

THE MILITANT

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

Joanne Little must go free!

—pages 3-4

AFT CONVENTION

TEACHERS UNION RETREATS
ON RIGHTS OF BLACKS,
WOMEN. PAGE 16.

BOSTON VIOLENCE

VICTIMS OF RACIST TERROR
TESTIFY AT INDEPENDENT
COMMISSION. PAGE 8.

NEW YORK

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION
BATTLE BREWING. PAGE 9.

OIL TRUSTS

CONGRESS REFUSES TO STOP
LATEST SWINDLE. PAGE 23.

PINE RIDGE

NEW FRAME-UP OF INDIAN
ACTIVIST. PAGE 29.



Portuguese Communist party stages pro-junta rally. Stalinist parties back suppression of democratic rights in Portugal and India. Page 5.

Portugal, India

Democracy: is it worth fighting for?

THIS WEEK'S MILITANT

- 3 Joanne Little trial: prosecution case based on racism, not facts
- 5 Is democracy worth fighting for?
- 6 Portugal: right wing mobilizes
- 7 J.B. Johnson released, thanks supporters
- 8 Boston commission hears about racist violence
- 9 'ROAR' raises its head in New York
- 14 Campaign 'reforms': threat to rights
- 16 AFT convention: retreat for teacher unionism
- 23 Oil trusts win new round on prices
- 24 Larry Trainor: Boston Irish revolutionary
- 26 Gotbaum takes bankers' proposal to AFSCME
- 32 What bankers' plan means for NYC workers

2 In Brief

- 10 In Our Opinion Letters
- 11 ¡La Raza en Acción! La Lucha Puertorriqueña
- 12 Great Society Women In Revolt By Any Means Necessary
- 28 In Review: 'Nashville'

WORLD OUTLOOK

- 19 Resistance to Ghandhi's coup continues
- 22 Argentina: PST program to meet crisis

THE MILITANT

VOLUME 39/NUMBER 31
AUGUST 15, 1975
CLOSING NEWS DATE—AUGUST 6

Editor: MARY-ALICE WATERS
Managing Editor: LARRY SEIGLE
Business Manager: ROSE OGDEN
Southwest Bureau: HARRY RING
Washington Bureau: CINDY JAQUITH

Published weekly by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: Editorial Office (212) 243-6392; Business Office (212) 929-3486. Southwest Bureau: 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Telephone: (213) 483-2798. Washington Bureau: 1345 E. St. N.W., Fourth Floor, Washington, D.C. 20004. Telephone: (202) 638-4081.

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.

In Brief

GOVERNMENT ORDERED NOT TO DESTROY ROSENBERG FILES: A federal district court judge issued an injunction August 1 prohibiting any further destruction by the government of records relating to the case of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg and Morton Sobell. The ruling is in response to a suit filed in July by Michael and Robert Meeropol, sons of the Rosenbergs, who are trying to get access to these files under the Freedom of Information Act. Attorneys Marshall Perlin, Max Millman, Sam Gruber, David Rein, and Frank Askin are representing the Meeropols.

The government's attorney objected to the injunction, arguing that it would embarrass the government and make it appear as if there had been past misdeeds. Various federal agencies are now ordered to submit motions on inventories of all related documents in their possession by August 14.

CONGRESS VOTES ITSELF INFLATION-PROOF PAY RAISE: With unaccustomed speed, the U.S. House and Senate both voted their members a pay increase before the congressional recess. The cost-of-living escalator raise—to be in effect as long as inflation continues—will apply to all federal jobholders with salaries of \$36,000 or more. It also includes upping Nixon's pension, which now stands at \$60,000 a year.

This year's increase will range from 5 percent to 8.6 percent. President Ford, the only federal official not covered by the bill, will decide exactly how much. The cost this time around will be between \$34 million and \$49 million.

... WHILE ONE IN EVERY NINE AMERICANS IS BELOW POVERTY LINE: According to a Census Bureau report, the number of Americans below the official poverty line—a grossly understated \$5,000 for a family of four—increased by 1.3 million last year. This brings the total to 24.3 million, or 11.6 percent of the population. The top one-fifth of all families had about two-fifths of all family income, while the bottom one-fifth had only one-twentieth.

The report said that 15.7 percent of all people sixty-five years old and over are below the poverty line; 31.4 percent of Blacks; and 40.7 percent of all Black children under eighteen years old.

This is the last issue of the Militant before our two-week summer break. We will resume our regular weekly schedule with the issue dated September 5.

L.A. COUNCIL KILLS GAY RIGHTS BILL: Without discussion, the Los Angeles City Council on July 29 voted 14-0 to kill a proposed ordinance that would have barred job discrimination against homosexuals. The bill was the target of particularly furious attack by Police Chief Ed Davis.

City Attorney Bert Pines had issued an opinion that barring a person from police or other municipal employment solely because of sexual orientation was not justified by law or by medical or psychiatric findings.

HIROSHIMA PROTEST: Despite a heavy rain, more than 100 New Yorkers turned out August 6 to commemorate the thirtieth anniversary of the U.S. bombing of Hiroshima. Demonstrators marched from Union Square to the Fourteenth Street Armory for a short rally sponsored by the August 6 Committee.

Anger at the recent nuclear bomb rattling by President Ford and Defense Secretary Schlesinger ran high. This mood was reflected in signs such as "Stop Schlesinger's First Strike Policy," and "Is Korea a Nuclear Vietnam?" Speakers included Martha Baker of Women Strike for Peace; author Robert Lifton; Cora Weiss; and a representative from Asian-Americans for Action.

FARM WORKERS RALLY IN SALINAS: The United Farm Workers held a rally of 2,500 August 3 in Salinas, California, climaxing a walk by César Chávez from the fields in Southern California to those in the northern part of the state. The walk was part of the UFW's educational and organizational campaign to inform farm workers of their rights under the new California agricultural labor law. The law permits elections to determine which union the workers want to represent them.

Rallies were organized all along the walk to urge workers to sign cards calling for the election and then to vote for the UFW.

IRISH POLITICAL PRISONERS DAY: The Joint Action Committee for Irish Political Prisoners has called for an Irish Political Prisoners Day on August 9, the fourth anniversary of internment without trial in Northern Ireland. A march in New York City will assemble at 1:00 p.m. at Fifty-ninth Street and Columbus Circle and proceed to British Airways at Fifth Avenue and Forty-fifth Street for a rally.

There are 1,500 Irish political prisoners in Northern

Ireland, Southern Ireland, Great Britain, and the United States. The overwhelming majority have been sentenced without a jury trial, and hundreds of those in Northern Ireland were not afforded any trial under the notorious internment act.

MOONLIGHTING: A former CIA agent has told federal authorities that he led commando-type raids into China while based in Burma several years ago.

Puttaporn Khramkhruan was recruited by the CIA while an officer in the Chinese Nationalist army. The CIA says his work was supersecret and that it can not reveal the details to the Justice Department. One CIA official said Khramkhruan's job was only to "gather information about narcotic traffickers."

Khramkhruan apparently took that part of his assignment seriously, combining his "low-level sabotage" across the Chinese border with a lucrative opium-smuggling operation. One of his drug shipments destined for Chicago was intercepted by customs, and Khramkhruan was indicted for smuggling in 1973. However, when the CIA refused to turn over "sensitive" material to federal prosecutors, the indictment was dropped.

Khramkhruan claims to have kept his CIA contact in Thailand informed of the smuggling operation, including when the shipments were to arrive in the United States. The CIA kept it all under wraps.

Good spies are hard to come by, after all.

THE 'MILITANT' GETS AROUND: The national office of the American Indian Movement has compiled a booklet of facts and news coverage on the FBI campaign to terrorize Indians on the Pine Ridge reservation in South Dakota. One of those news articles reprinted is the July 11 *Militant* story, "S.D. Indians say: 'FBI off our land!'" The story was an on-the-scene report written from Pine Ridge by José Pérez and Holly Harkness.

"The Militant is a weekly newspaper of the type the FBI called 'the marginal press' in 1973, and did everything they could to keep out of Wounded Knee," says the notation accompanying the article. "Once again, our brothers and sisters from 'The Militant' found the story the straight press couldn't find."

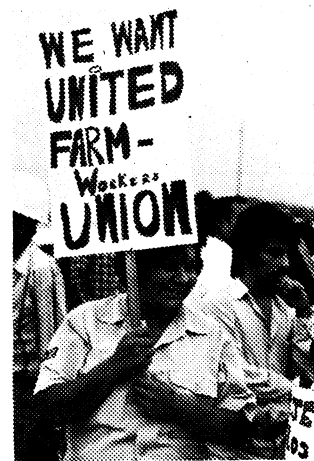
PORTLAND COPS PROPOSE MOUNTED SHOT-GUNS: The Portland, Oregon, Metropolitan Human Relations Commission held hearings July 16 on a proposal by the city's police department to mount shotguns on 100 of its patrol cars. Representatives from the NAACP, Urban League, Model Cities, and Albina Ministerial Alliance spoke against the plan.

Socialist Workers party mayoral candidate George Kontanis also testified, expressing his "total opposition to these terror weapons being placed at the disposal of a racist-minded police force that has been only too quick to pull the trigger against Blacks." Because of strong opposition, the proposal was tabled, pending another hearing September 16.

—Nancy Cole

YOUR FIRST ISSUE?

SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT



Farm workers in California and Texas press union struggle . . . Boston's Black community speaks out against terror . . . Joanne Little fights for her life in North Carolina courtroom. *Militant* reporters are there bringing you the story of what's really happening. Subscribe now.

Introductory offer-\$1/2 months

() \$1 for two months () New
() \$7.50 for one year () Renewal

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____

14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014

First-degree charge dropped

Joanne Little trial: prosecution case based on racism, not on evidence

By Cindy Jaquith

RALEIGH, N.C.—One year after the stabbing death of jailer Clarence Alligood, after the dragnet search for Joanne Little with dogs and high-powered rifles, after the racist campaign by the North Carolina media to slander the young Black woman, the state finally presented its "evidence" that Little is guilty of murder.

The "evidence" is so completely devoid of anything linking Little to a plan to kill Alligood that once the state rested its case on August 6, Judge Hamilton Hobgood threw out the first-degree murder charge.

He called the state's evidence "insufficient" to prove premeditated murder. A first-degree conviction requires the death penalty automatically.

However, Hobgood rejected defense motions to have further charges dismissed. Little still faces second-degree murder and voluntary manslaughter charges.

Hailing the dismissal of the first-degree murder charge, attorneys Jerry Paul and Karen Galloway appeared at a news conference the same day.

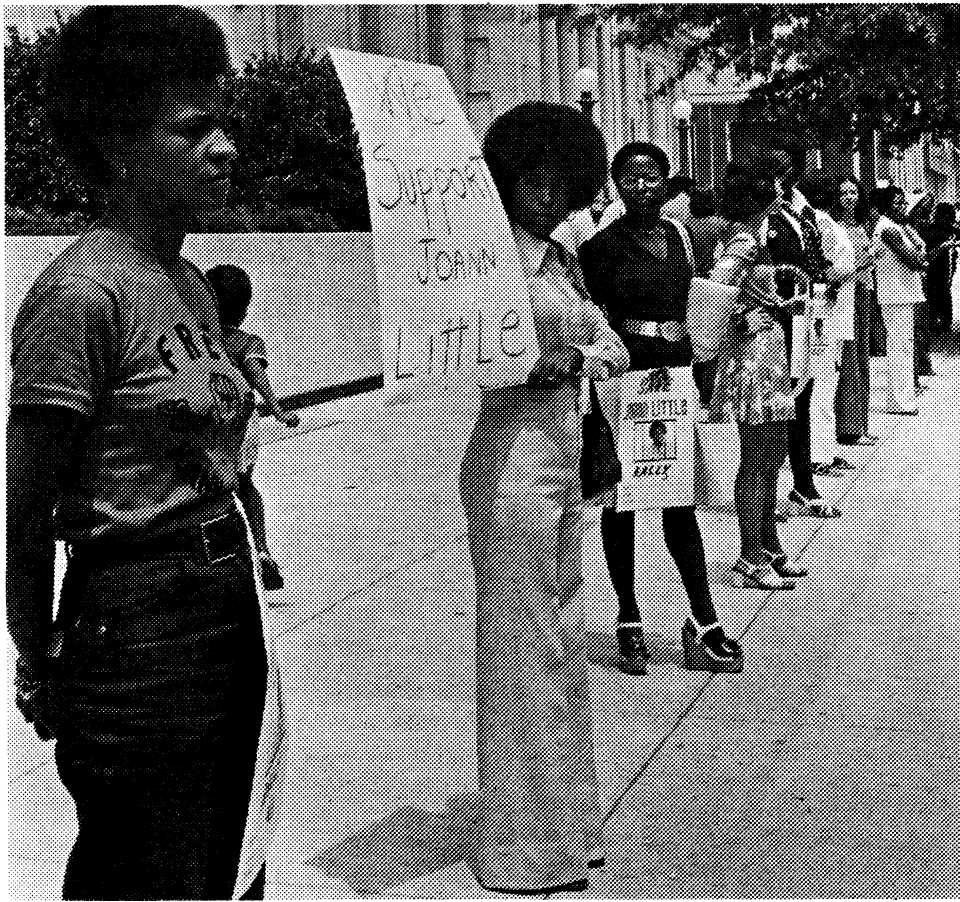
"Without the work that many people did all over this nation," said Paul, "we would not be where we are today. I appreciate that support and I hope that it continues."

"The only evidence the state has is racism," added Jerry Paul, chief attorney for Little.

Indeed, by the end of the state's case it was clear that the prosecution attorneys have been banking all along on the jury convicting Little because she is Black and the dead jailer was white.

Little contends she acted in self-defense on August 27, 1974, when Alligood entered her cell armed with an ice pick and tried to rape her. The prosecution, on the other hand, has insisted that Little lured the sixty-two-year-old jailer into her cell with the promise of sexual favors as part of an escape attempt.

Arguing before the judge that he



Raleigh, N.C. Silent vigil, organized by women's groups, outside courthouse where Joanne Little is on trial.

Militant/Cindy Jaquith

should not drop the first-degree murder charge, prosecuting attorney William Griffin declared that Little has a "guilty mind."

"Without the publicity and public clamor attendant in this case," he complained bitterly, "Your Honor knows this case would go to the jury on first-degree."

Griffin's colleague, attorney John Wilkinson, waved his arms madly about as he tried to convince the judge that Little had planned the murder. Little used "grossly excessive force," he claimed, because she "intended that Alligood should go to his reward."

Her motive, Wilkinson continued, "can be summed up in two one-syllable

words—'love' and 'out.' She wanted to get out to the person she loved."

The clincher, he argued, was that Little had escaped after the fight with Alligood. Why didn't she run to Beverly King, the policewoman on duty, he asked, adding sarcastically, "Beverly King is a Black and a woman."

But even Judge Hobgood, who has bent over backwards to help the prosecution throughout the case, could not uphold these frantic arguments in the face of the flimsy evidence offered to back them up.

The state's "star witness" was Willis Peachey, a young deputy sheriff. As "chief investigator" of Alligood's death, Peachey gave a detailed account

of his role in the case under questioning by prosecuting attorney William Griffin on July 31.

The next day Jerry Paul ripped Peachey's testimony to shreds.

Witness admits 'confusion'

Even the jury members found it hard to keep a straight face as Paul led the squirming Peachey over the facts once again, eliciting the admission from him that there had been "some confusion" in his handling of the case.

Peachey also acknowledged that he felt "quite a bit of pressure" from the residents of Washington, North Carolina, where the alleged crime took place. He has said in the past that he would never be able to hold his head up in Washington again if he did not get Little convicted.

At the close of the day, as Peachey's head hung low, Paul wrapped up his cross-examination by informing him that he had answered "I don't recall" or "I don't remember" exactly 100 times during defense questioning.

Under prosecution questioning, Peachey had tried to set the stage for the contention that Little "premeditated" the killing of Alligood as part of an escape attempt. His evidence was that he supposedly heard Little talking the night of August 26 on the telephone in a "very low tone of voice."

Further evidence of Little's sinister plot, in Peachey's mind, was that when he said hello to her, "she did not respond to my greeting." Based on this, Peachey contended that on the eve of Alligood's death, Little acted "completely different" from her usual behavior.

More phony evidence

The only other "evidence" that Little was plotting murder are letters and notes written on the margins of magazines and books Peachey seized from the prisoner's cell. The prosecution has touted these writings as "proof" that Little was planning to escape.

Quotations read to the jury, however,

Continued on next page

Reporter's notebook

Court officials frown at Ivan's cartoon

RALEIGH, N.C.—"That's terrible. That's really terrible."

Jimmy Glenn, press aide to Judge Hamilton Hobgood, was staring at a *Militant* cartoon depicting the Joanne Little trial. The cartoon, drawn by Ivan, showed two Klansmen in sheets and hoods sitting at the prosecution table, and Little sitting at the defense table.

"Do you really consider yourself to be an unbiased reporter?" Glenn asked me.

"I'm completely biased on the side of Joanne Little, if that's what you mean," I replied. "I think every woman has the right to defend herself from a rape attack."

"But you haven't heard all the evidence yet," he argued. Then he turned away with a frown: "You're just like my wife. She thinks Miss Little is innocent too."

The *Militant's* cartoon speaks for itself, I found when talking to people about the trial. One day I took a small bundle of papers to sell to a crowd of Blacks who had gathered to watch a picket line in front of the courthouse

demanding freedom for Joanne Little.

I barely had to say a word about the *Militant*, because as soon as people saw the cartoon, they knew where we stood. Outstretched hands with quarters in them grabbed up all my papers in five minutes.

The *Militant* has met with a friendly response among other reporters here as well. Female and Black members of the media, in particular, consider the case to be a frame-up from start to finish. And as the trial wears on, even the more conservative reporters have been astonished at the flimsiness of the state's evidence.

One TV newscaster, ending his broadcast after the first week of prosecution witnesses, summed up his feelings this way: "About the only thing that was established this week was that Clarence Alligood was found dead at the Beaufort County jail and that he apparently died of stab wounds."

The case has also attracted international attention in the media. Reporters are here from Reuters, the British Broadcasting Company, the London

Daily Mirror, the London *Daily Mail*, and the Swedish *Dagens Nyheter* (Daily News).

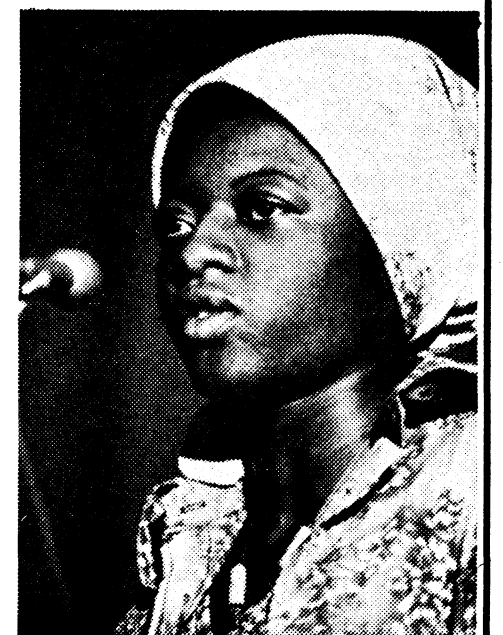
One British reporter told me that after she did a feature piece on the case, letters began pouring into the newspaper office in London, asking where to send money to aid the defense.

While defense attorneys have held daily briefings for the press, prosecution attorneys Lester Chalmers and William Griffin have avoided reporters like the plague. Griffin made a timid appearance in the press room one day, flanked by a burly agent of the State Bureau of Investigation, but he beat a hasty retreat. "I just wanted to see what the lion's den looked like," he explained.

The defense, on the other hand, has had every reason to encourage press coverage, since the truth is on its side. The hundreds of articles that have appeared are helping to put the real criminal on trial here—the state of North Carolina.

As Joanne Little pointed out, "If it weren't for the newspapers, television,

and radio, people wouldn't even know about Joanne Little. The press coverage has helped let people know that we need their help and support." —C.J.



LITTLE: "People know we need their help and support."

...Little prosecution based on racism

Continued from preceding page
expressed nothing but justified horror at prison conditions and the hope every prisoner feels that he or she will somehow be freed. "I hope and pray the Lord makes a way for me to get out soon" is one of the notes found in Little's effects—hardly a cold-blooded reference to a murder escape plot!

During cross-examination, attorney Paul brought out some highly unusual aspects of the "investigation" conducted by Peachey:

- All Peachey's notes on the death scene were, in his own words, "destroyed."

- The ice pick, considered by the sheriff's office to be the "murder weapon," was casually stuffed into Peachey's back pocket, after he observed that there "were probably no fingerprints" on it.

- No tests were ever made of the bloodstains in the cell to determine whose blood they were.

- Bloodstains and tissue apparently stained with blood were cleaned up around the sink area of the cell before any investigation could be made.

- The bloodstained sheet, blanket, and mattress on which Alligood was found "disappeared" and to this day have never been located.

"What steps did you take at the scene of the crime to see if Joanne Little was innocent?" asked Paul, observing the fact that the jailer was found nude from the waist down, suggesting a possible sexual attack.

Peachey sat dumbfounded for a moment or two and finally said he checked the nightgown to see if it was ripped.

Cover-up

In fact, it appears that the sheriff's office took steps to try to cover up Alligood's rape attack completely. Dr. Charles Gilbert, a medical examiner, told the court that he found no semen on Alligood's leg when he inspected the body.

However, Dr. Harry Carpenter, the first doctor to view the body, discovered a "significant" amount of semen, which he said indicated recent sexual activity. Who cleaned up the body between the two examinations?

Another key piece of evidence is the dead jailer's pants. Since some of the stab wounds were on his leg, holes in the pants would indicate that he was clothed at the time. The absence of holes would uphold Little's story of the attack.

But for two or three weeks after the killing, Alligood's pants were "missing"—at least whenever the defense asked to see them. On August 1, Peachey admitted that indeed the pants had no holes in them.

Peachey was also grilled by Paul on the sensational TV coverage after Alligood's death. Paul showed the court a photograph taken from TV footage that depicted Peachey posing with the ice pick in one hand and Alligood's glasses in the other.

Peachey denied that he posed for the picture. But he could not explain how Gordon Edwards, a local TV reporter

apprehend Little and mete out their own form of "justice." As Little put it, had she been captured, "all you would have heard was, 'Joanne Little hangs self in cell.'"

Fortunately she eluded the cops long enough to find a lawyer. Other prisoners have not been so lucky.

The cops' eagerness to cover up what actually happened in the cell was also an attempt to avoid the public attention that has now been focused on the abuse of women prisoners in the Washington jail. In a class-action suit filed several months ago by Little, she charges that the attack on her was not

in an effort to keep out the menacing eye of the camera. The cops made her take the sheet down.

This humiliating treatment has galvanized much of the support Little has received from women's groups. On August 1, a silent vigil was held outside the courthouse in support of Little, with participants from the National Black Feminist Organization, National Organization for Women, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and Action for Forgotten Women.

Others who have traveled here to protest this unjust trial include lawyers Charles Morgan and Philip Hirschkop of the American Civil Liberties Union in Washington, D.C.; Julian Bond, Georgia state senator; and Angela Davis of the Communist party.

The lawyers came here especially to express their outrage at Judge Hamilton Hobgood's attacks on the Little defense team. On July 29, Hobgood, in an extraordinary move, banned defense attorney Morris Dees from the trial on the trumped-up accusation that he had tried to get a witness to perjure herself. Dees was charged with felony carrying a maximum sentence of ten years.

Dees appealed his expulsion from the case all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court, but was turned down. Former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark tried unsuccessfully to persuade Chief Justice Warren Burger to overturn Dees' dismissal on the grounds that it violated Little's right to counsel.

Dees had conducted most of the interviews with potential witnesses, and without his participation in the courtroom the defense has been at a disadvantage.

On August 6 it was announced that the felony charges against Dees had been dropped and that Dees would make no further legal moves to overturn Hobgood's order barring him from the trial.

Earlier, Hobgood had refused to allow attorney William Kunstler to enter the case as a replacement for Dees. When Kunstler protested this ruling, Hobgood summarily had him jailed for contempt of court.

The defense has announced that prominent attorneys would be flying here on a regular basis to monitor Hobgood's performance in the courtroom, with an eye to possibly filing suit against his illegal practices when the trial is over.



Joanne Little supporters in Raleigh

with close links to the cops, mysteriously arrived on the scene only an hour after the body was discovered and started filming right in the midst of the investigation. Later, lurid footage of the body being wheeled out of the jail was shown on TV.

The pattern that emerged from the prosecution's case, in other words, is that the Washington, North Carolina, cops never really conducted any "investigation" of Alligood's death at all. Joanne Little was presumed guilty as soon as the would-be rapist's body was found.

North Carolina 'justice'

The cops' sloppiness in covering their tracks suggest that authorities in the small eastern North Carolina town assumed that this case would never come to trial. They clearly intended to

unique, but standard behavior for the male guards and cops.

Other jailers called to the witness stand by the prosecution essentially corroborated much of this charge.

George Tetterson, a day jailer, admitted that while people such as Little's mother were not allowed to visit the women's cellblock area, sheriff's deputies and other cops roamed the area at will. "A lot of times they'd be talking to a prisoner and they didn't want us to know nothing about it," he said.

Another jailer, David Watson, described the jail's TV monitoring system, which scanned the entire women's cellblock area, even the showers. With a touch of regret in his voice, Watson said his view of the shower was "not too good."

He added that at one time, Little draped a sheet over the bars in her cell

Women's prison in Raleigh: slave labor

By Cindy Jaquith

RALEIGH, N.C.—If she could help inmates at the women's prison in Raleigh, Joanne Little told a recent luncheon with women reporters, "I would like to see the laundry closed down, and I would pay the women for their work."

"But," she added, "they would never put me in charge of that kind of thing."

Little spent months at the North Carolina Correctional Center for Women before supporters were able to raise the \$115,000 bail set after her indictment for murder. The experience at the prison was as grim for her as it was for Claudette Watson, a seventeen-year-old Black woman who served eight months at the center for shoplifting.

"I hate to talk about it," Watson said, "but I know we have to get the word out." Watson was released from the prison just before Little's trial began here. She was interviewed by the *Militant* one day while attending the trial.

The correctional center houses some 460 women, the majority of them Black. It gained national attention in

June when it was the scene of a five-day rebellion by inmates protesting prison conditions. Watson, a participant in the protests, told the *Militant* what happened.

The center is infamous for its laundry, where women work in temperatures as high as 120 degrees, lifting loads of wash up to 150 pounds. Accidents on the slimy floors have resulted in several toe amputations.

Laundry work is literally slave labor—the women do not receive a cent for it. They work up to eight hours a day.

"They had promised to pay the women working in the laundry, and they had promised to shut the laundry down," Watson said. Neither promise had been kept, however.

Empty promises had also been made by authorities regarding the inadequate medical treatment. One inmate was blinded in an amateur eye operation performed at the prison. Another suffered a ruptured appendix when health personnel refused to come to her assistance.

The failure of prison authorities to

meet even the most basic needs of inmates led the women to organize a peaceful demonstration the night of June 15. "After dinner, we took blankets and pillows and went out to sit in the yard," Watson said. Two hundred women participated in the action. They demanded to see Morris Kea, then head of the center, and refused to move until he met with them.

The women remained outside most of the night, until "guards came with helmets and demanded we go back inside," said Watson. "We refused because we were out there to get what was right, what we believed in."

The male guards began carrying them to the gym, forcing them inside. In the process, they started attacking the inmates, and the women responded by defending themselves from the swinging billy clubs with whatever they could find. In the course of the guards' assault, at least ten women were injured so badly they required outside hospitalization.

An uneasy calm prevailed for the next two days. The women returned to their dorms but continued to boycott

their jobs. Prison authorities resisted the attempts of negotiators to peacefully settle the inmates' grievances. Instead, on June 19, the guards were again set loose on the women. Viciously attacking them, the guards singled out the leaders, hustling them off to a maximum-security unit at another prison, and locked up the remaining prisoners.

Dozens of women have been punished by placement in "Dorm C"—where they are confined four to a cell, allowed no exercise, and subjected to dehumanizing treatment such as the denial of their personal underwear.

The state may well file criminal charges against the inmates too, but no charges have been made against any of the officials or guards responsible for the brutality.

Watson said the inmates are attentively watching developments in the Joanne Little trial, although they have been denied access to most literature since the uprising.

They are determined to win their demands, she concluded: "They will not give up."

Debate over Portugal, India

Is democracy worth fighting for?

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

By Joseph Hansen

Indira Gandhi's coup, which ended bourgeois democracy in India for the foreseeable future, has met with a critical reception in the Western press, particularly in the United States.

One of the main reasons for this is the blow dealt by Gandhi to a pet subject of the editorialists and columnists for the past quarter of a century—the contrast offered by democratic India to the totalitarian regimes in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and China.

When the capitalist system was overturned in China and replaced by a planned economy, India was singled out as a Western showcase. Here the world was to witness what free enterprise could accomplish in contrast to planned economy, while preserving the "values" of democracy.

On the economic side, of course, China soon proved—as had already been demonstrated in the Soviet Union—the enormous advantages of planning even if hampered by all kinds of obstacles, including the shackles of a bureaucratic caste. The bourgeois propagandists had to trim their arguments accordingly. India, they said, had at least stoutly maintained democracy—one of the great acquisitions of civilization.

Down the drain

That presentation of the superiority of India over China has now likewise gone down the drain.

Of course, democracy under both Nehru and Gandhi was feeble, rickety, and corrupted. It existed mainly for the rich. Nonetheless, it offered certain safeguards and it was possible to offer accurate information in the press and to voice political opposition.

The fate of democracy in India offers fresh evidence of a general phenomenon—the growing incompatibility of capitalism and democracy on a worldwide scale. Gandhi brought down Indian democracy because she would have lost office if she had upheld it. The Indian bourgeoisie as a whole backed her in turning to totalitarianism because capitalism in India would go down if it abided by the norms and rules of democracy.

The same pattern by and large was followed by the capitalists in Chile, in Uruguay, in Brazil, and in Indonesia, to cite but some of the recent instances.

The erosion of democracy is apparent in the most powerful capitalist country—the United States. There were the years of the McCarthyite



Growing social tension in India made it impossible for bourgeoisie to continue to abide by norms and rules of democracy.

"aberration," then the presidential assumption of antidemocratic powers in violation of the constitution—shown most scandalously by Nixon—which has given the political police, both domestic and foreign, an inordinate place in the American system of government.

Moreover, American capitalism, which is pictured by its propagandists as the main bulwark of democracy in the world today, has actually become the worst subverter of democracy on all continents. It is sufficient to point to the long record of the CIA in toppling governments that did not measure up to Wall Street's standards in insuring the investments and superprofits of American companies.

Washington's achievements in this respect extend from Iran to Guatemala, not to mention Korea and Indochina.

Clearly, capitalism in its death agony has become antithetical to democracy.

Socialism & democracy

The socialist program, as conceived by Marx and Engels and as advanced by Lenin and Trotsky, takes democracy as its heritage, defends it against all encroachment, and proposes to expand it and extend it so that it becomes one of the main features of the society of the future.

The only strictures on democracy admitted in this view concern the rights of the bourgeoisie if they open a civil war against the working class in hope of blocking a socialist victory. During such a civil war and only then,

the socialist forces would have to restrict such things as freedom of the press for the bourgeoisie. In this situation the rules of civil war would apply, a turn brought on by the bourgeoisie refusing to abide by the will of the majority and taking up arms.

Following the victory of socialism, the restrictions would be lifted. It can easily be seen why. In a society of abundance, the ideas of capitalism would appear completely irrational—as they are in reality—and would soon have few advocates.

Those who argued for turning back the clock and reestablishing capitalism would find themselves evaluated by the public as standing on about the same level as those who might advocate going back to feudalism, slavery, or the stone age, or those who still contended that the available evidence sustains the long-held biblical view that the earth is flat.

To previous generations of the proletarian vanguard, the importance of democracy was considered part of the ABCs of socialism. Socialists were the strongest advocates of freedom in all spheres. Unfortunately this is not the case today.

The antidemocratic regimes in the countries modeled on the Stalinist pattern of rule have struck terrible blows against the very concept of socialist democracy. We are presented with such a scandalous action as Moscow's approval of Gandhi's coup.

In fact, totalitarian forms and practices have been accepted by many revolutionary-minded militants as the norm in countries that claim to be socialist. They have come to believe that the abolition of democracy is a distinctive and praiseworthy characteristic of socialism.

Suicidal positions

This has not only inflicted great damage to the cause of socialism because of its reinforcement of the erosion of democracy in the capitalist countries, it has led to suicidal political positions.

Some militants have not hesitated to take the lead in demanding restrictions on democratic rights in capitalist countries. They believe that it is correct for protagonists of socialism to demand that a bourgeois government curtail the democratic rights of reactionary currents, although they thus set a deadly trap for themselves, for they have approved in principle that a bourgeois government should in cer-

tain circumstances deny freedom of expression and assembly to minority organizations. In this way they help pave the way for suppression of their own democratic rights.

A case of prime importance is to be seen in Portugal today. Here good militants have been induced to oppose bourgeois democracy and to offer help to a bourgeois government in narrowing it down if not abolishing it completely.

They have, for instance, demonstrated in favor of dissolving the Constituent Assembly in favor of dictatorial military rule. They have joined in pressing for the curtailment of freedom of the press (the *República* case). They have even served as activists for the bourgeois government in attempting to block the rallies of a Social Democratic party backed by the majority of the working class.

These militants were thus inveigled into acting as auxiliaries of the capitalist class in Portugal, which, like the capitalists elsewhere, cannot live with democracy and are intent on destroying it, the better to maintain their outmoded economic system.

It is to be hoped that these militants in Portugal, who are now following an ultraleft course that is highly injurious to the proletarian revolution and that can doom them, too, will wake up to the danger.

The source of their error lies at bottom in believing that socialism simply abolishes bourgeois democracy instead of expanding it qualitatively, that is, extending it into the economic structure and thereby liquidating one of the features that distinguishes capitalism—totalitarian command on the level of production.

Error on top of error

From this error, these militants derive the conclusion that the proletarian revolution can be advanced by shattering democracy while the capitalist state remains intact.

Unfortunately, this does not mean that proletarian democracy is thereby advanced. That is a delusion typical of ultraleft political cretinism. Instead, the efforts of the most reactionary forces to bring the workers commissions and assemblies, including those of the armed forces, under bourgeois control are greatly facilitated. If the efforts of the reactionaries succeed, this would cut short the possibility of these initial formations developing into soviets. The final outcome would be to liquidate them.

Consequently the conclusion that must be drawn is that those who want to advance the struggle for a soviet form of government in Portugal must take the lead in defending democracy against all its detractors and would-be destroyers.

It would be a mistake to center blame for this error on the Portuguese militants. They are merely repeating an error that has been committed elsewhere and that reflects the thinking of various currents in the so-called far left.

It is high time that revolutionary socialists in all countries again examine the fundamental postulates of socialism. Were the founders of scientific socialism correct in championing democracy? Is bourgeois democracy worth fighting for in the period leading up to socialism? Will socialism after all offer a new birth of freedom?

Or do the antidemocratic forms of government offered by Brezhnev, Mao, and Gandhi, however different the economic bases, represent the wave of the future?



Portuguese security forces search cars as part of campaign to intimidate people from attending mass protest rally organized by Socialist party. Task of revolutionists in Portugal is to fight for democracy against attempts by junta to do away with it.

United workers' response needed to halt rightist terror in Portugal

By David Frankel

Right-wing forces in Portugal are raising their heads. Violence against the Communist party has flared in a dozen towns, and rumors of coups and countercoups are reported daily. For the first time since the overthrow of the Salazarist dictatorship in April 1974, rightist forces have been able to find a friendly response among significant sections of the population.

Communist party headquarters in a number of northern cities have been attacked and burned by right-wing gangs. In the town of Vila Nova de Famalicão, rightist mobs besieged the CP headquarters for days.

New York Times reporter Marvine Howe wrote August 5 that when the mob finally broke into the headquarters, "The Communist building was sacked from top to bottom. The crowd burned party emblems, documents and two automobiles. . . .

support the MFA regime, has refused to push for a united front with the SP in defense of its own democratic rights, although the SP has denounced the vigilante attacks on the CP headquarters.

Instead the CP has turned to the military for protection. The MFA, however, is hardly interested in the democratic rights of the CP. It is only a question of time until it decides that the Stalinists have outlived their usefulness and employs them as sacrificial goats to divert the anger of the masses.

Why rightists gain

What is the explanation for this right-wing comeback less than four months after 60 percent of the Portuguese people voted in the Constituent Assembly elections for parties of the working class claiming to stand for socialism?

organize around the denial of their democratic rights.

Disaffection with the government has been deepened by Portugal's worsening economic crisis. It is estimated that inflation now exceeds 30 percent annually. Out of a work force of 3.5 million there are 50,000 unemployed or seriously underemployed. Production and exports are declining.

No socialist alternative

The junta has no solution for these problems. Like capitalist governments all over the world, the MFA has tried to force the working class to pay for the economic crisis. And the parties that supposedly represent the working class and socialism have gone along with this.

With the full support of the Stalinists and the social democratic leaders of the Socialist party, the junta has carried out a campaign for speedup in

aim has been to convince any who will listen that socialism means tyranny, and they have been helped in this by the undemocratic actions of the MFA and its Stalinist allies.

Time magazine commented in its August 11 issue, "The troika of generals that has just assumed unlimited power in Lisbon could well transform Portugal into Western Europe's first Communist nation."

Similar conclusions were drawn by the *New York Times*, which argued August 3 that "the repressive dictatorship of the right has been replaced with a dictatorship of the left that threatens similar repressions."

If we are to believe the capitalist media, the authentic voice of the socialist revolution was heard July 30 when Gen. Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho, a member of the junta's ruling triumvirate, returned from Cuba. Carvalho complained, "It's becoming impossible to carry out a socialist revolution by completely peaceful means."

He insisted that "the armed forces are ready to take up the very hard path of repression, which we have avoided up until now." As an example of what he meant, Carvalho recalled a June 15 radio broadcast in which he said:

"I sometimes think that our revolutionary experience would have been better in April 1974 if we had sent a few hundred or a few thousand counterrevolutionists to the wall, or sent them to the Campo Pequeno bullfighting arena, crushing them in the egg."

Unfortunately, as far as Carvalho is concerned the "counterrevolutionists" are workers who demand the right to strike, socialists who criticize his regime, and any political organization that refuses to recognize the right of the Portuguese officer corps to settle the future of the country.

A capitalist regime

For all of Carvalho's demagoguery, his regime continues to defend capitalism in Portugal.

Up until now the depth of the radicalization in Portugal has forced the junta to adopt socialist rhetoric and to take some radical measures. This was a reflection of the mass movement, not of the revolutionary temper of the Portuguese officer corps.

In the meantime, in case the MFA is unable to curb the workers on its own, the other imperialist powers have been

Continued on page 30



Socialist party rally in Lisbon protests MFA's restrictions on democratic rights. Both SP and CP have failed to initiate united front against rightist terror.

"All the Communist signs were scraped off the building, and a hand-written sign, 'House for Angolan Refugees,' was hoisted."

Ultrarightists were feeling jubilant. One demonstrator told Howe, "We don't want Communists anyway. For me Communism is worse than Fascism."

The rightists continued to terrorize people suspected of being CP members after the party's headquarters was sacked. Howe described how "activists chased a woman aged in her thirties, dressed in black, shouting: 'Communist, Communist, out of here!' and threw stones at her in front of the party headquarters. Several soldiers rescued her and got her out of the crowd's reach."

"Later a score of people, said to be strangers in town, marched on the Arcadia Cafe, owned by a couple known to be Communist party militants. They forced their way into the establishment and were reported to have destroyed everything in sight."

United response needed

There is an urgent need for the formation of a united front of all workers organizations, especially the Communist and Socialist parties, to defend democratic rights from all attacks, whether from the military government of the MFA (Movimento das Forças—Armed Forces Movement) or the rightist hooligans.

But the CP, in its determination to

Portugal certainly had plenty of right-wing gorillas who found it best to keep a low profile following the overthrow of the Salazarist dictatorship.

But the reactionaries have been emboldened by the disastrous policies of the CP, which have identified "socialism" with dictatorship and with the capitalist military regime of the MFA.

As the only political party still taking responsibility for the repressive actions of the ruling junta, the CP has found itself the target of antigovernment sentiment as well as opposition from rightist forces.

Although clearly a minority in the working class, the Stalinists established bureaucratic control over the trade-union federation with the help of the MFA. The CP, backed by the military, systematically squeezed its opponents out of positions in the mass media, with the best-known example being the take-over of the socialist newspaper *República*. When the Socialist party mounted massive demonstrations against the infringements on its rights, the Stalinists tried to physically prevent them from taking place.

Instead of winning over the masses by fighting to extend democratic rights, the Stalinists have tried to bureaucratically impose their will on them. That was what enabled the right wing to get a hearing. With the take-over of Rádio Renascença, a church-owned radio station, the most reactionary clerical elements were able to

the factories—the so-called battle for production—and has imposed wage ceilings. It has resisted all demands for wages to rise with inflation and has attacked strikes as the work of "counterrevolutionary" forces.

Although the MFA and Portuguese capitalism are the ultimate beneficiaries of the attempts to limit democracy and enforce economic discipline in Portugal, the blame has naturally fallen on the Stalinists, who have been the regime's most avid supporters and henchmen, and who have taken full responsibility for its policies. All the anticommunist prejudices and fears of the people have been given new life by the crude attempts of the CP to beat down dissent.

Another Chile?

As for the Socialist party, it has mobilized mass demonstrations against attacks on its own democratic rights, but it has been incapable of showing the way out of the crisis. Its leaders want nothing more than to replace the Stalinists as junior partners of the MFA. But the masses need a revolutionary party willing to lead them in a fight for the expansion of democratic rights and for a government of the workers and farmers.

The criminal policies of the two largest workers parties have resulted in a real danger of another Chile.

In this situation, the international capitalist media have begun to play up the supposed threat from the left. Their

New press censorship

The Portuguese military junta is taking new moves to restrict freedom of the press, it was revealed August 6. The Lisbon paper *Jornal Novo* has published the text of a decree proposed by the ministry of information that would impose fines of up to \$20,000 and suspensions of up to 180 days on publications reporting news that the junta deems false, tendentious, or manipulated.

Newspapers would also be obliged to make the public aware of "great national tasks." What the decree called "the systematic adoption of counterrevolutionary positions" would be grounds for government penalties.

Infractions of the press regulations would be determined by a commission appointed by the military, and no appeal would be allowed.

Frame-up victim wins new trial

J.B. Johnson released, thanks supporters

By Nancy Makler

ST. LOUIS—On July 17, J. B. Johnson was released from the St. Louis County Jail on \$25,000 bond, after the Missouri Supreme Court overturned his conviction and granted a new trial.

Johnson had been sentenced in 1972 to "natural life" in the Jefferson City State Penitentiary for allegedly participating in a 1970 jewelry store holdup near St. Louis that resulted in the shooting death of a white policeman.

The Committee to Defend J. B. Johnson, spearheaded by Johnson's mother, Mary Watkins, has rallied broad support for this victim of a racist frame-up. As part of its efforts, the committee has secured the services of attorney William Kunstler. Kunstler argued for Johnson's new trial in September 1974. Last December, a panel of Missouri Supreme Court judges ruled favorably on Kunstler's motions for a new trial.

However, Missouri Attorney General John Danforth appealed the judges' decision, and Johnson remained in the penitentiary nearly eight more months until the full court upheld the December ruling. Danforth finally said on July 15 that he would not attempt to appeal the decision for a new trial a second time.

Used to waiting

J. B. Johnson had been used to waiting. In an interview with the *Militant*, he explained, "I knew the court handed down decisions every second Monday, so I had all those days circled on my calendar. I found out about the decision on July 14, but it wasn't until the guards came and told me to 'dress out' that I knew I was getting out. Before, something had always gone wrong. So I ran to get a few of my things—my soap and the television—and to give the rest of the stuff to my friends. I knew I wouldn't have much time."

By Wednesday afternoon, Johnson was in the St. Louis County Jail wearing the wrinkled second-hand suit jacket and slacks that guards in Jefferson City had "dressed him out" in. According to prison procedures, prisoners being released are supposed to be given a new suit.

From then until the bail hearing on Thursday, the jail saw an abnormal flow of visitors: members of the Committee to Defend J. B. Johnson, attorneys for the defense, and TV reporters clamoring for interviews.

Johnson told all of them much the same thing—that he wanted to thank



Demonstrations like this played major role in winning new trial for Johnson. "You can't get bitter when you know people out there are behind you."

everyone who had supported him, that he probably would never have gotten out without their help, and that he just wanted to go home and get a job.

Job offers

As part of Kunstler's argument for bail, he cited the three St. Louis employers who each had offered Johnson an immediate job.

At a victory party the night of his release, Johnson met many of his supporters for the first time and thanked them all individually. Talking to a St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* reporter that evening, he said, "It really made me feel good to have the committee behind me. You can't get bitter when you know that people out there are still behind you."

Still, J.B. Johnson's status as a free man remains in danger. Until the charges against him are dropped or a new jury decides in his favor, he continues to face life imprisonment.

J. B. told the *Militant*, "I feel better now than I did when I first got out, but I feel bad seeing people walking through the streets on Friday night and knowing I can't be doing that."

Johnson is referring to a period of consistent police harassment he suffered during the two-year period he was free on bond prior to his conviction in 1972. This included attacks on

both Johnson and members of his family. In one case, a police beating sent him to the hospital. Johnson was charged with disturbing the peace, resisting arrest, and destroying public property.

Johnson described how at that time, "the police told me that every time they saw me on the street, I'd do twenty hours." (This is the maximum they can hold a "suspect" without filing charges.)

False arrests

The police never made any pretense of actually accusing Johnson of committing a crime in order to justify this harassment. "They'd just take me to the tank," Johnson reported, "and say, 'What'll we give him? A burglary? A robbery?' It would depend on what kind of unit picked me up. If it was a narcotics squad, they'd hit me with that. If it was burglary police, they'd hit me with that."

In that two-year period, Johnson was falsely arrested five times, and Mary Watkins once.

Of his attitude toward police and the criminal justice system before his arrest, Johnson says, "I never was too great friends with them. You know, people sometimes think that once you put a uniform on somebody, they're

going to tell the truth. But police are just like anybody else and they'll say what they want to."

Before the original trial, the prosecuting attorney made three separate offers to reduce J. B. Johnson's sentence if he would plead guilty to a lesser charge. "First they offered me life, then twenty years," Johnson said, "Then eighteen, and then ten years was their last offer . . . if I would say that I was guilty of the robbery."

'Thousands of J.B.'s'

"What Mr. Kunstler says about there being thousands of J. B.'s in this country is true. There's a lot of people in that prison that never did anything. But one of these public defenders somewhere would just go out to lunch with the prosecuting attorney and say, 'Look, I'll give you this case for that case.' Stuff like that."

"There's real old men in the prison hospital that can't feed themselves or dress themselves anymore, but they won't parole them because they say there'd be no place for them to go. Well, there ought to be someplace for them, a home or something that would be better than the prison."

While J. B. Johnson was in prison, he passed his high school equivalency test in his first year. "They just gave me a book to read that had most of the answers to the test in it, but not the questions," J. B. said.

"They let some people out to take some classes at Lincoln University, but only a few that they like." (Lincoln is a Black college in Jefferson City.)

Since Johnson's case began, his defense committee has made it a public issue with widespread support and recognition in St. Louis's Black community and on the campuses. Publicity in Black community newspapers like the *Argus* and the *American* has included several front-page stories. Campus meetings both in St. Louis and at the University of Missouri at Columbia demanding justice for Johnson have numbered as high as three to four hundred. His case has enlisted support from such prominent individuals as Ralph Abernathy, Julian Bond, and Ramsey Clark.

The success of the committee's work was noted by Johnson when he said, "Bus drivers and people I don't know or can't remember will wave when they see me on the street or in a car."

If you would like more information on the case of J. B. Johnson or to help his defense committee, write: Post Office Box 4713, St. Louis, Missouri, 63108.

L.A. coalition sets Aug. 26 women's rally

By Sally Anderson

LOS ANGELES—"March to Stop Crimes Against Women" will be the theme of a demonstration planned for August 26 here.

In a meeting with representatives of more than thirty organizations, Los Angeles feminists laid out the plans to commemorate August 26, the day women won the right to vote in 1920.



Militant/Brian Shannon

August 26, 1971. Coalition in Los Angeles will commemorate anniversary of women's suffrage.

The demand to free Joanne Little will be a focus of the march. Little is charged with killing a white jailer who tried to rape her.

In addition, participants at the planning meeting for August 26 noted two attacks on women's rights of special import. One is the attack on abortion rights in the form of the persecution of doctors performing legal abortions. The best-known case is that of Dr. Kenneth Edelin in Boston.

The other is the impact of the economic crisis on women. A representative from the Coalition of Labor Union Women at the meeting pointed out that "last hired, first fired" is becoming an ugly reality for more and more women. More than a million women have been fired in the past year.

The planning meeting agreed to these problems with a demonstration and rally on August 26 that could involve many women demanding the

right to control their own bodies and their economic destiny.

The demonstration will assemble at 11:15 a.m. in front of the Bank of America, 555 South Flower Street, and march to the plaza behind city hall.

The coalition has applied to the police for the permits necessary to march in the street. The American Civil Liberties Union has agreed to represent the coalition in hearings before the police commission about the permits. The coalition sought the aid of the ACLU because Police Chief Ed Davis has not granted a single such permit while in office.

A partial sponsor's list of the demonstration includes the California chapter of the National Organization for Women, Southern California ACLU, Los Angeles CLUW, Socialist Workers party, Women's Center, National Black Feminist Organization, Los Angeles Women's Union, and the Comisión Feminil Mexicana Nacional.

By Chuck Petrin

BOSTON—"It's getting to the point," said Vernon Plumber, "where Boston is beginning to look like Alabama or Mississippi. Pretty soon they're going to be bombing our churches!"

Plumber was one of twenty Blacks to testify here August 2 before an Independent Commission of Inquiry into Racist Violence.

Department and racist hoodlums.

Seventeen-year-old Brenda Lee Franklin described her experience in the predominantly white neighborhood of Dorchester where she lives:

"Me and my sister were walking down to Fields Corner [subway] station. There was a group of white youth who came up to us. They started throwing rocks. We didn't know what to do so we ran to the station. A policeman was there. We told him we'd been attacked. He refused to go down

ly Day" is being planned for August 16 at Carson Beach to assert that right.

"They could have that beach over there," added Hollis, "I really wouldn't care. But the fact is it's my beach too. If I want to go there, I feel like I should be able to go over there!"

As yet another witness put it, "I think I've got all the right I need to take my weary feet and put them in the Atlantic Ocean."

As the opening of school and the extension of court-ordered desegrega-

"What we have to do is organize a massive public campaign to demand that our rights be implemented.

"We've got to tell the government: 'We've gone through all the channels. We've notified the police. We've notified various government agencies. We've had a commission of inquiry. We've documented the facts. We've given you the benefit of the doubt and you've still not acted. We did everything possible to help you do your job. If you don't act, we may have to do that job ourselves.'"

Some of the discussion at the inquiry turned to the upcoming mayoral elections here.

Patricia Bonner-Lyons, a candidate for school committee in 1973, wondered how the Black community could "put pressure on a white man [Mayor Kevin White] who doesn't give a damn about us."

Percy Wilson noted that "if you look at the record, the Black community voted overwhelming support for Mayor White the last time around. According to all surveys, the Black community still is in favor of the mayor, even though under his reign Black people have been attacked all across the city."

Some figures in the Black community, such as Leon Rock and State Legislative Black Caucus member Melvin King, have advocated support to white Democratic mayoral candidate Joseph Timilty, reasoning that such support would prove to Mayor White that he doesn't have the Black community's vote "sewed up."

Others disagreed, pointing out that the only choice Blacks have ever had in the election was "the lesser of two evils," and that no one Blacks have elected has ever been responsible to the Black community.

Disruption

At several points during the inquiry, members of a Black sectarian nationalist grouping known as De Mau Mau tried to disrupt and discredit the proceedings, charging that the commission was controlled by "communists." They also said that the two white commission members (Ellen Feingold of the Civil Liberties Union of Massachusetts and Mike Ponoman of the University of Massachusetts university assembly) and the twenty whites in the audience might be "infiltrators" from racist groups.

De Mau Mau proposed that all whites leave the meeting. There was strong sentiment at the gathering that it should be all-Black, so the whites left. The hearing then continued without incident.

Despite De Mau Mau's demagoguery, everyone agreed that the commission marked an important step forward in galvanizing a response by the Black community to racist hooliganism.

"This inquiry will serve as a document," remarked James Rowe. "We want this testimony so we can take it to the mayor and the governor and the police department and say, 'You can't ignore it. It's documented. What are you going to do about it?'"

The hearing proved that Blacks are fed up with the runaround they have been getting from city officials. Both the mayor and the governor of Massachusetts have made public commitments in recent weeks to provide more police protection for Black students in the fall. But it is clear that it will take more than words to satisfy the Black community at this point.

The commission will be meeting during the week to prepare its preliminary findings, which will be reported at another public meeting scheduled for August 9, where people will be welcome to make proposals for action. For further information contact Mac Warren at 612 Blue Hill Avenue, Dorchester, Massachusetts 02121; telephone, (617) 288-6200.

Boston commission hears testimony on racist violence



Militant/Norman Oliver

Victims of anti-Black violence testify at broadly sponsored Independent Commission of Inquiry into Racist Violence initiated by Student Coalition Against Racism.

Members of the commission include: Percy Wilson, Director of the Roxbury Multi-Service Center; Leon Rock, youth affairs adviser for the NAACP; Patricia Bonner-Lyons, director of Aswalos House (Roxbury YWCA); Obalajii Rest, director of the Columbia Point Housing Project's community task force; Maceo Dixon, coordinator, National Student Coalition Against Racism; James Rowe, news director for radio station WILD; and several other Black community leaders.

The commission was initiated by the Boston Student Coalition Against Racism in response to the escalating wave of attacks against Black residents here. A growing anti-Black frenzy has swept this city since the initiation of school desegregation last year. Over the summer, stonings, beatings, fire bombings of homes, and assaults on infants and grandmothers alike have taken place.

Lynch mob

On July 27, six Black traveling salesmen were nearly lynched on Carson Beach in South Boston by a mob of 100 whites.

The inquiry, held at the headquarters of the National Center of Afro-American Artists, lasted more than four hours. About 130 people attended, most of them Black parents, students, and community activists.

"We're afraid to even leave our own community," remarked Dorothy Thompson, a young mother living in Roxbury. "I know I am. But I refuse to just stay right here and not go anywhere!"

Witness after witness blasted the complicity between the Boston Police

to where the attack took place, refused to even acknowledge that there had been an attack."

Reginald Budd, who lives in Hyde Park, an antibusing stronghold, painfully recalled the two-year siege he has been subjected to by white terrorists who have tried to drive his family and relatives out of the neighborhood. Two nights before the inquiry, a kerosene torch was thrown through his porch window, igniting several rooms in the house and badly damaging his new car.

"The police told me there is nothing we can do," he said.

"You file reports with the police department," commented James Rowe, "But they don't really get filed. The reports never go through."

Mac Warren, a coordinator of the Boston Student Coalition Against Racism and chairperson of the commission, added that "the people who are supposed to be enforcing the law are turning their heads when Black people are attacked in this city. They are facilitating these attacks!"

The incident at Carson Beach July 27 was seen by many as "the last straw." This was not the first time that Blacks have run afoul of the segregationists there. On Father's Day, Benjamin Hollis was driving with his family along Day Boulevard, adjacent to the beach, when he was stoned twice by a gang of young white toughs.

"The rock just missed my wife's head. There was glass all over my kids," he said.

"As human beings," said Obalajii Rest, "we have a right to go to any public facility!"

Rest announced that a Black "Fami-

tion approach, many parents are concerned that the present attacks are only a prelude to the fall.

"What are our children going to do in September?" asked one witness. Another added, "I don't want anything happening to my baby on that bus. I think most of the mothers feel the same way. We can't let something like this go on any longer."

One group of Black mothers has been meeting regularly at the Freedom House community center to discuss what can be done to ensure adequate protection for their children. They have launched a petition drive demanding that the mayor take all necessary steps to enforce the desegregation order.

'Stand up'

But it was Vernon Plumber who captured the growing sentiment of people in the Black community when he said:

"We have to go down to the schools and show them that we as the community are going to stand up for our children. We have to show them that we're not going to let them just bust up our kids and say we're going to rely on the police department for protection. Because the police haven't done a very good job in protecting us. So we're going to have to take some steps to protect ourselves!"

"I don't think the mayor, or the city council, or the school committee, or the police department will take the necessary steps on their own accord," remarked Norman Oliver, Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor. "They just won't do it."

School boycott planned

'ROAR' raises its head in New York City

By Joan Quinn

NEW YORK—A battle over school desegregation is brewing here. Racist forces in the boroughs of Brooklyn and Queens are determined to deny Blacks and Puerto Ricans access to equal education. The racists are threatening a school boycott this fall to protest a board of education plan that would lead to a measure of desegregation.

The depth of the racist opposition was evidenced by a \$5,000 advertisement placed in the May 12 New York *Daily News* by ROAR of Rosedale, Queens. Sound familiar? It should—the group took its name from the antibusing outfit in Boston.

The ad was headlined, "Rosedale, Forest Hills, Canarsie: What do these 3 New York City communities have in common with Boston?" It continued, "These are the homes of various White Ethnic Americans, the 'Forgotten Minority,' who have been relegated to the status of 2nd class citizens. . . .

"WE ARE TIRED of watching our mothers and fathers, after long years of seniority, lose their jobs in order to protect those newly-hired 'minorities.' WE ARE TIRED of standing idly by while our brothers and sisters are denied entrance to law and medical schools, in favor of less qualified 'minorities,' and most of all . . . WE ARE TIRED of having our children bussed out so that 'minority' children may be bussed into our schools."

In 1971, the Fleischman Commission report on New York State's schools found that the percentage of minority students attending "grossly segregated" schools had risen from 45.5 percent in 1968 to 49.2 percent in 1971. In 1975 the figure rose over the halfway mark.

A federal court recently ruled that Franklin K. Lane High School, which straddles the border between Brooklyn and Queens, must be desegregated. In compliance with the order, schools Chancellor Irving Anker proposed a rezoning of high school districts in the two boroughs to "bring about better utilization of overcrowded classrooms and to achieve integration where possible." The board of education has approved the plan.

The plan is clearly inadequate, leaving many of the heavily segregated schools virtually untouched. Of the twenty-four academic and comprehensive high schools in Brooklyn, seven will maintain a minority enrollment of more than 90 percent, and eleven will be at least two-thirds white.

Fourteen hundred Black and Latino students who would normally enroll at Franklin K. Lane this fall will be given their choice of eleven schools in Brooklyn and Queens, including New



Reactionary forces in white neighborhoods in Queens and Brooklyn are mobilizing to block school desegregation.

Utrecht, Roosevelt, and Forest Hills high schools—all of which are predominantly white.

White students will be transferred from Roosevelt and New Utrecht to another predominantly white school, James Madison, to make room for the minority students.

Last May, Forest Hills was the scene of a one-day boycott of schools that kept 7,500 students home in a racist protest against Blacks and Latinos being allowed to enroll in the white schools.

Last March, even before the rezoning plan was announced, 3,000 parents demonstrated against desegregation at the board of education offices in Brooklyn.

At a hearing on the rezoning plan, Evelyn Aquila, a member of Community School Board 21 in Brooklyn, said, "We refuse, and shall be firm in our refusal, we will not send the children of our community out of our neighborhood to make room for others. The solutions of the sixties are not the solutions of the seventies! We, the parents, will not allow our children to be the pawns in an unrealistic quota game being played by the central board and the courts."

When the board approved the plan, Peggy Giamanco, outgoing president

of the New Utrecht High School Parent-Teachers Association, declared, "We feel that the board is doing its damndest to force whites out of the city."

Giamanco announced that the racists would boycott school in the fall and proclaimed that business owners and homeowners would "fight before being forced out of their community."

This month, forces opposed to desegregation and representatives of parents who feel the plan does not go far enough in desegregating the schools will go before Commissioner of Education Ewald Nyquist to argue for changes in the rezoning plan.

On August 1, the New York Student Coalition Against Racism (SCAR), the Brooklyn Congress of Racial Equality, and the Brooklyn NAACP cosponsored a community forum on the school desegregation struggle as an initial step in building a counteroffensive to the racist mobilizations and planned boycott.

Attorney Barry Elisofon; Robert Swan, author of *The Subterranean Society: Blacks in Brooklyn*; and Sam Manuel, coordinator of New York SCAR, were the featured speakers.

Elisofon, who has represented parents in a desegregation suit involving Erasmus High School in Brooklyn,

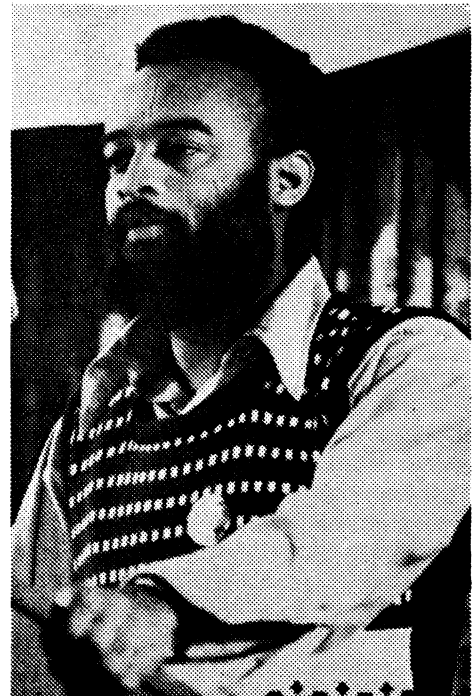
outlined the impact of the rezoning plan. He will argue before Commissioner Nyquist that the plan would lessen the degree of desegregation of Erasmus.

"The commissioner has sweeping powers," Elisofon said. "He could order total desegregation in both boroughs." Elisofon hopes that the Erasmus case will open the way for Nyquist to use his power to do just that.

He also told the audience that the NAACP, the New York Civil Liberties Union integration unit, and the Metropolitan Applied Research Council are preparing to draw up a comprehensive plan to desegregate the New York schools.

Manuel pointed out that, as in Boston, the racist hysteria against school desegregation has given rise to generalized violence against Blacks. He recounted the case of one Black family—the Spencers—who had their home bombed by racists in an attempt to drive them out of Rosedale. When the Spencers finally won police protection, ROAR of Rosedale picketed their home protesting that it was a waste of city funds.

"The proposed rezoning plan is by no means sweeping enough," said Manuel. "It does, however, ameliorate some of the most blatant instances of school segregation. That is why the racists in Forest Hills, Canarsie, and South Brooklyn are mobilizing. We have to prepare a countermobilization."



Militant/Mark Satinoff

SAM MANUEL: "We need a countermobilization to defeat the racists."

Newark parents defend bilingual education

By Louise Shalit

NEWARK, N.J.—The Newark Board of Education has launched an attack on a new city-wide bilingual-bicultural program slated to begin here in September.

The Bilingual Central Parents Council, an organization representing the Spanish and Portuguese-speaking communities of Newark, has chosen Maria Irizarry as assistant associate superintendent of the city-wide program.

The board is trying to change Irizarry's title to that of acting assistant associate superintendent. This is seen by the parents council as an attempt to challenge their decision by undercutting Irizarry's authority. She could be more easily dismissed if she were functioning only in an acting capacity.

The bilingual-bicultural program projected by the parents council will

involve thirty-one schools. It is designed not only to teach children English, but to maintain and develop their fluency in their native languages and cultures as well. The program calls for a full bilingual education from kindergarten through the twelfth grade.

The struggle for such a program began last September when a memorandum came down from the state board of education calling for the removal from the existing bilingual program of all children who were proficient in English. The parents organized an effective boycott of eleven of the affected schools, demanding the reinstatement of the children.

Out of this struggle the parents began to examine the whole character of the bilingual program and found it inadequate.

The parents council set up an inter-

viewing committee to select a person to head up a new program. Irizarry was picked as their first choice. Now the school board is making its first move to deny the right of the parents to control their program.

On July 29, a public board of education meeting was held at Clinton Junior High School. Members of the parents council attended, carrying signs and banners reading, "Hispanic Community Supports Our Bilingual Superintendent," and "Affirmative Action in Employment for Hispanics Now!"

At the meeting Nilda Díaz, vice-chairperson of the parents council, asserted that the "parents, not the board, are the people who have the right to decide who runs our program."

The board tried to justify the demotion of Irizarry on the grounds that she had not taken qualifying examinations and therefore could not receive certifi-

cation. This was shown to be a bogus argument when one of the board members read a letter from the superintendent of schools stating that Irizarry was not only certified, but the best-qualified candidate for the position.

Nonetheless, the board refused to reverse its position on the question.

Díaz told the *Militant* that the challenge to Irizarry is only one of many attacks the board has launched against the program. She feels that the parents must continue to fight for the bilingual-bicultural program through demonstrations, boycotts, and whatever means are necessary to ensure its implementation.

The parents council, she said, is ready to mobilize the Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking communities to defend the gains that have been won over the past year.

Shadow of the bomb

Thirty years ago on August 6 President Harry Truman, described in a United Press dispatch as "smiling and buoyantly happy," announced the obliteration of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

"The world will note that the first atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, a military base," said Truman. "That was because we wished in the first instance to avoid, in so far as possible, the killing of civilians."

The Japanese government estimated in its 1950 census that roughly a quarter-million of Hiroshima's 344,000 people died in the blast, which destroyed 4.4 square miles of the city, blinding people at a distance of five miles.

Three days later Washington dropped the second atomic bomb. This time Nagasaki was hit during its noon rush hour. "Results were good," said the general in charge of the mission. Seventy-three thousand died.

A telegram from the U.S. National Archives, made public July 31 of this year, reveals that a third atomic bomb was scheduled to be dropped, even though Truman had known for weeks before the bombings that the Japanese were prepared to surrender.

Truman, however, was already looking forward to U.S. imperialism's postwar confrontation with the Soviet Union. The bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki was the opening shot of the cold war.

Thirty years later, the nuclear weapons developed by Washington hang over all of humanity. Untold thousands are ready for launching in Europe, in Korea, and in U.S. submarines and bases the world over.

On July 1 Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger explained to reporters that Washington might "conceivably" fire its nuclear missiles at the Soviet Union before being fired on. Less than a month later it was reported that Israel, Washington's client state in the Middle East, probably has at least ten nuclear bombs already in its possession.

The calculated incineration of the people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki should serve to remind all humanity of the ruthlessness of the imperialists. Today they are openly playing with the possibility of radioactive death for the entire human race.

The problem is not simply Ford, or Nixon, or Johnson, or Truman, but the entire system of imperialism. It must be done away with before it destroys the world.

ERA in '76!

The Nineteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, passed fifty-five years ago on August 26, granted women the right to vote. The amendment was long overdue.

Even longer overdue is what should be the twenty-seventh amendment to the Constitution—the Equal Rights Amendment.

The ERA was introduced into Congress in 1923, only three years after women won the right to vote. It was rejected by Congress every single year from 1923 to 1972, when the rising women's liberation movement finally forced Congress to pass it.

Now it must be ratified by three-fourths of the states—thirty-eight. So far, thirty-four states have ratified.

The current economic crisis is reviving some of the most backward and reactionary myths about women and Blacks. Racism and sexism are being used to try to justify the fact that women and the oppressed nationalities are hit first and hardest by the layoffs. In answer to the millions of women out of work, the reactionaries answer: "Women don't need to work anyway. They should stay home, washing dishes and changing diapers."

These backward prejudices are coupled with attacks on the gains women have made, including the ERA. The right wing is mobilizing its forces to prevent the ratification of the amendment. They know that the ERA would help women in their struggle for full equality.

On the other side, however, stand the majority of Americans. Women's groups, unions, and Black and student organizations have all indicated their willingness to move into action in defense of the ERA.

A massive campaign—education, demonstrations, pickets, debates—by all those willing to unite and fight, can win ratification of the ERA.

Let's say on the bicentennial of the United States that 200 years without equal rights for women is enough!

NOW endorsement

The Internal Revenue Service recently ruled that the National Organization for Women can endorse candidates for public office without losing its tax-exempt status as long as campaigning does not exceed half of NOW's time.

The first thing the national board of NOW did with this ruling was vote to endorse Bella Abzug in her bid for the U.S. Senate nomination from New York. How about the women in NOW who disagree with Abzug's hawkish stand on the Middle East? How about the women in NOW who are sick and tired of the Democrats and Republicans—male and female—and know that they haven't done anything for women and never will? Is NOW going to become the "women's auxiliary" of the Democratic party? That sure won't help us any.

NOW, of course, has the right to endorse any candidate they want. But I, for one, think they are hurting themselves and the feminist movement by encouraging people to vote for the racist, sexist, rotten policies of the Democratic and Republican parties.

Hopefully the membership of NOW will consider voting for and endorsing the socialist candidates on both a local and national level. Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid of the Socialist Workers party are the candidates whose program is in the interests of women. Serious feminists should support them.

E.J.

New York, New York

More fundamentals

Perhaps the *Militant* can include different views and explanations of Trotskyist socialism, so as to better elucidate the essential nature of that concept, which seems amenable to various interpretations.

Peripheral issues are certainly important, but how about articles on the fundamental truth of this socialism?

S.G.

Cleveland, Ohio

Gay rights action

I think the readers of the *Militant* will be interested in learning about a recent gay rights demonstration held in New York City. The action, on July 12, was organized to demand passage of Intro 554, a gay rights bill now pending before the New York City Council.

Each time this bill has come up before the council, the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of New York has been instrumental in bringing about its defeat. This year the church is mounting a particularly frenzied attack against the bill in its press and through a number of "citizens' committees."

This time gay activists decided to take the fight to the church. The Gay Activists Alliance organized a coalition of more than thirty groups, gay and nongay, to support a march on St. Patrick's Cathedral demanding "Equal rights for gay people," "Pass Intro 554 now," and "Separate church and state."

The demonstrators were not allowed to gather on the public sidewalk in front of the cathedral because, in the words of one cop on the scene, "The church doesn't like it."

Nevertheless, the demonstrators made their demands heard through the concrete gothic walls. Messages of support were read from such figures as New York Lt. Gov. Mary Ann

Krupsak; U.S. Rep. Bella Abzug, who has introduced a federal gay rights act into the House of Representatives; and ex-vice-president Hubert Humphrey.

Russell Block

New York, New York

San Quentin Six

I certainly hope the *Militant* will cover the upcoming trial of the six men who are to be tried for the so-called prison escape attempt in San Quentin prison in California. In this incident the Soledad brother and the country's greatest revolutionary writer, George Jackson, was killed. This plot, of course, was to kill Jackson.

J.H.

Detroit, Michigan

Solidarity & thanks

Things have improved somewhat here at Kirkland Correctional Institute, but many more improvements are of course needed. I thank editors and staff members of the *Militant* for their vocal support of all prisoners.

I have just fasted for three days to show solidarity with Joanne Little in her struggle against Southern racism. I also thank the *Militant* for support of Ms. Little and J.B. Johnson, who has been a victim of much injustice. Hopefully his next trial will be the final step to his complete freedom.

In reference to the article on Helen Savio [July 25 issue], I have had the pleasure of meeting her several times, and if she is a threat to anyone, it's the capitalist system of oppression, not the community.

A prisoner

South Carolina

Response to postal contract

A central issue in the recent contract negotiations for postal workers was the no-layoff clause. This is a hard-won postal union victory that government negotiators had fought to eliminate this time around. However, the threat of wildcat strikes in several major cities forced the postal system to abandon its layoff plans for the next three years, according to the agreement announced July 21.

The Chicago Main Post Office, with 14,000 workers, is the largest mail facility in the country. The majority of the organized workers, including myself, are members of the Chicago local of the American Postal Workers Union.

Before and after the announced agreement, I talked with a number of clerks and mail handlers about the issues involved. One APWU member, a clerk with nine years' seniority, explained her position on the no-layoff clause. "Nobody wants to strike, but if we have to we will. There's no telling what they'll do if they get the power to lay us off."

Another woman added, "Everybody's got strike on the brain. That's all anybody talks about is the contract. Better a strike now than layoffs later."

With the contract still unrattified, the possibility of a wildcat strike in Chicago is still not over. The initial reaction here is generally one of relief that the no-layoff clause was retained.

But already workers here are questioning the concessions made by the union negotiators, particularly in the economic terms of the proposed contract.

"A 4 percent raise is nothing in this inflation," one complained. "Even with the cost-of-living formula we won't be



Chicanas at the UN conference

keeping up with prices."

One of the thousands of part-time employees commented, "The no-layoff clause doesn't do us a whole lot of good when they can still cut our hours down to nothing if they want to. No way I'm going to vote for this contract."

Marianne Daniel
Chicago, Illinois

Four-day workweek vote

The *Local Line*, which is the newsletter of the New York Public Library Guild (American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1930), has been devoting a lot of space lately to the assault against workers being carried out in New York City.

The July 25 issue, for example, had a section entitled "Local 1930 in the news." There were reprinted articles from the *New York Times*, the *New York Post*, and the *Militant* on the union's discussion of accepting a four-day workweek with a corresponding cut in pay as a solution to the layoff of 182 members. The *Militant* article, by Ray Markey, was from the July 25 issue, entitled "AFSCME local debates four-day week."

In response to petitions from some of its members, the local decided to carry out a referendum by mail on whether or not to make the four-day proposal to management. The final results of the poll had 427 voting against and 284 voting for taking a pay cut and the shortened workweek.

D.D.
New York, New York

For a 'vanguard'

Analyzing Southeast Asia in the same light as Fidel Castro's guerrilla movement, the power of a socially motivated vanguard cannot be overstressed. Despite the fact that many of Marx's predictions, such as proletarianization and alienation, are certainly coming to pass, shouldn't we consider the possibilities of a socially prescribed revolutionary vanguard in the United States?

It's true that the masses are being proletarianized, but the proletarianized individuals are not turning toward others in solidarity but instead are being put against each other in competition for scarce jobs, while racism and sexism become increasingly rampant. Some individuals who were ready to accept their brothers and sisters and break down the color and sex barriers are now reverting to the old ways for their own economic security.

With all the dangers and difficulties involved in such a vanguard, the most beneficial effect would be in the education and socialization of the working class, since the capitalists have convinced the masses that socialists are some kind of monsters out to enslave the entire world.

I deeply respect all the efforts the Socialist Workers party has done in traditional election procedures, but aren't alternative measures called for at this point?

P.R.
Jacksonville, Florida

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

The recent International Women's Year Conference sponsored by the United Nations in Mexico City was the subject of numerous headlines.

Among the items that did *not* make headlines in the commercial press was "What women's liberation means to Chicanas," a position paper presented to the conference by a delegation of six women representing La Raza Unida party.

The June 20 *Chicano Times* provides an interview with two of the Chicana delegates as well as the text of their declaration. The position paper, drawn up by two San Antonio delegates, was intended not so much to lay before the conference any proposals for specific action as it was to explain the plight of Chicanas in the United States.

The position paper quotes an article entitled "The Stereotyped Chicana" to make an important point: "The Chicana carries a double burden when it comes to stereotypes, for not only is she discriminated against as a woman, but she is also discriminated against as a member of an ethnic group that has a long history of prejudicial treatment by the dominant society."

It is explained that Chicano history, the oppression of the Chicano people, began with the conquest of Mexico by the United States. The racist domination that resulted has brought about the stereotyping of Chicanos.

But there are additional blatant stereotypes when it comes to Chicanas. One example offered is the book *The Mexican-American in the Southwest* by an Anglo anthropologist. It "goes to great lengths to describe the Chicana as being submissive and that the Chicana wife gratefully submits to physical abuse from the Chicano husband. The male is described as sharing his *machismo* (manliness) by having affairs."

These sisters are absolutely correct in pointing out that all concepts that degrade Chicanas by glorifying male domination, even though it be by Chicano men,

are sexist, reactionary, and harmful to the Chicano liberation struggle.

The Chicana position paper goes on to cite statistics that prove the oppression of Chicanas is not limited to sexist ideology. It is an economic reality as well. Chicanas' average earnings are way below those of men, and lower than those of non-Raza women.

The conditions to which Chicanas have been relegated have caused them to fight back throughout their history. But Chicano history as a whole, and especially that of Chicanas, has been suppressed and distorted. The fact is, as the position paper explains, that numerous strikes and Chicano rebellions have taken place, and many times these were led by women. This gives the lie to the assertion that Chicanas are content with their position in life. At the same time, it shows that they are perfectly capable of organizing and leading important social struggles.

The position paper goes on to recommend independent political action to combat these injustices. "The two party system has never served the needs of our people," it declares. It sees La Raza Unida party as "an independent party which seeks a Chicano-Chicana political vehicle for gaining control of our own communities, our lives, our humanity."

The position paper articulates some of the key nationalist aspirations of *la raza*, as well as the rising feminist consciousness of Chicanas.

Some capitalist countries represented at the conference sent men to head their delegations. Some heads of state just sent their wives to give greetings, thereby indicating their contempt not only for their wives but for all conference participants.

La Raza Unida party and the Chicano movement as a whole can be proud that they are developing female activists who have dedicated themselves not only to Chicano liberation, but also, as the position paper states, "to work for women as women for the liberation of all world women."

La Lucha Puertorriqueña

José Pérez



August 12: a date to remember

August 12 marks the seventy-seventh anniversary of the day in 1898 when Spain signed the armistice putting an end to the Spanish-American War, thereby handing over control of the island of Puerto Rico and its people to the rulers of the United States.

The date itself is a minor historical detail. The dates more often remembered are July 25, when U.S. occupation troops first disembarked on the island, and December 10, when the peace treaty between Spain and the United States was signed.

But August 12 is a good date to keep in mind. It is a handy reference point that can help us to remember the way things really are.

From the very beginning the motives of the United States in seizing Puerto Rico were not altruistic. Amos Fiske, an influential business writer, stated in the July 11, 1898, editorial page of the *New York Times*:

"There can be no question to perplex any reasonable mind about the wisdom of taking possession of the Island of Puerto Rico and keeping it for all time. . . ."

Fiske lists several reasons:

First, "for naval purposes." The United States had been trying to get a naval base in the Caribbean for years. Fiske commented, "The most deliberate choice . . . could not have placed it better than the course of events, which has put the Island of Puerto Rico at our disposal."

Second, "The island could be rendered of no small commercial value to us. . . ."

There are the natural resources to consider: "The soil is most prolific and the climate exceptionally salubrious."

There was also the question of a cheap and available labor supply: "The labor force already there has never been half utilized."

Also, the captive market for U.S. products had to be counted in. Even under Spanish misrule, Fiske wrote, Puerto Rico "has supported a relatively large population and had a foreign trade of \$35,000,000 a year."

And, of course, the island was "a veritable garden of the tropics," which could easily make it "an especially charming winter resort for denizens of the North."

The wishes of the Puerto Rican people were not a factor as far as Fiske was concerned. He arrogantly argued that "it would be much better for her to come at once under the beneficent sway of the United States than engage in doubtful experiments at self-government."

Other ruling-class representatives were even more openly racist and jingoistic in expressing their attitude toward Puerto Ricans. For example, Sen. Albert Beveridge declared, "We will not renounce our part in the mission of our race, trustees under God, of the civilization of the world. . . . He has made us the master organizers of the world to establish system where chaos reigns. He has made us adept in government that we may administer government among savages and senile peoples."

Today, the program outlined in 1898 has been fully implemented.

The island's economy is completely under U.S. domination. The natural resources and people of the island are brutally exploited to make possible profit rates much higher than in the United States. Expensive hotels, condominiums, and tourist traps dot the island for the use of the "denizens of the North." And military bases cover much of the island's best lands.

Of course, today ruling-class mouthpieces such as the *New York Times* and members of Congress are no longer given to such fits of candor. Such honesty is considered embarrassing if not downright un-American.

But whether they admit it or not, the truth is that if the *Times* ever wanted to sum up the real policies of the United States toward Puerto Rico, they'd only have to go back and reprint some of the articles and speeches they printed seventy-seven years ago.



Growing resistance—"Five years ago someone who asked a smoker to put out his cigarette would be laughed at as some kind of kook. That's not the case today. You're liable to hear four or five others chime in and say, 'Yeah, he's right; put it out.' Nonsmokers are beginning to stand up for their rights."—John F. Banzhaf III, director of Action on Smoking and Health (ASH).

SRO—The director of the South Carolina prison system said he's negotiating for tents to house inmates because he's running out of cell space. He cited the case of a 448-bed institution still under construction that al-

ready has 825 prisoners. He said the overcrowding could create problems tensionwise.

Competition—The John Birch Society has published its own edition of *The Communist Manifesto* so students will "recognize its doctrines and aims under their many guises." The price is one dollar. (The Pathfinder Press edition, with an introduction by Leon Trotsky, is only seventy-five cents.)

Things are tough all over—What with current economic difficulties, a Tokyo department store gave up on trying to sell a twenty-piece gold dinner set for \$1.4 million and is

offering the items separately. The first day two customers did buy a cup, a tray, and three spoons for \$9,230.

Mental health dept.—Illinois officials approved the use of cattle prods for controlling disturbed children. Dr. Leroy Levitt, mental health director, said that when properly administered to the back of a child, the shock could be a "life saver."

Didn't have far to go—If we read it right, when son Jack accompanied President Ford to Germany he went boar hunting. But we must have misread it. It was probably bore hunting.

In case they didn't know—Defending his fiscal record, Governor Carey of New York declared: "One of the unfortunate impressions that has been created has been that we have been bringing massive aid to New York City. We didn't actually bring any aid to New York City."

Noncare fee—California currently has twenty-two thousand empty hospital beds, says a state report, which notes that the added cost is passed on to patients. They estimate that it costs 60 percent as much to maintain empty beds as full ones. We presume that's because they often get the same amount of care.

Women In Revolt

Linda Jenness



Black women fight sterilization

Dr. Clovis Pierce of Aiken County, South Carolina, believes that welfare mothers with three children should be sterilized. He not only believes it, but practices it. He refuses to deliver the third child of any pregnant welfare recipient unless she agrees to be sterilized. To make matters worse, Dr. Pierce is the only private obstetrician in Aiken County.

Pierce's practices are widely known, including to state and federal authorities. Two years ago the South Carolina Department of Social Services, the Aiken County Hospital administration, and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare were all informed about Pierce's racist practices. As "punishment," they canceled his eligibility for payments under the Medicaid program. That didn't hurt Pierce any. He has plenty of patients who aren't on welfare, especially since he's the only obstetrician around. All it meant was that women on welfare who wanted or needed a private physician had to leave the county to find one.

It took two welfare mothers, both Black, to take action against Pierce and the authorities who essentially looked the other way. The two women sued the whole gang.

The women are Virgil Walker, twenty-five, and Shirley Brown, twenty-six. Walker submitted to a sterilization as a condition for having her third child delivered under the Medicaid program. Brown

was thrown out of Aiken County Hospital the day after her third child was born because she refused to be sterilized.

A federal court jury in Barnwell, South Carolina, ruled that Pierce did not violate Virgil Walker's civil rights by sterilizing her. The jury also ruled that the civil rights of Shirley Brown were violated—and awarded her five dollars in damages! These outrageous decisions are being appealed by the women's lawyers.

This action follows similar suits by a number of Black southern women and Chicanas in the Southwest during the past few years. The most famous cases are those of Minnie Lee and Mary Alice Relf, two sisters from Alabama, and Nial Ruth Cox from North Carolina.

Although the cases making headlines have primarily involved southern women on welfare, forced sterilization is hardly limited to the South. Literally thousands of women in the major inner-city hospitals, many of them teaching hospitals, are victimized by this racist practice.

Dr. Bernard Rosenfeld, a physician-researcher in Los Angeles, compiled evidence from some of the nation's most prestigious hospitals about unregulated "voluntary" sterilizations. His findings, corroborated by two reporters from the *Los Angeles Times*, were published by Ralph Nader.

His study documented that women across the

country are sterilized without knowing that the operation is permanent, without even knowing they have been sterilized, and after having given "permission" while in labor pain or under various kinds of threats.

The report by Rosenfeld also exposes some hair-raising attitudes on the part of doctors. The following statements were considered by the *Los Angeles Times* as typical of about 30 percent of the doctors interviewed.

"Well, if we're going to pay for them we should control them," said one doctor. When Rosenfeld explained that the patient they were discussing was not on welfare, the other doctor replied, "Well, her children will be."

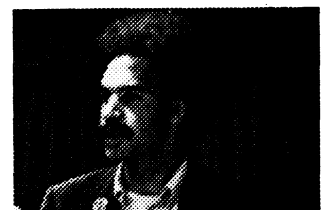
When asked about "pushing" sterilizations onto women, one doctor said, "I used to make my pitch while sewing up the episiotomy [where a small incision is made to facilitate delivery of the baby], when the anesthesia started wearing off."

A doctor in Florida said that in his hospital they performed sterilizations without bothering to get permission. "Hey, this tube is bleeding a little bit; better tie it off," became a standing joke in the hospital.

The doctors, particularly in teaching hospitals, reported performing hysterectomies instead of more minor operations *just to get the practice*.

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



A look at 'Campaign Cool It'

Dressed to kill and carrying a yard-wide smile, the reception he gets from street people is always the same.

"Coleman, baby! What's happening," a street dude will exclaim when he recognizes Detroit Mayor Coleman Young. It's always the same reception when Young goes among street people, "his people," as the media there calls them.

Almost always, that is.

For two consecutive nights in the last week of July, Young went to the people, but the reception wasn't too friendly.

Residents of the Livernois-Fenkell area near Northwest Detroit were uptight and rebelled in the streets because a white bar owner had killed Obie Wynn, a young Black man, for nothing and then the cops let him go.

So Young took to the streets, the *Detroit Free Press* said, with the "brand of politics he likes and knows best—street politics, played out among people who know and trust him as one of their own, as one who fought his way up and paid his dues, and who had now come back with a message of calm and reassurance."

Some of the community residents, though, didn't want his message of calm, and after a bottle sailed

toward his head—it missed—Young decided to leave.

But after the two nights of street protests ended, the media still heaped tons of praise on Young. And why? Because he had saved Detroit.

Young had come to the rescue, all right—not of the Livernois residents, nor of other Blacks in the Motor City whose depressed social and economic conditions remain the same as ever, but of its rulers.

Observers were left saying that a white mayor couldn't have cooled the situation like that, and noting that unlike the 1967 rebellion, this time there were no tanks, bazookas, or hand grenades.

But that was the whole plan.

Detroit's rulers, and indeed, the nation's rulers, learned a lot from the rebellions of the 1960s. A Black mayor and Black officials in a largely Black city like Detroit, they learned, are far better than whites when the natives get restless.

When the protests over the killing of Wynn erupted, Young launched "Campaign Cool It." He took to the streets immediately, and his machine sent hundreds of backers into the Livernois area, talking up calm among the residents. There were even reports that nationally known Black celebri-

ties and entertainers were on their way to Detroit to help in the effort.

Right off the bat Young won the media to his side. Angered residents were generally not referred to as "looters" and "rioters," but as protesters or demonstrators. No Detroit newspapers reported Young's remarks that the protests were the work of "hoodlums and rip-off artists," or that rebellions "will not be tolerated." Only the *New York Times*, an out-of-town paper, picked up these remarks of Young at a news conference.

Detroit papers, instead, printed Young's statements lashing the judge who let the bar owner go on low bail, and lashing cop racism. It was all tilted to portray Young as being "of the people," in hopes of convincing angered residents to put their trust in him.

Only after the situation had cooled days later, did the Detroit papers editorialize against "hoodlums," "irresponsible elements," and "unruly crowds."

So Young won the praise. And he won for Detroit's rulers a breathing spell—for a while. Still, the rulers had learned their lesson and applied it well this time: Don't send bwana when the natives get restless. He doesn't talk their language. Send Coleman Baby.

'Weak government case'

Denver Chicano faces frame-up bomb trial

By Carole Newcomb

DENVER—"They're just using me as a front man. The whole Chicano movement is on trial." That's the way Gary Garrison describes the frame-up charges he is facing. His trial is scheduled to begin August 13 in Fort Morgan, some seventy miles northeast of here.

Garrison has been an active participant in the Crusade for Justice, a community-base Chicano organization in this city, since it was founded in 1966. He was also a math teacher at Escuela Tlatelolco, a Chicano school run by the Crusade.

On January 16, 1974, Garrison was arrested on charges of attempted murder, second-degree assault, first-degree arson, criminal mischief, and conspiracy on all four counts. He was accused of taking part in the bombing of a paint store, which, according to city officials, had been carried out by Crusade activists because the owner of the store was foreclosing on a building being purchased by the Crusade.

Garrison's arrest was part of a general campaign of harassment, frame-ups, and violent police attacks against the Crusade for Justice and its activists. Sensational newspaper headlines had "linked" the Crusade to the attempted bombing of the paint store even before Garrison had been arrested.

Newspaper articles also mentioned a number of other bombings in the area, implying through the inclusion of these incidents in the articles a connection between all of them and the Crusade.

When Garrison was arrested, bond was set at \$100,000, but two days later Garrison was released on his own recognizance, without having to put up any money or property.

Garrison was released on condition that he appear on January 24 before a grand jury that was investigating the bombings. He did appear before the grand jury, but refused to testify. That night the grand jury indicted him. But the charges had been reduced to criminal mischief, attempted arson, and conspiracy. Bond was set at \$50,000 and was later reduced to \$7,500.

The Crusade immediately denounced the attempt to link its activists with the paint-store bombing as a frame-up, and filed a \$10 million libel suit against the newspaper that had carried the original article trying to pin the bombing on the Crusade.

The district attorney's office was so anxious to get a conviction that they promised Garrison probation if he pleaded guilty to the criminal mischief charge, dropping the other charges. But Garrison refused to admit guilt for a crime that he did not commit.

After many delays, jury selection for the trial finally began September 16, 1974. On the second day of jury selection, a newspaper printed a story detailing all the evidence against Garrison in a very prejudicial manner. The evidence had been released to the press by Deputy District Attorney Charles Murray, who in doing so not only went outside all bounds of justice but also directly violated a court order forbidding statements to the press.

The defense moved for a dismissal of the charges, on the basis of the deputy district attorney's violation of the court order. But the judge denied the motion, instead ordering that the trial site be moved to Fort Morgan. Fort Morgan is less than 4 percent Chicano, an obvious disadvantage to the trial of a Chicano activist. The ruling was appealed to the Colorado Supreme Court, but the ruling was upheld.

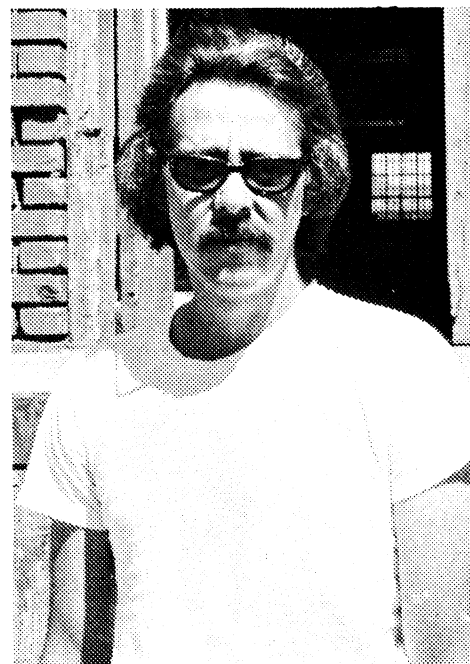
Garrison says, "I didn't want the change of venue. I wanted the trial here in Denver, where we could get people into the courtroom every day."

Another Crusade for Justice activist working with the defense committee, Alberto Mares, told the *Militant*, "It is obvious that they didn't want to deal with the political pressures of holding this frame-up trial here. We wanted to expose the frame-up here, in Denver, where it happened."

Garrison believes he has "a good" case. The fact that they offered me a deal and released me the first time is an indication of the weakness of the government's case against me."

However, he points to the political character of the case to emphasize the need for ongoing protests.

The Denver Chicano Liberation
Continued on page 30



GARRISON: 'The whole Chicano movement is on trial.'

'Prosecute Chinarian now!'

Detroit pickets want killer's prosecution

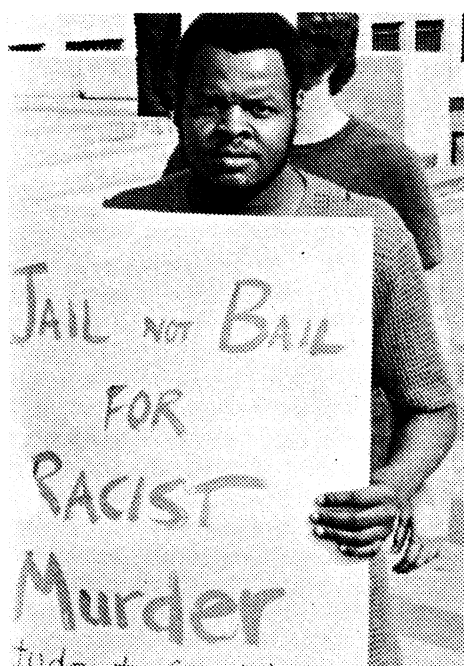
By Hattie McCutcheon

DETROIT—Sixty people picketed Detroit police headquarters during the July 30 evening rush hour, demanding, "No delays, prosecute Chinarian now," and "Release arrested Black protesters." The picket was called by the Detroit Student Coalition Against Racism in response to the racist murder of a young Black man on this city's Northwest side three days earlier.

The evening demonstration followed a noon picket of fifty called by the Congress of African People and the Republic of New Africa.

Obie Wynn, eighteen, was shot to death by a white bar owner, Andrew Chinarian, in a parking lot outside his bar. Witnesses said Wynn was sitting on Chinarian's car when Chinarian rushed outside the bar and shot him with no warning.

Chinarian told police he thought Wynn was tampering with the car. He



Militant/Baxter Smith
Detroit Student Coalition Against Racism picket line.

said Wynn had lunged at him with a knife.

Police arrested Chinarian but released him about an hour later.

For two nights hundreds of Blacks assembled on street corners in the Livernois-Fenkell area, where the shooting occurred.

Battle-eager cops were placed on twelve-hour shifts and patrolled the area, anxious to provoke incidents. There were, in fact, numerous instances of police brutality and tear-gassing.

More than 100 Blacks were arrested during the two nights of protests on trumped-up charges of "inciting to riot."

Interviews by *Militant* reporters with the Black residents showed that their anger was fueled by the lenient way Chinarian was dealt with. The day after the shooting, he was rearrested but released on \$500 bond. And while he was free on the streets, scores of Blacks who had protested the murder

remained in jail.

In an open letter to Detroit Mayor Coleman Young and Police Chief Philip Tannian, the student coalition blasted this inequity.

The responsibility for any "disorder," the open letter says, "lies with the city administration and police department for failing to immediately apprehend and keep behind bars the killer Chinarian."

"We demand that the brothers and sisters arrested be set free and all their charges dropped. They are the victims, not the criminals. . . ."

The student coalition has called for the formation of an independent Black commission of inquiry to look into the facts of the shooting. The coalition will be sponsoring a forum August 14 at 7 p.m. at the United Methodist Church in the Livernois-Fenkell area.

Meanwhile, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference has announced it will help defray the cost of defending those Blacks arrested.

Colorado women unite to defend ERA

By Joyce Newell

DENVER—A broad coalition is forming here to defend the Equal Rights Amendment, which is under attack from a group calling itself the League of Housewives.

The League of Housewives is trying to get the state of Colorado to rescind its ratification of the ERA. This right-wing group—commonly referred to as the "cookie ladies" because they lobby in the state legislature by baking cookies for the politicians—has convinced Republican State Sen. Joseph Schieffelin to set up a study committee on the ERA.

The study committee's purpose is to hear testimony on the effects of the ERA and then introduce a bill into the legislature to rescind ratification. The League of Housewives states that if this is not done, they will petition to

have the ERA reconsidered in a 1976 referendum.

The study committee has heard testimony from both pro- and anti-ERA speakers. Among those opposed to the ERA include a Tennessee state legislator, Larry Bates. Tennessee is one of two states that has already voted to rescind ratification. Whether or not this is constitutional is being debated in the courts. Bates testified that "it was a beautiful myth that women can fill a professional role and still be a mother."

Colorado State Sen. Kenneth Kinnie, a Republican, also testified against the ERA. He quite bluntly told the Committee, "I really want women to stay home and raise their children."

Speakers in favor of the ERA have included representatives of the Denver Area Labor Federation, the Lawyers

for Women League, the Coalition of Labor Union Women, and the State Association of Private Day-Care Centers.

A recent meeting to discuss plans for defending the ERA and other gains made by women in recent years drew representatives from a wide variety of organizations. They included the National Organization for Women, League of Women Voters, Colorado Commission on the Status of Women, Socialist Workers party, Colorado Education Association Women's Caucus, both the Democratic and Republican Women's Political Caucus, Business and Professional Women, American Civil Liberties Union, Young Socialist Alliance, American Association of University Women, National Alliance of Jewish Women, and the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

Campaign 'reforms': threat to rights

[When the federal campaign "reform" law was enacted in 1974, liberal politicians of all varieties proclaimed it the greatest package of reform legislation ever enacted and a surefire way to put an end to Watergate-style scandals.

[Most of the people in this country supported these "reforms," believing they would help root out corruption in high places. Only a small minority—which included the Militant—opposed the law as a fraud, and pointed to the dangers it contained for democratic rights.

[Rather than end corruption, the Militant has pointed out, this law erects obstacles in the road of independent political action and gives the rulers of this country new weapons to use against those who stray from the twin parties of capitalism.

[An increasing number of civil libertarians, many of whom originally gave the legislation their unqualified support, have since reconsidered. More and more people are now speaking out against the forced disclosure of contributors and against other requirements that penalize dissident political parties and candidates.

[The following two articles present some of the arguments being advanced from a civil liberties standpoint against these laws.

[The first, by Monroe Freedman, appeared on the "Op-Ed" page of the June 30, 1975, New York Times. Freedman is dean of the Hofstra University Law School. The second article consists of major excerpts from a guest editorial by Hollis Ransom in the July/August 1975 Oregon Times. Ransom, formerly head of the Multnomah County Democratic party Central Committee, is currently chairperson of the Oregon Committee for Democratic Election Laws.]

Imagine a fake democracy...

By Monroe H. Freedman

HEMPSTEAD, N.Y.—Let's say we wanted to set up one of those fake democracies in which a written constitution appears to guarantee "free and democratic elections," but where that basic right is effectively restricted by a variety of devices.

One such device that we might try would be to create a central governmental commission (let's call it the FEC) which would have the power to maintain dossiers on every group of people that in any way attempts to influence the outcome of elections or to influence public opinion on matters of governmental policy or concern. We could even include groups who do nothing more than publish candidates' positions on public issues, their voting records, or other public acts of public officials.

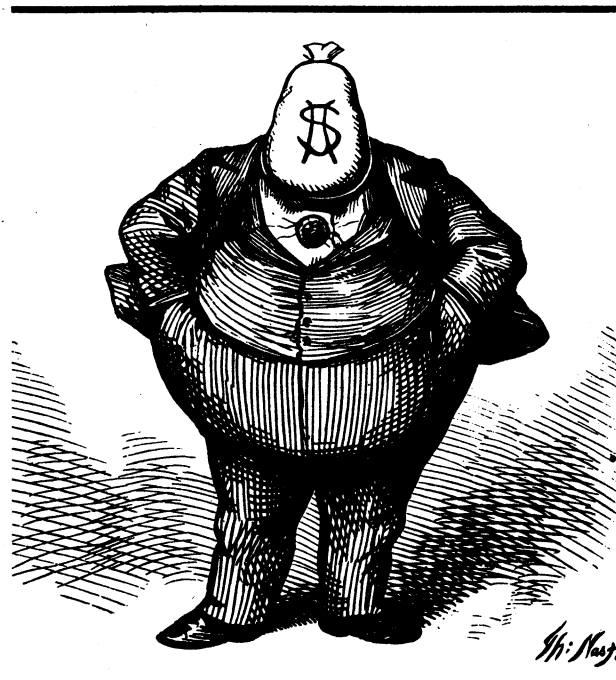
Every such group would be required to register with the FEC, to file regular reports with it (as many as thirteen a year) and to include in those reports the full names and addresses of everyone who contributed more than \$100 to the group.

And, to tighten the screw one more turn, we could include the occupation and business address of each such contributor. In addition, if the group took in or spent more than \$1,000 a year, it would be required to maintain, and produce upon demand, the full names and addresses of all contributors of more than \$10. Also, in order not to miss those independent souls who might, on their own, print up and distribute \$100-worth of handbills, they too should be required to register.

Our purpose, of course, would be not only to maintain political dossiers, but also to discourage political activity altogether. Accordingly, we should require that every such group must put on the face or front page of any of its literature soliciting contributions the following notice: A copy of our report containing the names, addresses, occupations, and business addresses of contributors is filed with the FEC and is available for purchase by anyone from the FEC.

If we do that, we can be sure that substantial numbers of people will be inhibited from contributing to political groups, particularly those supporting dissident viewpoints.

Another nice touch would be to give the FEC



other large powers over political association and activity. The commission should be able to conduct investigations and hearings, require any person to submit whatever reports and answers the FEC may prescribe, subpoena witnesses and documents, administer oaths, order testimony to be taken by deposition, seek injunctions against political activities of which the FEC disapproves, and, of course, write its own rules.

Don't look now, but 1984 arrived early this year. That extraordinary system of political data-gathering, maintenance, and disclosure has already been adopted by the Congress of the United States, in the Federal Election Campaign Acts of 1971 and 1974. The full name of the FEC is the Federal Election Commission, and it has the vast and chilling powers that I have described.

That perverse legislation derives from some perverse reasoning. In the course of the events known as Watergate, the political system worked so well that numerous instances of illicit contributions and expenditures were exposed, and large numbers of people, including even the Vice President, were prosecuted and convicted under laws already on the books.

Obviously, therefore, what we needed were additional laws that would accomplish the same ends, but which, at the same time, would severely inhibit innumerable other people, who were doing nothing illicit, from getting actively involved in the electoral process. The maxim seems to be, "Don't support the candidates of your choice—it will only encourage them."

Of course, bribes will continue to pass and influence will still be peddled, despite the naive expectation that the bad guys will dutifully line up and file their reports along with the rest of us. At the same time, however, in the dubious name of "election campaign reform," we have managed to make a monkey out of the idea of free and democratic elections.

...that restricts dissident views

By Hollis Ransom

In the last several years a series of campaign finance laws have been passed by Congress and by many states, including Oregon, designed to limit the control of big business in the electoral process. But the laws have generated a serious paradox, for limiting all parties equally in effect discriminates against new parties seeking to change the status quo.

A recent statement issued jointly by Eugene McCarthy, N.Y. Senator James Buckley and the New York Civil Liberties Union, challenging the disclosure law, notes: "The end result, we fear, will not be fairer elections but rather a restriction of dissenting points of view that will make it harder for independent candidates and small political parties to make themselves heard in the marketplace of ideas."

In Oregon, the Socialist Workers campaign committee has brought suit against state provisions

requiring that all political committees submit financial reports including the names and addresses of campaign contributors of \$25 or more. The challenge charges that the law violates the rights of the SWP and its campaign supporters by intimidating those who fear reprisals if it is publicly disclosed that they support socialist candidates and by subjecting those who do contribute to harassment and victimization by the FBI and other federal agencies.

While I do not support the program of the SWP, I consider their efforts to win exemption from the disclosure provisions a crucial aspect of the fight to preserve constitutional liberties in the face of constant attempts to erode them by various government institutions.

One result of the Watergate revelations has been to expose the systematic efforts by the government to stifle dissent in the country. Over the past two years the FBI has admitted wiretapping, "mailtapping," infiltration and disruption efforts against the student movement, the black liberation movement, the antiwar movement, the new left, the Communist Party, and the Socialist Workers Party. Evidence of CIA spy activities against American citizens has also been exposed.

As far back as 1961, J. Edgar Hoover issued an "SWP Disruption Program" memorandum which cited the SWP for "... openly espousing its line on a local and national basis through running candidates for public office and strongly directing and/or supporting such causes as Castro's Cuba and integration problems arising in the South. . . ."

That memorandum was followed in 1968 by the New Left Counterintelligence Program, known as Cointelpro, the stated purpose of which was to "frustrate every effort of these groups and individuals to consolidate their forces or to recruit new or youthful adherents."

In 1970 the ominous Huston Plan was drafted, escalating government attacks on the left. Issued by the House Judiciary Committee following the Watergate hearings (the Committee itself made extensive deletions for "national security" reasons), the Plan notes, for example, that "because of the great number of individuals and groups in the antiwar movement, an increase in manpower assigned to these investigations would facilitate more intensive coverage."

Although Nixon aides have denied the Huston Plan was ever put into practice, evidence exists to the contrary. Domestic spying by the CIA has been traced to the Plan, for instance.

In addition, an increase in violent attacks against the left took place in the spring and summer of 1970. In May of that year, twelve men armed with machine guns invaded the Los Angeles headquarters of the SWP. The men forced four campaign workers to lie face down on the floor while they poured gasoline around the rooms and set them on fire. Had there not been back stairs, the four would have died.

At the end of January of this year the first instance of Cointelpro activity against a private individual was made public when Professor Morris Starsky released FBI documents he obtained under the Freedom of Information Act. Starsky, ousted from the Philosophy Department of Arizona State University in 1970 for his socialist and antiwar activities, was the target of a sustained FBI campaign. One of Starsky's steps which marked him for continued "counterintelligence action" was his position as presidential elector for the SWP in 1968.

In March, over 3,000 pages of documents were released by the FBI—under court order as a result of an SWP suit against the government—substantiating the socialists' charges of official harassment. The documents contain details of plans designed to disrupt election campaigns run by the SWP, plans to slander and harass candidates and members of the Party and FBI schemes to disrupt the SWP's work in the antiwar and black liberation movements.

It is within the context of admitted and overt government harassment that the SWP campaign committees seek exemption from the disclosure provisions. The government cannot on the one hand assert the right to bug, wiretap, interrogate, fire from government employment and otherwise harass supporters of the SWP, and on the other hand require that the SWP turn over to the government the names and addresses of additional targets for such treatment.

Members named to new Calif. farm labor board

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—On Saturday, July 26, Gov. Edmund Brown named the five members of California's new farm labor board. For chairman, he selected Bishop Roger Mahony of Fresno. Mahony is a leading figure in the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, which has supported the United Farm Workers (UFW) boycott of grapes and lettuce.

On Monday, however, Bishop Mahony said he expects the national conference to rescind its support of the boycott.

The bishop asserted that the national conference had voted in 1973 to support the boycott primarily to build up pressure for legislation enabling farm workers to vote for a union of their choice.

Now that California has such a law, he said, he anticipates the bishops will vote to end the boycott.

He added that although the boycott was official church policy, he personally neither endorsed nor opposed it.

With adoption of the farm labor law June 5, UFW leader César Chávez declared that the union's boycott of scab produce would continue until the growers signed contracts. He explained that winning the elections provided for in the law would give no assurance that the growers would actually sign agreements with the UFW unless the boycott pressure was continued and intensified.

Along with Bishop Mahony, Governor Brown named the following to the new board:

- Richard Johnsen, an attorney for a major California growers' association and former administrator of the California Farm Bureau Federation, an ultrareactionary group.
- Leroy Chatfield, an aide to Brown who had previously been a member of the UFW staff.
- Professor Joseph Grodin, a former

attorney for the Teamsters and various building-trades unions.

• Joseph Ortega, director of the Los Angeles Center for Law and Justice. The only Chicano on the board, Ortega is regarded as a Democrat, although he is reported to be currently registered in La Raza Unida party.

Bishop Mahony said the board must quickly establish guidelines for the balloting that will take place when the new law goes into effect August 28.

Under the law, secret-ballot elections must be held within seven days on any ranch where 50 percent of the workers sign an election petition. The UFW is expected to initiate elections throughout the state, challenging the Teamsters union, which now "represents" a good number of farm workers on the basis of contracts given them by the growers to keep the UFW out.

Mahony said it was especially important that guidelines be developed governing the access of both unions to farms.

"If growers do not give equal access to representatives of competing unions," he said, "an election could be declared illegal under terms of the law."

The need for drawing up and enforcing such guidelines was previewed in a strike struggle now taking place at a big egg ranch in Moorpark, just north of Los Angeles.

The ranch, Egg City, is one of the world's largest, with more than three million hens. In 1970 the owners signed a sweetheart contract with the Teamsters to keep out the UFW, which traditionally has been strong in the area.

Last April an estimated 300 of the ranch's 350 workers went on strike over the firing of a union member. Since then they have resisted demands by management and the Teamsters that they return to work.

The strikers have remained solid but



Militant/Howard Petrick

New law doesn't assure that growers will sign UFW contracts. Union plans to continue boycott until contracts are won.

the company, aided by the Teamsters, has replaced them with scabs.

Following their walkout, the workers contacted the UFW and asked that the union represent them. The UFW agreed.

On July 28, four UFW members were arrested when they tried to enter company property during the lunch hour to talk to the newly hired workers about joining the UFW. Among the four were Eliseo Medina, a national leader of the UFW in charge of organization in the area.

The arrests constituted clear-cut discrimination, since the Teamsters are given free access to the ranch.

And it has been clearly established that the UFW does represent the Egg City strikers.

On July 12, the UFW contingent led by Chávez, which is marching from the Mexican border to Salinas, came to Moorpark.

The 300 striking Egg City workers marched through the area with them

and then held a mass at the company gates.

The July 13 Ventura County *Star-Free Press*, a local daily, offered an account of the rally and the role of the Teamsters.

Operating a loudspeaker system from company grounds, the Teamster staffers tried to drown out a speech by Chávez with heavily amplified music.

During the mass, the Teamsters—who profess to represent these Chicano workers—offered a running commentary over their loudspeaker.

One comment reported by the *Star-Free Press* was:

"You can certainly see the Church has these people programmed. If they started to think for themselves they might get ahead in life."

Even more blatantly racist:

"Where's the American flag? I can see red and green with a big eagle in the middle with a snake in its mouth." It was the Mexican flag.

Any wonder the ranchers love the Teamsters and the *campesinos* don't?

Texas farm worker drive draws new support

By Pedro Vásquez

HOUSTON—Support for efforts to organize Texas farmworkers is mounting here. An August 3 rally organized by a coalition of community organizations, political groups, and individuals drew broad support.

News media gave wide coverage to a news conference called a few days before the rally. Appearing before the media were Ben Reyes, Texas state representative; Daniel Bustamante of the Harris County Raza Unida party; Gertrude Barnstone, former member of the Houston school board; and Pat O'Reilly, a reporter for the *Militant* who had just returned from covering the strike actions and arrests of farmworkers in West Texas.

Participants in the news conference issued an emergency appeal for aid to the embattled farm workers. They called on farm worker supporters to protest the massive assault by police and growers on the organizing drive in West Texas.

A list of endorsers for the August 3 rally was released to the media. It included Hector García, community relations director of the Catholic Diocese of Houston; Raúl De Anda of the Mexican American Educational Council; Herman Hughes, secretary-treasurer of the Houston local of the International Typographical Union; Milton Lower, United Steelworkers staff member; and State Rep. Mickey Leland.

Although rain delayed the rally for three hours, it drew 150 people and raised \$200 to support Texas farmworker organizing. Antonio Orendain, leader of the Texas drive, addressed the rally. Also speaking were Daniel Bustamante and a United Farm Workers ranch committee delegate who flew

in from California to back the Texas farmworkers.

An unfortunate development occurred prior to the rally. Bill Chandler, Texas regional director of the UFW, tried to discourage support for both the rally and the efforts of Orendain and his associates to organize Texas farmworkers.

In a letter sent out to UFW supporters, Chandler wrote, in part, "Some time ago, in January, 1975, Orendain left the staff of UFW and began



Militant/José Pérez

Texas farm workers are determined to win union recognition.

working on his own. The demonstration he is currently leading does not have the sanction of the UFW led by Cesar Chavez. It has never had the sanction or encouragement of the UFW or of Chavez.

"No mistake must be made.

"The Texas strikers are not members of the UFW. They are not affiliated with the UFW. They do not maintain the UFW commitment to nonviolence which is so much a part of the UFW beliefs."

The letter listed seven individuals in the state "authorized to discuss UFW matters, including solicitation of funds, with you."

Accompanying Chandler's letter was what was labeled the text of a May 28 telegram from Chávez to Orendain: "We have just heard that the Walter Cronkite evening news carried a story covering actions attributed to the United Farm Workers of America, AFL-CIO. It is the most sickening show of farmworkers carrying out violent acts against other workers we have ever seen in our history. We reject this absolutely as contrary to our noble efforts of building a union through nonviolence. We cannot and will not support these kinds of actions.

"This is unauthorized activity and will hurt the cause of our union," the statement concluded.

May 28 was two days after grower Chestley Miller gunned down eleven farm workers in South Texas.

Chandler's letter comes at a time when the notoriously racist cops and judges in West Texas are hitting striking farm workers with arbitrary arrests and high bail. It has been the racist law-enforcement officials and growers who have been responsible for all the violence in this state—not the farm workers.

Any statements from UFW officials that lend credibility to the false charge that farm workers are responsible for the violence—a charge frequently voiced by the growers and their backers—can only set back the cause of farm worker unionism everywhere.

Chandler's letter also argued that the Texas effort diverts resources from the central union campaign—the coming California elections under the new farm labor law and the boycott of non-UFW head lettuce, grapes, and Gallo wines. This important UFW campaign deserves the active support of all friends of the farm workers.

It is true that the UFW has to decide how to best allocate its resources and energy. The union is not compelled to take credit for any farm worker organizing it is not officially sponsoring. But what is totally uncalled-for is any attempt to undercut support for the completely just struggle to organize farm workers in Texas. This can only divide and demoralize all farm worker supporters.

Chandler and other UFW officials would do better to lend their endorsement to this important effort.

While no contracts have been won, either in West Texas or during the earlier drive in South Texas, these organizing efforts have inspired farm workers and their supporters. The sight of farm workers beginning to stand up to the racists in West Texas has inspired Chicanos and other supporters of *la causa* all over the state.

The Texas organizing has not diminished enthusiasm for the UFW's work in California or for the national boycott. On the contrary, it has helped to rally support for all farm workers who are trying to establish unions.

Shankerites oppose busing, affirmative action

AFT's Honolulu convention marks f

By Jeff Mackler

HONOLULU—Under the direction of President Albert Shanker, the fifty-ninth annual convention of the 450,000-member American Federation of Teachers, held here July 10-15, wiped out the last vestiges of progressive policies adopted by the AFT in past decades.

More than 60 percent of the 1,100 AFT locals could not send delegates to this distant convention site. Thus the Shanker-dominated delegations from New York State handily defeated scores of resolutions aimed at readying the AFT to meet the crisis facing teachers and public education. With the support of the big delegations from Chicago,

Jeff Mackler is executive secretary of the Hayward, California, Federation of Teachers, AFT Local 1423. He was a delegate to the recent convention of the American Federation of Teachers.

Detroit, and Philadelphia, Shanker's "Progressive Caucus" commanded nearly 85 percent of the vote on the key issues before the convention.

The sharpest debate of the convention, shattering Shanker's pretensions to be "pro-civil rights" and "prointegration," was over school desegregation in Boston.

Probusing resolutions were presented by the Hayward, California, Federation of Teachers, Local 1423; the Washington, D.C., Teachers Union, Local 6; and United Federation of College Teachers Local 1460. These resolutions backed desegregation of the schools through busing and condemned the racist attacks on Black students and the Black community. These resolutions were all overwhelmingly defeated in committee and came to the floor with a "no" recommendation.

Shankerite double-talk on busing

Shanker and the AFT Executive Council counterposed their own resolution to the clear probusing statements. Shanker's resolution pointed to various social problems in Boston, such as poor housing, pollution, and lack of public facilities, and concluded that "in this environment of scarcity and deprivation, efforts to desegregate our schools have resulted in conflict and polarization."

It resolved that "the AFT condemns the violence taking place in connection with the present school crisis and urges that all citizens in Boston cease the use of violent means to prevent the enforcement of the federal court order. . . ."

More than a dozen speakers took the floor, but only a few supported Shanker's position.

Speaker after speaker condemned the Shanker resolution and eloquently urged that the AFT speak out against the real initiators of violence in Boston, the white antibusing racists of ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights), backed by the Boston School Committee and city council. These speakers were so effective that Shanker felt compelled to leave the chair and personally take part in the debate.

Shanker argued that "our membership, Black and white, is not united on the question of busing. . . . We do not have a mandate from our membership to say that we have researched what is the best way to desegregate Boston schools or Chicago schools or Cleveland or California or anywhere else."

Opposes NAACP demonstrations

One of the probusing resolutions called upon the AFT to support demonstrations for desegregation in Boston called by groups such as the NAACP. Shanker replied that "I marched in Selma, in Montgomery, and in many other places for the very simple reason that neither the state nor the local nor the United States government was there to enforce the orders of the court. . . ."

"Now we do not have that situation in Boston," Shanker asserted. "The government is there. It is not a question of silent government standing by defeating this court order. The court orders are being moved ahead. . . ."

He backed up the Boston AFT's claim that "the court order will provide all kinds of contractual violations, moving teachers around, changing the budgets and the school system, and you have competing groups of teachers demanding you do this and that for them."

Finally, Shanker demanded that the convention not approve any resolution "where our own members in Boston are going to say instead of offering us some sympathy, some help, instead of offering us



Militant/Andy Rose

Recent demonstration against cutbacks in New York City was initiated by teachers union. But convention failed to adopt perspective of mobilizing teachers and allies to halt cutbacks in school funding.

something which will enable us to mediate this dispute, and bring them together, you came out with a resolution which divided our own membership and which pitted one teacher against another teacher."

The tragedy of this convention was that Shanker's remarks were greeted with a huge ovation and his resolution was passed overwhelmingly.

In 1954 the AFT expelled more than 8,000 members because they refused to desegregate all-white locals in the South. Today, Shanker refuses to offend the prejudices of racist white teachers by supporting the right of Black students to be bused to desegregated schools.

Shanker opposes peaceful demonstrations on the grounds that the court order is being implemented, but the local, state, and federal government have done nothing to prevent racist violence.

Shanker's plea to help the Boston AFT "mediate" the dispute amounts to nothing but disguised acceptance that the Boston racists have some right to attack Black students and keep "their" schools all-white.

Mealymouthed arguments

Mealymouthed liberal arguments like these were used to defeat every resolution aimed at combating discrimination against women and Blacks.

Such was the case during the debate on a resolution calling on the AFT "to support and encourage a concept of staff integration which provides for the efficient and effective use of public school personnel." A delegate from New York City's United Federation of Teachers (UFT), of which Shanker is president, rose to oppose the resolution on the grounds that "the concept of staff integration is akin to the setting of quotas. . . . A cornerstone of humanism is the concept of seniority based on merit."

Occasionally the too-crude arguments of Shanker's stooges had to be curbed by the Shankerite floor leaders. On the staff integration debate, top Shankerites moved to amend the resolution so that even the most dim-witted racists could see it was totally meaningless.

Bayard Rustin, head of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, is often called upon by the AFT bureaucrats to provide cover for their racist policies. Such was his role as guest speaker at this convention. Here is a sampling of his remarks:

"We are in a period where race and class have merged. . . . The raising of ethnic demands rather than coalition politics is not only dangerous and counterproductive, but it plays into the hands of the reactionaries who would divide us."

Black people today, Rustin said, "know they are still being discriminated against, but they are now forced into strategies and tactics which, if they emphasized that, means that the coalitions cannot be built. . . ."

"We hear talk today about breaking seniority lines or we hear talk about quotas. . . . But, my

friends, to give you an indication of how useful the racists' [meaning Blacks who fight discrimination] jargon is, if I look at South Boston as simply being a place where people behaved badly racially, I miss the whole point of strategy which can solve the problem."

Rustin's apology for racists

"I will tell you what happened in South Boston," Rustin said. "You cannot say to those who were the poorest yesterday that they must take the total burden for the integration of that city. Why not include the middle class and the aristocrats who live in and near Boston? They said to the poor Irish workers, you take the whole responsibility for integrating the city. It will not work."

Rustin's remarks were greeted by a standing ovation and he was subsequently referred to throughout the convention whenever the Shankerites needed ammunition to bolster a reactionary position.

In light of Shanker's resolute defense of entrenched white privileges, the speech by Vernon Jordan, executive director of the Urban League, must have been somewhat embarrassing. Speaking at the AFT's annual Civil Rights Luncheon during the convention, Jordan said:

"Hard times often mean that friends fall out, that their basic interests may collide, that what one sees as most important, the other sees as having a low priority. Certainly this is the case with the conflict between affirmative action and seniority."

"Seniority is an important principle," Jordan said. "But how can a Black worker who was denied the right to some jobs until the 1964 Civil Rights Act, and who now is first fired, accept that proposition? Equality demands flexibility. . . ."

Jordan urged that "where there is no alternative, let's reconsider rigid adherence to a seniority system that means great sacrifices for some and business as usual for others. Let us recall the union anthem, 'Solidarity Forever,' and realize that 'forever' doesn't just mean 'in good times.'"

Seniority and affirmative action

Floor debate on seniority and affirmative action took place around a resolution submitted by the Richmond, California, Federation of Teachers. The resolution called for the AFT to fight against all layoffs and also for "no reduction in the proportion of minorities in the districts."

The Richmond resolution was attacked by the Shankerites with all the vehemence directed against busing in Boston.

This writer spoke in favor of the resolution. "The reason for the affirmative-action programs mandated by federal legislation and that this union has supported for many years," I said, "is the recognition that employers left unchecked will continue to discriminate."

I pointed out that "the immediate effect of

Further retreat for teacher unionism

massive layoffs is to wipe out, in effect, all of the affirmative-action gains made by the struggles of the AFT and others over the past ten years or fifteen years or longer. Under the policy of 'last hired, first fired,' the first ones to go are going to be Blacks, women, Chicanos, and others who have been discriminated against. . . .

"If we do not recognize that, and continue under the past [seniority] policies without affirmative-action programs, we will be back where we were ten years ago."

After my remarks, UFT delegates Ponsie Hillman and Sandra Feldman rose to defend seniority as an absolute labor principle. To support any modification of seniority, they insisted, would be to destroy the "coalition which enabled the civil rights movement to push forward the programs that it was able to push forward."

Feldman warned the delegates, "If we adopt this kind of policy, we will be doing a great injustice to the possibility of keeping this coalition together. We have adopted a program in our Educare resolutions, in our full-employment resolutions, which is a policy to fight layoffs. It is a policy which will enable us to keep our defenses and make sure we are not pitted against each other, Black against white."

Feldman thus echoed Rustin's demand that the struggle of Blacks for equal treatment be subordinated to continuing the "coalition" with the Democratic party. The Shankerites hold out the hope that this coalition can win full employment sometime in the future. But what is the AFT actually doing about the fight for jobs?

AFT & fight for jobs

In this regard, Feldman's reference to the Educare resolutions is key. Shanker and the AFT Executive Council have spent the past year developing what they call a "comprehensive" educational program expanding and extending public education from "the cradle to the grave"—and providing thousands of new jobs for teachers. Educare, a compilation of virtually all the proposals of the AFT over the past several decades, is put forward as the AFT's legislative program for the coming year.

Implementation of Educare is left to reliance on lobbying "friendly" Democrats and Republicans. Amendments to fund the Educare proposals through massive cuts in military spending were offered at several points in the convention and were defeated overwhelmingly.

In committee, all references to cuts in the military budget were deleted by UFT delegates on the



Militant/Mary Jo Hendrickson

May 17 NAACP-sponsored march on Boston for school desegregation. Convention rejected resolutions to help build coalition with parents and students to defend busing.

illogical grounds that "when the Vietnam War was ended all those who said the money would be there were wrong, and now we should ask for something real."

Other Shankerites pointed out that their leader has supported the call of the Coalition for a Democratic Majority, a conservative faction in the Democratic party, for an *additional \$18 billion for the Pentagon*.

Shanker's Educare resolutions did call for closing tax loopholes and taxing the oil industry, but the proposed means for doing so never went beyond reliance on Democrats and Republicans in Congress.

Record of Democrats

The failure of AFT-supported politicians to meet their campaign pledges has prompted growing dissatisfaction among teachers. In his "State of the Union" address, Shanker tried to deal with the problem of members who were "disappointed because the candidate we helped to support turned

around and voted wrong on this very important issue."

Shanker's advice in these situations was as follows: "One of the things that our own members will have to be educated to is that if we elect somebody and they perform poorly and then if we decide to resign from politics, we are doing that person a favor. We should go right into the next race and see that that person learns a very poor lesson."

Under Shanker's leadership, the UFT supported seventy-three of the ninety-one state legislators who have imposed the notorious strike-busting Taylor Law on New York public employees.

New York City Mayor Abraham Beame and Gov. Hugh Carey, also heavily backed by the UFT, recently moved to eliminate some 17,000 teaching positions in New York City. Yet Shanker continues to support them as well.

Total reliance on the Democratic and Republican parties was the only strategy put forward by the national leadership of the AFT. They had not a word to say suggesting that rather than either "resign from politics" or keep supporting teachers' enemies, the AFT might take the lead in launching independent labor political action through a labor party.

Even on the level of trade-union activity, all proposals for more effective actions—coordination of strikes, state and national demonstrations, alliances with parents, or joint action with the AFT's rival, the National Education Association—were tabled or otherwise disposed of with little or no debate.

The Hayward Federation of Teachers put forward a resolution calling on the AFT to "support and encourage" locals to consider coordinated actions, including "area-county-wide demonstrations, work stoppages, and strike action" in response to massive cutbacks. Even this modest resolution was defeated overwhelmingly on the grounds that in some states strikes are "illegal" and in others they are in violation of AFT contracts.

Despite the fact that AFT locals have engaged in hundreds of "illegal" strikes, and that Shanker himself has threatened an "illegal" strike in New York City this fall, the assertion went unchallenged.

The UFT presented a resolution supporting bilingual education for "all students who need it during the time they cannot yet function effectively in English"—carefully omitting, as Shanker always

Continued on next page

Interview with leader of Black Caucus

[After the American Federation of Teachers convention, Militant correspondent Erich Martel interviewed Maceo Hutcherson, who is the head of the Black Caucus in the AFT. Hutcherson, a teacher in the Washington, D.C., schools, played a major role in the unsuccessful effort to get the AFT convention to go on record in support of busing to achieve desegregation of the Boston schools.]

Question. How did Boston school desegregation become an issue at the AFT convention?

Answer. Several AFT locals submitted resolutions supporting desegregation by means of busing. The civil rights committee was supposed to combine the original resolutions into one. The Black Caucus felt that the committee resolution had been washed down by eliminating reference to racist attacks on Black students and support for busing.

Q. What did the resolution from the civil rights committee call for?

A. That resolution, favored by [AFT President Albert] Shanker, called for a special committee to research and come up with an overall program to deal with the total city. It did not encompass any of the points in the Black Caucus resolution. We felt that this was a means of skirting the main issue and not facing the issue as we see it and as it is.

The AFT Black Caucus resolution says: "Whereas, the Boston school committee has resisted desegregation attempts for ten years; and,

"Whereas, court-ordered desegregation by means of busing in Boston has met with violent attacks organized by fascist-like groups and racist politicians against Black students and adults and all supporters of desegregation; now therefore,

"Be it resolved, that the AFT endorse and support the desegregation of Boston schools by means of busing; and

"Be it further resolved, that the AFT support efforts to organize a multiracial parent, teacher, and student coalition to fight for quality desegregated education, which is the only way to ensure the safety of bused children."

Q. How was that motion brought to the floor?

A. It was brought in as a substitute to the resolution sent to the floor by the civil rights committee, which had been endorsed by the AFT Executive Council. At that point the question before the body was our substitute motion. Several people spoke in favor of it, a few against.

Shanker then relinquished the chair to Vice-president [Frank] Sullivan and was recognized as the next speaker, even though I was next in line to speak. The chair's decision was challenged but upheld by a narrow vote. Shanker then spoke against our motion, stating that there was possibly some emotional reaction in the substitute motion not based on substantial facts.

Shanker argued that there had been some things not done in Boston by the AFT local there that did not support the position of our substitute motion.

He said there was a need for an investigation of

all the facts to draw up the AFT's program. This was skirting the issue. After he had finished speaking, the chair ruled that time had run out on the substitute motion and that a vote had to be taken, even though I still hadn't been able to speak on it. That was unsuccessfully challenged. A vote was then called on our motion and it lost.

Q. So, then the motion for an investigating committee passed.

A. Yes, but there was no debate on it. The parliamentarian ruled that all time on the motion had run out.

Q. What plans does the Black Caucus have for supporting Boston school desegregation?

A. The caucus plans to be in contact with the Boston situation. We plan to participate in some manner and are now in the process of deciding what we will do. We intend to have input in the Boston situation as well as in the other areas that will be integrated in the upcoming year.

Q. Is the Black Caucus interested in working with the NAACP and the National Student Coalition Against Racism around demonstrations and other activities in support of desegregated schools in Boston?

A. The caucus is willing to work with the NAACP and any other organizations that are for desegregation and equal, quality education.

...teachers' convention

Continued from preceding page

does, any suggestion of a right to continue learning in the student's native language after English has been mastered.

The UFT resolution also called for in-service training to qualify teachers for a supplemental teaching certificate in a second language. When a California delegate moved to amend the resolution to provide that "teachers should be hired into the bilingual education program with full affirmative action," it brought on the same kind of hysteria as had previous debates on affirmative action.

Joan Agin of the UFT opened the debate with Shanker's standard charge that "to select people on the basis of their cultural identity, rather than language ability, I think is to do the program a disservice." In the Shanker school of debate, affirmative action ipso facto means hiring incompetents. The Shankerites demand hiring on the basis of "merit" and "qualifications"—so long as those who determine "merit" are acceptable to the UFT.

The New York City Board of Examiners, for example, currently has responsibility for licensing teachers. For most of its existence the UFT called for the abolition of this board for practicing systematic discrimination against Jewish teachers. This position was quietly dropped several years ago when it became clear the UFT had a friend in the board, which was now discriminating against Blacks and Puerto Ricans.

Only some 11 percent of New York City's teachers are Black or Puerto Rican, while nearly two-thirds of the public school pupils are Black or Puerto Rican. This discrepancy is perhaps the greatest of any major city in the country. In Chicago, Detroit, and Philadelphia the proportion of minority teachers exceeds 30 percent.

Who's defending incompetents?

UFT Vice-president Abe Levine warned against "creating a feeling on the part of some teachers that somehow they are going to be pushed out because they are not able to be fluent as of the present moment in terms of participating in a bilingual program. . . .

"A bilingual program should be implemented slowly and carefully and at the very same time teachers should be given a massive training program . . . to give them the opportunity to learn a second language so that their jobs can be protected. . . . So we should vote down the amendment. It is a racist amendment which we should not accept." (Emphasis added.)

The white-job trust mentality could hardly be expressed more clearly. Levine and the UFT favor delaying bilingual education until monolingual English-speaking teachers can be taught a second language—and certainly most of these older white teachers will never become fluent in Spanish, French, Chinese, or any other second language. Meanwhile, qualified Spanish-speaking teachers will be denied employment in order to preserve the jobs of unqualified teachers.

In this disgusting scramble to preserve white jobs at the expense of the needs of students, parents, and Spanish-speaking teachers who have been systematically excluded from employment, the Shankerites have driven a wedge between the UFT and the community, a key ally in any real fight to save jobs and improve education. The result has been the loss of thousands of jobs, white, Black, and Puerto Rican.



Vernon Jordan (right) of Urban League opposed racist stand of Albert Shanker (left) against affirmative action. Said Jordan, 'Let us recall the union anthem, Solidarity Forever, and realize that forever doesn't just mean in good times.'

Much of the convention was taken up with attacks on the 1.7-million-member National Education Association for its refusal to merge with the AFT on AFT terms. While waving the unity flag with one hand, the Shankerites planned an intensified raiding campaign against the NEA and voted down every resolution calling for coordinated action between the AFT and NEA to defend teachers and education.

While the AFT tries to pose as the more militant, "labor-affiliated" teacher union, its adopted policies place it far behind the NEA in the struggle to oppose the nationwide wave of massive cutbacks.

This AFT convention marked a retreat on women's rights as well, as UFT officer Velma Hill moved to table a resolution opposing attacks on the right to abortion. Despite several powerful presentations supporting the right of women to abortion, the "right to life" position was so strong that the Shankerites declared the issue "divisive."

The UFT delegates led a floor fight against a



resolution that declared that immigrant workers without papers are not the cause of unemployment. While the convention rejected a government proposal to require all workers to carry pass cards, the delegates accepted the propaganda of the government and the AFL-CIO against so-called illegal aliens.

The effects of the antiwar movement were still dimly registered when, after heated debate, a resolution calling for "universal and unconditional amnesty for all Vietnam War resisters" narrowly passed.

With little debate the convention also called for a "fair trial" for Joanne Little. A resolution opposing torture and repression in Iran was tabled without debate.

Turning point for AFT

During a meeting of the "Progressive Caucus," which included some 80 percent of the entire convention, Shanker remarked that "this convention marked a turning point for the AFT. From now on we will get on with the issues which affect us as a union and not all of those other resolutions we always have to deal with."

There is no doubt that the convention represented a turning point for the AFT. It was the first time that the interests of rank-and-file teachers were so totally ignored. The Shankerites believe they have now consolidated control over the union and have once and for all eliminated those pesky militants who have embarrassed them in the past.

They are mistaken. The policies of the Shankerites will be judged carefully and critically by teachers in the years ahead. And as these racist, procapitalist policies prove worthless, a new layer of teacher leaders will emerge in opposition to Shankerism to chart a better course. In many locals and state federations this process has already begun.

PSP militants sentenced to 30 years

By José Pérez

Three members of the Puerto Rican Socialist party who have been detained in the Dominican Republic since June 1 have been sentenced to thirty years at hard labor. The three were found guilty of "violating national security and associating with wrongdoers" on July 31 by the judge of the Seventh Penal Court of the Dominican Republic.

They were given the maximum sentence immediately after their five-hour trial. Lawyers for the Puerto Ricans filed an appeal August 2.

The three, Angel Gandía, Raúl García, and Johnny Sampson, were picked up by the Dominican military after their boat strayed in bad weather and they were forced to go ashore to refuel.

They were held incommunicado for twenty days, then presented to a carefully orchestrated news conference where the Balaguer regime announced the three had confessed to transporting Cuban-trained guerrillas to the Dominican Republic.

A motion asking their release was filed by Dominican lawyers, and three days before a June 30 habeas corpus hearing a delegation of Puerto Rican lawyers was permitted to visit the three.

During a ten-minute interview held in the presence of military officials, Gandía, García, and Sampson explained they had been tortured into signing the "confessions." They reiterated their repudiation of the false confessions at the habeas corpus hearing, at their trial, and at an August 2 hearing for the filing of their appeal.

Concurrently with the arrest of the three, the Balaguer regime rounded up scores of Dominicans, including three of the highest officers of the General Labor Federation of the Dominican Republic. The government said it was conducting an antiguerrilla campaign, but has yet to produce a shred of evidence that there are any guerrillas in the country.

Despite repeated protests by Puerto Ricans and U.S. civil-libertarian groups about their situation, the U.S. State Department has taken no measures to aid the three.

OAS drops sanctions against Cuba

By Gilberto Firmat

The Organization of American States voted July 29 by a big majority to lift the economic and political sanctions imposed against Cuba in 1964.

The OAS had several times previously considered lifting the embargo, which was already being disregarded by a total of nine member nations of the organization. Among the countries that switched position to make up the necessary two-thirds majority was the United States.

It was at the insistence of Washington that the boycott was imposed in 1964. The measure was part of an intense campaign by U.S. imperialism to crush the Cuban revolution.

Washington's efforts to bring down the revolutionary government also included the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion and repeated attempts by the CIA to assassinate Fidel Castro. All of these efforts failed.

As more and more countries disregarded the embargo, this tended to discredit the "U.S. Ministry of Colonies," as Castro once accurately characterized the OAS.

Pressure to lift the sanctions had been growing for some time. As a July 31 editorial in the *New York Times* put it, they were an "anachronism" because Cuba has "vastly diminished capability and ambition for spreading its totalitarian revolution across Latin America."

The *Washington Post* added in an August 1 editorial that the "cold war" with Cuba was in "glaring contradiction" to the détente policy being followed in regard to Moscow and Peking.

Despite this, the United States' own embargo against Cuba continues, at least for the time being. The State Department has announced that while "the U.S. is ready to start serious discussions" about normalizing relations, it is urging Congress to take no action to lift the U.S. trade boycott.

World Outlook

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

AUGUST 15, 1975

Claim 80,000 arrested

Resistance to Gandhi's coup continues in India

By Ernest Harsch

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's seizure of dictatorial powers has met with continued resistance in parts of the country.

Protests were held throughout the state of Gujarat July 26, with about 10,000 persons demonstrating in Ahmedabad, the state capital, to mark the first month of Gandhi's coup. "Our leaders should be immediately released," the crowd chanted. "Our fundamental liberties should be restored. Democracy should be restored."

The demonstrations were organized by the coalition state government, which includes the conservative Organization Congress, the Socialist party, the rightist Bharatiya Lok Dal (People's party of India), and the Hindu chauvinist Jan Sangh. Chief Minister Babubhai Patel addressed the Ahmedabad rally, stating that the opposition parties pledged "to carry on a peaceful and nonviolent agitation."

A campaign of nonviolent civil disobedience actions, or *satyagraha*, had been carried on in Gujarat for more than a week before the rally. Although hundreds of protesters were arrested by the state government, which organized some of the actions, they were released after token sentences of from two to ten days.

Patel indicated, however, that the state government would limit the protests. "We have to see to it that we don't lead people into violence or destruction of property," he told a reporter. "But public feeling has to be given expression, though in a restricted way."

More than 300,000 persons demonstrated July 9 in Amritsar, in the northern state of Punjab, according to a report by Dr. Chohan, the president of the International Council of Sikhs. The rally was organized by the Akali Dal, an opposition party based on the Sikh religious community, which is a large minority in Punjab.

New clandestine journals and statements of opposition groups circulated in New Delhi and other cities. One, signed by Socialist party Chairman George Fernandes, was distributed by the thousands in Hindi, Urdu, and English. It called for the formation of "action units" to organize strikes, put up posters, obstruct transport and communications, and carry out other protest activities. Fernandes is also president of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation and was a leader of the massive railway strike that paralyzed the country in May 1974. In the statement he called on all opposition forces to bury their differences and join forces to resist the "fascist dictatorship."

Eight veterans of the Indian independence struggle, all more than sixty years old, sent Gandhi a letter stating that they would begin a campaign August 9 to advocate "the right of public speech and public association and freedom of the press." Gandhi had them arrested July 26. Kuldip Nayar, the son-in-law of one of the eight independence fighters and a well-known journalist, was arrested the day before.

Gandhi has sent police to patrol the campus of Delhi University, with plainclothes officers planted among the students and faculty. Police in Calcutta were deployed to oversee college examinations to prevent "cheating."

The rigid censorship regulations that were clamped on both the Indian and foreign press have been strengthened. Several more foreign journalists, who refused to sign self-censorship pledges, were expelled from the country.



Political prisoners like these filled many Indian jails even before Gandhi's coup. One opposition deputy charged that there have been 80,000 new arrests.

In speeches before both houses of the Indian Parliament July 22, Gandhi left little doubt that she intended to continue her dictatorial rule for some time. "There can be no return to the pre-emergency days of total license and political permissiveness," she declared. "Political liberties and political rights," she said, "can exist only so long as order remains."

With the support of the parliamentary representatives of the Communist party of India, which backs Gandhi, the Congress party majorities in both houses approved the state of emergency. The upper house voted July 22, by 136 to 33, to endorse Gandhi's coup. The lower house did the same the next day by a vote of 336 to 59. A constitutional amendment, which barred the courts from challenging the state of emergency, was also passed.

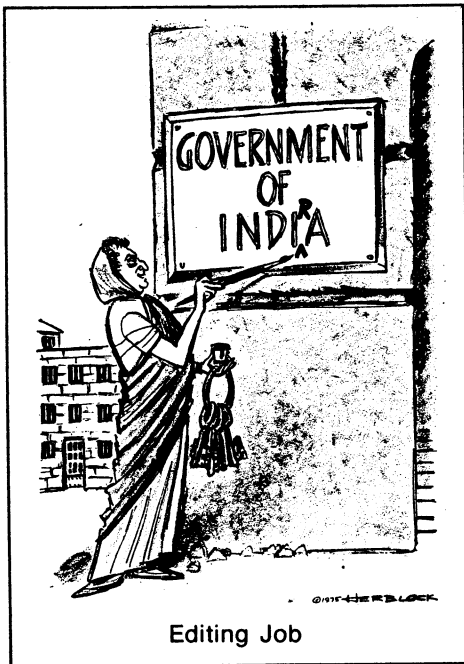
Precautions were taken to ensure that Parliament was not used by opposition members as a public forum to denounce the prime minister. The question period, in which members are allowed to grill cabinet officials, was eliminated from the agenda. Press passes to the parliamentary sessions were recognized only for correspondents who signed self-censorship pledges. While reporters could quote government statements under the censorship, they were barred from quoting opposition members.

Despite the restrictions in Parliament, some of the statements by opposition members were reported. Mathew Kurian, a member of the Communist party of India (Marxist), declared, "Democracy has been smothered by the Congress party and the Prime Minister. The butchery of democracy has been done to save the skin of Mrs. Gandhi."

Other opposition members denounced the censorship, the arrests of parliamentary members, and the suspension of civil liberties. One representative said that 80,000 persons have been arrested so far. Another shouted, "Murder of democracy!" during the proceedings.

Following the votes approving the state of emergency, the opposition members staged a walkout. N.G. Goray, a member of the Socialist party, said that the parliamentary session "is clearly in no position to discharge the functions of a free and democratic Parliament."

Gandhi's cabinet has also reportedly decided to postpone elections scheduled for September in the state of Kerala. This was seen as an indication that Gandhi might also postpone the national elections scheduled for February 1976. Under the state of emergency, elections can be deferred for up to three years.



Editing Job

The Communist party of Canada

From revolutionary socialism to Stalinist reformism

By Ian Angus

[The following review appeared in the June 16 issue of the Canadian revolutionary socialist fortnightly *Labor Challenge*. It has been abridged slightly for reasons of space.]

Since its founding in 1921, the Communist party of Canada has played an important role in the Canadian left and labor movements. Yet there has never been an adequate history of the party. Two recently published books attempt to fill this gap.

Ivan Avakumovic's *The Communist Party in Canada: A History* tries to present an objective account of the

Tim Buck: A Conscience for Canada, by Oscar Ryan. Toronto: Progress Books, 1975. 302 pp. Cloth \$9.95. Paper \$4.95.

The Communist Party in Canada: A History, by Ivan Avakumovic. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975. 302 pp. Paper \$5.95

party over the past fifty-four years. His book, written from a liberal academic point of view, includes a great deal of factual material drawn primarily from CP newspapers and magazines.

Oscar Ryan, on the other hand, appears as the official party biographer of Tim Buck, the man who headed the CP for thirty-two years, longer than any other Western CP leader, longer even than Stalin. Ryan's primary source is Buck himself—his book consists largely of quotations from Buck's works, strung together with stock phrases about Buck's political brilliance.

One might think that Ryan, a member of the CP for fifty years, would provide more facts and information than Avakumovic, an outsider. But the opposite is the case.

A Dishonest Book

Throughout Ryan's book, major events are distorted and misrepresented. Particularly embarrassing events

are simply omitted.

In 1956, for example, the majority of the CP's National Executive Committee voted to ask for Buck's resignation. No honest biographer would omit that—but Ryan does. One must turn to Avakumovic's book to learn the story. Similarly, Ryan's book says nothing about the CP's campaign, under Buck's leadership, in support of Social Credit in Alberta in 1938. Such events find no place in a work of abject hero-worship such as Ryan has written. His book is dishonest from beginning to end.

But although these books are very different, both make the same fundamental error in examining the Communist party of Canada. Both assume that the party which bears the name Communist today is the same one that was founded by a small group of revolutionary socialists in Guelph in 1921.

That assumption is wrong.

The total transformation of the CP is simple to demonstrate. In 1921 the Workers party of Canada (later renamed Communist party) declared:

"Class against class is the order of the day and we who are the subjected class must learn to fight just as viciously as our oppressors."

At the CP's 1974 convention, party leader, William Kashtan, declared: "Some comrades want to skip over the struggle for democratic aims, for an alliance with other classes, for an anti-monopoly government, and struggle directly for socialism. Essentially they want a class versus class position, a point of view the international communist movement moved away from many years ago."

Stalinization of Party

This reversal can be dated with precision. It took place between 1928 and 1930, when the CP went through the greatest crisis in its history.

Prior to the fall of 1928, the best-known leaders of the Communist party of Canada were: Maurice Spector, party chairman and member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International; Jack MacDonald,



Canadian Communist party was transformed from organization of rebels to collection of apologists for Stalin and his cult.

national secretary and one of Canada's best-known radical unionists; Florence Custance, leader of the Women's Labor Leagues and of the Canadian Labor Defense League; and William Moriarty, the party's national organizer.

Spector was expelled in 1928; Custance was removed from the National Executive in 1929 and died a month later; Moriarty was expelled in 1929; and MacDonald was expelled in 1930.

These were only the most prominent victims of the purge. The entire leadership of the Finnish Organization, the largest ethnic organization supporting the CP, was expelled.

F.J. Peel, the editor of Canada's first Communist newspaper, was expelled, as were other founders of the party, including R. Shoesmith and J. Margo- lese.

Between 1929 and 1931 party membership fell from 2,876 to 1,385, cut in half.

If only Canada is considered, this crisis is incomprehensible. But it did not originate in Canada—it began in the Soviet Union. It was caused by the victory of Stalinism in the USSR.

The leaders of the 1917 Russian revolution never believed that workers power would remain isolated in one country for many years. They knew that one country, particularly a backward and impoverished country like Russia, could not advance far on the long road to socialism alone. Continued isolation, they feared, could lead to the destruction of workers democracy in Russia. They looked to the international revolution to prevent this.

Missed Opportunities

But a series of revolutionary opportunities in Europe were missed or mishandled and the Russian workers state remained isolated. This isolation, and the country's extreme poverty, became the basis for the growth of a layer of privileged bureaucrats—administrators and specialists—whose lifestyle was far removed from that of the immense majority of workers and peasants.

This privileged layer took over the Soviet state and the Communist party, and began remaking it in their own, conservative image. All who opposed them were driven out of the party as "Trotskyists"—in the 1930s hundreds of thousands were imprisoned and

murdered for the crime of opposing or criticizing Joseph Stalin, political spokesman for the bureaucrats.

(Leon Trotsky's *The Revolution Betrayed* provides the most complete explanation of the nature and role of the bureaucratic caste in the USSR.)

The bureaucrats wanted no more revolutionary upheavals—narrowly nationalistic and conservative, they sought to defend their privileges by defending the status quo around the world. To do this they had to remake the Communist International. Every party faced a crisis such as the Canadian CP experienced, as those who would not accept dictation from Stalin were eliminated.

In every party there was resistance to Stalinization, but the Communist parties were inexperienced and few understood the real stakes involved. There were always men like Tim Buck, prepared to sacrifice political principle for their own political careers.

Buck and Stewart Smith formed a pro-Stalin faction behind the backs of the party leadership, with the Kremlin's full support. It was only after the expulsion or demoralization of the party's leaders that Buck became national secretary in July 1929. With Smith's assistance, Buck carried out the conversion of the CP from a revolutionary party to a servile instrument of Stalin's foreign policy.

The depths to which a party bearing the once-proud name of Communist could sink were revealed during World War II, when Buck's party broke strikes and campaigned for a no-strike pledge, campaigned in favor of conscription, and called for the election of Liberal party candidates—all to suit the needs of Stalin's foreign policy.

Recruiters for CIA

(The Communist party today is still proud of the vile and reactionary role it played during the war. Ryan quotes with pride Buck's explanation of how the Canadian CP provided recruits for the U.S. Office of Strategic Services, a spy organization that was later renamed the Central Intelligence Agency!)

For anyone interested in the history of the Canadian labor movement, these books are worth reading.

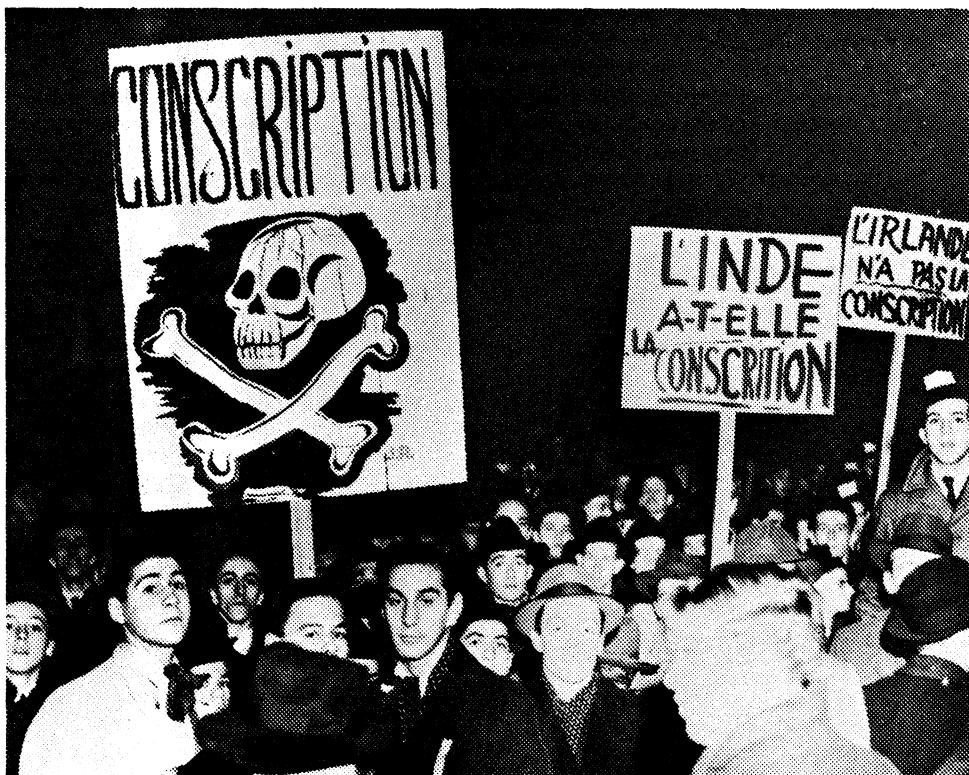
But neither book is the history of the CP which needs to be written. The history we need will explain the nature of Canadian Stalinism—and its origins in the degeneration of the Russian revolution. It will understand the party's conversion from revolution to procapitalist reformism.

And it will show how the program of revolution survived in the organization founded by expelled CP leaders Jack MacDonald and Maurice Spector, the organization which survives today as the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, the Canadian section of the Fourth International.

The history we need will be inspired by the words of American revolutionaries: James Cannon, words which were written twenty-one years ago, but which could have been written in direct response to Ryan's book:

"Stalinism is the most misunderstood phenomenon of our time. Most ludicrous of all is the widespread impression that these representatives

Continued on next page



Demonstration protesting conscription in Québec in 1944. Canadian Stalinists denounced Québécois unwilling to fight for their oppressors as 'agents of Hitler.'

Vietnamese refugees demonstrate to go home

Some Vietnamese refugees have discovered that life in the Land of the Big PX isn't all it was cracked up to be and have demanded a ticket home. Many who are awaiting repatriation in the refugee camps are getting very impatient at Washington's stalling.

"We want to leave as soon as possible," one refugee said. "We are depressed, and this is like a prison . . . a big open jail."

The Pentagon had no second thoughts when it whisked thousands of Vietnamese out of their country in a hasty retreat—often snatching up in its net people who had no wish to flee, along with children who had little say in the matter.

Now, however, when thousands want to return, the red tape miraculously appears. Refugees have to undergo a grilling, fill out the answers to twenty-nine questions, and wait on Washington's good graces. Perhaps Kissinger is a little embarrassed at the numbers declining Washington's hospitality.

A group of 164 refugees at Fort Chaffee, Arkansas, staged a demonstration in an attempt to speed up their return. Washington responded by flying them at least part of the way, to Camp Pendleton in California.

"We wait a long, long time already, almost two months," said Le Minh Tan, a former Saigon fire inspector who was elected leader of the group.

"I am not a troublemaker," he said, "but we want to go back as soon as possible. If for any reason they try to keep us in the United States, we might

have a demonstration after this month."

Tan said he fled because the Thieu regime said anyone who had worked with the Americans would be killed. Later, he said, he learned that "the P.R.G. didn't kill anybody."

According to the United Nations official who is handling the repatriation at Camp Pendleton, the two main reasons given by the refugees who want to go back "are the wish to return to rejoin their families and the wish to return to participate in the reconstruction of their homeland."

On July 3, Washington began flying refugees from the United States back to Guam. Refugees there have also demonstrated against delays in sending them home. Washington attempted to imply that the new regime in South Vietnam was responsible for holding up the repatriation process. But according to a UN spokesman, Saigon is willing to accept all refugees who want to return, and in fact initiated the request for UN help.

Nearly 2,000 Vietnamese and 700 Cambodians have made requests to the UN to return home. Among these, said a UN spokesman, were about "60-odd" requests from persons not in the camps, including refugees who had already been resettled with sponsors.

One refugee said he knew about fifty persons who have received letters from friends who had gone out into various parts of the country under sponsorship, and that many had written that they were "very disappointed."



Vietnamese demonstrate in Arkansas. 'This is like a prison,' said one.

...Canadian CP

Continued from preceding page

of reaction and stranglers of revolutions are secretly plotting revolution on a world-wide scale. . . .

"The proletarian revolutionist is one thing and the Stalinist functionary is another. They are not only different in their aims and purposes. There is a profound difference in their mentalities and in their methods of expressing them. The revolutionist is a democrat, organizing opposition to the power of the present day, and striving to create a new power of the people. The functionary is merely a bureaucrat,

always and everywhere serving an existing power.

"The revolutionist is a thoroughgoing radical and is personally disinterested; he wants to change the social order in the interest of all, and considers it beneath his dignity to seek personal advantage. The bureaucrat, in all organizations, and under all conditions, is profoundly conservative and merely selfish; he strives to preserve the *status quo* in the interest of his privileges.

"The revolutionist trusts the masses because they are the makers of revolutions. The bureaucrat fears them for the same reason. The bureaucrat gives orders like a policeman. The revolutionist tries to explain things like a teacher. The bureaucrat lies to the people. The revolutionist believes the truth will make them free, and tells it."

Did Exxon help the CIA in Italy?

Exxon Corporation has said the \$46 million to \$49 million in bribes it gave Italian political parties from 1963 to 1971 came from regular corporate funds. A report in the July 15 *Wall Street Journal* suggested, however, that the money may have been from a different source.

Staff writer William Carley said there was a "possibility that the Central Intelligence Agency might have used the oil companies as conduits to contribute funds to Italy's democratic parties, helping them fight the Communists. . . . Ashland Oil Inc. recently disclosed that one of its former European officials was on the CIA payroll, carrying out missions for the agency."

Uruguayan Trotskyists framed up

Fourteen members of the Uruguayan Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (Socialist Workers party) have been railroaded to prison on charges of "conspiracy" against the nation's constitution. The charges came more than two months after the arrest of the Trotskyists. They are: Fernando Alfredo Souto, María Liliana Caviglia de Soto, Freddy Sixto Cabrera do Santos, Ricardo Francisco García Damonte, Ramón Suárez Trelles, Luis Alberto Villarrubia Mesones, Aldo Bruno Gili Baptista, Walter Roberto Longo Porcile, Rubén Schubert Coronel Clarijo, Julio César Vuolo Castro, María Cristina Araujo López, María de los Angeles Barboza Peña, Carlos Raúl Astellano del Río, and Hugo Javier Martínez Baez.

If convicted, the fourteen could receive sentences of from two to six years.

British inflation hits 26.1%

Britain's inflation rate rose to still another record level in June, according to figures released by the government July 18. June consumer prices were 26.1% higher than the levels a year ago and were 1.9% above the May record. Some economists in London predict that the inflation rate could climb to as high as 30% in the next few months.

Strikers face repression in Peru

A state of emergency suspending all constitutional guarantees was instituted in four southern departments of Peru July 18. It was the military junta's response to a general strike in Arequipa, launched the previous day, of about 50,000 laborers, rail workers, and the employees of the daily newspaper *Correo*.

The strikers were protesting the inadequacy of a 400 sol (about US\$9) cost-of-living increase granted by the Velasco Alvarado regime earlier in July. They also demanded lower public transport fares, price freezes on essential goods, and the return of a newspaper to the control of the unions.

The strike was called by the Federación Departamental de Trabajadores de Arequipa (Department of Arequipa Workers Federation).

Peruvian regime announces newspaper moves

Seven daily newspapers taken over by the Peruvian government one year ago are scheduled to be turned over to workers and peasants organizations July 27. That was the promise made by the Velasco Alvarado regime at the time the papers were seized.

Now Velasco has added two qualifications. First, the regime will name the editor in chief of each paper for the coming year. Second, the editor in chief is to name the news editor.

According to a July 3 Associated Press dispatch from Lima, Velasco said the measures were necessary because the papers had been "infiltrated" in the past year by persons hostile to "the revolution."

Crackdown in Ukraine continues

Moscow's drive to eliminate Ukrainian national opposition in the Soviet Union is continuing. Since February, a number of officials have been purged from communications and educational institutions in the Ukraine.

Vasyl Sahaydak and poet Valentyn Moroz (not to be confused with the imprisoned dissident with the same name), a member of the Communist party and the Ukrainian Union of Writers, were fired from their jobs as editors of the oblast (provincial) radio station in Odessa for allegedly fostering "nationalism."

The purge of radio and television personnel began when several communications officials were summoned before the Communist party Central Committee in Moscow and warned of the "low ideological level of radio and television programs in Ukraine."

In March, the head of the history department at Odessa University was fired, and a lecturer, Tel'chak, was dismissed for his "nationalist views." Two professors of Ukrainian literature at the university were interrogated by the Soviet secret police for violating party directives in their teaching of Ukrainian literature.

Five high-school principals in Dnepropetrovsk were fired in February on charges of "nationalism." In addition, hundreds of students at Dnepropetrovsk University were reported to have been expelled.

PST program to meet crisis

Argentina: 'For a workers and popular government'

The July 19 issue of *Avanzada Socialista*, the weekly newspaper of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party), featured a statement by the editorial board on the current crisis in Argentina and what should be done about it.

The statement considers the intervention of the leadership of Argentina's three million-member Confederación General del Trabajo (CGT—General Confederation of Labor) in the political field to be an important step forward. However, the PST insists, the CGT leaders should discuss their policies with the rank and file and not with the bourgeoisie behind closed doors as is their custom.

What Solution?

Other forces are also proposing solutions to the crisis. The Communist party calls for a "democratic coalition cabinet," which would include the current president, Isabel Martínez de Perón; the armed forces; the leader of the main bourgeois opposition party, Ricardo Balbín; the CGE (Confederación General Económica—General Confederation of Commerce, the national employers association); and the trade-union leaders.

The Authentic party, a left-wing split from the official Peronist party, calls for President Perón's resignation and new presidential elections.

The PST rejects both of these proposals—the first because things would remain as they are now, with the masses tied down by decisions made by higher-ups; the second because there would be no time for the workers to develop their own electoral apparatus. Thus the proposal for elections could help open the way for some sector of the armed forces to set up a new military dictatorship or it could signify nothing more than an electoral maneuver by a sector of the bourgeoisie to maintain power.

Instead, the PST calls on the government to resign, and on the legislature to name a new, provisional president, perhaps a representative of the CGT. The PST insists on the government resigning because it is responsible for the crisis affecting the country.

Peronist Record

"In all honesty we believe that these twenty years [since Perón fell in 1955] and especially the last two years



Argentine President Isabel Perón. Outlook for her regime is unhealthy.



Argentine demonstrators welcome advent of Peronist regime in 1973. Inability of government to solve problems has forced workers to look for new alternatives.

during which the Peronist leadership ruled directly, have been tragic for the country and the workers. . .," states the declaration.

"The Justicialist government is the government of the Rodrigo Plan, the state of siege, and impunity for the AAA [Argentine Anticommunist Alliance, a right-wing terrorist group—IP]."

What is needed to work out a correct solution to the crisis is, among other things, a forum for the free interchange of ideas among all sectors of the society, culminating in decisions as to what course to take. In furtherance of this objective, the PST calls for a constituent assembly.

The legislature must use the authority vested in it to convoke such an assembly. However, the PST makes it clear that only through the mobilization of the workers and other oppressed layers can the legislature be forced to implement such a step.

Furthermore, the masses must press the CGT and the political parties to carry out some minimal immediate measures until the constituent assembly can be organized and reach decisions on the main questions. First, they must convoke the assembly. Second, they must temporarily take over the government. Third, they must take interim measures to freeze prices, institute a sliding scale of wages to compensate for inflation, free all political prisoners, immediately disband the AAA, legalize all political parties, suspend all state payments on debts and all loan negotiations with the imperialists, grant unrestricted access to the mass media for all working-class and political forces, and carry out democratic elections for the members of the constituent assembly.

Forum for Debate

The PST views the proposed constituent assembly as the place where the question of establishing a workers and popular government can be debated and the masses won to the need for the socialist reorganization of Argentine society.

The final section of the PST's declaration bears the subtitle: "We must build a socialist workers party that wants to fight for a workers and popular government."

It reads as follows:

"The last twenty years taught us one fact: In order to defend our standard of

living we have had to confront *all sectors of the bourgeoisie, the oligarchy, and the imperialists, who alternated in governing the country.*

"Gorillas, sectors favoring industrial development, Radicals, military men of various stripes, and Justicialists ruled here. We had to confront all of them with strikes, struggles, and mobilizations. In all cases the trade-union leaders—who slowed down, disorganized, and negotiated, or directly called for confidence in the governments—in the end had to pledge themselves to the struggle, using their own methods.

"This is a truth that has been drilled into our working class. It has confronted and will confront all bourgeois variants.

"Our party believes that the decisive hour has arrived when this truth will be crystallized in the form of a mass political party of the workers. It is impossible for us to spend our lives politically supporting the same bourgeois, oligarchical, and imperialist forces that we fight, almost without respite, in the trade-union arena. It is impossible for us to vote for, support, and trust our exploiters politically; for us to expect political solutions from those we confront as enemies every day.

"The CGT has been and continues to be in some small measure the incarnation of that drama of our working class. It has been and continues to be our top trade-union organization. Thanks to it we were able to defeat our exploiters on the trade-union level. All of them—Aramburu, Frondizi, Illia, Onganía, Levingston, Lanusse, and the present Justicialist government—either underwent tremendous struggles and strikes, or fell, directly toppled by these actions.

"But it is that very CGT, or rather, its leaders, who invariably ended up negotiating in the successive crises and who agreed to turn over power and to politically support new sectors of the bourgeoisie.

"It is only fair that we recognize too that it was not just the Peronist trade-union leaders who did this; the Communist party and the various ultraleft groups did the same. They fought one another, at times even with guns, but they ended up supporting some bourgeois variant.

"Our history is the same as that of many armies of antiquity, which ended

up losing at the political negotiating table what they had won on the battlefield.

Tragic Experience

"This tragic experience can be repeated again. It is true that the trade-union leadership has broken out of the straitjacket of 'verticalism' [the hierarchical system of command, which historically characterized Peronism—IP]. It is true that it is slipping into acting like a real political party. It is true that for the first time the CGT leadership wants to impose its own political solutions. All this strikes us as something very good. But it is also true that the political solution they want to impose is a new variant of arrangements with the bourgeoisie and the imperialists. It is not the demand for a workers government. Instead it is an agreement for greater participation in a power, in a government shared with the armed forces and the various wings of the bourgeoisie, oligarchy, and imperialists who always were, are, and will be our out-and-out enemies. It is what is called a 'popular front.'

"They are moving toward such a scheme, in agreement with the Communist party and perhaps other tendencies who are up to their ears shouting against the union bureaucracy but who have exactly the same political objectives. The proof that that is what they are moving toward is that all the negotiations are secret, that the ranks do not know anything about what is being cooked up in the top circles. The workers movement, made up of millions of persons, will never take power 'secretly.' It will do so as the result of a conscious decision to get going and mobilize its ranks. That is its unique and unbeatable power.

Mass Workers Party

"Our party thinks that the hour has finally arrived in which we will be able to construct a mass workers party built on the consciousness that we can no longer support any sector of the bourgeoisie in the government, that we must stop being losers in the political arena and become winners as we are in the trade-union arena. We will construct a socialist workers party of the great masses, capable of directing the mobilizations and strikes toward the conquest of a workers and popular government.

"We are constructing such a party and we invite all compañeros to join. Such a party will be built by immediately providing a politically correct approach to the current crisis. Such an approach is none other than the call to fight for the resignation of the entire executive branch; for the election of a deputy, senator, or governor of trade-union extraction to serve as provisional president; and finally, for the calling of a constituent assembly to democratically discuss the total reorganization of the crisis-ridden republic.

"For the resignation of the entire executive branch!

"For an interim executive who would be a deputy, senator, or governor from the trade-union bloc!

"For a constituent assembly to democratically discuss the total reorganization of the republic!

"For a workers and popular government to build a socialist Argentina!"

Congress fails to act

Oil trusts win new round on prices

By Dick Roberts

Soaring oil company profits. Higher gasoline prices and intensified inflation generally. Possible deepening of the depression this fall, just when economic recovery is supposed to get off the ground.

All of these could result from the failure of Congress last week to extend oil price controls. Congress adjourned for a one-month vacation August 1. On August 31 oil price controls will be lifted.

Gasoline prices will then immediately jump by seven cents a gallon, according to most estimates.

This scenario is the likely outcome of six months' sham battle between the Ford administration and the Democratic party. But its deeper roots are in the drive of the U.S. oil trusts to permanently raise the prices of energy consumed in the United States.

High domestic energy prices will enable the energy czars to profitably develop domestic and international sources of energy, particularly coal and oil, that are not in the Middle East.

This will make the United States relatively free of the need for Middle East oil. It will consequently enable the multinational oil trusts to batter down the so-called OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) cartel, at the same time as they continue to charge high energy prices in the United States (as well as in Europe and Japan).

Clifton Garvin, who became chairman and chief executive officer of Exxon August 1, explained the oil policy to *Business Week*. Garvin, said the July 14 *Business Week*, "is looking to exploration and production—the so-called 'upstream' ends of the oil and gas business—to take up the slack that has been created by the evaporation of big profits on Middle Eastern crude."

Exxon is the world's largest industrial corporation and the leader of the international petroleum cartel. It is the largest refiner of oil. But the refining business is not the major source of oil company profits—particularly in an international recession where energy consumption has slackened on a world scale.

'Upstream' profits

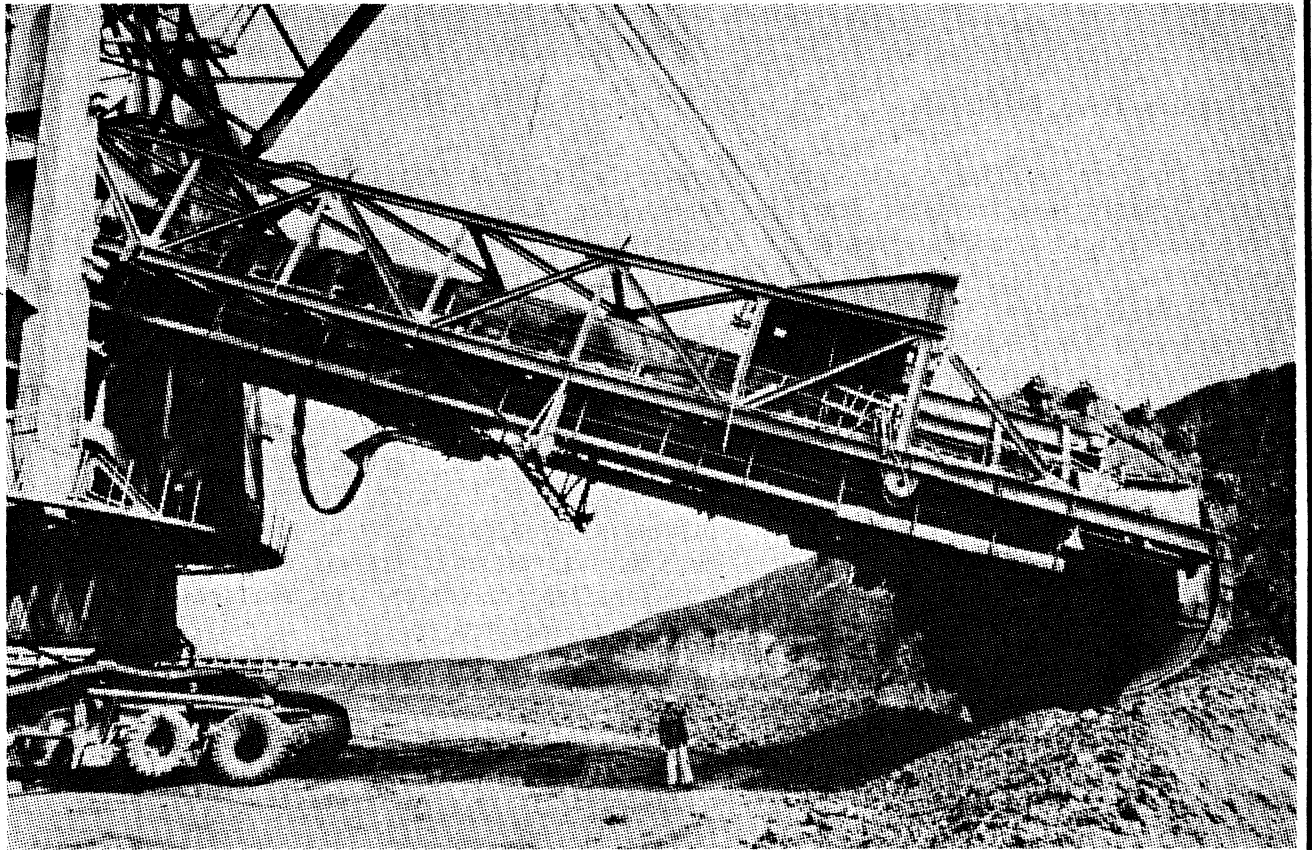
"In Garvin's opinion," said *Business Week*, "downstream' profits from such operations as refining and marketing are going to be tough nuts to crack."

The idea is to make profits even in a world economic downturn. That requires strengthening the hold on energy sources that was weakened by the OPEC nationalizations. "To seek out the profits he needs 'upstream' in exploration and production," says *Business Week*, "Garvin wants to continue Exxon's capital investments in the search."

"Two-thirds of our \$17-billion capital budget for the next four years is ticketed for "upstream" projects," [Garvin] says."

Business Week also notes that "while the cartel of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries has whittled away the profits on Middle Eastern crude, it has also made coal higher priced and more profitable. And Exxon, with 7.5-billion tons of reserves in coal, is second only to Continental Oil Co. in the industry in coal reserves. It has embarked on several programs to expand its production and sales, in Illinois, Wyoming and West Virginia."

In order to profitably develop U.S. coal and petroleum sources, the energy trusts want to drive the prices of U.S. energy as high as possible. One of the remaining barriers to this is a law that authorizes price ceilings on what is called "old" oil. And it is this 1973 law that has been the focal point



Dredging oil sands in Canada. Higher prices are crucial to energy trusts' global plan of developing alternative sources to Middle East oil.

of the six-month pseudo-controversy between liberal Democrats and the Ford administration.

"Old" oil—that is, oil produced at 1972 output levels—amounts to two-thirds of domestic crude production. This oil is controlled at the price of \$5.25 per barrel.

But oil from the other two possible sources—domestic oil produced at post-1972 levels and imported oil—is now selling without controls for as much as \$12.75 per barrel. This is partially the result of the Ford administration's imposition of a \$2-per-barrel tax on imported oil; a measure that was itself designed to weaken OPEC's position.

Congressional double-talk

The question before the capitalist politicians is how to get rid of the "old" oil price control without appearing to do so. Never has the buck been passed with such consummate dexterity.

Ford, everyone knows, favors higher oil prices. The Democrats, everyone knows, oppose them. But neither side, everyone knows, has been able to move.

The president sends to Congress a bill calling for the speedy removal of controls. Congress, with its Democratic majority, votes Ford down.

Congress debates sending Ford a bill. You name it! Legislation is cheap, especially when a veto is guaranteed. At one point the House was considering a bill that, according to the July 14 *Wall Street Journal*, "would set up an entirely new price-control plan, including a substantial rollback of new oil prices while keeping a lid on prices for old oil."

"The same bill also would require the President to hold gasoline consumption steady for three years. It would order a top-to-bottom audit of oil companies by the General Accounting Office, a congressional watchdog. It would require appliance makers to produce appliances that use less fuel. And it would penalize auto companies for making gasoline-guzzling cars."

They had to be kidding. (And they were.)

In any event, Congress stalled on sending a bill to Ford, claiming that he would veto it. The liberals pretended to be up in arms.

"The administration's energy program is the heart of its economic policy," declared Sen. Edmund Muskie (D-Me.), "and that program means substantially more inflation, more unemployment, and a deeper deficit."

Muskie was right, but he failed to explain that Congress—the *veto-proof Congress* controlled by Muskie's Democratic party—is supposed to be able to override a Ford veto. This they did not want to put to a test.

And so the Democrats stalled for more than half a year, down to last week. The final bill Ford sent to Congress extended the phase-out of the controls over a thirty-nine-month period. It was voted down.

The bill finally sent by Congress to Ford merely

asked for a six-month extension of the 1973 controls due to expire August 31. It is sitting on Ford's desk and he will probably veto it.

'Compromise'

Although they could still get mileage for the 1976 election campaigns out of the oil-price-control shell game, the capitalist politicians have other tasks to perform besides gulling voters. They do have to remove the oil price control.

That is a central perspective of the monopolists who control the Democratic and Republican parties, and they are particularly anxious to get the control removed now as the U.S. depression cuts into oil industry profits.

"Elimination of federal price controls and allocation regulations on the petroleum industry in the U.S. is badly needed," J.K. Jamieson, the outgoing chairman of Exxon, told *Business Week*. "Only in a market-oriented environment can the industry plan for and carry out . . . programs for development of new oil and gas supplies."

The formula that is in the works to give the Democrats a cover for removing the controls is a "windfall profits" tax. The idea would be to tax some of the oil companies for profits that they receive from higher oil prices. If the government chooses to, it can refund some of this money as a pump-priming tax rebate to consumers.

Business Week gave details as they stood as of its issue dated August 11. "We're looking at a tax of approximately 85% to 90% [on windfall profits] phased out over four to six years, with a requirement that a company must invest a certain amount in new energy development before any credit is given above that," says Gerald L. Parsky, Assistant Treasury Secretary for energy policy. Under consideration is a credit of either \$1 or \$2 for each \$2 invested.

"A top FEA [Federal Energy Agency] official also told *Business Week* that another plan would allow as much as a 100% reprieve from the tax. If a company's 90% windfall profits tax equaled \$1-million, for example, it could forgo payment as long as it reinvested \$2-million looking for new oil."

They stop at nothing! We have already seen that the main aim of the oil trusts is precisely to raise oil prices in order to make domestic development more profitable. Exxon has a multi-billion-dollar investment program on the boards.

The bill will allow the price rises. Its so-called profit tax gives the Democrats cover. But the corporations won't have to pay the tax, because they intend to reinvest these profits in development anyway.

So it goes. The losers are the masses of American people who have to pay higher prices for fuel and everything else that depends on it, as depression continues, robbing people of their jobs and job opportunities.



EXXON CHIEF J.K. JAMIESON: 'No controls on oil prices'

Larry Trainor: A revolutionary leader from

By Norman Oliver

BOSTON—A memorial meeting here on Sunday, August 3, paid tribute to the life of Larry Trainor and acknowledged his outstanding contributions to the socialist movement. Larry Trainor died on July 22 of heart failure following a serious illness. He was seventy years old.

A veteran leader of the Socialist Workers party, his life embodied the rich history, struggles, and lessons of the revolutionary socialist movement. And the socialist movement, in turn, is far richer because of the contributions he made to it.

The memorial meeting was best characterized by one of the speakers who said, "We salute Larry as the stuff out of which revolutionary parties are made. We salute Larry as one of the socialist vanguard of humanity."

In his more than forty years in the revolutionary socialist movement, Trainor was an agitator for socialism, an organizer of the revolutionary party, and an educator of Trotskyist cadres. He served on the national committee of the Socialist Workers party from 1938 to 1973. He was a branch organizer in Boston, New York, Buffalo, and Seattle.

A printer by trade, Trainor was a trade-union activist. In 1939 he took an assignment in the SWP's modest printshop in New York. Twice he represented the SWP in elections—in 1948 as a candidate for the Boston School Committee, and in 1952, during the height of the McCarthy witch-hunt, as SWP candidate for U.S. Senator from Massachusetts.

Born in Boston on April 20, 1905, he was the oldest of eight children in an Irish Catholic family. His father was a Boston policeman. At age fourteen he went to work to help support the household.



Larry Trainor, who died July 22, was a veteran of forty years in the revolutionary socialist movement.

"He was a Bostonian at heart," wrote Gus Horowitz in a message sent to the memorial meeting. Horowitz is a member of the national committee of the SWP and one of the younger leaders of the party recruited to the socialist movement by Trainor. "But his was not the Boston of the white racists or capitalist bosses. His was the city of Black people fighting for school desegregation and of workers fighting for jobs. In fact, Larry had a rich knowledge not only of the dynamic of the present-day and recent class struggle in Boston, but of histories past as well."

George Novack, noted Marxist scholar and a leader of the Socialist Workers party, also took note of Trainor's intense interest in Boston's history. "Larry shared an interest in Boston's revolutionary past with me. We often talked about Sam Adams and his Liberty Boys and how they went

about organizing the people for revolutionary struggle and provided leadership to them."

Trainor's own background gave him a keen sensitivity to—and vehement anger at—the backward prejudices of many of Boston's white workers.

"Larry could denounce the Boston Irish for half an hour, without repeating himself," George Weissman said at the memorial meeting. "But he was, as Che Guevara said a man should be, filled with love for these workers. What he hated was the way they were imposed upon. Imposed upon by the clergy and by the reactionaries; filled with ideas which were against their own interests, ideas which kept them wretched and poor. So, his fierceness, and intemperate language, was just the mirror image of this deep love he felt for these workers and the identification he had with them. . . .

"But Lawrence Patrick Trainor, of

Boston Irish background, overcame the trammels of religious superstition and the prejudices of racism and sexism to absorb into the marrow of his bones the most advanced emancipatory ideas of this era."

Worked with NSCAR

In the nine months of convalescence before his death, Trainor spent a great deal of his time helping to raise funds for the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR) to further the fight for desegregation of the Boston schools and to stop the racist violence.

Weissman, currently editor of *Monad Press*, was himself recruited to the revolutionary socialist movement by Trainor. In 1936, in response to the Spanish civil war and the rise of fascism in Europe, Weissman joined the Socialist party.

At that time the Trotskyists, including Trainor, had joined the SP to win over the growing left wing developing in it. Weissman met Trainor there and was recruited to the Trotskyist program by him.

Trainor had joined the Trotskyist movement, then called the Communist League of America, only three years earlier, in 1933.

Under the impact of the Great Depression, Trainor, like so many other workers, began to radicalize. The Boston Common was a favorite spot for radical soap-boxers and Trainor heard many speakers there, mostly members of the Communist party. At one of these meetings someone gave him a copy of a book by Trotsky. He read it, became convinced, and wanted more.

So in 1933 he went to the headquarters of the Communist League of America and, after some discussions and some classes, joined the revolu-

'He prepared youth for class battles ahead'

[Messages and letters of solidarity were received at the memorial meeting for Larry Trainor from around the country and abroad.

[Following are excerpts from a few that were read at the meeting.]

'A party founder'

The New Orleans YSA read with sorrow of the death of Larry Trainor. Those of us building new branches of the Trotskyist movement have gained a particularly keen appreciation for the work of the party founders. While we feel the loss, we will not succumb to it.

Larry's life and his devotion to the SWP is an inspiration for revolutionists to carry on.

*Young Socialist Alliance
New Orleans, Louisiana*

Fundamental loyalty

We hold you in our arms in joint sorrow over the loss of our beloved comrade Larry Trainor. But Larry is not gone, because he left behind him a rich heritage which shall be the party's forever.

When our comrades leave us we celebrate their lives, rather than

mourn their deaths. And Larry's life was one deserving of celebration. He was a fighter to the marrow of his bones, who spent his entire adult life as a worker intensely loyal to his class—a staunch revolutionary socialist.

During his long years in the party he cheerfully accepted his assignments, which covered a wide range of responsibilities. Whatever the task, large or small, he always carried it out to the best of his ability.

Larry was a printer, good at his trade. He earned above-average pay but never used that advantage to raise his standard of living as does the average skilled worker. Instead, he used whatever financial advantage he had to make the largest possible contributions to the party.

Although he disagreed during his later years with some decisions reached by the majority of his comrades, it did not alter his fundamental loyalty to the party. In that manner, as in all others, he proved himself a true Bolshevik.

*Farrell Dobbs and Marvel Scholl
Berkeley, California*

Hatred for capitalism

Many times I've thought what a stroke of luck it was to have been introduced to the revolutionary movement in Boston, where there was someone like Larry.

It wasn't just the he knew so much. I think what was so impressive was his complete revulsion for the capitalist system. And one of the ways he was so

expert at getting his hatred for class society across was humor.

I can remember so many times when our forum audiences were close to rolling on the floor in laughter. Do you remember the forum he gave on the Catholic church? It was just hilarious.

*Barbara Mutnick
Chicago, Illinois*

Supported desegregation

Larry made some very special contributions to the YSA. First of all, he was instrumental in recruiting an initial layer of young radicals in Boston in the late fifties and early sixties, some of whom quickly became national leaders of the YSA and then young leaders of the party.

Larry was enthusiastic about the YSA's and party's leading role in the desegregation struggle. Even while his health was weak, he did what he could to build this movement. He volunteered his time to make phone calls for the National Student Coalition Against Racism to gather support and funds for the new coalition's activities.

And on May 17 Larry was out there on Commonwealth Avenue cheering on this new movement as it began to feel its muscle in the streets of Boston.

Now that the working class is just beginning its radicalization, many of us will remember Larry most for his role in preparing a layer of young revolutionists for this day and the big class battles ahead.

*National Executive Committee, YSA
New York, New York*



Trainor's last political activity, even during illness, was helping to build movement to desegregate Boston schools.

the Boston Irish working class

tionary movement. Very soon after he joined, he asked if he could bring some friends to the classes. He brought eight young workers who all joined.

When Trainor joined the CLA in Boston, the organizer was Antoinette Konikow, one of the first Trotskyists in the country. Under her direction, Trainor became an agitational speaker and educator.

Trotskyist roots in Boston

"Thanks to the political understanding of the remarkable Dr. Antoinette Konikow," said Novack, "the ideas of the Left Communist Opposition had acquired adherents in Boston even before the founding of the Communist League by Cannon and his associates in the fall of 1928.

"But the tiny band of pioneer Trotskyists . . . led a narrow existence for its first years. It was the start of a new and bright day for them, they felt, when new forces like Larry, Johnny Tabor, and their associates entered our ranks. It was their first contact with freshly radicalized working-class youth from the Irish population."

During the time the Trotskyists were inside the SP, Trainor was the organizer of the Lynn, Massachusetts, branch of the SP. He also worked with the Textile Workers Organizing Committee of the CIO and gave many classes to members of the Young People's Socialist League, the youth group of the SP.

It was there, in 1936, that Trainor met Augusta 'Gustie' Capella, who was then a new member of the Young People's Socialist League. They became companions and were married in 1937. They lived and worked together for the next thirty-eight years, each contributing—both in their own right and as a team—to the strengthening of the socialist movement.

Blacklisted

During World War II Trainor led the SWP's activities in the labor movement in Buffalo, New York. He helped to organize a campaign in the United Auto Workers union at one defense plant that ousted the Stalinist leadership of the union, which was rabidly pro-war. Because of his union activities, Trainor was fired and blacklisted.

The Trainors were requested by the party to move to Seattle. They spent two years there building the SWP branch. After the war they returned to Boston.

Larry Trainor is perhaps remembered and admired most for his exceptional ability to win new members and educate party members. "All over the country," said Barry Sheppard, national organizational secretary of the SWP, at the memorial meeting, "there are comrades on the executive committees of branches, branch organizers, comrades on the national committee, on the political committee, in the national office of the Young Socialist Alliance, in our literary work, in the printshop, who were recruited and educated by Larry." Sheppard spoke on behalf of the SWP's political committee.

His ability to educate flowed from at least two important characteristics. One was his own thirst for knowledge, education, and culture.

"Larry used to say, 'A party leader is first of all an educator,'" said Horowitz's message. "In his spare time he studied much and widely, from the history of the Byzantine empire or medieval civilization, to the current class struggle."

Sid Lipman, a longtime friend of Trainor's and one of the original members of the branch in Lynn, Massachusetts, told the meeting:

"At that time, in the 1930s, the group of us in Lynn were in our twenties, job-



Barry Sheppard speaking at memorial meeting. 'Larry taught us party professionalism and party patriotism.'

less, of petty-bourgeois origin, naïve politically. But in spite of naïveté and our inexperience, Larry whipped us into an effective political machine and we gained a foothold in the labor movement here for the first time.

"Larry had an immense natural gift. He was above all an educator. He opened the doors to the vast storehouse of Marxist literature and theory to us. He taught us the lessons to be learned from history."

'Gift of gab'

The other characteristic that undoubtedly aided Trainor in recruiting and educating was his wit, humor, and what several speakers referred to as his "gift of gab."

"He was a hardheaded realist, a practical person," said Weissman, "not given to fake idealization of the working class, nor to wishful thinking. He was not a compulsive fanatic, but a rounded personality with a lively sense of humor and a scathing wit.

"This was shown in his ability to talk to people from all walks of life. He could be vehement, even intemperate if I may say so, because he was a passionate man. Passionate in his beliefs. There was nothing of 'ivory tower detachment' about him."

Larry Trainor was one of the first of the SWP leaders in the late 1950s to see the importance of reaching out to the small layer of students who were turning to revolutionary socialist ideas at that time.

His role in reaching out to these young people, which helped lead to the founding of the Young Socialist Alliance, was described by George Shriver, Roger Sheppard, and Barry Sheppard. All three, along with Peter Camejo, SWP 1976 presidential candidate, were among those recruited by Trainor and were founding members of the YSA.

Other speakers at the meeting included Linda Malanchuk, a member of the Boston SWP, and Jack Powers, a supporter of the party. The meeting was chaired by Susan LaMont, SWP organizer in Boston.

Trainor was quick to respond to the upsurge in the civil rights movement of the late 1950s and early 1960s and helped the YSA turn toward it. He also embraced the Cuban revolution and helped lead the SWP and the YSA in a campaign to defend the Cuban revolution. Gustie recalls that when the Cuban rebels rode into Havana triumphant, his comment was, "The first thing we have to do is get a hall." They did, and the Trotskyists called a meeting in defense of Cuba—Gustie chaired it and Larry spoke.

Barry Sheppard told of some of the main lessons Larry Trainor embedded in the people he recruited and taught. "He taught us class hatred—hatred of capitalism and the capitalist class.

Party patriotism

"He taught us party professionalism. He taught us party patriotism, not as a religious concept but from consciousness. From consciousness that to build the kind of party we are building its members must be dedicated. They must be loyal. They must want to build this party and have a readiness to make sacrifices for it.

"This new period we are entering, with the working class beginning to radicalize, is what Larry was waiting for; what he looked forward to; and what everything was in preparation for. And, because of him and others like him, this party is prepared.

"We have a big historical responsibility and a big historical opportunity. The fate of humanity rests on whether or not the American socialist revolution is carried out in time to stop the atom-maniacs from blowing up the world.

"Larry devoted his entire conscious life to furthering socialism and trying to tip the scales in the direction that will be successful, that we will stop them in time.

"And our real tribute to him, and to the cadre that he was part of, will be to carry that work forward."

The meeting ended with the singing of the "International."



Northern students support Southern civil rights movement. Trainor was quick to respond to upsurge in political activity among youth in late 1950s and early 1960s.

Phila. SWP rally backs busing

By John Ratliff

PHILADELPHIA—Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers party vice-presidential candidate, joined socialist mayoral candidate Terry Ann Hardy and supporters at an outdoor barbecue here August 2.

Reid told the seventy-five people present about the Joanne Little trial. Reid had attended the opening of the trial in Raleigh, North Carolina. She urged everyone to join her in defending the young Black woman on trial for her life. "We are the people who will make the difference in the Joanne Little case," Reid said.

Hardy addressed her remarks to the growing struggle around desegregation of schools in Philadelphia.

A state judge is now considering two desegregation plans. One, submitted by the school board, would merge ten suburban school districts with city schools, providing no concrete steps for desegregation. The second, proposed by the Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission, would combine busing and "pairing" schools in nearby neighborhoods. The possibility that some kind of desegregation measures, including busing, will be ordered into effect this fall has whipped white racists in Philadelphia into a frenzy.

"What is involved is the question of equal education in a city whose schools are 62 percent Black," Hardy told the gathering. "Here in Philadelphia Black and Puerto Rican students are now forced to attend the very worst schools."

Hardy reported on the latest mobilization by the racist forces, a July 29 antibusing rally of 1,000 sponsored by the Home and School Association of South Philadelphia. Thomas Foglietta, Hardy's Republican opponent, spoke to the gathering. James Tayoun, Democratic city council candidate and political sidekick of incumbent Democratic Mayor Frank Rizzo, also attended.

Foglietta was quoted in the press as saying, "If the patriots of 1773 could dump tea in Boston Harbor, so can we dump buses in the Delaware River."

Hardy declared, "Everyone knows that all this hysteria around busing is actually caused by the fact that Black students will be riding those buses. When Foglietta was calling for dumping buses, he was in effect inciting a racist riot and talking murder."

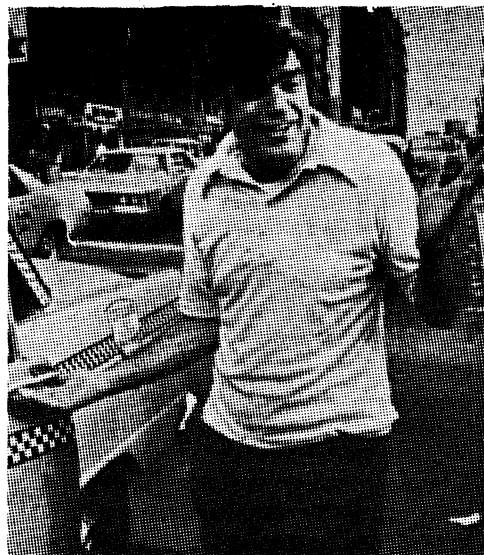
After tracing Rizzo's similar antibusing stand, Hardy posed a question for her third opponent, Charles Bowser. Bowser is a Black Democrat running in this year's mayoral race as a candidate for the "Philadelphia party."

"We know where Rizzo stands, we know where Foglietta stands," Hardy said, "but where does Bowser stand? All we have so far from Bowser is silence. You cannot remain neutral on this question—either you forthrightly support the equal rights of Black people, or you stand on the side of the white racists."

Hardy urged those attending the campaign event to contribute their ideas, activity, and financial support to her campaign for mayor to ensure that the voice supporting equal education for Blacks was heard loud and clear by the people of Philadelphia.

Selling the wage freeze

Gotbaum takes bankers' proposal to AFSCME



AFSCME Executive Director Victor Gotbaum says wage freeze was best he could do.

By Debby Woodrooffe

NEW YORK—Victor Gotbaum, executive director of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees District Council 37, emerged from the plush negotiators' suit at the Americana Hotel July 31 and announced to the press: "There's not going to be a wage freeze."

Mayor Abraham Beame had a slightly different result to report from the week's intense negotiations between city officials, union representatives, and officials of the Municipal Assistance Corporation (Big Mac). "There will be a wage freeze," Beame said, "if not voluntary, then imposed."

That evening, Gotbaum went before the District Council 37 delegate assembly to urge acceptance of the agreement and to explain how the wage freeze was not a wage freeze, and how what appeared a defeat for the union was really a victory under the circumstances.

The plan accepted by Gotbaum defers the 6 percent cost-of-living increase that was due city workers July 1. The amount deferred is graduated, depending on present income. Those making \$10,000 a year or less give up one-third of their increase come September 1; those earning between \$10,000 and \$15,000 surrender two-thirds; and those making more than \$15,000 give up the full 6 percent.

The deferral is slated to be in effect for one year, and the accumulated increase is to be paid to the city workers in July 1978—if the city has a deficit-free balanced budget by that time!

Since the 6 percent increase remains on the books and theoretically is to be paid at some future date, Gotbaum repeatedly argued that AFSCME members are not really taking a pay cut and that their contract gains have been left intact.

Other points in the agreement include:

- The city will lay off 1,000 provisionals (non-civil service employees) and replace them with laid-off civil service workers. City workers are also to be rehired under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act, after an unspecified number of current CETA workers are "bumped."
- Each union must relinquish one work rule. In AFSCME's case it will mean giving up provisions that allow workers to leave work one hour early during the hot summer months.
- The city pledges "in principle" that there will be no further layoffs in this fiscal year.

'Strongest position possible'

After the terms of the agreement were presented to the AFSCME delegates, Gotbaum lamely reasoned why it had allowed the union "to emerge in the strongest position possible." He noted that Beame had made it clear if municipal unions did not accept a "voluntary" wage freeze, one would be imposed by administrative fiat.

In apparent reference to the power of

city workers to shut the city down with a strike, Gotbaum unabashedly proclaimed, "On our side, we had the ability to stop this."

And then, "If we could stop it, then why didn't our power negate their power?"

This is something AFSCME members certainly deserve to have explained, but Gotbaum's answer offered little insight into the real relationship of forces.

"Bankruptcy was imminent," he said. "It meant that if they went for legislation and we went out [on strike], the bond market would collapse, default would take place, and there would be many payless days ahead. So we had a strong interest in an agreement that would restore confidence to the bond market, to keep the cash flow going."

No matter that the cash is flowing in the wrong direction—into the pockets of the bankers instead of the paychecks of his union members. Gotbaum has no intention of alienating his Democratic party allies, even if it means the city's credit rating is established on the backs of AFSCME members. He would rather negotiate away the union's contract than lead a fight against Beame and his other Democratic party "friends" in city hall.

Gotbaum offered the delegates a "flavor" for the tone of the negotiations by reporting a discussion he had with Beame when Beame warned him that the unions faced a choice of layoffs or a wage freeze if New York City was to avoid defaulting on its financial obligations. According to Gotbaum, the exchange went like this:

Gotbaum: "If this crisis has to be solved on the backs of working people, with no contribution from other sectors of society, including the banks, I would welcome default."

Beame: "But remember, the banks have the money."

Gotbaum: "You remember that the unions have the manpower. If you think those sons of bitches [the banks] will run this city, you're mistaken. Either they negotiate with us, or there'll be chaos."

'Tough' stance

It is this "tough" stance that Gotbaum claims won him a seat on the negotiating committee. He told the delegates that he held out making any concessions until he received assurance from the banks that they too would make sacrifices. That sacrifice turned out to be a \$250 million loan to allow Big Mac more time to sell bonds. The interest rate on this loan has not been revealed, but there's no doubt that the banks are collecting a healthy rate of return on their sacrifice.

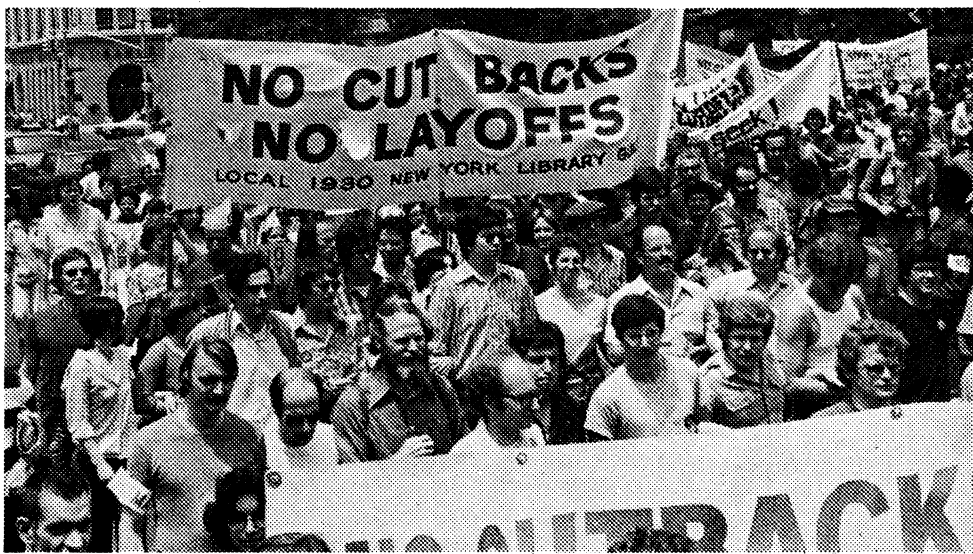
Praising the role of the banks, Gotbaum was quoted in the August 2 *New York Times* as saying, "The banks have finally recognized that they too have a responsibility to the city and that their fates are tied to everyone."

Before turning the floor over to discussion from the delegates, Gotbaum summed up his evaluation of the agreement. "I am not thrilled about this," he said. "I am not delighted with what we have done. But I do believe the alternatives would be far more disastrous. If we didn't do this, not only working people would suffer, but the community would take a beating from which it would take years to recover."

"I say to you, in clear conscience, there is no contract erosion, that we sat down man to man, and that we have something with which we can live. I think this document brings back just about every worker fired. I believe in the final analysis it will give us real security for years and years to come. My brothers and sisters, that's what it's all about."

Some of the delegates thought otherwise.

During the discussion that followed, presidents of three AFSCME locals—Local 371, Social Service Employees Union; Local 1930, New York Public Library Guild; and Local 2627, Elec-



Militant/Andy Rose

June 28 demonstration initiated by AFSCME locals 1930 and 371 was branded by Gotbaum as 'antiunion.'

tronic Data Processing Personnel, indicated that they would vote against the proposal.

Patrick Knight, president of Local 371, criticized what he called the "iffy" nature of the agreement. He questioned whether the city would be in sound financial shape in 1978 in order to pay the deferred wages. And he expressed doubts that a pledge from the city that it was "in principle" opposed to any layoffs was at all meaningful.

"The major issues," Knight pointed out, "are based on good faith. Although I may have faith in the man up front [Gotbaum], I have no faith in the people he's bargaining with."

Time to take a stand

"What's going to happen in October when we are called upon to give still more?" asked David Beasley, president of Local 1930. "It's about time we took a strong stand. We should have taken a stand when the first layoffs took

place. By the fall, we'll be too weak to do anything."

A number of other delegates from Local 371 took the floor to speak against the proposal. Reno Stafford blasted it for "leading us down the path towards the destruction of civil service and unionism in New York City."

"When I was a kid living in Harlem," Stafford continued, "I learned fast that the guy who puts up his dukes the fastest gets bothered the least. Let's put up our dukes. Let's tell Beame to put the bill where it belongs. Shove it on Carey, Ford, the banks—but don't make us pay!"

"Maybe I'm old fashioned," Stafford concluded, "but I never thought giving up things was what unionism was all about. We should fight for what we have and get more, not less."

George Board, also from Local 371, told the delegates, "We should be wearing armbands—black and purple—rather than applauding for this proposal. We have been asked time and time again to step back. We have said time and time again to fight back. Well, when are we going to start fighting back?"

Gesturing angrily at Gotbaum, Board said, "You have guts to stand before us and ask us to go down with you. You have eroded our contracts. I pity your position. I do not want to be in your position. But you must give in to the people you represent. You must think about the little and you must think about the big. When the little guy can't eat, are we going to ask him to wait until 1978?"

Turning to the delegates, Board concluded: "I beg of you to defeat this motion right now. It's time that we fight!"

'Have to give something'

Despite such impassioned pleas as these to fight for the future of the union, most of the delegates fell in line with Gotbaum. "Our leader has been fighting for us. You have to give something to get something. This is no time to play games," one delegate said.



Militant/Andy Rose

June 28 demonstration initiated by AFSCME locals 1930 and 371 was branded by Gotbaum as 'antiunion.'

Gotbaum himself blasted speakers who criticized his proposal. After Board's remarks, he demagogically retorted, "This brother bleeds for the little man. I fought for him. I just wish he would show some compassion for the 6,000 to 7,000 out of work who have no money and whom your vote will bring back."

Gotbaum was backed up by Lillian Roberts, associate director of District Council 37. Angrily lashing out at critics of Gotbaum, she asked, "Are you leaders or are you not? What's your responsibility in this whole mess?"

Roberts continued, "The media has attacked the leadership constantly. They are not being attacked because they're doing something for *them*. It's because they're doing something good for *you*. You'd better understand that. We're not talking about eroding the contract. We're talking about loaning the city money so people can work. That's unionism! That's where it's at!"

It was in the observers' section, where non-delegate union members were seated, that there was the greatest anger toward the path the AFSCME leadership is taking. At one point, an AFSCME official was diagramming on the blackboard the effect the proposal would have on someone earning \$10,000 a year.

A Black case-aide from Local 371 jumped to her feet. "We don't want to hear about people who make \$10,000," she cried. "Talk about me. I make \$7,800." Within seconds, the woman was surrounded by District Council 37 strongmen and dragged from the room, to the boos of those in the observers' section.

At city's mercy

One of the most ominous aspects of Gotbaum's remarks was his stated intention to put those locals opposing the voluntary wage freeze at the mercy of the city. The membership of each local must ratify the agreement in the weeks ahead.

Gotbaum explained that any local has the right to veto the agreement. "But you should know two things," he warned. "If DC 37 endorses tonight, it becomes council policy. If there are any punitive measures in terms of legislation, a local that chooses to stay out is on its own. You can't expect to have it both ways."

This statement echoed recent public attacks Gotbaum has made on those AFSCME locals willing to take action to halt the cutbacks and layoffs. When Locals 1930 and 371 took some initiative and helped organize a united protest against the layoffs and cutbacks for June 28, Gotbaum denounced the action as "antiunion" and actively discouraged people from participating.

Then in July he told a *New York Times* reporter, "When a union has power, it doesn't have to be militant. In my opinion, it's the weakest locals, the librarians [Local 1930], and the welfare case workers [Local 371], who talk about striking."

When the vote was taken at the delegate assembly, 240 of the 300 delegates votes for Gotbaum's proposal.

After the meeting, Ray Markey, a member of Local 1930 and a delegate to the assembly, told the *Militant*, "This so-called agreement represents yet another stage in Gotbaum's policy of concessions and surrender to the city and the bankers, without getting anything in return. And as bad as this wage freeze agreement is, it's only the beginning."

Union in danger

"In the months ahead," Markey said, "Big Mac and Beame will again return to demand more and more concessions. Each time we refuse to stand up and fight, we endanger the very future of our union."

Markey expressed disappointment that there was not more discussion by the delegates on the "bumping" of CETA workers. Part of the agreement is that they will then be replaced with laid-off city workers. "For Beame, this is merely a bookkeeping operation that doesn't cost the city a cent," Markey said. "But such a maneuver costs the unions plenty. Its results will be to turn worker against worker, and union member against union member."

"By undermining the CETA program, Gotbaum is turning two of our most important allies—the Black and Puerto Rican communities—against the union."

It is the lack of a fight by the union movement that has emboldened Beame and the bankers and set the stage for them to whittle away the union contracts. They will continue to push their union-busting maneuvers as far as they can. The only thing that will reverse this antilabor assault, which threatens the very survival of municipal unionism in New York City, is a united, massive response from the unions and others affected by the layoffs and cuts.

Minority workers lose jobs

CETA workers get the axe as part of Gotbaum's deal

By Sam Manuel

NEW YORK—In its effort to push through a wage freeze, massive layoffs, and across-the-board cuts in social services, the administration of New York City's Mayor Abraham Beame has consciously attempted to pit organized labor and community organizations against each other.

The response of the city's union officials, thus far, has been to fall into this trap. Instead of uniting with the Black and Puerto Rican communities, other unions, and all workers affected by the cuts, the union leaders have tried to make their own deals with Beame. Each union has argued that somebody else should be laid off.

Leading the charge down this path to defeat has been Victor Gotbaum, executive director of District Council 37, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME). And nowhere has the suicidal nature of Gotbaum's strategy been clearer than in the dispute now raging between Gotbaum and the Black community over the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act program.

CETA was established by Congress in 1973 to provide jobs and training for the long-term unemployed. It is funded by the federal government. In New York, the Black and Puerto Rican communities have been the hardest hit by unemployment, and it is these communities that have been the chief beneficiaries of whatever meager CETA funds have been available.

It would seem obvious that it is in the interests of AFSCME and every other labor union to support public works programs such as CETA and to demand that they be expanded to cover all unemployed workers at union wages and under union conditions.

However, the public employee unions in New York, in their general policy of capitulation to the city and the banks, have taken a dangerously wrong position toward CETA. Gotbaum has launched a campaign to get CETA workers "bumped" off the job and replaced by civil service union members the city is laying off.

Gotbaum's divisive position is all the more destructive to the union's interests because some of the CETA workers themselves are members of AFSCME.

The heart of Gotbaum's demands on the city in the recent round of negotiations was that the city agree to lay off provisional and CETA workers, most of whom are Black and Puerto Rican, in order to make those jobs available to civil servants who belong to AFSCME.

The agreement between Beame and Gotbaum announced on July 31 included the provision that "substantial numbers" of civil service workers would get CETA jobs, and that 1,000 provisional city employees would be laid off and replaced with permanent civil service workers.

"No one wants to bump existing CETA workers," asserts Alan Viani, research and negotiations director of District Council 37, in a recent issue of the union's newspaper. But, Viani adds, "on the other hand, we will not permit the City to lay off experienced workers who got the jobs through the merit system and replace them with inexperienced workers who got their jobs through a community clubhouse."

The terrible logic of such a policy for AFSCME members as well as for the Black and Puerto Rican communities can be seen in the agreement Gotbaum negotiated with Beame. In return for

the layoff of the CETA workers rather than permanent members of AFSCME, Gotbaum agreed to give up most of the wage increase that AFSCME had won in its last contract.

Perhaps the most disastrous result of this policy is that it acts to divide the union from the Black and Puerto Rican communities and to divide the ranks of the union itself.

On July 23, the *Amsterdam News*, a major Black newsweekly, ran a banner headline: "Vic Gotbaum Calls Comm[issioner] Rose 'Liar'—Wants CETA Workers Replaced By His Union." Lucille Rose, who is Black, is the city commissioner of employment. She administers the CETA program. Rose has objected to Gotbaum's demand that CETA workers be laid off, as have the NAACP and other Black groups.

The following week the *Amsterdam News* headline read, "Blacks Demand Apology From Victor Gotbaum." In the issue were two articles headlined, "Beame Would Dismiss 1700 CETA Workers!" and "NAACP Censures Gotbaum, Defends Lucille Rose."

The paper's July 23 editorial read, in part, "Here is a man whose position in life is maintained by the union dues of tens of thousands of Black people who support him in every way and who, without their support, would be nothing but just another white man from nowhere, going home."

In a letter to Gotbaum quoted in the July 30 *Amsterdam News*, David Smallwood, New York City regional director for the NAACP, correctly explained, "The labor movement should be building wide citizen support towards full employment rights for all adult Americans who are willing and able to work."

This is what will be needed in order for the labor movement to beat back this attack. Gotbaum's strategy proposes to defend the union by selling out its potentially closest allies. This policy goes against the traditions of working-class solidarity. If not reversed it will leave the unions gravely weakened as the banks and the politicians press their attack to smash this city's public employee unions.



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky



Militant/Jon Flanders

Officials of AFSCME District Council 37 are abandoning best traditions of labor movement, including their own union, by going along with rulers' efforts to divide labor and community organizations.

NASHVILLE, USA

Nashville. Directed by Robert Altman. Produced by Jerry Weintraub. Written by Joan Tewkesbury.

There are few things in this world so thoroughly a matter of taste as American country-western music. Those who love it, including me, were generally raised with it, and those who weren't generally don't like it at all. Both those who like it and those who don't should be able to enjoy the movie *Nashville* if they can rise above pure prejudice.

No one who really likes the stuff, however, will have to be told after seeing the film that it contains not one bar of genuine country-western music, not even as it

Film

ordinarily emerges, much abused, from the commercialization of the recording and booking capital of the art, Nashville, Tennessee.

This fact does not detract from the exceptional quality of the picture. In a sense, it is necessary for the film's artistic achievement. The movie is first of all a satire on commercialization. It is a satire of the subtle, not the slapstick variety. But satire, however subtle, depends on exaggeration, and it is simply impossible short of slapstick to exaggerate the maudlin sentimentality, cheap artifice, and demagoguery that the Nashville marketplace adds to country-western music.

The film contains a dozen or so original songs around which many of the movie's characterizations are built. If the artists had delivered this music on the razor's edge where true country-western resides, it could only have been taken as dead-serious Nashville sound. The humor, and much of the point, would have been lost.

The story evolves during a few days in Nashville, in the midst of a presidential primary election in which Tennessee is a swing state. The coming dark-horse candidate has a hotshot public relations man rounding up country-western stars to appear on the platform with him.

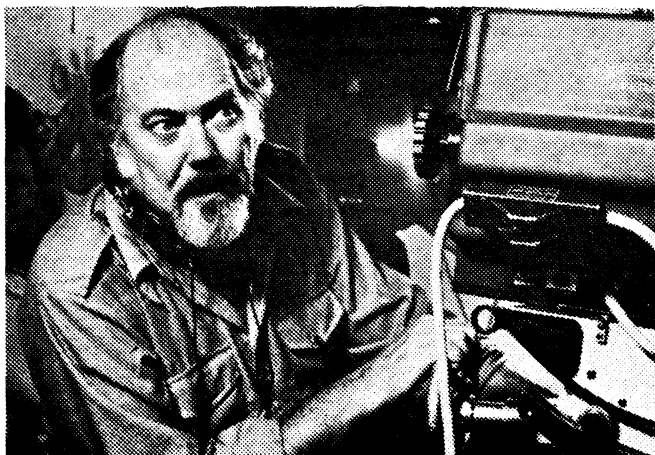
We are taken inside a recording studio where we meet a superstar-businessman—beautifully played by Henry Gibson—who runs his operation like a plantation owner, all the time never letting anyone forget his humble beginnings. We move to the airport where we meet Ronee Blakley as a female superstar whose husband runs her like a business. She is greeted by a high school women's drill team in short shorts and by a baton-twirling group.

The action moves from place to place in and around Nashville, to a multiple pileup on a freeway, to a picnic, to the Grand Old Opry, to an auto race, to several churches, to a stag party to raise funds for the campaign, to the rending climax of a political rally.

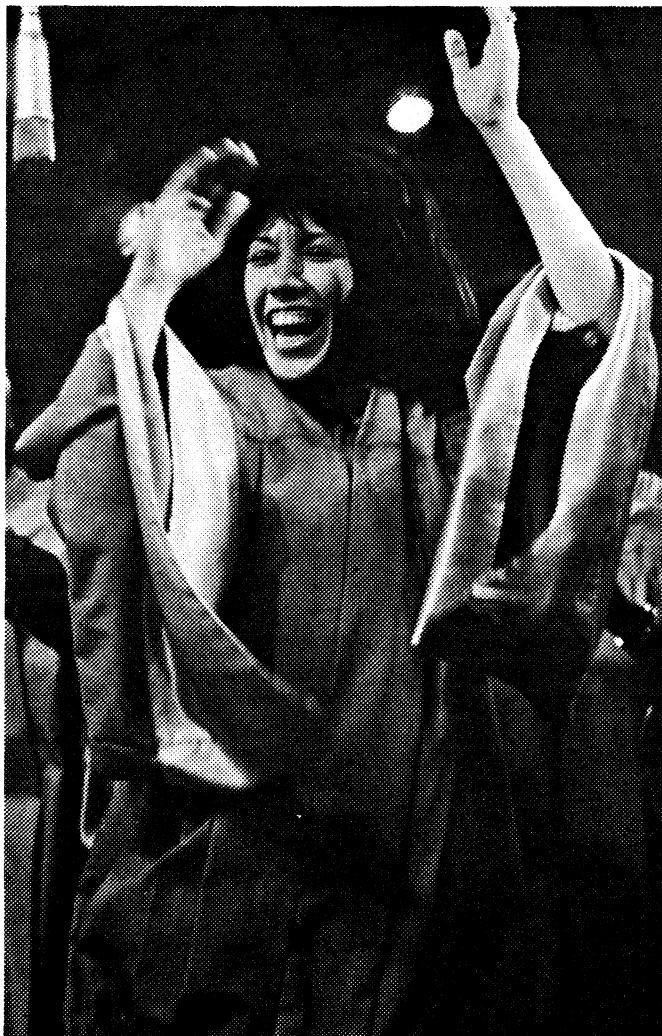
The real story is in the characters—each one so well done it is hard to select members of the cast for special mention. We meet, among others, the members of a Northern folk-rock group on a temporary swing through Nashville, and some aspiring performers. When one of them finally gets a chance, it's on a stage set up as a sideshow in the center field of an auto race track with the roaring engines drowning her out.

Keenan Wynn plays an ordinary Nashville citizen not in the business whose connection with the others is purely accidental and whose part is the more revealing for it.

Through it all, the political PR man does his sleazy business with his counterpart from the Nashville music industry. The latter's wife, done with proper



'Nashville' director Robert Altman



Lily Tomlin, as the white lead singer of a Black gospel group during recording session.

tension by Lily Tomlin, records with a Black gospel group and tries to teach her two deaf children what music is all about, which bores her husband. She tells him lies and slips around.

A counterpoint to the whole is an English liberal-on-the-world, delightfully acted by Geraldine Chaplin. She is doing a story for the BBC and assumes, among other absurdities, that all country-western singers are white.

The candidate, who is never seen—though his sound truck with a recorded voice keeps appearing—presents a special problem for the satirist, similar to that posed by the musical genre. How do you possibly exaggerate the insipid demagoguery of a big-time American politician?

The film makers solve this problem by going in the other direction. His campaign has all the usual pseudopatriotic nonsense with which we are familiar. But his program includes points so eminently reasonable as to violate all the rules followed by the genuine article—like getting rid of the national anthem because no ordinary person can sing it.

What is more, the demagoguery he uses fits them all. He could be a McGovern as easily as a Wallace, or any of the rest. Almost, but not precisely. Therein lies the piquancy.

Nashville is a spoof—on politics, on pursuing money and fame, on marriage, on cars and traffic, on relations between the races, on high school drill teams, and on values and morality, including what pass for liberal ones. It's none too gentle, either.

The most sympathetic characters are women—the work of writer Joan Tewkesbury—usually abused by fat, but still hungry, husbands as well as by the system, but not crushed. Even the very brief characterizations, such as people in a crowd, are almost harshly revealing.

But lest those who don't like country-western music anyway settle back for a chuckle at someone else's expense, know that the thrusts are not aimed at a special region or the culture that emanated from it, or in particular at the commercial horror of the Nashville music industry.

Nashville is a movie to make one think. I would recommend that *Militant* readers see it, and discuss it with their fellow workers. But don't get trapped into an argument over whether it faithfully reproduces the Nashville sound, let alone the rest of country-western. It doesn't, but that's beside the point. The point is: we all live in Nashville.

—Fred Halstead

INSIDE SOVIET JAILS

Political Prisoners in the U.S.S.R.: Who They Are, What They Stand For, How You Can Help Them. *Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners*, New York, 1975. 55 pp., \$1.25.

Bulletin. Published by *Committee for the Defense of Human Rights in the Soviet Union*, Chicago. 38 pp., \$1.

"The food of the prisoners is prepared of rotten groats and potatoes, sour rotten cabbage (sauerkraut). A prisoner gets 450gr. bread and 15gr. sugar a day. In the Vladimir prison the prisoners are kept in concrete cells—from 3 to 10 or even 15 persons in a cell."

The above quote is from an appeal by the parents, wives, and children of Soviet political prisoners held in Vladimir prison. This appeal and others by and about political prisoners in the Soviet Union are contained in the recently published pamphlet by the New York-based Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners.

In his introduction, Adrian Karatnycky says, "Our defense of Soviet political prisoners. . . must be spirited, international in scope, and characterised by the strength of commitment and compassion. And we can gain strength from the realisation that these men and women who have sacrificed so much, and struggled so committedly, are the true voices of democracy, national rights, and socialism in the Soviet Union."

The compilation also contains profiles of twelve of the most well-known prisoners—

Pamphlets

individuals such as Valentyn Moroz and Vladimir Bukovsky.

The last section, subtitled "Helping Political Prisoners—An Action Guide," offers a detailed outline of what supporters of these prisoners can do to help. Included are suggestions on forming local defense committees, soliciting trade-union support, and organizing other protest activities.

Also listed are the names of several hundred Soviet political prisoners with data such as the charges against them, the length of their sentences, and their current locations.

The documents and facts contained in this compilation should be especially valuable to all those interested in defending Soviet political prisoners.

From the Chicago Committee for the Defense of Human Rights in the Soviet Union has come the first issue of the *Bulletin*, a collection of documents and articles on repression in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. These include "Two Prisoners" by Philip Berrigan, "A Letter in Defense of Dr. Karel Culík" by Noam Chomsky, and "Most Recent News on the Case of Valentyn Moroz."

The *Bulletin* will appear "non-periodically," but the first issue is a useful description of the cases supported by defense activists in the United States.

Political Prisoners in the U.S.S.R. can be ordered from: Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners, Post Office Box 142, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003; the *Bulletin*, from: Committee for the Defense of Human Rights in the Soviet Union, 1131 West Taylor Street, Chicago, Illinois 60607.

—Nancy Cole

L.A. Blacks protest racist cop murders

By Miguel Pendás

LOS ANGELES—It was still daylight on a summer evening, June 29, when three young Black men were driving through heavy traffic on their way to a concert at the Hollywood Bowl by the popular rock group Earth, Wind, and Fire.

They never made it.

Before they even got to the parking lot, twenty-two-year-old Randall Miles lay dead in the driver's seat, shot through the heart at point-blank range by a white cop.

It was another case of the "shoot first and ask questions later" attitude that has resulted in seventy-five police killings in Los Angeles County in the past eighteen months. Many of the victims, if not most, were Blacks or Chicanos.

Police termed the shooting of Miles an "accident." They say Miles pulled alongside a camper being driven by an off-duty cop, shouted insults at him, and displayed what appeared to be a gun. The cop got out of his camper and found another cop, Sgt. Jerrold Bender, who was on duty for the concert, and they came toward Miles's car.

Then, according to the cops, Bender, gun in one hand, put his other hand on the hood of Miles's car and told Miles to get out. The car moved, knocking the cop over and causing the gun to discharge.

However, other eyewitnesses to the incident gave a different story, one that indicates it was cold-blooded murder. Calvin Lewis and Roger Rockymore were in the car with Miles when he was shot.

Lewis and Rockymore told the *Los Angeles Free Press* that as they were driving toward the Hollywood Bowl a

man in a camper cut in front of them to change lanes, nearly causing an accident. After they yelled at him to watch where he was going, he jumped out of the camper with a drawn gun and began to beat Rockymore.

After getting Bender, the man with the camper pulled Lewis out of the car and threw him on the hood, while Bender stood in front of the car, leaning over the hood in firing position. A few seconds later he pulled the trigger, for no apparent reason.

Other witnesses have corroborated the version of the incident told by the young Blacks. Their accounts give the lie to the police contention that Bender was knocked over accidentally by the car and that anyone in the car brandished a gun.

It is rare for any cop to have charges brought against him. Even rarer is a conviction.

But the pent-up outrage of the Black community over these acts of terror has begun to show more than usual since the killing of Randall Miles. Miles's family is seeking redress for their son's murder. They are suing the city for wrongful death.

As Roger Miles, Randall's brother, spoke to nearly 400 persons gathered at a church in the Black community, it was clear that a responsive chord had been struck. The audience stood up and responded with sustained applause when Miles said, "We, the Black community, and other minorities must band together to stop the murder of Blacks."

The rally, called by the Justice for Randall Miles Coalition and cosponsored by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), the Student Coalition Against Racism, the



Militant/Miguel Pendás

Laura Moorhead, of Student Coalition Against Racism, addressing protest rally of 400.

NAACP, the People's Defense Committee, and other groups, was the biggest response to racist police terror in Los Angeles in several years.

Ellery Allen, the mother of Philip Allen, a young Black man being framed up for the killing of a cop, expressed the feelings of many when she made the point that the police terror affects everyone in the community, not just the ones who happen to get killed. "I never thought I would be up here exhorting people to action," she said. She added that all must unite to stop the racist frame-up of Joanne Little in North Carolina, and this got a very good response from the audience.

Willie Elston, a representative of the Council for Justice for Anthony Wilkins, scored Black Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley for having done nothing to stem the tide of police terrorism

against Blacks since he has been in office. Bradley has not even so much as sent condolences to the Miles family for the "accidental" killing of their son.

Anthony Wilkins was another young Black gunned down by Bradley's police. He was killed a year ago, ironically enough, also at the Hollywood Bowl, during a concert by Aretha Franklin.

Laura Moorhead, speaking on behalf of the Student Coalition Against Racism, pointed out that the police killings here are part of a pattern of violence against the Black community all over the country, most notably in Boston, with the aid and encouragement of government officials right up to the president.

She was stopped by applause when she said that the Black community in Los Angeles must be prepared to wage a struggle for desegregation, because that is an issue here just as much as it is in Boston.

Rev. Garnett Henning of the SCLC called for the killers of Randall Miles to be brought to trial, and for all charges to be dropped against Calvin Lewis, Roger Rockymore, and John Parker, an activist who was arrested by cops while leafleting for the rally.

As the rally progressed, representatives from community organizations stepped up to lend their support. Claude Hudson of the NAACP spoke, as did a Black minister who just a few days before had been dragged out of his church in handcuffs by cops in a clear act of harassment.

Representatives of the Congress of Racial Equality were at the rally, and a representative of Rep. Yvonne Brathwaite Burke (D.—Calif.).

Another frame-up

Indian indicted for murder of two FBI men

By José Pérez

James Eagle, one of the four Indians the FBI says it was looking for on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation last June, has been charged with the deaths of two FBI agents. The two agents and one Indian were killed in a June 26 shoot-out on the reservation.

Eagle, nineteen, had been the target of an intensive FBI search for several weeks before the shootings. He and his family are well known on the reservation as American Indian Movement supporters.

Eagle had turned himself in on July 9 for the earlier charges. On July 25 he was rearrested, and he now faces two counts of murder.

The charges against Eagle are based on an FBI claim that two prisoners who had been incarcerated with Eagle told agents he had admitted to the shootings.

The complaint filed against Eagle alleges he gave the two prisoners a detailed account of the deaths of the two FBI men, down to the caliber of the weapons used.

However, the version of the deaths detailed in the complaint contradicts what is known about the incident. It parallels instead initial reports put out by the government immediately after the Pine Ridge shooting, most of which later turned out to be false. For example:

- According to the complaint, the shooting took place at a cluster of several houses near the village of Oglala. This was also the FBI's original story. But the dead agents were found next to their cars several hundred yards away from the houses, deep inside private Indian land.



Government agents at scene of June 26 shootings on Pine Ridge Indian Reservation

- The complaint describes Eagle as saying that after one agent had been hit, the other surrendered and "begged for his life." But one of the Indians shot him, and then "everyone took turns shooting the agent."

This almost fits the initial government report of an "execution" where the agents were shot "fifteen to twenty" times. But it doesn't fit FBI Director Clarence Kelley's July 1 statement that each agent had been hit three times.

- Eagle supposedly said there were "many people" at the houses, armed with M-16 and M-14 rifles and other weapons. They stayed for a shoot-out with government forces, which lasted from noon until it began to get dark. Then, according to the complaint, Eagle and others got into a car and drove away.

With a reported total of 250 police reinforcements on the scene, blocks on

all the roads, and the houses totally surrounded, it is impossible for anyone to have escaped. South Dakota Attorney General William Janklow, who was at the scene, says that by the time most government reinforcements had arrived, "there just weren't any people left there."

Clearly, the story attributed to Eagle is not plausible, and the charges against him can only be considered a frame-up.

Eagle's frame-up is only the latest in a long series of charges the government has been busily fabricating and prosecuting against Indian militants in the past several years. The purpose of these charges is to crush the struggle by Indian people for their rights.

On July 26, American Indian Movement leader Dennis Banks was convicted on charges of armed riot and assault in such a frame-up. The

charges stem from a police riot in Custer, South Dakota, in February 1973 against an AIM-backed protest. Banks was acquitted of four other charges.

During the trial, the defense was not allowed to introduce much of its evidence. For example, the judge refused to let the jury view a film of the incident, which showed cops viciously beating Indian women to the ground.

When defense witnesses took the stand, they were subjected to threats from Attorney General Janklow, who personally acted as chief prosecutor in the case.

Despite this, two alternate jurors said after the trial that there had clearly not been enough evidence to convict. Banks intends to appeal, and was released on bail pending his sentencing. He faces fifteen years in jail.

Russell Means, another AIM leader who faces multiple frame-up charges, was the target of an apparent murder attempt on the Rosebud Indian Reservation July 28. According to Kenneth Tilsen, a Minneapolis lawyer who talked with Means about the incident, Means was riding in a car on the reservation when another car with three men in it passed by and fired.

Means was grazed on the forehead by the bullet, and it required twelve stitches to close the wound.

Tilsen reports that Means recognized the three men in the other car, one of them a paid FBI informer. He gave their names to Bureau of Indian Affairs police, but the BIA has refused to take any action, saying they can't arrest the men without a grand jury indictment.

Calendar

LOS ANGELES

LOS ANGELES POLICE DEPARTMENT: THE TRUTH ABOUT THE NEW CENTURIONS. A conference. Sat., Aug. 16, 10 a.m. to 10 p.m. Carpenter's Hall, 2200 W. Seventh St. Ausp: Campaign for Democratic Freedoms. P.O. Box 9662, Marina Del Rey, Calif. 90201. For more information call (213) 821-9596.

...Portugal

Continued from page 6

threatening to move in, and are undoubtedly giving support to the rightists.

President Ford sent up an ominous trial balloon in an interview in *U.S. News & World Report* published August 3. "We don't like the fact that Portugal is in turmoil now," he said.

Ford mentioned secret activities by the West European imperialist powers in Portugal, and added: "I think it is very tragic that because of the CIA investigation and all the limitations imposed on us in the area of covert operations, we weren't able to participate with other West European countries."

Washington's sinister threats of intervention are not motivated by concern for democratic rights—for decades the United States backed the Salazarist regime with economic and military aid, participating with it in the NATO alliance.

The work of the CIA has been typified in the tiger cages of Con Son, the torture chambers of Santiago, and the dungeons of Seoul. It will not be any different in Portugal.

...bankers

Continued from back page

workers who do not meet the quotas. The sanitation department says the exact figures have yet to be worked out, but that the quotas will definitely be more than the work loads expected of sanitation workers before the recent layoffs.

Eager to move ahead, even without the quota guidelines, sanitation depart-

ment officials issued complaints August 5 against twelve sanitation workers in the Bronx. Charged with such violations as "overextended lunch periods," the men will now face departmental trials.

The productivity drive is regarded fondly by the bankers who run Big Mac. Their program is to break the power of the municipal unions in this city and to drive down the living standards and quality of life of all New Yorkers.

Big Mac's only complaint is that Beame still isn't doing enough to speed up productivity and slash services. In its reform program announced simultaneously with the wage freeze agreement, Big Mac proposes that the "drastic, immediate" cuts that have and will be instituted must be extended to long-term cuts and that an increase in productivity is "indispensable."

In order to do that, the bankers say, substantial reforms are needed in the city's management. And who should accomplish these reforms but the city's "financial community"?

The mayor has rejected Big Mac's offer to establish itself as, in Beame's words, a "shadow government." Instead, he has proposed his own Mayor's Management Council to be headed by Richard Shinn, president of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. Metropolitan Life is the world's second-largest insurance firm.

While the move is a face-saving measure for Beame, it will mean little difference as to whose interest city hall is serving.

Unless the labor movement begins to take united action to brake this union-busting course, Beame and his banker cronies will have a field day in trampling on the rights of all New York City workers.

New Yorkers have had more than a taste of what's in store for them already, and some of them are pretty mad. Protesting the proposed \$54 million cut in health services, 4,000 doctors, nurses, and other hospital workers blocked all lanes of the Brooklyn Bridge July 24. "To hell with Big Mac, we want our hospitals back," they chanted.

When Beame tried to speak at a lunchtime dedication ceremony on Wall Street August 1, he was drowned out by boos and chants from passers-by. "Shut up" and "Get out of here," people shouted.

"I'm booing him because of the

[transit] fare," one person explained.

A city hall official said later that the mayor knew his actions were "politically unpopular," but that "this is not the time for politics as usual."

Gotbaum and the other leaders of the labor movement in this city would do well to take that advice to heart.

...Garrison

Continued from page 13

Defense Committee is organizing publicity and fund raising for Garrison. It is setting up speaking engagements for Garrison, Mares, and other spokes-

people and is urging supporters of Garrison to be in the Judge Waino Johnson's courtroom in Fort Morgan on August 13 when the trial begins.

Garrison feels this activity is very important. "Getting people to the courtroom is the only thing the judge will respect," he says. "When the room is filled, the judge must think twice about what he would do to me, whereas if an individual goes into the courtroom alone the judge has a lot of room to maneuver since no one is there to see what he does."

Messages of support for Garrison can be sent to: Denver Chicano Liberation Defense Committee, Post Office Box 18347, Denver, Colorado 80218.

Help win new readers for the Militant

Order a packet of prepaid subscription cards today and help the *Militant* win new readers. The cards are worth a two-month subscription to the paper and sell for \$1 each. When you convince someone on the job, at school, or in your neighborhood to try a *Militant* subscription, simply fill in their name and address and drop the card in the nearest mailbox, and you keep the dollar.

Enclosed is : _____ \$5 for 5 cards _____ \$10 for 11 cards.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Send to 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014



Genocide Against the Indians

Its Role in the Rise of U.S. Capitalism

By George Novack

31 pp., \$60

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.

Shippensburg: YSA, c/o Mark Dressler, Box 214 Lackhove Hall, Shippensburg State College, Shippensburg, Pa. 17257.

State College: YSA, 333 Logan Ave. #401, State College, Pa. 16801.

TENNESSEE: Nashville: YSA, P.O. Box 67, Station B, Nashville, Tenn. 37235. Tel: (615) 383-2583.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Arnold Rodriguez, 901 Morrow, Apt. 303, Austin, Tex. 78757.

Dallas: YSA, c/o Steve Charles, 3420 Hidalgo #201, Dallas, Tex. 75220. Tel: (214) 352-6031.

Houston: SWP, YSA, and Pathfinder Books, 3311 Montrose, Houston, Tex. 77006. Tel: (713) 526-1082.

San Antonio: YSA, c/o Andy González, 2203 W. Houston, San Antonio, Tex. 78207.

UTAH: Logan: YSA, P.O. Box 1233, Utah State University, Logan, Utah 84321.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 1345 E St. N.W., Fourth Floor, Wash., D.C. 20004. Tel: SWP—(202) 783-2391; YSA—(202) 783-2363.

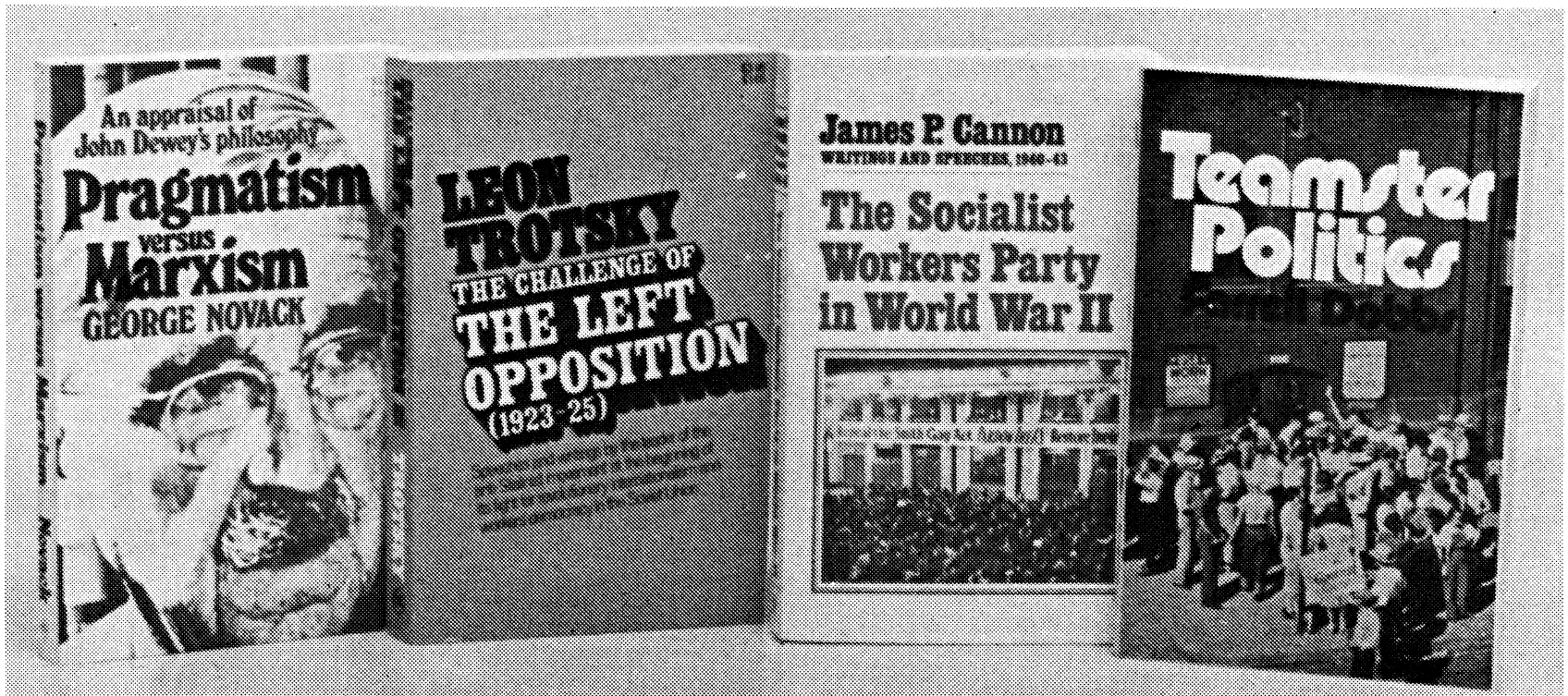
WASHINGTON: Bellingham: YSA and Young Socialist Books, Rm. 213, Viking Union, Western Washington State College, Bellingham, Wash. 98225. Tel: (206) 676-3460.

Seattle: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 5623 University Way N.E., Seattle, Wash. 98105. Tel: (206) 522-7800.

WISCONSIN: Madison: YSA, P.O. Box 1442, Madison, Wis. 53701. Tel: (608) 238-6224.

Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 207 E. Michigan Ave., Rm. 25, Milwaukee, Wis. 53202. Tel: SWP—(414) 289-9340; YSA—(414) 289-9380.

New from Pathfinder Press



paper \$3.45
cloth \$13.00

paper \$3.95
cloth \$15.00

paper \$3.95
cloth \$14.00

paper \$2.95
cloth \$10.00

Available from the bookstores listed in the Socialist Directory on the facing page or by mail

410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014

The Issues in Boston

The Racist Offensive Against Busing: The Lessons of Boston; How to Fight Back by Willie Mae Reid, Peter Camejo, and others. 50 cents.

Who Killed Jim Crow? The Story of the Civil Rights Movement and Its Lessons for Today by Peter Camejo. 60 cents.

From Mississippi to Boston: The Demand for Troops to Enforce Civil Rights. An Education for Socialists Bulletin. 75 cents.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014

Calendar and classified ad rates: 75 cents per line of 56-character-wide type-written copy. Display ad rates: \$10 per column inch (\$7.50 if camera-ready ad is enclosed). Payment must be included with ads. The Militant is published each week on Friday. Deadlines for ad copy: Friday, one week preceding publication, for classified and display ads; Wednesday noon, two days preceding publication, for calendar ads. Telephone: (212) 243-6392.

Woman's Evolution

From Matriarchal Clan
To Patriarchal Family

By Evelyn Reed
512 pp., \$15.00, paper \$4.95
Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Are you reading Fred Halstead's graphic account?



Part of crowd of 400,000 persons at New York antiwar demonstration April 15, 1967.

Joseph Hansen/Intercontinental Press

Now being serialized in *Intercontinental Press*. The author was a prominent leader of the antiwar demonstrations that finally forced Nixon to withdraw the GIs from Vietnam. To subscribe, send \$12 for six months to P.O. Box 116, Village Sta., New York, N.Y. 10014. If you want your sub to begin with first installment of *Out Now!* check box.

- ☐ Begin my subscription with the first installment of *Out Now!*
☐ Begin my subscription with the current issue.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____
Country _____

Pay freeze, speedup

What bankers' plans mean for NY workers

By Nancy Cole

NEW YORK—The latest act in the well-orchestrated drama of a city negotiating its very chance for survival ended abruptly here July 31 when city officials announced an agreement freezing the wages of all city workers.

The negotiations in the midtown Americana Hotel had been advertised as give-and-take sessions between city hall, the unions, and the banks (represented by the Municipal Assistance

For additional coverage of unions' response to New York crisis, see pages 26-27.

Corporation—Big Mac). But when the terms of the deal were revealed, it was readily apparent that once again the municipal employees, along with all other working New Yorkers, had done all the giving.

As of September 1, wages of all city workers will be frozen for one year, minus part or all of the 6 percent pay increase that was due July 1. The pay raise will be rescinded on a graduated basis: those earning \$10,000 or less will lose one-third of their increase; those earning between \$10,000 and \$15,000, two-thirds; and those earning more than \$15,000, all of the 6 percent raise.

Victor Gotbaum, executive director of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, was the key union official at the negotiations. He carried the charade through to the finish. Gotbaum contends that his participation in the talks won concessions for his union, and he expressed "delight" at the cooperation of the banks in reaching an agreement.

At one point he remarked, "I love to negotiate."

Gotbaum insists on calling the wage deal a "deferral," while every other official and commentator in the city is calling it what it is, a wage freeze. The agreement calls for deferring the pay increases until July 1978, at which time maybe they will be paid.

The maybe depends on whether the city is back in the bond market on a "normal" basis and has a deficit-free balanced budget by then—a situation that even Beame and Big Mac find hard to be optimistic about.

Other terms

Other terms of the deal, which New Yorkers will find little "delight" in, include:

- A fifteen-cent increase in transit fares raising the price to fifty cents, and possibly to sixty cents come January 1.

- A \$32 million cut in City University funds.

- The "bumping" of 1,000 provisional non-civil service workers and more than 1,000 mostly Black and Puerto Rican workers in the federally funded Comprehensive Employment and Training Act program. These positions will be filled with laid-off civil service workers.

In addition, the talks produced a



Garbage lies uncollected on New York City streets because of layoffs. Now sanitation workers, their wages frozen, face 'productivity quotas.'

pledge, according to Gotbaum, that "in principle" the city was opposed to any more layoffs in this fiscal year. However, Mayor Abraham Beame has already stated that further layoffs are not precluded.

The deal, made public on July 31, was apparently all wrapped up, with Gotbaum in full agreement, two days earlier. The announcement was held up because negotiators representing cops and firefighters refused to accept the agreement. They argued that there was no way they could sell it to their membership, who as the highest-paid city employees would lose their entire pay increase based on the graduated plan. Both groups still refuse to accept the wage freeze.

Albert Shanker, president of the United Federation of Teachers, also resisted the freeze. Teachers' wages are not directly affected by the agreement, but with a contract coming up in September, teachers definitely had a stake in the negotiations.

Gotbaum reasoned otherwise. The *New York Times* reported an exchange between the two union officials that led to Shanker's ouster from the sessions:

"How can you stay here when you're not part of this?" Gotbaum asked Shanker late one night.

"I'm staying because what you do has an effect on me," Shanker answered.

"Every negotiation has an effect on every other union," Gotbaum countered. "Get out of here!"

Shanker left.

Beame pleads

In announcing the agreement, Beame pleaded, "My fellow New Yorkers, we're a diverse people who speak many languages and respect different traditions. But we're capable of pulling together. . . . I believe that my program for recovery can succeed with your cooperation."

For those city workers not impressed by Beame's moral appeals, he backed it up with something more concrete. Those unions that vote to voluntarily accept the wage freeze will be allowed to base pensions on the "deferred" pay increase. Those that resist, won't.

And if that isn't enough to convince them, Beame threw in another threat. At the mayor's request, the city council passed a local law August 1 granting Beame power to impose the wage freeze. Beame has also asked the state to be prepared to back up the freeze with state legislation if necessary.

The wage freeze, however, is only the most immediate threat to city workers to be found in the Gotbaum-approved deal. The second point of Beame's

statement on the agreement amounts to an open challenge to all the gains New York's municipal unions have won over the years.

"In all future collective bargaining, we will concentrate on what comes out of the contract as well as what goes in it," Beame said. "We can no longer tolerate contractual giveaways or frills. . . . Excesses should be eliminated from future contracts."

This blunt declaration of war on the city's unions has been coined "productivity reform." And the \$150 million saved through the wage freeze is to be supplemented with funds accrued through increased productivity, or speedup, among city workers.

The first to experience this new game plan are the sanitation workers. Ever since their wildcat strike in June protesting the layoffs of 14 percent of their work force, sanitation workers have not been regarded highly by city hall.

—An estimated 3,500 to 4,000 tons of accumulated garbage is a daily reminder to New Yorkers of what Beame's layoffs can mean. Hundreds of garbage fires are set by residents each day.

City officials have charged the sanitation workers with a deliberate slowdown. Sanitation union head John DeLury says different. "Productivity declines when manpower and equipment are not available," he told reporters. "There is no other way ingenuity can be devised to collect garbage."

'Productivity quotas'

Now Beame has announced a plan of "productivity quotas" for the sanitation department. Penalties, possibly financial, will be levied on those

Continued on page 30



Doctors, nurses, and hospital workers block Brooklyn Bridge to protest cuts in health services. 'To hell with Big Mac, we want our hospitals back,' they chanted.