

# THE MILITANT

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

## Defend Black students!

# Action needed to stop racist mobs

## Boston

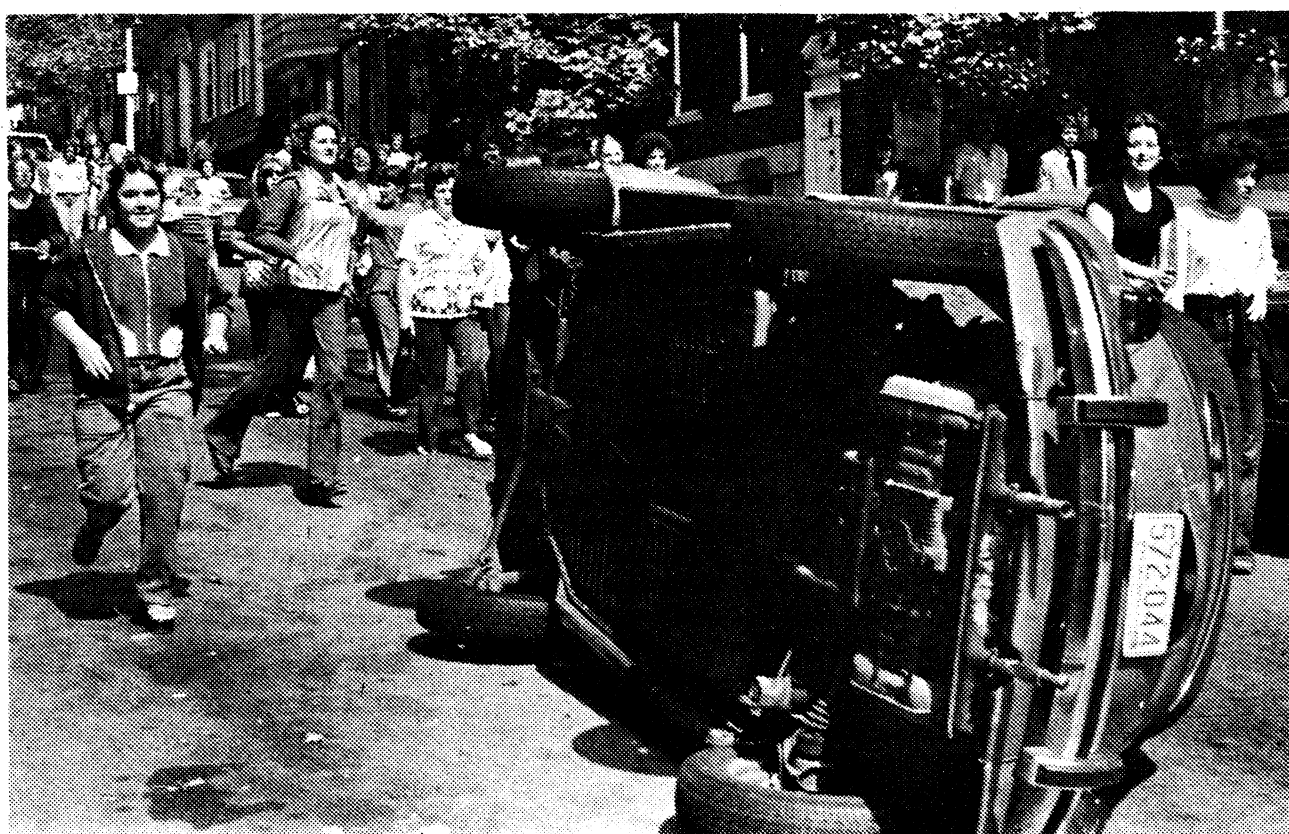
By Baxter Smith

BOSTON, Sept. 10—Black students were bused to and from the public schools in safety during their opening two days here because nearly 1,900 police officers patrolled the streets near the schools.

The opening contrasted sharply with last year. Then, Black students were attacked when bused into South Boston with totally inadequate police presence.

The deployment of police this year has had a dampening effect on racist bravado. But powerful pressure will have to be brought to bear by the Black community and its allies to keep city officials from bending to racist demands and withdrawing the force.

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Antibusing violence spreads through Charlestown section of Boston Militant/Jon Hillson

## Louisville

By Nan Bailey  
and Peter Seidman

LOUISVILLE, Ky., Sept. 9—Armed guards are now riding on every one of Louisville's 570 school buses. The guards are all that stand between the city's Black schoolchildren and mob violence by white racists opposed to school desegregation.

U.S. District Court Judge James Gordon ordered up the guards after a weekend of racist riots in which two school buses were burned and others stoned by Ku Klux Klan-led gangs. The racists have smashed bus windows, assaulted Black students, and fought with police.

Only a massive show of force by authorities, including the deployment

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Louisville anti-Black rioters clash with police

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## THE MILITANT

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# In Brief

**OPERATION PUSH ENDORSES ANTIHARASSMENT LAWSUIT:** The national convention of Operation PUSH held in Philadelphia last month voted unanimously to endorse the Political Rights Defense Fund. The PRDF, a civil liberties group, is financing and organizing support for the lawsuit against government officials brought by the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance.

The Operation PUSH resolution read, in part: "We endorse the efforts of the Political Rights Defense Fund in its efforts to build support for the PRDF lawsuit against illegal government surveillance, harassment, and interference with democratic rights. . . . We also endorse the Political Rights Defense Fund in its defense of the right of Blacks and other working people to organize without harassment."

**POLL FINDS AMERICANS DON'T WANT 'TECHNICIANS' SENT TO MIDEAST:** By more than a 2-to-1 margin, the public believes Congress should not provide large-scale financial aid to Israel, according to a poll reported in the *Los Angeles Times*. Of a national sample of 1,000 people, 64 percent said that Congress should not approve aid in the range of \$2.5 billion, 24 percent approved, and 12 percent offered no opinion.

By a 41 percent to 38 percent plurality, Americans thought Congress should reject the idea of sending American "technicians" to the Sinai, the poll showed. Another 3 percent said they favored it under certain conditions, and 18 percent offered no view.

**BUT IT'S ONLY A 'SUBCONSCIOUS REBELLION,' SAYS KISSINGER:** When asked by reporters why the Sinai agreement has been so seriously questioned in Congress, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger suggested that it was "some kind of subconscious rebellion." Why else, after all, would anyone question the great master of shuttle diplomacy? "Part of the reason," he added, might be "because it involved the year of collapse of our Indochina effort."

**INDIANS PLAN CAMPAIGN TO EXPOSE 'UNDECLARED WAR':** The Survival of American Indians Association (SAIA) called a news conference last month in Portland, Oregon, to outline a nationwide campaign to publicize recent violations of the rights of tribal members on the Pine Ridge and Rosebud reservations in South Dakota. Citing terror tactics used by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) and the FBI, SAIA Executive Director Sid Mills said there is a state of undeclared war on Indian people. He urged support for demonstrations at BIA offices planned for Columbus Day in mid-October.

SAIA is in the process of establishing regional offices in cities in the Pacific Northwest, California, and the Southwest. Earlier in August, 150 SAIA supporters marched 120 miles from Olympia, Washington, to Portland to dramatize demands that government attacks be halted. The group camped for four days in a park near the building that houses the BIA regional offices. When a demand to meet with acting secretary of the interior Kent Frizell was not met, they briefly occupied a room in the federal office building.

**... AND CONFRONT FORD WITH IT:** "FBI off Indian land!" chanted more than 150 demonstrators as Gerald Ford arrived at Seattle's Exhibition Hall September 4 to speak to a Republican fund-raising luncheon. The demonstration was called by the Survival of American Indians Association to protest attacks on the South Dakota reservations.

Protesters also demanded implementation of a 1974 federal court decision granting Washington Indians 50 percent of western Washington's fish harvest. SAIA's Sid Mills told reporters, "In no way are the Indians taking 50 percent of the fish. I'm a fisherman and last year was my worst season."

Mills said that white sports and commercial fishers have been taking as much salmon as they want from Puget Sound, and then the state closes the rivers to Indians, claiming the salmon runs are in danger of being depleted.

**FBI CONTINUES TERROR TACTICS:** On the morning of September 5, about eighty FBI agents approached the Rosebud reservation homes of Leonard Crow Dog and Al Running. Crow Dog is spiritual director of the American Indian Movement and Running is an AIM supporter. According to the AIM national office, the agents "roused the sleeping households by shouting, 'This is the FBI, come out with your hands up,' as four helicopters landed."

Charged with assault with a deadly weapon were Crow Dog, Al Running, Frank Running, Gerald Millard, and Owen Young, Jr. Annie Mae Aquash was charged with

"possession of a weapon with an altered serial number," and Darryl (Dino) Butler, with "convicted felon in possession of a weapon." Bond was set at \$5,000 each, except for Butler, for whom no bond was set. AIM reports that the alleged incident leading to the assault charges occurred at 3:00 a.m. September 3 "when two drunken 'goons' . . . were run off the Crow Dog homestead."

**JUDGE REFUSES TO DISMISS CHARGES AGAINST NAZI VICTIM:** A Milwaukee circuit court judge denied a motion September 8 to drop charges of disorderly conduct against Michael Murphy. Murphy, a Black member of the Socialist Workers party, was cited by police for "fighting" when he defended himself against an attack by Nazis in downtown Milwaukee last August. John Murray, Murphy's attorney, filed the motion when police failed to serve a complaint within the required twenty days after the incident. A jury trial has been set for January 7.

**CHICAGO'S SOUTH SIDE SWP HEADQUARTERS OPENS:** The Socialist Workers party will celebrate its expansion in Chicago at an open house on Friday, September 19, 6:00 p.m., at the new South Side headquarters. The featured speaker will be Linda Jenness, 1972 SWP presidential candidate.

The storefront offices at 1754 East Fifty-fifth Street are in Hyde Park, one of the centers of political activity in Chicago. When Willie Mae Reid ran for mayor of Chicago against "Boss" Richard Daley this past spring, she got 17 percent of the vote in this area.

The headquarters will also house the Militant Forum hall, the SWP 1976 campaign committee, and the Pathfinder bookstore. For more information on the September 19 open house, call (312) 643-5520.

**500 LOS ANGELES TEACHERS PICKET:** More than 500 Los Angeles teachers marched in a picket line September 3 to press their demands for a new contract. The protest, held outside a meeting of school administrators, was called by the United Teachers-Los Angeles (UTLA). The UTLA is composed of members of the National Education Association and the American Federation of Teachers and represents some 17,000 of the 24,000 teachers in the Los Angeles district.

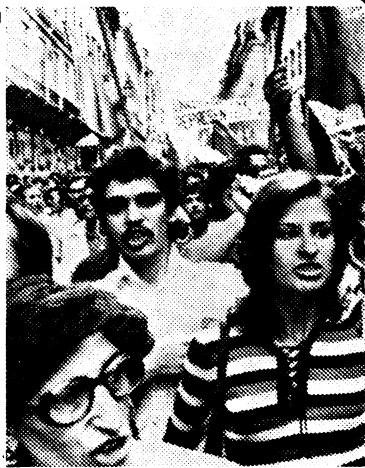
The picket signs reflected the key demands of the teachers. They included "Health is a right, not a fringe benefit. Restore the teachers' health plan," and "Reform Education. Cut Bureaucrats, Not Teachers." According to a spokesperson for the UTLA, the central demands raised by the teachers were a 7.2 percent wage increase and the continuation of a fully funded health and dental plan.

A tentative agreement was announced on September 5 that included a 6 percent wage increase and the restoration of the health and dental plans at the 1974-1975 level.

—Nancy Cole

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# 'Use force to protect Black students!'



PETER CAMEJO

[The following statement was issued September 10 by Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers party candidates for president and vice-president of the United States.]

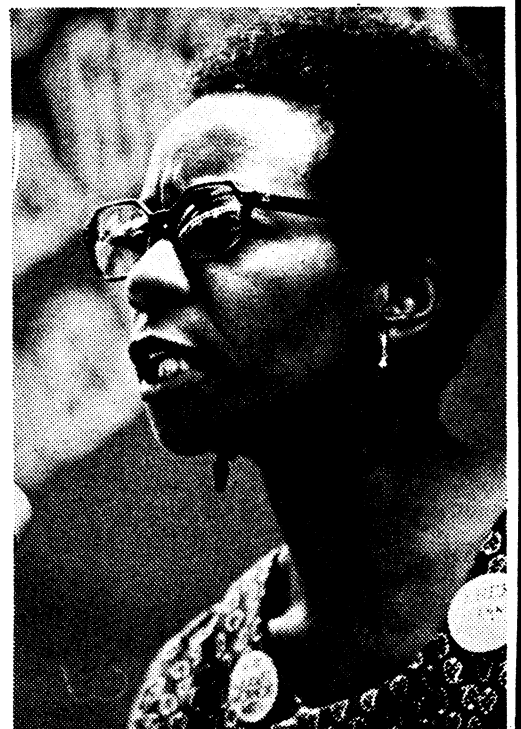
The federal government must use all necessary force to protect Black schoolchildren being bused to achieve school desegregation.

The outbreaks of anti-Black violence in Boston and Louisville, and the threats by antibusing racists elsewhere to follow suit, have propelled this issue to center stage in American politics. It can no longer be ignored by federal officials; to remain silent is to give tacit approval to mob violence.

The deployment so far of substantial police power in Boston and Louisville, including federal and state forces, is a victory for Black rights and a setback for the racists. The fact that only now, under protection of armed guards, can Black students in those cities ride to school in relative safety is proof positive that force is necessary. Even now, the threat of lynch-mob terror remains a daily reality for Blacks in Boston, Louisville, and other cities where anti-Black hysteria has been whipped up by antibusing organizers.

Just a few days ago frenzied mobs in Louisville were burning

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WILLIE MAE REID

## The real face of antibusing movement

By Jon Hillson

BOSTON—The 3,000 whistling, cheering bigots bellowed out their favorite chant, "Boston's on the war-path, ooh, ahh," announcing what they intended to do when school opened the following day.

"Louisville is resisting," John Kerrigan, a member of the Boston School Committee, crowed to the racist throng outside city hall on September 7. "But remember this—Louisville is Boston's farm club. So let's show this to the world."

But with strict court orders applied to gatherings near schools and a heavy police presence in South Boston and Charlestown—the chief centers of violent resistance to court-ordered desegregation—the racists could not deliver on Kerrigan's call to arms.

Still, the seething, racist rage against the drive to desegregate Boston's schools erupted enough to show the menace of the antibusing movement.

At 10:15 a.m., just hours after the first Black student got off a school bus and walked into Charlestown High School on Monday, 500 racists cheered the burning of an effigy of a Black man in a Charlestown housing project. The dummy bore a sign reading "Nigger beware."

Later that morning 100 white youths hurled rocks, bottles, and bricks after Boston police rebuffed their attempt to march toward Charlestown High School. The day-long stand-off produced upwards of 500 "townies" milling around the edges of the streets marked off-limits by the police.

Frustrated at their inability to get at the buses, gangs of hooligans overturned parked cars, setting two afire. Racists roamed through the streets looking for targets.

### Lynch mob

A frenzied mob of nearly 100 lynch-minded racists stormed into Bunker Hill Community College, cornering a Black student, Harvey Fisher, and beating him. He escaped with bruises and a broken arm.

In South Boston, smaller crowds hooted and spat at the buses. Michael Alexander, a Black reporter for *Newsday*, a Long Island, New York, newspaper, was beaten in his car by five white thugs. He had stopped the automobile after its windows had been smashed out by rocks.

That evening scores of cars, horns blaring, drove in a motorcade between

South Boston and Charlestown. With American flags and streamers flying from the vehicles, the racists chanted, "Kill the niggers" and "Niggers eat shit."

After finishing their drive, hundreds of bigots spent the evening chucking bottles and shooting metal-tipped darts from slingshots at police stationed on guard duty in South Boston and Charlestown.

Into the late evening in Charlestown, more than 200 bigots skirmished with police but were prevented from entering the high school grounds. No arrests were made. Gangs fire bombed the Prescott Middle School, stoning fire fighters called in the extinguish the blaze.

Racists set fire to the John F. Kennedy home in Brookline, now a museum, causing \$75,000 in damage.

"Bus Teddy" was sprayed on the sidewalk, a reference to Sen. Edward Kennedy, whose moderate position on desegregation has infuriated the bigots.

Hundreds milled in Charlestown streets on Tuesday, jeering and spitting at reporters, heaving bricks at motorists who happened to be in the wrong place at the wrong time. Boston police were occasionally pelted with rocks, soda cans, exploding firecrackers, and bottles.

While maintaining sufficient force to deter the bigots from nearing the school or the buses, the police kept on their kid gloves, gingerly arresting seven hooligans.

### Racist graffiti

South Boston and Charlestown, all-white areas, segregated in housing as though it were God's will, now have Black students in the schools that Black parents pay taxes for.

This is Charlestown's first year of desegregation. The racist graffiti, freshly splashed on the walls that Black students must pass every morning, reveals the real nature of the "antibusing movement."

"Busing is for Zulus," "White power," "No niggers," read the warnings in Charlestown. "Niggers smell like apes" is bright on a South Boston building. "Kill Zulus." "KKK."

On the opening day of school, reporters with notepads and cameras were recording the ugliness. The police stepped back, however, when young toughs boldly yelled, chin to chin with

the reporters and photographers, swearing and jeering at them.

Ann Teesdale, a member of the *Militant* reporting team in Charlestown, was set upon by two hooligans after snapping a picture of them setting a car on fire. After breaking loose on a side street she was spotted again and encircled by thirty to forty thugs who grabbed at her, lunging for the camera.

"I swung my elbows with all my might," she said. "They were all yelling, 'Get the camera,' and kicking at me." Teesdale broke free again and reached a main street.

The racist organizers had issued directives to break cameras of news photographers.

Bill Fisher, who was also gathering material for the *Militant* in Charlestown, was grabbed by three thugs who moved him to a side street and worked him over. A companion screamed for the police and the hooligans let Fisher go.

An hour later a 400-strong "mothers march" against busing began. The women knelt in the street, reciting the Lord's Prayer. Then they broke up into smaller groups, circulating through the streets, chanting antibusing slogans. The crowd later regrouped to begin its afternoon-long foray with police.

On Tuesday evening sporadic violence was again reported in both Charlestown and South Boston, as hooligans threw rocks at South Boston

High School, and G Street, on which the high school is located, was shut off by police.

### Black attendance up

On Tuesday, September 9, Black attendance at Charlestown High was double that of Monday. As the buses pulled away from the school that afternoon they passed under the shadow of Bunker Hill Monument.

One bus, full of white students from West Roxbury, an all-white enclave, stopped for a moment and the windows went down. Giddy laughs and racist epithets came from the students inside. "Take our pictures, not just the niggers," they yelled at the reporters.

In back of them was a bus of Black students. Some had raised clenched fists when they left the high school. As the bus idled, they too implored the photographers, half smiling. They feel alone, in enemy territory.

Some of us raised a fist to the Black students. Surprised, a young Black woman smiled and clenched a fist.

The communication traveled like electricity through the bus. The rest of the students waved, raising fists, as the bus rumbled out.

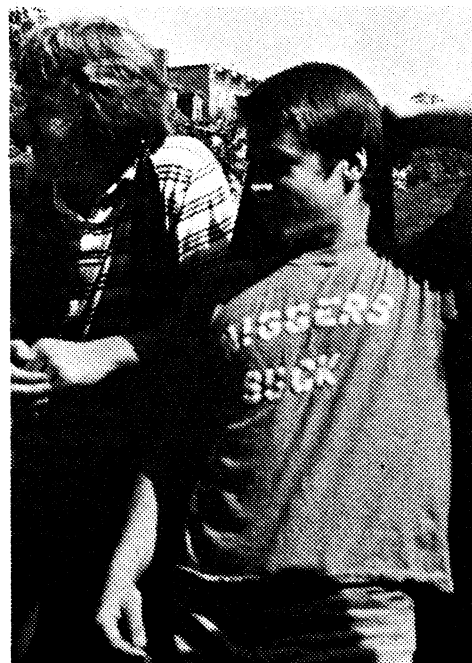
Indeed, the buses are rolling. But the word for this city is tense, a city on the edge. The racists are brooding, enraged, frustrated, unable to lash out as they want to because of the police force that has been deployed. Under these conditions, a stray reporter, a Puerto Rican at a subway stop going home from work, an unsuspecting Black visitor from out of town—are all potential targets.

### Truth must be told

The message of support for the students being bused, and their right to go to any school in this city, has to come through loud and clear. The truth about the antibusing movement and its crude, violent racism must come out.

The streets the bigots have sprayed "No niggers" on must be filled with marchers, picketers, and demonstrators who will stand up and take sides in a fight that is far from over.

Mobilizations of Boston's Black community and its allies across the country are the only way to ensure that the laws forbidding segregation will be enforced. They will also crush the hopes of Boston's bigots of making the riots in Louisville "look like a picnic."



Boston, 1975

Militant/Jon Hillson

# ...ROAR held at bay as schools open

Continued from page 1

Mayor Kevin White, in an ominous statement at the end of the second day of school, voiced discontent with the increased police presence.

"The sooner we get the police off the streets the better I'll feel," he said at a news briefing, showing his criminal disregard for the safety of Black students. "When it reaches the point where [there is] an overemphasis on law enforcement, physical presence becomes in a way debilitating, psychologically speaking."

The antibusing forces last week were preparing themselves for the reopening of schools after a summer of racist violence that has put sections of this city off-limits to Blacks.

## White boycott

In rallies on September 4 and September 7, racist leaders urged their followers to boycott the schools to resist busing. Last year the racists conducted a similar boycott.

Under Phase Two this year, 26,000 out of 73,000 students are to be bused. But very few whites have boarded buses to Roxbury High School in predominantly Black Roxbury, or attended classes at South Boston High and Charlestown High. Only 20 whites out of a projected enrollment of 241 attended Roxbury High the second day of classes.

Enrollment projections for the Boston school system are, at this point, quite tentative. Many white parents have enrolled their children in segregationist academies; others have registered them in the suburbs under relatives' names. A substantial number have gone into the Catholic school system, although the church claims to have a policy against this.

Few Black students showed up for classes the first day at South Boston and Charlestown high schools—for fear of their safety. Those who did were surrounded by plainclothes and uniformed officers on horseback, straddling motorcycles, seated in cars, on foot, and even a SWAT-garbed sharpshooter lodged in a sniper's nest atop the old Charlestown High School building.

One Black woman interviewed explained she was keeping her daughter home until she was assured of her safety.

The Chinese Parents Association also announced that Chinese parents, most of whom support busing, would be keeping their children home until their safety could be assured and more Chinese-speaking teachers are hired for bilingual programs.

The Chinese parents ended this boycott on September 9 after they felt secure about the safety of their children, although the issue of bilingual personnel was not resolved.

Overall, the percentage of Blacks attending school the first two days was higher than that for whites. On a city-wide basis 59.2 percent of students attended the first day and 64.9 percent attended the second day.

School officials have been purposely playing down the effect of the white boycott, just as they did last year.

School Supt. Marion Fahey said she was "proud and pleased" with the first two days' attendance. This is "just about what we expected," she added.

At a news briefing Fahey outlined a soft approach toward the white boycotters. She said there would be no attempt to apply the truancy laws for a while. School officials will only do that, she said, "when we're certain they're truant."

Meanwhile, white students who are boycotting the schools have been milling outside some of them, but are being kept a safe distance away by the cops. Frustrated because they couldn't get close enough to taunt or attack Black students being bused in, young whites rioted in the streets of Charlestown the first two days.

During these riots there have been only a handful of arrests. Other *Militant* reporters in Charlestown—it isn't safe for Blacks to be there—report that the attitude of the Boston cops toward the white rioters has generally been soft. (See story, page 3.)

Just before schools opened, the Boston Police Patrolmen's Association—which in May donated \$2,000 to ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights), the racist antibusing organization—threatened a "sick-out" over a supposed contract dispute. Black leaders, however, quickly saw it as an attempt to set the grounds for chaos on the opening days of school.

## National guard

Mayor White asked Gov. Michael Dukakis to dispatch the national guard, who were already on alert, to the city to provide protection when school opened if the cops followed through on their threat.

The guardsmen were sent to the Fargo Building (U.S. Navy headquarters) in South Boston on the evening before school was to open.

South Boston racists, at the sight of the green-fatigued guardsmen moving into their neighborhood, erupted in a rage. That night they stormed the Fargo Building hoping to drive the guardsmen away. A battle ensued and some racists were arrested.

Early the next morning police arrested seventy-four members of the Committee Against Racism, an antiracist organization with a sectarian and ultraleft approach, who were en route to South Boston High to protest racism and "welcome" the arriving Black students.

Judge W. Arthur Garrity had previously banned gatherings of three or more persons within 100 yards of school during school hours, and police took this as their excuse to lock up the CAR supporters.

When word of the CAR arrests spread through South Boston, a mob of 600 racists gathered outside the South Boston courthouse where they were being arraigned. Three hundred police had to be brought in to ensure the departure of the CAR members safely.

## Double standard

The National Student Coalition Against Racism condemned the arrest of the CAR members and contrasted it

holds, such as Hyde Park and East Boston, where there is some busing.

This police presence is the result of continuing pressure over the past year on city, state, and federal officials to provide adequate protection for Black students being bused into the white areas.

However, the danger exists that this police force will be cut, providing the racists with a free hand to attack Black students. A high police official said the department has a "wait-and-see policy as far as cutting back," meaning that city officials will reduce the police presence as soon as the pressure on them from antiracist forces subsides.



Militant/Jon Hillson

Antibusing rally of 3,000 in front of Boston city hall. ROAR initials decorate offices of Democratic city council members.

to the soft treatment of the racists. In a statement they said:

"While we disagree with many of the actions of the Committee Against Racism (CAR), specifically CAR's so-called welcoming committees in South Boston, which were a clear move to provoke a confrontation of racists against Black youth, today's mass arrest of CAR members shows the despicable double standard of justice used by the law enforcement officials."

The student coalition, which will host a city hall picket against racist attacks and for desegregation later this week, has been assisting with the organization of "crisis prevention teams" in the schools and on the streets during school hours.

A prime goal of these teams is to help ensure the safety of Black students in the schools in the racist strongholds by moving in and helping to disperse gatherings of white students and by otherwise defusing the hot situation.

Although these teams have received school department authorization, on the first two days of school in the racist strongholds team members were denied entry to the schools on flimsy excuses.

## Continuing danger

As of this writing there are several considerations and areas that bear scrutiny if the desegregation process is to be a success:

- The use of a large police presence has been a definite blow to the racists, who appear to be biding their time before initiating major actions in South Boston and other racist strong-

- City and police officials are employing a double standard in regard to treatment of racist and antiracist forces. Seventy-four members of CAR were arrested even though they were not involved in violence, yet the cops have allowed the racists to commit acts of violence.

In Charlestown a Boston police department cop informed a *Militant* reporter that cop higher-ups had given orders to go easy on the white rioters.

- The presence of federal officials from the Justice Department has the antibusing leaders nervous. Assistant U.S. Attorney General J. Stanley Pottinger is heading up the federal presence. He has 100 U.S. marshals and FBI agents here observing the school opening for acts that could be considered obstructions of the court order, which is federal law.

In Pontiac, Michigan, in 1971, federal officials helped break up a violent antibusing movement when FBI agents moved in and the government indicted Ku Klux Klan leaders for burning school buses.

It is unclear at this time whether there will be federal indictments of antibusing leaders. According to the *Boston Globe*, with the federal agents around, even cops get nervous:

"The US marshals had an impact well beyond their numbers. In South Boston, for example, they took motion pictures and stills and made notes. When they came near State Police squads, the squads often felt it was time to make a sweep of whatever spectators were nearby."



Militant/Serena Nigberg

Black students enter Hyde Park High School. Large police presence ensured safety of students.



# ...buses roll despite racist violence

*Continued from page 1*

of the armed guards, allowed the reopening of schools on September 8 without serious incident. This stood in sharp contrast to the anti-Black violence during the first two days of school, September 4 and 5.

Kentucky Gov. Julian Carroll mobilized 800 national guardsmen on Saturday, September 6, following three major battles Friday night between police and racist mobs. More than 192 people were arrested during the fighting.

The largest riots took place outside previously all-white high schools in Jefferson County. The Louisville and surrounding Jefferson County school systems were merged last April. The current busing plan was ordered by Judge Gordon on July 30 to desegregate the joint system. The plan calls for the busing of 22,600 students out of a total enrollment of 130,000.

At Valley High School on Friday night, a crowd of 10,000 blocked traffic and lit bonfires on Dixie Highway and Valley Station Road. When the racists began hurling bricks and cinder blocks at police, at least 135 rioters were arrested.

Two houses and a car were burned by a crowd of 300 outside Fairdale High School.

At Southern High School, a mob of 2,000 racists burned two school buses and broke windows in more than twenty others after an antibusing rally. The rioters rampaged along Preston Highway near the school, breaking windows. They were finally dispersed about 2:00 a.m. by a force of 120 county police and state troopers.

Governor Carroll's decision to call in the national guard was welcomed by Black leaders, who see it as a measure of the force that is needed to protect Blacks and overcome racist resistance to school desegregation in this Southern city.

## Opponents of busing

A September 3 rally to oppose busing called by Concerned Parents, the main antibusing group here, was attended by more than 10,000 people.

Sue Connor, the leader of Concerned Parents, told the crowd, "If Martin Luther King were here tonight . . . I'd say move over, buddy, here comes Sue Connor and her people."

The rally was also addressed by John Hill, a member of Boston's racist antibusing group, ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights). Hill said ROAR supported Concerned Parents in Louis-

ville and its call for a boycott of schools.

The first day of school was marked by a racist boycott. There were also protests and scattered violence directed against buses bringing Black students to and from newly desegregated schools.

Attendance was 57,521 of the projected enrollment of 130,000 in the public schools. The attendance rate for Black students was much higher than for whites.

As buses carrying Black students from Fairdale High School left in the afternoon to return them to their community, a mob of several hundred whites began heaving rocks at the buses and pounding on their sides and windows. Racist epithets were hurled at the Black students.

A reporter for the Louisville *Courier-Journal* described how "the demonstrators carried signs urging motorists passing on Fairdale Road to blow their car horns in protest. . . . Most of the people who drove by blew their horns, creating a nerve-wracking din that continued for hours with few interruptions."

A crowd that grew to 2,500, according to police estimates, marched in downtown Louisville in defiance of an injunction by Judge Gordon. Leading the protesters were Walter Groves, a Louisville "exalted cyclops" of the Ku Klux Klan, and Phillip Chopper, the Kentucky Klan's grand dragon.

The racists singled out Blacks along the route of march and shouted at them, "You niggers are responsible for all this." A Black bystander was physically attacked.

One protester was heard to say, "The colored are nothing but animals. They should be treated like my dog or cat."

When police tried to block the racists from entering a downtown mall, fighting broke out. Altogether ten people were arrested during the protest.

Many workers appeared to have answered the call by officials of Local 761 of the International Union of Electrical Workers and other local unions to protest desegregation with a work stoppage. Two local Ford Motors plants were shut down by the company.

A high rate of absenteeism was also reported at several other plants.

The call by IUE Local 761 for a work stoppage was condemned by that union's international office. A telegram sent from IUE President Paul Jennings and Secretary-treasurer David Fitzmaurice denounced the racists as "persons who generally oppose



Louisville, 1975

everything that labor stands for and who have as their objective the total destruction of trade unions."

"We must not join hands with our real enemies," they said.

## 'Get tough' policy

Antibusing bigots were encouraged by the easygoing manner in which their Thursday defiance of Judge Gordon's ban on demonstrations was treated by authorities.

The hands-off policy of the cops was seen by the antibusing organizers as a green light for stepped-up violent resistance. Over the weekend, the racist mobs went on the rampage.

After the first night's riots and the calling in of the national guardsmen by the governor, however, authorities adopted a "get tough" policy.

On Saturday, Judge Gordon abolished the "protest areas" he had established outside the schools. Mayor Harvey Sloane also banned all demonstrations in the city. On Sunday, Gordon announced that armed guards would be present on each school bus.

Nonetheless, sporadic incidents of

violence continued over the weekend. These included reported sniper fire at police helicopters, several arson attempts on various school buildings, and attempts by racists to block traffic. All told, more than 400 people were arrested between Friday and Sunday evening.

The impact of the show of military force has clearly taken the wind out of the racists' sails for the moment. Reports by officials on September 9 showed school attendance was increasing.

Nonetheless, tension remains high here. Small groups of racists gathered outside Southern High School September 8 and 9 watching the school buses leave in the afternoon. Referring to the large number of police in the school, one racist was overheard to say, "They can't stay there and guard them forever . . . our day will come."

## Blacks demand protection

Black parents and community leaders in Louisville have expressed concern and outrage at the antibusing

*Continued on next page*

# 'I could learn more in those white schools'

By Nan Bailey

LOUISVILLE, Ky.—"I just can't figure out why these white people have to show their ignorance by protesting and acting all wild, throwing bottles and stuff—it really doesn't make sense."

That's what seventeen-year-old Miles Robinson thought of this weekend's antibusing violence in southern Jefferson County.

The quiet courage displayed by the Black students on the buses cannot but impress a visiting reporter. I spent Monday morning, September 8, at Shawnee High School talking to some of them as they boarded their buses after a weekend of antibusing riots.

"If somebody wants an education, they should go to school wherever they want to. That violence is all for



nothing," Stuart Roberts said.

Keith Shoders was glad the national guard was called into Louisville because "I wouldn't like to see none of my friends get hurt over nothing. None of them have been hurt yet—they've had bricks and bottles and rocks thrown at them, but they're all right. Yeah, them M-16s and Magnums are going to stop a whole lot of stuff."

One tenth-grade student said that the school she was being bused to was better than Shawnee, the predominantly Black school she attended last year. "Better gyms, better lunches—better than anything Shawnee ever had."

Royce Jackson, a senior, explained, "busing shouldn't stop you from getting the education you want."

I asked him how he thought the racist violence could be stopped. "The police should do it," he said. "If they were good policemen they would. I believe if we started anything they would clean us up fast—they should do the same thing with them out there."

Curtis Harris, one of the Black students who isn't being bused, said, "I think I should have been bused. I would like to volunteer to be bused because I'm not learning too much right here—I could go out to another school and learn out there where the white schools are, because they teach more and have better equipment and stuff."

"I want to learn more, because this is my last year and I've got to learn more."

## ...Louisville

Continued from preceding page

mob violence and Ku Klux Klan intimidation here.

Just before the decision to send in the guard was announced publicly, more than 300 Black parents and students met at a West Louisville church to discuss the safety of Black students. Many said they were afraid to send their children to school after the weekend's rioting.

"If the police couldn't handle them then, how can they protect our kids on the buses?" one mother asked.

Nonetheless, the parents at the meeting voted to send their children to school. About half an hour later, word was received of the governor's decision.

Rev. Charles Kirby, director of the Kentucky Christian Leadership Conference, said that the assignment of armed guards on the buses is what Black parents wanted.

Lyman Johnson, president of the Louisville NAACP, one of the plaintiffs in the suit that resulted in the desegregation order here, had this to say about the busing plan in Louisville:

"In the long run I think busing will improve relations. I have no sympathy for people who don't try to be rational."

Art Walters, a local leader of the Urban League, told the *Militant* that while his organization does not take a position for or against busing, "the real issue is whether or not we're going to abide by rulings of a court of law that has found segregation unlawful. I am for desegregation because it is the law of the land."

Walters insisted that those parents who want to send their children to school "have the right to do that without harassment or intimidation."

Despite this sentiment in the Black community, organized demonstrations in support of desegregation have so far been modest.

One such protest occurred Saturday, August 30, in the form of a march and rally organized by a coalition of Black, civil rights, and political groups. Some 150 people participated. Among the speakers were representatives of the NAACP and an officer of the local affiliate of the American Federation of Teachers.

One of the groups participating in the action was the Louisville Student Coalition Against Racism. Amy Husk, a coordinator of Louisville SCAR, told the *Militant* that more demonstrations were needed.

"The only way those Black students' rights can be defended," she said, "is by strong, visible support for desegregation."



Militant/Charles Rosenberg  
Louisville Student Coalition Against Racism banner at August 30 antiracist march.

# Socialist defends busing in mayoral candidates' debate

By Jon Hillson

BOSTON—"The buses must keep rolling," Socialist Workers party mayoral candidate Norman Oliver told tens of thousands of Bostonians in a televised debate with his three opponents September 2.

"All force necessary," he said, "including federal troops, must be sent to the racist strongholds to protect Black students against any violence."

Oliver's firm support to the struggle to defend Black equal rights in Boston stood in sharp contrast to the positions

"the neighborhoods that have lost confidence in city hall." To make it clear he was not talking about the Black community, whose residents must walk in fear in those very same "neighborhoods," Timilty ticked off the white areas of Hyde Park, West Roxbury, and Charlestown. "Confidence in city hall" has ebbed, apparently, in such antibusing enclaves because Blacks can now attend schools in them.

When asked by the moderator how he defined "leadership in the mayor's

year-long use of city council chambers for the weekly meetings of ROAR, which map out opposition to desegregation.

Oliver took up White's phony argument on "quality education": "The question is the quality of education for Black students. Black students are getting an inferior education," he said. "That's what segregation does to Black students."

The struggle in Boston is "for equality in education, equal rights for Blacks. Through busing Black students are able to acquire a better education, the same education that white students already have."

Oliver, who helped organize support for the 15,000-strong probusing demonstration on May 17 called by the NAACP, urged "more actions like that to make sure the desegregation order is enforced."

White and Timilty have sought to avoid the issue of desegregation by debating each other's "integrity." In this charade, Timilty has been attempting to capitalize on his Kennedy-like face and the soft sell of a high-powered Madison Avenue image-making firm.

For his part, White has dyed his white hair gray—to combat Timilty's "youth look"—and has put his huge patronage machine to work.

Both White and Timilty called for stepped-up police presence in Boston to "combat crime." Oliver termed the police "occupation troops in the Black community. They should be removed," he said. "We can organize our own Black law and order and put an end to all the brutality the Black community has been subjected to."

Gibbons termed desegregation a conspiracy for "the destruction of education." He linked all issues to "CIA infiltration of the city."

For thousands of Blacks and their allies in Boston, the concluding statement of Boston's socialist candidate for mayor rang truer than the "realistic" politics of the "major" candidates.

Oliver blasted the party of White and Timilty. "The past year has witnessed a concerted campaign to scuttle school desegregation by the racists," he said. "It has been led by the all-white Democratic-party-controlled school committee and city council."

"We must out-mobilize and out-organize the racists in this city," Oliver said. "We have to let the racists know that we will stand up like we did in Selma and Montgomery in the South in the fight against Jim Crow."

"And we have to let the racists know we will not be defeated."



Left to right: Kevin White, Joseph Timilty, and Norman Oliver in televised debate between Boston mayoral candidates. Oliver, candidate of the Socialist Workers party, called for 'all necessary force' against antibusing racists.

of incumbent Mayor Kevin White, State Sen. Joseph Timilty, and "U.S. Labor party" candidate Robert Gibbons. White and Timilty are both Democrats. The "Labor party" is the ballot designation used by the right-wing National Caucus of Labor Committees.

The debate, which was the top news story of the day in the Boston media, was the first political confrontation by the candidates, two of whom will be eliminated in the September 23 primary election. It was the first big opportunity for Oliver to confront the capitalist candidates directly and force a discussion of the issues the two Democrats have tried to keep the lid on.

White and Timilty both proclaimed themselves opponents of desegregation, echoing the position of the open bigots they pretend to shy away from.

"To state it very simply," White said, "I am against forced busing."

Timilty chided White for being a latecomer on the racist bandwagon. "I have always felt forced busing wastes resources," he said.

Timilty made a direct appeal for the racist vote by posing as a champion of

office," Oliver said he would "work to enforce the court order for desegregation," unlike anyone else in the race. "I would support it," he said, and "not be equivocal."

"There have been many demonstrations for desegregation, and I've been at them," Oliver said. "But I've never seen Mayor White or Sen. Timilty there. On the other hand, I've seen Timilty go to Washington, D.C., for a ROAR demonstration to demand a constitutional amendment against busing." ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights) is the chief racist organization in Boston.

White, in responding to Oliver, said he was opposed to busing because "I don't believe it achieves the purpose for which we define it, that is, quality education. I don't believe that the whole system, which is by and large mediocre . . . that by busing children you're going to get good, quality education."

White's seven-year administration has been a haven for racists, whose maintenance of school segregation compelled Federal District Judge Arthur Garrity to order busing in the first place. White has been silent on the

## B'klyn Blacks respond to racists

By Claire Moriarty

NEW YORK—In response to threats by white racists to close down high schools in Brooklyn to prevent desegregation, a group of Black leaders issued a joint statement September 2 demanding defense of Black students and enforcement of the desegregation law.

The statement was issued after a meeting convened by the Brooklyn NAACP at its headquarters. Present were Frank Hastie, president of the Brooklyn NAACP; members of the Student Coalition Against Racism, Brooklyn CORE, and the Brooklyn Civil Liberties Union; Cecil Foster of 100 Black Men; Rev. Clarence Norman of the First Baptist Church of Crown Heights; and a representative of New York City Human Rights Commissioner Eleanor Holmes Norton.

The white racists are trying to block a court-ordered school rezoning plan that directs that 1,400 first-year students at largely Black Franklin K. Lane High School be transferred to eleven schools throughout Queens and Brooklyn.

The racists, who have already held several large rallies, have called for a school boycott and have vowed to begin picketing the schools. Their code word, as in Boston, is the defense of "neighborhood schools."

In answering the racists, the prodesegregation groups said in their statement, "Brooklyn is not unique. Racist opposition to school desegregation—in the guise of defending the 'neighborhood school'—has mounted across the country, from

Boston to Pasadena, California. . . .

"Resistance to court-ordered school desegregation is resistance to the law. Harassment and intimidation, threats to Black students, are against the law. . . .

"We call upon Mayor [Abraham] Beame and the city administration to enforce the law."

Issued on the eve of the possible New York City teachers' strike, the statement appealed to the city's teachers, "in the context of their own fight against cutbacks and layoffs, to defend the civil rights of Black students. And we hope that once school does open—whether on September 8 or at the end of their strike—that teachers will be found in the forefront of the fight for school desegregation."



# Bankers ram new union-busting bill through New York legislature

By Dick Roberts

NEW YORK, Sept. 9—New York bankers rammed through a special session of the state legislature in Albany last night the most rapacious scheme so far to make the working masses pay for the city's crisis. The antilabor action was rationalized as necessary to save the city government from impending bankruptcy.

The bankers' law gives a seven-member state board virtual dictatorial rule over the city.

The board will have complete control of the city budget.

*It will have the power to rescind or revise city contracts with labor unions.*

The law also makes the wage freeze imposed by the city on municipal unions last June a state law. It gives the board the power to extend the freeze indefinitely, so long as the city's financial crisis continues—which will be a long, long time.

As a first step, New York Mayor Abraham Beame "must make initial budget cuts . . . with matching lay-offs," the September 9 *New York Post* reported. The central aim remains to "convince investors around the country to start lending money to the city again."

Although details of the bill have not been released, it was sharply criticized by ten trade-union officials the day before it passed. The ten included top officials of the Communications Workers of America; the American Federation of Teachers; Transport Workers Union; United Auto Workers; United Steelworkers; and other unions.

The labor officials denounced the section of the bill authorizing the board to modify or disapprove union contracts. "They also urged deletion of articles that roll back and freeze wage increases for city workers under current contracts," the September 8 *New York Post* reported.

But the bill rolled through Albany, easily passing the Democratic-controlled state house of representatives. Opposition in the Republican-controlled state senate centered on reluctance of upstate officials to use state funds to "bail out" the city.

## Bankers move in

Rarely has the pivotal role of bankers in New York politics been so much in public view. The key meeting in the latest round of maneuvers took place on Saturday, September 6, at the opulent Rockefeller estate in Westchester County.



Bankers and politicians met at opulent Rockefeller estate in Westchester County to plan new cuts in rights and standard of living of New York City workers.

David Rockefeller, chairman of the Chase Manhattan Bank, had summoned Warren Anderson, the leading Republican in the state senate, to the Rockefeller mansion.

Also in attendance, according to the September 7 *New York Times*, were United States Treasury Secretary William Simon, William Seidman, President Ford's special assistant for economic affairs, and Arthur Burns, the chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, in addition to other leading bankers.

The blue-ribbon meeting testifies to the seriousness of the financial crisis in New York as perceived by the rulers of this country.

They wanted to make certain that Republican Anderson would ensure the passage of the emergency bill, sponsored by New York Democratic Gov. Hugh Carey, in the state senate.

The bankers also wanted to impress on the assembled members of the Ford administration that partisan politics should not stand in the way of moves to guarantee the municipal bonds held by the banks.

Both objectives were achieved.

The next day Anderson flew to Washington for further discussions.

On Monday he returned to Albany to shove the bankers' law through the state senate.

## Financial crisis

The stringency of the antilabor measures involved in the new law and the magnitude of the figures in the financial rescue operation point to the profound character of the capitalist economic crisis manifested in New York City.

Up to now Mayor Beame, who is stripped of budgetary powers by the Albany legislation, had fired thousands of municipal workers.

He had agreed to the formation of "Big Mac," the Municipal Assistance Corporation, which now has control of New York bonding.

Beame had imposed a wage freeze and rollback of wages on New York workers.

Transit fares were raised. A plan is now in the works to force students in the city university system to pay full state-level tuition—\$650 to \$800, compared with the \$55 fee they now have.

Beame agreed to a productivity-drive board headed by Metropolitan Life Insurance Company Chairman Richard Shinn, who is also a director of Chase Manhattan Bank.

But still Beame could not raise the money.

Although the capitalist media are trying to convey the impression that the city needs the money to pay for social programs, such as welfare, and to meet the city's payroll, the fact is that the lion's share of the deficit is earmarked for debt service, that is, payment to bondholders for interest and principal of bonds.

In September and October, the city faces a deficit of \$1.6 billion. *Debt service for this period amounts to well over \$1 billion.*

Without a new influx of bond money to the city, default seemed inevitable—a default that could cost the banks more than \$1 billion. Assurances from lawyers and politicians that bondholders would be paid in the event of default, before everybody else, did not turn the situation around.

Meanwhile, as A.H. Raskin wrote in the September 7 *New York Times*—and Raskin undoubtedly expressed the sentiment of the meeting at the Rockefeller estate the previous day—"The satisfaction that many ranking officials in the Ford Administration and Congress initially took in New York City's financial difficulties as a product of 'welfareism gone mad' has shifted in the last two weeks to an awareness that the contagion of a New York default could undermine the credit standing of all cities and states and shatter the fragile web of confidence on which rests much of the hope for reviving the national economy."

As the September 9 *New York Times* reported, Rockefeller's bill "creates a State Emergency Financial Control Board to strip City Hall officials of much of their fiscal power and to enforce austerities even more severe than the measures tried earlier by Mayor Beame." (Emphasis added.)

## Will it work?

The impact of the italicized words is not difficult to guess. Already New York workers have taken a thrashing. Rollback of wages in a city with an inflation rate that is always among the steepest in the nation will doom hundreds of thousands to meager subsistence at best.

For the thousands fired in a city that has the highest unemployment level since the depression of the 1930s—officially above 11 percent—it will mean permanent joblessness and poverty.

For young people attempting to climb out of poverty with a college education the path is being blocked. For the young, jobs are even harder to come by.

This is a risky path for the ruling class to take, especially so publicly and brazenly in the name of bank profits. The overwhelming strike vote of New York teachers in Madison Square Garden on September 8 is a barometer of the explosive conditions that increasing antilabor measures in the city are building up.

The other side of the Albany bill is not less risky. According to the *Times*, "it extends dollar aid in the form of \$750-million the state will have to borrow in tax anticipation notes and in the form of a mandate that the pension funds of retired state and city government workers invest \$725-million in bonds and notes. . . ."

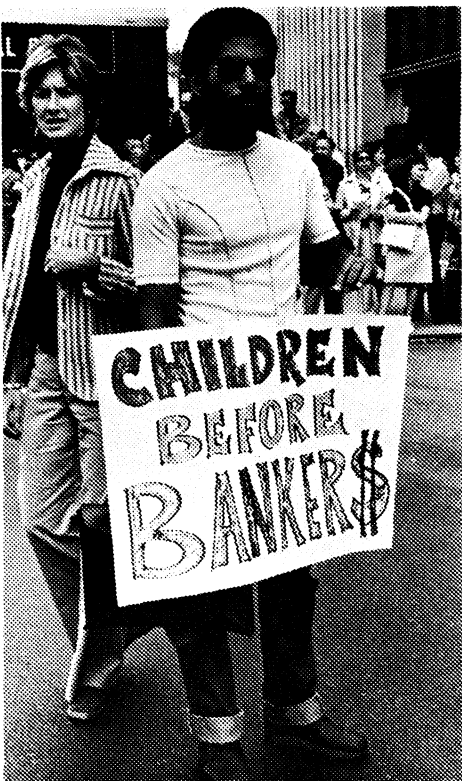
"The addition of \$800-million from government and private financial sources would be required to round out the \$2.3-billion the city needs to meet its obligations from now to Dec. 1."

The amount of money that needs to be raised is more in each round. The sales of Big Mac bonds so far have netted less than \$2-billion. The new bill calls for an additional \$2.3-billion, and that only takes the city up to December 1.

Under these circumstances it is not hard to see why the banks are increasingly cautious and why they raise new and more stringent demands at every point.

It is hard to see how these demands can be indefinitely satisfied. Ultimately, the *Wall Street Journal* opined in its September 4 editorial columns, "To solve the crisis, someone will have to bear the responsibility not only of telling bondholders they will not receive prompt full payment, but even more important and more difficult, of telling a good many employees they are fired, of telling others they will not receive the bountiful pensions they have been promised, and of telling the city electorate it will not receive the services to which it has grown accustomed. And someone, presumably Governor Carey, must put himself in position to deal with the strife and turmoil that will result from official revelation of these already obvious truths."

Leaving aside its polemical exaggerations, the *Wall Street Journal* failed to add perhaps the most difficult task of all for Carey or whichever capitalist politician inherits the job: persuading workers to make all these sacrifices so that the David Rockefellers and other members of the American ruling plutocracy can continue to live in the luxury of their Westchester County estates.



Militant/Howard Lewis

Workers are less and less willing to sacrifice.

## N.Y. teachers' strike

# First day at school: 'I had a class

By George Bause and Nancy Cole

NEW YORK, Sept. 10—"Today every single one of you had a taste of what it is like to live without a union and without a contract," Albert Shanker, president of the United Federation of Teachers, told 20,000 teachers jammed into Madison Square Garden on September 8. Thousands of other UFT members were listening in the adjacent Felt Forum, and still thousands more, unable to get in, stood outside.

Shanker's proposal for a strike met with thunderous applause and a standing ovation.

The UFT contract, affecting some 62,500 union members, was due to expire at midnight of that day. But with 17,000 fewer teachers on the day school opened than there were last spring, the contract had been scrapped a day early. Like other social services, the city's educational system has been hit by drastic cutbacks and layoffs dictated by the banks.

Contractual limits of thirty-two to thirty-four students per classroom have been thrown out the window.

"The day we put in at school today was beyond belief," one woman told the union's delegate assembly, which met prior to the general membership meeting.

"Our first-grade classes ranged from forty-one to forty-eight. Go teach forty-one to forty-eight first-graders. You're bathrooming them the entire morning."

A teacher in a Queens school described a situation where "we have children sitting on bookcases, window-sills; we have no supplies and no chairs."

And one woman got up and said

dramatically, "I had a class of sixty-six—oh!"

Class sizes weren't the only complaints. At a high school in East Harlem, a teacher said, the average class enrollment had started out at thirty-seven, but he had had three additions already. "I went straight through today from nine to three without one preparation period," he added.

A young teacher told the *Militant* at the membership meeting that fifteen teachers had been laid off at his school. "We have no art, no gym, no library, no science teacher, and they're cutting down on preparation periods."

Another said she and twenty-five other teachers were "fired" from her school. "It's about fifty-five in a room without us, and I don't know how it's feasible to have education that way."

### Teachers singled out

Teachers have been singled out for the ruling class's latest attack on the living standards of New York City workers.

For months, the city administration, with increasingly open manipulation by New York bankers, has waged war on municipal workers and all working New Yorkers.

Determined to solve the financial crisis at the expense of the working class, the city's rulers have set out on a course to break the power of the municipal unions.

The announcement in late July of a one-year wage freeze for city workers was accompanied by a pledge to wipe out contract gains won by city workers over the years. "We can no longer tolerate contractual giveaways or frills," Mayor Abraham Beame said.



Militant/Howard Lewis

One of 20,000 teachers at September 4 UFT demonstration.

Shanker—joined only by the cops and fire fighters—resisted the wage freeze. He insisted that the UFT would fight for a 25 percent pay increase.

But as the negotiations between the UFT and the board of education neared the contract expiration date, the demand for a pay raise was dropped. Most teachers will now consider it a victory if they can hold on to the current contract.

The board proposed gouging the UFT contract by 1) cutting down on the teachers' preparation periods; 2) extending the workweek with no increase in pay by an additional thirty minutes each day; 3) reducing sick days allowed teachers with less than three years' service from ten to five; and 4) eliminating sabbatical leaves for all school employees.

The negotiations, however, were something of a facade from the beginning, with the state legislature moving to take all power over funds out of the hands of city agencies, such as the board of education, and give it to a handful of men known as the Emergency Financial Control Board. (See story, page 7.)

"The question of who can provide the money and whether, indeed, money is to be provided, is obviously perplexing the situation," said board of education Vice-president Robert Christen on September 9. "The strike is against an agency which cannot solve the problem."

With a 2 percent increase in expenses already established as a guideline, said one official, "I would think that the new [Emergency Financial

Control] board would have to make sure that any agreement [with the UFT] would fit in with these guidelines."

According to the *New York Times*, "One board expert said that the strike was clearly 'of more than casual interest' to the financial community and any arrangement that 'violates what has already been agreed to would be devastating.'"

### 'Salary not issue'

"The issues have never been clearer. Salary is not the issue," Shanker told the September 8 membership meeting. "The issue of chaos, the issue of conditions in the schools where not only will there be no education, but where there is danger to both the babies and the baby-sitters. And that we will not go for."

Earlier Shanker had told the delegates, "We know our city is in trouble. We made concessions and we came up with a number of proposals."

As the deadline approached, the union even offered to make a concession allowing the board to reduce the preparation periods for some teachers. But even this was rejected as inadequate by the board.

At the last minute, Shanker said, he had been willing to accept an extension of the old contract in a last-ditch effort to avoid a strike. But then reports started coming in on the contract violations during the first day's classes, and the UFT leadership rejected that proposal on the basis that there was no contract to extend.

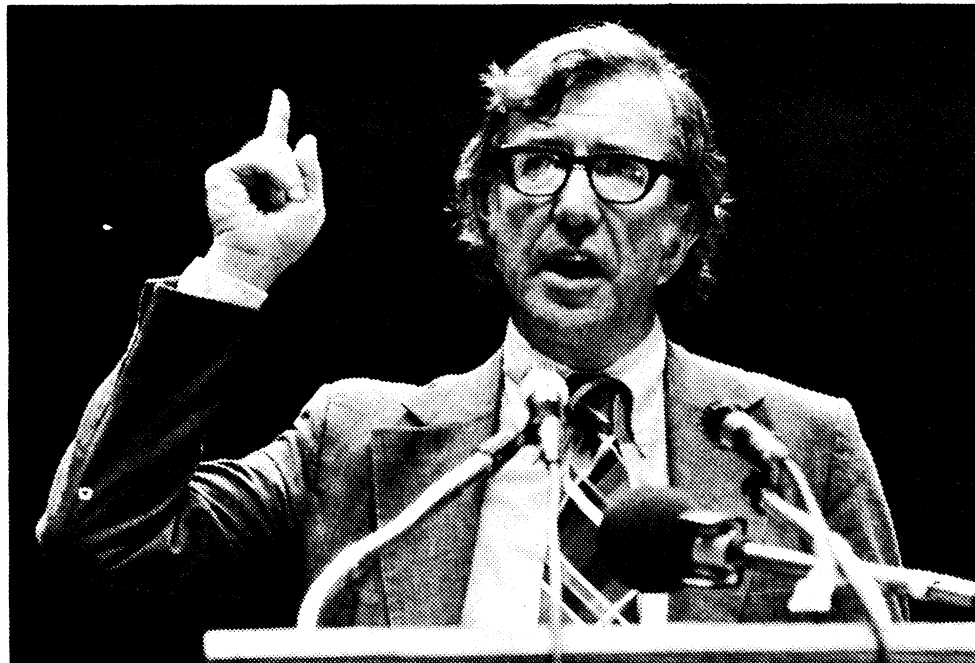
According to a negotiator for the board of education, the board also refused to accept an extension of the old contract, arguing that it would have weakened its future bargaining position.

A union spokesperson said September 9 that now that its members were out on strike, it could no longer ask them to accept the same concessions that it had been willing to take before the strike.

"We cannot expect quick results. . . . It may go on for a long time," Shanker told the UFT membership at Madison Square Garden. But while there were some groans at the prospect of a prolonged strike, the teachers for the most part are ready to stick it out until their demands are met.

"I'll stay out until they hire back all those people they laid off," one young teacher told the *Militant* as he left the strike meeting. Others echoed this sentiment.

Board of education officials conceded the strike's success in closing down schools the first day. It reported that little more than 37,000 students showed up at school out of a total



Militant/Howard Lewis

SHANKER: "Today every single one of you has had a taste of what it is like to live without a union and without a contract."

## Socialist program to solve school crisis

[The following are excerpts from a statement by Catarino Garza distributed to teachers at the United Federation of Teachers general membership meeting September 8. Garza, a UFT delegate, is a spokesperson for the New York Socialist Workers 1976 Campaign Committee.]

If teachers vote to strike, we will need the support of forces outside of the union. Where can we find such allies? We can be sure that we will find no friends on Wall Street, in city hall, or on the board of education.

Neither the Democratic nor the Republican party will help us. Both blame working people for the city

crisis, attacking us for refusing to relinquish our already inadequate wages and working conditions. Both insist the profit demands of the banks are more important than the human needs of New York workers and residents.

Our natural allies in our struggle are the other victims of the cutbacks—the young teachers who have already been fired; fellow city employees in sanitation, transportation, social services; parents of the children whose education is at stake; and, above all, the Black and Puerto Rican communities, which have been hardest hit.

The just demands of Black and Puerto Rican parents for more meaningful education for their children,

whether it be through bilingual programs, community control as in District 1, or through desegregation of the schools in Brooklyn and Queens, should be fully supported by teachers. Parents and teachers share a common interest—quality education for all.

The UFT is the only major union in this city which has not yet been forced to accept a wage freeze. We face strong and powerful opposition in the struggle ahead. We must unite and stand together with our natural allies if we are to win.

We offer the following proposals for solving the current crisis in New York's schools and ending the layoffs and cutbacks.

1. Place a moratorium on interest

payments to the rich. We say, not one penny to the banks at the expense of a city worker's job.

2. End all U.S. military spending. Use that money to hire more teachers and expand educational programs.

3. Launch a massive public works program to put everyone back to work and build schools, day-care centers, and hospitals.

4. For a shorter workweek with no cut in pay so that available work can be spread among those needing jobs.

5. No erosion of union contracts. Not one gain must be taken back, and our pay scale must at least keep pace with inflation.

6. Full support to the desegregation of New York schools.



# of 60!

student enrollment of 1.1 million.

Only 600 scabs crossed the picket lines, Shanker told reporters. "The strike is totally effective," he said.

Fear of this success spurred the board of education to ask for a court injunction against the strike as soon as the strike vote had been taken September 8. Under the antilabor Taylor Law, strikes by public employees in New York State are illegal.

Penalties under the law include fines and imprisonment for union officers, fines for the union, and the loss of the right to union dues checkoff.

In addition, the law allows the employing agency to withhold two days' pay for each day a public employee is on strike. This onerous provision—especially for teachers who have no strike benefits—has the board of education already adding up the millions of dollars they plan to save because of the strike.

A temporary restraining order barring the union from striking was issued September 9. Shanker says the union will defy the court order.

## 20,000 demonstrate

The week before the strike, on September 4, more than 20,000 teachers mobilized on short notice for a rally at the offices of the board of education in Brooklyn.

The protesters roared approval when Shanker asked, "Are you ready to fight?" Then, led by Shanker, they marched across the Brooklyn Bridge to city hall in Manhattan.

"There has never been greater unity," Shanker told the delegate assembly. "Unlike other years where we didn't have as large an organization, unlike other years where racial and ethnic issues confused people so that we were pitted against our own members, there are none of those divisions today."

Shanker was referring to the last teachers' strike, in 1968, which was a strike against efforts of the Black community to control its own schools. That action, and the continuing racist actions of the UFT leadership, have alienated the union from its important allies in the Black and Puerto Rican communities.

"In spite of the official organizations that represent parents and what they say," Shanker said at the assembly meeting, "the parents who were out there in school today or who heard from their children what conditions are like, those parents will not flock to the support of their organizations, but will flock to our support."

## Racist policies

In spite of the racist policies of the UFT officials, he might better have said, many parents in New York City realize that this time the teachers are fighting for demands that are in the interest of all parents and children in the city.

At least eight schools were picketed, and six of them closed, by parents on the first day of school even before the strike had started. They were protesting the increased class sizes and other effects of the budgetary cuts. In some cases they were joined on the picket lines by teachers.

The next day parents picketed along with the striking teachers. "In this situation, we're very unified," said Rose Marie Arons, cochairperson of the parent-teacher board of a school on Manhattan's Upper West Side. "The parents were up in arms about the '68 strike," she added, "and the general attitude about the UFT in our community is somewhat hostile. However, this time some of the union demands may coincide with ours, and we will support the union at this point."

# Demand smaller classes

# Teachers shut Chicago schools

By Dan Caine

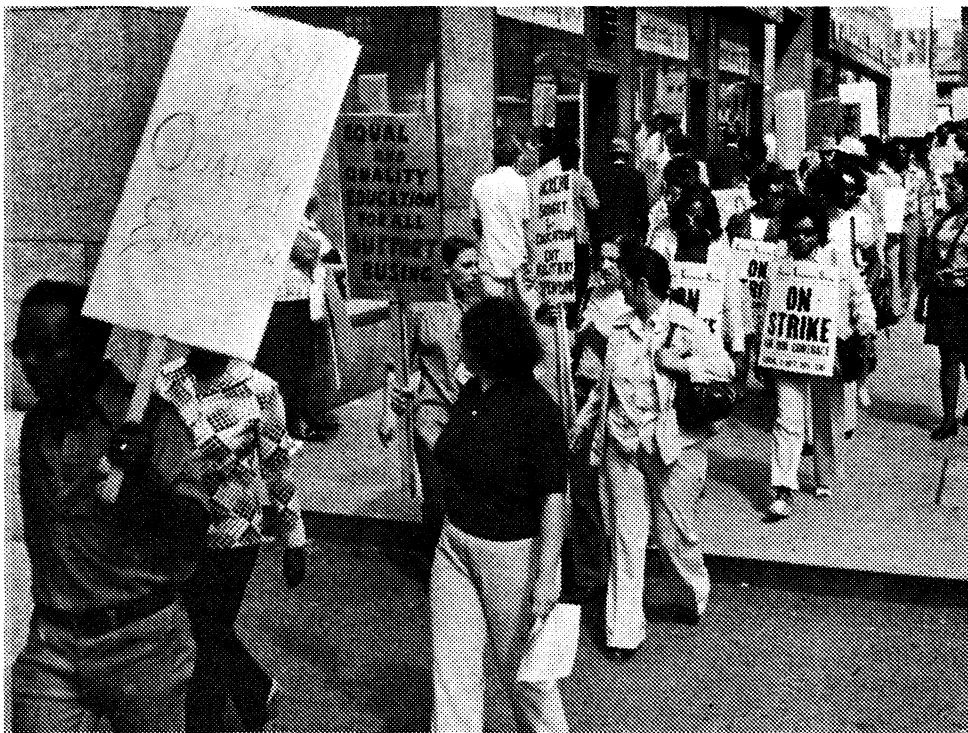
CHICAGO, Sept. 8—Chicago public school teachers took to picket lines at hundreds of schools across the city September 3, closing down the schools on the scheduled first day of classes. The day before, members of the Chicago Teachers Union had voted 9 to 1 to begin their fourth strike in six years. It was the largest strike vote in CTU history.

The CTU strike, involving nearly 27,000 teachers, came in response to a cut of 1,500 jobs threatened by Chicago School Supt. Joseph Hannon. The CTU is also demanding a cost-of-living pay increase and smaller class sizes.

The board of education's only offer thus far would meet just one of the union's demands—that of reversing the threatened layoffs. Other than that, the board's proposal is a five-month extension of the old contract with the hope that a new contract can be negotiated if and when the state legislature pushes through an emergency education bill.

Hannon claims that one of the key issues in the dispute is control of the school system. "The responsibility of running the school system is not the union's," he said. "The responsibility is the Chicago Board of Education's."

Hannon has been joined in painting the CTU's "grab" for the "reins of power" by the city's capitalist press.



Militant/Joel Britton

September 3 picket line at board of education drew teachers and supporters from organizations in Black community.

The issues "boil down to power and money," editorialized the *Chicago Daily News* September 4. "Forcing the board and Supt. Hannon into deficit financing, which is the clear aim of the union, can only result in starting Chicago down the trail that has proved so disastrous in New York."

The strike is occurring in the midst of a wave of strikes by teachers in Illinois, including a week-old strike by the 1,300-member Cook County College Teachers Union, which has effectively shut down all of Chicago's city colleges. This has led to a court injunction ordering them back to work and a fine against the union of \$5,000 for each day the strike continues.

Despite the propaganda offensive denouncing the teachers for their "illegal" presumption of the right to strike, the strikes are continuing with high morale and militant spirit. To date, the union picket lines have been more than 97 percent effective in closing down the public schools and more than 90 percent effective in the city colleges.

A September 3 picket line downtown at the board of education drew 500 teachers and supporters from Chicago's Black community. "We shall not be moved," "On strike for our con-

tract," "PUSH for Parent-Teacher relations," and "PUSH for smaller class size" were typical signs seen in the crowd. Operation PUSH is a Black community organization headed by Jesse Jackson, who was among those on the demonstration.

In addition to Operation PUSH, organizations with contingents at the picket line included the Woodlawn Organization, Kenwood Oak Lawn Community Organization, and the Student Coalition Against Racism.

Earlier, at a news conference held at Kennedy-King College, Andrew Pulley of SCAR issued a statement urging united student support of the college teachers' strike and opposition to the cutbacks in education.

In response to a proposed lawsuit against striking teachers by several student governments, Pulley said, "As students, especially Black and Latino students, we should reject the City College Board's attempt to use us as pawns to break the strike."

"The board pretends to be interested in our education. If it was really interested it would be hiring more teachers, not trying to lay them off. The board would eliminate tuition to make it possible for many more Blacks and Latinos to go to school."

## Strike 94% solid

# Berkeley parents back teachers

By David Warren

BERKELEY, Calif., Sept. 8—With more than 94 percent of teachers out, the first teachers' strike in Berkeley's history is solidly under way. The strength of the strike can in large part be attributed to the unity and cooperation between the Berkeley Federation of Teachers and the Berkeley Teachers Association.

The dispute began when the board of education rescinded an agreement made with the teachers last April. At that time teachers voted to accept stipulated class sizes and other education policies that would improve classroom conditions. The agreement did not include a pay increase.

After the summer recess, the board "discovered" a financial crisis and discarded the entire agreement, calling for new negotiations. The board proposed pay cuts for teachers, major cuts in their fringe benefits, and cuts in school curriculum.

The teachers, who have a one-year

contract, refused at first to reenter talks, branding them a ruse to get the cuts teacher-approved. Instead, the unions initiated an investigation into the finances of the district, discovering widespread mismanagement and overspending in the central administrative bureaucracy.

The strike began September 3, and so far the board has rigidly refused to change its proposals. The support it hoped to garner among parents, however, is not materializing.

Parents active in community and educational groups have organized three demonstrations of 100 to 150 each at the board of education, demanding that there be no cuts and that the teachers' original agreement be honored.

An outdoor meeting in the Black community September 6 called by some Black teachers drew 100 residents interested in hearing the issues of the strike.

The schools, which remain open, have been only sparsely attended. The

board of education has responded with a campaign to fill the classrooms as its most effective strikebreaking weapon. Mailings have been sent to parents urging them to send their children to school.

Meetings organized by the board are being scheduled in the communities in order to sell the board's side of the dispute to the parents. At one such meeting of nearly 150 in the Black community, Black representatives of the school board tried to whip up sentiment against the teachers, charging that it was the Black children who suffer from such strikes.

However, they were thoroughly discredited by Black teachers and other school employees during the discussion.

The board has also placed ads in Berkeley newspapers offering fifty dollars a day plus expenses to substitute teachers willing to scab. Regular substitutes, who are observing the picket lines, get thirty-four dollars a day.

## ...Camejo & Reid

Continued from page 3

buses and stoning Black students with impunity—just as they did in Boston last year. If the mobilized police forces are withdrawn, as the racists are hoping, it will give the green light to new burnings, beatings, and lynchings. If these forces are withdrawn, Black students will have to fear for their lives every day they go to school.

"The colored are nothing but animals," one Louisville antibusing protester said. In truth it is racists like these who behave like animals. Their more sophisticated apologists may invent code phrases about "neighborhood schools" and "quality education," but the real message is scrawled all across South Boston and Charlestown: "Niggers keep out" and "Kill niggers." The use of military force is the only way to prevent these hate-crazed bigots from making good their threats.

*School desegregation is the law of the land.* Yet President Ford repeatedly incites racist resistance to desegregation with his antibusing statements. Just last month Ford reiterated, "I don't think forced busing to achieve racial balance is the proper way to get quality education."

Ford went so far as to duck out of a television interview planned for September 8 when he learned he would be questioned about antibusing violence. The president, who is usually so vocal about law and order, could not bring himself to speak out against the lawbreaking bigots who parade under his own slogans.

The record of the Democrats is no better. The all-Democratic Boston School Committee has deliberately maintained a dual school system. It and the Democratic city council have been in the forefront of resistance to desegregation. Mayor Kevin White, another Democrat, joins the antibusing chorus and says he wants to reduce police protection of Blacks. Kennedy and the other liberal Democratic politicians have said as little as possible, refusing to stand up forcefully in defense of Black civil rights.

In the upcoming municipal elections in Boston, only the Socialist Workers party candidates, headed by Norman Oliver for mayor, have taken a forthright stand for school desegregation, for busing, and for federal troops to enforce desegregation and protect Black students.

The reason the government has taken action to provide protection for Blacks this fall is the rising tide of antiracist protest by the Black community and its allies. Blacks, determined not to knuckle under to a new Jim Crow, have begun a countermobilization.

We salute the courageous Black students who have braved bricks and bottles to assert their right to attend desegregated schools. And we applaud the role of the NAACP and the National Student Coalition Against Racism, which have taken the lead in organizing the antiracist response.

Actions such as the May 17 march on Boston, the August 10 Carson Beach picnic, and other marches, picket lines, and rallies, have helped put the pressure on the government to uphold the law and defend Black rights. This pressure must not be relaxed. The battle is not yet won. The federal and state forces must be kept in place, increased, and used to protect Blacks throughout the cities wherever they are threatened.

While Ford covers his racist antibusing stance with talk of "quality education," he hastened to veto a bill appropriating \$7.9 billion for education. Cutbacks in funds, larger classes, fewer teachers, inadequate materials—that is Ford's real formula for "quality education." Cutbacks in school funds at the federal, state, and local levels have forced teachers in New York, Chicago, and other cities onto the picket lines.

The racist attacks on busing and the cutbacks in school spending are two sides of the same reactionary offensive. It is shameful that leaders of some local unions, such as International Union of Electrical Workers Local 761 in Louisville, have encouraged their members to join the antibusing hysteria. Many others have failed to take a clear stand for desegregation.

IUE President Paul Jennings spoke the truth when he wrote to Local 761 that behind the antibusing violence stand "persons who generally oppose everything that labor stands for and who have as their objective the total destruction of trade unions."

"We must not join hands with our real enemies," Jennings said. We would go a step further and say the labor movement *should* join hands with its real friends and allies—the Black community—and throw its forces wholeheartedly into the battle for Black equality and school desegregation.

As Socialist Workers party candidates for president and vice-president, we pledge to continue campaigning with all our might for enforcement of school desegregation, for massive federal funding for education, and for the use of whatever force is necessary to protect the rights and safety of Black people.

### Technicians, then marines

Once again the world is witnessing a betrayal of the rights of the Palestinian people in particular and the Arab people in general with the apparent conclusion of an agreement between Sadat, Rabin, and the American government.

Not that one should be surprised by the nature of the agreement supported by Sadat, for isn't he really an aberration caused by imperialism? Nor should one be shocked by the fact that secret clauses exist in the plan. There are no secrets between the leaders in this matter, only secrets from the Arab masses, who hate the settler state of Israel and the things for which it stands.

But the most sinister aspect of the entire affair must be the proposed American commitment to send "technicians" to "monitor" the new military division line. Only a fool or worse can fail to see the implications of this maneuver.

The Chinese had a saying that reflected certain aspects of imperialism: "First come the priests and then the soldiers." Perhaps a modern update would read, "First come the technicians and then the marines."

John Maley  
Denver, Colorado

### U.S. in Mideast

The September 12 *Militant* gives a number of reasons why the so-called technicians to be sent to the Arab East should be viewed in the same way as the "advisers" sent to Vietnam. An article in the *Los Angeles Times* of August 31 by Oswald Johnston sheds more light on the role of the Americans.

The article refers to "the assignment of American civilian technicians—probably experts on leave from the CIA, Defense Intelligence Agency and National Security—in a nominal custodial role at both posts."

"Two other posts would be manned entirely by Americans and two more would be unmanned sensor stations under American control. All these American teams would theoretically [sic] be allied with neither side, and would report equally to both sides and to the U.N. force in control of the buffer zone."

It should be instructive to watch the congressional liberals who attacked "excesses" by the CIA as they rush to approve the sending of U.S. personnel to the Arab East.

Marc Bedner  
Los Angeles, California

### Palestinian struggle

The recent disengagement talks between Egypt and Israel have implications beyond relations between these two countries. This was just the opening step of a long-range plan that ultimately aims at the destruction of the Palestinian resistance and the physical liquidation of a great part of the Palestinian people.

U.S. imperialism sees it this way: eventually, Egypt will get back all of the Sinai in return for major concessions to Israel. Soon after, Israel and Syria will reach agreement over the Golan Heights. With these two crucial countries "neutralized" the Palestinians can be isolated.

In this context, the continued efforts of the Palestinians to get *their* land back will be called "war-provoking" and would lead to the Egyptian,

Syrian, and Lebanese regimes arresting or expelling them, or wiping them out as King Hussein tried to do in 1970.

The atmosphere would be conducive for Israeli intervention. In this way, the spark and vanguard of the entire Arab revolution can be removed and the Mideast will be "stable" again.

Supporters of the Palestinians have a twofold duty. We must oppose any form of U.S. intervention in the Mideast, and we must explain where Kissinger's "final solution" to the "Palestinian problem" would lead.

Dennis Brasky  
Chicago, Illinois

### Cops shoot to kill

Florida has a "shoot to kill" law—meaning cops can shoot "escaping felons" in the back without much information on the situation. A recent victim was a thirteen-year-old girl in Lakeland, Florida.

Cops saw a van "suspiciously" parked in a railroad loading area. Ignoring a simple reason for a parked van, the cops got ready for action. When the van started to leave, it supposedly ignored commands to stop. (Apparently this is their evidence of felony.) They opened fire. There was no fire from the van. The girl died.

This law claims to protect cops—but that is a farce. This case shows the law is meant to let cops murder when they aren't threatened. One prime use will be racist oppression. This law virtually gives cops open season on people.

Dave Brandt  
Rochester, New York

### Emotion-packed

Please cancel my subscription. I considered waiting until the subscription runs out in February, but your slick little paper is an insult to objective analysis—an insult I can do without. Your emotion-packed headlines don't even turn me on. I hope the few serious revolutionaries among you turn to bigger and better ways of building the movement and spreading the word.

Nonda Paarlberg  
Kouts, Indiana

### Everything has gone up

Please find enclosed with this letter nine dollars, as the last subscription I had for the *Militant* was in 1974 and as the cost of everything has gone up due to the continuing attacks of the capitalists on the working class.

For a student, a woman, or a worker to be without the *Militant* is like being shut off from most of the information necessary for defending oneself from the attacks of capitalism on the working class.

Harold Davis  
Edmonton, Alberta

### Segregation remains

Following the 1954 Supreme Court decision to desegregate the public schools, Blacks were skeptical about the seriousness with which this ruling would be enforced.

Recent events have proven that Blacks have good reason to remain skeptical.

While court-ordered desegregation in the North is being met with open racist opposition—much like the resistance in the South twenty years ago—the





## How the seniority system works

schools in the South remain for the most part segregated.

Racists in the South have had many years of experience in circumventing the desegregation orders. Many districts that have desegregation plans actually have a very small percentage of schools that are integrated to any significant degree.

Private schools have been the most favored route for racists who can afford them. In Atlanta 10,000 of the 20,000 white students attend private schools.

In addition to these legally sanctioned tactics to get around desegregation, recent figures show how Black students are consistently discriminated against in disciplinary procedures. Greater percentages of Black students are being expelled and suspended from schools than white students.

Also reported in recent figures is the fact that disproportionate numbers of Black students are being placed into classes for the mentally retarded while a disproportionate number of white students are being placed in classes for the "gifted." That way the individual schools can maintain segregated classrooms.

E.S.

Hoboken, New Jersey

### McAlester Brothers

On October 19, 1974, the maximum security building was taken over and burned to the ground. I and forty-two other inmates were set free for a while.

I was the one the administration said overpowered a guard, took his pistol, and forced him to unlock other doors.

The next thing any of us knew, the building was on fire, going down! That same building was used to kill, to gas people.

We inmates were made to lie down half-naked in ninety-five-degree heat on our bellies for six hours. Shotguns pointed to our head, we were told not to move—we didn't!

We were then moved back inside the main wall, where mass assaults took place on us.

An investigation got under way after the administration told the newspapers inmates had caused \$25,000 damage. When the investigation was over, ten men were charged with second-degree arson.

We went before a judge. One of us was pistol-whipped in open court. He has since filed suit.

During five days of preliminary hearings there was much racism by the guards, district attorney, and judge. Charges were dropped for three Black brothers and one white. So now it is us. We are the McAlester Six Brothers:

Jerry Fowler, Eugene Teagle, Marvin Gibson, Robert Anderson, Chester McDonald, and myself, Ervin McCoy.

The arson charge was later reduced to rioting. Our next court date is sometime in September. We would appreciate any help from around the world. For more information write any of the listed.

Ervin McCoy

McAlester, Oklahoma

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 "principle of seniority" is staunchly defended with strong words and little action by nearly all top union officials, and most vociferously by AFL-CIO President George Meany and the president of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT), Albert Shanker. Their fighting words in all instances are directed against the hiring of women, and Blacks and other minorities; never in defense of workers' rights on the job, solidarity of employed and unemployed, or action to win jobs for all.

The effect of these diatribes from "leaders of labor" is to bolster the discriminatory practices of employers and to create the false impression that white workers are being laid off to make way for women and Blacks.

A crass example of this is a recent interview granted by George Meany. By coincidence, the plight of a member of the AFT with thirteen years' seniority in the New York school system gives the lie to all the bold talk about "seniority rights."

Meany disclaims responsibility "for the fact that people in this country 125 years ago went to Africa and brought people over here as slaves." He claims that today minority youth are being trained for building-trades jobs in 150 cities under government programs sponsored by AFL-CIO craft unions. But that is not all.

"To say that we've got to sacrifice our kids and our rights to take care of people who merely say that they've got to be employed because their skin is black, that is discrimination in reverse, and I don't buy it," says Meany.

This refers only to the training and hiring of Black youth. The question of layoffs is even worse because jobs are fewer, and if some young Blacks had managed to get jobs when no one else could be found to hire, then they must be let go first because they were the last hired.

"How would you feel if you worked in a factory and you had 15 years of seniority and you had a contract?" Meany answers his own rhetorical question. "You felt you had to take care of your kids and your family, and you were told that because you were white you were going to be deposed of in favor of the fellow with 15 years' less in seniority. I don't buy that at all," says Meany.

These crude remarks, published in the *Chicago Tribune* August 31, were answered by Jesse Jackson, who heads Operation PUSH in that city. Jackson noted that less than 1 percent of all workers in

building-trades unions are Black. The unemployment crisis in the construction industry can hardly be blamed on Blacks taking the jobs of white workers.

Likewise the demand of PUSH and other organizations, such as the NAACP, for training and jobs for Blacks is not a threat to white workers. The purpose is to create more jobs for the benefit of all.

As the depression deepens and the job market shrinks, women and Blacks are disproportionately and unfairly squeezed out of jobs. But so are a lot of others, and the vaunted "principle of seniority" is usually of little use to any of them.

Erwin Schussel was a classroom teacher for eight years in New York and then worked for five years as a guidance counselor. This year the school board has eliminated 400 guidance counselors, claiming lack of funds.

Schussel thought he had thirteen years' seniority and could go back to his old teaching job. Not so, he was told. Well, he taught for eight years. So there ought to be jobs left for teachers with eight years' seniority, he thought. But he was told he has no seniority because it all vanished when he took the guidance counselor job.

No Black nor woman took Schussel's job. But he is still a qualified teacher and after thirteen years' service ought to be entitled to employment, especially since there are thousands of teachers in New York with less experience still on the rolls.

Under the system of "strict seniority," which union officials like Meany and Shanker claim to uphold, Schussel is entitled to a job—even if someone else must be laid off. Isn't that what seniority means?

Schussel deserves special consideration by Meany's standards. He should take his case to Shanker, and if that fails he might try to appeal to Meany and the AFL-CIO Executive Council.

If he does this, he will learn that there is no such thing as "strict seniority," that what is called the "seniority system" usually works according to the rules laid down by the employer and enforced by the union.

The best unions can do is try to keep the boss honest in this respect, and to that extent the seniority system is a good thing. But when you hear the likes of Meany and Shanker ranting in praise of the "principle of seniority," you can be sure it is only to help out the boss in the crooked scheme of discriminatory employment.

## iLa Raza en Acción!

Miguel Pendás



## UFW & 'illegals': criticism useful

LOS ANGELES—At the recent United Farm Workers (UFW) convention a delegate took the floor to ask what the union's attitude would be toward immigrant Mexican workers without documents—so-called "illegal aliens." Union President César Chávez replied, "Organize them!"

He went on to say that all farm workers should be treated as brothers and sisters and brought into the union. A resolution introduced by the executive board stated that the union will seek "amnesty for all illegal workers." The resolution added that "if the growers can bring illegal workers to this country for the purpose of exploiting them, then we can organize illegal workers to liberate them."

This is surely a welcome change from the disastrous policy the union leadership was pursuing a year ago. The attitude then was, "Deport them!" Brother Chávez and others denounced undocumented workers as being responsible for unemployment, low wages, and strike-breaking.

All this was done at a time when hysterical racist government propaganda was blaming the entire economic crisis of capitalism on the "illegals."

This policy did not sit well with the union ranks. Some spoke out against it and refused to carry it out. Many Chicano community groups, clergy, movement organizations, and pro-UFW newspapers such as the *Militant* dissented.

At the union convention, the declarations of solidarity with undocumented workers were greeted with great

enthusiasm by delegates and observers. This underscored the fact that the change of position of the union leaders clearly coincides with the viewpoint of the ranks of the union and the barrios.

Initially, when criticisms of the anti-"illegal" policy were first voiced, the union leadership resisted.

When the union leaders saw that their policy was being rejected by members and supporters, they changed it. This says something about the basic health and vigor of the union.

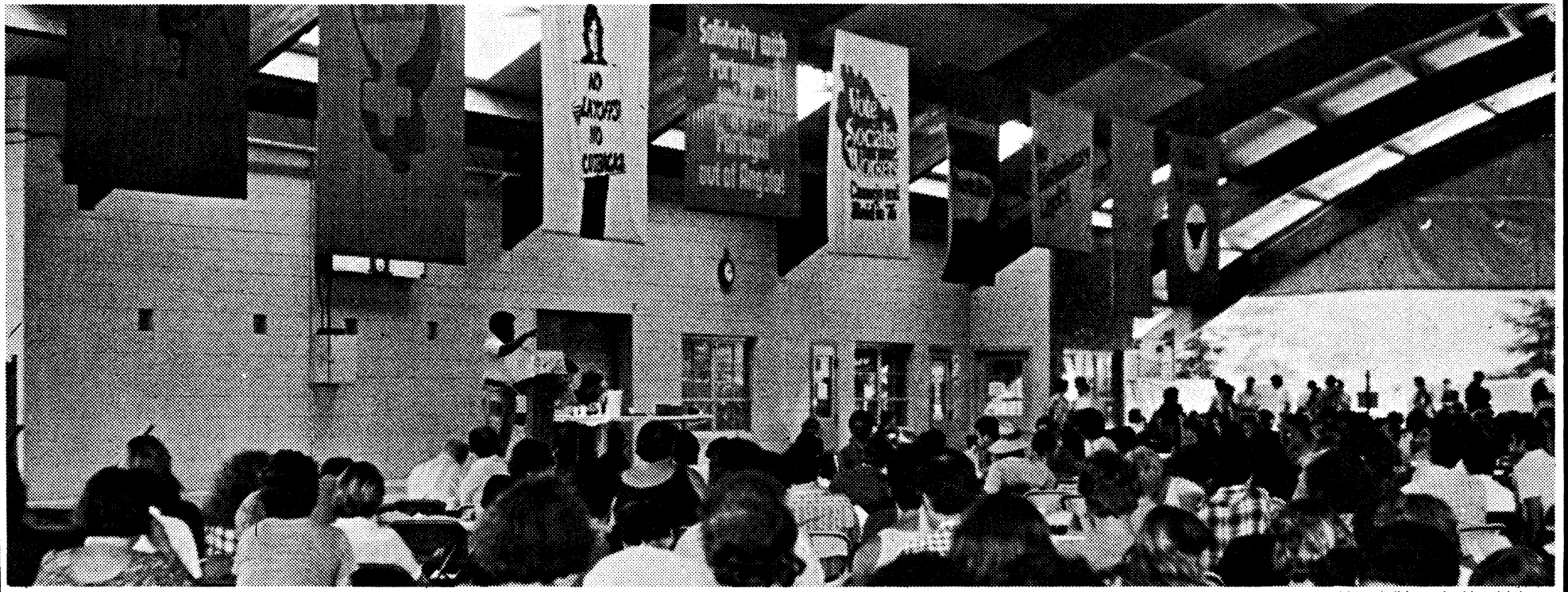
What would have happened if union members and supporters had said, "Yes, the union is wrong on this, but it's under heavy attack, so let's just keep quiet and hope for the best"? If that attitude had prevailed, the union would still be saddled with a self-defeating policy. The UFW's ability to win union recognition this fall in California fields would have had a tremendous obstacle to overcome.

Now the entire union must see to it that it embraces undocumented workers and addresses itself to their needs. Already, reports from the field indicate that *la migra* and the growers are acting in collusion to deport undocumented workers who have signed UFW cards. Defending them will be a big job for the union.

Organizing undocumented farm workers, who represent a significant part of the farm labor force, will be a key weapon in the fight to win union elections and to force the growers to sign contracts.

It will be a tough fight, but *campesinos* united are a powerful force.

# SWP nat'l convention: 'We are entering a new historical period'



Militant/Mary Jo Hendrickson

## By Andy Rose

The twenty-sixth national convention of the Socialist Workers party, held August 17-21 in Ohio, analyzed a new stage in the development of the class struggle in the United States and the ramifications of this new stage for the tasks of the revolutionary party.

The Socialist Workers party believes that a fundamental shift is taking place in the political scene: the beginning of the radicalization of the American working class and its advance to a new and higher stage of political consciousness.

This qualitative change is the cumulative result of several interrelated developments:

- the radicalized attitudes that developed in the 1960s and were expressed through the antiwar

*This article is the first of several on the recent Socialist Workers party convention.*

movement, the Black liberation struggle, and other social protests;

- the definitive end of the long post-World War II period of capitalist expansion and relative prosperity; and
- the impact of the new crisis of world capitalism on the thinking of masses of working people.

It was the judgment of the convention that the period ahead will be one of political polarization and sharpening class battles. The opening of this new stage in the radicalization means new opportunities, new challenges, and new tasks for revolutionary socialists. It dictates a turn in the attitudes, priorities, and functioning of the Socialist Workers party.

This turn was the central political axis of the convention. At plenary sessions, classes, and more than thirty workshops, convention participants discussed the meaning of the new stage of the radicalization and its implications for every area of the party's work.

With more than 1,600 delegates and observers attending, this was the largest convention ever held by the SWP. It brought together party activists and supporters from the trade unions, the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican struggles, the women's movement, and the high schools and college campuses, as well as a large number of observers from other countries.

## Democratic discussion

The national convention, the highest decision-making body of the Socialist Workers party, was the culmination of a three-month period of thorough and democratic discussion.

Two resolutions were submitted to the membership by the outgoing national leadership of the party: the main political resolution, "The Decline of American Capitalism: Prospects for a Socialist Revolution"; and a resolution on "The Fight for Black Liberation, the Current Stage and Its Tasks." All members of the SWP had the opportunity to contribute articles and resolutions on any aspect of

the party's program, perspectives, and tasks to the SWP internal discussion bulletin. In addition, discussions were organized in each party branch.

At the end of the preconvention discussion, each branch voted on the resolutions and elected its delegates to the convention. There, after reports and further discussion, the delegates decided on the party's perspectives for the period until the next convention. The delegates also elected the national leadership that will direct the party's work in that period.

The two draft resolutions and the reports to the convention by the outgoing SWP Political Committee were approved by unanimous vote of the elected delegates.

Mary-Alice Waters, reporting on the draft political resolution, outlined the origins and significance of the new stage of the radicalization. A report on tasks and perspectives, presented by Betsey Stone, discussed in greater detail the implications of the turn for the party's work.

New openings were seen in the trade unions and other mass organizations of the American working class. Eleven workshops were held by party members active in different unions and industries, ranging from teachers to steelworkers. One workshop heard a firsthand report from the United Farm Workers convention, which has just taken place in Fresno, California, and discussed organizing massive support for the UFW's boycott of scab grapes, lettuce, and wine.

## Growth of SWP

An important aspect of the new political situation is the heightened receptivity to socialist ideas and the greater potential for expanding the party's influence and winning new members.

Symbolizing the geographic growth of the party, representatives were present from five cities where new party branches are being established: Newark, New Jersey; Baltimore, Maryland; New Orleans, Louisiana; San Antonio, Texas; and San Jose, California.

It was also announced that the Chicago branch is expanding by dividing into two branches, one on that city's South Side, the other on the West Side. The former Lower Manhattan, New York, branch has become the Lower East Side branch and will be based in that predominantly Puerto Rican community, where the SWP has won respect for its active participation in the fight for Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese control of the schools.

Workshops discussed the 1976 SWP presidential campaign, a fall circulation drive for the *Militant*, and how to win new members to the party.

Another theme running through the convention was the SWP's deepening involvement in the new stage of the fight against racism, especially centering at this time on defense of school desegregation in Boston and other cities.

The convention opened with an enthusiastic ovation celebrating the release of Joanne Little, acquitted just two days before of a frame-up murder

charge for defending herself against a rape attack by her white jailer. SWP members throughout the country had been active in Little's defense, helping to organize picket lines, teach-ins, and fund-raising events on her behalf.

Tony Thomas, reporting for the political committee on the Black struggle resolution, pointed to the devastating effect the capitalist crisis has had on the oppressed Black masses. Not only has progress toward social and economic equality been blocked, but a mounting racist offensive is trying to roll back the gains of the civil rights movement.

"In making a turn to the opportunities opened up by the change in the objective situation and the beginning of a working-class radicalization," Thomas said, "we put special emphasis on the democratic struggles of Black people against discrimination and oppression."

A report on the activities of the Young Socialist Alliance, presented by YSA National Chairperson Malik Miah, focused on the desegregation struggle in Boston and the work of the National Student Coalition Against Racism. Miah said the YSA and SWP would be active in NSCAR's efforts to mobilize a massive defense of Black students' rights to be bused in safety to any school.

## Internationalism

Another major aspect of the convention was discussion of the world political situation and the international revolutionary movement. Here the focus was on the revolutionary upsurge in Portugal since the April 25, 1974, overthrow of the Salazarist dictatorship. A banner hanging directly above the speaker's platform declared: "Solidarity with Portuguese Workers! Portugal Out of Angola!"

Two reports were presented, one by SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes, the other by SWP National Organization Secretary Barry Sheppard. They took up the crucial questions of program, strategy, and tactics posed by the developments in Portugal, including the attitude of revolutionaries toward freedom of the press and other democratic rights, attitude toward a capitalist military regime that cloaks itself in radical demagoguery, how to apply the united-front tactic, and other issues.

The discussion at the SWP convention was greatly enriched by the participation of leaders of revolutionary groups from around the world, including leaders of two Portuguese Trotskyist groups, the Liga Comunista Internacionalista (Internationalist Communist League) and the Partido Revolucionário dos Trabalhadores (Revolutionary Workers party).

In addition to the convention sessions and workshops, the week's activities included several class series, a wind-up rally, and two special presentations by veteran Trotskyist leaders and educators. Joseph Hansen, editor of *Intercontinental Press*, spoke on "James P. Cannon, the Internationalist." George Novack, Marxist historian and philosopher, discussed basic tenets of materialist philosophy in a talk titled "In Defense of Engels."



Future issues of the *Militant* will cover in greater detail other decisions and activities of the SWP convention. The remainder of this article will center on the political resolution and report adopted by the convention.

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The convention's political resolution does not deal with immediate political or economic prospects. Rather, it steps back to take a broader look at the roots of the present crisis of American imperialism, the structural and ideological changes in the working class and among its allies since the 1930s, and the revolutionary perspective that flows from the new stage in the radicalization.

### Contradictions of imperialism

The first section of the resolution puts the present crisis in the framework of the growing contradictions of world imperialism.

This crisis represents the exhaustion of the motor forces of the long post-World War II economic boom. The world capitalist economy has entered a new period of long-term stagnation, inflation, and decline. There will still be ups and downs in the economic cycle, but the ups will be lower and shorter and the downs will be longer and deeper.

Under these circumstances, the resolution points to the real perspectives continued capitalist rule holds out for the American workers:

- First, to boost its profit rates and strengthen its competitive position on the world market, American capitalism will try to hold down real wages, whittle away at working conditions, and generally lower the workers' standard of living.
- Second, to uphold American imperialist interests around the world, the rulers will press forward with new military adventures, continually raising the threat of new Vietnams and the danger of nuclear holocaust.
- Third, to undercut the ability of the workers to resist, the ruling class will seek to curtail democratic rights on the job and in general.

### Consciousness of American workers

The heart of the resolution is its analysis of the developing new consciousness among the American workers. One element of this process is the radicalization of the 1960s, which began with the Black struggle, was carried to a new stage by the anti-Vietnam War movement, and spilled over into a questioning of more and more institutions of capitalist rule. New layers of the oppressed—women, Chicanos, Native Americans, prisoners, and others—began to demand their human rights.

On top of what Vietnam did to the credibility of the rulers and to the image of American "democracy" came the Watergate revelations. "The 'credibility gap' represents in reality a crisis of political confidence in the government . . .," the resolution states. "For the first time since the 1930s growing numbers of the American working people not only disbelieve what the rulers tell them but question the goals and values of the ruling class."

The new situation represents not simply the further extension of this radicalization to broader layers of workers. The impact of the economic crisis—the wage freeze, double-digit inflation, speed-up, meat crisis, oil crisis, and now the depression—has brought about a qualitative change.

### 'A bridge was crossed'

Mary-Alice Waters put it this way: "It was in this period, between the August 1971 wage freeze and the 1975 depression, that a bridge was crossed in the consciousness and the expectations of the

American working class. On the 1971 side of the bridge, the working class was still relatively optimistic, with relative security and confidence, even if there were doubts and questions.

"On the 1975 end of that bridge stands a working class with a growing sense of insecurity, with a fear of what the future will bring, and with the feeling that whatever it is, it will be worse than what has been. At the 1975 end of that bridge stands a working class that is beginning to sense that what is involved is not just a temporary dip in an upward curve, but an enduring social crisis and a curve that is heading downward. . . .

"We have entered a new historical period, one that is going to be our generation's equivalent of the great social crisis of the 1930s."

The resolution sums up the significance of the new period as follows: "The U.S. is not heading back to the prolonged prosperity, reaction, and quiescence of the 1950s and early 1960s. The road ahead is one of increasing class consciousness, class struggle and class polarization, leading from radicalization toward a revolutionary situation, regardless of the oscillations along the way.

"The world crisis of capitalism does not favor extensive and effective long-term capitalist reform in the United States but development of the prerequisites for a revolution."

### 'Middle class' myth

The resolution goes on to examine the changing character and composition of the working class, the changes that have taken place since the last period of labor radicalization in the 1930s and '40s, and how these changes affect the perspective of growing social and political consciousness in the coming struggles.

"The extensive industrialization, automation and monopolization of factory, farm and office in the 1950s and 1960s," the resolution states, "led to a massive increase in the size of the American working class, both in absolute terms and in relation to other classes."

Contrary to the myth of the workers all becoming "middle class," the resolution observes that "American workers tend to think of themselves nowadays more as workers than as potential independent producers. Few believe they will one day be able to have a shop, farm, or small business of their own, assuring them an independent livelihood."

This question of social composition is different from the so-called middle-class standard of living of American workers. The belief by masses of workers that they have a right to a decent—and rising—standard of living is a revolutionizing, not a conservatizing, factor.

The long period of economic expansion brought millions of women into the labor market for the first time. Waters noted in her report that "the willingness of women today to fight to keep their jobs, their refusal to accept it as normal that they should be thrown out of the work force to bear a disproportionate weight of the crisis, their resistance to being simply relegated back into the home, is one of the most important changes that have taken place." It leads both to an increasing class consciousness among women and to the radicalism and militancy of women spurring on the class as a whole.

### 'Prison house of nations'

Another crucially important change, Waters said, "is the forging of the American state as a new, modern, imperialist showcase 'prison house of nations.'" The Black population, which at the end of World War II still lived in its majority on the land, is today more urbanized and proletarianized than the white population. Masses of Chicanos and Puerto Ricans have entered the urban work force, as well as the agricultural proletariat, under conditions of superexploitation.

The resolution explains that "the oppressed nationalities and national minorities play a double role. They constitute a growing percentage of the working class and at the same time they are the most important allies of the working class. . . .

"Oppressed nationalities and national minorities are exploited as proletarians. This exploitation is intensified by their pariah status since they are at the same time oppressed as a distinct people. The struggle against this twofold oppression is one of the central driving forces of the third American revolution. . . ."

These superexploited and nationally oppressed workers will more and more "furnish leadership in the fight to transform the labor movement into a fighting social movement, using its power to back the struggles of all the oppressed."

The foremost question of revolutionary strategy in the United States is overcoming the divisions within the working class—between Black and white, employed and unemployed, male and female,

skilled and unskilled, young and old, public employees and workers in the private sector.

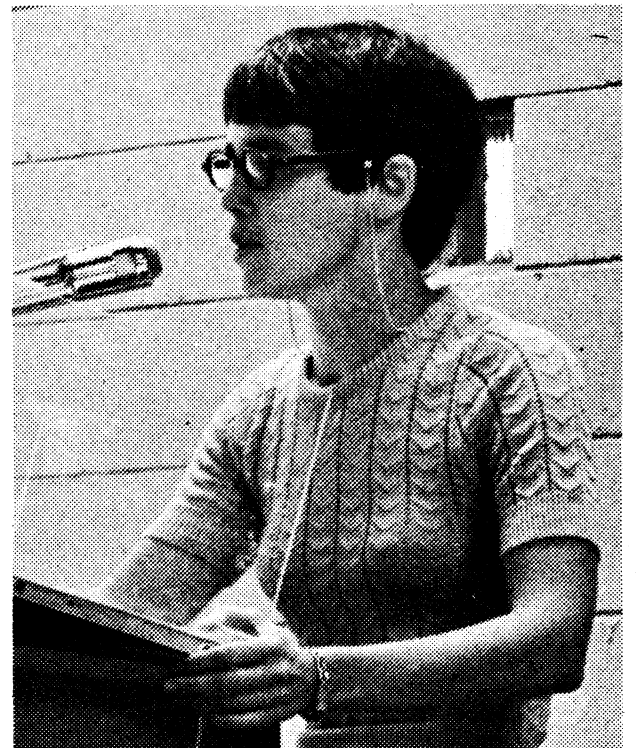
The SWP's position on how this can be done is unequivocal. The resolution states: "We press for revolutionary unity based on support for the demands of the most oppressed. We press the working class to give clear and concrete answers to the problems faced by its allies. And we unconditionally reject any concept that the oppressed should 'wait' for the labor movement to support them before entering into struggle."

### Discriminatory layoffs

This question is posed most sharply and concretely today around the issue of discriminatory layoffs. While the union bureaucrats and all other fair-weather friends of the Black movement back away from defending the job gains won by Blacks in the 1960s, upholding instead the relative privileges of white workers to hold jobs at the expense of Blacks, the SWP demands that the layoffs not reduce by so much as one percentage point the gains made through affirmative action.

This issue, which is being hotly debated at all levels of the labor, Black, and women's movements, was the main focus of discussion under the political report. Several speakers explained from their own experiences in the labor movement the necessity for the unions to champion the interests of the most oppressed.

Catarino Garza, a bilingual teacher in New York City, graphically described how the United Federation of Teachers had been weakened in its battle with the city administration by UFT President



MARY-ALICE WATERS: Task is to provide program and leadership to help our class move forward on road to socialist revolution.

Albert Shanker's support for the privileges of high-seniority white teachers against young, bilingual, Black, and Puerto Rican teachers.

The sharpening contradictions of world capitalism impel the workers onto the road of revolutionary struggle. But even the most devastating breakdowns of American capitalism cannot automatically produce a victory for the socialist revolution. Moreover, the misleadership of the union bureaucracy stands as a tremendous obstacle not only to the socialist revolution but even to the defense of the workers' most elementary interests, as the unions' capitulation in the New York City crisis has vividly demonstrated.

The problem facing the as yet small revolutionary forces is twofold:

- to help the masses, through their own experiences of struggle, to cross the bridge from general dissatisfaction and immediate demands to revolutionary socialist solutions; and
- to gather fresh forces and train the cadres who, in the course of the class struggle, can build a mass revolutionary party capable of leading millions of working people to victory.

To solve this problem requires a clear and precise revolutionary program and an understanding of how to apply it in the living class struggle as it arises. The political resolution presents such a program—not the precise slogans, which cannot be foreseen, but the general line of march—as applied to the particular features of American society and the international role of U.S. imperialism.

Embodied in this program is the necessity for the American workers to begin to think socially and act politically. The resolution explains: "They must see

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## Over 1,600 attended

The total attendance of 1,613 at the recent SWP convention made it the largest ever held. By comparison, the previous convention, held in 1973, was attended by 1,478 people, the 1971 convention by 1,100, and the 1969 convention by 660.

Convention participants came from twenty-eight states. Some of the largest groups were 299 from New York, 257 from California, and 94 from Pennsylvania. In addition, observers were present from eighteen foreign countries.

Forty-three percent of those present were women. Thirty percent were attending their first SWP convention. Members of sixty-two different trade unions were present.

# Rightists gun down Argentine socialists

By Judy White

From Intercontinental Press

Five members of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party) of Argentina were found shot to death September 5.

Marks on the nude bodies of Adriana Daldúa, Ana María Lorenzo, Lidia Agostini, Hugo Frigerio, and Roberto

Three more members of the Argentine Socialist Workers party were found shot dead September 6 in the same area where five other party members had been found assassinated the previous day.

A report in the September 7 *La Nación*, a Buenos Aires daily, said Patricia Susana Claverie, Carlos Enrique Povedano, and Oscar Lucatti had been hit many times with large-caliber bullets.

Loscertales showed that the murder victims were beaten before they were shot. Their bodies were found in a car near La Plata in an area where at least a dozen victims of rightist murder gangs have been left in recent months.

The five assassination victims had been actively involved in solidarity work with strikers at the Propulsora Iron and Steel Works in Berisso, a city near La Plata. All five were known members of the PST. In addition, Daldúa and Lorenzo were prominent in the youth group associated with the PST, the Juventud Socialista (Socialist Youth).

Government-sponsored ultraright terror began in Argentina in the spring of 1974, less than a year after Perón took office. With the forced exile July 19 of former Social Welfare Minister López Rega, the official closely connected with the most active murder gang, the AAA (Argentine Anticomunist Alliance), an end to such killings was hoped for. But the assassinations continued.

*Avanzada Socialista*, the weekly newspaper of the PST, reported the following cases in recent weeks:

- The July 24 issue told of ten victims whose bodies had been found in Córdoba, Buenos Aires, Rosario, La Plata, and other parts of the country.
- The August 1 issue noted that nine more persons had been killed by murder gangs. In addition, four persons had disappeared, including two PST members.

The PST members, Daniel Biloni and Zaira Sierra, were arrested July 28 while driving through Tucumán Pro-



PST convention in December 1973. Argentine socialists have become target for government-sponsored right-wing terror squads because of consistent fight for workers' rights.

vince. Police subsequently denied any knowledge of their whereabouts.

- The August 8 issue gave details on repeated threats by the AAA against Jorge Díaz, a worker at Talleres Esquiú, and against the members of the factory committee at Lorrilleaux-Lefranc, two printing establishments.
- The August 16 issue reported that a powerful bomb virtually destroyed the Tucumán headquarters of the

bourgeois Unión Cívica Radical (UCR—Radical Civic Union) August 11. Just prior to this a Communist party activist was found shot to death in Lanús.

- The August 23 issue gave an account of the August 14 murder of the parents, a brother, and a sister of the late Mariano Pujadas. Pujadas was one of the victims of the Trelew massacre of August 1972 in which sixteen political prisoners were killed.

Also reported in this issue was the kidnapping and beating of PST member and army draftee Mario Alfredo Moyano; a campaign of harassment against party member and worker activist Alberto Berrocal; and an August 21 raid on the party's headquarters in Neuquén. Two persons were arrested in the raid, and the police continued to occupy the site after it had been searched.

The September 5 assassination of five PST members brings to twelve the number of party members murdered since the Perón regime came to office. In addition, there have been numerous bombings of party headquarters, arrests of PST militants, death threats to members, and raids on the party's offices.

The July 19 issue of *Avanzada Socialista* printed a balance sheet on the struggle against ultraright terror and in support of democratic rights, explaining the need for a massive mobilization of the working class. It said in part:

"A two-week mobilization of the working class was adequate to brake the advance of the right wing, to impose de facto the right to strike, to demonstrate in the streets, and to meet to discuss common problems.

"The workers struggles of those two weeks have done more for democratic rights than months on end of verbal protests and condemnations.

"More than ever it has been shown that the only discussions and negotiations that produce results are those supported by the mass mobilization of the workers.

"But the danger has not disappeared. The right wing of the government has had to stop its offensive but it still has not been dislodged from power. From the posts it maintains, it is preparing a new blow against the standard of living and the democratic rights of the workers and people as a whole.

"That is why it is increasingly urgent and important to take advantage of the government's current weakness to deliver new blows that can prevent it from reacting and prepare its definitive defeat. Now is the time to halt the reactionary offensive in all its manifestations."

It is the PST's tireless campaign to build a movement capable of accomplishing these tasks that has marked it as a particular target of the ultraright terror gangs and their backers in the Peronist regime.

## Message from the SWP

[The following message was sent by the political committee of the U.S. Socialist Workers party to the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (Socialist Workers party) of Argentina on September 6.]

We salute the memory of our five comrades: Lidia Agostini, Adriana Daldúa, Hugo Frigerio, Anna Maria Lorenzo, and Roberto Loscertales. They died in the only cause worth fighting for—the struggle of the working class against capitalist exploitation. Cowardly assassins cut short their lives. But the memory of these five brave revolutionists will live on in the work of the PST and the Fourth International.

# Campaign to ratify ERA launched in Georgia

By Mary Jo Vogel

ATLANTA—An "Evening with Women in the Arts" benefit held at the Great Southeast Music Hall on August 25 officially launched the 1975-76 campaign to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment in Georgia.

The benefit, sponsored by Georgians

for the Equal Rights Amendment, drew an overflow crowd of 600 people.

The evening's entertainment included folk singers Rose and Robin Rogers, Black jazz singer Kiesa Brown, the Leslie Morris Dance Unit, and others.

"If this benefit is any indication,"

Sarah Ryan, a coordinator of GERA, told the *Militant*, "the ERA has more support in Georgia than before."

"The ERA is definitely not a dead issue this year," said Julie Scott, a leader of the Women's Coalition at Georgia State University. "I've heard some say that there is no hope of ratification in 1976 because the legislature will again be composed of the same anti-ERA forces.

"I think our experiences in the past give lie to this opinion. Women won the right to vote and the right to legal abortion despite conservative legislatures and courts because of the pressure created by a large, public women's movement."

The "Women in the Arts" benefit is viewed by GERA members as a springboard for another ambitious effort to win ratification in Georgia.

"Like last year," said Sarah Ryan, "we hope to set up campus chapters throughout the state; to establish a Black women's task force to relate the

ERA to the special discrimination Black women face; and to organize a trade-union task force to rally union support for the ERA."

Already, Local 1644 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees has agreed to send a representative from each of its three chapters to ERA coalition meetings.

A statewide ERA conference is planned by GERA for November 7 and 8. The conference will map out ways to build a demonstration in support of the ERA scheduled for January 10, 1976.

This will be the third demonstration initiated by GERA. The two previous ones drew more than 1,000 people each.

GERA anticipates that the January 10 demonstration will be held simultaneously with one sponsored by activists in Florida. Last January a demonstration of 3,000 was held in Florida on the heels of the Georgia demonstration.

"Coordinated actions among all the states will help to strengthen the ERA struggle nationally," said Ryan.



January 11, 1975, march in Atlanta in support of ERA. Renewed efforts are under way to win ratification during upcoming legislative session.



## Seattle candidates debate strategy for change

By Harold Schlechtweg

SEATTLE—It was standing room only as more than 150 people crowded into a room at Seattle's American Friends Center September 4 to hear Karl Bermann, Socialist Workers party candidate for city council, debate Chip Marshall, a former antiwar activist, who is also running for the council.

"What we're here to debate tonight is not whether we're for change, but rather how change is going to come about and what kind of changes are necessary—who is being realistic and which one of us is a dreamer," Bermann told the youthful audience, most of whom were supporters of Marshall.

Marshall has a reputation as a radical. In April 1970, he and seven other Seattle activists were framed up for alleged violation of federal conspiracy laws following a police attack on an antiwar demonstration. The charges were eventually dropped.

Although the elections are officially nonpartisan, Marshall's bid for office is endorsed by the county Democratic party.

Bermann concentrated his fire on the capitalist political parties and their attempts to defend the capitalist system, which is being wracked by an economic crisis.

"In this system there are two parties," Bermann said, "the Republicans and the Democrats. These parties stand for absolutely nothing except the preservation of the system which makes the profits of the corporations the first and most important consideration." Bermann said the capitalist system has nothing to offer working people but the perspective of continued economic decline, more unemployment, higher prices, shortages of basic commodities, and further deterioration in the quality of life.



Karl Bermann (speaking), SWP candidate for city council, at debate with Chip Marshall (right). Marshall, a former antiwar activist, is now running as Democratic party candidate.

Both capitalist parties "include liberals and conservatives, both are financed and controlled by big business, and the candidates of both parties say whatever is necessary to get elected," the SWP candidate said.

Marshall said that he, like Bermann, wanted to see a society based on human need rather than private profit. But he saw the way to achieve this as working in the Democratic party. "The Democratic party, on a national level, is quite clearly a party which represents big-money interests. But on the local level, on the precinct level, people who have real good connections with blue-collar people, in fact, are Democrats."

"Now I hope too, in the future, that we can move toward some new grouping. But in order to do that, I want to be sure that there is a real, true, blue-collar component in that grouping. And right now, at this stage, I think an alliance with local Democrats is

principled and necessary."

Marshall also questioned whether it is possible at this time to mobilize people in independent actions in defense of their own interests, the perspective Bermann argued for. "Thinking that we are going to have thousands of people in the street again, folks, you know it and I know it, it is not going to happen. That is not where people are at."

Bermann contrasted his campaign with that of Marshall. "What I'm trying to do in this campaign is to rid people of their illusions," he said. "Because only when they have lost their illusions about the ability of the Democratic or Republican party, or even nonpartisan 'saviors,' to solve their problems for them, will they begin to do what is necessary—and that's organize and fight in their own behalf."

Bermann said that working people need their own instruments of political

action, independent of the instruments of the ruling class. He explained the need for a labor party based on the trade unions and representing the interests of the working class instead of the interests of the capitalist class.

Marshall has been a delegate to the King County Labor Council, and the council has endorsed his campaign. Bermann told him, "Chip, you say you are for the workers. If you are really for the workers, why aren't you out campaigning for the formation of a labor party?"

During the question-and-answer period the discussion also turned to the practice of redlining, the policy banks and other financial institutions follow when they refuse to make loans to homeowners or small businesses in the Black community.

Marshall has proposed a city ordinance that would require banks to disclose where their money is invested. Bermann said he supported this proposal, but "what I think is necessary are measures which will force the banks to stop redlining, not just prove they are doing it—which they have admitted."

He received strong applause when he said, "So I am for whatever means are necessary to stop redlining. If that means we have to throw the bankers in jail, I am for throwing the bankers in jail."

Many of those in the audience stayed for more than an hour after the debate to talk politics, and a number of them signed up for more information about the socialist campaign.

The primary election here will take place September 16. In addition to Bermann, the socialist candidates for city council are: Wesley Weinhold (write-in), Gale Shangold, Toby Emerich, and Pat Bethard. Dave Zilly is the SWP candidate for county council.

## What the 'Militant' has in store for the fall

By Pat Galligan

As the economic crisis deepens, promising higher prices, more layoffs, and more cutbacks, working people in this country need facts about what's happening and a perspective to fight back. Fulfilling this need is the role of the *Militant*.

The capitalists' daily newspapers distort the facts in the interests of the ruling class. They claim to be objective—they can't tell their readers whose opinions they really represent.

The *Militant* takes sides too. But we don't hide our perspective. It's right in the masthead: "A socialist newsweekly/Published in the interests of the working people."

The *Militant* is a unique source of news because every reader is a potential reporter for the paper. Our "staff" includes hundreds of correspondents across the country—political activists who are involved in the actions they write about, whether it's in the unions, the Black struggle, the women's liberation movement, or some other struggle.

We also send reporters around the country to cover important political developments. This week, for example, Baxter Smith files his story from Boston and Nan Bailey reports from Louisville, Kentucky.

Throughout the fall, the *Militant* will be the best source of news on the school desegregation struggles across the country and the best source of information on how people are organizing to fight the racists.

Harry Ring, who heads the *Militant's* Southwest Bureau, will be coordinating coverage of the United Farm Workers' current California organizing drive. We'll carry in-depth coverage of

the class battle shaping up in the fields.

Our Washington Bureau chief, Cindy Jaquith, will next report on the upcoming Church committee hearings into CIA activities. Jaquith's recent field assignments have included the Joanne Little trial and the miners' strike.

Another thing you can expect in the *Militant* this fall is more of Gerry Foley's comprehensive reporting and analysis of the unfolding events in Portugal. Our international coverage, including the regular "World Outlook" section, brings readers incisive international news each week.

In addition to its political perspective and brand of reporting, the *Militant* differs from capitalist newspapers in another respect. We don't rely on Madison Avenue gimmicks to increase our circulation—we depend on you.

Many readers of the *Militant* encourage their co-workers and friends to subscribe. Many readers also take weekly bundles to sell in their neighborhoods, where they work, or at political meetings and events in their cities or towns.

This week, the *Militant* is kicking off a special campaign to increase our readership. We want to make a concerted, organized effort to reach qualitatively larger numbers of people, to convince them to buy a single copy or a subscription.

This circulation campaign will be a national effort. In cities across the country, local units of the Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance have taken on goals for both sales and subscriptions. Individual readers have also ordered weekly bundles and subscription blanks.

The single-copy sales campaign

begins with this issue and extends for ten weeks. This fall, we have set a goal of selling 7,500 copies on the streets each week.

The subscription drive is also now under way and will end November 30. The national subscription goal is 6,000.

During the drive, we will print regular scoreboards showing the number of single copies sold and the progress of the subscription drive, so all our readers can follow the circulation drive.

In addition to the scoreboard, there will be an article each week, describing where the *Militant* is being sold, who's selling the paper, who's buying it, and what they think about the *Militant*—the story behind the figures on the scoreboard.

These articles will depend on reports and information from our readers. Do

you have a regular sales spot? Let's hear about it. How many papers do you usually sell there? Do you have regular customers? Why do they like the *Militant*? Which subjects do they follow in the paper? What do they say about the paper?

Do you sell subscriptions to people in your union? Let's hear about your experiences. Tell us about your union, its membership, and its political activities. Which issues most concern union members?

We urge you to join the circulation campaign. Robert Sipe from Albion, Michigan, has a head start: "Please send me a bundle of eight *Militants* a week," he wrote. "Also, I would like to order a packet of eleven subscription cards (prepaid) as my part of the fall sales campaign."

Why not follow his example?



Demonstrator checks out the 'Militant' at recent women's rights rally in Chicago. Circulation drive will get socialist news and analysis to thousands of new readers.

# Why the Communist party slanders the 'Militant' on Portugal



Rightists demonstrate in Portugal. Stalinists have played into hands of reactionaries with their sectarian and antidemocratic policies.

By David Frankel

The *Militant's* thorough coverage of the events in Portugal has been well received by our readers. There have been some exceptions, however. Chief among the critics was the Communist party's *Daily World*, which felt it necessary to run three extensive articles by Erik Bert detailing its objections.

The Stalinists try to dismiss the arguments raised in the *Militant* by "proving" the existence of a bloc including, among others, the *Militant*, the CIA, George Meany, Portuguese Socialist party (SP) head Mário Soares, and the Wallaceite American party.

Bert claims that the *Militant's* reports on how the Portuguese Communist party (CP) has attacked democratic rights, and its defense of the rights of the SP, are all a right-wing maneuver.

"The enemy, as far as the Trotskyite Militant is concerned," he writes September 4, "is the same as for the agents of the Salazar-Caetano fascist dictatorship, the same as for U.S. imperialism and Mario Soares' right social democracy. Their mutual enemy is the Communist Party of Portugal. . . ."

"George Meany and the CIA agree with the Trotskyite Militant about the Communists' 'attacks on the democratic rights of others;'. . . ."

According to this line of argument, also known as

guilt by association, all those who criticize the Portuguese CP and its policies are in league with American imperialism and Portuguese reaction. We will return to Bert's arguments and take them up in detail, but first it is necessary to establish the framework of the dispute.

## The real issue

Bert's crude amalgam is an attempt to evade the fundamental question facing the Portuguese working class and its supporters around the world. Portugal is a capitalist country; the question for socialists is what policy should be followed to bring the working class to power and transform Portugal into a workers state?

This question has not been posed abstractly. The Portuguese masses clearly indicated their support for socialism following the overthrow of the Caetano dictatorship. The military regime was forced to adopt very radical rhetoric and govern with the help of the CP and SP in order to retain its credibility.

The Stalinist policy in Portugal has been to lead those under their influence to support the capitalist government, instead of attempting to mobilize the masses independently in their own interests. This

course of tying the working class to the representatives of the bourgeoisie can never lead to victory in a socialist revolution.

From this point of view, the general approach of the SP is not different from that of the Stalinists. When it withdrew from the government in July, after more than a year of collaboration, the SP made clear that its objections were to specific policies and individuals, not to participation in a capitalist government as such. Currently a new cabinet is being formed, which the SP will no doubt take part in.

However, for a period of about seven weeks, from early June until late July, the SP took the lead in organizing mass demonstrations in the streets against the government's attempts to restrict democratic rights. These attacks on the rights of the working class—which were in the interests of the capitalist military regime, not the socialist revolution—were spearheaded by the Stalinists.

But Bert tries to turn the Trotskyist position in defense of democratic rights, and in support of specific actions to that end, into an endorsement of social democratic politics and bourgeois anti-Communism.

## 'Collaboration' with SP?

He starts with the article by Joseph Hansen, "Is democracy worth fighting for?" which appeared in the August 15 *Militant*. Writing in the August 29 *Daily World*, Bert says:

"Hansen pretends to defend the revolution and democracy against its enemies. He admonishes the 'militants' in Portugal, warns against their 'ultra-left course,' and the like. But his defense of 'democracy against all its detractors and would-be destroyers' is in fact, a cover-up for Trotskyism's collaboration with Right social democracy, allegedly in defense of 'democracy.'"

Bert contends: "The Trotskyite Militant has sold its affections to Soares and what Soares says is what the Trotskyite Militant will echo."

But the supposed SP connection is only the first link in the amalgam. As Bert elaborates in his September 4 article:

"There is not one reactionary force in Portugal, from the Salazar-Caetano counterrevolutionary 'hit' men, to Henry Kissinger's 'moderate' social democrats; from the reactionary pro-fascist Catholic hierarchy to the expropriated monopolists and the feudal latifundists, which does not beat the drums for 'democracy,' as do the Trotskyites, and denounce the communists as anti-democratic, as the Trotskyites do also."

## Capitalist campaign

The basic Stalinist argument, here as always, is that because the capitalist press has been on a campaign to discredit the Portuguese CP, the Portuguese CP must be revolutionary. In reality, the capitalists have no such illusion. They are taking advantage of the situation in Portugal to drive home the false idea that socialism and democracy are incompatible.

The tragedy is that the Portuguese CP, and Stalinism everywhere, play right into the hands of the capitalists by pursuing their bureaucratic course and dismissing democratic rights as irrelevant. World Stalinism—with good reason—has come to be regarded as the enemy of democratic rights in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, as well as in countries like India and Portugal, where the Stalinist parties have supported the restriction of democratic rights.

In the Soviet Union Stalinist policies have been responsible for the purge trials and political murders, the labor camps and psychiatric prison wards, and the other hideous features of the Soviet police regime. The bureaucratic regime inside the USSR has been complemented by the crushing of movements for socialist democracy in Hungary and Czechoslovakia. The Stalinists have done more than capitalist propaganda could have ever hoped to achieve in helping to discredit socialism in the eyes of the people of the world.

In Portugal, the Stalinists were helped by the military junta to gain control of the trade-union federation, after which rival union formations were banned. Again with the help of the military, the Stalinists were placed in key positions in the mass media. As late as the middle of July, six of the seven daily newspapers in Lisbon were carrying the CP line, among them the newspaper *República*, which had reflected the views of the SP until its take-over by a coalition of ultralefts and Stalinists.

These attacks on freedom of the press and freedom of association in Portugal were supplemented by threats to abolish the Constituent Assembly—the only elected governmental body in the country—and attempts to prevent SP protest demonstrations.



After fifty years of capitalist dictatorship, at a time when the workers and peasants see democracy as a crucial issue, the bourgeoisie, thanks to the role of the Stalinists, have been able to present themselves as defenders and partisans of democracy.

## CP opposes united front

In view of all this, it is understandable that the CP feels the need to immunize its ranks against the facts and arguments raised in the *Militant*. Bert thinks that if he can link the Trotskyists with the CIA, it will do the trick.

But the attempt to make an amalgam between all those who criticize the Portuguese CP is only the beginning. While slandering the *Militant* by accusing it of supporting the rightist attacks on the CP that have been going on since July, Bert is faced with the fact that we favor a united front of the workers organizations to repel such attacks.

Bert gives the following arguments on why a united front with the SP for defense against the rightist attacks in Portugal is not necessary, desirable, or possible.

- The CP represents the majority of the working class.
- The SP is opposed to a united front to defend the CP's democratic rights.
- The SP is linked to European imperialism.
- The SP broke up an existing united front when it left the government.
- The SP is in league with the extreme right.

Bert is especially annoyed because "the Trotskyite *Militant* argues, in the face of all the evidence, which shows the opposite, that the Socialist Party of Portugal is the party of the working class."

He attacks Joseph Hansen for writing about "the rallies of a Social Democratic party backed by the majority of the working class." "That sentence, however one reads it, is false," according to Bert.

Just as bad as Hansen, according to Bert, is David Frankel, "the Charley McCarthy for Soares," who "proclaims that the Communist Party is 'clearly a minority of the working class.'"

## Begin with real world

In spite of Bert's protests, the Marxist method requires us to begin with the real world. The three biggest parties competing in the elections to the Constituent Assembly held in Portugal last April were the capitalist Popular Democratic party and two working-class parties, the SP and the CP.

The procapitalist vote was a minority; 26 percent of the total went to the Popular Democrats. The prosocialist vote was divided mainly between the CP and SP—12 percent for the Stalinists and 38 percent for the Social Democrats.

Since then, the SP has proved its ability to mobilize mass demonstrations many times larger than those of the CP. Does Bert think that the 100,000 who mobilized in Lisbon July 19 to defend the democratic rights of the SP, or the 50,000 that turned out for the SP rally in Oporto on July 18, were all sons and daughters of the ruling class? How else is the strength of a political party to be determined except through elections and its ability to mobilize people under its banner?

Of course Bert knows that the SP is bigger than the CP. What he is trying at all costs to evade is the fact that the Portuguese Stalinists have been locked in conflict not just with the rightist thugs who have been attacking their headquarters, but also with the majority of workers and peasants in Portugal, who justifiably oppose the CP's policies and fear its antidemocratic methods. It is this split in the working class that has enabled the rightists to mobilize with impunity.

The responsibility for the split in the Portuguese working class lies squarely on the shoulders of the Stalinists. Although a minority party, they have tried to impose their policies on the toiling masses. Even if the CP did represent the majority, its attempts to silence its critics would have drawn legitimate opposition.

Reference to this simple fact sends Bert into convulsions. "The venomous anti-Communist line of the Trotskyites has led them into explicit endorsement of the fascist-like attacks on the Communist Party," according to his September 3 article. "Thus the *Militant* wrote (August 8) that the CP policy 'has opened the way for a wave of violent mob attacks on CP headquarters throughout the northern two-thirds of the country.'"

Bert's claim that the *Militant* supports the rightist attacks in Portugal is a shameless falsification. Similarly, his clinching argument on why a united front with the SP is impossible is that the SP also favors the assaults on the CP.

"It is not true that the 'SP has denounced the violent attacks on the CP headquarters,'" according to Bert.



CP members putting up posters during Portuguese election campaign. Stalinists insist they are majority of working class despite evidence of elections and mass demonstrations.

"It is not true, as implied," he continues, "that the Soares' leadership has expressed any interest in the defense of the democratic rights of the Communists."

## Stalinist sectarianism

Bert's attempt to deny the facts in this case is no less ludicrous than his performance in regard to the size of the SP and CP. The truth is that the head of the SP delegation in the Constituent Assembly condemned the attacks on the CP, while at the same time accusing the party of helping to provoke them by its bullying tactics. The CP delegates responded by getting up, insulting him, and walking out with their arms raised in the clenched-fist salute.

The August 29 issue of the Lisbon daily *Jornal Novo* quoted a statement by Soares: "The SP never wanted to isolate the PCP. It has condemned the attacks on the headquarters of this party, regarding them as acts of intolerable violence, and it stands in solidarity with the Communists when they are persecuted."

It is certainly true that the reformist SP leaders would prefer to give only verbal support to the CP. Only great and sustained pressure could force the social democratic politicians to actively defend their rivals against rightist violence.

But the fact is that the SP itself has suffered red-baiting in the rural areas, and if the rightist campaign is not stopped it will be the next victim. A consistent political campaign could convince the SP ranks that only a united response could stop Portugal's ominous shift to the right.

The Stalinists, however, take an attitude toward those who disagree with them that in practice precludes any common action. Thus, in his September 4 article Bert goes into a long description of the links between the Portuguese SP and its cothinkers who run the Swedish, British, and German governments. This, says Bert, illuminates "the depth of political corruption involved in the Trotskyite *Militant* support of Soares" and is presumably meant as an argument against calling for a united front with the SP against the rightists.

## The example of Germany

This argument is reminiscent of the dead-end sectarianism that opened the way for the triumph of Hitler in Germany. Under the leadership of Stalin, the German CP called the Social Democrats the left wing of fascism and refused to press for a united front with them against Hitler.

All the bad things that Bert recounts about the Social Democracy have been true since World War I. It was the German SP that was responsible for the murder of Rosa Luxemburg and the strangling of the German revolution of 1918-19. Revolutionists could find countless equally shameful crimes in the history of Stalinism. The point is that when the working class is divided it can only defend its basic interests through agreements by the major working-class parties to struggle together around specific issues.

However, the Stalinists are opposed to a workers united front for the defense of democratic rights. The only front they want is one with the capitalist government—a popular front. Bert converts the concept of the united front as a method of working-class struggle into the idea of a front to support the capitalist government.

"It is a fact," he writes in his August 29 article, "that the Soares leadership has been the main disrupter of the post-revolutionary united front."

"It undermined the government while a part of it; it broke up the united front by leaving the government; . . . and it has been the point of convergence for all anti-revolutionary forces, within Portugal and from abroad."

Similarly, Bert writes on September 4, "The truth is that the Socialist Party, Soares specifically, were part of the government. The truth is that the Socialist leadership quit the government, deliberately and disruptively. The truth is that the Socialist Party and Soares specifically, has been inciting relentlessly to bring down the government."

Bert condemns the SP for quitting a capitalist government and "inciting" against it! The procapitalist Soares becomes a real revolutionary the way Bert tells it.

For Bert, "The Trotskyite *Militant*'s call for SP-CP unity is cynical deceit. It does not represent support of unity of the Portuguese working class, but support of Soares' disruption [of the government]."

In other words, the Stalinists were ready to collaborate with the SP leaders in a capitalist cabinet, but not with the masses of SP workers in actions in the streets.

## A change of line?

Since Bert's articles appeared, the CP has found it necessary to make an adjustment. Having lost their battle for sole partnership with the military, the Portuguese Stalinists are talking about unity with the SP. "Cunhal: 'We seek unity with SP,'" reads the headline in the September 6 *Daily World*.

Gone is the charge that the SP is in league with the CIA, Salazarist goons, and worse still, the Trotskyists. "The appeals [for unity] are not new: Cunhal and the PCP have been making them for the past 17 months," assures Tom Foley in the September 9 *Daily World*.

Didn't Erik Bert know? Perhaps he should write three more articles to prove that unity with the SP is necessary and possible after all.

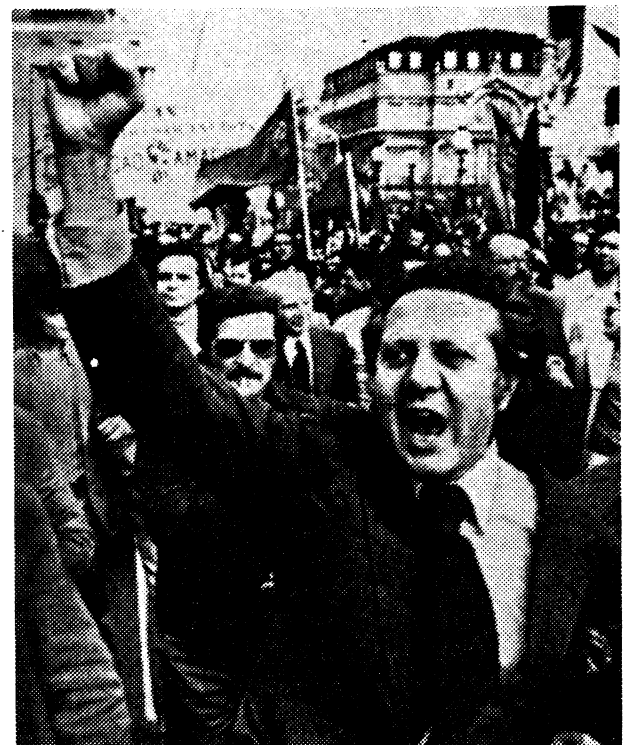
However, the fundamental line being pushed by the Stalinists is still the same: unity in defense of capitalism, unity inside the capitalist government, not a united front of action in the streets to defend the interests of the working class.

As the *Daily World* explained in a September 9 headline: "Unity in Portugal sought via a new cabinet."

But the Stalinists are in for a rude surprise if they think that the restoration of CP-SP collaboration in a new government dominated by the military will end the attacks on them.

The Portuguese working class is confused and disoriented, but by no means broken. The radicalization continues to run very deep. Under these circumstances, both the class struggle and the rightist attacks will flare up again. The necessity of a united defense of democratic rights will again become apparent.

This task cannot be left to the military junta. The Portuguese officer corps has already shown its inclination to move to the right. Currently, it is working to restore discipline in the armed forces. The danger is that the supposedly "patriotic officers" will turn on their former allies as they did in Chile. The SP and CP, by participating in the bourgeois government, help give the Portuguese bourgeoisie the time they need to prepare the reaction.



Mário Soares leading Socialist party demonstration. After accusing Soares of being agent of imperialism, Stalinists are now urging SP-CP collaboration in upholding capitalism.

## Goncalves out, CP makes turn

# Right-wing danger threatens Portugal

By Gerry Foley  
From Intercontinental Press

In the face of overwhelming opposition, with a majority of the delegates of the military services refusing even to attend the Assembly of the Armed Forces Movement held on September 5, Gen. Vasco Gonçalves declined nomination for chief of staff.

Gonçalves's surrender confirmed the defeat and isolation of the section of the military and state apparatus allied with the Communist party. The three-month campaign of the Stalinists to retain their positions as the mass organizers of the military had apparently ended in a decisive defeat.

Although the pro-Gonçalves naval officers held a big majority at the assembly, since the other services refused to attend, they bowed to the real relationship of forces. The membership of the Revolutionary Council was cut from thirty to twenty-four. Gonçalves was removed, along with Brig. Gen. Eurico Corvacho, the only regional commander who supported him in the power struggle, and two other reportedly pro-Gonçalves members, Capt. Luis Macedo and Capt. Ferreira de Sousa.

Most of the signers of the Document of the Nine that denounced Gonçalves and CP influence in the government and military were included in the Revolutionary Council.

One signer, Vítor Crespo, was removed from the council by his service, the navy. Two others, Vítor Alves and Melo Antunes, were not nominated by their service and their membership is to be decided by the council itself. The case of a pro-Gonçalves member, the minister of labor, Costa Martins of the air force, is to be decided in the same way.

### Realignment in MFA

Although there was a period of tense confrontation before Gonçalves finally gave up the struggle, the outcome was never in doubt. In the army assembly early in the week, it was already clear that the former premier was defeated.

In its September 4 issue, the Oporto daily *Primeiro de Janeiro* reported: "In a nutshell, the Army said 'no' to the Assembly of the Movement [that is, refused to take part in the Armed Forces Movement Assembly until so-called unrepresentative delegates were eliminated and the allotment of delegates among the services was changed to make the army more strongly predominant] and to the appointment of General Vasco Gonçalves to the post of chief of staff of the armed forces."

In the air force assembly the next day, similar decisions were taken, supporting the positions previously expressed publicly by the head of the branch, General Morais e Silva. In addition, the assembly condemned the CP-controlled media for spreading stories that the general had been forced to resign.

Even without the change in representation demanded by the army, the result at the armed forces assembly was a foregone conclusion after these two meetings, since the army had 120 votes, and the navy and air force 60 each. Despite the decision of both the army and the air force not to attend the September 5 assembly, about forty dissident army delegates reportedly attended. Other representatives of the two absent branches went to report the results of their assemblies and to observe.

The real objective of the boycott was probably to open up a drive to purge or intimidate leftist officers, most of whom were associated with Gonçalves, and begin to cut back the margin of representative democracy that has existed in the MFA. The only signifi-

cant measure of democracy, in fact, has been observed in the navy and in Copcon units such as the Lisbon Light Artillery and the Military Police. Unit assemblies in the rest of the army and in the air force, where they have been formed, have generally been no more than sounding boards for the commanders.

After the developments in the first week in September, the leftist officers have been left isolated and very much on the defensive. Unless the shift to the right is reversed by developments elsewhere, the conservative military officers may succeed fairly soon in their aim of restoring bourgeois military discipline in the armed forces. Once that is accomplished, the stage will be set for a general offensive against the workers movement.

Almost certainly, the CP will lose many of the positions it fought so stubbornly to retain at the cost of a deep split in the workers movement. However, once the Stalinist leadership realized this battle was lost, it shifted immediately from the Third Period-type course it had followed to a line more clearly in harmony with its general popular-frontist program.

### New Stalinist Zigzag

On August 28, the day before Gonçalves lost the premiership, the CP general secretary, Alvaro Cunhal, presented the new turn at a news conference in the Centro de Trabalho de Alcântara. He called for a summit meeting including "representatives of the president of the republic, the Provisional Government, the Revolutionary Council, representatives of the principal tendencies in the Armed Forces Movement (the military left, Copcon officers, and the 'Group of the Nine'), along with representatives of the PCP [Partido Comunista Português—Portuguese Communist party], and the organizations participating in the provisional front, as well as the Socialist party."

The CP general secretary announced that his party was ready to put the interests of unity against the right above the demand for maintaining its allies in key government posts (after this battle was already clearly lost). He said, "What is at stake is not the success or failure of this or that group,

sector, or personality but the victory or defeat of the Portuguese revolution."

He indicated that he was ready to help cook Gonçalves's goose: "We don't see why we should not consider solutions that do not include Vasco Gonçalves remaining at the head of the government. Revolutionists do not defend posts; they are always ready to cooperate in achieving the solutions most suited to advancing the revolution."

SP leader Soares accused the CP of making an unprincipled turn. He used the swings of the Stalinist leadership as an excuse to press his own factional interests. His response to Cunhal's overture was quoted at length in the August 29 *Jornal Novo*:

### Soares Goes to Bat for PPD

"The SP is willing to have a dialogue with the PCP when this party convinces it by deeds and not just words that it has renounced its adventurist plan for striking for power by anti-democratic methods, when it decides to respect the people's will freely expressed in the recent elections, and the fundamental rules of political democracy—which involve a respect for pluralism in the news media, equality among parties, the absence of partisan discrimination in filling vacancies in the state apparatus, and unions that serve the interests of the workers and are not transmission belts for a political party."

"The SP never wanted to isolate the PCP. It has condemned the attacks on the headquarters of this party, regarding them as acts of intolerable violence, and it stands in solidarity with the Communists when they are persecuted. But it also does not accept the isolation of the PPD [Partido Popular Democrático, the main bourgeois party], which it regards as a party representative of certain strata of the population, which must be won for the revolution and not driven into the arms of the counterrevolution."

"The SP believes the dragging out of the crisis, caused by the stubbornness with which Vasco Gonçalves has clung to power, is causing a dangerous deterioration in the political, economic, and social climate in our country. Many fronts of struggle are about to open simultaneously, and, as is apparent, the revolution is in danger of



Gonçalves after his defeat in armed forces council.

being lost. The ground has been prepared for a generalized offensive of the counterrevolution in the last weeks. The SP thinks the PCP bears considerable responsibility for this, because of its opportunist and indecisive policy, which has disarmed the workers who believe in it."

Soares could not be expected to acknowledge that by allying with a "moderate" military faction against Gonçalves instead of demanding a workers government responsible to the workers movement as a whole and not to any faction or team in the Armed Forces Movement, the SP shared responsibility with the CP for dividing the proletariat and opening the door to reaction. But he did seem finally to show signs of being genuinely frightened by the rise of the right.

### Main Threat

In a statement published in the September 4 *Primeiro de Janeiro*, he said, perhaps for the first time, that there was no possibility of a "Communist dictatorship" in Portugal, and that the primary threat was from the reactionaries. Unfortunately, this admission was dangerously belated.

Soares did not need, moreover, to insist that the PCP accept the PPD in the common front. Although Cunhal at first left this bourgeois party out of the proposal, because of its role in the rightist mob attacks on more than fifty PCP headquarters, he made it clear on Hungarian television, the September 6 *Diário de Notícias* reported, that he intended to bring the PPD into any front.

The factional campaign of the PCP against the SP had, of course, helped prepare the way for this popular-frontist move. If it is all right to make a bid to Soares, then why not the leaders of the PPD?

The shift of the PCP and the response of the SP have made it clear once again, however, that while the leaderships of both reformist parties are opposed to any united front of the working class independent of bourgeois forces, pressure is mounting among the ranks for united action against the threat of an anti-working-class offensive.

The problem is that there is no revolutionary party in Portugal with sufficient strength or political authority to give force and direction to the instinctive urge of the working masses to unite in defense of their gains and the revolutionary hopes awakened in the past sixteen months.



Anti-Communist riot in Portugal. There is growing pressure from SP and CP ranks for united defense against rightist threat.



# World Outlook

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

SEPTEMBER 19, 1975

## Thousands jailed as Gandhi cracks down on opponents

By Ernest Harsch

In a televised interview broadcast in the United States August 24, Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi explained why no charges were being brought against the tens of thousands of political prisoners arrested throughout the country since her June 26 coup. "Court cases go on for years and years and it is very difficult to prove anything," she said. "If a person has not personally indulged in arson or whatever, you couldn't convict him."

Immediately after the coup, Gandhi cited a "deep and widespread conspiracy" as justification for her suppression of democratic rights. In the interview, she presented her sole "evidence" that a "conspiracy" existed: "There was violence. Students were not attending college. We had strikes. In fact, at all levels there was such indiscipline that even government functioning was becoming extremely difficult."

Although Gandhi refused to say how many persons had been arrested in the two months since she declared the state of emergency, opponents of the Indian dictator have put the figure in the tens of thousands.

### Estimated 80,000 Arrested

According to an August 4 *New York Times* dispatch from London, the secretary of the International Transport Workers Federation, M.S. Hoda, said that he was informed during a recent trip to India that the central government has seized about 15,000 persons and the state governments more than 40,000. George Fernandes, a leader of the Socialist party of India, said in a document circulated clandestinely that 60,000 persons were detained. An opposition member of Parliament has put the figure as high as 80,000.

These political prisoners are in addition to the tens of thousands that were already in jail. Claire Sterling said in the August 10 *New York Times Magazine* that in Bihar state alone, about 70,000 persons were imprisoned for political offenses before the state of emergency. About half were alleged members of the Communist party of India (Marxist-Leninist), commonly known as Naxalites. The rest were followers of Jaya Prakash Narayan, the jailed leader of the mass anticorruption movement based in Bihar.

A.K. Gopalan, a leader of the Communist party of India (Marxist), gave details of the repression against the CPI (M) and other opposition groups in a July 21 speech to the Lok Sabha (House of the People, the lower house of Parliament).

Gopalan said that between 2,000 and

3,000 members of the CPI (M) were in jail at the time of his speech, including such party leaders as Jyotirmoy Basu, Noorul Huda, Mohan Punamiya, and M. Basavapunniah. Both Gopalan and E.M.S. Namboodiripad, the CPI (M) opposition leader in the Kerala Legislative Assembly, were arrested and later released.

"In Kerala, for example," Gopalan said, "thousands of political workers belonging to the Opposition parties including the CPI (M), the Kerala Congress, the Socialist Party and so on were arrested and large numbers brutally beaten up by the police."

He said that meetings and demonstrations were banned throughout Kerala under Section 144, a repressive law originally introduced in India by the British colonialists. He also said that in the city of Indore, in Madhya Pradesh, the offices of the CPI(M) and of the Centre of Indian Trade Unions, a labor federation politically dominated by the CPI(M), were raided and shut down.

Kerala is ruled by a coalition regime including the pro-Moscow Communist party of India (CPI), the Congress party, the Muslim League, and other

groups. Its chief minister is Achuta Menon, a leader of the CPI.

Andrew Davenport reported in the August 22 *Far Eastern Economic Review*, "At Cochin's Maharajah College, the largest educational institution in Kerala, there was a strike in the first week of July. Police immediately moved in with batons. After a few hours, the strike was over and 40 students were in hospital."

### Gandhi's Roundups

Noting that CPI(M) members were being rounded up almost every day in West Bengal, Kerala, and Maharashtra, Davenport continued, "In Maharashtra the authorities have jailed a number of party activists. In Bombay, Mrs Ahilya Rangnekar, a municipal corporation member, has been detained for demonstrating against the declaration of the Emergency. Two other women associates, members of the Women's Anti-Price Rise Committee, are being held with her. One of them is Mrs Pramila Dandavate, wife of the socialist leader, M.R. Dandavate. Another woman detainee in Maharashtra is Miss Usha Thombre,

an activist of the Student Federation of India, which is sponsored by the Communist Party of India (Marxist)."

Included in Gandhi's roundup were several Socialist party trade unionists, as well as leaders of the federal and state government employees and of other unions.

In addition to the twenty-six organizations already outlawed since the state of emergency was declared, Gandhi has banned the Mizo National Front and its military wing, the Mizo National Army. The MNF was formed in 1961 and is one of several separatist groups in the northeastern hill states that have been fighting for independence from India for years. A New Delhi official said August 5 that 108 Mizo rebels had been arrested since January 1. Another nationalist group in the northeast, the Naga National Council, was outlawed several years ago.

The methods used in the crackdown—arbitrary arrests without trial, secrecy surrounding those detained, planting of informers in the universities, the stress on "discipline"—are all designed to spread fear and uncertainty among the general populace. "The Emergency," Davenport reported, "is encouraging police *zoolum* (terror rule). More policemen carry guns now than before."

### Personality Cult

There are some indications that Gandhi is planning to institutionalize the rigid press censorship imposed after the June 26 coup. The *National Herald*, which is considered the unofficial organ of the Congress party leadership, suggested in an August 11 editorial that constitutional restrictions be placed on India's newspapers. Information Minister V.C. Shukla told reporters August 23 that the government was drawing up plans to reorganize the country's newspapers "to make the press really free."

In keeping with Gandhi's new status as Empress of India, the Congress party promotional experts have launched a personality cult to brighten up her tarnished image. The student wing of the party is reported to be organizing "Indira Study Circles" at all major universities. Articles in *Socialist India*, the official magazine of the party, carry such titles as "Why We Should Have Complete Faith and Trust in Indira Gandhi." One artist has done a painting depicting Gandhi as Durga, the Hindu goddess of bravery. In case the message was lost on anyone, a progovernment newspaper stated in an article that "Indira Gandhi is not a mere Prime Minister."

Consistent with the propaganda campaign, Parliament obediently passed a series of amendments designed to place the Empress above her own earthly courts. On August 5 the Lok Sabha approved retroactive amendments to the law under which Gandhi was convicted of election malpractice by the Allahabad High Court June 12. It also removed the

Continued on page 22



## Portugal troops march to protest orders for Angola

By Ernest Harsch

An estimated 5,000 persons, including 200 military police and troops from various army, navy, and air force units, marched in front of the presidential palace in Lisbon September 1 to protest against sending more Portuguese troops to the African colony of Angola.

"The noticeable presence of numerous soldiers from various companies," a report in the September 2 Lisbon daily *Jornal Novo* commented, "made this one of the largest, if not the largest, demonstration of its kind in Portugal so far."

The protesting troops, some of whom were scheduled to leave for Angola the same night, chanted with the other demonstrators, "No more troops to Angola!" "Bring our soldiers home!" and "No to a new colonial war!"

One of the soldiers told a reporter, "I'm not going to Angola; I don't care what happens." Another said, referring to the Angolans, "It is necessary to give them their independence . . . the rest is up to them."

According to *New York Times* correspondent Marvine Howe, several thousand trade unionists and students marched with the troops. They carried banners reading, "Workers, peasants and soldiers in the same fight for a real democracy."

*Jornal Novo* reported, "Various messages of solidarity with the troops of the military police were read, in particular from several factories (which were greeted with cries of 'long live the working class'), as the demonstration left along the road from São Bento."

According to *Jornal Novo*, the demonstration was supported by the Trotskyist Partido Revolucionário dos Trabalhadores (PRT—Revolutionary Workers party) and by two Maoist groups, the Movimento Reorganizativo do Partido do Proletariado (MRPP—Movement to Reorganize the Proletarian Party) and the União Democrática do Povo (UDP—People's Democratic Union).

The demonstration also protested the arrest of seven military police who went to the Santa Margarida base in central Portugal the previous week to persuade troops there to refuse to go to Angola. Four battalions were being trained at the camp for service in the colony. One of the chants during the demonstration was "Freedom for the



Militant/Nelson Blackstock  
'Immediate independence for the colonies' and 'Bring the troops home now,' says poster issued by the Liga Comunista Internacionalista (Internationalist Communist League), a Portuguese Trotskyist group.

imprisoned anticolonialist soldiers" (*New York Times*, September 2.)

The arrests had followed a meeting of 500 soldiers of the Lisbon military police unit, who passed a resolution calling for a collective refusal to serve in Angola. The resolution said, according to the *New York Times*, ". . . it is not up to Portuguese soldiers to die and to kill in Angola. . . ."

The demonstrators said that a similar march would be held September 5 and that they would continue protesting "until we get what we want."

The leaders of the MFA (Movimento das Forças Armadas—Armed Forces Movement) have expressed alarm at the opposition of some of their own troops to the neocolonialist schemes in Angola. "Among the various positions

taken against the demonstration," *Jornal Novo* reported, "that of General Carlos Fabião emphasized that it was an act of indiscipline and that everyone faced possible penalties."

The MFA government has also met with continued resistance from the Angolan nationalist organizations. When the MFA announced August 29 that it had suspended the agreement granting Angola its independence next November 11, the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA—People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola) lodged a sharp protest.

The communiqué said, "The MPLA repudiates the assertions of the Portuguese Government, in the introduction to the decree just announced, that the movements are incapable of overcom-

ing their differences in favor of the national interest." It also said the MPLA "vigorously rejects the evident paternalism [of the decree], reminding the Portuguese Government that the Angolan people have a long experience of struggle and know their enemies and objectives full well."

The MPLA also denounced the new powers granted to the Portuguese high commissioner in Angola to declare a state of siege and suspend such democratic rights as freedom of association and of expression. "We, the MPLA, reaffirm once again to the Portuguese Government that the Angolan people will not abandon their rights and will not hesitate to defend them by force of arms," the statement said.

Before formally suspending the independence agreement August 29, the MFA dissolved the coalition regime of the three nationalist groups and the Portuguese administrators, investing all executive powers with the high commissioner.

The Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola (FNLA—Angolan National Liberation Front) issued a communiqué from its headquarters in Kinshasa, Zaïre, August 26 denouncing the appointment of a new high commissioner. The FNLA declared it a violation of the independence agreement, which stipulated that all three nationalist groups had to be consulted on such an appointment. The FNLA communiqué concluded that "the law was not respected, and this constitutes another step in the escalating irregularities in which Lisbon is involved."

It is not yet clear whether the MFA still intends to grant Angola its formal independence November 11, the date pledged in the accords. Although the decree announcing the shelving of the accords stated the move was only "temporary," it gave no date for an end to their suspension. The August 30 *Jornal de Notícias* noted that according to "observers," the August 29 decree "opens the door for the postponement of independence if Portugal considers such a move necessary."

The MPLA declared its opposition to any attempt by the MFA to postpone Angola's independence. Its communiqué also warned its two nationalist rivals, the FNLA and UNITA (União Nacional para Independência Total de Angola—National Union for the Total Independence of Angola), that the MPLA "will definitively assume total governmental responsibility on November 11, 1975."

## Basque nationalists' death sentence sparks protests

Workers in the Basque region of Spain struck for the sixth consecutive day September 3. They were protesting the trial of Basque nationalists José Antonio Garmendía Artola and Angel Otaegui Echeverría.

The nationalists, members of Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna (ETA—Basque Nation and Freedom), were convicted on charges stemming from the death of a member of Spain's Civil Guard April 3, 1974. Garmendía was accused of having fired the fatal shot, Otaegui of having prepared the attack "minutely and in detail." On August 29 the two were sentenced to death.

The trial sparked a wave of international protest. Within Spain itself, a general strike involving 130,000 persons began in the Basque Country.

Police opened fire on demonstrators in the Basque cities of San Sebastián, Zarauz, and Hernani. One protester was killed, several were injured, and an unknown number were arrested.

More than 300 political prisoners throughout Spain went on a hunger strike to protest the savage sentence. Prisoners in Madrid's Carabanchel prison distributed a statement accusing the government of "political terrorism" in the trial.

Demonstrations were held at Spanish government offices in Brussels and Lisbon and in a number of cities in France and Germany.

Among those sending messages to Franco protesting the death sentence and asking that Garmendía and Otaegui be pardoned were the Belgian government; the archbishop of Madrid, Monsignor Tarancon; the International Commission of Jurists; Ron Hayward, the general secretary of the British Labour party; Sven Anderson, Swedish minister of foreign affairs; the International Federation of Free Trade Unions (CISL); and Amnesty International.

When Garmendía and Otaegui were arrested more than a year ago, Garmendía received a bullet wound in the head. Medical reports from several sources reveal that he has suffered permanent brain damage as a result of subsequent surgery to remove the bullet. When he was still hospitalized, he was questioned by police. His

defense attorneys reported on the eve of the trial that the evidence to be used against him was a confession signed with his fingerprints, obtained by the police during this period.

The original indictment against Otaegui specified only that he had given shelter to Garmendía, not that he had taken part in any alleged assassination plan. The defense maintained that he knew nothing of any such plot.

Nonetheless, in less than five hours the military court sentenced both Garmendía and Otaegui to death by garroting. The verdict is being appealed, and continued international protest is necessary to prevent the Franco regime from carrying out the brutal sentence.



## Autonomy demanded

# French troops brutally put down protests in Corsica

[A group of fifty Corsican autonomists, led by Dr. Edmond Simeoni, head of the group Action pour la Renaissance de la Corse (ARC—Action for the Rebirth of Corsica), occupied a vineyard near the village of Aléria August 21. The occupation was brutally crushed by a massive police attack, giving rise to a general strike that virtually paralyzed the island September 1.

[The following account of the events surrounding the occupation appeared in the August issue of *Rouge*, the weekly supported by the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire, French section of the Fourth International. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

More than 1,000 troops, armored vehicles, and Puma helicopters were deployed in Corsica against fifty militants of the ARC, armed with hunting rifles. The results of [Interior Minister Michel] Poniatowski's intransigence are in: The state security police launched an attack, losing two men, while two of the autonomists were seriously wounded. There was no doubt that the so-called forces of order were entirely responsible for the blood that was shed. At present the CRS [Compagnies Républicaines de Sécurité, state security police] and the state police, recently reinforced by units sent in from the mainland, are carrying out a veritable manhunt.

All the embarrassed communiqués issued by the prefect on the way in which the attack was carried out leave no doubt: Not only did the state security police actually open fire, but they also used attack grenades. This is the only response by the minister of the interior to the demands of the Corsican autonomists. This contrasts sharply with the patient discussions he carried out with the *harkis*,<sup>1</sup> giving them the opportunity to withdraw without fear of facing charges.

1. Algerians who fought on the side of the French during the war for independence in Algeria. A group of former *harkis* carried out kidnappings in France August 6 and 16 to press their demand for the right to travel freely to Algeria.—IP



Autonomy movement is growing on island of Corsica in response to concrete conditions of oppression resulting from domination by France.

Hundreds of police brought in by helicopter crisscrossed the area around Corti and Aléria "to find Simeoni's accomplices." All copies of film shot during the take-over of the farm have been seized by the cops. Eleven members of the ARC have already been arrested on warrants issued by the State Court, which has been given exceptional jurisdiction and before which Simeoni, the leader of the ARC, is going to have to appear.

What were the ARC militants demanding? The freedom of [Dominique] Capretti, a member jailed [August 6] for an infraction of the law against painting political slogans, the expropriation of the *pieds-noirs* colons who had recently been involved in a swindle, and the placing of the latter's land into communal use. These demands were far from exorbitant and yet they were used to justify a display of force of the latest in antiguerrilla matériel.

Since the beginning of the century Corsicans have had to emigrate in order to provide for their needs. They have been and remain the reservoir from which the army and the state police draw. In the past they accepted this situation. Lacking the means for

doing so, they were unable to cultivate Corsican farmland, which was reputed to be sterile. Up to the present, the government has refused to give young farmers the slightest subsidy.

But things were different when the big *pieds-noirs* colons, driven out of Algeria, arrived. As if by miracle, money appeared from all sides. With the hundreds of millions of francs they were granted they cleared the scrub brush and planted grapes. A miracle in the Israeli style, in short. It is easy to understand why the Corsican farmers would be somewhat bitter.

At present, three-quarters of the vineyards are in the hands of 300 colons. The same is true for the tourist industry. All the important holdings are in the hands of big corporations like Trigano and the hotel chains. Only a few crumbs trickle down to the Corsicans. For many young Corsicans this served to spark their anger.

In addition, there is the problem of the Corsican language, which was forbidden in the schools at the beginning of the century; of lost identity; of those who return home after reaching retirement age, only to die a few years later. A Corsican proverb says: "Duve tu nasci, pasci," which may be translated as, "Where you were born is where you should live." This has become a dominant sentiment among the youth of Corsica.

As a result the autonomist movements have been growing, and particularly in the recent period, becoming radicalized. The ARC is one example of this. Apolitical at its founding, it came out in opposition to the "political clans" and then, at its last congress [August 17] took a stand in favor of the revolutionary road to liberation, self-management, and placing the lands to be confiscated from the colons into communal use.

Does this mean that the ARC has become revolutionary? Not at all. The organization reflects the wavering of Corsican youth, their lack of politicalization, and also the aspirations of a certain sector of the local bourgeoisie. There should be no astonishment at finding within this organization right-wing elements who are trying to maneuver between the pressure of events and their class position.

There is also another autonomist group, the PPCA [Parti du Peuple Corse pour l'Autonomie—Corsican

People's party for Autonomy], which calls for autonomy within a socialist framework. But the struggle for autonomy has never taken a clear position on the class struggle and the nature of the society to be built. At the same time, however, seeking to ignore autonomist sentiment as the French Communist party does<sup>2</sup> is to ignore a movement that has shown its strength, inasmuch as it has won the support of the local PSU [Parti Socialiste Unifié—United Socialist party], the Corsican CFDT [Confédération Française et Démocratique du Travail—French Democratic Confederation of Labor], and the farm workers unions.

In Aléria, Poniatowski created a situation that threatens to become explosive if he continues the insane campaign of repression. Simeoni and all the imprisoned militants must be freed immediately. The roundups and arrests must be halted. The CP can continue to drone on about national unity. The government can ban the ARC, arrest militants. But this does nothing to alleviate the poverty of the peasants and workers of Corsica or to prevent ideas from spreading.

"Denaru e bastunate, un si pidgià senza cuntà." (Never accept money, or blows from a nightstick, without counting them.) Money, Corsica has seen very little of; clubbings it continues to receive. This cannot go on forever. Future Alérias may multiply and spread.

2. Under the headline "Long Live France" the August 29 issue of the French CP daily *L'Humanité* published a communiqué signed by the Corsican CP. It said in part:

"We Corsican Communists . . . say no to the chauvinist, racist, and fascist slogan 'I francesi fora' [French get out]. Such racist slogans can be used by reactionary groups on the mainland against the thousands of our compatriots who live there. We prefer the old slogan, 'Proletarians of all countries unite!'. . . Long live Corsica! Long live France!"—IP



## Special Offer



Larissa Daniel, anti-Stalinist dissident.

To help celebrate the tenth anniversary of *Intercontinental Press*, reproductions of sketches by Copain, artist for *Intercontinental Press*, were published by the New York Local of the Socialist Workers party and bound in an 8.5" x 11" book. The aim was to use the money gained from sales to help us begin publishing articles in Spanish.

The drawings, of various sizes, include portraits of Hugo Blanco, Malcolm X, James P. Cannon, Che Guevara, Cesar Chavez, Leon Trotsky, and many more, some of which are suitable for framing.

A limited number of copies of this collection of drawings are now available for only \$5.

Intercontinental Press P.O. Box 116, Village Station New York, NY 10014

## ...Gandhi jails thousands in crackdown

Continued from page 19

section of the law under which Gandhi would have been barred from holding office for six years if her appeal had been turned down.

To ensure that Gandhi's divine right is not challenged again in the future, Parliament also passed constitutional amendments a few days later placing the prime minister, president, vice-president, and speaker of the house outside the jurisdiction of any court, including the Supreme Court. Under the amendments, no criminal charges or civil suits may be filed against them while in office or afterward for anything done in office. The Maintenance of Internal Security Act (MISA), under which many of the arrests were made, was also placed above court challenge.

Shanti Bhushan, the lawyer for imprisoned Socialist party leader Raj Narain, who filed the election malpractice suit against Gandhi, argued before

the Supreme Court August 11 that Parliament did not have the power to pass amendments that changed the basic structure of the constitution. Although Gandhi had hoped that the Supreme Court would automatically dismiss her case after the passing of the amendments, it agreed to Bhushan's request to delay the appeal hearings to give him time to prepare his case against the new laws. Under the present climate of repression, however, it is unlikely that the Supreme Court will rule against the prime minister.

Intelligence experts in Washington view Gandhi's coup as a permanent shift toward repressive rule in India. An official who participated in a study conducted by the State Department, Defense Department, National Security Agency, and Central Intelligence Agency was quoted in the August 10 *New York Times* as saying: "... we don't feel Mrs. Gandhi will permit a return to the pre-June 25 conditions. We don't see the state of emergency

being abandoned in 1976 or even later."

It appears that some members of the CPI are uneasy about the Stalinist party's policy of full support to Gandhi's dictatorial coup. Indrajit Gupta, a CPI leader and a member of the Lok Sabha, issued a "friendly warning" to the Congress party August 7 when he protested the constitutional amendment putting MISA above the courts. He said that the amendment "seems to make it a permanent law, even after the emergency." He also complained of the press censorship of CPI speeches in Parliament, stating, "Censorship of speeches in Parliament is only helping the enemies of democracy."

Jacques Leslie said in the August 8 *Los Angeles Times* that many of the CPI's "members are said to be unhappy that Mrs. Gandhi has not used the state of emergency to move India to the left. Some reportedly are fearful that she may instead strike next at the Communist Party."

Any uncertainty that some members of the party may have over the CPI's alliance with the "progressive bourgeoisie," which Gandhi is said to represent, could only have been heightened by the remarks of Gandhi's son, Sanjay. He claimed in an interview that the CPI was dominated by some of the country's richest and most corrupt figures. The censors originally approved publication of the interview, but then barred it. Although Sanjay later retracted his statement, the warning to the CPI was still clear.

The CPI, true to its class-collaborationist policies, is still insistent on allying with the Congress party, although it may prefer more favorable terms. Gupta, in his Lok Sabha speech, told the Congress party members, "If you want that cooperation, which we are quite willing to give, then please treat us as an independent party with an identity of our own and not as your own subsidiary." As proof of the CPI's continued desire to cooperate with Gandhi, General Secretary C. Rajeswara Rao gave his backing, in an interview published in the August 15 *Patriot*, to the constitutional amendments limiting the powers of the Indian courts to challenge the actions of the government.

The massive repression seems to have temporarily disoriented and weakened the organized opposition groups. Nevertheless, some protests against the dictatorial coup have continued.

In Gujarat, which is ruled by a coalition of parties opposed to Gandhi, the Lok Sangharsha Samiti (People's Struggle Committee) called for a week of nonviolent protests from August 9 to 15. August 9 is the anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi's launching of the Quit India movement against the British in 1942. The program was to include a "real news day," classes on democratic rights, and *satyagraha*, or nonviolent civil disobedience actions, against press censorship.

Lawrence Lifschultz reported from Gujarat in the August 29 *Far Eastern Economic Review* that rallies were held throughout the state August 9 and were attended by representatives of the ruling Janata Morcha (People's Front).



Militant/Barry Sheppard

Under both much-touted 'democracy' and new repression Indians face grinding poverty. Man above bakes in sun soil he will eat to obtain minerals.

## Maoris protest New Zealand government land theft

By George Fyson

[This article originally appeared in the August 15 issue of *Socialist Action*, published by revolutionary socialists in New Zealand. The Maoris are an oppressed people in that country.]

On September 14, Maori Language Day, Maori marchers and supporters will begin a long march on Parliament. They will be demanding that the government take a much firmer stand against the continuing alienation of Maori land, which now amounts to less than four million acres, in comparison to about 66 million acres of non-Maori land.

The central organiser of the march is Mrs Whina Cooper, an elder of the Ngapuhi tribe. She emphasises the particular importance of land for the Maori people: "The land has to be preserved for our culture to survive. If the land is taken from us, we will have nothing. What's the use of teaching the Maori language if our pride and *mana*

and the land is taken away?" she says.

The group led by Whina Cooper, Te Roopu Ote Matakite, wants revisions made to a whole series of Acts of Parliament, including the Town and Country Planning Act, the Counties Act, the Maori Affairs Act, and the Rating Act, so that they cannot be used to alienate Maori land.

A common reason for selling Maori land is the fact that rates are levied according to value, not according to actual productivity. As much of this land is not used to maximum capacity, rating "arrears" build up, forcing the land's sale or acquisition under the Rating Act.

As for Maori land which is sold in the absence of pressure from rates, Whina Cooper proposes a scheme whereby an organisation such as a united Maori trust board of New Zealand would buy up such land, so as to ensure it remains in Maori hands.

When plans for the march were first announced in March of this year, Minister of Maori Affairs Mat Rata

objected. He denied that thousands of acres of Maori land were being confiscated or sold every year, and said he had issued instructions that Maori land was not to be alienated without a Court order. However, the figures he quoted showed that 9,200 acres had been acquired under the Public Works Act in ten years, and 3,400 acres acquired in six years to 1974 under the Rating Act—an average of almost 1,500 acres a year under these two acts alone.

In reply to Rata's statement minimising the losses of Maori land, Te Roopu Ote Matakite said that it was beside the point: "Te Roopu Ote Matakite wants to stop the alienation of Maori land altogether. We don't just want to slow it down."

Ranginui Walker, writing in the *Listener* of June 14, summed up Matakite's aims:

"The vision Matakite has is of a just society where the Maori is able to preserve his own social and cultural identity within the social mainstream

of New Zealand society. Land is essential to that identity as the *turan-gawaewae* wherein tribal people can stand with dignity.

"It is appropriate to remember the fighting words of the warrior chief Rewi Maniapoto: 'Ka whawhai tonu matou, ake! ake! ake!' (We will fight on for ever and ever and ever) ...

"Rewi fought with guns and Te Whiti with the Bible. Both lost, but their spirit lives on in Matakite."

The march organisers have been visiting *maraes* throughout the North Island, seeking support and making arrangements for the march. They hope that feeder marches will come from Rotorua, Gisborne and Dunedin to converge on Wellington. The main march begins in Te Hapua, right at the top of the North Island, and those who participate will have a tough journey of 700 miles in front of them. They will arrive in Wellington at an opportune moment—about the time the main general election campaign is under way.



# Is UAW 'back pay-front pay' scheme an answer to discriminatory layoffs?

By Linda Jenness

The outcry by women and Black workers for an end to discriminatory layoffs is making a significant impact in the labor movement. Even the top echelons of the union officialdom have been forced to take notice that wholesale layoffs on a "last hired, first fired" basis are wiping out the equal-employment gains won in the 1960s.

And some officials, under pressure from Blacks and women in their own union ranks—and from court actions by the NAACP—have started to come up with their own "answers" to the problem.

Upon closer examination, however, most of their supposed solutions turn out just to be gimmicks to give the

After all, how many people keep detailed records of all the places they have ever tried to get work?

What about those who didn't even apply at a particular plant because everybody knew the place didn't hire Blacks? Before the civil rights laws were passed, it could have been not only futile but dangerous to go after a "white man's job."

What about all those women and Blacks who are being laid off by a different company from the one that didn't hire them before?

## Evades real issue

This whole scheme evades the real issue of discriminatory layoffs. It pretends discrimination is just an

full employment. But pie-in-the-sky promises are no substitute for *equal treatment now*—especially when the promises come from union bureaucrats who are doing exactly nothing to fight for jobs for all.

## Where Meany stands

The same sort of tokenism is endorsed by George Meany and the AFL-CIO Executive Council, the most ardent defenders of strict seniority in layoffs. They have now announced support for a suit by a group of Black workers demanding seniority dating back to their initial job applications with the company where they work.

Meany will support them because they can prove they personally were discriminated against by one particular company. This is supposed to show that Meany is against discrimination.

The AFL-CIO's court brief emphasizes that this case is entirely different from saying that minority or women workers "should be afforded special seniority protections against layoff, not because they themselves have been discriminated against, but because discrimination against others has produced a situation in which preferential protection against layoff is the only way to preserve racial or sexual balance in the workforce."

At its summer session, the AFL-CIO Executive Council passed a resolution warning that "the natural alliance between the labor movement and the civil rights movement" is threatened by "demagogic attacks on the seniority system."

The same resolution applauded an appeals court ruling against the rehiring of Black workers at Continental Can Company in Louisiana. A lower court had ordered the recall of the laid-off Black workers to restore the racial balance that had existed before the layoffs began. The court had further ordered that any further layoffs be carried out in such a way as not to disproportionately victimize Blacks.

The Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals overturned this decision and ruled in favor of strict seniority, which in this case meant that *only two out of fifty Blacks in the plant would be left on the job*. The AFL-CIO bureaucrats are delighted.

## AFSCME & Newspaper Guild

Elsewhere in the union movement there are some signs of more meaningful attention to the problem of discriminatory layoffs. The July convention of the Newspaper Guild voted to explore ways of dealing with layoffs "in a fair and equitable manner that would avoid deterioration of gains that have

been achieved for women and minorities."

The International Executive Board of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, meeting June 30, adopted a resolution on affirmative action that at least heads in the right direction.

Referring to the destructive results of the layoffs, AFSCME states that "a less visible, but no less unfortunate consequence of public employee layoffs is the erosion of gains which have been made to correct decades of discrimination against women and minorities. . . ."

"Senseless layoffs of needed public employees can only lead to a return of the discriminatory abuses of the past."

It continues: "AFSCME, with other unions, is now faced with the imminent possibility that two hard-won principles, seniority and affirmative action, will be eroded as governmental employers follow a disastrous course of decreasing public service in this period of increased public need."

For this reason it is resolved: "That AFSCME will urge its local affiliates to protect against management eroding either the hard-won principle of seniority or the equally hard-won principle of affirmative action through layoffs that are politically motivated, unjustified, or an attempt to return to the discriminatory abuses of the past."

It is unquestionably a step forward to recognize that affirmative action is a principle equal in importance with seniority, and that the layoffs "can only lead to a return of the discriminatory abuses of the past."

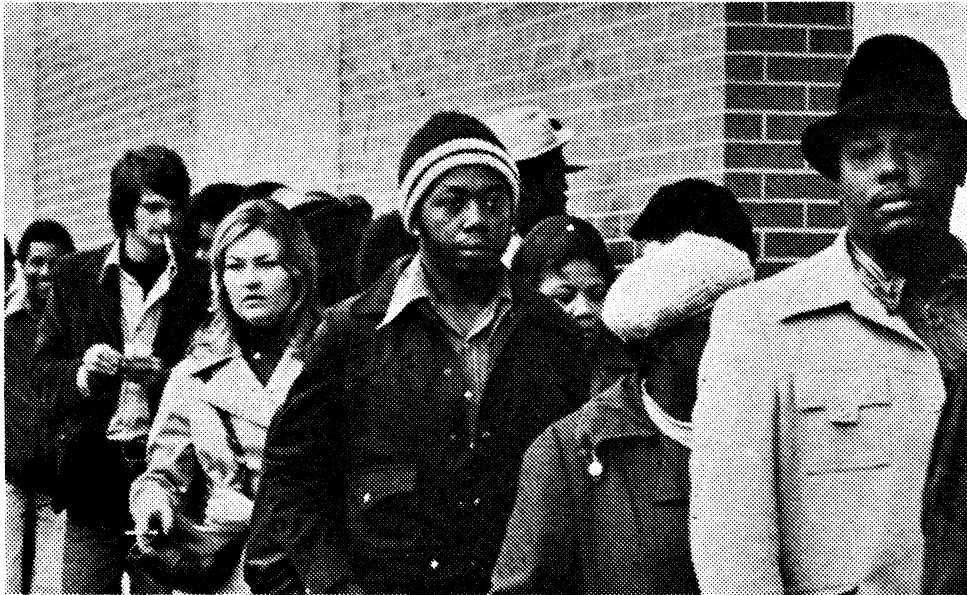
The weakness of the resolution lies in its failure to take a firm position against any percentage decrease of women or Blacks in the work force. Instead, the resolution merely calls on AFSCME locals "to review layoffs on a case-by-case basis to insure that layoff procedures are not used as a guise to permit roll-backs of recently initiated affirmative action gains. . . ."

## What should be done

The union officials up and down the line profess to be very concerned that the burden of correcting past discrimination not fall on the white, male workers now holding jobs. It should fall on the companies instead, they say. That's a laudable sentiment, shared by most Blacks and women, who are not out to take jobs away from anybody else.

All workers affected by unemployment would rally behind a serious fight launched by the unions to provide jobs for all through a massive

Continued on page 26



Blacks and women, victims of 'last hired, first fired' policy, are forced into unemployment lines . . .

appearance of equal treatment while accepting the status quo of discrimination.

One of the slicker schemes is the "back pay-front pay" plan proposed by officials of the United Auto Workers. "Back pay-front pay" was explained by William Oliver, director of the UAW's Fair Practices Department, to a recent UAW women's conference. It is supposed to be the UAW's alternative to making any changes in the seniority system. Here's how it works—and watch closely, it's tricky.

## 'Back pay-front pay'

Suppose you are a woman or a Black, and you applied for a particular job in 1965 but you weren't hired. But let's say you applied again for the same job in 1969 and this time you got it. If you can prove that the reason you weren't hired four years earlier was discrimination, the UAW says the company should be forced to pay you for the four years. That's the "back pay" part.

Suppose further that you got laid off in 1973. That, of course, is sooner than you would have been laid off if your seniority was counted from 1965 instead of 1969. So, the UAW officials say, the company should also give you "front pay" from 1973 until the date you would have been laid off if you had seniority from 1965. Is that clear?

In the first place, "back pay-front pay" is currently only an idea in the heads of the UAW officials. It is not clear whether they have even raised it as a demand on the auto companies—much less organized for a fight to win it.

And "back pay-front pay" would be fine for those who could get it—there must be all of half a dozen people in the UAW who would qualify. But what about Blacks and women who can't prove that they applied at a certain time and were discriminated against?

individual problem that can be solved on an individual basis, rather than a matter of entrenched patterns of racist and sexist discrimination, built up over the years, that affect *all* Blacks and *all* women.

How would the UAW apply "back pay-front pay" to the crisis facing its local at Ford Glass Company in Nashville, which I described in an article last week?

The problem at UAW Local 737 is not one where a few individuals can "prove" that they applied for their jobs a few years earlier and were turned away. The cold, hard fact is that *60 percent of the Black workers at Ford Glass have been laid off*—far out of proportion to the layoffs suffered by whites. Ford Glass may soon return to being a lily-white plant and Local 737 a lily-white local. What does the UAW officialdom propose to do about that?

The answer is: nothing. The answer is that they couldn't care less. If they did, they would tell Local 737 to get busy and defend its Black members.

They could, for example, draw up two seniority lists—one for the Black workers hired after 1964 (the year Congress outlawed discriminatory hiring) and one for the workers hired previously—and see to it the layoffs are not used to racially discriminate against Blacks by axing them in disproportionate numbers.

Gimmicks such as "back pay-front pay" won't do a thing to protect the UAW's Black and women members—and the UAW officials know it. UAW President Leonard Woodcock also addressed the women's conference mentioned above. Equal employment opportunity, he bluntly told the women, "will not be possible without an economy of full employment." In other words, *only after everybody else has a job* can women and Blacks expect equal treatment.

Women and Black workers are all for



... while Woodcock says equal employment is impossible 'without economy of full employment.'

# Cops gun down Black 'suspect' in Philadelphia

By John Ratliff

PHILADELPHIA—On August 28 a white cop ruthlessly gunned down a fifteen-year-old Black youth in North Philadelphia, one of this city's Black communities. The youth, Vaughn Avent, was suspected of having just stolen two rugs from a local store.



Militant/Jon Flanders  
SWP's HARDY: Demands action against killer-cops.

The cop, Daniel Rooney, knelt, aimed, and blasted Avent in the back as he shouted for the youth to "halt." Unfortunately for the cops, the racist murder was witnessed by at least fourteen people.

Immediately after the shooting, several of the witnesses filed accusations against Rooney for murder. However, no action was taken by the police or district attorney.

On September 2 the Coalition Against Police Abuses, made up of community and civil liberties groups, held a news conference to demand the prosecution of Rooney for murder. The group also demanded that the FBI step in and investigate the crime. In addition to attorneys from the American Civil Liberties Union and representatives of other groups in CAPA, Tony Austin, a coordinator of the Philadelphia Student Coalition Against Racism (SCAR), was introduced at the conference to show SCAR's support of the demands.

Karen Detamore, speaking for CAPA, said, "This shooting was completely unjustified. Vaughn was unarmed and presented no threat to

human life. . . . We call upon every concerned citizen in Philadelphia and on every other organization that is outraged by this senseless shooting to work together with us to plan demonstrations or other public protests to make clear that we will not sit back and let a police officer once again get away with murder."

Several of the witnesses of the murder also spoke at the news conference, describing in graphic detail the brutal murder.

Tony Austin told the *Militant*, "The facts of this case are very clear. In the process of carrying out its racist mission of keeping the Black community pacified through the use of terror, the white police force, the force of 'law and order,' has murdered one more Black youth. We cannot let this continue further."

"The cops have treated North Philadelphia and West Philadelphia like free-fire zones for too long. We say, no more! For success the key is united action by the entire Black community in defense of our rights. Only that kind of response can put all the Rooneys



Militant/Mary Jo Hendrickson  
NSCAR's AUSTIN: 'We cannot let this terror continue.'

where they belong, and tie the hands of Rooney's bosses."

Terry Ann Hardy, Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor of Philadelphia, released a statement announcing her campaign's total support of the Coalition Against Police Abuses' demands and call for action.

## Striking steelworkers seek wide union backing

PITTSBURGH—Striking members of United Steelworkers of America Local 2789 voted September 1 to reject a contract proposal aimed at ending the month-long strike at Pittsburgh-Des Moines (PDM) Steel Company's Neville Island plant.

The more than 450 workers struck August 1 over issues of wages, a cost-of-living escalator clause, and fully paid health insurance.

The sharpness of the confrontation between the union and the bosses in this strike is a sign of the times. The company, thinking the union is in a weakened position because of the depression, is greedy. The workers' response shows they are in a combative mood.

The company's latest offer was formally recommended by the union negotiating committee. John Brown, local president, explained the committee's action in the union's strike newsletter:

"After 4 weeks on strike, the Union Committee felt that the membership wanted to see some progress and, if

possible, consider a new contract proposal. The company stated that the Union Committee must unanimously agree to take back and recommend their offer to the membership or else contract negotiations could not progress."

In spite of the recommendation, the offer was rejected with only one dissenting vote.

Workers at the plant, which fabricates steel for the nuclear power industry as well as engaging in bridge work and container ship fabrication, feel that their wages and benefits lag behind other contracts in the steel fabrication industry.

They are determined to win a settlement that will bring them up to industry standards and protect them against the steep rise in prices expected over the life of their three-year contract.

The strikers are particularly incensed at PDM's claim that fully paid health insurance and a cost-of-living escalator violate their "family principles" and are not up for negotiations.

The strikers prefer to call these "family principles" by their right name: highway robbery.

In its most recent proposal, the company offered a two-cent wage adjustment in the second and third year instead of a cost-of-living clause. The wage package translated into an increase of about 9 percent the first year, 6 percent the second, and 5 percent the third. The company also came up with an improved health insurance proposal but continued to refuse to pay the full cost of such insurance.

In rejecting this proposal, the strikers do not appear content just to sit back and wait it out. The union Strike Assistance Committee has mapped out a project of outreach to other local unions, including a letter appealing for financial and moral support and plant-gate collections.

Local 2789's newsletter points out, "Mutual assistance among unions has a long history in the labor movement and has been responsible for winning more than one strike. United labor

action must meet united employer action."

Bruce Burkholder, a company official, sent a letter several weeks ago to all strikers, accusing the union committee of spending most of its time "in an effort to prepare for a long strike rather than to figure some way to end the strike."

A statement by the local executive board in the strike newsletter reviewed the real record of the company in trying to bring a quick end to the strike and exposed the letter for what it was: "So Mr. Burkholder thought he'd sow a little dissension in the ranks, make the union the villain, break up the solidarity of the membership, and prepare the way to force a humiliating settlement on us."

But, the board concluded, "We are not about to give PDM that satisfaction."

The September 1 vote against the company's latest offer was one indication that the striking members of Local 2789 mean business.

## Two strike leaders jailed

# Miners return to work after month-long strike

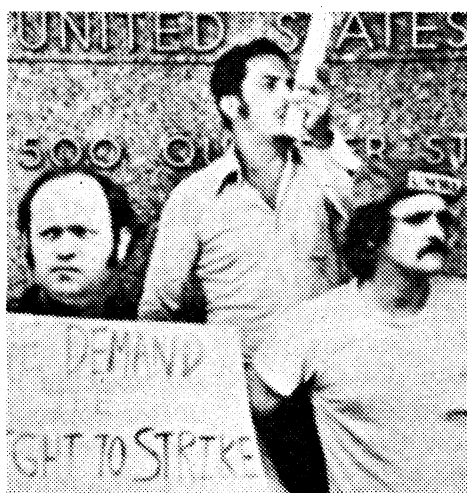
By Cindy Jaquith

The majority of striking United Mine Workers members in West Virginia returned to work September 8, after a month-long strike that swept eight states.

At its high point the strike paralyzed coal production throughout the eastern United States, pulling out an estimated 80,000 miners. The walkout, unauthorized by union officials, was in protest of the coal bosses' refusal to abide by grievance provisions in the 1974 contract.

While most strikers in surrounding states returned to work after Labor Day, southern West Virginia miners stayed out another week. But by September 8, all but 7,500 of West Virginia's 50,000 miners were back on the job.

The strike began in Logan County, West Virginia, when a coal company fired a local union president, triggering a struggle around the grievance procedure. The coal operators had been deliberately violating the procedure,



At height of strike 80,000 miners were out.

refusing to settle grievances at the mine site or to resolve them at higher levels.

When union locals responded by striking, the companies got swift injunctions and fines against the

miners to force them back to work.

When this happened after Local 1302 President Roger Thompson was fired, other union locals began walking off the job in his support. The strike spread throughout West Virginia, and then into neighboring states. The miners demanded a speeded-up grievance procedure and an end to court injunctions, fines, and jailings.

The response of the courts was to pile larger and larger penalties on the strikers. On August 27, U.S. District Court Judge K.K. Hall leveled a \$500,000 fine on the UMW, payable to the companies, with another \$100,000 for every day the miners remained out after Labor Day. By September 8, the total had reached \$1.2 million.

The focus of the strike in southern West Virginia, meanwhile, had moved from opposition to the grievance procedure and injunctions to a demand that the right to strike over local grievances be added to the contract. Leaders of the "right-to-strike" movement called for a

continuation of the walkout until the contract was reopened and this demand added.

On September 5, UMW President Arnold Miller and Secretary-treasurer Harry Patrick met in Charleston, West Virginia, with 250 officials of District 17, the center of the strike. The meeting came out with a call for miners to return to work, which the majority did the following Monday.

The same Monday, September 8, Judge Hall jailed two strike leaders, Bruce Miller and Skip Delano, for contempt of his back-to-work order. Both leaders of the "right-to-strike" movement, they were sentenced to 179 days in jail.

Hall also briefly jailed reporters Andrew Gallagher and Rick Steelhammer of the *Charleston Gazette* when they refused to testify about strike meetings they had attended. "We thought they were trying to use us as spies, putting us on the side of the coal operators," Gallagher explained to the *Militant*.



## Farm board chief complains

# La migra joins campaign against UFW

By Harry Ring

OXNARD, Calif.—The U.S. Border Patrol has been working hand in glove with the big growers and the Teamster union bureaucrats in their war against the United Farm Workers. The border patrol's behavior has become so scandalous that the chairman of the California farm labor board, Rev. Roger Mahony, sent a telegram in protest to U.S. Attorney General Edward Levi.

The border patrol has been systematically arresting and deporting UFW supporters charged with being "illegal aliens." This led Mahony to charge that such actions "appear to be selective enforcement of the laws which adversely affect the rights of many citizens and resident aliens and seriously interfere with the administration" of the new agricultural labor law.

Among the more outrageous examples of the Immigration officials' role was an incident that occurred here September 4. In response to a call from the despicable Teamster bureaucrats, the border patrol arrested and deported twenty workers.

Some 200 workers are employed at West Foods, a farm that grows and packs mushrooms. In 1971 the company signed a contract with the Teamsters, but apart from collecting dues, the Teamsters paid no attention to the workers and did nothing for them.

As a result, strong sentiment developed in favor of the United Farm Workers. After August 28, when the new California farm labor law went into effect, UFW organizer Jesus Dillegas was able to obtain election authorization cards from nearly 80 percent of the workers.

Finally, on September 2, after the UFW election petition was filed, the Teamsters showed up. In order to also be on the ballot, they had to obtain the signatures of 20 percent of the workers.

According to UFW staff member John Gardner, the Teamsters were quite unpleasantly surprised to find they could not get more than a handful of workers—"perhaps three or four, including two field bosses"—to sign authorization cards.

The Teamsters were unable to get the workers to sign the cards even though they used their standard method. They approached the workers, accompanied by a representative of the company. The workers were threatened, implicitly or directly, that they would be fired or demoted if they didn't sign. It didn't work.

The Teamster officials left in anger. They returned forty-eight hours later. This time they were accompanied by the border patrol. According to West Foods workers, they entered the camp where some of the workers live. With company and Teamster officials pointing out Mexican workers most actively sympathetic to the UFW, the *migra* agents proceeded to make arrests.

Eliseo Medina, chief UFW organizer for the Oxnard area, charged the border patrol was being used as "an instrument of fear" to intimidate workers prior to the impending union representation election.

An Oxnard Immigration official responded that the timing of the raid was "coincidence."

The UFW tried to block the deportation so that the workers could vote in the elections. The UFW staff also planned to try to get "green card" work permits for them so that they could remain here, Gardner said.

After their deportation, one of the workers called the UFW from Mexico and reported that a border patrol agent had told them, "We will call lawyers for you if you go with the Teamsters."

Why were the workers at West Foods so strongly opposed to "their" union, the Teamsters?

"It's an insult to them," Gardner said, "to have to pay dues when they're fully aware that the Teamsters don't protect their rights, their seniority, their salary. They don't enforce the most basic provisions of their own contract."

When the election results came in, the workers' opinion of the Teamsters—who finally got on the ballot—was clear. The UFW won at West, 136 to 39, with 9 no-union votes.

## Egg City strikers tell story.

# Why workers under Teamster pact want UFW

LOS ANGELES—Egg City. It's supposed to be the biggest egg producer in the world, with three million hens in a vast automated egg factory. But until recently a lot of people never heard of it. Then a United Farm Workers strike of 300 of the 350 workers put Egg City in the news.

The walkout, which began April 10, was triggered by the firing of an egg packer, Miguel Ceja. The company said he was guilty of "insubordination." Actually, he was organizing the workers to join the UFW. The company took a dim view of this, particularly since five years ago it signed a sweetheart contract with the Teamsters as insurance against the UFW.

The Teamsters also took a dim view of the walkout. They ordered the strikers to return to the job.

The workers refused. Instead they went to the nearby UFW offices in Oxnard and said they wanted to join up.

The company and Teamsters rounded up strikebreakers—including fourteen Vietnamese refugees.

Egg City is located in a farming area seventy-five miles north of Los Angeles. I recently visited there to get a firsthand look at the struggle.

I found fifty strikers lined up on the road across from the plant gate. Several held UFW flags as they stood erect in the hot sun. I talked to a number of the workers, including Miguel Ceja.

Ceja had worked at Egg City for five years as an egg packer, supporting a wife and two children. When he began working there he averaged between \$125 and \$135 a week on piecework. When he was fired he was making about the same.

I asked him about the company's attempt to replace the strikers with Vietnamese refugees. He said he didn't think they would get many. To begin with, he said, the publicity given the UFW's protest over this made it more difficult for the agency that had sent the initial strikebreakers.

Why had he begun organizing the Egg City workers to transfer from the Teamsters to the UFW?

"Because of the bad representation

by the Teamsters. The Teamsters never solved the problems of the people. They always solved the problems in favor of the *patron*, the boss."

Why is the UFW better for the workers?

"With the Teamsters, we never had the chance to be united as we are now when we have a union that represents farm workers."

I talked with another striker, Ricardo Mesa. Like many of the Egg City workers, Mesa is from Mexico.

Why had he joined the walkout?

"To support the rest of the workers," he said. "It was mainly the firing of Miguel, but also all the bad things done to the workers. It was an embarrassment to me and to the other workers."

He added: "Mexicans always try to help one another."

He discussed the particular problems they lived with at Egg City.

Working conditions, he said, were very dangerous. Machines would operate with unshielded chains. Workers were injured.

Did they go to the Teamsters about this?

He shrugged. "No. But they knew about it. Even the government inspectors tried to get the company to put covers on the chains. But they never did."

Were there union stewards on the job?

He shrugged again. "There was one. But he never did any good. The people told the union they didn't want him, but the union wouldn't do anything."

Another big problem, he said, especially in the packinghouse, was the fumigation. A man would come through with a fumigating machine to kill the flies while the people were working.

"Little by little," Mesa said with quiet anger, "this was ruining our lives. That thing is for insects, not for humans."

Another problem was that nobody had job security. "They installed new machines in the packinghouse. They were able to lay off an entire crew. Those that stayed had to work much faster at the new machines, sometimes twice as fast. They said that people

would get a raise, but a lot of people didn't get it."

"Many people were fired," he continued. "The Teamsters didn't do their best to get their jobs back."

Why were people fired?

"For many reasons. For no reason. I remember one worker who didn't get paid for a holiday. He asked for the money. They didn't pay him, they fired him."

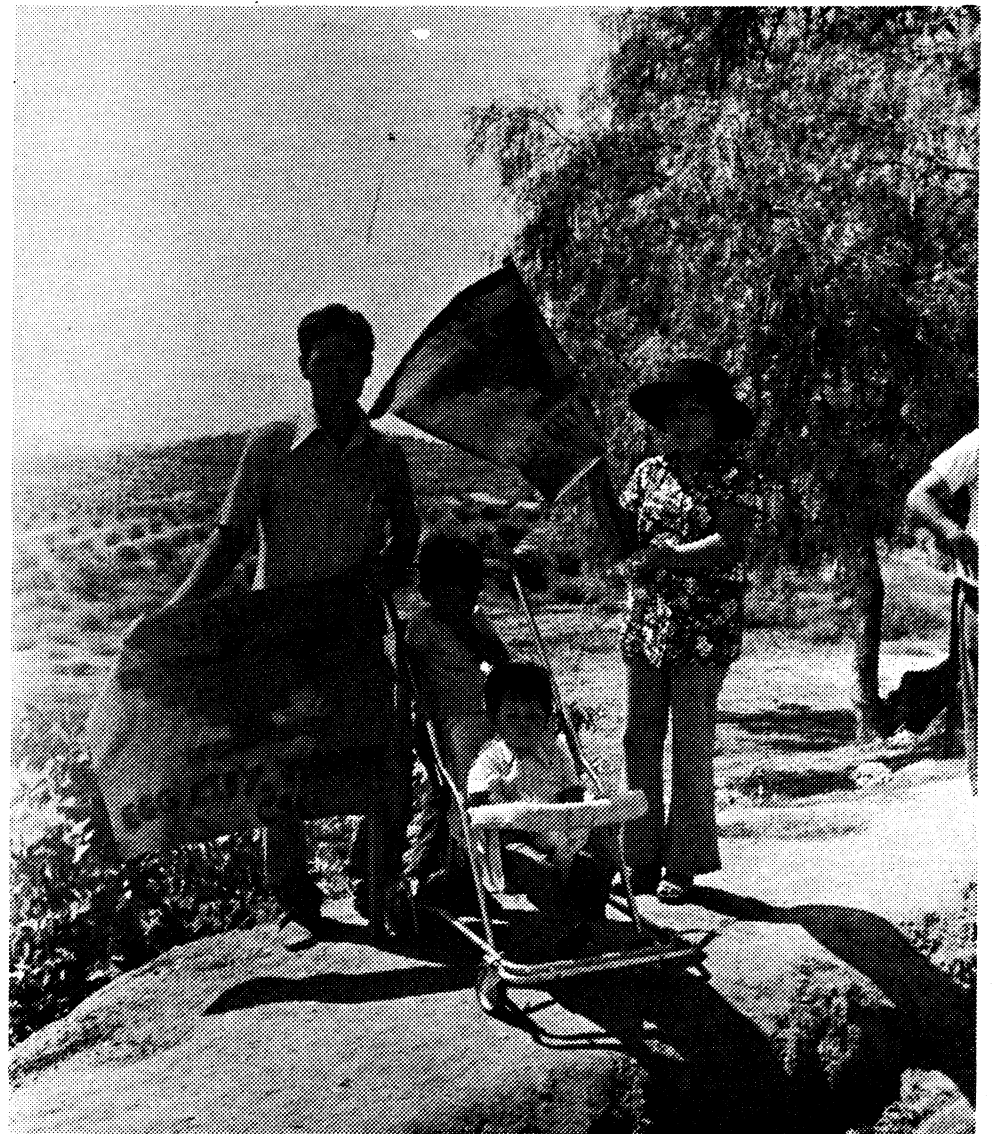
"When a worker was fired," he continued, "he would talk to the union representative. The representative would go and talk with the supervisor

of the department. When he went to the supervisor, he never took the union member. It was always only the supervisor and the Teamster."

"After the Teamster came out of the supervisor's office, he would come back to the worker and say, 'I'm sorry. We cannot do anything for you. You're going to have to look for another job.'"

Mesa feels the workers will not have this problem with the UFW. "I feel that they are honest with the workers," he said, "that they work for us. I feel that we are the union, not the representatives."

—H.R.



Striking Egg City workers say that Teamsters' total failure to stand up for their rights led them to seek UFW.

Militant/Harry Ring

# Calendar

## BOSTON

**JOANNE LITTLE: HER 'CRIME,' HER TRIAL, HER VICTORY!** Speakers: Karen Lindsay, reporter for *Boston Phoenix*; Reba Williams, NSCAR. Fri., Sept. 19, 8 p.m. 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor (opp. South Station). Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 482-8050.

## CHICAGO: SOUTHSIDE

**SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CAMPAIGN RALLY AND OPEN HOUSE.** Speaker: Linda Jenness, cochairperson, Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee. Fri., Sept. 19. Reception: 6:00 p.m. Rally: 7:30 p.m. 1754 E. 55th St. Aup: SWP. For more information call (312) 643-5520.

## CLEVELAND

**KENT STATE: THE COVER-UP CONTINUES.** Speakers: witnesses of the May 1970 murders. Fri., Sept. 19, 8 p.m. 2300 Payne Ave. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call: (216) 861-4166.

## DENVER

**CHILE: TWO YEARS AFTER THE COUP.** Speaker: Salvatore Bizarro, recently returned from Chile. Fri., Sept. 19, 8 p.m. 1203 California St. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (303) 623-2825.

## DETROIT

**BOSTON, LOUISVILLE, DETROIT: BUSING AND THE FIGHT FOR SCHOOL DESEGREGATION.** Speaker: Trudy Hawkins, Detroit SCAR; B.R. Washington, SWP. Fri., Sept. 19, 8 p.m. 3737

Woodward Ave. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 831-6135.

## NEW YORK

**'OPIATE SEVEN.'** A feminist play presented by the Aquarius Theatre, Inc., and written by Soledad. 8 p.m. every Thurs., Fri., and Sat. through Sept., at 130 E. 7th St., (University of the Street Bldg., corner of 7th St. & Avenue A). Free admission. For more information call (212) 777-0248.

## PHILADELPHIA

**YOU CAN'T AFFORD TO GET SICK.** Speakers: Sharyn King, SWP; Carole Soskis, Commonwealth Dept. of Health; JoAnne Wolf; Commonwealth Dept. of Health; Susan Wolf, Medical Committee for Human Rights. Fri., Sept. 19, 8 p.m. 1004 Filbert St. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) WA5-4316.

## PITTSBURGH

**MIDEAST PEACE ACCORDS: WILL THEY WORK?** Speakers: Prof. Richard Cottam, Political Science Dept., Univ. of Pitt.; Prof. Michel Roublev, History Dept., Univ. of Pitt.; John Teitelbaum, SWP. Wed., Sept. 17, 8 p.m. 3400 Fifth Ave. (corner Halket). Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (412) 682-5019.

## WASHINGTON, D.C.

**FARM WORKERS FIGHT FOR UNION RIGHTS.** Speaker: Stephanie Caiola, codirector, Washington Boycott, UFW. Film: *Why We Boycott*. Fri., Sept. 19, 8 p.m. 1345 E St. N.W., Fourth Floor. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 783-2391.

and applying it. In the coming period there are going to be ample opportunities. There are new openings for us in all sectors of the mass movement, and our job is to get out there and find them.

"The task is to provide the program and leadership to help our class move forward on the road to the socialist revolution, and construct a mass revolutionary party that is capable of leading the way to victory. And we can confidently say that in the perspectives before us in the United States, there is no other force but the Socialist Workers party that will be able to provide that necessary leadership."

## ...seniority

*Continued from page 23*

public works program and a shorter workweek with no reduction in pay. United labor action to win these demands would be a lot more convincing than all the pious declarations now coming from Meany, Woodcock, and the rest.

Right now the reality is that the victims of past discrimination in hiring are the ones being made to suffer, through disproportionate layoffs based on strict seniority.

The unions have an obligation to stand up against these discriminatory layoffs and fight against any percentage decrease of women or Blacks on the job. Where the seniority system comes into conflict with affirmative-action gains, seniority should be modified to protect those gains.

To do so is not only a moral obligation; it is the only way to forge the labor unity necessary to win jobs for all.

## ...UFW

*Continued from back page*

two other federal judges will decide the case. One of them is Circuit Judge Anthony Kennedy. Prior to his appointment to the bench by President Ford, Kennedy was a California lobbyist. His clients included Schenley Industries, one of the biggest wine growers in the San Joaquin Valley.

If the injunction is made permanent, it will reduce the new election law to a mockery.

On the basis of the sweetheart contracts they hold with the major growers, the Teamsters bureaucrats have automatic access to the fields. Denied the right to enter the fields, the UFW will find it almost impossible to get the authorization cards necessary to petition for elections.

It remains to be seen what Governor Brown, who so carefully cultivates his image as a "friend of the farm workers," intends to do about this.

It also remains to be seen what he will do about the open union-busting use of the border patrol (see story, p. 25) by the growers and their Teamster hirelings.

On the same morning that the vigilantes showed up at the Stockton tomato ranch, six border patrol agents arrived on the scene. They arrested twenty-five of the tomato pickers, asserting that they were "illegal aliens." UFW staff members charged that most of the twenty-five had signed UFW authorization cards for placing the union on the ballot.

From the outset, it was clear that even if they succeeded in winning elections in a situation that is weighted against them, the farm workers would still have the big job of compelling the growers to negotiate and sign contracts.

Now, it is being made plain, the growers and the political forces they control are going to do everything they can to cheat the workers out of even a semblance of honest elections.

All of the governor's talk about the growers having become more "reasonable" serves as a cover for their real strategy and aims. While presenting a public image of participating in a democratic election process, the growers continue to proceed ruthlessly to thwart—by any means necessary—the aspiration of the *campesinos* for a union of their choice. To cover up this reality, as Governor Brown is doing, is to deliberately play the growers' game.

But all the evidence continues to affirm that the UFW commands the allegiance of a big majority of the field workers. That is a militant fighting force. If sufficient force can be mobilized throughout the country for the embattled farm unionists, they still can win.

## ...SWP

*Continued from page 13*

the big social and political questions facing all the exploited and oppressed of the United States as issues of direct concern to them. To act politically means they must break the stranglehold of the bourgeois two-party system. . . .

The program falls into three sections. First are demands against the war machine, for disarmament of the American imperialist world cops, for an end to U.S. interference with struggles of workers and oppressed peoples around the globe, against the massive war budget. It includes demands relating to the democratic rights of GIs, for an end to secret diplomacy, and for giving the American people, not Congress, the right to vote on war.

A second group of demands flows from defense of the workers' standard of living and conditions of work. It includes demands for protection against inflation and unemployment and for safety on the job, and progresses through other demands toward workers control of production, opening the books of the monopolies, and a rational reorganization of the economy by the workers themselves.

Finally, the program shows the need to defend human rights, not property rights. It links the fight for a decent standard of living for all to the fight against all forms of discrimination and oppression. It points toward extending the social and economic rights of the workers and establishing forms of direct democracy, both political and economic.

"The problem for us," Waters concluded, "is to prove ourselves capable of fully understanding that program

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Arlington Street Church  
355 Boylston

Seattle-Sept. 16-8:00 PM  
Carpenters Hall, Room 2  
2512 Second Ave.

Oakland-Sept. 17-7:30 PM  
Laney College Forum Auditorium  
10 Street and Fallon

Los Angeles-Sept. 18-7:30 PM  
Embassy Auditorium  
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Louisville-Sept. 19-7:30 PM  
University of Louisville  
Humanities Building

St. Louis-Sept. 21-7:30 PM  
The Learning Center  
4504 Westminster (at Taylor)

Chicago-Sept. 22-7:30 PM  
Midland Hotel  
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Cleveland-Sept. 23-7:30 PM  
Case Western Reserve Univ.  
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Detroit-Sept. 25-7:30 PM  
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# THE MILITANT

## UFW asks fair elections

# Calif. farm workers face vigilante terror



Striking workers hold UFW flags in front of Egg City plant. For stories on Egg City strike and other UFW news, see page 25.

Militant/Harry Ring

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—Elections in the fields have just begun to take place. And already California's wealthy growers have demonstrated they are preparing to use every trick in the book to deprive farm workers of the union of their choice—including the use of armed vigilantes.

Initial returns show that the United Farm Workers won six of the first nine union representation elections under California's new farm labor law.

Meanwhile, the use of a right-wing gang of vigilantes to keep UFW organizers out of tomato ranches near Stockton underlined the hollowness of the assertion by Gov. Edmund Brown that the new farm labor law would bring "peace" to the fields.

The most significant UFW victory at the polls occurred September 6 at the M. Cataran vineyard in Delano, a now-historic center of UFW battles.

Cataran, along with other grape growers, signed a "sweetheart" contract with the Teamsters in 1973 in order to avoid renewing a previous pact with the UFW. In the present election, the ballot choice was UFW and "no union." The vote was 121 for the UFW and 41 for no union.

Louis Cataran, operator of the ranch, expressed surprise at the size of the UFW vote. A Teamster official in Delano, however, sought to dismiss it. It only showed, he asserted, that "farm workers in the Delano area want a union, and when they were not allowed to vote for the Teamsters, they voted for the UFW."

The assertion is, of course, ridiculous on the face of it. To obtain the elections, the UFW had to obtain signed authorizations from a majority of the workers in the vineyard. Once these were filed, the Teamsters could have also been on the ballot by

obtaining cards from only 20 percent of the workers. The fact that they didn't simply shows how much they are hated.

Other UFW victories included the Bruce Church lettuce ranch in Santa Maria, where they won with 140 votes to 38 for the Teamsters, with 3 voting no union. The UFW took the election by a similar margin at West Foods in Oxnard and won uncontested elections at a small tree nursery in Ventura County and at two tomato farms in the San Diego area.

Teamster victories included the Dan Pudor and Sons grape ranch in Delano, which it won 106 to 51 with 7 no-union votes, and uncontested elections at a small dairy farm and a small table grape and fruit tree ranch.

These first results confirm the strength of the UFW among field hands.

But recent events also confirm that the wealthy, powerful California agribusiness forces have no intention of abiding by the results of a democratic process. Along with the vigilantes, they are using their Teamster partners, the courts and politicians, the cops, and the U.S. Border Patrol to cheat the workers of representation by the UFW.

### Access to fields

When the state farm labor law went into effect August 28, the new labor board ruled that union organizers must have access to the fields and labor camps to discuss with the workers prior to an election. According to the regulation, organizers can enter the fields an hour before starting time, for an hour during the lunch break, and for an hour after work.

But when UFW organizers approached a tomato ranch in Stockton September 1 to talk to the workers,

they found an armed gang waiting for them.

Displaying self-bestowed sheriff's badges were members of the "Sheriff's Posse Comitatus," an ultrareactionary outfit that claims the "God-given" right to enforce—with guns—what they see as the law.

Organized in a number of states, the "posse" seems to have a strong base among farm operators in San Joaquin County, where the confrontation with the UFW took place.

Faced by this menacing gang, the UFW organizers turned to the authentic sheriff's deputies, who were also on the scene.

"What are you going to do?" UFW organizer Jim Drake asked a deputy who stood passively by.

"We are not escorting you into the fields," a cop responded. "I can't tell you what we are going to do until any particular situation arises."

Rather than get shot in order to determine what the cops would do about it, the UFW organizers left.

## AFL-CIO backs UFW

The AFL-CIO has called upon its affiliates to give all the assistance they can to the United Farm Workers in the present fight. Declaring that the UFW "was, is and shall be the union of farm workers," the executive council of the AFL-CIO instructed its Department of Organization and Field Services to help the UFW in the elections.

It also called upon its affiliates "to render whatever assistance they can to the UFW as it embarks on this most important period in its history."

They declared their intention to return the next day and demanded that local officials provide protection. The assistant district attorney told them to get an injunction.

The next morning an even larger armed gang was waiting. The deputies again refused to ensure the right of the unionists to enter the fields.

However, they apparently concluded that the publicity about armed thugs sporting sheriff's badges was too much of an embarrassment. They decided to arrest Francis Gillings, statewide coordinator of the "posse," for an unanswered traffic ticket.

As the cops moved to inform Gillings he was under arrest, he stepped backward and reportedly stumbled. His gun went off a few inches from a deputy's head. The deputy suffered a concussion from the blast.

### Demands protection

Meanwhile, UFW leader César Chávez went to Sacramento to demand that Governor Brown provide protection. Brown's aides later told the press that the governor was "monitoring" the situation.

While the governor was "monitoring," a group of growers found a sympathetic U.S. district court judge, who issued a temporary injunction barring union organizers from entering the fields.

Judge M.D. Crocker said that permitting the unionists to go in and talk with the workers deprived the growers of their property "without due process."

UFW attorney Jerry Cohen pointed out that the good judge owned seventy acres of cropland, and this clearly constitutes a conflict of interest.

A final hearing on Crocker's ruling was slated for September 12. He and

Continued on page 26