

# THE MILITANT

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

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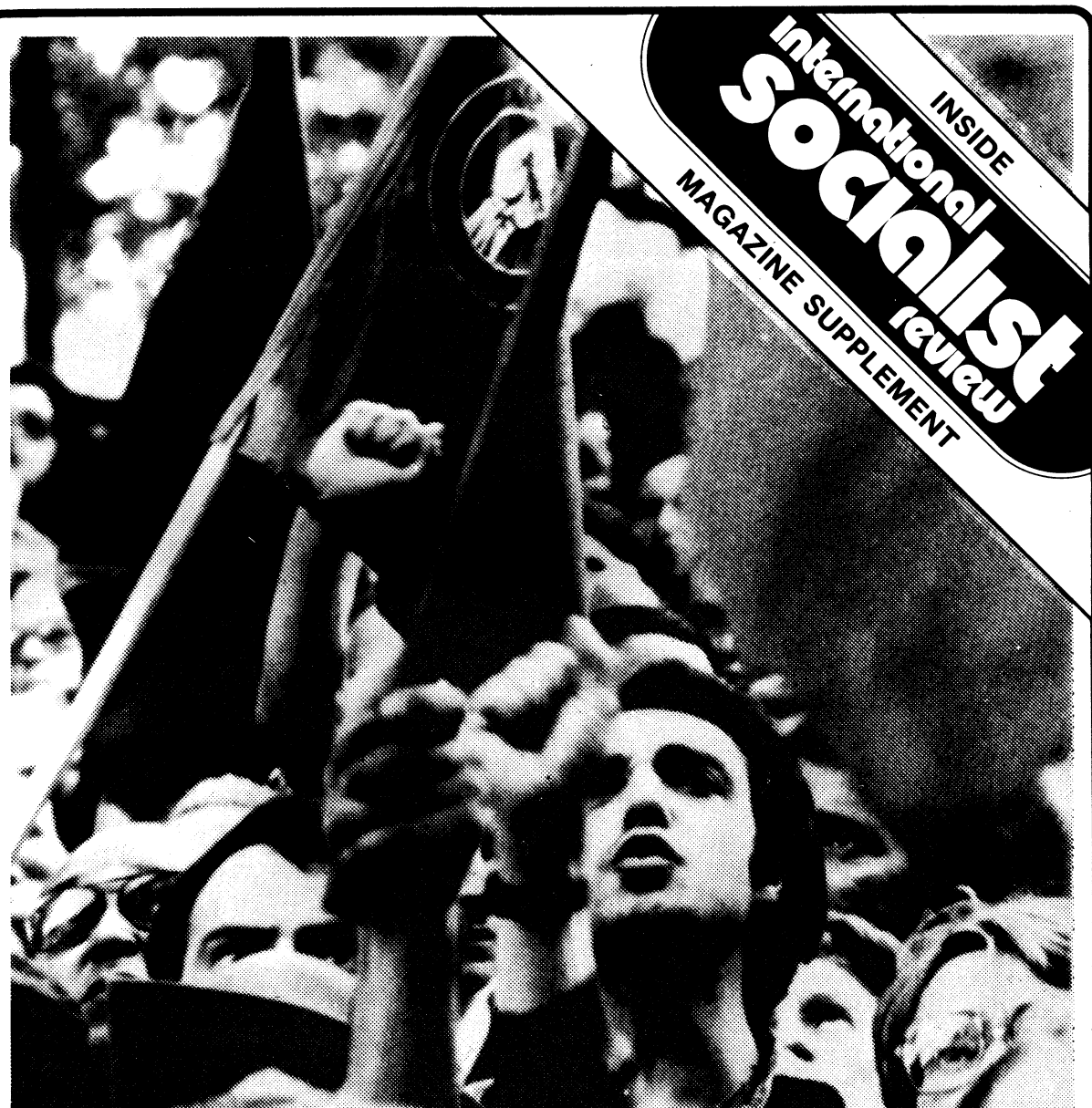
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## THE MILITANT

VOLUME 39/NUMBER 29  
AUGUST 1, 1975  
CLOSING NEWS DATE—JULY 23

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Published weekly by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.  
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Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscriptions: domestic, \$7.50 a year; foreign, \$11.00. By first-class mail: domestic, Canada, and Mexico, \$32; all other countries, \$53. By airmail: domestic, Canada, and Mexico, \$42. By air printed matter: Central America and Caribbean, \$40; Mediterranean Africa, Europe, and South America, \$52; USSR, Asia, Pacific, and Africa, \$62. Write for foreign sealed air postage rates.

For subscriptions airmailed from New York and then posted from London directly to Britain, Ireland, and Continental Europe: £1.50 for eight issues, £3.50 for six months, £6.50 for one year. Send banker's draft or international postal order (payable to Pathfinder Press) to Pathfinder Press, 47 The Cut, London, SE1 8LL, England. Inquire for air rates from London at the same address.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

**DOMINICAN LABOR LEADERS IMPRISONED:** The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) has released an appeal dated July 1 from the Central General de Trabajadores (CGT—General Labor Federation) of the Dominican Republic urging international protest for the release of three of its leaders.

The three—Francisco Antonio Santos, general secretary; Julio de Peña Valdez, education secretary; and Eugenio Pérez Cepeda, secretary of conflicts and grievances—have been arrested along with hundreds of others in a dragnet for alleged guerrillas the regime claims staged a landing from Cuba.

The CGT charges the real reason for the arrest of the three is their activity against "the misery, hunger, and the lack of democratic liberties suffered by our workers and people." The CGT adds: "In Santo Domingo today the existence of the democratic rights of the people is at stake, and particularly trade-union rights."

The CGT asks "all organizations interested in the defense of democratic rights" to protest the arrests and coordinate their activities with USLA. USLA has begun organizing meetings and demonstrations to demand the release of the three and all other political prisoners being held in Dominican jails. In addition, USLA has announced it is coordinating a delegation of labor leaders and other prominent individuals to travel to the Dominican Republic and investigate the conditions under which the prisoners are being held.

*Larry Trainor, a founding member and longtime leader of the Socialist Workers party, died on July 22 in Boston. Trainor, seventy, had been active in the socialist movement for more than forty years. He died of heart failure following a long illness.*

*A memorial meeting will be held in Boston on Sunday, August 3, at 7:30 p.m. The address is 655 Atlantic Avenue, third floor. Messages to the memorial meeting may be sent to the same address.*

*A future issue of the Militant will carry an appreciation of Larry Trainor's life and contributions to the Trotskyist movement.*

**'FREE JOANNE LITTLE':** Those words were shouted by prisoners in a Milwaukee jail on July 19. They could be heard by demonstrators who rallied in the Civic Center Plaza after a march through the downtown shopping area. At one point the prisoners relayed a message to turn the sound up at the rally so they could hear better. Among the endorsers of the action to support Little were the Milwaukee Student Coalition Against Racism, United Black Community Council, National Organization for Women, the Black Student Union at the University of Wisconsin in Milwaukee, and the Socialist Workers party.

**PITTSBURGH PROTEST:** A July 14 demonstration in Pittsburgh combined support for Joanne Little and Stanton Story, victim of a local racist frame-up. Following the fatal shooting of a policeman a year ago, Story became the object of an enraged cop manhunt. They terrorized the Black community under the guise of searching for Story and another suspect.

When Story returned to the city from North Carolina, where he had been at the time of the shooting, he was arrested and convicted. Story's mother and sister have now formed the Committee for a New Trial for Stanton Story. The jury in the trial was all white and included two relatives of cops and a relative of the mayor, who had backed police actions in the case "100 percent."

A witness claiming to be an uncle of Story who had seen him in town the day of the shooting is not a relative but an imposter, the committee says. They are now asking for Story's release from a special disciplinary unit at the prison where he is being held.

Sixty people marched in front of the City-County Building in a picket line called by the Pittsburgh Student Coalition Against Racism, the Law and Justice Committee of the NAACP, Vibrations II (a prison reform group), Western Pennsylvania Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, Communist party, Black Catholic Ministries, the Young Socialist Alliance, and Young Workers Liberation League.

**LAST HIRED, FIRST FIRED:** The fifth circuit court of appeals in New Orleans has overturned a district judge's ruling in the Continental Can Company case involving Blacks and the "last hired, first fired" principle.

The appeals court ruled July 16 that the company does not have to reinstate Black workers who were laid off first because they had low seniority at the plant. The Black workers charged that the company, in laying them off, was

reverting to its old practice of racial discrimination. The district judge had ordered preferential seniority for the Black employees.

**THE RIGHT TO HEAR:** "We are dealing with the right of Americans to hear her." That's what Leonard Boudin, general counsel of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (NECLC), said the issue was. He was speaking at a news conference where several well-known civil liberties lawyers protested the State Department's refusal to permit the entry of Dr. Melba Hernández of Cuba.

Hernández, who twenty-two years ago accompanied Fidel Castro in the famous charge on Moncada Barracks, accepted the invitation of the Committee for July 26 to give the keynote speech at "A People's Salute to Cuba" set for the evenings of July 24 and 25 at the Manhattan Center in New York City.

Hernández was refused entry under provisions of the same reactionary legislation previously used to keep out Ernest Mandel, the Belgian Marxist economist. The State Department said it was denying Hernández a visa because "she is coming to the United States for a political reason, to give a political speech."

A spokesperson for the Committee for July 26 vowed to "fight until the end to insure that our right to hear Dr. Hernández is respected by the U.S. government."

**PUBLIC WORKERS END PENNSYLVANIA STRIKE:** On July 19, the Pennsylvania Social Services Union and the Pennsylvania Employees Security Association approved by a narrow margin a contract providing for wage increases of 11 percent over the next two years with an immediate raise of 3.5 percent.

The contract is essentially the same as that signed by the state chapter of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees two weeks earlier. The social services unions had earlier refused to accept the terms AFSCME agreed to. After AFSCME settled, its members were ordered to cross PSSU picket lines.

Ed Pursell, chief negotiator for the PSSU, conceded that most members were not satisfied with the wage offer, but said that he viewed the settlement as the best that could be gotten from Gov. Milton Shapp in light of the AFSCME settlement.

**ANTI-TROTSKYISM:** "Posse Comitatus" is the name of a new right-wing group in the Northwest. The *New York Times* reports that they have a lot in common with the Minutemen and the Ku Klux Klan. Like the vigilantes of the old West that the group styles itself after, they aim to take the law into their own hands.

They held a convention last month in Virginia City, Montana. According to the *Times*, "The talk over the weekend was mostly about the subversion of the Constitution by 'Communist Trotskyite Jews' . . ."

—Nelson Blackstock

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The trial of Joanne Little is underway. Her case has become a rallying point for opponents of racism and sexism. They will be watching developments in the courtroom in North Carolina. To stay on top of what's happening there and the growing defense effort around the country, subscribe to the *Militant*.

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# Rights of Blacks, women at stake in frame-up trial of Joanne Little

By Cindy Jaquith

RALEIGH, N.C.—Whether a Black woman prisoner has the right to protect herself from a sexual attack by a white, male jailer will be decided by a jury that includes five Blacks and eight women in the murder trial of Joanne Little.

The twelfth juror in the case was selected July 23, after eight days of efforts by the prosecution to deny Little a jury of her peers. Once alternate jurors have been chosen, the trial itself will begin, opening one of the most publicized civil and women's rights cases of this decade.

Little, a twenty-one-year-old Black woman, is accused of first-degree murder in the death of Clarence Alligood, sixty-two, a white prison guard at the Beaufort County jail in Washington, North Carolina. Last summer, Little was incarcerated in the jail awaiting an appeal on a breaking-and-entering conviction.

Alligood was found in Little's cell on August 27, 1974, dead from ice-pick stab wounds. He was nude from the waist down, with semen on his leg.

According to Little, the jailer had entered her cell in the night, threatening her with a pick if she did not submit to a forced sexual assault. Little resisted and fought back, fleeing the cell after the jailer was stabbed. She later turned herself in to authorities after the state launched a massive effort to hunt her down.

The terrifying assault Little experienced is not unusual for Black women in North Carolina. "It's happened for a long time," says Jessie Williams, Little's mother. Williams has lived in North Carolina all her life.

Standing in a corridor filled with Little's supporters during a court recess, Williams said she hadn't anticipated such support for her daughter when the case began. She believes the thousands who have rallied to Little's side will be important in ensuring that the young Black woman receives justice.

Williams added, "What Joanne is doing will also help others. If she wins it will help not just Blacks but all people."

The latest in a series of demonstrations to free Little took place here July 21. One hundred fifty young Blacks picketed for hours in ninety-degree heat outside both the Wake County Courthouse and the Justice Building. The protest was organized by the Winston-Salem Black Panther party.

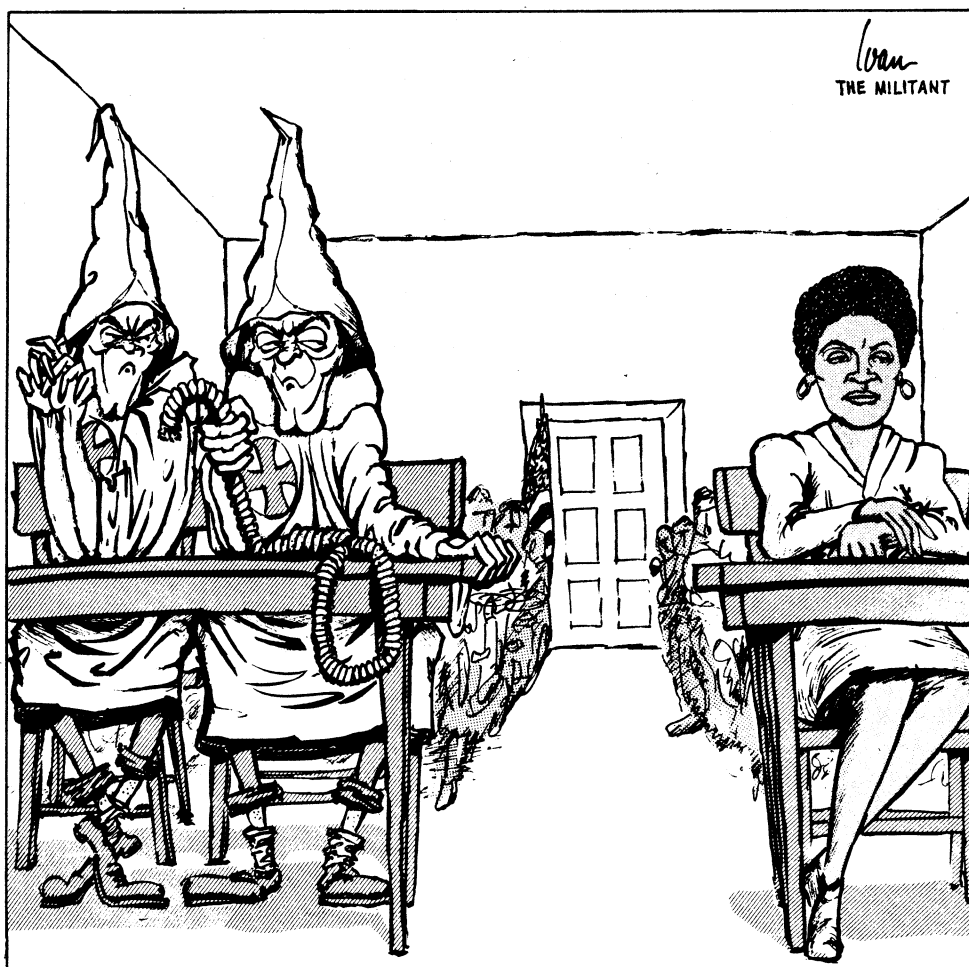
## Mandatory death penalty

Also at stake in this trial is the issue of capital punishment, since first-degree murder convictions in this state carry a mandatory death penalty. North Carolina's death row population—numbering more than eighty—is by far the largest in the nation.

Virtually all the jurors selected in the trial have indicated they have strong reservations about the death penalty.

But despite massive opposition to the death penalty, and nationwide support for Joanne Little, the state is apparently determined to see this racist frame-up through to the end.

Right-wing and racist forces, infuriated by Little's assertion of her rights, are also determined to see her punished. On July 22, the defense announced that another threat on Little's life had been received. Defense attorney Marvin Miller told reporters that all such threats are treated seriously



The State of North Carolina vs. Joanne Little

and that security precautions have been taken.

The main prosecutor in the case is Lester Chalmers, a state assistant attorney general, who was a lawyer for national and local leaders of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1960s. Reputed to have a knack for picking "hanging juries," Chalmers directed the state's efforts to exclude as many Blacks as possible from Little's jury. The prosecution was allocated nine peremptory challenges, meaning it could challenge and exclude nine prospective jurors without having to give any reason. The defense had fourteen such challenges.

Brazenly flaunting their racist outlook, the prosecuting attorney used eight challenges—every single one of them to throw Blacks off the jury.

To begin with, Blacks were under-represented in the jury pool. According to the defense jury selection team, the population of Wake County, where Raleigh is situated, is roughly 20 percent Black. But because the jury pool names are drawn from voter registration lists—which often exclude Blacks—the percentage of Blacks in the jury pool is only 15 percent. Of the first 300 jurors called for this case, the number was even lower, perhaps 10 to 12 percent.

Three of the Black jurors selected are women: Cora Judkins, forty-nine, a former cafeteria worker; Annie Hunter, sixty-six, a tobacco factory worker; and Pecola Jones, forty-nine, a machinist.

The male Black jurors are: Hazel Lee, fifty-seven, a school janitor; and Edward Mitchell, sixty-four, a retired delivery man.

Of the remaining jurors, five are in their twenties: Jule Hudson and Cornelia Howell, two women who coincidentally work in the same health food restaurant; Jennie Lancaster, a prison counselor; Mark Nielsen, a stereo shop owner; and Paul Lassiter, a lawyer.

Two women in their late forties were also chosen: Hilda Lipscomb, who lives on a tobacco farm; and Marcia Pearce, who helps run a small family grocery store.

In their desperation to keep Blacks off the jury, the prosecuting attorneys were quick to approve whites. This led to some ironic exchanges.

Chalmers rapidly approved Lipscomb, for example, only to hear her tell the defense under questioning that she has considered Little innocent for some time.

## Some jurors sympathetic

Pearce was also quickly passed by the prosecution. She then told defense attorneys that she sympathized with Little's decision to flee the jail cell: "She ran away because she knew she'd probably get lynched down there."

Asked what she would have done if confronted by Alligood, Pearce responded, "I'd have killed him just as dead as he stood there."

With Black prospective jurors, the prosecutors frequently asked if their families had criminal records. They bombarded Blacks with trick questions, aimed at tripping up otherwise acceptable answers. The prosecution also consulted often with agents of the State Bureau of Investigation, seated behind them, when at a loss for a means of knocking Blacks off the jury.

Incensed by this procedure, defense attorney Jerry Paul protested to Judge Hamilton Hobgood July 18, calling Chalmers's approach "an attitude of disrespect, contempt, and racism toward Black people." Paul asked the judge to order Chalmers to cease, but Hobgood stonily refused to even comment on Paul's request.

Once the prosecution presents its case, it will become even clearer that what is involved here is an effort to perpetuate the inhuman treatment meted out to Blacks, women, and prisoners in this society.

## No evidence

The state has absolutely no evidence to support its charge of murder. All the evidence points to the fact that Alligood was the real criminal.

In an effort to get a conviction, the state is expected to resurrect the racist stereotypes of Black females as women of "loose morals" who encourage the

sexual advances of white men. Thus, according to the twisted minds of the prosecution, Little enticed jailer Alligood into her cell, having mysteriously stolen the ice pick he kept in his office, and then killed him in cold blood in order to escape.

Little, however, has successfully passed two lie-detector tests administered by national experts who both state she is telling the truth.

Originally, prosecuting attorney William Griffin agreed that if Little passed a polygraph test, he would dismiss the charges against her. Now, confronted with proof of her innocence, Griffin claims the agreement was never made. The defense has filed a motion to have the indictment dropped nonetheless.

The defense is also seeking access to a statement by Terry Bell, a young white trusty at the Beaufort County jail, who at one time claimed he had helped Little arrange her cell to make Alligood's death look like self-defense. Bell has since retracted his story, and a state-administered lie-detector test has shown his original tale to be false.

The defense also had difficulty getting access to other items of the state's evidence. It was only last week that the prosecution turned over evidence to the defense for expert examination. While defense attorneys had been able to view the evidence previously, it was only when jury selection began—nearly a year after the alleged crime—that the defense was allowed to bring in experts to perform tests on the items of evidence.

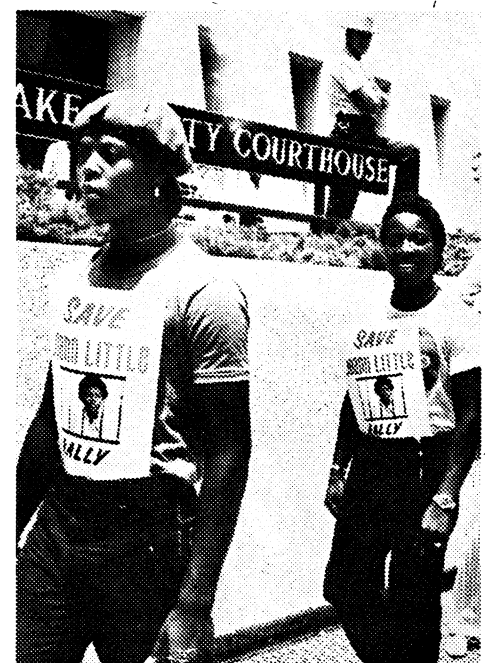
## Lesser charges possible

In an interview with the *Militant*, defense attorney Marvin Miller explained that the prosecution can try to convict Little on a lesser charge if it proves impossible to convince the jury she is guilty of first-degree murder.

Miller said the prosecution could add second-degree murder and or manslaughter charges to the original indictment, in hopes that the jurors would convict her of one of these lesser charges.

Miller emphasized the importance of support for Little during the trial. "A poor person cannot get a fair trial in the United States," he said. "The state has incredible resources that it can bring to bear. Most defendants can never match that power."

"In any case of this nature, if you don't have the support of the people, you have very little chance of victory."



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

Supporters of Joanne Little picket outside Wake County Courthouse in Raleigh, N.C.



## 'MAC the knife'

# N.Y. banks demand more cuts, layoffs

By Dick Roberts

NEW YORK, July 23—The banks and the Democratic administration of New York City are huddled to kick New Yorkers in the guts again, and harder. That's while the people of the city are down.

And we are down because the leaders of the municipal trade unions have refused to put up a fight against the massive attack on city jobs that was launched three months ago.

It is known everywhere except in the offices of the city union leaders that if you give the enemy an inch he'll take a mile.

Democratic Mayor Abraham Beame has already fired thousands of workers. Services have been slashed across town—from library hours to garbage collection.

Now the bankers, and Beame speaking for them, demand: the layoff of 27,000 more city workers; an immediate pay cut rolling back wages to the July 1 level; and a further 10 percent wage cut for many city workers.

That's just the top of the list. It also includes a transit fare increase; tuition in the previously free city universities; and a reshaping of the educational system, saddling teachers with bigger classes, longer working hours, less pay, and less vacation.

As we go to press the bankers have gotten around to inviting union leaders, headed by American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees chief Victor Gotbaum, into their meetings. Gotbaum promised beforehand he wouldn't strike.

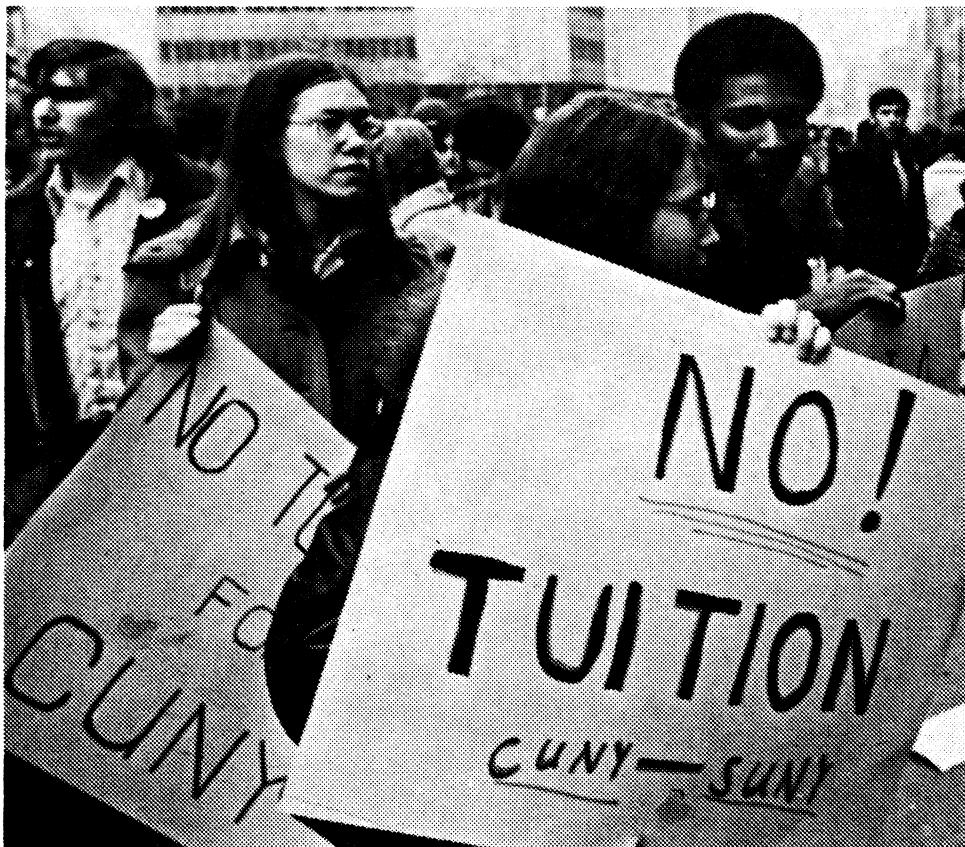
The rulers of the city want the union heads to agree in advance to the new demands.

Gotbaum hailed his invitation to go to Wall Street and sign on the dotted line as a "marvelous step forward." But while Gotbaum is downtown working out face-saving formulas, thousands and thousands of workers are bitterly wondering: what to do next? how to get by?

The latest stage of the New York job crisis opened last week when Big Mac (the Municipal Assistance Corporation), which was set up in the first round of the crisis to rule city finances and sell long-term bonds, demanded drastic budget cuts to pave the way for additional sales of its lucrative bonds.

The steps were spelled out in the press:

- On Monday, July 14, Felix Rohatyn, a director of Big Mac and an influential investment banker who is assuming ever-greater direct control of



Ronald Eisenberg

Imposition of tuition at city university is just one demand of bankers who are assuming ever-greater direct control over city finances.

New York finances, met with Mayor Beame and demanded a wage freeze. Apparently the mayor balked—for forty-eight hours.

- On Wednesday, the city Board of Estimate held an unusual meeting in which it agreed to pressure the mayor to accept Rohatyn's proposals.

- Later the same day, board officials persuaded Beame to go along and on Thursday the mayor held a meeting with Big Mac officials. This meeting finalized the details of the new and more far-reaching attack on New York workers.

### What they want

The central thrust of the bankers' meetings with Beame was spelled out by *New York Times* reporter John Darnton in a "News Analysis" column July 21.

"You must understand," one unnamed banker told Darnton, "The credit of New York State and its political subdivisions is under question. People do not put up capital for social reasons. They do it as an investment."

These bankers underlined the national implications of their budget-slashing drive against New York

residents. Writes Darnton, "Most of the economies that the board has tossed upon the table for discussion are ones that bear symbolic content for the rest of the country. They are designed to strike at the images of union militancy, welfare cheats and 'frill' subsidies that are seen elsewhere as a squandering of taxpayers' dollars."

"You have no idea," said one banker who toured the country to drum up support for M.A.C. bonds, "how much it galls someone living in, say, Toledo, to learn that the city spends millions of dollars to let students attend a free college."

That the source of these reactionary notions is supposed to be some small investor in Toledo is, of course, utterly absurd.

The *Times* itself has revealed that fully \$700 million of the first \$1 billion worth of Big Mac bonds were bought by the big New York banks themselves. And the owners of these banks live a bit nearer, in sumptuous homes on Fifth Avenue, in estates in Westchester County, and so forth. (One of them, presumably, lives in the U.S. vice-president's residence in Washington, D.C.)

Leaving that aside, the truth of the matter is that the escalated attack on New York workers is a wholesale attack on the living standards of all Americans. It is especially designed to pave the way for taking back the gains that oppressed minority peoples, Blacks and Puerto Ricans, have won here in social welfare and in unionization.

### Why they're getting it

The way was paved for the second round and harsher measures against New Yorkers by the capitulation of union heads during the first round of attacks.

Instead of resisting *all* layoffs, the bureaucrats scrambled around to find the weaker sectors of the work force whose jobs could be offered up first.

Gotbaum, in a move that could only cut AFSCME off from desperately needed support in the Black and Puerto Rican communities, demanded that civil servants be rehired by kicking others—largely Black and Puerto Rican workers—out of the federally funded CETA (Comprehensive Employment and Training Act) jobs program.

In the second week of July Beame moved to force city workers to stay on the job until 5:00 p.m. Their contract allows them to leave at 4:00 p.m. during the hot summer months.

Gotbaum instructed AFSCME members not to resist this unilateral violation of the union's contract, while the matter was left to the courts to decide.

On Monday, July 14, the first day of the new afternoon hours, when thousands of workers were itching to walk off at four anyway in defiance of Beame, Gotbaum gave a front-page story to the early afternoon papers.

"Gotbaum Urges Compliance," the *New York Post* headlined. "Asked about the possibility of wildcat walkouts, Gotbaum said the rank-and-file was 'very good,' adding that 'people who wildcat are suspect and open to discipline,'" the *Post* reported.

The issue wasn't so much the shorter hours (which have now been restored, at least temporarily, by an arbitrator's decision). The real issue was the fact that Beame had demonstrated that contract provisions could be thrown out the window and Gotbaum wouldn't fight.

Once this was made clear, the offensive was renewed. The city fired 1,434 sanitation workers. They had originally held onto their jobs through the one strike action that has been called against the city's layoffs. But in the meantime, sanitation union head John DeLury had made it clear that no further strikes were anticipated.

Gotbaum's capitulation in the new round of antilabor measures was stressed in a July 21 *Times* interview. Even after Beame's announcement of the second round of far-reaching antilabor measures, "Mr. Gotbaum believes that a strike would be counterproductive. . . . His staff has worked hard to keep the membership from bolting," wrote *Times* reporter Lee Dembart.

"I once read an interview with Mao or Chou," said Mr. Gotbaum, "and he said, 'Before we had the bomb, we had to talk like we did, but now that we have it, we don't have to talk that way.' When a union has power, it doesn't have to be militant. In my opinion, it's the weakest locals, the librarians, the welfare case workers, who talk about striking."

Gotbaum seems to forget that it took more than words for the Chinese revolution to triumph in 1949. From a union official in Gotbaum's present position, the smug talk of "power" is sheer bombast.

AFSCME is not saving jobs. Gotbaum refuses even to call a demonstration, let alone a strike, to oppose the massive new job and wage cuts Beame demands. *AFSCME's power is being whittled away day by day before Gotbaum's eyes.*

On top of this, Gotbaum singles out for public attack the very militants in his own union who are trying to combat the assault on New York workers.

The librarians and social-service workers have called for a united resistance of all workers, union and nonunion. They demonstrated against the job cuts June 28, a demonstration Gotbaum tried to sabotage at every point.

There is only one way to stop the money-hungry bankers and their Democratic hirelings. This is to *mobilize the power of the New York labor movement* in united, massive actions against city hall.

*Until that power is used the ruling-class attack will be stepped up. Whether Gotbaum sees it or not, that is the main lesson of the past three months in New York.*



Since layoff of 1,400 sanitation workers, garbage is again piling up in New York streets.



## Behind union defeat on city cutbacks

By Andy Rose

(Last of a series)

NEW YORK—The working people of New York have suffered a stunning setback. Mayor Abraham Beame has shown he can fire city workers and cut services as he pleases. He can ride roughshod over the municipal unions' contracts.

Worst of all, the union leaders have so far accepted defeat without a fight. Their capitulation has confused and demoralized thousands of workers, who now doubt that anything can be done except to individually find some way to cope with a layoff or a pay cut.

The question that must now be understood and explained is: How did Beame get away with it? New York is a longtime union town and the national stronghold of the public employee unions.

The American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, District Council 37, represents 125,000 city workers; the United Federation of Teachers, 57,000; Teamsters Local 237, 15,000; Uniformed Sanitationmen, 10,000; Uniformed Firefighters, 10,000; and there are dozens of smaller unions.

These are unions with the power to shut the city down tight, unions that could set in motion massive public opposition to the cutback plans. Why haven't they done so?

### April 26 march

The union ranks have been ready to act. They proved that when 60,000 turned out April 26 for a national march on Washington for jobs, half of them from New York.

But April 26 was the first and last time the union officials made any serious attempt to mobilize the ranks. The closer it got to the actual showdown over layoffs, the less willing the union officials were to bring the ranks into the streets.

*The most crucial period of the city crisis to date has gone by without AFSCME or any other major union calling so much as a picket line in protest.*

The municipal union leaders—Victor Gotbaum of AFSCME, Albert Shanker of the UFT, and the others—have not once appealed to the rest of the working-class residents of the city to join in united action to stop the cutbacks.

How could they? Their strategy is not to fight to save *all jobs and all services*, but to help Beame balance the budget *at the expense of other workers*.

Their watchword was LOSE: Lay Off Somebody Else, just so it's not me.

Only the most feeble and half-hearted attempts were made to expose the real roots of the city crisis and counter the widespread antilabor propaganda.

These errors of union strategy were not accidents or the result of mistaken judgment. They were symptoms of a fundamentally false political outlook: *the subordination of the fight against layoffs to the union officials' political alliance with the Democratic party.*

### Political action

The need for independent labor political action is posed most sharply to public employees unions, since they confront the government directly as their employer. "There's no question about it," Gotbaum says, "we have the ability, in a sense, to elect our own boss."

But up to now the leaders of AFSCME and other unions have confined their political activity to supporting Democrats or Republicans, chiefly Democrats, under the illusion that this was an "alliance" in which the elected officeholders would show proper gratitude toward their union

contributors and supporters.

The record shows otherwise. "District Council 37 has placed the full weight of its political muscle squarely behind the Democratic ticket in the November elections: Abraham Beame for Mayor, Paul O'Dwyer for City Council President and Harrison Goldin for Comptroller," reported *Public Employee Press*, the council's newspaper, in October 1973.

Gotbaum introduced Beame to the union delegates as "a man of dignity, honor and respect, who never makes deals," and lauded him as "the man who represents the most direct path to the significant gains and progress that must be realized in our City."

Beame turned out to be the "most direct path" to something else entirely. But every step of the way, Gotbaum and the other officials were careful to absolve Beame of any responsibility for the cuts he was imposing.

"I have no desire to rap Abe Beame on this," Gotbaum assured a union conference last January. "... He really doesn't have the money. ... Let us make no mistake—only Albany and Washington can bail the city out in this next fiscal year."

So Gotbaum trotted loyally around behind the mayor on his ritual treks to Albany and Washington, always ready to hand Beame a towel for his crocodile tears over being "forced" to fire city workers.

Of course state and federal funds are needed in New York. But a march of half a million workers *on city hall*—which was well within AFSCME's capacity to organize—would have shaken loose a lot more money and a lot faster than all Gotbaum and Beame's hat-in-hand lobbying.

But no matter how many AFSCME members Beame fired, no matter how many schools and hospitals he ordered closed, Gotbaum would hear no talk of marching or striking against city hall.

### 'A decent guy'?

When Beame ordered city employees to work longer hours in the summer, Gotbaum made a point of telling the press, "I happen to like the mayor. I happen to think he's a very decent guy."

Whether Beame is a "decent guy" is beside the point. Gotbaum has had more personal contact with the mayor and is in a better position to know than most city workers. But AFSCME members know better than Gotbaum that Beame is the chief executive in charge of destroying jobs, union wages, and working conditions in New York City.

It is not only Beame, of course. Right after the November 1974 elections, Gotbaum wrote in *Public Employee Press* that "Hugh Carey's smashing victory [for governor of New York state] means that we will no longer be treated like a second-class union in Albany. ... So, we have strength and prestige in the City, and a new-found security in Albany. We worked hard for these Democratic victories, and we should be proud and thankful that things have improved in Albany."

A few more "victories" like that and AFSCME will be only a footnote in the labor history books. Nowadays Hugh Carey, when he's not busy sabotaging aid to New York City, spends his time laying off *state* workers and refusing them salary increases. And the cheers for the great "labor victory" have turned into yelps of betrayal.

In a television interview April 27, Gotbaum said, "I am just a little less than outraged at the Republican game the Democrats are playing. Governor Carey's State of the State Message was a capitulation to conservative interests, as far as I'm concerned. Most of

the Democrats are doing it."

National AFSCME President Jerry Wurf told *Business Week* magazine: "We gave \$50,000 to elect Hugh Carey governor of New York, and he has treated us with a contempt and scorn I can't begin to describe."

A few of the other winners AFSCME backed include:

- City council President Paul O'Dwyer, who blasted the city's rehiring of sanitation workers as "rewarding sanitationmen for going out on strike," and who calls for giving top job priority to cops.

- City council members Matthew Troy and Robert Wagner, Jr., who have introduced a bill to break union contracts and freeze wages.

- U.S. Rep. Herman Badillo, who told a city budget hearing the main problem was the high wages of city workers.

That's not to mention the union-backed Democratic majority in Congress, which has upheld President

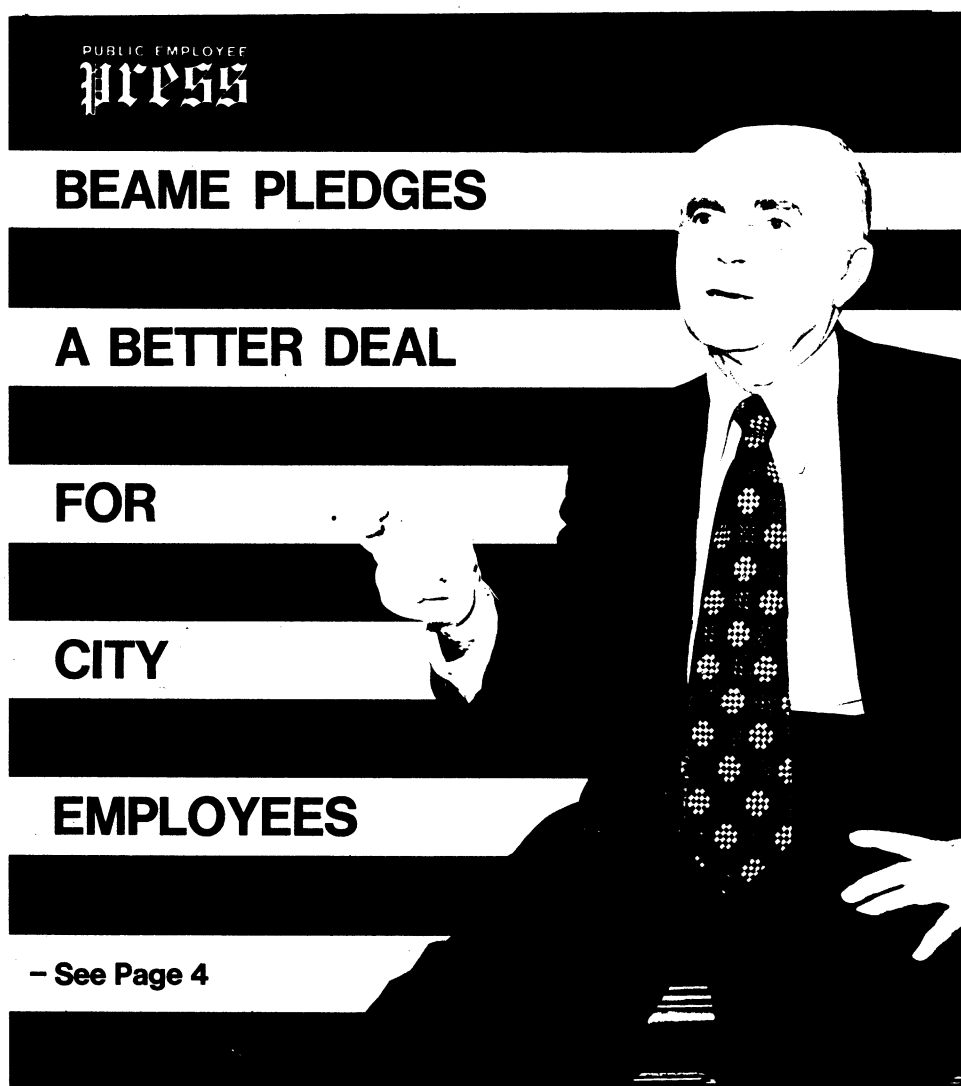
cut labor's throat?

All across the country, millions of working people are fed up with the racist, prowar, antilabor policies of the Democrats and Republicans—but they see no alternative on the scene. They express their disgust by staying away from the polls in droves.

A labor party with a program to meet the needs of working people could rally these discontented millions behind it. By fighting for the interests of *all* workers, it could help overcome the divisions that have proven so costly to the struggle in New York.

A labor party could appeal to and unite the unemployed and the unorganized, as well as the unionized workers, into a social and political movement to win jobs and a decent standard of living for all.

Electing union men and women to office on a labor party ticket would go hand in hand with mobilizing the workers' power in independent working-class actions such as massive



AFSCME newspaper of October 19, 1973, urged members to elect Abraham Beame as mayor. 'Better deal' turns out to be layoffs and wage cuts.

Ford's vetoes of money for jobs while appropriating billions for the Pentagon.

### Bipartisan policy

Gotbaum, with his head buried in the sand, still tries to blame the layoffs solely on the Republicans. But the facts show beyond the shadow of a doubt that the cutback drive is a *bipartisan* policy, in which Democrats and Republicans alike are serving as political instruments for the banks and corporate profiteers.

The suicidal results of relying on these capitalist-party "allies" instead of the power of the unions and their real allies—including the Black and Puerto Rican communities—have never been clearer.

*Working people need a political party of their own, an independent labor party based on the trade unions.*

Gotbaum, Shanker, and the others insist that it is "not realistic" to launch a labor party. But what is "realistic" about continuing to pour union money and union effort into electing people who turn around and

demonstrations, rallies, and strikes against the attacks of the employers.

A labor party is needed on a national scale to challenge the political representatives of the profiteers in every state and in federal government, but there is no reason why a beginning cannot be made in New York. Can any union activist in good conscience vote again for Beame, Carey, O'Dwyer—or any other Democratic hack put up to replace them if they become too discredited?

For now, the unions' retreat threatens to turn into a rout. The officials who sought to give in "a little" in the hopes of better times ahead have only encouraged further attacks. *The present policy, unless reversed, will lead to the destruction of AFSCME in New York and nationally.* Then even Gotbaum will be out of a job.

The cutback drive can be reversed. New struggles are bound to erupt, and these struggles *can* be led to victory. But it will never be done by leaders who subordinate the workers' interests to the political parties of their class enemies.

# Portugal: Stalinists & ultraleft allies working class, help prepare way for

By Gerry Foley

From *Intercontinental Press*

Spearheading a fresh attack by the Portuguese military junta on popular sovereignty and the democratic rights of the masses, the Communist party and its ultraleft allies used force on Friday and Saturday, July 18 and 19, in trying to prevent Socialist party rallies from being held.

In Oporto on Friday the gangs mobilized by the Stalinist bureaucratic machine, along with ultraleftists, tried to barricade the city against an allegedly impending assault of reactionary putschists led by the SP. The relatively small force under the command of the Stalinists was apparently overwhelmed by a huge crowd.

## Barricades Demolished

"... the barricades were quickly demolished," *New York Times* correspondent Henry Giniger wrote in a July 19 dispatch from Lisbon. "While the Socialists were assembling some 70,000 people in a soccer stadium, the communists could rally only about 4,000 in the central square."

The Stalinists and their allies got less than 10 percent of the vote in the April 25 elections in this northern industrial area. However, they hold strong positions in the labor movement there. The CP minister of labor in the first provisional government was an official in the bank workers union in Oporto. The metalworkers union has been under firm CP control in the north, while in Lisbon the Stalinists have faced strong opposition from an anarcho-syndicalist current.

However, even with the support of the government on a local and national level and with the leverage of their strong bureaucratic positions, the Stalinists proved unable to block a mobilization of the masses infuriated by what appeared to them to be an attempt by the CP and the ultralefts to impose dictatorial control.

It is possible that rightists joined the rally. The antidemocratic campaign of the Stalinists and the ultralefts had, after all, offered them a golden opportunity to rebuild a mass base for reaction. Although anti-Communism was discredited after the fall of the Caetano regime, the bureaucratic maneuvers of the Stalinists have been reviving it in a

more virulent form.

In the Lisbon-Setúbal area, street clashes between the two workers parties could be expected to have the most disastrous effects. The SP gained one of its highest electoral scores in Lisbon, and it edged out the CP even in Setúbal, the main Stalinist stronghold. However, during the election campaign both parties succeeded in mobilizing up to 100,000 persons in their rallies.

## Lisbon Rally

Despite the danger that clashes between crowds of CP and SP supporters would have under these circumstances, the Stalinist party leadership went all out on July 18 and 19 to try to physically prevent a Socialist rally from being held in central Lisbon.

"It is now evident that the SP leadership has transformed its party into an openly oppositionist party leading the struggle against the Portuguese revolutionary process and openly fighting the Armed Forces Movement and the Revolutionary Council, openly fighting the tenants and workers committees," the CP regional committee said in a July 16 communiqué.

It continued: "The PCP [Partido Comunista Português—Portuguese Communist party] regional committee appeals to the toilers of the city and the countryside, to the small farmers, businessmen and industrialists, to the sincere Catholics, and all authentic revolutionists, to all progressive forces.

"Build a powerful barrier against the counterrevolution."

On July 19 Giniger cabled from the Portuguese capital: "Last night Alvaro Cunhal, the Communist secretary general, exhorted a party youth rally to use 'all means within their reach' to impede what he and other Communists have called a 'march on Lisbon.'"

"A few hours later the Communists began setting up roadblocks in the Lisbon area."

The military security forces command denounced the Stalinists' action as "unjustified" and took over the checkpoints themselves. In this way, the military leaders may have averted open warfare between the SP supporters on one side and the Stalinists and their ultraleft allies on the other.

However, the military security command, Copcon (Comando Operacional do Continente—Mainland Portugal Op-



Part of Socialist rally of 70,000 in Oporto July 18. Masses mobilized against attempts to impose dictatorial control over them.

erations Command), played its usual balancing game. Even though it conceded that vigilante action by the Stalinists and ultralefts was not justified by any rightist threat, and thus indicated the true nature of this operation as a sectarian power play, Copcon still maintained the checkpoints and apparently allowed the vigilantes to try to intimidate the crowds going to the SP rally.

"The extensive search of vehicles ostensibly was to halt arms from coming into Lisbon," Giniger wrote. "But communist and far-left groups that accompanied the soldiers also appeared anxious to discourage an influx of Socialist supporters for the rally."

Despite the pressure from the junta and attempts at intimidation by the Stalinist and ultraleft vigilantes, more than 80,000 persons reportedly concentrated at the SP rally.

Speaking to the crowd, SP leader Mário Soares called on the military to reveal how many weapons they had found at their checkpoints. He ridiculed the claims of the Stalinists and ultraleftists that the rally represented a reactionary march on Lisbon to overthrow the government.

Reports in the international press indicated that Soares's ridicule was likely to prove quite effective. For example, Giniger wrote:

"While soldiers searched cars and trucks, youthful vigilantes wearing red armbands stood watching. But at one checkpoint they participated in the search. Motorists submitted meekly. A soldier could report only two pistols found during a morning's work under the hot sun."

## Sectarian Maneuver

During the rightist coup attempts on September 28, 1974, and March 11, 1975, similar vigilante groups played a decisive role in defeating reaction. However, the attempt of the Stalinists and the ultralefts to call a similar mobilization to prevent the largest workers party in the country from exercising its democratic rights threatens to discredit such action among broad masses of the population.

This sectarian maneuver was the most effective way possible to under-

mine mass response to a real rightist danger and to make any appeals for resisting such a threat appear nothing more than calls to battle in a sectarian war among the left parties. By resorting to such methods to defend its privileged relationship with the military junta, the CP made it absolutely clear where the primary responsibility lies for the split in the Portuguese working class.

## Antidemocratic Concept

The antidemocratic concept of gaining and holding influence and positions through bureaucratic maneuvering has brought the pro-Moscow Stalinists in Portugal into convergence with the adventurist ultraleft groups, which also have a fundamentally antidemocratic notion of how to fight for socialism. The ultraleftists think that by their daring and élan small groups can draw the broad masses behind them in an assault on the capitalist system.

Fundamentally, the two conceptions are similar both in their logic and in their class roots. Seldom, however, has this underlying identity been demonstrated so clearly in action as it has in Portugal in the alliance that has developed between a power-hungry Stalinist bureaucracy and a motley train of ultraleft groups.

Some of the ultraleft groups that claim to be anti-Stalinist have been hard put to explain this convergence. In order to get around the difficulty, they have tried to claim that the Portuguese CP is not a typical Stalinist party because of its tradition in the resistance to Salazarism and the swamping of its disciplined cadres by a mass of still un-Stalinized recent recruits.

There is no basis in fact, however, for such apologetic "theories." How can the Portuguese CP be an exception in the Stalinist camp when the Kremlin has backed it to the hilt in its sectarian course, when the Soviet press and the most servile Stalinist parties such as the American CP have echoed its campaign against the Socialist party?

The sectarian frenzy that culminated in the adventures of July 18 and 19 was given impetus by the July 8 decision of the Assembly of the Armed Forces Movement on building "people's grassroots democracy."

## Trotsky article reprinted by Portuguese Socialists

Some 15,000 to 20,000 persons gathered in front of the Socialist party headquarters in Lisbon July 15 to support the SP leaders' decision to withdraw from the cabinet in protest against the junta's violations of the principles of popular sovereignty and freedom of the press.

For the first time, masses of people began to break from the political control of the military junta, taking up the shout: "The people are not with the AFM [Armed Forces Movement]."

A special issue of the *Jornal do Caso República*, a paper published by the journalists of the Socialist party daily *República*, who were driven from their offices by a gang of Stalinists and ultraleftists, was sold among the crowd. Featured on the inside pages was an article by Leon Trotsky. The headline said: "An Article by Trotsky Republished in Defense of the 'República' Staff."

The article in question was taken from the June 9 issue of *Intercontinental Press*. (It was printed in the *Militant* of June 6.)

The *República* journalists quoted the introduction by *Intercontinental Press*: "In its affirmation of principles, and with but few changes in the details, the editorial could have been written in response to the reactionary attack today on freedom of the press in Portugal. It is striking, although not accidental, that the initiative in closing down *República* was taken by the Portuguese Stalinists, most likely in connivance with leaders of the Armed Forces Movement, who would like to reestablish government control of the press."

The *República* staff noted, "The position taken by this Trotskyist current shows clearly that some sections of the revolutionary left are able to understand the importance of the struggle for freedom of the press."



# divide dictator

The Stalinist-controlled union federation, Intersindical, called a demonstration for July 10 to "support the Armed Forces Movement" and its plan.

In fact, the CP and its ultraleft allies opened a campaign immediately after the publication of the "people's grass-roots democracy" plan, pressing for the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly, the only national body with any democratic legitimacy. They seized on a protest against arbitrary arrests by the military to stage a walkout.

A few days later, on July 16, thousands of demonstrators marched to the Palácio São Bento to call for the "dictatorship of the proletariat." The demonstration was called by the "unitary grass-roots organizations (tenants and workers committees)," according to the July 17 issue of *Diário de Notícias*, one of the CP-controlled morning papers. It was also supported by the ultraleft groups and the most radicalized units in the armed forces such as RALis, the Lisbon Light Artillery Regiment (the target of the March 11 coup), and the Queluz and Pontinha regiments.

## Military Turns Out

The Stalinist-dominated daily noted that it had been told by official sources that General Otelio Saraiva de Carvalho had authorized the presence of military personnel at the demonstration but that some military representatives said this report could not be confirmed.

"The slogans 'AFM—People's Power,' and 'Soldiers Always, Always at the Side of the People,' coming simultaneously with the arrival of tanks, buses, and other military vehicles from RALis, the Queluz and Pontinha regiments, the military police, and other units marked the high point of the demonstration. . . .

"After a few minutes of slogans, several speakers from the tenants and workers committees took the microphone. Following remarks about the 'rightists of the CDS [Centro Democrático Social—Social Democratic Center, the right-wing bourgeois party], the 'scum of the PPD,' and 'the counterrevolutionaries of the SP,' and after saying that it was 'urgent to win national independence and carry out an agrarian reform throughout the country,' the speaker ended by hailing 'working-class unity.' He also noted that it was 'urgent to get rid of the professional politicians who are vainly wringing their hands about our dictatorship. They have to go into the garbage can of history.' "

This must have been one of the most tragically aberrant demonstrations in the history of modern revolutions. It.

*Continued on page 30*



Socialist leader Mário Soares ridiculed charges that his party was planning a coup.

## A waiting game

# Capitalist press on Portugal

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

Throughout the third week in July, most commentators in the international capitalist press were speculating that a "Communist take-over" could be imminent in Portugal. But they did not seem to get very excited about it.

The British *Economist* seemed to feel it could afford to take a rather detached and self-satisfied attitude, considerably cooler than the blasts of fire and brimstone inspired by the "selfishness" of the British labor unions.

## Philosophical Note

The headline in its July 19 issue struck a philosophical note: "Soldiers don't let go." That is, once the military has power, they will not relinquish it. This was followed by such nostrums as: "The longer Portugal remains on its present course, the likelier it is that one form of authoritarianism or another will be there to stay."

Although the situation in Portugal was disagreeable, all was not necessarily lost, and there was a salutary lesson to be learned: "... for the Portuguese majority either a Communist outcome or a Carvalhoist one is likely to seem very much the same dictatorship in the end.

"For democratic Europe as a whole, that outcome in Portugal will be a signal defeat. It may yet be that the early hopes for a democratic Portugal will return—if Russia really has pulled the financial rug from under the soldiers' feet; if popular support for the communists continues to plummet as it has done in recent weeks; if Angola weakens Portuguese military strength and nerve. But those are long shots. Many months ago the European Economic Community had the chance to give financial aid to Portugal tied up with strings of democracy. The chance was missed and its floundering over the issue in Brussels this week was too late to affect anything that was happening in Portugal. The chance may just come again. Let us hope Europe meets it."

## U.S. Press Stays Calm

If one of the most authoritative voices of British capital—which has substantial investments in Portugal—was not particularly upset about the prospect of a "red take-over," the capitalist press in the main imperialist country, which generally has a shorter temper than its British counterpart, seemed hardly more unnerved.

The *New York Times* did not comment editorially for a week after the military's announcement of its "grass-roots democracy" plan. When it finally did in its July 17 issue, it took a reserved tone. The editorial presented a careful brief against the Portuguese CP:

"The resignation from the Government of Mario Soares' Socialists and of the center-left Popular Democrats—parties supported by about two-thirds of the voters in April—dramatize for the world the widening gap between the Portuguese people and the Moscow-backed military-civilian minority that has seized most of the levers of power."

The attack on the democratic rights of the SP was cited: "The seizure of República clearly was the means chosen by the Communist leader, Alvaro Cunhal, to force a showdown and military repudiation of the April Constituent Assembly elections, which gave the Communists and their fellow-traveling party together only 18 per cent of the vote."

Also noted were statements by Alva-



Ultraleftists demonstrate in support of military rulers. Unlike ultralefts, procapitalist analysts understand that Portuguese junta does not represent any threat to their system.

ro Cunhal indicating a contempt for elections. For this, the *Times* drew on an interview Cunhal gave to the notorious Italian poison pen Oriana Fallaci, an interview it featured in its Sunday magazine of July 13. Cunhal claims this interview was doctored, and that is not unlikely. However, similar statements were recorded by more reputable journalists in *Le Monde*.

Thus, the *Times* was able to portray the Portuguese Stalinist leader as a cynical, sinister subversive, confident of his ability to impose a dictatorship over the masses.

## A Happy Ending?

But it was a horror movie with the promise of a happy ending: "... the struggle between Portugal's democrats and totalitarians is not over."

The *Times* recommended making it clear that economic aid would be "conditional on continued freedom." However: "Even more important, the United States and its NATO allies need to make it plain to Moscow that the Soviet Union will be held responsible if Portugal's Communists continue on their present path and that the West's democracies cannot accept imposition of Communism there by force or subversion."

So, the *Times* recommended keeping a wary eye on the Portuguese CP and Moscow but did not raise an alarm or begin to prepare the American public for "drastic action."

Some columnists thought that even if the worst happened, it would be no disaster. Clayton Fritchey said in the July 17 *New York Post*:

"Portugal may or may not go Marxist, but even if it does there is no reason to believe it will necessarily end up a satellite of Moscow. If the radical left wing takes over completely, Portugal (like Yugoslavia, Romania, China and Cuba) will probably turn into an independent Communist country, with nationalism—more than ideology—dominating Portuguese foreign policy."

In its early days the Cuban revolution presented quite a different problem. Then, the rebel regime threatened to inspire revolution throughout the hemisphere. The liberal columnist did not really look at the question from a consistent capitalist point of view, but he understood that Stalinism poses only a limited problem for imperialism.

The right-wing *New York Times*

columnist C.L. Sulzberger could be expected to have a sharper nose for a "Communist threat." He was the one who first blew the whistle on the liberal Papandreou government in Greece in the mid-1960s and helped prepare the way for the military take-over.

However, in his column in the July 19 *Times* Sulzberger, not without a certain sympathy, painted a picture of a moderate reform experiment sinking under the pressure of economic crisis:

"Economically the country is hard hit. Although wages have been doubled, they still average little more than \$40 weekly because this is an underdeveloped land. Assorted labor troubles have caused shutdowns; production has suffered; some foreign plants have closed; and the A.F.M. [Armed Forces Movement] decrees that workers shall not be discharged."

"As a result, factories produce goods they cannot sell; inventories have climbed to an unhealthy degree; and firms threatened with bankruptcy are bailed out by nationalizations. Workers are still on payrolls but the Government is acquiring ownership of uneconomic properties as long-term disaster shapes up."

## Friendly Attitude

Sulzberger even took a friendly attitude toward the junta's nationalizing Portugal's reactionary financial institutions: "... the A.F.M. has taken some genuine revolutionary steps. It nationalized banks and insurance companies which loomed large on the dictatorship's horizon because of Salazar's financial bias." In fact he portrayed the military as rather sluggish and conservative:

"This move was well received; most people correctly blamed giant private institutions for Portugal's over-all backwardness. The A.F.M. also began land reforms."

"But few important other social or economic moves have been made and freedom is vanishing. There are increased mutterings asking what the revolution is about."

Sulzberger's conclusion was that the military was going to the right and not to the left:

"Because of these factors the revolution marks time as the A.F.M. seemingly consolidates military dictatorship while talking about austerity, wage restraints and the production battle."

# Black socialist faces charges for defending himself from Nazi

By George Dolph

MILWAUKEE—A classic case of the government trying to turn the victim into the criminal occurred in downtown Milwaukee recently. Michael Murphy, a Black member of the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance, was charged by police with disorderly conduct for defending himself against an assault by a Nazi.

The attack occurred on Saturday, July 12, as Murphy was walking downtown on his way to sell copies of the *Militant*.

On Wisconsin Avenue, the main thoroughfare in the city, he was handed a leaflet, which he took, not realizing it was being handed out by members of the National Socialist White People's party (NSWPP—Nazis). The leaflet—entitled "Busing is a Bad Trip"—was a piece of racist filth. It referred to attempts to use busing to "bring in more and more niggers" and urged whites to violently resist such attempts.

After glancing at the leaflet, Murphy returned it to the person who had handed it to him, saying, "No thanks, I have no use for this." He then continued walking down Wisconsin Avenue. Immediately another of the group of Nazis approached him, jabbing him with his elbow. Seeking to avoid a provocation, Murphy apologized for bumping into his assailant.

The Nazi then called him "a stinking nigger," at which point Murphy laughed at him. Angered, the self-styled storm trooper threatened Murphy and then tried to deliver a karate-style kick at Murphy's body.

Cops, who had been in the area the whole time, intervened only when Murphy defended himself against his attacker. At that point both the Nazi and Murphy were restrained, Murphy being thrown up against the wall and told by a cop, "Now it's your turn to deal with me."

Several other Nazis had meanwhile gathered around and tried to destroy the *Militants* Murphy had dropped when attacked. The police did nothing



Milwaukee YSA member Michael Murphy was arrested when he defended himself against Nazi assailants.

to stop this attempted destruction of property until Murphy protested and the cops were forced to take the papers from the Nazis.

Both Murphy and his attacker, Mac Neilson, a member of the NSWPP, were charged by the cops with disorderly conduct: Neilson for attacking Murphy, and Murphy for defending himself.

Assistant City Attorney David Felger publicly described the racist assault as an "altercation" between a socialist and a Nazi.

In a pretrial meeting in Felger's office, the Nazis tried to shift the blame to Murphy, accusing the SWP of being a violent organization. The fact is that it is the Nazis who have been following a consistent pattern of violent and illegal activities, both in Milwaukee and around the country. On two previous occasions in the past month, Nazis have tried to prevent socialists from selling the *Militant* on Milwaukee streets by subjecting salespeople to verbal abuse.

Their activities in other parts of the

country range from bombing the headquarters of the SWP in Los Angeles to making death threats against the party's presidential candidate in Washington, D.C.

In court Neilson pleaded guilty and was released after paying a fifty-dollar fine for disorderly conduct. Murphy pleaded not guilty and has demanded a jury trial. A trial date has not yet been set.

The flagrantly racist nature of both the physical attack and the charge against Murphy has already begun to elicit a sympathetic response, especially in the Black community.

Murphy is a well-known activist in the Black liberation movement. He has previously been active in the Black Panther party, the Black Masses party, and the Angela Davis Defense Committee. He recently explained the facts of his case at a Joanne Little defense rally and received a very good response from the crowd. Local newspapers in the Black community have expressed interest in the case.

One of the major legal defense firms in the city—Coffey, Murray & Coffey—has agreed to represent Murphy for no fee. Supporters of Murphy and of the right of Black people to be free from the threat of racist attacks have begun to organize a defense committee to help raise the necessary funds to cover court costs and to help publicize the case.

The Wisconsin Socialist Workers Campaign Committee summed up the situation in a news release on the incident: "The prosecution of Michael Murphy and the lenient treatment of his assailant only confuse the real situation and encourage the Nazis and other racists."

"We appeal to all supporters of political and civil rights to join us in preventing the further victimization of Murphy in the courts, and halting racist attacks on Blacks."

"We demand that the police department and courts apprehend and prosecute to the fullest extent the real criminals, the racists and terrorists, not their victims."

## Nazis threaten St. Louis SWP

By Peter Seidman

ST. LOUIS—On the evening of July 18, an article appeared in the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* carrying an announcement by Michael Allen, St. Louis unit organizer of the National Socialist [Nazi] White People's party, that his group would conduct a uniformed picket line at the headquarters of the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance the next day.

The socialists were holding a publicly advertised class series on "The Roots of Racism" as part of their annual summer school. The announcement by the Nazis that they would picket the class was taken as a serious threat by the SWP.

Since many activists involved in various antiracist activities in St. Louis would be attending this class, the SWP launched an immediate campaign to ensure their safety against any Nazi attack.

On the evening of July 18, the socialists delivered an open letter to the St. Louis Police Department demanding protection from Nazi violence.

The letter demanded "that the St. Louis Police Department be on hand to protect our headquarters from Nazi violence—violence that has not only been threatened, but carried out in numerous attacks."

In addition to demanding police protection, the SWP asked a wide range of organizations in the labor, Black, and socialist movements to help monitor the headquarters to ensure that no Nazi violence would be carried out.

Numerous people from the Committee to Defend J.B. Johnson, the Coalition of Labor Union Women, the United Farm Workers, International Socialists, the Workers League, and activists in the Black community in St. Louis responded to this call for help.

In addition, the news media gave widespread coverage to the socialists' call for police protection, as well as to the antiracist activities that had prompted the Nazi demonstration.

On Saturday, July 19, five Nazis, only two of whom were in uniform, picketed and distributed literature at the socialist headquarters. They carried signs reading, "White Power," "Socialist Workers are Communist Traitors," "Hitler Was Right," and "Outlaw Marxism."

Because of the pressure put on the police, two plainclothes detectives were on hand during the Nazi picket. The large force of monitors at the socialist headquarters undoubtedly discouraged the Nazis from doing anything more than picketing and handing out leaflets. These were of the most racist character. Headlined "Smash Communism with National Socialism!" the leaflets outlined the Nazi program for "a White America," "White world solidarity," "White self-defense," and a "better race."

The Nazis told the news media that they plan to continue their picketing of the SWP and would be seeking a meeting with St. Louis Mayor John Poelker "for the introduction of legislation banning Marxism." These threats, in view of the record of escalating Nazi violence nationally over the past year, should be a serious warning to defenders of civil liberties in St. Louis.

## J.B. Johnson released on bail

By Nancy Makler

ST. LOUIS—J.B. Johnson greeted a group of cheering supporters July 17 following his release from prison on \$25,000 bail.

Johnson, who is fighting frame-up charges of murder in connection with the January 1970 death of a policeman

during a jewelry store robbery, had spent thirty-two months in jail.

His bail hearing was set for July 17 after the state announced it would not appeal a Missouri Supreme Court decision granting Johnson a new trial.

On less than one day's notice, the Committee to Defend J.B. Johnson was

able to fill St. Louis Circuit Judge Herbert Lasky's courtroom with more than 100 supporters of Johnson's request for bail. The spectators sat in hushed silence as attorney William Kunstler presented a moving argument in favor of Johnson's release on personal recognizance.

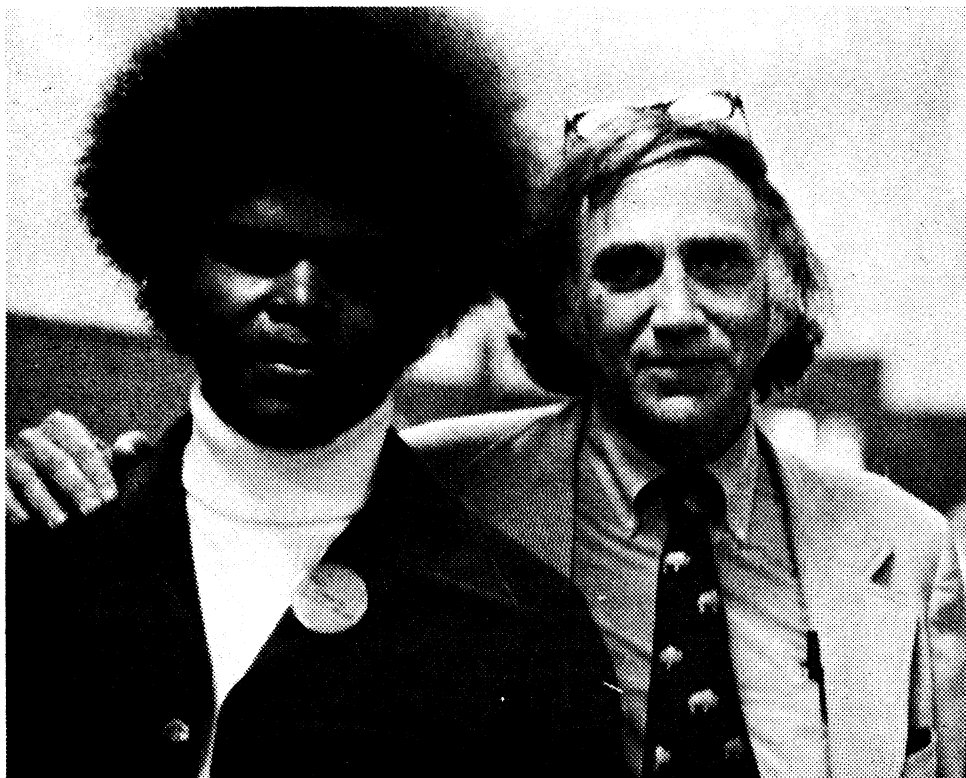
Kunstler also reviewed the facts proving that the twenty-five-year-old Black man had been framed up.

"I think this is a case which is paper thin, which should be dismissed," Kunstler said. "I think this should never have come to trial. . . . The result the second time around will be an acquittal."

Kunstler's demand that Johnson be released on personal recognizance bond was opposed by the prosecution, which has declared it will go ahead with plans to hold a new trial.

Defense committee activists, however, are demanding that the charges against Johnson now be dropped.

The principal evidence against Johnson is the claim by the state that two rings stolen in the robbery were found in Johnson's shoe during a search following his arrest. However, the two rings allegedly found in Johnson's shoe match two rings that were "missing" from evidence police had photographed at the time of the holdup in the car of Robert Walker, the man convicted for the shooting of the policeman.



J.B. Johnson (left) and attorney William Kunstler after Johnson's release

Militant/Allan Grady

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## Anti-Black violence continues

# Boston: antiracist forces prepare for fall

By Jon Hillson

BOSTON—Against a backdrop of unchecked racist violence, Boston's Black community and its allies have stepped up their preparation for what threatens to be an explosive opening of school this fall, when Phase Two of desegregation goes into effect.

Recently a two-hour talk show on radio station WILD, hosted by James Rowe, has become a speak-out for angry Blacks. Callers have recounted numerous incidents of beatings at the hands of white thugs in subway stations and on streets near South Boston.

In Hyde Park, the home of Katherine Thomas was attacked by gangs of young white toughs. They scrawled "Nigger go home" on a crude cross and burned it on her doorstep. White hooligans have also beaten Blacks on nearby streets, roughed up whites who stand up to them, and vandalized other Black apartments.

Police inaction has given the green light to the racists to continue their attacks.

The racist terror includes harassment of any activity considered to be "protesting."

On July 15, 250 bigots blocked the entrance to South Boston High School, attempting to stop parent participation in the election of biracial parent councils ordered by Federal District Judge Arthur Garrity.

The racists then turned to harassing the children of a white "moderate" who sits on Garrity's Citywide coordinating Council, which monitors school desegregation. They blocked the entrance to his house, chanting racist epithets.

Prodesegregation forces are preparing for the opening of school in a

number of ways. Twice-weekly meetings are being held in the Black community to form "crisis intervention" teams. The teams will aid in school bus and hall monitoring, parent and student counseling, and legal aid for Blacks involved in school desegregation. Headed by Ruth Batson, a longtime desegregation leader here, the work is being sponsored by Freedom House and the NAACP.

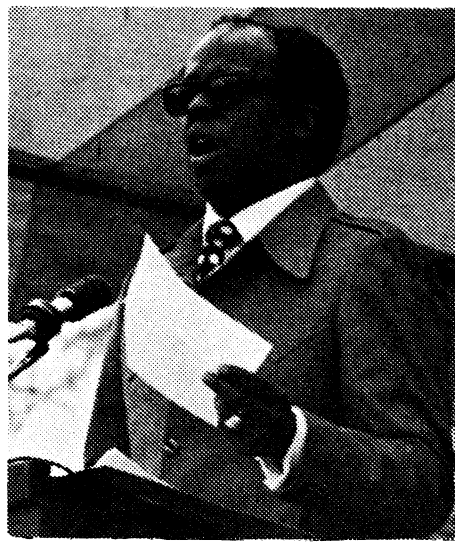
On July 15, a new coalition—the Massachusetts Committee for Human Rights—was formed to promote Phase Two of school desegregation.

Among the organizations represented at the founding meeting were the NAACP, the Civil Liberties Union of Massachusetts, the League of Women Voters, the American Friends Service Committee, the City-wide Education Coalition, and the National Student Coalition Against Racism.

The meeting was chaired by Julius Bernstein, head of the Massachusetts Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. Other groups represented included the A. Philip Randolph Institute and the National Lawyers Guild.

On July 17, the Massachusetts Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights held an informal meeting to discuss the rise of racist violence in Boston. Participants included well-known clergy, Black community organizations, the Civil Liberties Union of Massachusetts, and local social welfare groups.

The tone of the meeting was one of extreme urgency. The consensus of those present was articulated by Boston NAACP President Thomas Atkins. Atkins demanded that the laws be enforced against the racists—from the truancy regulations flouted by the



Militant/Mary Jo Hendrickson  
THOMAS ATKINS: Demands city move to halt racist violence.

white school boycott last year to the implementation of Internal Revenue Service guidelines against the segregated "academies" set up by the bigots to avoid desegregation.

Atkins said the NAACP would sue the city for noncompliance with the court order on school desegregation if it failed to act to prevent racist violence this fall.

### Student coalition

The Boston Student Coalition Against Racism has been playing an active role in countering the ongoing racist violence and preparing for the fall. It is aiding the effort to train marshals for the opening of school. On July 14 the coalition initiated a solidarity picket line for Joanne Little that also demanded increased police protection of Blacks against racist attacks.

On August 2, Boston SCAR is

sponsoring a "Commission of Inquiry on Racist Violence and the Fight for an Equal Education" at the Elma Lewis School at 122 Elm Hill Avenue, in Roxbury.

Speakers at the event, which will begin at noon, will include Ed Redd, executive secretary of the Boston NAACP; Ellen Feingold, president of the Civil Liberties Union of Massachusetts; Percy Wilson, director of the Roxbury Multi-Service Center; James Rowe, WILD radio commentator; John Boone, president of the National Campaign Against Prisons; Gloria Joyner, a member of the City-wide Coordinating Council; and Ruth Batson.

Student and community victims of racist attacks are also scheduled to speak.

### National guard ordered

On July 16, Massachusetts State Secretary of Safety Charles Barry announced that 300 state police and 600 national guard troops will be mobilized in Boston for the opening of school. City police will also be used in the fall.

Barry's announcement, however, included a promise to cut the size of the force early in the school year and noted a "lack of funds" to sustain the mobilization.

Meanwhile the racist Boston School Committee is continuing its attempt to disrupt busing plans by sowing confusion over the technically complex process of pupil assignments through lengthy appeals and legal maneuvers. While Judge Garrity rejected the committee's request for a one-year postponement of school desegregation, he has yet to rule on their latest stalling move—a request to postpone the opening of school for two weeks.

# Mexican consulate target of L.A. bombing

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—Four people were injured July 15 when a powerful bomb exploded at the Mexican consulate here.

The blast occurred without warning shortly after noon. About fifty people were in the offices.

The next day the Los Angeles City Council offered a \$25,000 reward for information leading to the arrest of the person or persons responsible.

About three hours after the bombing the City News Service, a local news agency, received a call from a man who identified himself as a Cuban exile. The caller told a reporter who answered the phone, "The peace and freedom fighters claim responsibility for the bombing of the Mexican consulate."

A source at the agency said it was not clear whether "peace and freedom fighters" was meant as a description or as the name of an organization. Police said they have no knowledge of any grouping with such a name.

The blast was so powerful that it drove shattered glass into Olvera Street Plaza, a busy tourist area. Inside the building there was extensive damage. A thick fire door was blown off its hinges. Walls and ceilings were buckled and windows blown out. In one place a three-foot hole was blown in the floor.

Two days after the blast the consulate was still closed for repairs. Damage was estimated at \$50,000.

Along with the reward offer, the city council also voted that several city departments assist in expediting the repair of the damaged offices.



Bomb damage at Mexican consulate. Police refusal to act on earlier right-wing bombings set stage for new attack.

Council member Art Snyder, who presented the two-part motion, said this reflected the city's desire "to refuse to permit the activities of terrorists to disrupt the operations of such facilities" as well as to underline the city's friendship with Mexico.

Mexican government offices have been targets of Cuban counterrevolu-

tionaries in the past because Mexico was the lone Latin American country that did not break diplomatic relations with the revolutionary government of Cuba.

The present attack comes on the heels of a wave of terror bombings directed against the Socialist Workers party and other radical groupings.

Nazi and Cuban exile groups had claimed credit for almost all of more than a dozen attacks that have occurred in the past six months.

Despite demands by concerned groups and individuals here and nationally, the police have made no discernible effort to put the bombers behind bars.

Responding to the city council reward offer, Andrea Baron of the Los Angeles Political Rights Defense Fund said that her group welcomed the action but felt an amendment was necessary.

The council should extend the reward, she said, to cover the previous bomb attacks.

The PRDF has been working to promote a united response to the wave of right-wing attacks, which have earned Los Angeles the title "Bomb City."

"It is good that the city council is offering a reward for the apprehension of those responsible for the attack on the Mexican consulate," Baron said. "But it is important that those responsible for the earlier attacks also be apprehended, and a similar reward offer might help accomplish this."

Baron noted that at the time of the earlier attacks it had been pointed out that if permitted a free hand the bombers would not limit themselves to left-wing groups, and inevitably others would fall victim.

The attack on the Mexican consulate, she said, should make it plain that everyone has a stake in seeing to it that the police take action to halt the terrorists.

## Danger in Portugal

Portugal is today at the center of the class struggle on a world scale. The Portuguese revolution is putting all tendencies claiming to be socialist to the test.

The Stalinists of the Portuguese Communist party and their counterparts in the U.S. Communist party place full confidence in the officers of the military junta, the capitalist government in Portugal. The bourgeois news media by and large are portraying the leadership of the Armed Forces Movement and its Stalinist henchmen as the "extreme left" that is pushing for a "dictatorship" against the Socialist party "moderates" who want democracy.

Just how concerned the ruling class is about democratic rights can be more accurately judged by their staunch backing of such dictators as Chile's Pinochet, Spain's Franco, and South Korea's Park.

No, their propaganda about the "Communist threat" in Portugal is aimed at discrediting socialism by equating the ideals of socialism with the Stalinist-backed attacks on democratic rights in Portugal today.

At the same time, the *New York Times* and other capitalist papers are demanding that Moscow make sure that the Portuguese CP hews the "détente" line by using its muscle to shore up capitalist rule in Portugal.

What is really happening?

A section of the officer caste of the Portuguese imperialist army was used by the big capitalist interests to overthrow the old Salazarist dictatorship. The old regime was standing in the way of modernization of the economy. By stubbornly clinging to its African wars, it was also blocking Portuguese imperialism's desire to shift from the increasingly costly direct colonial rule in Africa to indirect imperialist control there.

But the overthrow of the old regime opened the door to a process of mobilization of the masses. The working class has become increasingly radicalized, as is shown by the fact that the two mass workers parties, the Socialist party and the Communist party, together received a majority of the votes cast for the Constituent Assembly.

Faced with this radicalization, the military junta is using socialist rhetoric while it carries out a policy in the interests of Portuguese capitalism at home and abroad.

As part of this strategy, the junta has launched a drive to restrict democratic rights.

Most recently, the junta has proposed a plan of "direct democracy" through popular committees—with one catch: these committees will be controlled by the government through the military.

The Stalinists are offering full support to these actions of the military. For its part, the junta is perfectly willing to use the CP as cops in the labor movement.

The ultraleft and centrist groups that have criticized the CP from the left have swallowed the junta's "direct democracy" hoax hook, line, and sinker. They thus give left cover to the Stalinists and to the military's attempts to salvage capitalist rule.

The revolutionary line and strategy is the direct opposite. Revolutionary socialists are for real direct democracy, that is, broad committees or soviets that unite all political tendencies of the masses independently of the capitalist government, with full democratic rights for all tendencies. Such committees can fight for the interests of the masses.

The prerequisites for the growth of such bodies are the *independence* of the working class from the capitalist government and the fight to *unify* the working class to fight for its own interests and those of the peasants and other oppressed layers.

Both the Socialist and Communist parties project a line not of class independence but of subordination to the military junta.

If these parties genuinely wanted socialism they would use their 60 percent majority in the Constituent Assembly, tear up their pact with the military, and form a workers and peasants government. They would mobilize the masses against any reactionary attempts by the "socialist" generals to prevent the implementation of the popular will.

Right now, the fight for the class independence and unity of the workers means above all fighting for democratic rights against the attempts of the capitalist government and its Stalinist and ultraleft allies to suppress all opposition.

The danger to the Portuguese revolution is growing. The capitalist class is using the junta to divide the working class and demobilize it.

The Portuguese working class can place no confidence in the representatives of the ruling class—no matter how "left" they talk—without placing itself in the greatest danger and missing a historic opportunity to wrest power from the capitalist class.

### Another pageant?

In the past the *Militant* has taken note of beauty queens, usually thought of as antifeminists, who have supported the women's liberation movement. Here's another one for you:

Miss Illinois in last year's Miss America contest recently told reporters, "You live your life in terms of whether you will be accepted. If you are a woman, you go to school, you get married, have children. You die. We're prisoners."

Although not against the Miss America pageant itself, Jean Ahern (Miss Illinois) said her advice to young women is: "I would tell them not to dream of being Miss America, but to dream of being president."

E.J.

New York, New York

### From a new reader

I am white, forty-six years old, and respectably middle-class, but from my high school days I have viewed racism and capitalism as the two great evils in this country. However, while the consequences of speaking against racism weren't too severe here, the same couldn't be said where capitalism was concerned—especially if you had to work for a living.

We in Joliet were especially aware of this because of Larry Parks. We were so proud of this actor from our town who reached the very top in the motion picture industry with his portrayal of Al Jolson in *The Jolson Story* only to have his career destroyed by McCarthy. If they could destroy him they could destroy anyone.

I have read of the problems your party has had, and the only difference is the change from overt to covert harassment, but the effect is the same. It prevents the American people from being able to openly support the party of their choice.

If I joined your party and actively supported you it is difficult to say what the consequences might be for my family. This does not mean that I am doing nothing to change this country around, however. We have only one newspaper in this county, which is ultraconservative. I write letters to try to use its space once a month.

The only time I had any trouble was when I wrote one condemning the prison system.

It was in response to one of these letters that a prisoner first wrote me, and we have been corresponding ever since. He is the one who suggested I try your two-month subscription, along with some others, and I have received my third issue.

I enjoy it so much I don't want to be without it, so I am subscribing for the year before my eight weeks are up so I won't miss even one copy. You can't imagine what it means to me; it makes me a part of the world I belong to instead of the one I am forced to live in. I have agreed with everything I have read except for one subject (abortion), and considering all of the problems in our country and in the world I think that is remarkable.

M.R.

Joliet, Illinois

### Another new reader

I would like to hear what the *Militant* has to say because it is painfully obvious that someone is trying to stop you from saying it.

Enclosed is money for a year's subscription.

S.P.

Spokane, Washington

### Racism at Napanoch

"Great goblins" and "nighthawks" still haunt Black and Latin prisoners here at Napanoch prison. Inmates continue to struggle against Klan repression and harassment.

Members of Querer (a program to help prisoners find jobs and housing) came here recently. The program is for *all* prisoners, but the administration announced it for "Latinos only" to divide the population.

One guard (an admitted racist) refused to let several Latinos enter the auditorium. Inmates who were inside came out to protest this harassment. The guard, trying to provoke violence, called for a riot squad. The Latinos entered anyway, disregarding the goons. Four brothers were "keep-locked" and one of them was shipped out to Attica.

On April 21 a rally was held in the yard to honor Albizu Campos, a Puerto Rican patriot. The administration had refused to allow the Latin population to use the auditorium for this purpose.

Two officers tried to disrupt the services, but the Latin and Black inmates stood firm and united. Fifteen inmates were "keep-locked." At the "Adjustment Committee" inmates were threatened with being shot if they gathered in groups over ten.

The administration is also blocking the NAACP installation program. The installation was scheduled for May 31, but the racists have "postponed" it.

We will continue to resist and expose repression and racism in Napanoch. The racists are trapped between us and other oppressed people of the world.

A prisoner

Napanoch State Prison

New York

### Napanoch—II

My purpose in writing to you at this time is to ask for your support of the NAACP suit against J.W. Patterson, superintendent of Eastern New York Correctional Facility, and the Ku Klux Klan.

[Last December there were published reports about Klan activity at the prison in Napanoch, New York. The New York State grand dragon of the Klan, who was a teacher at the prison, was fired as a result. The Napanoch prisoner branch of the NAACP has filed suit to stop future Klan abuses.]

We feel that the NAACP is in the right, and feel confident that the NAACP will win its case against the racist attacks, witch-hunts, fire-bombings of the cells of Black prisoners, and harassment of Black prisoners by the Klan guards at Eastern.

One of the plaintiffs in the suit has recently been placed in solitary on the charge of "having too much personal property in his cell." This charge is absurd. Even if the prisoner did have too much personal property in his cell this would not warrant placing him in solitary. This indicates to me that the prison administration is attempting to repress and punish those prisoners responsible for filing the suit.

The suit will soon be in court. What we need is publicity. We believe that the people must know the truth about Eastern and the ultrareactionary administration which controls it and authorizes the Ku Klux Klan to operate within its walls.

J.B.

Kingston, New York



# international **socialist** review



## **PORTUGAL: Who Does the MFA Represent?**

President Francisco da Costa Gomes (foreground) and Premier Vasco Gonçalves (right) of the Armed Forces Movement junta



## **Free Speech and the Fight Against the Ultraright**

Donald Gurewitz

# THE MONTH IN REVIEW

## Argentine Victory

Argentine workers won a spectacular victory in early July, forcing President Isabel Martínez de Perón to ratify wage contracts containing raises up to 130 percent. The victory was the result of wildcat strikes and two general strikes that brought the country to a standstill for nearly two weeks.

The workers also won their demand for the ouster of the regime's right-wing strong man, José López Rega. Rega, the personal secretary of Isabel Perón, was recently named in an official army report as the political chief of the terrorist Argentine Anticommunist Alliance. The AAA has been responsible for hundreds of assassinations of labor and political figures over the past year.

Argentina has had an inflation rate of 100 percent in the last year. In early June a new austerity program devalued the peso, raised fuel prices drastically, and lifted most price controls. On June 26 the president announced that recently negotiated collective-bargaining agreements would not be honored if they exceeded a 50 percent increase.

Protests were initiated by the rank and file of the metal, textile, construction, and automobile unions. The leaderships of these unions have been the strongest supporters of the Peronist regime.

This was the first time the Peronist-controlled, three-million-member trade-union movement had waged a general strike against a Peronist government, and it came only two years after these same workers had overwhelmingly voted the Peronists into office.

On the eve of the recent explosion, the revolutionary socialists of the Argentine Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party) noted that the developing workers' protests were even more massive than during the Cordobazo in 1969.

The Cordobazo was a semi-insurrection in the city of Córdoba, the Detroit of Argentina. It marked the beginning of the end for the military dictatorship that had ruled Argentina since 1966.

The recent general strike, in contrast, was truly national in scope, involving the powerful unions in Buenos Aires. And this time, the unions acted in defiance not of a military dictatorship, but of a regime wearing the mantle of Peronism.

Peronism has long had the allegiance of the majority of the Argentine workers because

during Juan Perón's first presidency in the 1940s and 1950s, he granted many concessions to the working class, most importantly the right to form trade unions. The beginning of a breakdown of illusions in Peronism represents a major step forward in the development of political consciousness by the Argentine working class.

Through their powerful class actions the Argentine workers have given notice that they are not willing to foot the bill for the economic crises bred by the capitalist system, even when asked to do so by a Peronist government.

The conditions faced by Argentine workers are not unique. The capitalist system is in a worldwide recession. From India, to Portugal, to Britain, to the United States, the capitalist rulers are trying to cut the share of the wealth that goes to the workers—through price rises, wage controls, and high unemployment.

In Britain on July 1, the Labour party government announced a plan to outlaw wage increases above 10 percent and suspend all cost-of-living increases provided in union contracts. In New York City the public employees have been hit with wave after wave of layoffs. Now the city is threatening wage cuts and still further massive cuts in social services.

The Argentine workers have pointed the way forward for their brothers and sisters throughout the world who are victims of the current capitalist crisis. By exerting their power through mass, united-front class-struggle action, working people can make important gains in protecting the livelihood of themselves and their families. Such struggles will strengthen the organizations and leadership of the working class for the fight to replace the entire capitalist system of production for private profit.

## Gandhi Coup

The shattering of the Indian "showcase of democracy" is a new confirmation that the capitalist system cannot in the long run tolerate the right of the masses to criticize, demonstrate, and organize to defend their own interests.

Democratic rights were wiped out in India at the end of June, when Prime Minister Indira Gandhi instituted personal dictatorial rule. Two weeks after being convicted of corrupt campaign practices, she banned twenty-six political and religious organizations, shut down some opposition newspapers, clamped censorship over the rest of the media, and arrested most opposition political figures of both right and left. Reports of the number of people arrested range up to 20,000.

Dictator Gandhi banned all strikes or other labor protests. She launched a drive to increase production and to "discipline" gov-

ernment workers, whose militancy has increased over the past year.

With the new turn by the Gandhi regime, it is appropriate to take a look at what capitalist democracy has meant for the people of India. In winning political independence from imperialism, India and neighboring China took two different roads. India remained within the world capitalist system, which is dominated by the imperialist powers. The Chinese people, on the other hand, broke out of the imperialist orbit through a revolution, instituting a workers state.

Because of the power of its planned economy, China has taken gigantic steps forward in providing food, housing, and education—despite the bureaucratic rule of the Maoist leadership.

Beginning from a comparable level of poverty, the Indian economy, on the other hand, has stagnated. Its people are still plagued with famine, disease, and illiteracy.

Confronted by the test of these two roads, defenders of capitalism invariably pointed to the democratic rights that existed in India as the redeeming feature of the private profit system there. Now the Gandhi dictatorship has revealed the true face of capitalist rule.

Gandhi claims that her coup was designed to foil a plot by reactionaries. She has been aided in advancing this demagoguery by the pro-Moscow Communist party of India, which gives full support to her institution of a police state. The CPI, echoed by the Stalinist *Daily World* newspaper in this country, embellished Gandhi's story by claiming that the American CIA was in league with the Indian reactionaries. The Stalinists' slogan is: "Strengthen the hands of Mrs. Gandhi to fight the combined reaction."

While the Stalinists are doing what they can to strengthen Gandhi's hand, she is using that dictatorial hand against workers, students, and peasants. Among her targets are the leaders of the mass movements against high prices and corruption that shook the states of Gujarat and Bihar over the past year and a half, and the railway workers and other government employees who defied her regime in a wave of militant strikes.

The role of the Stalinists in India sheds light on their role in other countries as well. One parallel is in Portugal, where the Communist party is giving full support to the capitalist military regime of the Armed Forces Movement and to its campaign for greater labor "discipline" and restrictions on democratic rights, including the right to strike.

The Stalinists' contempt for democratic rights belies their claim to stand for the Marxist goal of dictatorship of the proletariat (by which is meant democratic rule by the working class, which is the majority class). The role of the Stalinists in India and in Portugal shows that their real goal is to impose a dictatorship over the proletariat.

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The *International Socialist Review* appears in the *Militant* that is published the first week of every month.

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# PORTUGAL:

## Who Does the MFA Represent?

By Dick Roberts

The head of the Portuguese Communist party, Alvaro Cunhal, was recently interviewed by an Italian journalist, Oriana Fallaci. "Say what you like, think what you like," said Cunhal. "We Portuguese Communists need the army. And we're supporting the army. . . . We are engaged in a revolution together with the army, a revolution started and led by the army."

The Portuguese CP has never tried to disguise its unconditional support to the Armed Forces Movement (Movimento das Forças Armadas—MFA), which rules in Lisbon today. From the moment the MFA overthrew the Salazarist dictatorship and put Gen. António de Spínola in power on April 25, 1974, the CP has heralded the MFA.

It was CP forces that dominated the giant May Day demonstrations and rallies in 1974 and that turned them into demonstrations of support and adulation for the military. Since then, the CP has used its considerable influence in the trade unions to break strikes and to press workers to work harder, in line with the MFA's "battle for production."

The CP peddles the claim of the MFA that it is heading toward socialism. Oriana Fallaci asked Cunhal, "Do you believe Portugal will go Communist?"

"Indeed I do!" said Cunhal. He continued: "The only thing I can't say, as things now stand, is what form that Socialism will take. . . . Our program for a Communist Portugal is certainly open to amendment. We've signed a five-year pact with the M.F.A. And we haven't the slightest intention of aligning ourselves against the army."

The whole weight of the propaganda and the activities of the CP is aimed at gulling the masses into believing that they should put confidence in the MFA, that the military regime is *revolutionary*, that it is building toward a *socialist future*.

Cunhal frequently stresses the necessity of strengthening the MFA's state apparatus. He told the Moscow magazine *Kommunist*, as reported in the February 22 *Daily World*, "We believe that we have a democratic order and we want this democratic order to defend the interests and independence of our country and our people. We attach a fundamental importance to this. That is why we say: Yes, we want a stronger order, even a stronger state, because the entire state apparatus serves the cause of freedom and democracy; because all state institutions, including the armed forces, the security forces and the administrative machine, serve the cause of democratization of our country."

Cunhal does not go so far as to say that the MFA is an instrument of the masses of workers and peasants. The armed forces are "linked" with the people, he claims in the *Kommunist* interview. Later, he repeats, "Another factor is the alliance of the armed forces with the people. These are not mere words. . . ."

The Portuguese Socialist party quit the MFA government's cabinet in July because of the MFA-CP take-over of the SP-influenced newspaper *República*, but the SP does not hold a position fundamentally different from the CP's. As recently as June 23 it organized a demonstration hailing the MFA's devotion to freedom.

The MFA is also supported by the most prominent Maoist newspaper in the United States, the *Guardian*. Wilfred Burchett, the *Guardian's* roving reporter, wrote from Paris June 11 that the MFA "has negotiated a daring course steadily to the left." The military leaders "are seeking their own 'road to socialism.'" According to Burchett, the MFA has "initiated"—a key word in this context—the "destruction of the state apparatus of the former ruling class."

But *how* has the MFA "initiated" the destruction of the old state apparatus? Burchett gives no indication. In 1974 the MFA did seize control of the old state apparatus. But this is not the same thing as destroying it. A closer look at the MFA underlines these points.

The April coup did not follow a mass revolutionary upsurge, although it triggered such an upsurge. *It came about because of a split in the Portuguese ruling class.*

One wing wanted to continue a Salazarist-type regime at home and direct rule of the African colonies. The other, dominant wing was of the opinion that the only way to save at least a part of Portugal's imperialist holdings was to switch over to neocolonial methods of domination and a less repressive regime at home.

The diversion of massive funds into the colonial wars, and the corrosive inflation this caused, held domestic Portuguese industry back at a time of sharply intensified international com-

petition.

And despite their ferocity, Lisbon's colonial wars were not sufficient to suppress the African nationalist movements.

The London-based International Institute for Strategic Studies, a military think-tank, sums up, in its *Strategic Survey 1974*, the motivations for the MFA coup:

"Salazar's hardline commitment to retaining Portugal's overseas possessions and his preoccupation with outmoded budget-balancing policies at the expense of industrial development had impeded Portugal's social and economic development and caused her to fall far behind the more highly industrialized European countries"

For example, the largest Portuguese monopoly, the Companhia União Fabril (CUF), welcomed the change in orientation represented by the MFA coup. The CUF has significant interests in Africa but had become worried that the wars could not be won. In fact, a firm owned by CUF was the publisher of Spínola's book *Portugal e o Futuro* (*Portugal and the Future*), which appeared shortly before the coup and which advocated a neocolonialist solution in Africa.

It was not the aim of the junta to grant self-determination to the African colonies. The military simply recognized that *the colonial wars could not be won.*

The sectors of the Portuguese ruling class that favored Spínola were not interested in liberating workers and peasants from capitalist servitude. They wanted to gear up Portuguese domestic industry in order to better compete in the deepening capitalist world economic crisis.

Secondly, the MFA arose out of the commanding hierarchy of an imperialist army. Professional officers formed the MFA to defend the status of graduates of the military academies against the influx of ordinary universi-

ty graduates who were given commissions as a part of the expansion of the armed forces required to fight the colonial wars.

Kenneth Maxwell of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, who has become one of the better-known American propagandists for the MFA, writes, "The MFA at first was composed exclusively of captains and majors of the QP [professional officer corps], a group of men numbering fewer than 200 out of the middle-rank corps of some 1,600." (*New York Review of Books*, April 17, 1975.)

According to the previously cited *Strategic Survey*, "It was the junior and middle-level officers of the armed forces, their frustration mounting at the lack of promotion prospects and with the increasingly futile commitment to stalemate—or worse, unwinnable—wars, who finally provided the agent of change by setting up the Armed Forces Movement."

The dedication of these officers to the imperialist military command and to hanging on to power was recently underlined by Adm. Rosa Coutinho, a representative of the navy in the MFA's "High Council of the Revolution." Coutinho was asked by Alain Krivine of the French Trotskyist weekly *Rouge*: "The MFA is certainly very popular throughout the country, but it includes only a minority of soldiers. What do you think of a democratic organization that would represent all the soldiers?"

Coutinho answered, "That can be considered later, but for the time being it would be very dangerous. It would give rise to a class division within the MFA, between the rank-and-file soldiers and the officers. We prefer to have a vertical MFA."

Spínola's original "Council of State," established in May 1974, was composed of seven members of the military junta, seven other military officers (members of the MFA), and seven civilians. It had veto power over the civilian coalition



Poster put out by Armed Forces Movement last Christmas illustrates MFA insistence that it will make the revolution for the people and the people should not interfere. Packages distributed by soldiers are labeled 'free elections,' 'peace,' 'decolonization,' 'freedom of the press,' and 'right to strike.'

Dick Roberts is an associate editor of the *International Socialist Review*. He is a member of the national committee of the Socialist Workers party.

cabinet in which the CP and SP participated.

This was replaced, after the aborted coup in March 1975 and Spínola's exile, by the High Council, now composed entirely of MFA members. Like Spínola, the present Portuguese military leaders have had long careers in conducting the Portuguese butchery in Africa.

Spínola himself was well known as a supporter of Franco and Hitler. As governor and commander in Guinea-Bissau, he followed a policy of systematic terrorism, bombing defenseless villages and destroying crops. Spínola helped to organize the murder of Amílcar Cabral, a leader of the PAIGC (African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands).

Gen. Francisco da Costa Gomes, now the president, was Spínola's superior, the commander in chief of the armed forces, before the 1974 coup.

Premier Vasco dos Santos Gonçalves, who is said to be close to the CP, was previously a lieutenant colonel, the "oldest member of the MFA's 'political committee,'" according to Kenneth Maxwell. He was also a member of Spínola's interim Council of State.

Gen. Otelio Saraiva de Carvalho is in charge of Copcon, the "Mainland Portugal Operations Command," established by the MFA to strengthen its internal police apparatus. It has been used primarily to break strikes and small leftist demonstrations, although it uses political methods as well as force to achieve its objectives. Copcon, Maxwell says, "is more familiarly known these days as 'Como Organizar a PIDE Com Outro Nome'—how to organize PIDE [Salazar's hated secret police] with another name." Maxwell adds that Carvalho "has already argued that the majority of the PIDE agents 'were only

state functionaries, fathers of families, earning a living for themselves and theirs like anyone else.'"

It is certain that such high officials as these have close ties with sectors of the Portuguese ruling class, as well as with sectors of other imperialist ruling classes and with foreign police agencies.

And thirdly, it should not be forgotten that besides the various sectors of Portuguese capital there are the extensive foreign interests in Portugal, especially British. The *Strategic Survey* found the U.S. State Department's negative attitude toward the Portuguese regime "too impatient to consider all aspects of the changing situation."

"Initially, however," it stated, "the change of regime in Portugal was not unfavourable to NATO." Lisbon remains a member of this imperialist military alliance and it has the CP's stamp of approval in doing so.

Pressure from the Portuguese masses has forced Lisbon to undertake nationalizations that certainly were not on Spínola's mind when he came to power. But here the facts are extremely vague.

The MFA has not released details about the ownership and control of the Portuguese economy, and leading Western financial newspapers have been discreetly silent as well. The MFA has promised compensation for all nationalized enterprises where the owners have not fled the country. No foreign holdings have been taken over.

Nor do the American Stalinists appear to believe that extensive domestic nationalizations have been carried out. Typical is the *Daily World* warning July 1 that "Portugal's big capitalists issued a thinly-veiled threat last Friday against the Armed Forces Movement and the country's democratic revolution. . . .

"This was taken in Lisbon as a threat of economic war, perhaps involving industrial disruption and sabotage by capitalist bosses which would complicate Portugal's strained economic situation."

But if Portuguese "big capitalists" are still around, if their army has not been disbanded, and if their generals are in control of the government, can this army be counted on to overthrow capitalism?

That is what the Stalinists say they believe. It is a viewpoint that entirely overlooks the class character of state power.

Implicit in the CP position is the assumption that the MFA can somehow act as a force above the class struggle. It is supposedly a state power that can for the time being balance the interests of the capitalists against those of the workers and peasants, and that can be trusted to peacefully transform Portuguese society to socialism sometime in the future.

In 1917, in the heat of the Russian revolution, Lenin wrote a polemic specifically refuting such a position, *State and Revolution*. This famous pamphlet attacked the Russian Mensheviks, a reformist socialist party whose support of the Provisional Government of Kerensky is analogous to the CP support of the MFA today.

Before looking at the lessons of *State and Revolution* for Portugal, it is important to note some differences between the two situations.

In Portugal a decision by the ruling class brought the MFA to power. The Russian Provisional Government, on the other hand, was brought into being by a genuine revolution, the workers and peasants' uprising of February 1917 that overthrew the tsar.

Another difference from Portugal was that in the Russian February revolution the oppressed classes created the organs of struggle called soviets. The soviets were broad, democratic councils including all workers—unionized and nonunionized—as well as the allies of the workers: the peasants, soldiers, and sailors. The soviets were a highly advanced form of the united front. The soviets functioned through frequent mass meetings in factories and barracks with all parties and viewpoints given free expression. Delegates were elected to district and city-wide soviets, with the delegates subject to recall at any time by the rank and file.

Following the February revolution, the soviets were dominated for many months by the Menshevik and Socialist-Revolutionary parties.

Like the Portuguese CP and SP, the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries cooperated with the capitalist class in forming a series of crisis regimes: in March, the provisional government presided over by Prince Lvov; in May, a coalition government presided over by Prince Lvov with the participation of delegates from the Petrograd soviets; and in July, the second coalition government, headed by Aleksandr Kerensky of the peasant-based Socialist-Revolutionary party.

Kerensky was thus an elected leader of a party that claimed to support socialism and to speak for the peasants, not a self-appointed military official like the leaders of the MFA.

Another difference is that "dual power" existed in Russia in 1917; that is, the power of the oppressed classes based on the soviets existed as a semigovernment side by side with the power of the capitalists expressed in the Kerensky regime. In Portugal today there is no dual power like that.

Under the pressure of the soviets, Kerensky promised many things. "Kerensky made speeches about land and freedom, about law and order, about peace among nations, about the defense

of the fatherland, the heroism of [the German revolutionary leader] Liebknecht, about how the Russian revolution ought to astonish the world with its magnanimity—waving the while a little red silk handkerchief," wrote Leon Trotsky in *The History of the Russian Revolution*.

But Kerensky did none of these things. Supported by the Mensheviks, his regime opposed the demands of the workers and peasants for peace, bread, and land—demands that the capitalist government could not grant. The Mensheviks told the workers and peasants they should wait to press their demands and that the present "stage" was one of "consolidating democracy."

It is this viewpoint that *State and Revolution* opposes from the first to last page. Lenin emphasizes that in every society the state apparatus is an apparatus of class rule, that there can be no such thing as a state "above" classes. Consequently, to support the provisional regimes meant supporting capitalist class rule. Lenin advised the workers and peasants to place no confidence in the capitalist government. The Bolshevik party refused any support to the provisional governments, calling instead for immediate free elections to a constituent assembly, for the expansion of the soviets and factory committees, and for a leadership within them willing to take power in the name of the workers and peasants.

Lenin emphasized that there is no such thing as harmony between oppressed and oppressing classes, and that revolutionary socialists must take the side of the oppressed, fighting for their interests to the end. *Between capitalist rule and the socialist society, a revolution is necessary to overthrow the old state apparatus*. The revolution can only be led by workers.

Lenin wrote, "The centralized state power that is peculiar to bourgeois society came into being in the period of the fall of absolutism. Two institutions are most characteristic of this state machine: the bureaucracy and the standing army. In their works, Marx and Engels repeatedly show that it is the bourgeoisie with whom these institutions are connected by thousands of threads."

Again: "The essence of Marx's teaching on the state has been mastered only by those who understand that the dictatorship of a single class is necessary not only for every class society in general, not only for the proletariat which has overthrown the bourgeoisie, but also for the entire historical period which separates capitalism from 'classless society,' from communism. The forms of bourgeois states are extremely varied, but their essence is the same: all these states, whatever their form, in the final analysis are inevitably the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie."

Lenin stresses what Marx and Engels considered to be the central lesson of the 1871 Paris Commune, quoting Marx:

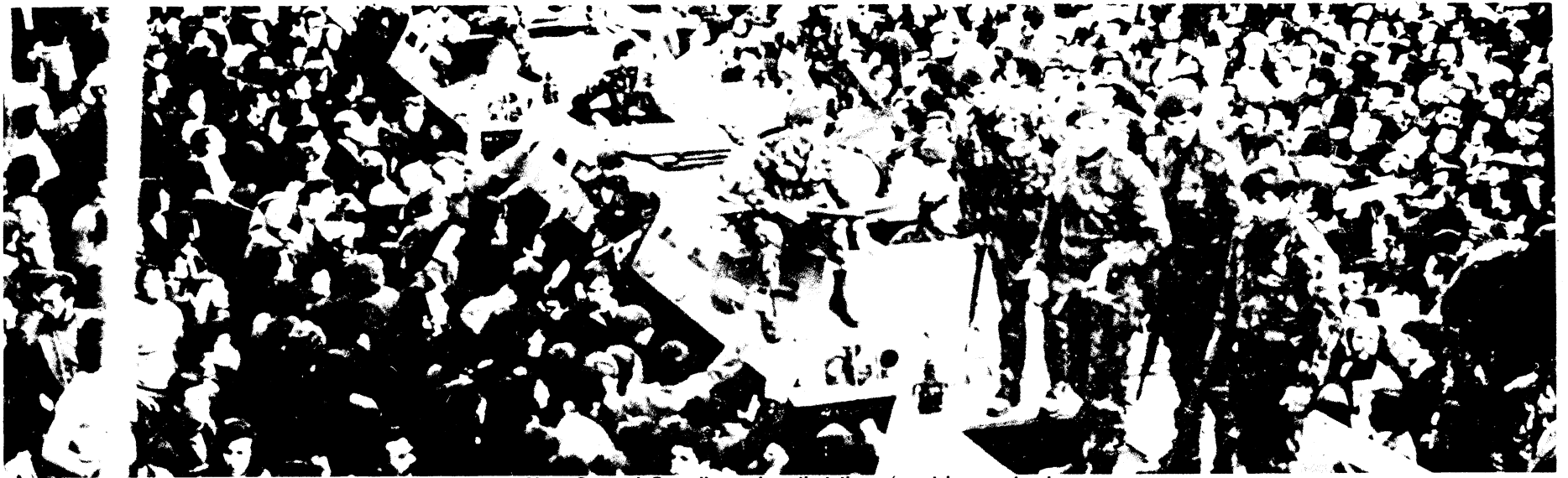
"... The first decree of the Commune ... was the suppression of the standing army, and the substitution for it of the armed people. . . ."

Lenin considered it the height of opportunism and the main obstacle to the advance of the Russian revolution to deny these central tenets of Marxism: "The petty-bourgeois democrats, those sham Socialists who have replaced class struggle by dreams of class harmony, even pictured the socialist transformation in a dreamy fashion—Not as the overthrow of the rule of the exploiting class, but as the peaceful submission of the minority to the majority which has become conscious of its aims. This petty-bourgeois utopia, which is inseparably connected with the idea of the state being above classes, led in practice to the betrayal of the interests of the toiling classes, as was shown, for example, by the history of the French revolutions of 1848 and



Lisbon's war in Mozambique. The CP claims that the same military officer caste that directed this genocidal war is capable of bringing socialism to Portugal.





Masses mobilized to stop March 11 rightist coup attempt. Now General Carvalho orders that there 'must be no street demonstrations and barricades' in case of new reactionary offensive.

1871, and by the experience of 'Socialist' participation in bourgeois cabinets in England, France, Italy and other countries at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries.

"Marx fought all his life against this petty-bourgeois socialism. . . . He applied his teaching on the class struggle consistently, down to the teaching on political power, the teaching on the state.

"The overthrow of bourgeois rule can be accomplished only by the proletariat."

Under no circumstances would the Bolsheviks support the capitalist regimes that followed the February revolution in Russia. They worked among the soldiers and the laboring masses, in the streets, factories, committees, and soviets. One governmental crisis followed another. The economy sank deeper into ruin. The Kerensky regime refused to get out of the war, and the Russian fronts steadily weakened as more and more soldiers rebelled.

Ultimately the Bolsheviks won decisive majorities in key soviets. In October 1917, the Military Revolutionary Committee of the Petrograd Soviet, headed by Trotsky, ordered the insurrection *against* Kerensky's government and *against* the remnants of the bourgeois army that defended Kerensky.

**T**he wide gap separating the Stalinist-Menshevik policies of the Portuguese CP and the policies of Lenin in 1917 is becoming clearer with each passing week as the tempo of events in Portugal speeds up.

Both the MFA and the CP have stepped up their attacks on the Constituent Assembly that was elected by popular vote in April 1975. In a statement published June 21, the MFA council ordered the Constituent Assembly to limit itself to writing a constitution and to cease discussing any political questions.

But the Constituent Assembly is the only politically representative body chosen by the workers and the masses in Portugal. The combined vote for the CP and SP and their satellite parties—a solid majority—was perhaps the highest vote for working-class parties ever registered in an imperialist nation.

On July 8 the MFA projected a plan to institute a so-called "people's grassroots democracy," bypassing political parties and basing itself on popular assemblies in factories and neighborhoods. These committees, however, are all to be supervised by representatives of the military and will not be recognized unless they conform to MFA dictates.

These "people's assemblies" are obviously designed to be nothing more than supporter groups for the MFA regime, controlled from the top. They are designed to give the MFA a semblance of support in the working class while at the same time enabling the junta to circumvent the Constituent Assembly,

suppress criticism of government policies, and help discipline the workers into sacrificing for the "battle of production."

The MFA's plan is not to build soviets, but the opposite of soviets. The MFA's assemblies will be based on denial of the political rights of the workers and of the right of the workers to organize independently.

If there were any doubt that the projected MFA "councils" are aimed at denying democratic rights and popular sovereignty, the MFA's sycophantic supporter Cunhal attempted to clear this up in his interview with Oriana Fallaci:

"I'm telling you that elections have nothing, or very little, to do with the dynamics of revolution," Cunhal said. "Whether you like it or not, whether the Socialists like it or not, I'm telling you that the election process is but a marginal complement of said dynamics. Because the Armed Forces Movement, in this country, is a political force. An independent force, with its own political thinking, its political autonomy, even if it isn't represented in the election results. . . . The Constituent Assembly will certainly not form a legislative organ; it will certainly not become a chamber of deputies. I promise you. It will be a Constituent Assembly and nothing more. . . . Because it's the M.F.A. that launched the revolution of April 25, not the Socialist party."

Cunhal goes the whole route. Spínola, Costa Gomes, Coutinho, Gonçalves, Carvalho—the generals and admirals—"launched the revolution." Instead of responding to the workers' mandate that was expressed in the Constituent Assembly vote and instead of *breaking from the military regime to fight for a CP-SP government*, Cunhal applauds the militarists to the skies.

It is true, as Cunhal told Fallaci, that the MFA is "a political force," but *what kind of force?* As we have shown by tracing the origins and composition of the MFA, it is the political arm of the Portuguese capitalist class.

How then can it be explained that the MFA regime calls for socialism and takes such steps as nationalizing capitalist enterprises? Again, the analogy with the Kerensky regime is illuminating. Kerensky's regime also claimed to be socialist, and talked demagogically about the interests of the workers and peasants. Lenin called Kerensky's Provisional Government a capitalist *Bonapartist regime*.

Bonapartism is the Marxist term for a type of regime that has arisen often in history at times of intense social crisis, when the classes are pitted against each other and a dictatorial arbiter, seemingly standing above the classes, steps in to exercise state power. A key feature of capitalist Bonapartist regimes is the use of nationalist or left-wing demagoguery as camouflage.

"Every regime claims to stand above classes, safeguarding the interests of the whole," Trotsky wrote. "But the effects of social forces cannot be so

easily determined as those in the field of mechanics. The government itself is made of flesh and bone. It is bound up with certain classes and their interests. In peaceful times a democratic parliament seems to be the best instrument for reconciling conflicting forces. But when fundamental forces veer off at 180-degree angles, pulling in opposite directions, then the opening for a Bonapartist dictatorship appears."

The Portuguese bourgeoisie hoped to duplicate in the Spínola regime the strong Bonapartist regime that Gen. Charles de Gaulle established in France following the "loss" of Algeria. The Portuguese African colonies would be "neocolonialized" and Portugal would smoothly strengthen its position within European interimperialist competition.

But lifting the lid of Salazarist dictatorship released class forces that went much further than had been anticipated. The workers and peasants raised their own demands; the MFA was forced to undertake radical measures, and its demagoguery proceeded leftward at an even faster pace. *From the beginning, the MFA required the support of Portuguese Stalinism to give it the pretense of having a base in the workers movement.*

Spínola recognized this, according to Kenneth Maxwell: "It was Spínola, in a move that surprised even the MFA at the time, who invited the PCP into the provisional government. . . . Foreseeing that the demands of the workers could not fail to be explosive after a winter of savage inflation and brutal police repression, he hoped by placing a communist in the ministry of labor and bringing Cunhal into the cabinet as a minister without portfolio that these demands would be moderated and restrained."

**A**s a consequence of heightened class struggle the MFA is considerably weaker as a Bonapartist dictatorship than the de Gaulle-type regime that the capitalist rulers of Portugal originally had in mind. The capitalists have no strong party and the Stalinists, on whom they are increasingly forced to rely, have themselves not been able to hold the class struggle decisively in check.

Sectors of the Portuguese bourgeoisie have drawn back. Twice, so far, they have moved to halt the MFA "experiment." With his attempted mobilization of the "silent majority," beginning September 10, 1974, and ending in failure on September 28, as well as the aborted putsch March 11, 1975, Spínola attempted coups against the MFA. Both times he was thrown back by massive popular mobilizations in defense of the gains that had been won. These were the events that forced the MFA to step up its program of nationalizations.

In the aftermath of the March events the MFA also banned the right-wing Christian Democratic party and, at the same time, maintaining its balance between left and right, it banned two Maoist groups.

Such oscillations are typical of a weak Bonapartist government. *What the Bonapartist regime never does is to abandon the bourgeois state apparatus—the armed forces, the police, and the government bureaucracy—upon which its power rests.*

Trotsky wrote: "As soon as the struggle of two social strata—the haves and the have-nots, the exploiters and exploited—reaches its highest tension, the conditions are established for the domination of bureaucracy, police, soldiery. The government becomes 'independent' of society. Let us once more recall: if two forks are stuck symmetrically into a cork, the latter can stand even on the head of a pin. That is precisely the schema of Bonapartism. To be sure, such a government does not cease being the clerk of the property owners. Yet the clerk sits on the back of the boss, rubs his neck raw and does not hesitate at times to dig his boots into his face."

It is the latter phenomenon—the fact that a Bonapartist regime can appear to be acting at times *against* the interests of the exploiters—that the apologists for Bonapartism seize upon to mislead the workers.

For example, when the MFA announced July 9 that it intended to set up the "neighborhood and worker committees," the *New York Times* reported that "a Communist spokesman called today's announcement 'highly favorable to the revolutionary process' while the Communist-dominated afternoon newspaper *Diário de Lisboa* called it the most revolutionary step since the original military coup that overthrew the Government of Premier Marcello Caetano on April 25, 1974."

Thus the Stalinists turn into its opposite this step by the military to strengthen its repressive apparatus, pretending it is a step toward genuine workers' control.

Another example of the Bonapartist demagoguery of the MFA junta is their attempt to revive Portuguese nationalism, with appeals for defending "national independence" against "imperialism," and claims of identification with national liberation movements in the colonial world.

This attempt to fool the masses is particularly crass since Portugal is the world's oldest imperialist power, and the MFA is acting as the political arm of this imperialist ruling class.

Portugal is one of the weakest of the imperialist powers, but this has only made its methods of domination more brutal. The MFA's orientation of granting independence to the African colonies has no greater implications than did the same change to a neocolonial orientation by British, French, and other European imperialisms. And Lisbon wishes to remain in NATO for the same reasons the other imperialist powers joined this military club: to strengthen European capitalism against internal revolt as well as "external threats."

The Portuguese economy is characterized by a diversified industrial structure that, although weak, is dominated by its own monopolies. It cannot be equated with the distorted economies of colonial countries, shaped by imperialist superexploitation.

The Stalinists' wretched toadying to the MFA is the very opposite of Bolshevism. As we have already seen, Lenin's attitude toward the Bonapartist Kerensky was one of unequivocal opposition. Lenin called for the overthrow of Kerensky, explaining that Kerensky's left-wing phraseology was a fraud. It was a cover for a capitalist regime.

**L**enin maintained this policy toward Kerensky even when the Russian rightists rose up under General Lavr Kornilov in late August 1917 and tried to overthrow the Kerensky regime. The example is particularly pertinent to Portugal because there the danger of a rightist putsch also exists—it has already been tried. In fact the Stalinists exploit this danger to justify their uncritical support of the MFA.

That was not Lenin's attitude. "And even now," Lenin wrote to the Bolshevik Central Committee September 12, "we must not support Kerensky's government. That would be unprincipled. It will be asked: What, not even fight Kornilov? Of course, fight him!"

"... We will fight and are fighting Kornilov, just as Kerensky's troops are. But we do not support Kerensky; on the contrary, we expose his weakness. ...

"What change, then, is necessitated in our tactics by the Kornilov revolt?"

"We must change the form of our struggle against Kerensky. While not relaxing our hostility towards him one iota, while not withdrawing a single word we uttered against him, while not renouncing the aim of overthrowing Kerensky, we say: We must reckon with the present state of affairs; we shall not overthrow Kerensky just now; we shall adopt a different method of fighting him, namely, we shall point out to the people (who are fighting Kornilov) the weakness and vacillation of Kerensky. That was done before too."

The entire Russian bourgeoisie sided with Kornilov. The masses recognized the real threat posed by the Kornilov revolt and beat it back. Trotsky cites an

example:

"In the midst of Kornilov's campaign, Kerensky appealed to the sailors of the cruiser *Aurora*, begging them to assume the defense of the Winter Palace. These sailors were, without exception, Bolsheviks. They hated Kerensky. ... Their representatives came to the Kresty Prison for an interview with Trotsky, who was jailed there, and they asked, 'Why not arrest Kerensky?' But they put the query half in jest: the sailors understood that it was necessary first to smash Kornilov and after that to attend to Kerensky."

The Portuguese Stalinists and other apologists for the MFA argue that its resistance to rightist forces proves its progressive character. To Kenneth Maxwell "the real conflict in Portugal" is between sectors of the MFA.

To Marxists the real conflict is the class conflict, the conflict between the capitalists and the oppressed workers and peasants. The central question is *which class has state power?* Following the defeat of Kornilov, as the Bolsheviks pressed toward the insurrection, Lenin wrote:

"The leaders [of Kerensky's government] are relying on the support of a minority, in defiance of the principles of democracy. Fraud is inevitable as far as they are concerned."

"Kerensky is revealing himself more and more as a Bonapartist. ...

"The Cadets [a bourgeois party] have good reason to praise Kerensky. He pursues their policies and confers with them ... behind the back of the people. ... Kerensky is a Kornilovite; by sheer accident he has had a quarrel with Kornilov himself. ...

"Secret pacts with the Kornilov gang, secret hobnobbing ... with the imperialist 'Allies'; secret obstruction and sabotage of the Constituent Assembly; secret deception of the peasants ... this is what Kerensky is really doing. This is his class policy. This is his Bonapartism."

Rather than being a reliable force against a rightist coup, the MFA and its Stalinist backers are acting to weaken the ability of the masses to resist a turn to the right. Following the rightist coup attempt last September, General Carvalho, the commander of Copcon, opposed the mass mobilization

and barricades that were in fact responsible for frustrating the coup attempt.

"We were bypassed by the people," Carvalho complained. "This process was extremely dangerous in my opinion. ... It is impermissible that the people's forces ... came to take over a task that belonged to the forces of order. ..."

Today Copcon is preparing to head off any such mass response—which is the only power that can be depended upon to stop reaction—before it even begins. Amid rumors of a move by conservative officers on the weekend of July 4, Carvalho immediately called in the CP's Cunha and, according to the July 9 *Le Monde*, "told him that there must be no street demonstrations and barricades like there were in previous crises."

**T**here is no example in history of a bourgeois army carrying out a socialist revolution. Even to write it down seems absurd. But that is the essential content of the position of Portuguese Stalinism.

In the Russian revolution the final stages saw the disintegration of Kerensky's military forces Trotsky writes, "Over the heads of the [army] committees the regiments were sending delegates to Petrograd, to the Soviet, to complain of the intolerable situation in the trenches, where they lived without bread, without clothing, without faith in the war. ...

"Fraternalizing [with the German soldiers] ... grew rapidly. Instances not only of the arrest of officers by the soldiers, but of the murder of the more hateful began to multiply. These things were done almost publicly, before the eyes of the soldiers. ... One of the generals wrote: 'We convulsively grasp at this or that, we pray for some sort of miracle, but the majority of us understand that there is already no hope of salvation.'"

The October insurrection was carried out by armed workers' militias and the sections of the army itself that had been won over to revolution. These armed forces were under the control of the working class as represented by its highest military committee—the Military Revolutionary Committee of the Petrograd Soviet.

Trotsky nevertheless takes issue with

those who "portray Bolshevism as a soldier movement." He answers, "Fundamental historic facts were here ignored: the fact that the proletariat was the first to come over to the Bolsheviks; that the Petrograd workers were showing the road to the workers of all countries; that the garrison and front much longer than the workers remained bulwarks of compromise; that the Social Revolutionaries and Mensheviks created all kinds of privileges for the soldier at the expense of the worker in the soviet system, struggled against the arming of the workers and incited the soldiers against them; that the break in the troops was brought about only by the influence of workers; that at the decisive moment the leadership of the soldiers was in the hands of the workers. ..."

The contrast between the Russian revolution spearheaded by the Bolsheviks, and the Portuguese coup carried out by the militarists of the MFA, could not be clearer. The Portuguese CP, with its Menshevik line of support to the MFA, is leading the Portuguese masses toward disaster. The Stalinists are aiding the MFA in confusing and disorienting the masses and wearing down their will to struggle until the military is in a position to decisively reimpose capitalist law and order, which will include dismissing Cunha and smashing the CP.

A mass revolutionary party must be built that will tell the truth about the counterrevolutionary character of the MFA and begin to break the illusions of the masses in the military regime. What is urgently needed is a fight for the formation of a workers and peasants' government, counterposed to the capitalist MFA regime. The focus for this demand right now is defense of the sovereignty of the Constituent Assembly, where the workers parties won an absolute majority. This means calling on the Communist and Socialist parties to carry out the mandate given them by the workers who elected them. They must break their pact giving supreme power to the MFA, and exercise their majority to form a new government of workers parties only.

## LETTERS

**Editors:** I think I have a disagreement with one aspect of Dick Roberts's article "Decline of the American Colossus" in your June issue. Roberts says:

"Government war spending is wholly unproductive. Unlike investment by industrial capitalists, the government's outlays do not transform the goods purchased into an expanded mass of commodities which are then put back on the market to be sold. Rather it simply takes goods off the market. The newly created purchasing power cannot find its equivalent on the market, and the monopolists raise the prices on other goods to absorb the 'surplus purchasing power.'"

At first glance, the paragraph seems to say that military expenditure is just the same in its effect as deficit financing and therefore inherently inflationary.

But in the previous paragraphs Roberts had specified that military expenditure is inflationary only to the degree that it is paid for by government deficit financing. This implies that to the extent the government buys arms with money raised through taxes, the purchase is no more inflationary than any other kind of commodity exchange.

I agree that government war spending is wholly unproductive. It does not sustain and reproduce labor power, as wages do, and it does not sustain and expand the means of production as industrial investment does. Like bour-

geois luxury expenditure, waste through the anarchy of capitalist production, or periodic depressions, it is a dead weight on the economy. It's very valuable to show how such massive waste causes big long-run problems for capitalism. But this does not make it inherently inflationary.

John Riddell  
Toronto, Canada

**Dick Roberts Replies:** John Riddell has pinpointed a fault in my article that I discovered myself in speaking on the subject around the country. Let's take a more precise look at the interrelation of factors causing inflation:

Inflation is caused by deficit spending and monopoly pricing. The latter is inseparable from the inflationary process: inflation only takes place because monopolies are in a position to restrict production while raising prices.

Inflation comes when deficit spending, or the expansion of credit generally, is not met by an "equivalent" expansion of production but by higher prices. If there are plenty of markets for expanding production, a government can deficit-spend significantly and still not cause much inflation. The world inflationary crisis today is the result of deficit spending simultaneously by governments on a world scale and the relatively limited possibility of expanding production.

The next question is: How does this deficit expenditure of money—money that is "pumped" into the economy—get into the hands of the monopolists who are raising prices? Washington does not give money to General Motors for its monopoly-priced cars; it gives the money to Boeing for

bombers.

That is why it is important to see that the government-purchased goods must be "subtracted from the market" for the inflation to take place. Boeing owners and workers receive the money from Washington. They make the bomber. But the bomber is not put up for sale. The government has already purchased it. This leaves the "surplus purchasing power" in the economy to be absorbed by higher monopoly prices.

If, by contrast, the government spent money on low-cost housing (which socialists advocate), and sold the houses to workers (which we do not advocate), it would not be inflationary.

If, on the other hand, the government spent money on hospitals that are given to cities or states (which we advocate), it would be inflationary.

The socialist answer to inflation is not that the government should stop deficit spending. It is that war spending should be eliminated and workers' wages and all social benefits should be fully protected by escalator clauses—together with the proposal that this entire system of dependence on market forces should be scrapped.

Viewed in this light it is clear that deficit spending is the main cause of inflation, not what the goods are spent on. For if the government spend \$100 billion on war goods but at the same time took \$100 billion out of the economy in taxes, the "surplus purchasing power" would not be there.

It cannot do this, however, because of lack of popular support for its wars. It has become politically necessary to disguise payment for the military budget in the form of inflation.

I'm sure I'm not wrong in guessing that

in Canada deficit spending is not mainly on war goods. But it happens that in the United States more than 75 percent of goods purchased by the government are war goods.

This does not exhaust the matter. Seymour Melman and others argue, I think correctly, that war spending has an inflationary bias if it does not involve deficits. Unproductive manufacture does leave "surplus purchasing power" that is absorbed by the monopoly pricing system even without deficit financing. Meanwhile, taxes bear down on the workers, reducing their purchasing power but leaving monopoly prices intact. This leads to a permanent redistribution of wealth toward monopoly at the expense of workers.

If this viewpoint is right, then war spending is actually doubly inflationary, both as a deficit expense and as an unproductive expense. However, the deficit financing aspect is obviously more important.

**Editors' note:** The article referred to in the above exchange has since appeared in the book *Capitalism in Crisis* by Dick Roberts (Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. \$6.00; paper \$1.95).

This column is open to all viewpoints on subjects of 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 initials instead.



# Free Speech and the Fight Against the Ultraright

By Malik Miah

**T**he past year has seen a sharpening of racist discrimination and violence nurtured by the government, from President Ford down to the local school boards and police departments.

The government and corporations are trying to force Black people and other oppressed minorities to bear the greatest burden of the current depression, through discriminatory layoffs and cutbacks in welfare funds, child care, and education.

As part of this racist offensive, the politicians, media, and police have cooperated to encourage racist violence aimed at beating back the civil rights gains won by Black people in the past. The spearhead of this campaign has been in Boston, where the school committee and the racist organization ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights) have tried to physically prevent the implementation of school desegregation.

The racist offensive by the government and employers has been the breeding ground for other racist fanatics and right-wing and fascist organizations.

In West Virginia a reactionary movement has arisen to try to eliminate scientific textbooks and books by Black authors from the public schools.

There has been increased activity—including violent activity—by the Ku Klux Klan, the American Nazis, and other rightist outfits. Both the Klan and the Nazis sent organizers to Boston last fall when the desegregation struggle broke out, sensing fertile ground for their program of hate and violence. In Los Angeles, Nazi and right-wing Cuban exile groups have waged a bombing campaign against socialist organizations, Palestinian groups, and civil liberties groups.

This rise of racist and right-wing activity has extended onto the campuses as well. The Black-inferiority theories of academics such as William Shockley and Arthur Jensen are widely propagated. The Klan and the Nazis are both on stepped-up recruiting drives, sending speakers to campuses.

In response to the general racist offensive, the NAACP, the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR), the Young Socialist Alliance, the Socialist Workers party, and many other groups have joined together in organizing antiracist demonstrations and meetings around the country. Most effective so far was the May 17 antiracist march in Boston.

On the campuses, students have been faced with the question of how best to answer such racist or fascist elements when they come to try to spread their influence. Over the past year the Young Socialist Alliance has helped organize a number of effective actions against racist academics and right-wing hucksters on the campuses, for example, at Yale University and at St. Cloud State College in Minnesota.

In each case the YSA began from the point of view that the most effective way to deal with these racists was through a

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Students protest racist views of William Shockley at Princeton University

campaign of education and broadly sponsored protest actions. The aim is to win over the majority of students in a massive repudiation of the racists and rightists, to demoralize them, defeat their organizing drives, and drive them back into their ratholes. Part of this strategy is to win the support of Black community organizations and unions, which are the social forces that have the greatest power to stop racist and fascist violence.

Other organizations have taken a different approach, advocating the tactic of shouting down racist and right-wing speakers or attempting to physically break up their meetings. Some also call on the school administration to ban these speakers from campus because of their reactionary ideas.

Variations on this general position are held by the Maoist Revolutionary Student Brigade, the Progressive Labor party, and the Spartacus Youth League. The SYL, for example, puts forward the slogan, "No platform for the fascists," and denies what it calls the "supposed 'right to freedom of speech'" of fascist groups.

In fighting the racists off the campus as well, these groups oppose the strategy of building mass mobilizations against the reactionaries. In Boston, for example, the Progressive Labor party favors militaristic confrontations by small groups with South Boston racists, rather than supporting the strategy of mass action embodied in the NAACP May 17 demonstration. The RSB boycotted the May 17 action. The Spartacist League, which is allied with the SYL, attended the demonstration of 15,000, but attacked it as "impotent."

The increasingly dangerous role played by the racist and rightist organizations makes it important for all opponents of racism and supporters of democratic rights to consider carefully how best to combat them.

In deciding what tactics are most effective, it is useful to look first at what these racist and fascist gangs represent in a historical sense. This will reveal what the antiracist forces are up against

in deciding to take these groups on. What tactics to employ today will then come more clearly into focus.

**T**he situation in the United States today is, of course, not one of a large-scale rise of fascism. There are no mass fascist organizations. The existing ultrarightist organizations, such as the Nazis, can do little more than conduct propaganda—as vicious as it may be—and resort to isolated, small-scale acts of violence. They are conscious purveyors of fascist views, proclaiming Hitler as their hero. In this form they are unacceptable to the masses in the United States.

More important now is the racist violence of groups such as ROAR in Boston, with its friends in the school committee and city hall, as well as the step-up in racist police brutality.

It can be expected that such groups will grow as the economic, social, and political crisis deepens. The United States is entering a period of a qualitatively deeper economic crisis than it has ever faced before. This is reflected in the fact that the current recession is deeper than any since the Great Depression and in the fact that it is part of a world recession. Even when the country comes out of the current downturn, the probability is that there will be shorter and shorter intervals between even more drastic downturns.

It is this type of situation—prolonged economic uncertainties and crisis—that is a precondition for the rise of a full-fledged fascist movement.

Fascism is a specific social phenomenon exemplified most clearly by the movements and regimes headed by the German Nazis and Mussolini's Black-shirts. It is important to use the term scientifically and to distinguish between the rise of small groups with a fascist ideology on the one hand, and the rise of a mass fascist movement or the imminent threat of a fascist regime taking power on the other.

Those who loosely called the Nixon

administration "fascist," for example, are not likely to be taken seriously when they try to sound the alarm about the real thing.

Some of the most important characteristics of the rise of a fascist movement are:

1) A fascist movement is a mass movement based primarily on sections of the population standing between the two most powerful classes—the working class and the class of big capitalists. These "in-between" layers include small businesspeople and shopkeepers, professional people, farmers, and higher-level government functionaries. Another layer that is always a prime recruiting ground for the fascists is the police and army officers.

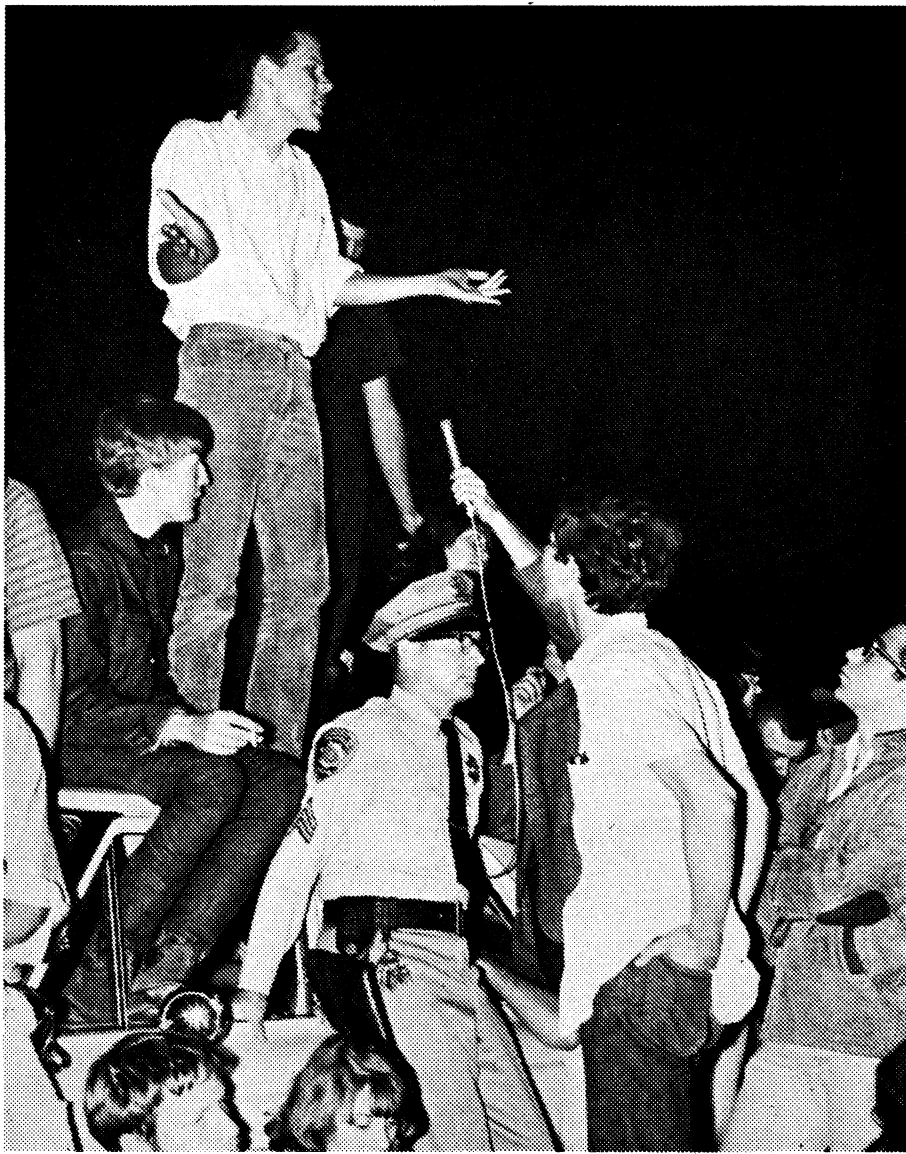
Sections of the working class can also be attracted to a fascist movement, especially the most privileged layers, and the most degraded layers, who are demoralized by unemployment or driven by poverty and hopelessness to antisocial acts.

2) A fascist movement feeds on the despair and frenzy that grip these layers of the population as a result of severe economic crisis, as their shops are squeezed out of business, their standard of living is slashed, or their means of livelihood threatened.

Fascist leaders use "antiestablishment" demagoguery—sometimes even "socialist" or "revolutionary"-sounding rhetoric—to appeal to the dissatisfaction of the masses of people with the status quo. Thus the German fascists called themselves National Socialists. Fascists try to turn the anger of all those threatened with ruin by the capitalist crisis against the oppressed racial minorities and organized labor.

In this country, the approach of fascist organizations in the 1930s and 1940s was to claim to be the representatives of the "little man" against both the big capitalists and the "communists," directing their fire especially at Blacks, Jews and "big labor."

In his book *Fascism and Big Business*, Daniel Guérin points out that



**Berkeley Free Speech Movement, 1964.** From its inception, student movement has had to fight for rights to hear radical speakers, to demonstrate, and to win full rights for antiwar, civil rights, and socialist organizations on campus.

"fascism's game is to call itself anti-capitalist without seriously attacking capitalism."

3) Fascists appeal to all the backward, obscurantist traditions, customs, and prejudices that have been deeply embedded in people through the repressive nature of all class society. Racism, sexism, superstition, mysticism, and national chauvinism are key weapons used by the fascist demagogues.

4) When a fascist movement becomes powerful enough to move toward taking governmental power, it means that major sections of the ruling capitalist class have decided in favor of giving the fascists full rein. It means the big banks and corporations have begun large-scale financing of the fascist groups.

This occurs when the economic crisis brings forth massive resistance on the part of the working class, and the capitalists see fascism as the only possible means of maintaining their rule. In effect they resort to a form of civil war to beat the working class into submission. The troops on the side of capitalism in this civil war are supplied by the fascist-led mass movement.

Thus fascism is not simply a new form of dictatorial rule. New police-state methods are not sufficient to defeat a strong, organized workers movement. The ruling class needs on its side the added force of the desperate middle class and backward workers. Through mass terror, murder, and other forms of intimidation carried out by these forces, the capitalist class aims at completely crushing, atomizing, and demoralizing the labor movement.

In general the capitalists would prefer not to have to resort to fascism. It is much more efficient for them to rule "democratically" through mass illusions in their system. But as the workers movement grows and develops in face of social crisis, their fear of socialist revolution makes the step a necessity for them.

However, the ruling class does not make the move in one leap. It begins with a process of increased attacks on the democratic rights of the workers—through legal repressive measures as

well as extralegal ones, including small-scale collaboration with rightist groups.

5) Leon Trotsky explained that the reason fascism triumphed in Italy in 1922 and in Germany in 1933 was because of a default in leadership of the working class by the Communist and Socialist parties.

The Russian revolution of 1917 demonstrated that the middle classes do not have to be won by reaction. If the workers organizations are able to project a bold, revolutionary program, a way forward out of the crisis, they can win the middle layers over to the anticapitalist struggle, just as the Bolsheviks won over decisive sections of the Russian peasantry.

The defeat of fascism is only possible in the final analysis with the defeat of capitalism. The question of who should rule will be decided in major class battles. This means a revolutionary socialist combat party must be built to lead the workers to accomplish this task.

But if the workers' leadership is indecisive and incapable of uniting the class to exert its full power, then the middle layers can become embittered against the workers movement and turn elsewhere in search of radical solutions.

In Germany the Stalinized Communist party took the disastrous position that the Social Democratic party was just as bad as the fascists. The CP refused to organize a united-front struggle with the Social Democrats, and Hitler's regime of terror triumphed without a struggle from the workers.

Trotsky wrote in 1940: "In all the countries where fascism became victorious, we had before the growth of fascism and its victory, a wave of radicalism of the masses; of the workers and the poorer peasants and farmers, and of the petty bourgeois class. . . . Only after these . . . tremendous waves, did Fascism become a big movement. There are no exceptions to this rule—Fascism comes only when the working class shows complete incapacity to take into its own hands the fate of society."

The name or forms under which a fascist movement might arise in this country cannot be predicted. But it is

likely that an American fascist movement will not simply ape the German or Italian fascists, as the American Nazis do. It won't identify with hated figures like Hitler. It will be camouflaged, its features emerging from the American class struggle and American prejudices.

An American fascist movement might look more like ROAR (although ROAR is not now fascist) than a group sporting helmets and swastikas. Or it might emerge from sections of the Democratic or Republican parties, like Joseph McCarthy or Mayor Frank Hague of Jersey City, New Jersey, who, Leon Trotsky thought, could be designated a fascist.

It could also be noted that a fascist movement might incorporate elements like the National Caucus of Labor Committees, a group that evolved from a socialist organization to a fascist-type group, just as Mussolini did. Under cover of radical-sounding rhetoric about a CIA-Rockefeller plot and gimmicky tax schemes, this group has carried out thug attacks on the Communist party, the SWP and YSA, and trade unionists. It issues vicious, racist hate sheets against Blacks and Puerto Ricans, and opposes all strikes. It has unusually generous financial sources that allow it to send organizers to other countries.

The racist and right-wing groups we see today are breeding grounds of what can become a capitalist-backed mass extralegal force aimed at attacking and eliminating the organizations and democratic rights of the labor movement, the Black movement, and all the oppressed.

This is the full dimension of the problem before the antiracist movement. Already we see that the current racist offensive, abetted by the racist and right-wing groups, is an attack on the most militant section of the working class, Black people.

It is clear from history that the threat represented by the racist and rightist groups cannot be defeated by small groups. The only effective counterstrategy is to unite the labor movement, the Black movement, and their allies in countermobilizations that make it politically and physically impossible for the racist and right-wing groups to get away with their violent attacks on the democratic rights of others.

**I**n the face of racist mobilizations, the antiracist movement today should exercise its democratic right to counterdemonstrate in protest. In face of right-wing violence, the antiracist forces have the democratic right of self-defense—which should, however, be exercised judiciously through forms adapted to the specifics of the situation.

The way to beat back these forces is to outmobilize them in the streets, to show them that they are a minority and cannot intimidate the opponents of racism. This is the case because their goal is precisely to strike fear into those on the side of working people and Black people.

Even though there is no mass fascist movement today, the debate over how to combat existing racist and right-wing groups is of great importance. Experiences gained by the antiracist movement today will be preparation for larger confrontations to come, contributing to the development of a leadership of the working class and oppressed minorities competent to defeat the fascists in future battles in the struggle for socialist revolution.

The struggles taking place on the campuses can play an important role in building the general antiracist countermobilization. Campus struggles will be an aid to antiracist movements off the campus, such as for school desegregation. And, on the other hand, forces from the working class and the Black community can be drawn into aiding the students' actions.

With the full implications of the antiracist struggle in mind, the prob-

lems with the "no platform for fascists" position—the position that racist or fascist meetings should be banned or disrupted—become clear.

First of all, the danger presented by these reactionary organizations does not arise primarily from their speaking and expounding their ideas. It arises from their violent actions in violation of the democratic rights of others—such as the ROAR lynch-type mobs that have stoned and beaten children and other Black people in Boston, the Nazi bombings in Los Angeles, and the Ku Klux Klan and Nazi terror campaigns against Black families in the West Englewood section of Chicago and in the Rosedale section of Queens, New York.

It is a question of groups that have carried out hundreds of lynchings of Blacks, and who often endorse Hitler's mass murder of the Jews and use of gangs of thugs with knives, blackjacks, and guns against trade unionists.

To call for banning or disrupting the racists' meetings shifts the axis of the struggle away from exposing their real nature as violent elements out to attack the democratic rights of working people and Blacks, and onto the question of whether they should have democratic rights.

The "no platform" tactic gives the racists and fascists a new weapon to use against their opponents. It allows these thugs to pose as a persecuted minority or as defenders of democratic rights.

Students, as well as most Americans, are correctly concerned about protecting their own democratic rights. The "no platform" position raises the question: Exactly which groups should be banned from expressing their views, and who is to decide this?

Where should the line be drawn? Should only open fascists be banned? What about the KKK, which does not claim to be fascist? What about racist groups like ROAR, in which fascists are active? What about less blatant but more powerful racists like President Ford, who gave the green light to the racist mobs in Boston with his statement against busing last fall? What about Boston Mayor Kevin White, who has made secret deals with ROAR and promised them money out of city funds? What about the notorious racist George Meany?

The confusion is confounded by the fact that some of the sectarian groups that call for "no platform for fascists" have their own definition of "fascists." For example, the Revolutionary Student Brigade calls the YSA "fascist" and has physically attacked YSA members selling the *Young Socialist* and the *Militant* in public places.

Some of these groups also include Democrats and Republicans in their category of who should not be allowed to speak publicly. The Progressive Labor party and the Spartacist League, among other groups, tried numerous times to shout down Democratic party politicians who spoke at antiwar meetings and demonstrations in the 1960s and early 1970s.

This "no platform" approach generates fear of radicals as small groups that are trying to force people to adhere to their views or be silent.

Many students and others can become so confused by these considerations that they will side with the racists on the question of free speech instead of joining antiracists in a counterdemonstration. Many of the people might be staunchly opposed to the racists and could contribute important forces to the struggle, if the tactics proposed did not confuse the issue.

It is useful to look further at the logic of the "no platform" position. Consider a hypothetical situation of a referendum on a campus to ban all racist speakers. One thing that could happen is that Zionist students—who have considerable strength on many campuses—could attempt to use such a ban against supporters of the Palestinian people. If it were agreed that a referendum could be used to ban racist ideas—and the ideas of



the Zionists definitely fit that category—this could open the door to pro-Zionist student bodies voting to bar Arab speakers from the campus with the false charge that they are “anti-Semitic.”

The concept of stamping out unpopular ideas—even by majority vote—clearly leads to more harm than good. Its logic is that only those ideas considered acceptable by the majority could be freely expressed—which automatically eliminates most radical ideas at present.

Students and faculty should be able to control the university facilities, but not what ideas can be expressed on campus. Democratic procedures imply not only majority rule, but also the right of free competition of ideas, on the basis of which people then make up their minds.

Just as antiracists should not call on the administration to ban fascist or racist speakers, it is also counterproductive to call on the university to fire racist professors simply because of their ideas. To do so would give the administration a chance to, as Malcolm X put it, make the criminal look like the victim and the victims look like the criminal.

The firing of professors with racist theories would set the precedent for the firing of Marxist or other radical professors. The authorities are always looking for excuses to fire dissident teachers—as happened to professors Angela Davis, Bruce Franklin, and Morris Starsky, to cite a few examples.

Of course, teachers who insult or mistreat their students in a racist manner, or are engaged in using campus facilities for police training, behavior modification, or other racist projects are a different question. There it is not a question of expression of ideas, but rather of the misuse of campus facilities for racist actions.

Another example that helps clarify this question is the struggle against military recruiters, ROTC (Reserve Officers Training Corps), and war research on campus. When this became an issue during the anti-Vietnam War movement, the YSA drew the distinction between a prowar speaker—such as Melvin Laird or William Westmoreland—and recruiters or researchers who were on campus to build up the war machine.

On the one hand, we did not try to bar prowar speakers because of their ideas. We helped organize demonstrations, picket lines, and sometimes debates. In this way we helped expose the prowar speaker as well as the federal government and any university complicity with the war.

But when military recruiters came onto campus, we demanded that the university withdraw its invitation to them. What was involved was not a

question of democratic rights, but rather an attempt by the government to use campus facilities to help carry out their imperialist war effort in Vietnam.

Our opposition to ROTC and war research also stemmed from our view that the university should not be used as an arm of the military. In cases where the question was put to a referendum, the YSA and other antiwar students went on a campaign to convince the majority why ROTC should be thrown off campus.

**T**hese examples illustrate why an effective struggle against reactionary ideas and violence cannot be carried out if one begins by placing qualifications on democratic rights in the case of fascists.

This stand not only cuts across the mobilization of the maximum number of antiracist forces; it also reflects a lack of understanding of the prime importance of the principle of democratic rights to the working class and all the oppressed.

Democratic rights create better conditions for the education and organization of the oppressed against their oppressors. They mean the right to form trade unions and other organizations to defend the interests of the masses. They mean the right to hold meetings and distribute leaflets and newspapers, which is necessary for winning the majority away from the reactionaries.

Revolutionary socialists are for the fullest democratic rights under capitalism as well as under socialism. The only exception, in which a temporary abridgement of democratic rights might be called for, would be under conditions of civil war, when the logic of war becomes applicable.

One historical example that could be cited is the situation during the American Civil War. This war took place at a time when the capitalist system was still capable of carrying out a progressive fight against the more backward social system of slavery.

During the war, President Lincoln ordered that any person could be arrested in the North simply for speaking out in support of the Southern slaveholders. This was a violation of free speech, yet justified under conditions of warfare, when the Southern slaveowners had tried to violently frustrate the will of the majority in the country.

Likewise, during the Russian revolution of 1917 and after its victory, when twenty-two countries joined in military action to try to overthrow the first workers state, the Soviets banned those parties that joined forces with the counterrevolutionary side in the civil war.

Trotsky explained this in the following way in his article “Freedom of the Press

and the Working Class” (*International Socialist Review*, June 1975): “Once at the helm, the proletariat may find itself forced, for a certain time, to take special measures against the bourgeoisie, if the bourgeoisie assumes an attitude of open rebellion against the workers state. In that case, restricting freedom of the press goes hand in hand with all the other measures employed in waging a civil war. Naturally, if you are forced to use artillery and planes against the enemy, you cannot permit this same enemy to maintain his own centers of news and propaganda within the armed camp of the proletariat.”

Nevertheless, Trotsky warned that “measures of this kind can only be a temporary, unavoidable evil.”

**B**ecause of the importance of democratic rights to the oppressed, the denial of this right to racists or fascists can only backfire. It has been proven throughout the history of capitalism that any suppression of democratic rights is ultimately turned against the working class.

One illustration of this is the application of the Smith Act, which supposedly banned “subversive” ideas from either the right or the left. While the thirty fascists indicted under this act during World War II got off scot-free, members of the Socialist Workers party and, after the war, the Communist party were convicted and given heavy prison sentences.

Another case where this problem was raised concerned a rally organized by George Lincoln Rockwell, former head of the American Nazis, for July 4, 1960, in New York City’s Union Square. After a counterdemonstration against the Nazis was announced, the Nazis were denied a permit for the rally by the city government on the grounds that it might start a “riot.”

The Socialist Workers party opposed this move by the city. It was clear that if the government was able to ban a fascist rally, it could do the same thing if the SWP or another workers organization or Black organization tried to organize a rally. The city government could use the same pretense—to prevent “riots” and “stop the extremists from both right and left.”

At the same time, the SWP was in the forefront of organizing the counterdemonstration against the Nazis.

To call on the government or campus authorities to ban racist or fascist speakers helps to foster the illusion that the capitalist government and institutions can be looked to as a force to stop the fascists. History has shown, to the contrary, that the capitalist authorities,

while claiming to stand for democracy, protect the reactionary terror gangs and look on them as the nuclei of the last-ditch defenders of their system.

As Leon Trotsky explained in his article “Why I Consented to Appear Before the Dies Committee”: “The outlawing of fascist groups would inevitably have a fictitious character: as reactionary organizations they can easily change color and adapt themselves to any kind of organizational form since the influential sections of the ruling class and of the governmental apparatus sympathize considerably with them and these sympathies inevitably increase during times of political crisis.”

While opposing government denial of free speech and assembly to anyone, the antiracist forces should vigorously call for government arrest and prosecution of racists or right-wingers who carry out any acts of violence.

A call for the arrest of rightist terrorists is not a call on the government to restrict democratic rights, but rather to enforce the democratic right of everyone to equal protection of the law against physical attack.

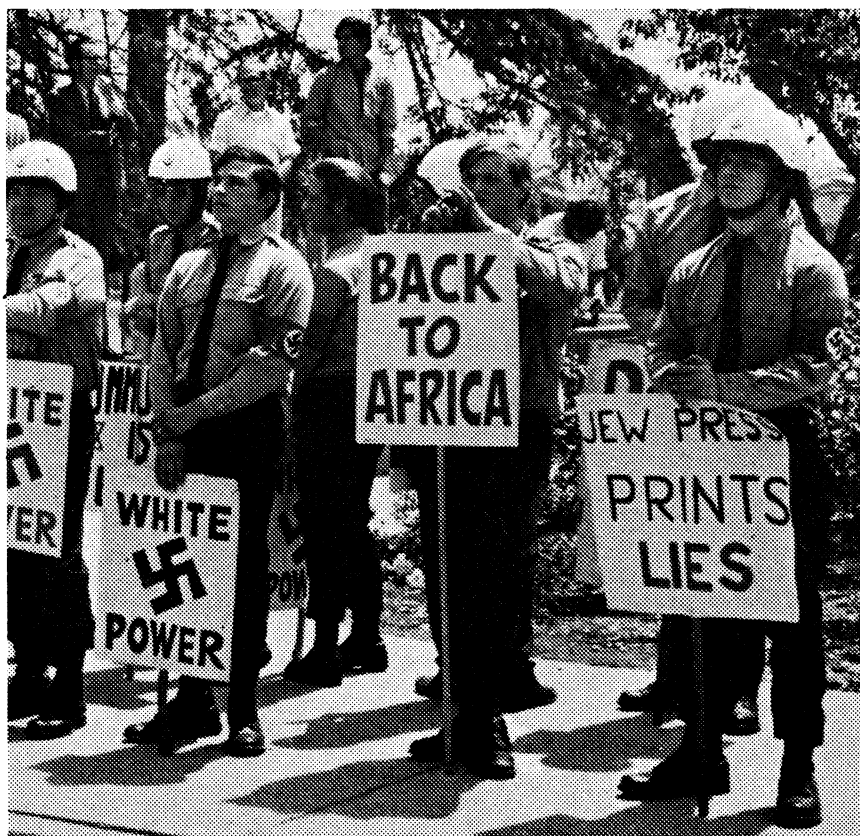
Here again there is the problem that the capitalist government does not consistently defend democratic rights. The government and its police will drag their feet on taking any action against rightist thugs. But a campaign exposing their protection of rightist hoodlums can force them to take some action.

The best current example of this kind of campaign is in Los Angeles, where the Nazis and Cuban counterrevolutionary gangs have carried out a series of terror bombings and arson against the YSA, the SWP, and other groups. There the YSA’s approach is to focus on forcing the city government, headed by Mayor Tom Bradley, to arrest and prosecute those responsible, and building mass support for our democratic right to exist, through united-front protests with all those concerned about this terrorist threat.

The YSA does not, however, call on the government to ban the Nazis, nor do we propose that Nazis be prohibited from speaking on campuses in the city.

Another argument used to justify a call for banning or physically breaking up reactionary meetings is that fascism can thereby be “nipped in the bud,” or somehow stopped even before it gets started.

For example, the *Young Spartacus*, publication of the SYL, carried an article in its June 1975 issue that prominently displayed in large letters a quote attributed to the German fascist leader Joseph Goebbels: “If the enemy had known how weak we were, it would probably have reduced us to jelly . . . . It would have



Della Rossa



While Nazi violence has been serious, their imported fascism is unlikely to gain following in United States. Racist groups like ROAR are more dangerous as breeding ground for rightist and fascist forces.

crushed in blood the very beginning of our work." The implication is that that is precisely what should be done today. And the method, the article explains, is to do as the Young Spartacus League did March 10 at San Francisco State University. The SYL and others physically attacked a few fascists scheduled to speak in a class on campus. Their slogan was "No platform for fascists."

All this succeeded in doing was to give the Nazis the opportunity to return to the campus with leaflets protesting the denial of their democratic rights, while making the Spartacus Youth League look like it was against democratic rights.

Such tactics reinforce the prejudices of many people who think socialists are fighting for a system that will do away with democratic rights, as is the case in the Soviet Union. To the contrary, socialists must convince the masses of people that they are the most consistent defenders of democratic rights, against the government's infringement of those rights.

The SYL tactics cut across the main axis of the fight against the fascists: their threat to the democratic rights of others. The task for socialists is not to prove their "toughness" in fighting handfuls of fascists, but rather to build an effective mass response that isolates and demoralizes them.

A fascist movement cannot be "nipped in the bud" no matter how many of their meetings are disrupted. This theory shows a lack of understanding of the

social conditions and forces that lie behind the growth of fascist organizations.

The development of a real fascist threat will not be the work of the handful of individuals who make up the fascist groups today. It will be a mass movement playing on the fears of large sections of the population and backed by major sectors of the ruling class. The despair created by economic crisis, together with the aid and comfort provided to fascist demagogues by the ruling class, will bring forth new fascist forces no matter how many individual rightists are beaten up by the tiny SYL today. They can only be defeated by the conscious action of masses of working people and Black people who have learned through their own experience what they represent.

In their frenzy to "nip the fascists in the bud," the SYL and other ultraleft groups fail to see the greater challenge posed today by groups such as ROAR, or the racists Jensen and Shockley. This was obvious in an article in the May 23 issue of *Workers Vanguard*, newspaper of the Spartacist League, describing an incident along the line of march at the May 17 antiracist demonstration in Boston.

"The marchers' response to a small counterdemonstration by a band of Nazis was instructive," says the article. "As the SL and others moved to deal with the racist scum, SWP and NAACP marchers 'naked arms to keep the indig-

nant crowd from getting at the Fascists. The police moved immediately to protect the Nazis."

The demonstration marshals were completely right to try to avoid provocations from the group of Nazis and halt the irresponsible actions of the SL in order to keep the focus of the march clearly on ROAR and the Boston School Committee. A fracas with the Nazis could have given the cops an excuse to attack the whole demonstration.

In considering how to respond to reactionary speakers on campus, it is important to draw the distinction between racist forces such as Jensen and Shockley and ROAR on the one hand, and groups such as the American Nazis on the other. The Jensens and ROARs are not looked on by masses of Americans as the reactionaries they are. They are not seen as a threat to the whole working class. All too many white people even share their blatant prejudices.

The Nazis, on the other hand, are widely viewed as dangerous, or even "un-American."

The Jensens and the ROARs are the main threat today. They are the ones who are spearheading the government's racist offensive, which is affecting the entire Black community with discriminatory layoffs and cutbacks. Their racist theories of Black inferiority and their demand for racial segregation of schools gain a sympathetic response from millions of whites. Their demagoguery must be seriously answered and exposed before

the mass of students and of American working people.

If a ROAR representative comes onto a campus to speak, the antiracist forces should not call on the administration to ban the speaker. This would only provide ROAR and other racists with a phony "free speech" issue to aid them in their organizing efforts. More effective methods might be to challenge the racist speaker to a debate, to write leaflets and articles exposing their positions or to build a protest action with the broadest support possible.

**T**he YSA has no disagreement with the proponents of the "no platform" approach that the racists and fascists on the rise today are vicious and dangerous scum. The disagreement is over *how* to combat them most effectively.

Most effective is to confront the fascists' ideas ideologically and their actions through counteractions.

The "no platform" approach blunts our effectiveness. It means that the struggle against racism and fascism is turned "inside out." Instead of coming across for what it really is—a struggle in defense of the democratic rights of the working class and oppressed minorities—the struggle is turned into a sterile dispute over the "rights" of the fascists. That is advantageous to them, not to the antiracist movement.

# FORCED STERILIZATION: Chicanas Fight Back in Los Angeles

By Harry Ring

The practice of forced sterilization of poor and nonwhite women is becoming a nationwide scandal.

In South Carolina two welfare mothers, backed by the American Civil Liberties Union, have brought suit against Dr. Clovis Pierce. Dr. Pierce, the only obstetrician in the county the two women live in, refuses to deliver babies for women on welfare who already have three children, unless they agree to be sterilized.

On the other side of the country, two suits have been filed by women against the University of Southern California Medical Center (L.A. County Hospital), the major county hospital in Los Angeles. The women charge that the center performed sterilizations on them without their knowledge or by means of coercion, pressure, and deception.

The medical center is the principal public hospital available to the Chicano community. Most of the victims of forced sterilization are Chicanas.

Both Los Angeles suits are the result, in good measure, of the exposé of sterilization practices by Dr. Bernard Rosenfeld, an obstetrician/gynecologist who practiced for a year at the medical center.

Dr. Rosenfeld had also studied sterilization abuses at hospitals where he worked in Baltimore and in Oakland, California. He is coauthor of a Nader report that is the basis for a sterilization suit filed in Alabama.

Dr. Rosenfeld asserts that the federal

government, which finances many of the sterilizations through Medicaid, is not promoting or enforcing guidelines to protect minority and poor women from coerced sterilization practices. Such practices, he says, "are occurring blatantly throughout the country."

Some of the facts about the sterilization scandal in Los Angeles first became public last November when three Chicanas filed a \$6 million damage suit against the hospital. This suit is being pursued in the California courts by a private attorney.

Then, on June 18, eleven other Chicanas filed a federal class-action civil rights suit charging they were the victims of involuntary sterilization. Four did not sign "consent" forms and did not know until weeks later that they had been sterilized. Others charged that deception was used by doctors and nurses to get them to sign the forms—often while they were in the pain of advanced labor.

The eleven are seeking a court order establishing federal guidelines of a kind that would provide a barrier to forced sterilizations as well as sterilizations performed on the basis of "uninformed consent." The suit also seeks damages for the eleven women.

The class action was initiated through the Comisión Femenil Mexicana Nacional, a Chicana feminist organization that is also a plaintiff. The suit is being handled by the Model Cities Center for Law and Justice in East Los Angeles.

The principal attorney in the suit is a Chicana, Antonia Hernández. An interview with her on the suit vividly illustrated the issues that are being raised in the fight against forced sterilization nationwide.

Antonia Hernández's relationship to this case is not the typical lawyer-client

one. She knows the case inside-out and is obviously deeply involved with it.

Her knowledge and involvement are the result of four months of full-time work visiting and interviewing women who, according to medical center records, had been sterilized during the past several years.

It was recently reported that as a result of the exposure of forced sterilizations at the county hospital, federal, state, and local agencies were making it "a top priority" to ensure that federal guidelines relating to sterilizations were complied with.

Hernández agreed that as a result of the publicity, L.A. County Hospital has been trying to comply with federal regulations.

But there is a serious problem with this, she explained. "The problem is

that the regulations are not sufficient. They don't go far enough. All they really say is that agreement to sterilization must be 'free and voluntary,' period. We don't feel that's sufficient. What does 'free and voluntary' mean?"

"They have tried to develop some Spanish-language consent forms," she continued. "But I don't understand these consent forms."

For instance, she said, the form refers to the sterilization operation as a "tubal ligation."

"Tubal ligation? If you had come to me before I got involved in this suit I wouldn't have known what that meant."

"We want built-in safeguards," she continued. "We want a Spanish-language consent form at a level anyone can understand. We also want



Arnold Weissberg

Attorney Antonia Hernández describes issues in fight against forced sterilization



counseling in the Spanish language by community people. We want at least a seventy-two-hour waiting period before the operation can be performed. These things will give the individual woman—and man—the information they need and the opportunity to make a free and voluntary consent."

Almost 90 percent of the women in the maternity section are Chicana, she explained. That means, in the eyes of many of the doctors there, that they are "illegal" entrants from Mexico and/or on welfare or likely to go on welfare. They create this stereotyped image that they see as "a burden on the taxpayer."

"They simply assume," Hernández continued, "that they're all unmarried and on welfare. They all look alike. If you go to L.A. County Hospital, you

must be on welfare." The fact is, she said, that almost all of the women she interviewed were married and not on welfare.

She said the four months of door-to-door visiting had been an emotional strain. In about one-fourth of the cases, the people she was visiting did not know they had been sterilized and she had to be the one to tell them.

For many of the women it was a religious shock as well as a cultural shock.

Of those who did know they had been sterilized more than half believed it was a temporary thing that could be reversed.

"The doctor told me I could have the tubes untied and I'd be as good as new," one woman told Hernández.

Also, Hernández continued, "They would use the husbands, use them in a very inhumane way. They would tell them, 'If you don't sign, your wife's going to die.' Under those circumstances anybody would sign."

"A lot were obtained this way. They'd get the husband's signature and then go to the woman and say, 'Look, your husband has signed. He doesn't want you to have any more kids. So sign!' One was pitted against the other."

Hernández believes the root of the problem is both economic and racial. "It happens easier to Chicanas because of the language," she observed. "But it's not just them. It's happening to all poor women."

Many of the doctors try to rationalize what they're doing with the arguments

of overpopulation and diminishing resources.

"I think a better way to approach the problem," Hernández continued, "is to utilize our resources the best way we know how and not impose on us—on our culture and way of life—the dominant values of the white individuals."

"It's ridiculous," she said. "I might want to have four kids. You might want a big Cadillac. The Cadillac wastes more resources than my four kids."

"What's involved," Hernández declared, "is the right of a woman to decide. But not only a woman, a couple. The right of two human beings to decide how many children they will have."

## BOOKS

### Does Socialism Liberate Women?

By Hilda Scott. Beacon Press, Boston, 1974. 240 pp. \$7.95.

Hilda Scott, who lived for many years in Czechoslovakia, has assembled data on the position of women there because of her concern over the continuing oppression of women in the countries like Czechoslovakia that claim to be socialist.

While recognizing the many advances the masses of workers have achieved in the postcapitalist countries, specifically in Czechoslovakia since 1948, she has undertaken to discover what has gone wrong in relation to women.

By way of background, she examines the theoretical analysis of women's oppression made by Marx and Engels and by prominent figures in the European socialist movement in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. She includes, among other things, a review of the efforts of Marx and Engels in the First International, of August Bebel and Clara Zetkin in the Second International, and of Zetkin and Lenin in the Third International, to advance the question of women's liberation to the forefront of the international socialist and communist movements.

After the Bolshevik Revolution in October 1917, the position of Lenin and Zetkin was, as Scott describes it, that "there can be no emancipation of women without revolutionary class struggle, and no successful revolution without women's participation." This became a directive of the Third International and a guiding principle behind its work.

In the chapter entitled "The Enemy is Challenged," Scott describes the problems faced by the Bolsheviks in carrying out the social changes necessary for the emancipation of women in the new revolutionary state.

It was the intention of Lenin and the Bolsheviks that the revolution do away with the "decay, putrescence and filth" of bourgeois marriage with its "license for the husband and bondage for the wife," as Lenin noted to Clara Zetkin in 1920. Zetkin, a German socialist, became a member of the Central Committee of the German Communist party and in 1924 headed the International Women's Secretariat of the Comintern in Moscow.

The social upheaval caused by the First World War and the revolutions in the former tsarist empire had exacerbated the problems of women, family conflict, and care of children. While many revolutionists wanted to experiment with new social forms, in Russia the material basis for introducing new social

forms was lacking. Scott describes these problems:

"The civil war, the war of foreign intervention, was ending. Factories were not operating, mines were full of water, transport was disorganized, the drop in production was catastrophic, bread was scarce. Peasants rioted against the grain quotas, strikes broke out in Petrograd, the sailors in the Baltic base at Kronstadt rose in rebellion a few months later. Early in 1921 the New Economic Policy was introduced, a frank retreat toward state capitalism and a concession to the peasants, though it was powerless to halt the famine caused by a second year of drought in the Volga basin. Twenty-five million people in eastern Russia were starving. Families abandoned their dead by the roadside as they fled the region in search of food."

"These were not favorable conditions for experiments in sexual revolution and in the complete abolition of the family as the stronghold of convention and reactionary ideology, or for the introduction of communal living. The state was simply not equipped to take over the functions of the family. No matter how convincing the arguments of its proponents, the attempt to do away overnight with all the accepted restrictions on individual behavior in a country of still-feudal relationships, unable to mobilize the necessary material resources, inevitably brought many distortions which had nothing to do with liberating women. Living in communes during a shortage of housing, heat, food and clothing could not lighten women's household tasks, and it put the maximum strain on relationships between people. The new loose sexual ties were harder to adapt to for most women, brought up in patriarchal religious homes, than for men. Even the new laws favoring easy divorce and easy abortion tended to favor men in a situation where women were bound by ignorance and convention. The peasant who had now been forbidden by law to beat his wife could instead marry a husky young girl in the spring and abandon her in the autumn when the harvest was over. And why worry about getting her pregnant when she could always get an abortion? So she could and did, sometimes ten or twelve times."

But the reaction that set in with the rise of Stalin and the consolidation of bureaucratic control in the 1920s brought drastic setbacks on the women's question as on all questions.<sup>1</sup>

"Changes in the law in the mid-thirties which strengthened the family, making it more difficult to get a divorce (although by no means as difficult as in capitalist countries) and outlawing abortion except for medical reasons, were accompanied by discussions organized on a national scale and were presented as measures to correct these abuses. At the same time they represented the state's admission

1. For a discussion of the problems of women in the Soviet Union in the 1920s and an evaluation and critique of policies toward women implemented by Stalin, see *Women and the Family* by Leon Trotsky. Pathfinder Press, New York. 1972. 80 pp. \$1.25.



In Czechoslovakia women workers in industry, retail trade, and public agencies earn about 28 percent less than male workers.

that it had a stake in more stable personal relationships and in the reproduction of the population. However, the new morality went so far in the other direction that it represented a setback even for the more conservative view represented by Lenin.<sup>2</sup> The glorification of the 'socialist family' and of motherhood was directed not just against chaos; it was part of a larger drive against all types of experimentation—whether in personal relationships, in education, or the arts—and against all innovations in social and even scientific theory which seemed to 'serve the interests of the bourgeoisie.' The mid-thirties put an end to 'the right to be wrong,' so important for progress in any theoretical field. Marx, Engels, and Lenin became 'classics,' presented as though they stood almost alone in their time, above the stream of contemporary thought, contributing ideas which were completely free from the bourgeois influences which had surrounded their birth, and timeless in their application. There were no problems which their writings could not answer, but at the same time the application of their works to new problems was

2. This is a reference to the discussion, which Scott previously summarized, between Lenin and Clara Zetkin in 1920. Zetkin and Lenin had different views for a time as to what sorts of initiatives the Bolsheviks could undertake then to transform relationships between men and women. Lenin felt that less could be done under the circumstances than Zetkin did.

reserved to a select few, and primarily to Stalin. Writings by the classics which did not support the current interpretation were suppressed or 'reinterpreted.'

Against this historical and theoretical background Scott presents the concrete problems women still face in Czechoslovakia (and in the Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary, and East Germany, among other countries). Some basic but not widely known facts are presented:

• Abortion is the chief form of birth control. The pill, the IUD, and other contraceptive devices, although they have been available in limited quantities, are not promoted or readily accessible. (In 1969 only 5 percent of Czechoslovak women of childbearing age were using the pill or an IUD.)

In 1957 abortion was legalized in Czechoslovakia. The primary motivating factor behind the regime's decision to legalize abortion was the fact that illegal abortions were so widespread. After the legalization of abortion, the abortion rate increased dramatically, accompanied by an equally dramatic drop in the population growth rate. This prompted the government in 1963 to reintroduce fees for abortion and to tighten other regulations, making it more difficult for a woman to get an abortion.

While legalization of abortion was a gain for women's rights, it must be noted that the official attitude toward abortion was not a belief in a woman's right to choose whether or not she will bear children. Rather, official policy has been to alternatively restrict and liberalize the

law on the basis of the bureaucrats' determination of population growth needs or needs to decrease or increase the labor force. And each time the law is made more stringent, the number of illegal abortions increases correspondingly.

- Women are encouraged to hold jobs, and, according to surveys, most women in Czechoslovakia would prefer to have a job outside the home. Yet women are encouraged to work not within a framework of their right to a job and to self-development, but for reasons of a labor shortage.

In 1969 Czechoslovak women made up 47.2 percent of the nation's labor force. They hold predominantly the less-skilled, lower-paid, subordinate positions. They are also often paid less than men for the same work, despite laws that make this practice illegal.

Women workers "in industry, retail trade, and public agencies in 1968 . . . earn[ed] 27.9 percent less than men. Similar relationships prevailed in all industries and professions—including those in which women predominated—from the building trades where women's pay was 48 percent of men's to the textile industry where it averaged 71 percent and the health services where it was 80.4 percent of men's earnings."

Men occupy the managerial positions in virtually all fields, even those where most of the workers are women. One example of this is in agriculture: women constitute 52 percent of the agricultural work force. Yet only 20 out of the country's 5,800 farm cooperatives were headed by women in 1973.

- The nuclear family still forms the basis of society, with women saddled with household drudgery and responsibility for the children in addition to their responsibilities as workers.

In 1969 well over 80 percent of all Czechoslovak women between the ages of fifteen and fifty-four were employed.

Yet, there is a shortage of day-care facilities, and many of the facilities that exist are far from satisfactory. For example, most of the facilities are not equipped to care for a child who becomes ill. The child's mother must see to it that the child is cared for, usually meaning she must leave her job and care for the child herself.

Scott states that in 1971, the available day-care facilities enrolled only 10 percent of the children under three years of age and 50 percent of children between the ages of three and six.

When the officials became concerned over the declining birth rate, their response was to pay women longer maternity leave benefits and to increase family allowances as an incentive to reproduction, rather than to drastically improve the quality and increase the number of day-care facilities.

This is but one indication of the tenor of the official ideology that children are exclusively the women's responsibility.

- The shortage of consumer goods, household appliances, and so forth has meant that women, in addition to their time spent on the job, spend on the average from four to six hours daily on housework, shopping, and cooking. Public laundries handle only "about 5 percent of the family wash; the goal is something like 10 percent by 1980." Over the past decade there has been a marked decline in communal dining facilities, a decrease in state budgetary appropriations for the service sector, and an increase in the cost for services available.

The responsibility for living needs—laundry, cooking, cleaning—are more and more placed on the family; and this means on the women.

As Scott put it: "No one who has followed the painful efforts to modernize socialist housework over the past three decades can fail to be struck by the way this is inevitably presented as 'the debt we owe our women,' as though women were responsible for all the wash that is dirtied and were the sole beneficiaries of

clean windows and floors and ate all the potatoes that are lugged home."

- Women occupy only a small minority of executive posts and responsible government jobs; Scott states that the figure usually given is 4 to 5 percent of such posts. "There are no women ministers or vice ministers or ambassadors or members of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. The Slovak party has one woman on its presidium. There are no women members of the Academy of Sciences and only two corresponding members."

Is the ruling male clique striving to reverse such a state of affairs, so appalling in a country that claims to be socialist? Quite the contrary.

"There has been created at both ends of the ladder a new problem which has been known since the mid-sixties as 'feminization.' This blight—for that is how it has been viewed—struck whole professions (especially medicine and teaching), whole occupations and branches of industry." As a result, since that time,

them, the Union of Czechoslovak Women, was disbanded in 1952 because it had supposedly served its purpose. It was replaced by the Czechoslovak Women's Committee, which, according to Scott, was a "head without a body."

The problems of women and their sexual oppression were a focus of discussion at trade-union and Communist party congresses throughout the 1950s and 1960s. In 1966 the government announced that a new Czechoslovak Union of Women would be formed. Although this organization has a half million members out of the approximately five million adult females in Czechoslovakia, it has not as yet proven itself any more capable than its predecessors of mobilizing Czechoslovak women to effectively fight for the kind of social and political changes that are necessary to give women real rather than paper equality.

In the last chapter of her book, "Can Women Be Free?" Hilda Scott summarizes her findings and offers recommendations: Abolition of capitalist property

demands of women were not among the many social grievances raised at that time. In fact, references to the significance of the 1968 efforts to build "socialism with a human face" are conspicuous for their absence.

The policies of the Czechoslovak Communist party and government for the past twenty-seven years have, with only the brief interruption in 1968, been in the political tradition of Stalin and not of Lenin. What this has meant for women is set forth by Scott in her book. But there is a tradition of the Russian revolution that does survive in Czechoslovakia today. And it is reflected to a certain extent in the improved position of women in Czechoslovak society.

There can be little doubt that the legal equality of women in Czechoslovakia, which puts Czechoslovakia ahead of most of the capitalist countries in the world, on paper at least, exists as a result of the victorious 1917 Russian revolution, defended by the masses in the bloody civil war from 1919 to 1921.

Of course, the economic and social



'Prague Spring,' 1968. Fight for women's liberation will be aided by broader antibureaucratic revolution.

"an unwritten but clear change in admissions policy was noted, aimed at halting the 'feminization' trend in the universities and secondary schools by applying less exacting criteria to male candidates. Since girl applicants heavily outnumbered boys, this shift inevitably froze a considerable number of girls at the secondary-school level." Those who were prepared to go on to the university level were "stranded without any real profession or skill."

The same applied to "girl graduates of elementary school who had hoped to go to a secondary school, but now could not even find a place in an attractive apprentice training course."

"... at the very bottom there was created a pool comprising some 18 percent of all girls of school-leaving age (compared to 4.5 percent of all boys) who, like their mothers before them, were going straight to work at fifteen without any training whatsoever, or who were having difficulty in finding employment. 'What Shall We Do with Them?' was the headline which appeared over interviews with learned sociologists, educators, and statisticians . . . . No one needed to be told that 'Them' referred to those hard-to-dispose-of female children."

There is no sign that those now in power are prepared "to follow Lenin's advice and 'root out the old slave-owner's point of view, both in the Party and among the masses.'" The official line is that care of the children, and household duties as well, is a woman's "natural" function.

A number of Czechoslovak women have, over the years, fought for women's rights. There have been several official women's organizations whose alleged purpose was precisely this fight. One of

relations and the establishment of legal equality for women, while preconditions for female emancipation, do not guarantee this emancipation. Economic resources must be used to establish the communal services and child-care facilities that society needs. In addition, there must be persistent and long-term efforts toward a transformation of social attitudes and institutions.

The continued oppression of women in Czechoslovakia is a symptom of a larger problem. It is wrong to conclude that socialism does not liberate women; socialism has not been tried! One of the prerequisites for socialism, workers democracy, is absent.

To achieve women's liberation in Czechoslovakia, a broad upheaval is required of the kind begun in 1968 but cut short by the invasion of Soviet and Warsaw Pact troops and tanks.

In 1968 the Czechoslovak people began to move into action to end the oppressive rule of the Stalinist bureaucracy and replace it with workers democracy. The democratic gains that had been made in the first eight months of 1968 were all taken away by the regime imposed on the Czechoslovak people by the invaders.

Since then the Husak government has systematically reimposed all the repressive political measures that characterized the pre-1968 period and has tried to silence all dissent. The problems of women in Czechoslovakia cannot be isolated from this situation.

It is unfortunate that information about the impact on women and their role in the 1968 "Prague Spring," the most important event in recent Czechoslovak history, was not included in this study. It would be surprising indeed if the

potential unleashed by this victory was stifled with the rise of Stalin in the 1920s and 1930s. Stalin assured his control through excluding from power and finally annihilating the Bolsheviks who upheld the ideas and vision that the 1917 revolution was based on, including its program for women. It is Stalin's heirs who hold power in the Soviet Union today, and it is they who sponsored the present Czechoslovak political leadership in the aftermath of the 1968 military invasion. It is they who help maintain the Husak regime through the 160,000 Soviet troops that still occupy Czechoslovakia today.

Scott states that "the first theoretical education of women on the 'woman question' since World War II is scheduled to take place in 1975" under the auspices of the Union of Women. It is to be a study program concentrating on the writings of Marx, Engels, and Lenin on women's oppression.

It is not unlikely that through the writings of the founders and continuators of scientific socialism, some Czechoslovak women will begin to rediscover the vision of what their society could be like and become inspired to struggle for the realization of their own needs. Hilda Scott's study, if it were to circulate in the networks through which the underground literature flows in Czechoslovakia, would be a most useful contribution toward this end.

And when Czechoslovak women begin to move—and they will—to demand the democratic and social rights they are entitled to, the struggle for socialism will again, as in Russia in 1917, take a giant step forward.

Marilyn Vogt





## Pennsylvania contract vote

A sense of anger and frustration has been growing among American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees members in Philadelphia since we returned to work two weeks ago after a three-day statewide strike.

At that time, AFSCME's negotiating committee approved a contract that provided for a mere 6 percent wage increase stretched out over the next fiscal year.

Most of our members feel this isn't enough. Members of my union, Local 2586, are clerical workers in the county welfare department. Many are women who must support families on the eighty to ninety dollars they take home each week. "Anything less than 10 percent," as one shop steward put it, "really means accepting a pay cut."

On July 10 about 700 members came to a downtown hotel after work to cast ballots. As we stood in line we discussed the possibility of walking out again. Most people said they were willing to do that, and that given the chance we could really close down the state agencies. The vote total was 40 in favor of the contract, and 615 against.

Support remained high for the caseworkers in public welfare and unemployment agencies, who belong to different unions and stayed on strike after AFSCME went back.

These workers resisted threats of court injunctions as well as an attempt to mobilize scabs from all over Pennsylvania to keep unemployment offices open in Philadelphia. Last week, they staged rallies and sit-ins that forced the state to release their paychecks for the second half of June.

Jean Riley

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

## Correction

I am writing on behalf of the Boston Socialist Workers Campaign Committee to correct a couple of errors that appeared in the July 18 *Militant*.

First, on the back page, a picture of petitioners was incorrectly identified as being from Michigan. Actually the picture shows Reba Williams, SWP candidate for city council, petitioning here in Boston.

In the article entitled "Boston SWP files mayoral petitions," an error was made. Contrary to what was stated in the article, the poll taken by the *Boston Globe* did not indicate 11 percent support for Norman Oliver in the Black community. The poll asked the respondents whether they had favorable or unfavorable opinions of a list of mayoral candidates. Eleven percent said they had a favorable opinion of Oliver.

The point is that this was not a preferential poll, and the task that lies ahead is to channel this favorable sentiment into actual support.

Gary Cohen

Boston, Massachusetts

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.

# A five-year fight for justice

On July 9, after a battle of more than five years to stop a monstrous government conspiracy to keep him behind bars for the rest of his life, Carlos Feliciano walked out of a Manhattan courtroom a free man.

His release was ordered by New York State Supreme Court Judge Arnold Fraiman, who ruled that the time Feliciano had spent in jail awaiting trial should be counted as time served on his sentence.

The drive to imprison Carlos Feliciano began in March 1970. That was when the Bureau of Special Services and Investigations (the "red squad" of the New York city police), in consultation with the FBI, the government of Puerto Rico, and Nixon's Secret Service, decided to place Feliciano and other members of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico under around-the-clock surveillance.

On May 16, 1970, Feliciano was picked up in the South Bronx. Government officials charged at the time that Feliciano was responsible for several dozen bombings of public buildings, claiming he was part of a terrorist group that reportedly had claimed credit for a rash of bombings in the United States and Puerto Rico.

In addition, a government spokesperson said Feliciano was "affiliated, we believe, with an alien government outside the territorial limits of the United States." The "alien government" was, of course, Cuba.

With that story, the prosecution was able to obtain record-high bail—a total of \$275,000.

But when the government began to prepare its case, it had to produce not only hot air but at least a shred of (needless to say, fabricated) evidence. So Feliciano was indicted only on charges connected with two attempted bombings, one in the Bronx and one in Manhattan.

The charges in the Bronx came up first. The case hinged on one question: whether one cop's claim to have "found" a pipe bomb in Feliciano's car was credible. The jury thought not, and voted to acquit.

Feliciano still faced essentially the same charges in Manhattan, but the district attorney's case was being progressively weakened. First, one of New York's Finest who was a star witness for the prosecution was suspended from the police force for taking \$15,000 in bribes. Then the story of the high-level conspiracy to get Feliciano came out.

As in the Bronx trial, the main issue in the Manhattan trial was the credibility of a cop who claimed to have "found" explosives during a search of Feliciano's apartment.

The government was unable to produce other witnesses or evidence to back up the cop's story. But Feliciano was convicted on the frame-up charge of "possession," and in October 1973 he was sentenced to four years in prison.

Feliciano appealed the conviction, and during one hearing the defense proved that the prosecution had suppressed evidence that showed Feliciano was innocent. The judge who presided over Feliciano's trial said that if he had known about this evidence during the trial the case would never have gone to the jury—he would have found Feliciano innocent.

Nevertheless, in December 1974 the chief judge of the New York State Court of Appeals refused to let that court even hear the case, and Feliciano had to go to prison.

During the many years Feliciano has been fighting this frame-up, countless rallies, picket lines, and protests have been organized to demand his freedom. His recent release is due to the cumulative effect of these actions, and not to the American legal system that railroaded him into prison to begin with.

As if more proof of this were needed, the assistant district attorney now assigned to the case told Judge Fraiman during the recent hearing that Feliciano was a "threat to society." He announced after the ruling that the D.A.'s office planned an immediate appeal.

## Women In Revolt

Linda Jenness



# Gus Hall 'clarifies' the ERA

At the recent Communist party convention in Chicago, Stalinist chief Gus Hall laid down the line in a four-and-a-half-hour speech, Brezhnev-style. He even had a few words to say about the Equal Rights Amendment.

The CP's opposition to the ERA, you see, has become a rather sticky problem. It leaves them virtually alone with the John Birchers and assorted other woman-haters and ultrarightists. So Hall had the job of "clarifying" where the CP stands. Here's what he had to say, as reported in the June 28 *Daily World*:

"The controversy over the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) continues—including in the ranks of our Party. Why there is controversy is clear. Because there is a contradiction to which we have not yet found a solution. We must recognize this fact. What is the contradiction? That the overall sense of equality contained in the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution is in conflict with existing state and city measures that provide some sense of protection for women workers in industry. . . .

"So, one, we have a contradiction. Two, we do not have all of the facts on all of the ramifications—legal as well as practical. So we mean to propose the only possible solution at this time."

Hall must have had the delegates on the edge of their seats. Was the CP going to change its reactionary position? Admit they made a mistake? Here comes the "only possible solution":

"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."

It's hard to believe, isn't it? A party that claims to lead the working class can do nothing more than set up a "study task force" that will "try to come up with" a position on the ERA.

After all, the ERA has only been around for more than fifty years! In the past three years, since it was passed by Congress, it has been debated in every state legislature in the country at least once—in many twice, and in some three times. It has been debated in

the union movement, in all the organizations on the left, on the right, and in the middle.

Everybody else has been able to figure out where they stand—with the overwhelming majority of the women's, labor, student, and Black organizations lined up on one side and the reactionaries on the other. Even the ossified bureaucrats of the AFL-CIO Executive Council finally came around last year to support the ERA.

But the Communist party "doesn't have all the facts." They have to "study" all of the "ramifications" and consult a lawyer.

You might think the least they could do is stand aside and let those of us who support the ERA fight to win ratification. But no, while "studying" the ERA, the Stalinists still oppose it.

The July 15 *Daily World* carried an interview with Alva Buxenbaum, head of the CP's Commission for Women's Equality. Buxenbaum said, "The Equal Rights Amendment is limited, and much of the women's movement has begun to see its contradictions. You can't declare women equal by mere decree. . . ."

Nobody said women would be liberated "by mere decree," but in any case that's a pretty sorry excuse for opposing an amendment that simply grants our democratic right not to be discriminated against because we are women.

To counterpose to the ERA, the CP has drawn up a "Women's Bill of Rights." It's an old trick: duck the real issue by talking about something else. In this case, however, not many people will be fooled.

It's the ERA that has been passed by Congress, not the "Women's Bill of Rights." It's the ERA that has been ratified by thirty-four states, not the "Women's Bill of Rights."

And it's the ERA that is under assault from the right wing. It's the ERA that is supported by the majority of Americans. It's the ERA that, if ratified by four more states, will put the law of the land on the side of women in our fight for equality.

And it's the Equal Rights Amendment that has the Communist party stumped.

# The Great Society

Harry Ring



**A crook's crook**—The U.S. Conference of Mayors tapped Chicago's Richard "Boss" Daley for its annual public service award. Bestowing the accolade, Mayor Joseph Alioto of San Francisco declared, "He is the prototype of the great mayors. He is a mayor's mayor. He is the greatest mayor of all time."

**God save the pound**—The Archbishop of Canterbury has called on his flock to "pray earnestly" for the pound sterling, as well as for their country.

**It figures**—According to United Press International, the custom of taking home a piece of the wedding cake probably stems from the early Roman tradition of wedding guests gathering up the crumbs for good luck.



'Hear that thump? We've hit bottom.'

The crumbs were accumulated when the cake was busted over the bride's head.

**For Chrissake**—Watergate special prosecutor Leon Jaworski said he was saddened that taped conversations of President Nixon lacked any reference to God except for profanities.

**Social note**—Rocky and Happy flew into Germany in their private jet for a quick vacation. They took the family limousine in the baggage compartment. They didn't say where the chauffeur went.

**Paytriotic service**—The U.S. Bicentennial Society of Richmond, Virginia, is offering a set of twelve plates

with portraits of revolutionary heroes. Only 2,500 sets will be sold. The price is only \$1,200, including a display cabinet.

**Dig that nutty aphrodisiac**—According to the *Los Angeles Times*, a women's high school in Johannesburg, South Africa, banned peanut butter on grounds that it was a sexual stimulant.

**Law 'n order Ronnie**—Former California governor Ronald Reagan was big on fighting the criminal element and the welfare chiselers. Also, when he left office he submitted bills for \$3,501 for moving his furniture from the capital back to his various Southern California pads. The state declined to pay.

## National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



### The 'work sharing' debate

The shorter workweek has always been one of the goals of the union movement in the United States, the idea being that the productive capability of workers in modern industry can satisfy the basic needs of everyone with leisure time for all simply by sharing the work load.

Advances in technology by the end of the nineteenth century meant that there was no longer any excuse for the extended workday. The American Federation of Labor was founded in 1886 in the struggle of that time for the eight-hour day. It succeeded, finally, in putting the twelve- and ten-hour day out of style, and established a standard forty-four-hour workweek.

When the CIO was formed in 1935 the fabulous technological development of the twentieth century had already transformed the mass-production industries. But the modern plants were idled by the economic depression of world capitalism, which left millions of workers unemployed.

The CIO demanded the six-hour day and the five-day week for the two-fold purpose of improving life for those who had jobs and creating jobs for those who had none. The hope was that full employment would satisfy the needs of all and that production would expand accordingly.

Today, the capitalist economy is again in crisis. The shorter workweek is becoming a much-talked-

about way of solving this crisis in the United States, but it's not the union movement that is raising the demand. Those doing most of the talking are the ones least interested in raising the standard of living of working people and creating jobs for all.

New York's Mayor Abraham Beame, for example, suggested recently that the city's workers take a four-day week with no increase in hourly pay—in other words a 20 percent cut in their weekly paycheck. Beame promised that if the workers agreed to this none would be laid off. The unions rejected this choice of a 20 percent cut in the work force or a 20 percent drop in their standard of living. They said it was a poor choice.

Private employers, pleading poverty, often offer the same choice. Last December the management of the Washington *Star-News* threatened to lay off 100 of the 560 editorial staff employees. The Newspaper Guild chapter that represents the workers then offered to accept a four-day workweek at four days' pay if the full work force were retained.

Management readily accepted and the workers involved voted for the proposition. They were expected to do the same work in four days that they had previously done in five, but would get only four days' pay. Their hope was that the paper would continue to publish and eventually become more

profitable. Then things would return to "normal."

It was a good deal for the boss—who got windfall profits. Now, after seven months of profit taking, there is again talk that the *Star-News* will fold because it is not profitable enough.

Such so-called work-sharing plans are commonly projected in times of economic crisis as possible solutions to social evils. In the 1930s some craft unions practiced work sharing as a fraternal obligation and a means of temporary relief for their limited membership.

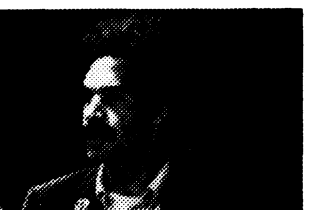
But sacrifices by workers to keep sinking capitalist enterprises afloat rarely succeed. All they do is further weaken the union.

It will take a resurgent union movement to take up once again the fight for the long-delayed thirty-hour workweek at no reduction in pay. That is one of the ways to solve the unemployment crisis. But it won't be done by supinely accepting the "share-the-misery" schemes put forward by profit-hungry employers and budget-juggling government officials.

In 1938 Leon Trotsky, the great leader of the Russian revolution then living in exile in Mexico, expressed some ideas on "work sharing" and on the direction the union movement ought to take in the fight against unemployment. More on that next week.

## By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



### The last laugh

Ha-ha-ha. It would all be so easy, they thought. Almost like child's play.

The plan was to get the best men for the job and let the CIA train them. Get the layout of the joint from CGT-1. Make certain subject was neutralized and would offer no resistance. Station war-equipped men at front and rear entrances. Knock and say intention was to search for illegal weapons. Claim to hear a "Shoot it out! Shoot it out with the pigs!" reply. Waste no time in opening fire.

**Bang! Bang! Bang!**

Results: Dead and wounded Panthers. Their followers left in disorder and disarray.

Advice: Cover up for the whole thing. Close the case and take a vacation.

The masterminds of the December 4, 1969, wee-hour raid on the Chicago Black Panther apartment that left Fred Hampton and Mark Clark dead never included in their plans an explosion of rage from the general public, from people who were not Panther followers but who had come to abhor the increasingly brutal raids upon them. If they had, they might have used other means in their nationwide drive to

"neutralize" the Black Panther party, as FBI documents explain was their intent.

But there was public outrage nonetheless. Outrage and concern that prompted two grand jury investigations, unofficial inquiries, a trial (although unsuccessful) of raid leader and former Chicago state's attorney Edward Hanrahan, books and magazine articles, and a legal suit by the families of the two dead Panthers.

No city, state, or federal officials have yet been convicted and jailed for participation in the raid. The law-suit, however, which asks for \$35 million in damages and names high officials as defendants, is slated for trial this fall.

The best book on the raid is *Search and Destroy*, the findings of the inquiry led by former attorney general Ramsey Clark and Roy Wilkins of the NAACP. At the recent NAACP convention, Roy Wilkins, speaking on the Hampton case, said:

"All you had to do was to be a Panther and you became a target. I classified it as murder then and I still classify it as murder."

It was announced at the convention that NAACP lawyers are moving to help coordinate the final

stages of the suit. Herbert Reid, a Howard Law School professor, reported at the convention on some of the latest disclosures of the suit, which has already bared more than 300 pages of secret FBI documents.

Reid stated that besides the already known fact that William O'Neal ("CGT-1") an FBI informer, was Hampton's bodyguard at night, his daytime bodyguard was an informer for the Chicago Police Department. Reid also disclosed that the CIA had trained the cops who made up the raiding party.

Meanwhile, other attorneys on the case have charged in court recently that Chicago cops have them under surveillance and have eavesdropped on the phone in their Chicago office. The cops also traveled to New York to monitor one of the attorneys, they charged, indicating continuing government surveillance and disruption of the case.

It wasn't just simple surveillance with Fred, though. The masterminds made sure of that. On that night he was drugged, out like a light, and set up for the kill. Then a hundred police rounds tore into his bedroom.

Ha-ha-ha, the masterminds laughed back then.

But they won't have the last laugh.



# Milwaukee pickets say: 'Free Ray Mendoza!'

By Tom Mauer

MILWAUKEE—One hundred fifty people demonstrated in Milwaukee's Chicano community July 10, calling for the immediate release of James Ray Mendoza, who was convicted last year on frame-up charges of murdering two off-duty cops.

The demonstration was about 60 percent Chicano and Puerto Rican. Participants included the Committee to End Police Repression, Milwaukee Student Coalition Against Racism, Socialist Workers party, Wisconsin Alliance, Workers World party, Young Socialist Alliance, and the Youth Against War and Fascism. The protest was organized by the Ray Mendoza Defense Committee.

Mendoza's mother, Julia Mendoza, spoke at the rally, thanking the participants for their support. She said the defense committee would sponsor another demonstration in September, when Mendoza's request for a new trial will be heard by the circuit court.

Maria Marta, of the defense committee, told the rally that if a new trial is denied, Mendoza will appeal to the state supreme court, and the defense committee "will keep working to build support for Ray until the end of this frame-up."

Tom Davis, a student senator from the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, denounced the "railroading" of Mendoza to prison, saying that if it had been Mendoza who was killed and not the white cops who attacked him, the result would be "justifiable homicide" and not charges of first-

degree murder.

Other speakers at the rally included members of the Puerto Rican Socialist party, Wisconsin Alliance, and Committee to End Police Repression. A statement of solidarity and support for the defense committee's efforts, by Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers party candidates for president and vice-president, was read in English and Spanish.

Mendoza was convicted last November on the basis of testimony by Robert Anderson, a lie-detector "expert."

When the defense refuted Anderson's testimony by having his superior administer another lie-detector test to Mendoza, Judge Hugh O'Connell refused to allow the all-white jury to hear the new evidence. O'Connell also ruled against allowing Mendoza to plead self-defense.

Mendoza and witnesses testified that he was attacked and beaten by the two off-duty cops outside a bar. A coroner's examination showed that the cops were drunk at the time of the shootings. They were carrying their police revolvers, loaded with dum-dum bullets. As he was being beaten, Mendoza grabbed one of the cops' guns and fired in self-defense. He was sentenced to two consecutive life terms.

The Ray Mendoza Defense Committee is trying to build the support—both active and financial—needed to win freedom for Mendoza. For more information, write or call the committee at 1226 South Eighth Street, Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53204; telephone (414) 224-0422.



Militant/Linda D'Rand

Protesters call for freedom for Ray Mendoza, convicted on frame-up charges of murdering two off-duty cops.

# Palestinian hits illegal deportations by Israel

By Arnold Weissberg

LOS ANGELES—A prominent Palestinian educator, who was illegally expelled from the Israeli-occupied West Bank of Jordan, has asked Americans to protest repeated violations of human rights by the Zionist government.

Dr. Hanna Nasir, who was president of Birzeit College, told a July 11 news conference here that 1,500 Palestinians have been forcibly ejected from the occupied territory without charge or hearing.

Such deportations are illegal by Israeli law. They also violate the Fourth Geneva Convention, to which Israel is a signatory.

Nasir, who is on a speaking tour of the United States and Canada to promote defense of the rights of Palestinians in the occupied territories, called on the U.S. government to withhold aid to Israel to force it to comply with the Geneva conventions.

On the night of November 21, 1974, Nasir was summoned to the office of the military governor. There he was

handcuffed, blindfolded, and driven for seven hours to Lebanon.

His family knew nothing of his expulsion until the next day, when his wife heard of it on a radio news report. He also was forced to leave behind his four children, who range in age from one to ten years.

Nasir charged that the deportations are aimed at decapitating any indigenous Palestinian leadership in the occupied territory.

The Israeli government has made no attempt to conceal the illegal expulsions. The names of the victims are printed in the newspapers.

Nasir has taken his case to both the United Nations and the International Red Cross. Israel has refused to allow a UN commission to investigate civilian conditions in the West Bank.

The Red Cross informed the Israeli government at the end of 1974 that it considered Nasir's expulsion illegal, and asked that he be allowed to return.

Nasir commented that "Israel refuses to acknowledge violations of anybody's rights."

# Support for farm labor union grows in Texas

By Rick Congress

HOUSTON—Organized support for the farm workers' struggle has increased significantly in Texas in the wake of last May's strike by cantaloupe pickers in the Rio Grande Valley.

Although that melon harvest ended before the strikers were able to force the growers to accept their central demand, recognition of the United Farm Workers, since then many of the leaders of the strike have traveled to western Texas, where another melon harvest is currently in progress. Another strike for recognition of the UFW is expected to begin there soon.

Meanwhile, support activities for this organizing drive are continuing in major cities.

On July 5, there was a full day of activity in San Antonio. Beginning early in the morning, teams went out to shopping centers in the Chicano community to distribute literature and collect funds and food to send to union organizers.

The response was indicative of the widespread sympathy for *la causa* in Texas barrios. Most people who were asked donated something. Often people would come up and put a dollar in the donation can, saying that they had worked in the fields and were 100 percent behind the struggle.

That evening 200 people attended a fund-raising dance. The dance was held at the headquarters of TU CASA, an antideportation organization in San Antonio. Supporters traveled from as far away as Austin and Houston to be present.

Jesús Luna, one of the leaders of the Texas unionization campaign, spoke to the crowd about the situation facing the union and appealed for funds.

After Luna had finished speaking, John Dower, San Antonio boycott organizer for the UFW, showed a movie about the union's struggle in California.

The next evening, July 6, a similar

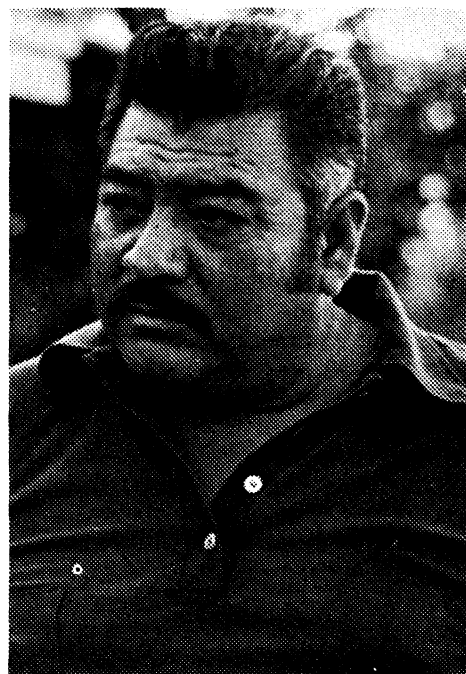
fund-raising benefit for the Texas strike fund was held at a Houston night-club. Luna spoke again on behalf of the farm workers, and a collection raised more than \$300 for the organizing drive.

Spurred on by these successes, a coalition has been formed in Houston to organize ongoing support activities for the Texas unionization campaign. This coalition, Friends of the Texas Farmworkers, has scheduled a rally to be held at 2:00 p.m., August 3, at Moody Park.

The featured speaker at the rally will be Antonio Orendain, the central leader of the Texas organizing drive.

Among those who have been participating in coalition meetings to plan the rally have been representatives of the Houston Raza Unida party; Mujeres Unidas, a Chicana feminist group; *El Barrio* newspaper; Coalition of Labor

Continued on page 30



Militant/Susan Garry

Farm worker organizer Jesús Luna at July 5 benefit for Texas strike fund in San Antonio.

# Colo. Blacks, Chicanos protest racist attacks

By Rich Feigenberg

DENVER, Colo.—Threatened attacks on this state's recently passed bilingual-bicultural education bill and talk of textbook censorship have met with a united response from the Chicano and Black communities here.

During the first week of July, the Community Association for Neighborhood Schools (CANS), local affiliate of the racist Boston-based organization ROAR, discussed launching a campaign to keep bilingual-bicultural education out of the public schools and to censor textbooks that portray minorities in a favorable light.

In response, the Denver Student Coalition Against Racism (SCAR) and Everett Chávez, independent Chicano candidate for Denver School Board this past spring, initiated a news conference held July 15.

Speaking to reporters and an audience of forty people, Chávez explained the reason for the news conference: "It is the intent and purpose of participants in and supporters of this press conference to publicly go on record that we will never tolerate racist attacks on anyone, on any level, anywhere, at any time."

"We wish to convince those that believe in equality to be with us," he continued. "We wish to convince those that believe in our cause to stand up and be counted. We wish to win over to our cause, through intelligent understanding, all of the people of Denver, because bilingual-bicultural education

is one step closer to cultural democracy and freedom."

Phil Drew of Denver SCAR termed the statements made at the CANS meeting "a new stage in their campaign against equality in education for Denver's Black and Chicano communities." These threats, he said, are "linked with a national campaign to drive back the gains made by Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and other minorities in gaining access to educational facilities previously denied them."

State Sen. Roger Cisneros hit the attack on textbooks, declaring, "I don't see how some people can object to history being taught the way it happened."

Joe Roy, president of the Colorado-Wyoming branch of the NAACP, told the audience, "We will not tolerate CANS's attacks on textbooks and on bilingual-bicultural education."

Other speakers at the news conference included State Sen. Paul Sandoval; State Rep. Richard Castro; Arturo Rodríguez, of the Crusade for Justice and Escuela Tlatelolco; Eleanor Crowe, of the Colorado Civil Rights Commission; Mary Stanford, president of the Congress of Hispanic Educators; Muriel Aspo, of the Indian Parent Committee; Edward Augden, of the executive board of the Denver Federation of Teachers; and Jack Marsh, Socialist Workers party candidate for school board in last spring's election.

## Camejo tours Minnesota

# Volunteers sign up to help on SWP campaign

By Jane Van Deusen

MINNEAPOLIS—Socialist Workers party presidential nominee Peter Camejo toured Minnesota July 8-15, speaking to hundreds of people at unemployment lines, work places, campuses, and campaign rallies.

Campaigning at a Minneapolis unemployment center, Camejo asked workers whether they favored cutting the war budget and using that money to provide jobs.

One middle-aged Black woman stated, "I'm really for that. Stop spending so much money for war. Give people jobs."

Many asked Camejo if he supported unions. "Absolutely," he responded. "You know, the Democrats and the Republicans always say they are for the people. But you'll never see them walking on the picket lines or going to demonstrations. We think working people should form their own party—a labor party—to fight in their own interests."

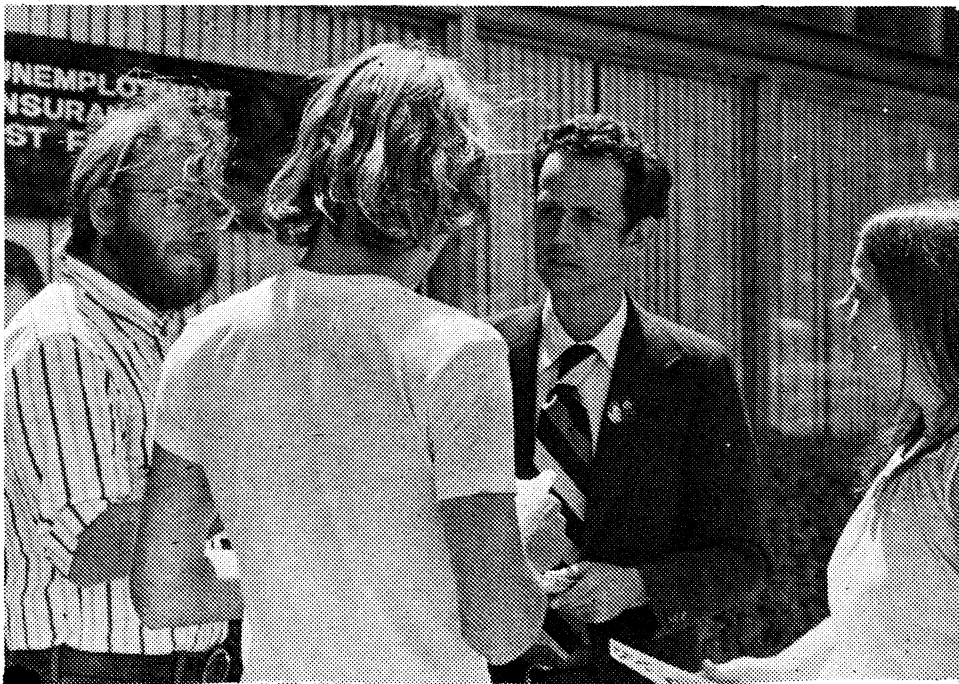
On Saturday, July 12, Camejo was joined for a series of street rallies in downtown Minneapolis by Mary Hillery, SWP candidate for mayor, and city council nominees Ralph Schwartz and Gary Prevost.

As the crowd of interested shoppers grew, more than twenty-five campaigners circulated among the audience, distributing the "Bill of Rights for Working People," selling the *Militant*, and signing up people to help out with campaign activities. Ten volunteered to work on the socialist campaign.

### More volunteers

Stepped-up enlistment of volunteers was also a feature of a July 14 outdoor rally held at the University of Minnesota. Two hundred people attended.

A total of fifteen people signed up during the rally to campaign for Camejo. After Camejo finished speaking, more went up to the Young Socialist Alliance literature table for further information and to offer their



Peter Camejo campaigning at Minneapolis unemployment center. "We think working people should form their own party—a labor party—to fight in their own interests."

help to the local campaign's effort to get on the ballot. "Petitioning begins here July 22."

Fifteen people also volunteered to campaign for Camejo after hearing him speak to a standing-room-only crowd of 150 at a July 12 rally at the socialist campaign headquarters.

In addition to Camejo, mayoral candidate Hillery and SWP school board candidate Holly Harkness also spoke.

Hillery blasted her Democratic opponent, incumbent Albert Hofstede, for being "openly on the side of the cops while innocent Black and Indian people are being beaten and shot at by the racist police force."

### Hits cop brutality

"You will never see the Socialist Workers candidates standing up for the cops," she continued. "We are speaking out on the side of the poor and oppressed in this city. We will demonstrate with Blacks and Indians

to end this brutality."

Harkness focused her remarks on her recent trip to the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota. Harkness spent a week there as part of a *Militant* reporting team gathering information about a June 26 shooting incident in which government agents murdered an Indian and two FBI agents died.

Harkness expressed solidarity with the Indian people of the reservation, who have been under a veritable military occupation since June 26.

She noted that the shootings came in the context of a long campaign against the Pine Ridge Indians. "Why is the government on an all-out campaign to crush the American Indian Movement and its supporters at Pine Ridge?" she asked.

"It's because the people at Pine Ridge are no longer going to passively submit to Bureau of Indian Affairs goons, a 75 percent unemployment rate, extreme poverty, illegal search and seizure, and frame-up trials of

their leaders."

"AIM is standing up for its people and fighting back," she added. "We in the Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance pledge our active support to AIM and the people of Pine Ridge and every Indian in the city of Minneapolis in their fight to end this racist, terrorist campaign."

After Hillery, Harkness, and Camejo had spoken, a collection raised \$2,250 for the national and local SWP campaign committees.

The following Monday, July 14, Camejo, Hillery, and Randall Tighe of the Minnesota Civil Liberties Union (MCLU) testified before a Minneapolis City Council committee against a proposed municipal campaign finances law. The bill would require disclosure of the name, address, and occupation of any contributor of twenty-five dollars a year or more to a campaign.

Camejo said that the effect of these campaign laws is the "exact opposite" of what their supporters claim. Rather than cleaning up politics, they make it harder for smaller parties and the labor movement to challenge the political monopoly of the Democratic and Republican parties and the corrupt corporate backers of these parties.

Hillery hit the proposal as a "thin veil . . . designed to strengthen the two-party stranglehold over American politics." She said disclosure would lead to harassment of her supporters.

Last year the SWP was granted an exemption from disclosure provisions of a similar state law partly on the basis of revelations that the FBI systematically harasses the party.

The proposed ordinance also has an exemption-from-disclosure provision for those who can prove they would be subject to reprisals.

However, Randall Tighe of the MCLU said this would still intimidate individuals by requiring them to come forward and say they are subject to harassment.

"I believe this is a serious violation of civil liberties," Tighe said.

# Supporters fill courtroom for Philip Allen trial

By Arnold Weissberg

SANTA MONICA, Calif.—The murder trial of Philip Allen, a Black youth, is now under way in this nearly all-white community adjacent to Los Angeles.

Allen, twenty, is accused of second-degree murder and two counts of assault with a deadly weapon on a police officer. He is currently free on \$25,000 bail.

The defense has already won a victory in getting the charge reduced from first-degree (premeditated) murder.

The prosecution still has not finished its case, which has so far consisted mostly of testimony by Los Angeles County deputy sheriffs involved in the January 1 incident that resulted in the shooting death of Deputy Jarden Hollis.

Early on New Year's morning, sheriff's deputies were called to the scene of a disturbance in the West Hollywood district. A massage-parlor window had been broken, apparently by a disgruntled patron.

Allen was walking by just as the police arrived.

A woman who witnessed the incident testified at a preliminary hearing in January that Allen was despondent and had spoken to her of suicide.



Militant/Harry Ring  
Allen is accused of taking gun from one of five cops beating him and then breaking away to shoot three of them.

The cops claim they noticed Allen because he was acting "strangely" and carrying a screwdriver. They allege he threatened them with the screwdriver by raising it as if to strike.

Three deputies moved in on Allen.

One got him in a choke hold, while another grabbed his arm.

One cop's testimony admits that Allen was "under control." Another cop said on the witness stand that Allen was surrounded by "three strong deputies."

Witnesses at the preliminary hearing testified that the cops were beating Allen.

According to police testimony, Allen "exploded" and broke the grip of the three deputies. The cops claim he dragged the three of them along the sidewalk with him.

This assertion brought a gasp of disbelief from the courtroom spectators.

Allen is five feet three inches tall and weighs 135 pounds.

The prosecution claims Allen broke loose completely from the three cops and began running down the sidewalk. Two other cops joined the fight at that point, making a total of five.

One deputy slugged Allen with a sap. Another clubbed him with a large flashlight.

In the midst of this fracas, the cops claim, Allen was able to take Deputy Michael Grimes's gun from his holster, break loose from the five cops, fall to the sidewalk, and come up shooting.

Shooting did occur. One cop was

killed and two others wounded.

However, no one saw Allen take Grimes's gun. Grimes himself testified that he knew only "by instinct" that his gun had been taken, but that he didn't see Allen take it.

Grimes also testified that Allen had his gun for only seven or eight seconds.

There were four witnesses to the incident besides the police. None of them saw Allen with a gun.

After the shots were fired, the cops admit, Deputy Grimes, who had apparently recovered his gun, held it to Allen's head and pulled the trigger twice. Fortunately, the gun was empty.

Despite all the shooting that took place, no fingerprints were found on the gun. The police are unable to explain why.

The defense received an initial setback when its attempt to get the trial moved out of Santa Monica failed. However, it remains to be seen whether the prosecution can make its case credible to the mostly white jury.

The small courtroom is filled every day with Allen's supporters, which include members of the Unitarian Church, of which he is a member, and students and teachers from the Los Angeles City College, where he is a student.



## Evicted by Md. millionaire

# Riot police attack rent strikers

By Gordon Fox

BALTIMORE—A three-month rent strike by hundreds of tenants of the Uplands Apartments on Baltimore's West Side was brutally attacked July 9 as dozens of city riot cops, called in to enforce evictions, clubbed two protesters and arrested eighteen.

The evictions marked a new stage in the tenants' struggle against multimillionaire landlord Morton Sarubin and the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, which subsidizes the property.

While Sarubin and HUD claim to be providing low-cost, quality housing for the overwhelmingly Black tenants of the 989-unit complex, tenants told the real story.

"With Sarubin's last increase they expect me to pay \$206 a month for my apartment," one man told the *Militant*. "And I just got laid off. Under HUD's rules for the subsidy, the rent is only supposed to be 25 percent of your income. Do you know anyone who gets enough unemployment to make \$206 only a quarter of their income?"

When asked about the quality of the apartments, one woman laughed and said, "Quality? Sure. We've got quality leaky roofs, quality overflowing trash cans and quality cockroaches."

The rent strike began in May, when Sarubin announced an 18 percent rent increase, half of which was to be paid for by the tenants and half by HUD. Tired of continual rent hikes and poor maintenance, the tenants formed the Uplands Tenants Association (UTA) and voted to withhold their May rents.

More than 500 participated in the strike.

Under this pressure, Sarubin agreed to many of the tenants' demands and the strike was ended. But when he failed to live up to the agreement, the tenants went back on strike in June. Sarubin's response was the brutal evictions.

The morning of July 9 was a tense one at Uplands. Dozens of tenants, organized into eviction patrols, were stationed around the complex, watching for the cops and eviction trucks. Each eviction patrol had a whistle to notify the neighborhood of an impending eviction.

Suddenly a convoy of eviction trucks and police cars appeared, and whistles began to blow. People emptied their buildings to try to halt the evictions.

A busload of Baltimore riot cops was positioned in front of the building in



Baltimore cops try to hold back tenants of Uplands Apartments as eviction trucks move in.

which the evictions were to take place. A police helicopter circled over the crowd of 150 tenants. The cops later admitted that they had kept police dogs in reserve a few blocks away.

Clearly looking for any excuse to begin arrests and beatings, the cops began issuing threats within moments of their arrival.

"Why are you throwing poor people out of their homes?" one woman shouted. "When a woman was getting raped out here you couldn't get yourselves down here to patrol. We had twenty-four rapes in eighteen months—and you're busy evicting us."

One man who refused to be evicted was arrested. Half an hour after the cops arrived, arbitrary arrests began. One supporter of the tenants was clubbed after two cops grabbed him. A young Black woman tenant was clubbed in the back. She was later hospitalized with contusions of the spine, and is unable to walk. No reason was given for many of the arrests. And the evictions went on.

The news media here charged the tenants with responsibility for the violence. At a tenants' meeting of 200 on the night of the evictions, UTA chairperson Kay Boyd responded, "The tenants of Uplands who were on eviction patrol did *not* provoke any violence. We didn't ask for it and we didn't want it. The police department provoked *all* the violence. They pushed you back and then arrested you for moving."

In an attempt to prevent further evictions, tenants announced that they

would turn over their June rents to Sarubin—minus the increase, late charges, interest, and court costs that Sarubin is demanding—if those evicted are allowed to move back, a "neutral mediator" is called in, and all evictions and cop harassment are ended.

The UTA has also instructed its attorneys to file a multi-million-dollar lawsuit against Sarubin, charging that "financial records have been intentionally falsified" and that rents are thus in violation of HUD regulations.

Sarubin is currently under investigation by a federal grand jury for his connections with Spiro Agnew. It is suspected that Agnew was the key to Sarubin's ability to obtain HUD funds.

Sarubin has announced that he will not accept anything less than the amounts listed on tenants' eviction notices, which in some cases are hundreds of dollars more than the June rent, even if the increase is included.

"Some people don't have anyplace else to go, so they'll pay what's on the eviction notice," a UTA activist said, "but I couldn't even pay the amount on the notice if I wanted to, and lots of people are in the same boat."

The tenants have issued a call to all of their supporters to mobilize to prevent further evictions. A UTA leader said, "When that woman got hit in the back, it made me stand more firm. She took a blow for me and everyone else. Now they'll have to put me out if they want me out. I'm not giving Sarubin a dime."

## Postal contract settlement announced

The United States Postal Service and the major postal workers unions held a news conference July 21 to announce agreement on a three-year contract. The settlement came shortly after the expiration of the old contract. The unions, representing 600,000 workers, had vowed to strike without a new contract.

Only a few details of the contract have been made public. According to the Associated Press, the contract provides "scheduled raises totaling \$1,500 over three years, continued cost-of-living increases, and a guarantee against layoffs."

Workers will get a one-cent-an-hour wage increase for every 0.4-point hike in the Consumer Price Index. This is the same formula as in the old contract, although the unions had been demanding a more adequate formula to protect wages against inflation.

The question of protection of jobs was a major issue in the negotiations. The Postal Service was trying to eliminate the "no layoff" clause the postal workers won in 1971. Retention of the clause was one of the demands raised in demonstrations by postal workers during the negotiations.

The threat to union jobs comes from the Postal Service's speedup schemes, such as the "Kokomo plan." This plan, first tested in Kokomo, Indiana, is aimed at more regimentation of the work, longer delivery routes, and other steps to squeeze more work out of the postal employees. It would eliminate an estimated 30,000 to 50,000 carriers.

The unions had opposed the "Kokomo plan," but the 1971 contract gave the Postal Service a free hand in introducing new machinery and ruled out any grievances over speedup. What the new contract says on this point has not been made public.

The proposed contract must now be ratified by the four unions involved: the National Association of Letter Carriers, the American Postal Workers Union, the Rural Letter Carriers' Association, and the mail handlers' division of the Laborers' International Union.

Postmaster General Benjamin Bailar has made it clear that he will use the wage increase in the contract as a further excuse for his demand for an increase in postage costs.

## Party Building Fund

# 'Worked overtime to send you \$30'

Since the previous scoreboard printed in the *Militant*, the Socialist Workers party special Party Building Fund has received nearly \$2,000. But the fund is still short \$9,000 with only one week left in the drive to put Congress's tax rebate gimmick to work for some real improvements—in building and expanding the socialist movement in this country.

By the deadline of July 31, it is expected that many more of those areas on the scoreboard will have followed Milwaukee's example. This week it became the first city to make its goal of \$820. Others are not far behind, including Brooklyn, Los Angeles (Central-East), St. Louis, and Washington, D.C.

Some supporters may have found, as they still await the government's "gift," that the Internal Revenue Service is not as diligent in dishing out money as in demanding its payment. Others, all good intentions aside, may

have discovered that the measly rebate disappeared between the trip to the bank and home. That happened to a supporter in Allentown, Pennsylvania, but it didn't deter him.

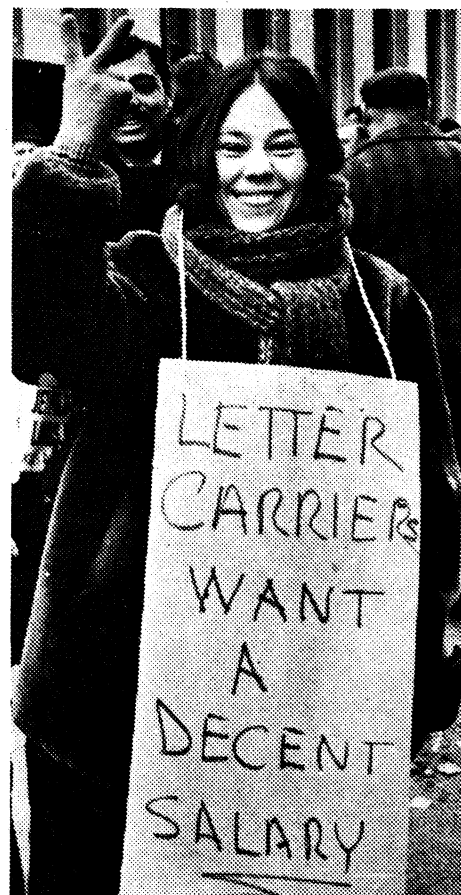
"Unfortunately, my tax rebate was spent even before received," he writes.

"However, I worked some overtime so I can send you \$30."

You too can send your rebate, refund, overtime pay, or any other contribution to the SWP Party Building Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

## Scoreboard

Area	Collected		
Atlanta	\$ 474.20	Oakland/Berkeley	1,465.35
Boston	1,247.95	Philadelphia	690.00
Brooklyn	3,560.14	Pittsburgh	695.00
Chicago	1,869.38	Portland, Ore.	560.00
Cleveland	894.85	St. Louis	1,168.75
Denver	370.00	San Diego	128.00
Detroit	150.00	San Francisco	805.00
Houston	1,745.75	Twin Cities	986.95
L.A. (Central-East)	2,163.80	Upper West Side, N.Y.	1,823.55
L.A. (West Side)	1,211.15	Washington, D.C.	1,902.27
Lower Manhattan, N.Y.	3,449.97	General	2,839.25
Milwaukee	820.01	Total	31,021.32
		Goal	40,000.00



New York postal worker on picket line during 1970 strike.

## 'Strategies during economic crisis'

# 9,000 NEA delegates discuss issues

By Harry Ring  
and Arnold Weissberg

LOS ANGELES—The once-staid National Education Association held its 113th annual convention here July 3-8. Nine thousand delegates assembled under the cloud of massive educational cutbacks and a mounting jobless rate among teachers.

Long a conservative "professional" association, the NEA has evolved in a few short years into the country's largest trade-union organization of teachers.

Only five years ago, NEA officials were criticizing the AFL-CIO-affiliated American Federation of Teachers for using strikes as a means of promoting teachers' interests.

At this convention, president-elect John Ryor boasted that of the 106 teacher strikes in the past school year, 91 were conducted by NEA affiliates. Only 7 were led directly by AFT affiliates and 8 were joint strikes of the two unions.

According to convention reports, the NEA has enjoyed steady growth in recent years. It now has 1.7 million members, second only to the 2-million-member Teamsters union, the biggest union in the country.

Part of the NEA's growth has taken place in competition with the rival AFT. Among elementary and high school teachers, the NEA said, it defeated the AFT in some forty of sixty-six representative elections last year.

Rivalry between the NEA and the AFT is bitter and deepgoing even though about half of the AFT's 400,000 members are also members of the NEA. In New York, where the AFT has its biggest membership, the two organizations completed a merger in 1973 and teachers hold dual membership.

### Shankerism

New York's delegation of about 900 at the NEA convention was controlled by Albert Shanker, president of the AFT and its New York affiliate, the United Federation of Teachers.

Shanker stands with the George Meany wing of the AFL-CIO officialdom. He has earned an odious reputation for his opposition to demands by Blacks and other oppressed minorities for more minority teachers and for a voice in determining their children's education.



Delegates at Los Angeles NEA convention. In recent years NEA has evolved rapidly from 'professional association' into nation's largest trade-union organization of teachers.

Shanker also opposes the NEA's policy that convention delegations and leadership bodies include proportionate representation for minorities.

The NEA stand on minority representation reflects a generally more advanced position on social issues than is taken by the Meany-Shanker bureaucracy in the AFL-CIO.

The NEA is on record in favor of affirmative-action programs to increase hiring of minorities and women at all levels in education. It also regards ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) for women as a major NEA objective.

### Economic crisis

The stated theme of the convention was "Educational strategies during an economic crisis." According to president-elect Ryor, there are now 200,000 jobless teachers in the United States. It is rightly feared that the dramatic slashes in the New York City education budget are but a preview of what other cities will face in the days ahead.

According to the NEA, the average annual teacher's salary is only \$11,513, an amount that becomes ever more inadequate with each price rise. One report cited the growing number of teachers who must rely on food stamps.

Instead of cutbacks, the NEA is seeking additional teachers, a living wage, reduction of classroom sizes, and improvement in the quality of education.

It takes the position that federal funding is essential to accomplish these goals, and one resolution approved by the convention called for reduction of the military budget to make funds available.

The hitch comes in how to achieve this program. The NEA leaders failed to put forward any effective program for action.

Ryor, who will assume the presidency in September, is committed to the Democratic party, as is most of the union's executive board. At a news conference after his election, Ryor said that in addition to intensifying its traditional lobbying efforts, the NEA would poll its membership on endorsement of a presidential candidate. He asserted that this would add significantly to the organization's efforts to achieve its goals.

Political action is indeed the key arena for advancing the interests of teachers and education, and in that sense the decision to take a stand in the presidential contest is a step forward.

However, neither the Democrats nor

the Republicans will put educational needs ahead of the demands of the Pentagon and the private-profit system. By committing itself to one of these two capitalist parties, rather than considering the course of independent political action, the NEA has scant prospect for rallying the kind of mass pressure necessary to force Washington to provide meaningful aid to education.

### Fight against Shankerism

Opposition to Shankerites appeared virtually unanimous at the convention, among the delegates as well as the leadership. Every one of a series of motions presented by the Shankerite New York delegation was voted down by an overwhelming majority. And rightly so.

One New York amendment to the NEA constitution would have scrapped the clause providing for ethnic minority representation.

Another would have weakened a resolution on affirmative action by deleting any reference to safeguarding affirmative-action gains in the face of cutbacks and layoffs.

With demagogically militant rhetoric, the New York delegation also presented motions for AFT-NEA unity within the AFL-CIO—a position rejected by the NEA officials and most of the delegates.

Yet the NEA leadership offered little in the way of a clear-cut political response to the Shankerites. To the extent that the rejected New York motions were debated, the argument tended to focus on narrow parliamentary or organizational points.

In a sense this reflected the contradictions in the evolution of the NEA. The stubborn opposition to affiliation with the AFL-CIO, for example, reflects both a progressive revulsion against reactionary AFL-CIO positions and a continuing conservative concern with maintaining the "professional" status of teachers, separate from other workers.

The NEA is allied with the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, a major AFL-CIO affiliate, in the Coalition of American Public Employees. It contends, however, that the interests of public employees are so different from those of other workers that no common organization uniting the two is possible.

It is certainly true that the Shankerite version of "labor unity" under the heavy hand of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy would be no step forward for teachers. But that should not be allowed to disguise the fact that teachers do need an alliance in action with other unions—and working people outside the unions—to defend jobs and education.

### Vote on CLUW

Several other convention motions were noteworthy. Fifty delegates introduced a motion that the NEA endorse the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) and encourage membership participation in it.

The leadership did not indicate any position on this. The voice vote was so close that the chair called for a standing vote. This too was so close that he had to call for a second standing vote. Again the vote in the huge auditorium was so close that the result was hard to determine. The chair ruled the motion defeated.

A motion introduced by fifty delegates to endorse the civil liberties efforts of the Political Rights Defense Fund was also defeated. A member of the executive board stated that while the NEA supported the PRDF's court effort on behalf of the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance, the association had no voice in determining future

## Convention backs antiracist fight

LOS ANGELES—The National Education Association convention here adopted a resolution supporting desegregation of the Boston schools.

The resolution also urged teacher involvement in the upcoming convention of the National Student Coalition Against Racism, which will meet in Boston, October 10-12. The NSCAR gathering will plan further activity in the defense of school desegregation.

The resolution received wide support and was unanimously endorsed by the Massachusetts delegation.

Mary Gilmore, head of the Massachusetts Education Association, said, "The fact is that segregation is socially destructive, educationally unsound, contrary to NEA principles, and, if this is not enough, it is against the law."

"Judge Garrity [who issued the busing order] had no alternative," Gilmore said. "Until now, segregated children had no alternative. And

my fellow delegates, we have no alternative. We must . . . call for compliance with Judge Garrity's decision and begin the long-overdue desegregation of the Boston schools."

Delegate Maurice Donovan of Massachusetts described some of NSCAR's activities. He told the assembly that NEA President James Harris had sent a personal representative to NSCAR's founding conference in February. The representative, he said, submitted a "most favorable report" to the NEA Executive Committee.

Donovan also explained that NSCAR helped organize "a massive, peaceful demonstration in May, where 10,000 people from all over the country urged peaceful desegregation of the Boston schools."

"The convention in October," he said, "is essentially a planning convention to give teachers a chance to involve themselves in plans to further desegregation."



Mary Gilmore, head of Massachusetts Education Association, urges support for Boston desegregation.



# facing all teachers



Militant/Arnold Weissberg  
Texas delegate Jill Fein speaks in favor of resolution endorsing Coalition of Labor Union Women.

PRDF policy. Consequently, he strongly suggested, endorsement could be a problem. This defeated the motion.

Among the many resolutions approved were a number that other unions would do well to consider. Among these were resolutions supporting:

- Bilingual and bicultural education for Chicanos and other national minorities.
- The right of educational self-determination for Chicanos and Indians, including parent participation in the decision-making process.
- Full civil rights for both teachers and students.
- No discrimination against teachers for the usually stated reasons of race, creed, etc., and including sexual orientation.

## Black, women's caucuses

There were both a Black caucus and a women's caucus at the convention. According to reports, the Black caucus,

however, took no formal position on any of the issues before the body.

The women's caucus supported a number of issues on the floor, including endorsement of CLUW and support for the ERA.

A majority of NEA members are women, and there was a similar majority among the delegates. There are many women on the board of directors and about half the executive committee are women. All of the present principal officers, however, are men.

Election of officers was a central focus of the convention. A *Los Angeles Times* story noted that all four candidates for NEA president had supported Democrat George McGovern in 1972 and described them as "militant liberals."

Little in the way of policy differences emerged among the four. John Ryor of Michigan won the presidency in a runoff with incumbent James Harris.

Ryor to a certain extent projected the image of one who would be more aggressive and militant in seeking to advance NEA policies. He also indicated a tougher line against the AFT.

The NEA convention is convened as a "Representative Assembly." And seeing thousands of delegates massed on floor certainly suggests that. But such an enormous gathering precludes serious debate on issues, even with a six-day convention.

Delegates were limited to three minutes if they were speaking for a delegation, or two minutes as individuals. Two speakers for and two against were allowed on each motion.

As the delegates sat through the long sessions, the seriousness of the gathering was apparent. Noteworthy was the obvious concern of the delegates for democratic procedures and the right of all views to be heard.

The NEA convention was a significant gathering, particularly in the way it reflected the growing social awareness among a big sector of the ranks of organized labor.

## NEA leader blasts FBI witch-hunt of socialists

LOS ANGELES—In a news release issued at the National Education Association convention here, NEA Executive Secretary Terry Herndon condemned the FBI's attempts to get teachers fired because of their socialist beliefs.

The FBI actions "are reminiscent of the witch-hunts during the McCarthy era," Herndon said.

"While only a few such cases have surfaced thus far," he added, "we cannot help wondering: How many more teachers were dismissed or harassed because of counterproductive surreptitious activity by the FBI into the private lives of educators?"

Herndon cited the cases of Evelyn Sell and Maude Wilkinson. Sell was fired by the Austin, Texas, board of education in 1970 after the FBI provided documents "disclosing" that she had been a candidate of the Socialist Workers party in Michigan in 1968.

Those documents conceded that Sell was "an intelligent, excellent teacher who was well qualified in her field."

The FBI also sent an anonymous letter in 1969 to the Washington, D.C., school board in an unsuccessful effort to get Wilkinson fired because of her socialist beliefs.

Herndon noted that in neither case

was there any charge that the socialist teacher had brought her views on politics into the classroom or was not a good teacher.

The NEA, he said, has fought for years for teachers' right to privacy on matters outside the classroom and unrelated to professional performance, and has a \$1 million teacher rights fund for this purpose.



'Let me get this straight—you fellows are supposed to be the Good Guys—'

# Reid takes socialist proposals to teachers

LOS ANGELES—Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers party candidate for vice-president of the United States, addressed two delegate meetings at the National Education Association convention here and spoke individually with many teachers.

Reid got a friendly reception from many of the 400 teachers of the Texas delegation, which she was invited to address. "I don't have to tell you that our country is facing the most serious

the right to dissent without fear of losing their jobs or being expelled from school because of their political ideas and activities. For example, recent revelations from FBI documents show that members of my party were fired from their teaching positions as the result of FBI harassment.

"Teachers must also have the unconditional right to strike and bargain collectively. . . .

"The Democratic and Republican



Militant/Harry Ring  
SWP vice-presidential candidate Willie Mae Reid (left) campaigns at NEA convention.

economic crisis since the 1930s," Reid said.

"Several teachers have told me, 'You know, there isn't anything that would solve our problems better than money.'

"Well," she said, "we've got the money. It's just that our priorities are twisted."

In an open letter to NEA delegates, which was distributed at the convention, Reid detailed the SWP's proposals on education:

"Billions of dollars are squandered on war preparations while schools are being closed. I say we should call a halt to war spending and use those funds to launch a crash federal program to expand and improve the educational system in this country."

Reid's letter continued: "The depression has hit hardest at those already on the bottom of the economic ladder—Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and other oppressed national minorities.

"At the same time, racist forces are on an offensive to deny Black children, seeking a better education, their right to attend the schools of their choice. Boston has become a national testing ground between racist and antiracist forces over this issue.

"I am campaigning in support of school desegregation and the right of Black students to choose busing as a means to achieve it. I also believe that oppressed minorities have the right to control the schools located in their communities. In addition, bilingual, bicultural educational programs should be available to all non-English-speaking students in elementary and secondary education.

"Teachers and administrators who have won jobs through affirmative-action programs must not be driven out of their newly acquired positions because of strict-seniority layoffs. The percentage of oppressed minorities and women employed in the education field must not be reduced. . . .

"Teachers and students should have

parties have put forward no solutions to solve the economic crisis. Working people cannot rely on them to act in our behalf. We need a party of our own—a labor party—to fight for our interests.

"The NEA and the entire labor movement should begin discussing the fielding of independent labor candidates which could set an example and point the way to a nationwide party of labor. Such a party would organize union power into a new social movement to fight for the rights of all the oppressed."

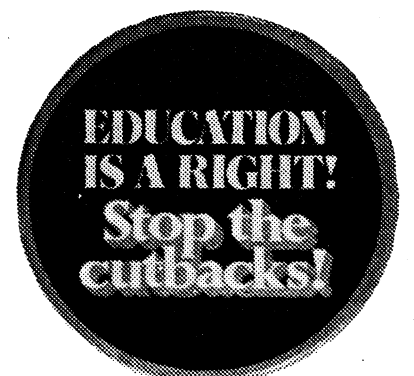
Five thousand copies of this leaflet were distributed, along with 6,000 copies of the SWP campaign platform for 1976, the "Bill of Rights for Working People."

Reid also spoke before the Student NEA, where she said that the economic crisis represents an attempt to roll back the gains made in education and in the standard of living of working people.

The concern of the NEA delegates with the cutback issue was evidenced by the fact that more than 1,000 purchased a button distributed by the SWP campaign committee that reads, "Education is a Right! Stop the Cutbacks!"

Eight hundred twelve copies of the *Militant* were sold at the convention.

—A.W.



More than 1,000 teachers bought copies of this button issued by SWP campaign committee.

# Calendar

## BOSTON

**COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO RACIST VIOLENCE.** A public hearing. Panel: representatives from NAACP, ACLU, NSCAR, and others. Sat., Aug. 2, 12 noon. Elma Lewis School, 122 Elm Hill Ave., Roxbury. Ausp: NSCAR. For more information call: (617) 288-6200.

## LOS ANGELES

**PROTEST THE KILLING OF RANDALL MILES.** A meeting to demand an end to police murders. Mon., July 28, 7 p.m. Grant A.M.E. Church, 105th and Central. Ausp: SCLC, Los Angeles and Compton NAACP branches, CORE, A.M.E. Ministerial Alliance, and People's Defense Committee.

## MILWAUKEE

**A MARXIST APPROACH TO THE LABOR MOVEMENT.** A socialist summer school series. Sat., Aug. 2, 1:30 p.m. 207 E. Michigan, Room 25. Donation: 25¢. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (414) 289-9340.

## PHILADELPHIA

**AN EVENING WITH WILLIE MAE REID.** Outdoor buffet. Sat., Aug. 2, 4 p.m. 5366 Wingohocking Terrace. Donation: \$4, dinner; \$1, program. Ausp: Philadelphia 1976 SWP Campaign Committee. For more information or reservations call (215) WA5-4316.

## SAN FRANCISCO

**CELEBRATE THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION.** Socialist campaign picnic. Speakers: Harry Ring; Roland Sheppard, San Francisco SWP mayoral candidate. Sun., July 27, 11 a.m. Laurel Area, Tilden Park, Oakland. Donation: \$3. Ausp: San Francisco SWP campaign committee. For more information call (415) 864-9174 or (415) 548-0354.

## SEATTLE

**SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Labor Today: The Challenge of the Deepening Economic Crisis.** Three classes by Frank Lovell, SWP. Sat., Aug. 2, 12 noon and 3 p.m. Sun., Aug. 3, 11 a.m. 5623 University Way N.E. Ausp: SWP and YSA. For more information call (206) 522-7800.

## ...Portugal

*Continued from page 7*

assembled the most radicalized elements in the Portuguese upsurge. These vanguard elements did not, however, come to the Palácio São Bento to support any mass struggle or demand any concrete gain for the masses.

Coming to hail measures that denied the workers any independent decision-making power whatsoever, they ended up calling on the military junta to turn power over "to the workers" in general, in the abstract. Not even the most deluded ultralefts could have thought that the forces represented at the dem-

onstration could form a workers government for Portugal.

The July 16 demonstration was a wild display of ultraleft fantasies. It further isolated the most radicalized elements and helped discredit the embryonic forms of workers power that have been developing. After this, it will be hard for any workers or tenants committee to gain acceptance as a genuinely representative body that can unite workers and poor masses in struggle.

The leaders of such formations have associated them with an attempt to impose a "dictatorship of the proletariat" against the will of the majority of the working class and the toiling masses. They have consigned the majority of the working class in the country to the outer darkness as "reactionaries." At the same time, they, and others like them, have reduced the most advanced organizations of the workers, soldiers, and sailors to the status of pawns in the hands of the rising Napoleon of the AFM, General de Carvalho.

This adroit balancer, who has co-opted the most radical regiments through his Copcon supercommand, is the most likely beneficiary of the mid-summer madness of the ultralefts and the frenzied factionalism of the Stalinists. He alone has been able, at least to some extent, to appeal to all sides. He even seized on the crisis of July 18-19 to mend some fences by releasing the MRPP members still held in prison. He defended the SP against the CP and the ultraleft, but still allowed the "vigilantes" to remain as auxiliaries at the checkpoints around Lisbon.

The charismatic general, the leader of the April 25 coup, has the ultraleft in his pocket. He was able to block with the CP in pushing through "grass-roots democracy" and still differentiate himself from the Stalinists. "Senhor Soares, if he had to make the choice, is thought to prefer General de Carvalho because he is not bound to the disciplined phalanx of the Communist party. . .," the *Economist* noted in its July 19 issue.

In the July 19 Lisbon rally Soares demanded the resignation of Premier Vasco Gonçalves, who has been identified with the CP. At the same time, there were reports of new moves to oust Gonçalves in the Revolutionary Council.

Perhaps de Carvalho would be acceptable to the SP as a substitute. Soares, like Cunhal, has said he would accept a purely military government as long as he did not think it was hostile to the SP.

A token rebuff to the CP would be immensely popular with the great majority of the people but would not interfere with the consolidation of military rule. The ultralefts would be delighted, and the "comandante" himself could slowly let the air out of their balloon.

In any case, the Portuguese bourgeoisie now has several options. The radicalized elements have isolated themselves. The working class is profoundly and bitterly split. The mid-July incidents made a mockery of the ultraleft fantasies about "progressive military officers" setting up "soviets" that would unite the workers above the heads of the parties.

## ...Johnson

*Continued from page 8*

Other important evidence favorable to Johnson but not yet heard by any jury in this case is a sworn affidavit by Walker that Johnson did not accompany him the day of the holdup.

Moreover, the court decision ordering a new trial found that police were improperly allowed to testify about oral statements allegedly obtained from Johnson that they had failed to give to the defense prior to the opening of the trial.

The degree of support for the defense committee was indicated by the many prominent individuals who came to the bail hearing prepared to testify in Johnson's behalf. These included Msgr. John Shocklee, executive secretary, Committee on Human Relations, Archdiocese of St. Louis; Dr. Ralph Lee, president of Forest Park Community College; and three professors from Washington University.

After Judge Lasky rejected Kunstler's plea for personal recognizance bond, and set bail at \$25,000, this amount was quickly raised.

## ...Texas

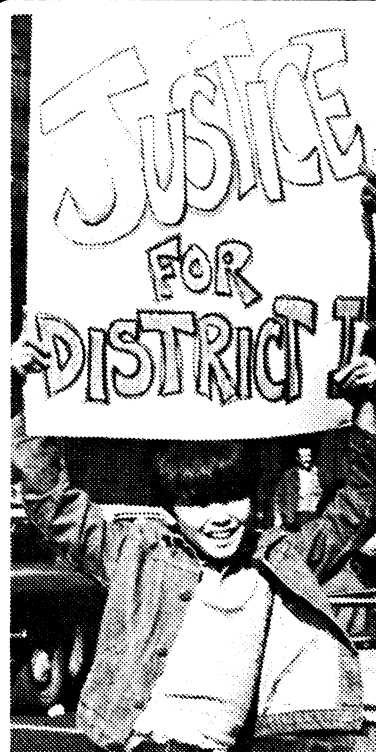
*Continued from page 25*

Union Women; Student Coalition Against Racism; Socialist Workers party; and Youth Against War and Fascism.

The increase in activity around the Texas organizing drive has also led to an upswing in interest in the struggle for union contracts in California fields.

On July 19, 100 people attended a benefit film showing at the University of Houston organized by the Houston boycott house of the UFW.

UFW staff organizer Bill Chandler explained that the event was being held to raise funds for the union and to publicize the UFW boycott.



## Community control in New York's School Dist. 1

**The Struggle for Community Control in N.Y. School District 1**

By Ethel Lobman and Katherine Sojourner. 16 pp., \$35.

**The Fight Against Racism in Our Schools La Lucha Contra El Racismo En Nuestras Escuelas**

By Luis Fuentes. 16 pp., \$.25. (In English or Spanish.)

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

# 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.

**FLORIDA:** Tallahassee: YSA, P.O. Box U-6350, Tallahassee, Fla. 32313.

**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) 523-0610.

**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 43401.

**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.

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Part of crowd of 400,000 persons at New York antiwar demonstration April 15, 1967.

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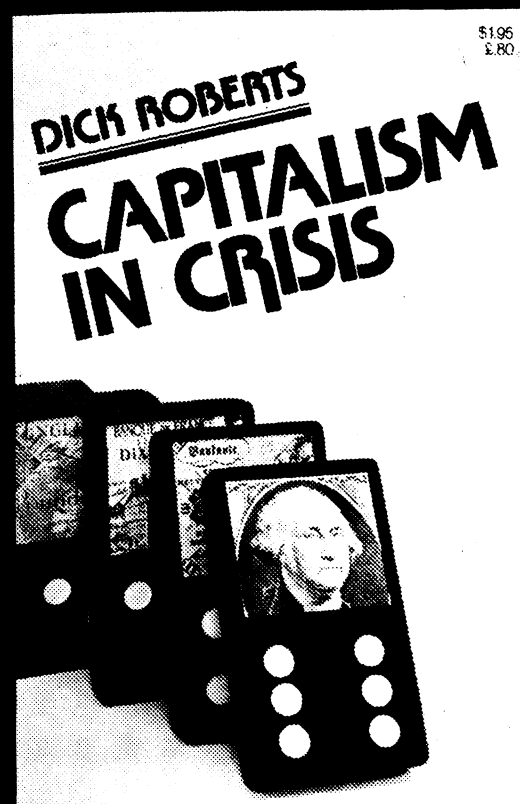
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## Chavez blasts 'conspiracy'

# Growers try new tricks to beat UFW

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—The Western Growers Association, representing 135 fruit and vegetable producers in California and Arizona, has signed a three-year contract with the Teamsters union. The agreement, which was ratified July 18, is intended to thwart the United Farm Workers in their drive to give genuine representation to field workers.

On August 28 California's new farm labor law will go into effect. Under terms of the statute the UFW will be able to petition for secret-ballot elections in which workers can choose the union they want to represent them.

The growers entered into the new contract with the Teamsters because they believe it will help defeat the UFW in the union-representation elections.

One member of the growers' association confided to a *Los Angeles Times* reporter that it was "our feeling that the Teamsters are a more reasonable outfit than the UFWA and we were willing to give them a damned good contract."

The agreement reportedly raises the minimum wage from \$2.50 an hour to \$2.95. The piecework rate for lettuce and melons is supposed to be increased 6 percent, with the rate on other produce going up 4 percent. Various fringe benefits are also stipulated.

In a move to give legitimacy to the agreement, it was presented to field workers for "ratification." It was reportedly approved by a vote of 8,502 to 2,150.

The UFW urged its supporters to vote for the agreement. Referring to the wage increase stipulated in the pact, Marshal Ganz, a UFW spokesperson, said, "Naturally we are telling our people to vote for the increase that the growers are giving the Teamsters to help them win the election. That doesn't mean anything except that we will certainly accept an interim pay increase."

### 'Crass conspiracy'

At the same time, UFW leader César Chávez described the new grower-Teamster agreement as "a crass con-



Militant/Miguel Pendás

UFW leader César Chávez is leading march from Mexican border to Salinas, California, as part of campaign to win union elections.

spiracy," which it clearly is.

Earlier the union-hating California grape growers renewed three-year pacts they had signed with the Teamsters to avoid dealing with the UFW.

The new California labor law says that elections to determine which union shall represent the workers can only be held when at least 50 percent of the peak work force is in the field.

This means the grape growers have been able to postpone the UFW challenge until next year, since most of the grape harvest will be in before the law takes effect.

However, lettuce and other crops are not picked until fall and winter, so the UFW will be able to petition for elections. To obtain an election a union must have petitions signed by 50 percent of the workers. A rival union can then get on the ballot with petitions signed by 20 percent. Elections must be held within seven days after a petition is filed.

Where the UFW wins an election the growers will be expected under the law to scrap the contracts they have signed with the Teamsters and negotiate new ones with the UFW.

Seeking to use the new law to break through the grower-Teamster conspiracy, the UFW has been conducting a drive to build support for the anticipated elections.

### UFW march

As one part of this effort Chávez is leading a contingent of farm workers and supporters on a march from the southern border of California to Salinas, several hundred miles up the coast.

On the way to this key agricultural center, the UFW contingent is stopping to talk with field hands and to hold meetings to explain the rights of farm workers under the new law and urge support for the UFW.

Originally, when the grape ranchers and some lettuce growers signed contracts with the Teamsters, it was simply and directly intended to bar the UFW from representing the workers.

Now, with the prospect of elections confronting them, the Western Growers Association decided to sign contracts with the Teamsters in the hope that it will give that organization a more credible image in the eyes of the field hands. (At one point during the "negotiations," Teamster officials even hinted darkly there might be a strike.)

The need to try to give the Teamsters union, with its corrupt, racist leadership, some credibility is a real one.

This was dramatically illustrated when the Teamster officials called a meeting of farm workers in Salinas to report on their negotiations with the growers.

### 'Chávez sí, Teamsters no!'

The turnout was excellent. Some 1,200 field hands jammed a school auditorium. But the meeting was ended before it began when the assembled farm work-



Militant/Harry Ring

Despite sweetheart contracts and other tricks by growers and Teamster bureaucrats, UFW is determined to win recognition elections and force owners to sign contracts.

ers broke into a spirited chant: "Chávez sí! Teamsters no!"

Teamster officials declined even to make an appearance at the meeting, the city fire marshals ordered the auditorium emptied because it was "overcrowded."

The Teamster officials then charged that the UFW had packed the meeting and that Teamster supporters were unable to get in. However, reporters on the scene made a spot check of the several hundred workers still outside. They found they too were UFW supporters.

Later the Teamsters called another meeting at their union headquarters in Salinas. The entrance was surrounded by Teamster goons, some armed with clubs. They warned reporters and photographers to stay away. Fewer than 200 farm workers attended.

Going into the elections with signed contracts will give the Teamsters a certain advantage they would not otherwise have. In addition, they have joined with the growers in a campaign of intimidation and victimization of UFW activists.

This means, obviously, that the UFW has a tough fight on its hands. But it's been a tough fight all along. Yet the union has stayed alive against seemingly insuperable odds. There is good reason for this.

The cruelly exploited, mainly Chicano farm workers recognize they cannot hope to resist the greed and racism of the growers without a union capable of fighting for their interests. They see the UFW as that kind of union. And they recognize the Teamster officials and their strong-arm squads as agents of the bosses.

The fact that the union-hating growers feel compelled to agree to elections, to grant wage increases on the eve of the elections, and to sign even phony union contracts is their testimony to the strong appeal of the United Farm Workers.

If the UFW is able to press on with its present organizing drive, and—along with its supporters—escalate the boycott of scab produce, it will not be easy for the growers and the Teamsters to cheat the field workers of the right to the union of their choice.