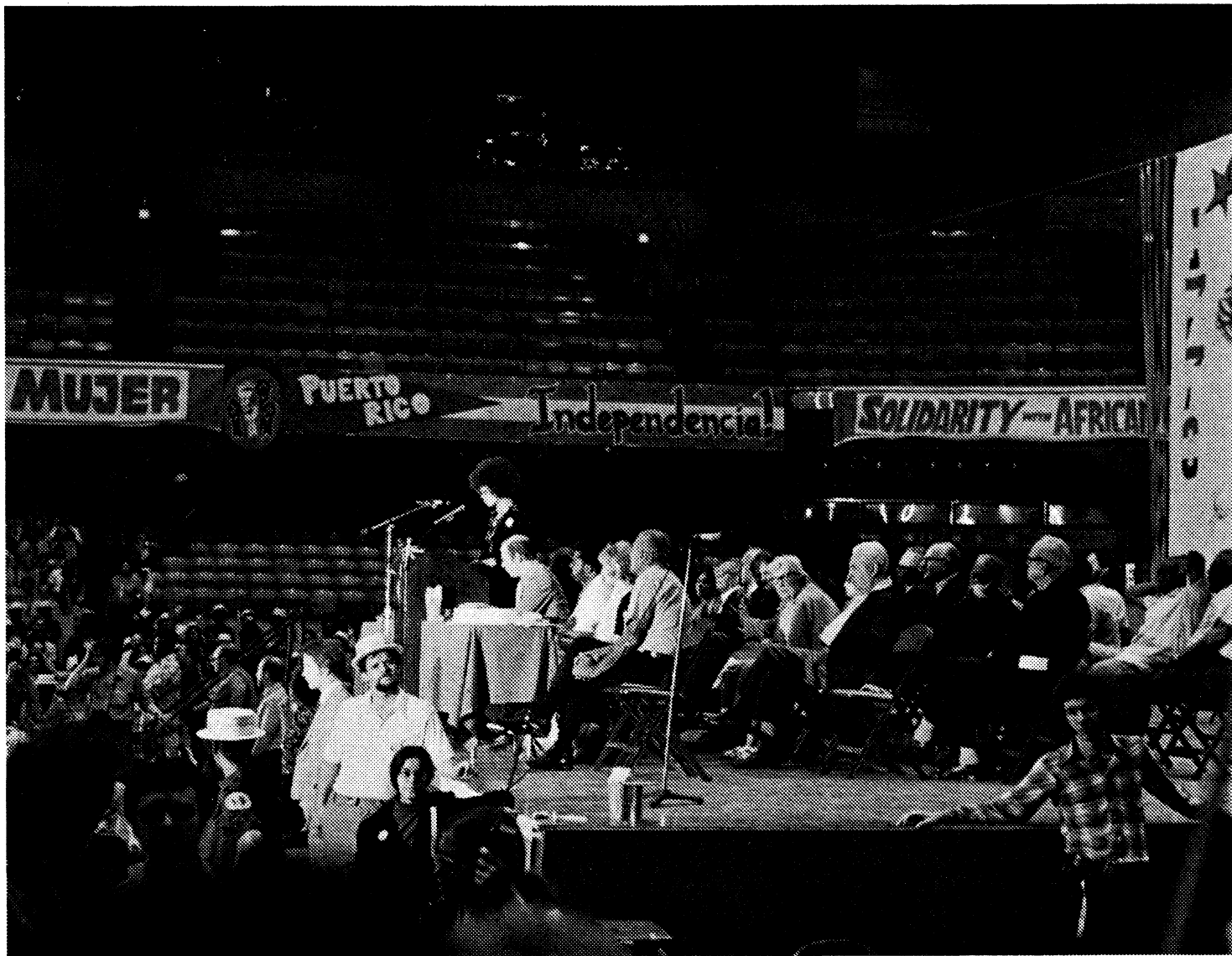
The "Ten questions" scored the U.S. Stalinists on a number of their policies. The CP leaders were asked to explain their refusal to:

- Back the SWP's suit against government repression.
- Join with antiracist forces in action to oppose the racist offensive in Boston.
- Call for adoption of the Equal Rights Amendment.
- Stop supporting capitalist candidates of the Democratic party.
- Back Willie Mae Reid in last spring's mayoral race in Chicago.
- Protest violations of socialist democracy in the Soviet Union.
- Tell the full truth about the CP's treacherous political record.
- Demand an end to the strikebreaking role of the Portuguese CP.
- Demand that Portuguese troops withdraw from Angola.
- Finally, the CP leaders were challenged to state their opinion of the SWP's Bill of Rights for Working People.

The CP leaders did not respond to the SWP's questions. However, some of the answers could be found in the proceedings of the convention and the "Bicentennial Festival."

The 'people's alternative'?

According to press accounts, Gus Hall opened the convention with a marathon four-and-a-half-hour ad-



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

Angela Davis speaks to 'People's Bicentennial Festival.' Seated behind her are ranking CP officials. CP tried but failed to fill amphitheater in attempt to duplicate big Stalinist rallies of the 1930s and 1940s.

dress.

Hall called for "all progressives, independents, and antimonomopoly forces to join in a dialogue now on how to best put forward a people's alternative, a common electoral front against the monarchs of monopoly capital, against the Fords, Rockefellers, Jacksons, and Wallaces."

The kind of "people's alternative" Hall has in mind is one or another capitalist politician. Although the top U.S. Stalinist made passing reference to the possibility of the "antimonopoly forces" coming together in a third capitalist party, he didn't seem to think that likely. The CP's "people's alternative" for 1976 will most likely be a Democrat—one with liberal views on social issues and a "pro-détente" stance toward the CP's mentors in Moscow.

Like the "monarchs of monopoly capital" singled out by Hall, his "people's alternative"—whether it's Edward Kennedy or someone similar—would also be for maintaining the political

monopoly of the two parties of the ruling rich.

Why didn't the CP launch a presidential campaign to promote its own brand of reformist politics? Early in May the CP's *Daily World* announced that the rally at the amphitheater would "feature the acceptance speeches of the 1976 presidential and vice presidential candidates to be nominated by the convention." No explanation for changing this decision was offered to the rally.

Communist party leaders answered questions on this topic with reasons ranging from "1975 is not an election year" to references to unspecified problems with election laws.

A more compelling reason might be the CP's desire to wait for the major capitalist candidacies to take shape. As Hall put it, "In spite of the increasing activities, the electoral scene is still unsettled."

Hall indicated that the question will be taken up again. "Together with others we will hold an electoral campaign and presidential nominating convention in the early part of next year, and then we will organize the most massive political, ideological, and electoral campaign in our party's history," he said.

Equal Rights Amendment

The Communist party has in the past publicly opposed passage of the Equal Rights Amendment—a constitutional amendment that calls for an end to discrimination based on sex.

The CP is practically the only organization in the country, besides right-wing forces, standing in opposition to the ERA. "The controversy over the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) continues—including in the ranks of our party," Hall admitted to the convention.

"So we mean to propose the only possible solution at this time," Hall said. "That this convention instruct the incoming central committee to set up a study task force that will go fully

into all sides of the question and try to come up with a resolution that takes all questions into consideration."

Congress passed the ERA in 1972. Since that time it has been ratified by thirty-four state legislatures. It has been debated at least once by all fifty. For a party claiming to be the vanguard of the working class to be unable to take a position at this late date is nothing less than scandalous.

No action perspective

The "People's Bicentennial Festival" was strong on antiracist rhetoric but weak on specific projections.

Angela Davis urged support for Black victims of repression such as Rev. Ben Chavis, the Wilmington (North Carolina) Ten, and Joanne Little. But she hardly mentioned the fight for desegregated education in Boston. In their "Ten questions" Camejo and Reid, on the other hand, called Boston "a national testing ground between racist and antiracist forces."

Activists from the Chicago chapter of the National Student Coalition Against Racism distributed a packet of several letters to those attending the CP rally. Included was a copy of a letter of resignation from NSCAR by the Young Workers Liberation League (the CP's youth group). The YWLL charged NSCAR with being "racist" on the eve of the highly successful antiracist march in Boston May 17. Sponsored by the NAACP, the action was actively supported by NSCAR.

The NSCAR coordinators, as well as National Student Association President Kathy Kelly and Brown University Black student leader Christopher Robinson, answered the YWLL charges. Their letters were also in the packet.

At a time when working people face rising unemployment and inflation, the CP also failed to chart any action program for the labor movement. Instead, they pointed to détente with Moscow as the road to jobs for all.

The CP announced that they were

Open letter says 'Free all political prisoners'

"Freedom for all political prisoners!" was the title of an open letter distributed to people attending the CP's activities in Chicago. It is printed below. Among the signers were Daniel Berrigan, Phil Berrigan, Nat Hentoff, David McReynolds, Paul Mayer, Grace Paley, and Studs Terkel. Mayer is active in the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, of which Angela Davis is a cochairperson and in which the CP plays the central role.

On the occasion of the Peoples Bicentennial Festival and the 21st

National Convention of the Communist Party (USA), we call upon you, the participants to join us in our Appeal for an end to political repression.

We believe that political repression in any country and the imprisonment of political opponents is in contradiction to the program of your party. We therefore, call upon you to join us in demanding the release of political prisoners in the Soviet Union, Spain, Ireland, Chile and Czechoslovakia.

Although we cannot support the views of certain prisoners, specifically of some in the U.S.S.R., we insist upon their right to civil liberties.

'76 slate

filing under the Freedom of Information Act to obtain documents relating to the FBI's "Operation Hoodwink," a recently revealed part of the FBI's "counterintelligence" operation. "Hoodwink's" purpose was to provoke organized crime to attack the CP.

"This is only the beginning of our offensive," said Angela Davis. She called for reopening the Rosenberg case and "all the Smith Act trials," which she termed "a plot by the government to behead the Communist party, ending in the imprisonment of Gus Hall, Gil Green, and Henry Winston."

The first Smith Act prosecutions were not aimed at the CP. They were aimed at the SWP, and the CP supported the government in 1941 when it indicted eighteen SWP members in Minneapolis. Davis didn't say whether the CP's demand to reopen "all the Smith Act trials" included the SWP trial.

The CP claimed that 6,000 people were at the rally. These reporters counted only 3,000 at the peak.

The CP spent many thousands of dollars to subsidize transportation. Buses from New York and other East Coast cities provided round-trip travel for only ten dollars. The CP also ran daily ads in the major Chicago newspapers.

The event was advertised not as a CP rally but as a "People's Bicentennial Festival." Some of those who showed up at the amphitheater might not have really known what the whole thing was about. The *Daily World* began promoting the rally under that billing shortly after 25,000 turned out for a "People's Bicentennial Commission"-sponsored demonstration in Massachusetts.

The "People's Bicentennial Commission" was understandably miffed. For four years they had been organizing an alternative to the official bicentennial activities. They felt the CP had stolen their name. A week before the rally they filed a suit demanding that the CP stop using the term and pay \$10,000 in damages.

The "People's Bicentennial Festival" was an attempt by the CP to recapture a bygone era, the late 1930s and 1940s. The CP was then the predominant force on the Left. Its supporters could fill Madison Square Garden and the Hollywood Bowl. But on June 29 the much smaller amphitheater was only half full.

In those earlier years the Stalinists claimed the allegiance of tens of thousands of members. Many thousands more sympathized with the CP and aided its efforts. The party played a key role in channeling the mighty labor radicalization away from an independent political course and into support for the "people's alternative" of the time, Franklin Roosevelt.

Repeat performance

The message at the amphitheater was clear. The CP is making itself available for a repeat performance during the new working-class radicalization now opening up.

After years of semi-underground functioning, the Stalinists have come more and more into the open. They have brought a layer of younger members into leadership positions in the party, and the YWLL is a functioning youth group.

But aborting the next wave of labor radicalism will not be as easy as it was the last time around. The revolutionary socialists in the SWP and the YSA are on a much more equal footing with the Stalinists than they were in past decades. They will be a strong competitor to the CP in the turbulent working-class battles to come.

Postal workers hold N.Y. rally as deadline for contract nears

By Michael Lux

NEW YORK—Two thousand postal workers attended a spirited, chanting rally and picket line in front of the General Post Office here July 8 to warn postal management that unless contract negotiations produce a decent contract by July 21, 600,000 postal workers will be forced to go on a nationwide strike.

The rally was the second in a series of demonstrations in New York City aimed at drawing attention to the foot dragging by United States Postal Service negotiators and the lack of any substantial offer by management. The old contract expires at midnight July 20.

A rally of 300 to 400 postal workers at the main Brooklyn Post Office July 7 focused on the management proposal to eliminate the "no layoff" clause, which has been in the contract since 1971.

The July 8 demonstration in Manhattan stretched two full blocks in front of the GPO. Postal workers from various New York postal unions, including more than 500 upstate postal workers, chanted "No contract, no work" and carried signs demanding "No layoffs—not negotiable," "Add COLA to basic salary" (COLA is a cost-of-living adjustment won in previous negotiations), "No more subs—All regulars," "Substantial Pay Increase," and many more.

The demonstration was sponsored jointly by the Metropolitan Area Postal Union and the New York Letter Carriers, Branch 36. The purpose of the demonstration was to mobilize the ranks of New York City postal workers and prepare them for an anticipated strike.

In the words of Vincent Sombrotto, president of the New York Letter Carriers: "We are giving a fair warning, not only to the postal establishment, but also to the citizens of this fair country, that if there is a strike, then it will rest on the shoulders of those people at the bargaining table representing management. One way to assure a nationwide strike is to let the negotiations break down. . . .

"I hope the people in Washington are wise enough not to tinker with this time bomb that's ticking in New York City. They're not going to get away with what they're trying to do. . . . If we don't get a decent contract that we



Militant/Michael Hardy

Moe Biller, president of Metropolitan Area Postal Union, leads picket line in New York City during 1970 postal strike. Current contract expires at midnight July 20.

can ratify, then we won't ratify it; and if we have to go out on strike, then that's exactly what we're going to do. When we're out here next time, it'll be to stop people from going in there."

A major concern to most of the demonstrating postal workers was the proposed elimination of the "no layoff" clause from the contract. Ralph Wolf, a mechanic at the Meadowlands Bulk Mail Facility in Kearny, New Jersey, said: "They want to take away our 'no layoff' clause, which is vital to the survival of the workers. The postal corporation says that before they will discuss anything at all with the contract, they want to first eliminate the 'no layoff' clause."

"The union says that it is not a negotiable issue and that if they do want to eliminate it, we'll have to go on strike. I support that wholeheartedly. I feel that if they tried to do that, there would be a very, very strong strike."

Although the overwhelming majority of workers are concerned with the elimination of the "no layoff" provision, other issues are also seen as important for the new contract. The union is demanding a substantial wage increase, the strengthening and

permanent incorporation of the cost-of-living adjustment into the contract, the elimination of the part-time substitute or "flexie" category, the area wage differential for higher cost urban workers, and the elimination of the speedup implications of the highly touted "Kokomo plan." This speedup plan threatens to eliminate 30,000 to 50,000 jobs through route increases and tour schedule changes.

Moe Biller, president of the 26,000-member Metropolitan Area Postal Union, pointed out in his speech to the rally: "The 'no layoff' clause is a straw man. It is a phantom that management has conjured up to use as a hammer over the heads of the negotiators and to make them timid. But the workers are not timid. You've shown today that the tycoons of postal management are playing with matches and we don't want an explosion."

"We're workers; no workers like a strike. Mr. Bailer [postmaster general] says that he doesn't mind a strike. Well if he doesn't mind one, then we'll have to be ready too. No contract, no work."

The 2,000 postal workers cheered Biller and chanted, "No contract, no work!"

Party Building Fund

Drive reaches three-quarter mark

By Barry Sheppard

As the scoreboard below indicates, we have collected almost three-fourths of the \$40,000 goal of the Socialist Workers party special Party Building Fund. This fund is based on the tax rebate most workers have received. Supporters of the SWP have pledged all or part of their rebates to the struggle for socialism.

The government has sent out most of the rebate checks by now. Those who have made pledges should be sure to send them in soon. The fund will end on July 31. In those cities where the pledges are being collected by the branches of the Socialist Workers party, those responsible for collecting them should make sure that this is done.

Some areas have fallen behind in collecting the pledges and will have to now make special efforts to catch up so that their pledge is met.

One of the things the SWP plans to use this fund for is expansion into new

cities. Organizing efforts are underway in Baltimore and New Orleans, and plans are being drawn up for SWP expansion into San Jose, California, and San Antonio, Texas. The Chicago branch has decided to divide and to establish two branches in that city.

All of these moves and other projects

have been made easier by what has been collected to date through the special Party Building Fund. Now, a final effort is needed to make our goal on time.

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

Scoreboard

Area	Collected		
		Oakland/Berkeley	1,410.35
		Philadelphia	590.00
Atlanta	\$ 474.20	Pittsburgh	595.00
Boston	1,172.95	Portland, Ore.	560.00
Brooklyn	3,097.14	St. Louis	1,168.75
Chicago	1,540.33	San Diego	128.00
Cleveland	894.85	San Francisco	680.00
Denver	370.00	Twin Cities	831.95
Detroit	150.00	Upper West Side, N.Y.	1,723.55
Houston	1,745.75	Washington, D.C.	1,902.27
L.A. (Central-East)	2,033.80	General	2,791.15
L.A. (West Side)	978.25		
Lower Manhattan, N.Y.	3,449.97	Total	29,057.81
Milwaukee	769.55	Goal	40,000.00

Calendar

DENVER

FARM WORKERS FIGHT FOR UNION RIGHTS. UFW film, *Fighting for Our Lives*. Fri., July 18, 8 p.m. 1203 California. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (303) 623-2828.

MILWAUKEE

A MARXIST APPROACH TO THE LABOR MOVEMENT. A socialist summer school series. *Winning a Decisive Battle*. Sat., July 19, 1:30 p.m. 207 E. Michigan, Room 25. Donation: \$1.50 for series, 25¢ per class. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (414) 289-9340.

PITTSBURGH

PORTUGAL: TOWARD A SOCIALIST REVOLUTION OR ANOTHER CHILE? Speaker: Fred Stanton, Western Pennsylvania SWP chairperson. Fri., July 18, 8 p.m. 3400 Fifth Ave. (corner Halket). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (412) 682-5019.

SAN DIEGO

JOANNE LITTLE MUST BE FREE! A panel discussion. Panel: Tamu Majadi, NIA Cultural Organization; Rita Butterworth, San Diego del Sur NOW; and Yvonne Hayes, Student Coalition Against Racism. Fri., July 18, 8 p.m. 4635 El Cajon Blvd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 280-1292.

SAN FRANCISCO

CRISIS IN ARGENTINA. Speaker: Roland Sheppard, SWP mayoral candidate. Fri., July 18, 8 p.m. 1519 Mission St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 864-9174.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Willie Mae Reid, SWP vice-presidential candidate; Brenda Brdar, SWP school board ward 1 candidate. Sat., July 19, 7:30 p.m.: refreshments; 8 p.m.: rally. St. Stephens Church, corner 16th and Newton N.W. Donation: \$2.50, students: \$1.00. Ausp: Washington, D.C., SWP 1976 Campaign Committee. For more information call (202) 347-1317.

...NAACP

Continued from page 8

The discussion period was dominated by these staff members. Ted Smith, a member of AFSCME from Detroit, attacked the NAACP for "making capital out of labor's difficulties" and making the job issue a "Black and white situation."

Smith neglected to mention efforts by white union bureaucrats to "make capital" out of job discrimination.

A Steelworkers official, Nathaniel Lee from Youngstown, Ohio, made a threat that was repeated by other

union officials. He hinted that if the AFL-CIO position was rejected, large-scale union funds now going to help the NAACP would be cut off.

James Clark, an international representative of the UAW, observed pointedly that he and all twenty-five members of the UAW international executive board hold NAACP life memberships, which involve \$500 contributions.

One speaker, Debra Peterson, began by identifying herself as "a young Black worker." She castigated the NAACP for not joining in what she characterized as the massive campaign for "jobs for all" that George Meany is leading. If there was such a massive campaign, no doubt many at the convention would have thrown themselves into it. But unfortunately, there's no such campaign.

Peterson, it turns out, is a "worker" employed on the staff of the League for Industrial Democracy, a conservative, social-democratic front financed by the pro-Meany Social Democrats, USA.

One of the pressures bearing down on the NAACP to drop its affirmative-action position comes from the Democratic party. The NAACP has traditionally favored the formation of a "liberal-labor-Black" coalition behind Democratic candidates as the way forward for Black people.

In her keynote speech to the convention, Margaret Bush Wilson, chairperson of the NAACP board of directors, pointed toward election of a Democratic president in 1976 as the way to end the depression and the new wave of racist attacks on Blacks.

James Lewis, a functionary of the Steelworkers, told the workshop on affirmative action that the NAACP should abandon its defense of affirmative action "because the only one to benefit from it would be the Republican party." Lewis argued that insistence on opposing discriminatory layoffs could prevent Blacks from uniting with the labor bureaucracy to hustle votes for the Democrats in 1976.

At a news conference the day before, Hill recognized the threat that the NAACP's position represented to "the future of liberal coalition politics" in this country. He pleaded for liberals and labor to make concessions on this issue in order to maintain the vote-catching coalition for the Democrats.

The debate over affirmative action continued throughout the convention.

But when the final plenary session convened, it became clear that the NAACP leadership preferred not to have an open discussion on the floor on this topic. After some parliamentary stalling tactics, the resolution on affirmative action came to the floor.

Between twenty and thirty delegates, including a number of the organization's leaders, lined up to speak. However, the first delegate on the list moved to amend the resolution to remove all sections specifically mentioning seniority, including a sentence that read, "Any seniority system which adversely penalizes minority employment and which is not job related (justified by business necessity) should be declared illegal and altered in an equitable fashion."

None of the delegates who had lined up to speak opposed an immediate vote, and there was no significant opposition to passage of the resolution as amended.

The amended resolution was presented as a "compromise," and some opponents of the NAACP position claimed to support it. The amendment had obviously been worked out in advance to avoid a full-dress floor fight.

But despite the talk about compromise, the resolution in its essence was a reaffirmation of the NAACP's position in defense of affirmative action and in opposition to discriminatory layoffs.

This stand is all the more important given the fact that organizations that ought to be taking a clear position on this question have recently either tabled resolutions for affirmative action (like the Atlanta convention of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists), or voted them down (as did the steering committee of the Coalition of Labor Union Women).

Although this convention far from ended the debate, it marked a defeat for the AFL-CIO bureaucrats and a victory for Blacks and women, and for all working people.

...Peron

Continued from page 5

of the dissatisfaction with this wage cut:

"In Córdoba the CGT [Confederación

General del Trabajo—General Confederation of Labor] local called off the work stoppage. Nonetheless, production remained at a standstill in several metal plants; in Buenos Aires there was a work stoppage of public employees in Mar del Plata and the regional CGT insisted on calling for the ratification of the collective-bargaining agreements. . . .

"In all sections of the Greater Buenos Aires industrial belt metallurgical plants remained paralyzed, as did textile firms in the La Matanza section. It should be noted that in no case did the national leaderships of the affected unions realize that these events were about to occur.

"SANTA FE—Yesterday morning the employees of Fiat Concord in Sauce Viejo held a mass meeting, which voted to carry out a stoppage of indefinite duration. . . .

"The employees at Tool Research in Sauce Viejo also supported the shutdown, and the coordinating committee of bank workers decided to implement a work-to-rule slowdown. . . ."

An article in the same issue of *La Nación* reported on the situation in the industrial center of Rosario:

"Starting at 9:00 a.m. yesterday, metalworkers who had been conducting a strike and occupation demanding ratification of the collective-bargaining agreements since the day before yesterday began to leave the factories and workshops. Contingents with signs demanding the application of Law 14,250 [Ley de Contrato de Trabajo—Work Contract Law, giving workers the right to demand redress of grievances] converged on the headquarters of the local UOM from different points in the city. . . . Police estimated the number of demonstrators between 3,500 and 4,000.

"At the same time there was a mass meeting of the local unit of the Sindicato de Mecánicos y Afines del Transporte Automotor [SMATA—Union of Automotive Machinists and Allied Trades], which had also voted for a work stoppage and occupation starting at noon the day before yesterday. There was an air of expectancy and when they found out that the metalworkers were already marching on the CGT, SMATA voted hurriedly to send delegates to different plants to tell its members that they should leave their workplaces and join the demonstration. . . ."

Socialist Directory

ARIZONA: Tucson: YSA, c/o Clennon, S.U.P.O. Box 20965, Tucson, Ariz. 85720.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 1849 University Ave., Berkeley, Calif. 94703. Tel: (415) 548-0354.

Long Beach: YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, CSU, 6101 E. 7th St., Long Beach, Calif. 90807.

Los Angeles, Central-East: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Tel: SWP, Militant Bookstore—(213) 483-1512; YSA—(213) 483-2581.

Los Angeles, West Side: SWP and YSA, 230 Broadway, Santa Monica, Calif. 90401. Tel: (213) 394-9050.

Los Angeles: City-wide SWP and YSA, 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Tel: (213) 483-0357.

Riverside: YSA, c/o U. of Cal. Campus Activities, 234 Commons, Riverside, Calif. 92507.

Sacramento: YSA, P.O. Box 20669, Sacramento, Calif. 95824.

San Diego: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 4635 El Cajon Blvd., San Diego, Calif. 92115. Tel: (714) 280-1292.

San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Militant Books, 1519 Mission St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103. Tel: SWP—(415) 431-8918; YSA—(415) 863-2285; Militant Books—(415) 864-9174.

San Jose: YSA, 96 S. 17th St., San Jose, Calif. 95112. Tel: (408) 286-0615.

Santa Barbara: YSA, P.O. Box 14606, UCSB, Santa Barbara, Calif. 93107.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 1203 California, Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: SWP—(303) 623-2825; YSA—(303) 893-8360.

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GEORGIA: Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St., N.E., Third Floor, Atlanta, Ga. 30303. SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 846, Atlanta, Ga. 30301. Tel: (404) 523-0619.

ILLINOIS: Champaign: YSA, Room 284 Illini Union, Urbana, Ill. 61801.

Chicago: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 428 S. Wabash, Fifth Floor, Chicago, Ill. 60605. Tel: SWP—(312) 939-0737; YSA—(312) 427-0280, Pathfinder Books—(312) 939-0756.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

Indianapolis: YSA, c/o Carole McKee, 1309 E. Vermont St., Indianapolis, Ind. 46202. Tel: (317) 637-1105.

KANSAS: Lawrence: YSA, c/o Christopher Starr, 3020 Iowa St., Apt. C-14, Lawrence, Kans. 66044. Tel: (913) 864-3975 or 842-8658.

KENTUCKY: Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952 University Station, Lexington, Ky. 40506. Tel: (606) 266-0536.

LOUISIANA: New Orleans: YSA, Box 1330 U.N.O., New Orleans, La. 70122.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: YSA, P.O. Box 4314, Baltimore, Md. 21223. Tel: (301) 247-8911.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor, Boston, Mass. 02111. Tel: SWP—(617) 482-8050; YSA—(617) 482-8051; Issues and Activists Speakers' Bureau (IASB) and Regional Committee—(617) 482-8052; Pathfinder Books—(617) 338-8560.

Worcester: YSA, Box 229, Greendale Station, Worcester, Mass. 01606.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, Room 4103, Mich. Union, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104. Tel: (313) 663-8766.

Detroit: SWP, YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) 831-6135.

East Lansing: YSA, First Floor Student Offices, Union Bldg., Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich. 48823. Tel: (517) 353-0660.

Kalamazoo: YSA, c/o Gail Altenburg, 3511 Ken-

brooke Ct., Kalamazoo, Mich. 49007. Tel: (616) 375-6370.

Mt. Pleasant: YSA, Box 51 Warriner Hall, Central Mich. Univ., Mt. Pleasant, Mich. 48859.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA, Labor Bookstore, 25 University Ave. S.E., Mpls., Minn. 55414. Tel: (612) 332-7781.

MISSOURI: St. Louis: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 4660 Maryland, Suite 17, St. Louis, Mo. 63108. Tel: (314) 367-2520.

NEW YORK: Albany: YSA, c/o Spencer Livingston, 317 State St., Albany, N.Y. 12210.

Brooklyn: SWP and YSA, 136 Lawrence St. (at Willoughby), Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201. Tel: (212) 596-2849.

New York City: City-wide SWP and YSA, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-4966.

Lower Manhattan: SWP, YSA, and Merit Bookstore, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: SWP, YSA—(212) 982-6051; Merit Books (212) 982-5940.

Upper West Side: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 2726 Broadway (104th St.), New York, N.Y. 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000.

Ossining: YSA, c/o Scott Cooper, 127-1 S. Highland Ave., Ossining, N.Y. 10562.

NORTH CAROLINA: Greenville: YSA, P.O. Box 1693, Greenville, N.C. 27834. Tel: (919) 752-6439.

OHIO: Bowling Green: YSA, P.O. Box 27, University Hall, Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio 43411.

Cincinnati: YSA, c/o Charles R. Mitts, 6830 Buckingham Pl., Cincinnati, Ohio 45227.

Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 2300 Payne, Cleveland, Ohio 44114. Tel: (216) 861-4166.

Columbus: YSA, c/o Margaret Van Epp, 670 Cuyahoga Ct., Columbus, Ohio 43210. Tel: (614) 268-7860.

OREGON: Portland: SWP and YSA, 208 S.W. Stark, Fifth Floor, Portland, Ore. 97204. Tel: (503) 226-2715.

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College, Edinboro, Pa. 16412.

Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market), Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. Tel: (215) WA5-4316.

Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Press, 3400 Fifth Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. 15213. Tel: (412) 682-5019.

Shippensburg: YSA, c/o Mark Dressler, Box 214 Lackhove Hall, Shippensburg State College, Shippensburg, Pa. 17257.

State College: YSA, 333 Logan Ave. #401, State College, Pa. 16801.

TENNESSEE: Nashville: YSA, P.O. Box 67, Station B, Nashville, Tenn. 37235. Tel: (615) 383-2583.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Arnold Rodriguez, 901 Morrow, Apt. 303, Austin, Tex. 78757.

Dallas: YSA, c/o Steve Charles, 3420 Hidalgo #201, Dallas, Tex. 75220. Tel: (214) 352-6031.

Houston: SWP, YSA, and Pathfinder Books, 3311 Montrose, Houston, Tex. 77006. Tel: (713) 526-1082.

San Antonio: YSA, c/o Andy González, 2203 W. Houston, San Antonio, Tex. 78207.

UTAH: Logan: YSA, P.O. Box 1233, Utah State University, Logan, Utah 84321.

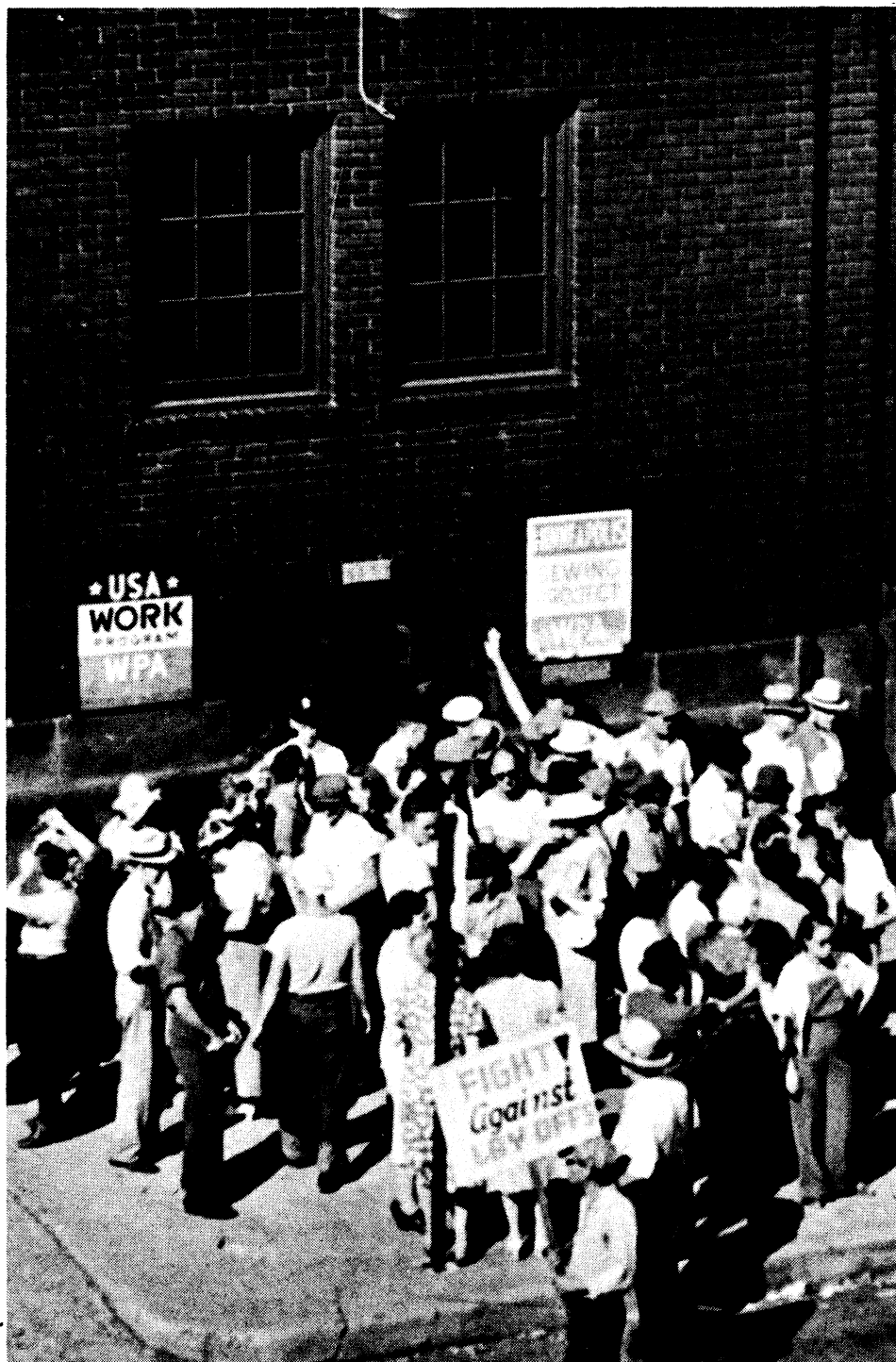
WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 1345 E St. N.W., Fourth Floor, Wash., D.C. 20004. Tel: SWP—(202) 783-2391; YSA—(202) 783-2363.

WASHINGTON: Bellingham: YSA and Young Socialist Books, Rm. 213, Viking Union, Western Washington State College, Bellingham, Wash. 98225. Tel: (206) 676-3460.

Seattle: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 5623 University Way N.E., Seattle, Wash. 98105. Tel: (206) 522-7800.

WISCONSIN: Madison: YSA, P.O. Box 1442, Madison, Wis. 53701. Tel: (608) 238-6224.

Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 207 E. Michigan Ave., Rm. 25, Milwaukee, Wis. 53202. Tel: SWP—(414) 289-9340; YSA—(414) 289-9380.



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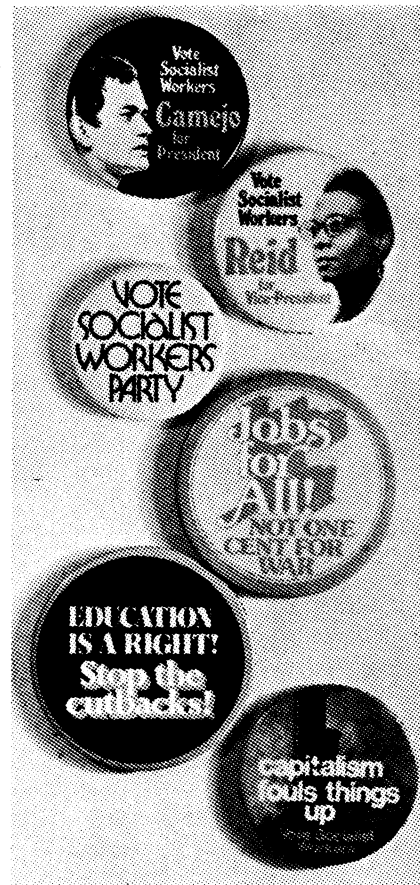
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LOS ANGELES

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SATURDAY, JULY 19. Los Angeles annual shish kebab. Menu includes: hummus, salad, shish kebab, pilaf, Syrian hot sauce, and pita. Refreshments, 4 p.m.; dinner, 6-8 p.m. 1321 Palms Blvd., Venice. Donation: \$5; \$2.50 for h.s. students. Ausp: Socialist Workers party. For more information or reservations call (213) 394-9050 or (213) 483-1512.

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Joanne Little: 'Symbol for Blacks & women'

By Martha Pettit

DETROIT—"There is no woman victimized by this society today who cannot identify with Joanne Little," Willie Mae Reid told a rally here June 28.

"Because she is standing up and fighting back, Sister Joanne has become a symbol for Blacks and women, a symbol like Rosa Parks was back in 1955, when she had the guts to say, 'I refuse to submit to the continuing harassment of this system.'"

Reid, the 1976 vice-presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers party, told the rally of campaign supporters that she will attend the opening days of Little's trial in Raleigh, North Carolina.

The trial of the twenty-one-year old Black woman starts July 14. She is charged with first-degree murder in the stabbing death of a white jailer, Clarence Alligood.

Last August 27, armed with an ice pick, Alligood entered Little's jail cell in Washington, North Carolina. In the course of trying to rape the young prisoner, he was stabbed with the pick, and he was found dead the next morning. Little fled, but later surrendered to state authorities.

If convicted, she will receive a mandatory death sentence, joining about seventy-five other inmates on North Carolina's death row.

"There are going to be protests across the country in support of Joanne when her trial begins," Reid said, "so those officials will know it's not Joanne Little who is on trial, but the racist, sexist judicial system of North Carolina. Joanne is the *victim* in this case, not the criminal, and she must be set free!"

Reid has made the defense of Little a major focus of her campaign speaking tours on the West Coast and in the Midwest. Addressing women's groups, Black organizations, students, and working people, she has found a warm response to Little's case.

"At every campus meeting I had,"



Socialist vice-presidential candidate Willie Mae Reid (left) with Joanne Little (right) at recent Chicago defense meeting.

Reid told Detroit supporters, "there wasn't a single person who hadn't heard of Joanne Little. When I stood up and talked about the case, women responded overwhelmingly. Blacks responded overwhelmingly."

"The people who are contributing funds to support Joanne are the ordinary people in this society," she pointed out, "the people who give that one dollar or five dollars to ensure that she gets a hearing. And that's partly because Joanne is herself one of those ordinary people, a typical Black woman abused by this society."

Little grew up in Washington, North Carolina, the oldest of nine children. She attended the segregated schools of Beaufort County, where Blacks are a third of the population. When she dropped out of school at the age of fifteen, she was sent to a school for "truants."

"Like myself and millions of other Black women in the South, Joanne was doomed to the dirtiest, lowest-

paying jobs," Reid said in an interview after the rally. "She worked as a waitress and as a garment worker. When she finally landed a halfway decent-paying job as a Sheetrock finisher, it didn't last long."

"Joanne was also a victim of racist justice, you see. She was picked up several times on shoplifting charges. Then in January 1974, she and her brother Jerome were arrested for breaking and entering."

Little was given a court-appointed attorney, while her brother was defended by a lawyer named John Wilkinson. Wilkinson advised Jerome to turn state's evidence against his sister, which he did. The result was that Joanne Little was sentenced to seven to ten years in jail, while her brother received a suspended sentence.

"Today, this same John Wilkinson has been hired by the Alligood family as a special prosecutor at Joanne's trial," Reid noted. "And this is not the

only element of 'Southern justice' that has been shown in this case."

"The grand jury that indicted Joanne was chosen from lists that deliberately excluded Blacks, young people, and women," Reid said. "But it didn't exclude Alligood—a member of the dead jailer's own family sat on that grand jury!"

Reid also pointed to a survey of attitudes among whites in Beaufort County done by the defense. "One question they asked was, 'Does a woman have the right to defend herself against sexual attack?' The response was an overwhelming 'Yes.'"

"Then they asked, 'Does a Black woman have the right to defend herself when the attacker is white?' The response was again overwhelming, overwhelmingly 'No.'"

"In other words, a hundred years after slavery, and ten years after the end of Jim Crow, we Black women are still treated today like a pound of flesh, to be used, abused, and then cast aside."

"If it takes millions of people to free Joanne, then we must move millions in her support. I personally pledge the energies of my campaign to help build the kind of massive, united defense effort that is needed."

On-the-spot trial reports

The *Militant* is sending the head of our Washington Bureau, Cindy Jaquith, to Raleigh, North Carolina, to cover the Joanne Little trial. Don't miss our on-the-spot, weekly reports on this important case—beginning with next week's issue. You can get an introductory subscription to the *Militant* for two months for just one dollar. Send your dollar to the *Militant*, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

25,000 sign SWP petitions in Mich.

DETROIT—In her opening remarks to the June 28 rally here, Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers party candidate for vice-president, congratulated her campaign supporters for making Michigan the first state to collect enough signatures to put the SWP on the ballot in 1976.

Twenty-five thousand signatures were obtained in a three-week drive. Some 9,500 of these were obtained by a team of eight full-time volunteers. This team went to unemployment lines, downtown areas, the Black community, and college campuses to gather signatures.

Petitioners found that interest ran high in the socialist campaign.

One campaign worker approached a middle-aged woman in Dearborn, a white suburb, and asked for her signature to put the SWP on the ballot. The woman said she'd be

glad to, and explained why:

"I know that your Young Socialists were up on our picket lines [during the Crestwood teachers' strike] helping out, and we really appreciated that. And I know that the Young Socialists are connected to the Socialist Workers party."

Many Black women, and men, were especially glad that a Black woman had decided to run for office. One young Black woman said, "Sure, if she wants to run, then I want to help her."

Others wanted to know more about the SWP before signing. When told that the party's candidates were campaigning for dropping the charges against Joanne Little, for ending the racist attacks on desegregation in Boston, and for a massive public works program to end unemployment, many signed the petitions immediately. —M.P.



Many people signed socialist ballot petitions immediately when told of SWP's support for Joanne Little, desegregation, and jobs for all.