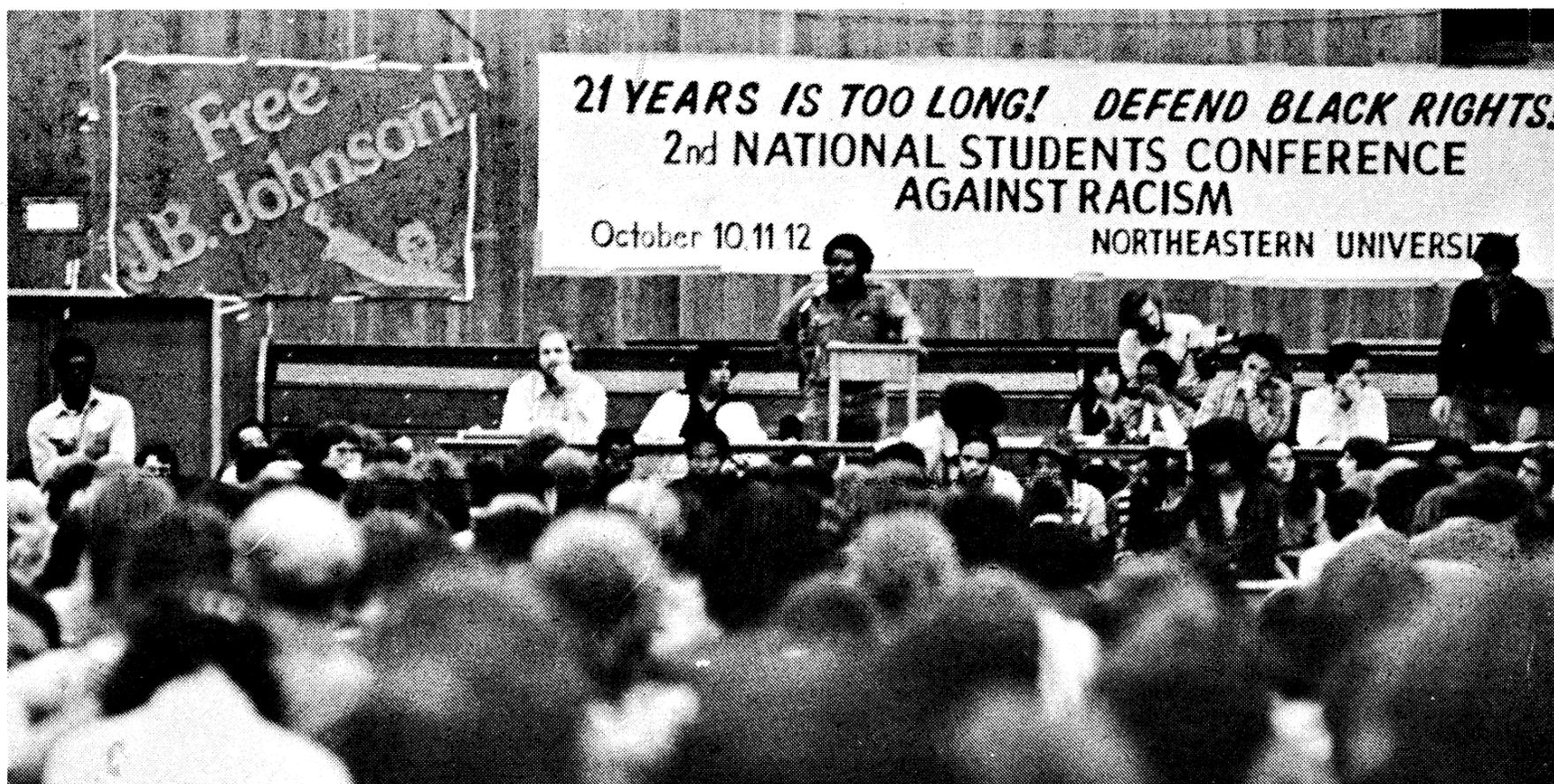


THE MILITANT

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

Antiracist coalition calls nat'l actions

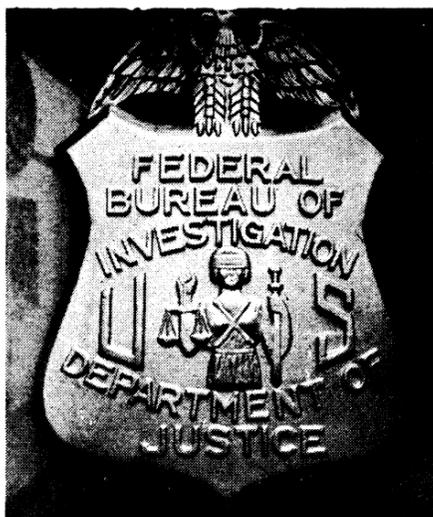


Militant/Lou Howort

Boston, October 11. The 1,200 participants in National Student Conference Against Racism set plans for November 22 actions to defend school desegregation. Pages 4-6.

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RACIST VIOLENCE IN LOUISVILLE. . . . Racists conducted a campaign of violence aimed at halting school desegregation in Louisville, Kentucky, last week. On Thursday night, October 9, a school bus was bombed. The next day police arrested a white youth who had assaulted a Black student with a baseball bat as he was getting off a school bus. Later that day, three Black students were injured by flying glass when a brick shattered a window of the bus they were riding in.

On Sunday night, police used tear gas to disperse a crowd of 500 antibusing demonstrators in suburban Jefferson-town. Two cops were injured. A section of the mob then moved to Jeffersontown High School, where they set a school bus on fire. Several shots were fired at police on the night of October 13 by antibusing demonstrators. No injuries were reported and seven people were arrested.

. . . DESEGREGATIONISTS RESPOND: "We have planned the event this Saturday to be a powerful public statement that those who stand for justice do not stand alone," stated Ms. Jackie Garrett in announcing an October 11 march and rally to "honor the students" in downtown Louisville. The protest drew 600 and was sponsored by Progress in Education (PIE), a recently formed probusing organization in Louisville. Speakers included PIE coordinator Garrett; Harold Kincaid, shop steward for Communications Workers of America Local 10310; and Rev. Charles Kirby, director of the Kentucky Christian Leadership Conference. "Down with the Klan," "No racism," and "Stop the violence," chanted the marchers.

On Monday, October 13, about 225 supporters of busing formed a motorcade that traveled to the state capital in Frankfort and assembled on the steps of the state capitol building there.

Herman Kirsch died unexpectedly October 13 of a heart attack in Cleveland. Kirsch, fifty-three years old, was a thirty-five-year veteran activist and leader of the Socialist Workers party.

A memorial meeting will be held in Cleveland on Wednesday, October 22, at 8:00 p.m. at the Socialist Workers party headquarters. The address is 2300 Payne, Cleveland, Ohio 44114. Messages to the meeting can be sent to the same address.

A future issue of the Militant will carry an appreciation of Herman Kirsch's life and his contributions to the Trotskyist movement.

SAN QUENTIN SIX SUPPORTERS RALLY IN S.F.:

Four years ago the San Quentin Six—Fleeta Drumgo, David Johnson, Hugo Pinell, Johnny Spain, Luis Talamantez, and Willie Tate—were indicted for murder and conspiracy in the August 21, 1971, shoot-out at San Quentin prison. On October 4 nearly 500 people rallied in San Francisco to commemorate the indictments and to demonstrate support for the six, now in the third month of their trial in nearby Marin County. The rally was sponsored by the San Quentin Six Defense Committee of California.

ILLINOIS STRIKERS REJECT COMPROMISE:

Strikers at Capital Packaging in Melrose Park, Illinois, rejected a company proposal October 4 by a vote of eighty-five to eight. Local 7-507 of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers is demanding a pay increase of twenty-five cents an hour. They were offered twenty-two-and-a-half. Despite the killing

of their central strike leader by a scab truck driver and numerous arrests of picketers, "spirit is high after nine weeks," said one Chicana striker. "It looks like the first day."

PEOPLE'S PARTY RUNS SPOCK: Citing other activities and time constraints that would prevent her from actively campaigning, Maggie Kuhn has withdrawn as the People's party candidate for vice-president in 1976. Kuhn is a leader of the Gray Panthers, a group concerned with the oppression of old people. Benjamin Spock will replace her as running mate with presidential candidate Margaret Wright.

CHICANOS PROTEST COP TERROR IN TEXAS:

Chicanos in Hondo, Texas, have become victims in a stepped-up attack by cops in the area. A September 27 demonstration at the Medino County jail protested recent police terror, including the murder of a Chicano youth by an "insane" police chief and the mysterious death of a young Chicano activist. Nearly 300 people participated in the protest sponsored by Familias Unidas, Brown Berets, and *Los Barrios*, a local newspaper. Chicanos from groups in San Antonio, Crystal City, and Austin joined the demonstration.

FCC HACKS AWAY AT EQUAL TIME LAW:

The Federal Communications Commission ruled September 30 that the equal time provisions of the Federal Communications Act will no longer apply to presidential news conferences or to any news conference or debate between candidates broadcast live and not sponsored by any station. This reversed two 1962 precedent-setting rulings that required stations broadcasting debates between candidates for governor of California and Michigan to give equal time to candidates of the Prohibition and Socialist Labor parties.

'RECKLESS' COP INDICTED FOR ATTICA:

New York state trooper Gregory Wildridge was indicted October 10 for his role in the August 1971 assault on Attica prison. Wildridge is the first cop to face charges for the Attica massacre that ended in thirty-nine deaths. He is charged with having recklessly discharged a shotgun creating "a grave risk of death to another person." The indictment came during the 120th session of the grand jury set up in April 1974 to investigate crimes by "law enforcement officers" during the siege.

On the other side of the bars, "justice" moves more speedily. Sixty-two Attica prisoners have been charged with more than 1,400 crimes by another grand jury.

ONLY THE PRESIDENT KNOWS FOR SURE:

An air force officer, who was referred to a psychiatrist and finally kicked out of the service for objecting to firing nuclear missiles against civilians, has filed a lawsuit against the air force. John Vandermolen told his superiors that he didn't mind the possibility of firing missiles at military targets, but he had moral and religious objections to aiming them at civilian population centers. Only the president gets to decide where they're going, the air force replied, and officers are expected to abide by that decision.

For his objections, Vandermolen was first reassigned, then transferred, and finally discharged for a "defective attitude." He's suing for reinstatement to the rank of captain, \$9,999.99 in back pay, and the clearing of his service record. —Nancy Cole

Special offer for new readers



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'A legal political organization'

'New York Times' editors tell FBI: stop harassment, disruption of SWP

By George Novack

On October 10, the editors of the *New York Times* called on the FBI and the U.S. attorney general to stop deceiving the public, live up to their word that the bureau's "counterintelligence" program has been ended, and cease harassing the members of the Socialist Workers party. This admonition from the most prestigious newspaper in the country has weighty significance.

Since Franklin D. Roosevelt gave the green light to J. Edgar Hoover, the FBI has been secretly spying on, disrupting, and framing up radicals, rebellious Blacks, and militant unionists. That repressive policy has been consistently followed by

Marxist scholar George Novack has actively participated in many of the most prominent civil liberties cases over the past forty years. He is a member of the advisory committee of the Political Rights Defense Fund.

Democratic and Republican administrations alike. It did not bother these executives of the ruling class that such methods were illegal and unconstitutional and made a mockery of the civil liberties of the organizations and individuals who were targets of the witch-hunters. Everything was excused under the pretext of "national security" and the fight against "communism."

For decades the victims on the left were not accorded much of a hearing when they protested these officially instigated attacks and demanded they be halted. Too many people considered that, since these actions were mostly directed against a "radical fringe," they did not affect their own civil liberties and were not great cause for alarm.

Watergate, followed by one disclosure after another of the sinister, criminal activities of the FBI, CIA, army intelligence, and the Internal Revenue Service, has transformed the public outlook in this regard.

Guardians of rights?

The highest government departments and officials, from the White House through the Pentagon to the Treasury Department, are being viewed not as the guardians of the rights and welfare of the American people, but as their most immediate and persistent menacers. This has produced widespread

EDITORIAL FRIDAY, OCTOBER 10, 1975

The New York Times

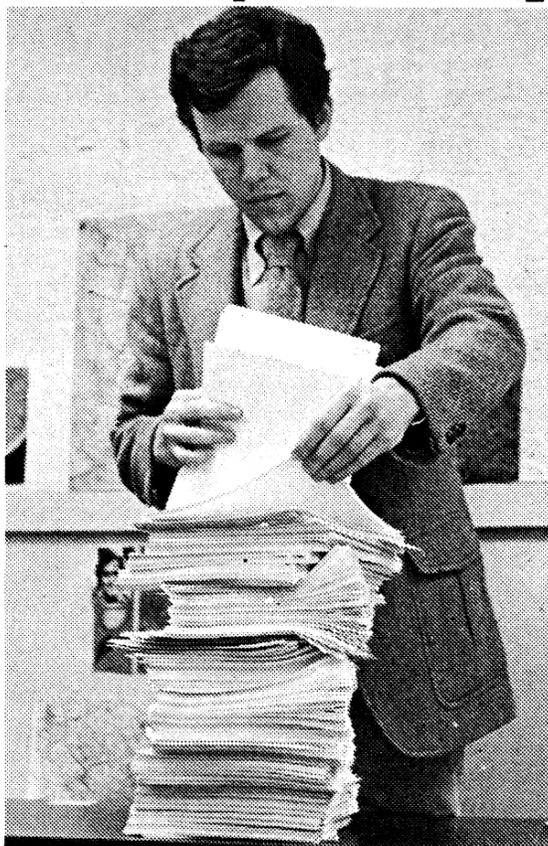
Enough Is Enough

The official position of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Department of Justice on the bureau's counterintelligence program (Cointelpro) is that it was foolish, misguided and sometimes illegal and that it was ended in April, 1971. Yet, according to F.B.I. documents recently obtained by the Socialist Workers' party in a lawsuit against the bureau, some Cointelpro techniques were being employed at least as late as December, 1973.

The documents show that after April, 1971, the bureau continued to contact members of the Socialist Workers' party and its youth affiliate to inform them of the bureau's knowledge of their political activities and then to seek more information about those activities. The bureau also continued to contact members of the organization by telephone to gain personal information about them under the pretext of doing a jury duty survey. Such methods were used on at least 34 occasions after the program was supposedly ended.

The Socialist Workers' party is a legal American political organization. Although it has been the subject of wiretap surveillance for thirty years, no indictments and no convictions have been obtained by the Government. The only conceivable purpose of the continuation of the Cointelpro techniques is harassment and disruption of legitimate political activity.

Attorney General Levi has recently expressed his high regard for the F.B.I. and has characterized some recent criticism of the organization as unfounded. The criticism might fade more quickly if it were clear to the bureau that disruption of legitimate political activity is not part of its mandate and if it could be demonstrated to the American people that when the Government says it has terminated a course of improper conduct, it actually has done so.



Militant/Mary Jo Hendrickson

PRDF National Secretary Syd Stapleton examines 'Cointelpro' files. Socialists' suit has forced release of some 4,000 pages of material, largest disclosure of secret FBI operations in history.

apprehension and insistence that steps be taken to curb these agencies.

This task cannot be left to either the presidential or congressional investigating committees. Some of their members have themselves been complicit in covering up these crimes over the years. None are interested in doing away with these repressive instruments. They will try only to scrub the dirt off these agencies in order to present them as thoroughly sanitized and fully worthy of respect and support from now on.

The SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance, placing no trust whatsoever in the good intentions of any section of the government, took the initiative in July 1973 by filing suit against the FBI, CIA, and other agencies and officials to expose the scope of their harassment and win a permanent injunction against continuance of government spying and disruption. The plaintiffs ask damages of \$27 million.

The Political Rights Defense Fund was formed as a nonpartisan civil liberties group to publicize and finance the case. It has attracted an impressive array of sponsorship from prominent Americans in all walks of life. The PRDF has retained the noted constitutional lawyers Leonard Boudin and Herbert Jordan to conduct the suit.

Their persevering work has paid off. The PRDF has forced the largest disclosure of secret FBI operations in the history of the bureau. The agency has been compelled to turn over four thousand pages of files, including the first detailed account of the FBI "counterintelligence" programs known as Cointelpros.

The PRDF has released these to the public and its suit has now become the major new source of information about the clandestine and illegal activities of the federal police bureaus.

Revelations

Various categories of unconstitutional operations have been brought to light:

- During the 1960s the FBI used the Cointelpro, in its own words, "to expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit, or otherwise neutralize" Dr. Martin Luther King, the Black Panther party, the SWP, the Communist party, the "new left," and thousands of individuals.

- For years federal agencies secretly interfered in the electoral process, disrupting campaigns of independent candidates and parties selected as targets by the FBI.

- Professors and teachers, from Cleveland to

California, were hounded out of their jobs by poison-pen letters and other means.

- The FBI viciously harassed Black activists in the civil rights movement.

- FBI informers tried to sabotage defense efforts in the Wounded Knee and Attica trials.

- Government agents provoked violence to try to discredit and divide opponents of the Vietnam war and racial oppression.

- The FBI infiltrated at least two unions in Florida during 1974 to try to sway a vote.

- The FBI engaged in burglaries, wiretapping, and widespread use of informers to gain information for their disruption efforts.

The occasion for the sharp *New York Times* protest was the following. FBI Director Clarence Kelley has announced that the bureau formally discontinued Cointelpro programs back in 1971. This was part of the pretense that, under Ford, the worst abuses of the Nixon and Hoover eras were finished so that public vigilance could be disarmed and lulled to rest.

The SWP and YSA knew otherwise because their members continued to suffer harassment of various kinds. The PRDF recently compiled evidence of scores of post-1971 incidents of Cointelpro-type disruptions. These included FBI "visits" to landlords and employers, burglaries, and similar unconstitutional actions.

These disclosures proved that the FBI is lying about its illegal activities and intends to keep repeating them so long as they are not challenged and checked.

The SWP is determined to take all necessary steps to see that these techniques are ended, not only for itself, but for all other groups.

More documents and details will be forthcoming because government agencies are under court order to release *all* the rest of their secret files relating to *all* their actions against the plaintiffs.

Historic precedent

The SWP suit sets a historic precedent in this country's jurisprudence and politics. It has been usual for the minions of the federal government to take the offensive against radicals, and all others who get crosswise with the powers that be, and try to restrict their rights and victimize them. They were accustomed to proceeding without restraint.

This is the first time that the tables have been turned on so broad a scale and on such a crucial constitutional basis. A revolutionary socialist organization has dared to strike back in its own defense against the repressive apparatus of the national administration. It seeks to call a halt to the violation of its civil liberties, so far as that is possible by such means.

The Justice Department has scores of lawyers at its command and is ready to spend hundreds of thousands of taxpayer dollars to frustrate the PRDF suit and its aims.

Leonard Boudin told reporters at the news conference initiating the suit that its success would be "a major step forward in reversing the erosion of political and civil liberties." A favorable verdict can help tie the hands of the FBI, CIA, and other branches of the political police. For this reason every American who wants Watergating eliminated and their liberties safeguarded should help the PRDF achieve victory in this case.

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More than 1,200 participants

Antiracist conference calls Nov. 22

By Tony Thomas

BOSTON—The National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR) held its second national conference at Northeastern University here October 10-12.

"The central question facing the Black liberation struggle today," said NSCAR coordinator Maceo Dixon, "is school desegregation and busing, and everything else is tied to that. If we win around this question we can stop the racists around other questions like affirmative action, cutbacks in tuition, segregated housing, or whatever."

Dixon was motivating an action proposal presented by himself and the four other outgoing national coordinators of NSCAR—Marcia Codling, Joette Chancy, Ray Sherbill, and Paul Mailhot.

National campaign

The proposal called for a "National campaign to defend school desegregation," focusing on nationally coordinated activities on November 22.

These actions will be in response to attempts, by racists from Gerald Ford on down to the street gangs in Boston, to push back desegregation achieved through busing. "Keep the buses rolling," "Stop the racist attacks on Black students," and "Desegregate the schools now" will be the theme of the actions.

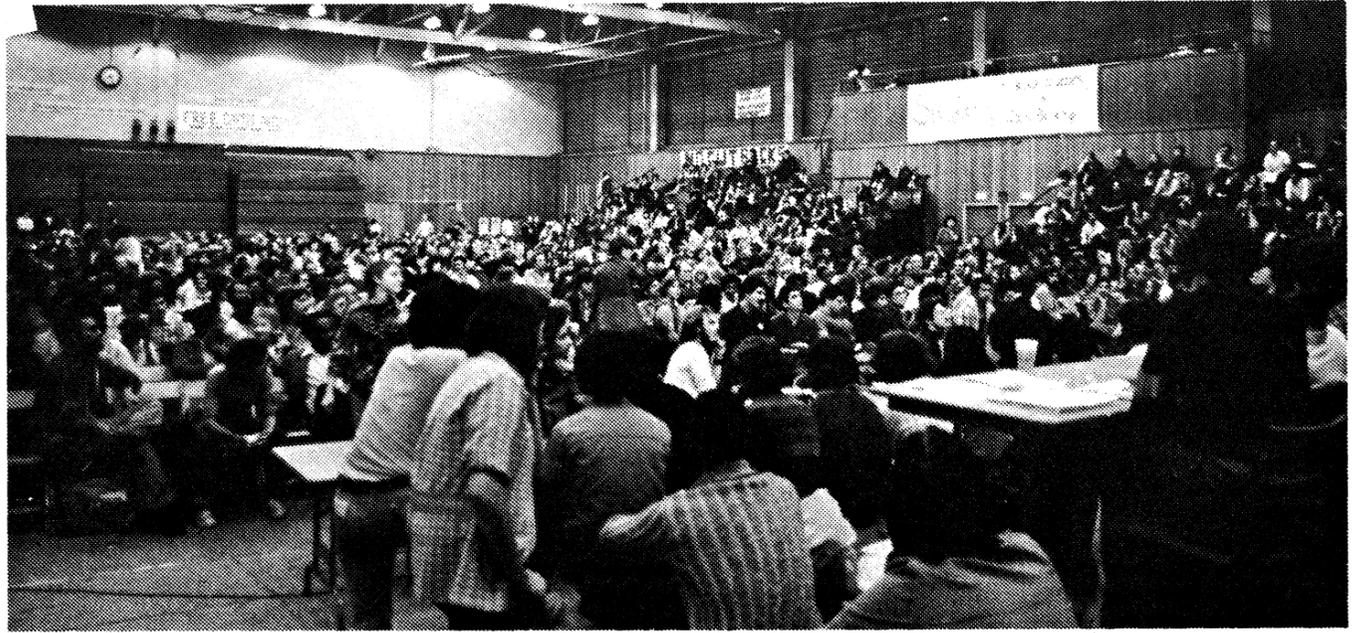
"Boston, still the focal point of the desegregation fight," the resolution stated, "should be discussed at these activities as well as other local and national struggles against racism that NSCAR is involved in."

NSCAR was formed at a national student conference at Boston University last February. At that gathering it was decided to help organize support for the May 17 national march for school desegregation called by the NAACP.

While its central focus has been defending busing for desegregation against racist attacks, the student coalition has also branched out to other fronts in the antiracist fight.

The Northeastern University conference provided clear evidence of how successful the organization has been in just eight months.

Nearly 1,300 student and youth activists attended the conference. They included delegations from student governments, Black student unions, Black and Puerto Rican community organizations, the National Student Association (NSA), and trade unions. Others came from political organizations such as the Federación Universitaria Socialista Puertorriqueña (FUSP—Federation of Puerto Rican Socialist University Students), the



More than 1,200 students and youth attended conference

Young Socialist Alliance, and the Workers World party.

While a large number of the delegates were from Boston, New York, and other northeastern cities, delegates came from as far away as California, Utah, and Texas.

About 25 percent of the conference participants were Black. About fifty Puerto Rican students attended from FUSP and other groups. There was also a smaller number of Chicano and Asian-American activists.

The conference was kicked off by a rally Friday night, October 10. Its theme, "Twenty-one years is too long, defend Black rights," centered on the refusal of federal, state, and local governments to fully implement the 1954 Supreme Court decision banning school segregation.

Fifteen speakers, including leaders of the National Education Association, the NAACP, the FUSP, and the NSA addressed the gathering.

Eyewitness reports of racism in South Boston High School were provided by four Black high school students and by NSCAR coordinator Dixon, who had been into the school as part of a community monitoring group. (For more information on the rally see stories on pages 5 and 6.)

On Saturday morning the conference opened with a brief session on procedure. Stress was placed on the right of any participant to present proposals. Facilities were provided to print and distribute all proposals to conference participants.

A committee was elected to chair the gathering and handle procedural problems. It included the five outgoing

coordinators, as well as Gary Kampel, national vice-president of the NSA; Arturo Rivera, national president of the FUSP; and Manuel Barrera, a Chicano NSCAR leader from Los Angeles.

Workshops

After the procedural discussion, the conference broke down into the first of two sessions of workshops. More than twenty workshops were held that morning, centering on the need for desegregation.

They were led by desegregation activists from cities such as Boston, Detroit, Louisville, Philadelphia, and Brooklyn.

The Saturday evening plenary discussed proposals on racism in the schools. Three proposals were submitted on busing for desegregation: one from the NSCAR coordinators, one from the Spartacus Youth League, and a third from the student government of the Atlanta University Center, a group of Black colleges in Atlanta.

A fourth resolution—on bilingual-bicultural education—came out of several workshops on Puerto Ricans and education.

The NSCAR coordinators' proposal pointed to the racist campaign against busing, supported by President Ford and congressional leaders.

"The purpose of this racist campaign," they wrote, "is to weaken and divide the Black community and to help push back many of the social and economic gains Blacks and other minorities have won over the past two decades."

The resolution said that the issue involved "is not busing, but rather the democratic right of Blacks to go to any school of their choice and their right to go to the best schools that the city, state and federal governments can provide."

Afro-Americans use busing for desegregation, the resolution explains, "to leave segregated areas of cities and towns where they are stuck with the worst school facilities. They are demanding to go where better schools exist which happen to be predominantly white. . . ."

"Because of the racism of local school authorities, it should be up to Black people themselves to decide which schools are the better schools and it is up to the government to provide them the means to get there."

At the same time, the resolution explained that busing does not run counter to the fight for community control of the schools or struggles for bilingual and bicultural education.

The resolution said that the job of the antiracist movement was to "go on a national educational and action campaign to win mass support to school desegregation."

"The way to do that," the resolution states, "is for the supporters of desegregation and busing to outmobilize the racists in street actions and meetings and to win over the majority of people in this country, of all nationalities, to the antiracist struggle."

"We have to launch a massive public campaign for Black rights and school desegregation that can force the government—federal, state and city—to enforce its own laws that protect the democratic rights of Black people."

"This includes demanding that the government use all necessary force to enforce its laws, including city police, state troopers, the national guard and federal troops."

Maceo Dixon, who introduced the proposal for the NSCAR coordinators, offered an amendment supporting the struggle of Black students at South Boston High School.

It called for backing the students "against the abuses and discriminatory treatment that they have been receiving at the hands of racist white students, administrators, teachers and cops," as well as supporting their demands for complete protection and Black studies programs.

While the Spartacus Youth League proposal supported busing, it attacked the use of federal troops to enforce busing and defend the Black community against racist violence. They counterposed to troops the call for a "Black/labor defense."

Several speakers pointed out that this is not a realistic alternative at this point.

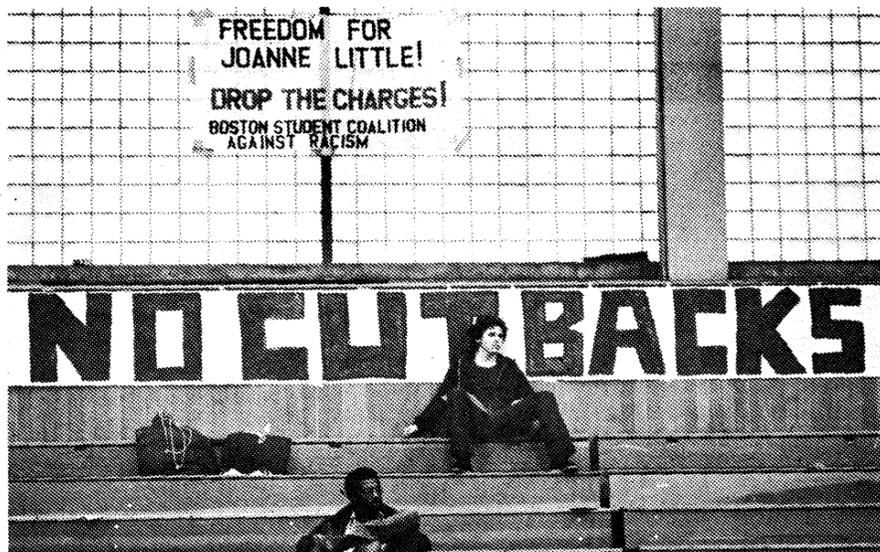
Jon Hillson, a Young Socialist Alliance leader, argued, "To refuse to call for the troops and cops to protect the students is to abdicate protection of Black lives in this city."

"Last December, 1,000 racists ringed South Boston High School chanting 'niggers eat shit,' trapping 132 students in that high school. When a decoy bus was stoned to bits it was clear that the racists were out to kill the students."

"When I saw a cordon of blue-eyed Irish cops beat back the mob, I said to myself, 'I'm in favor of that, and if they don't have enough policemen, send in federal troops.'"

Charles Rosenberg from Louisville SCAR reported that in his city 97 percent of all Black students chose to ride the buses to desegregate the schools.

"The only reason they were able to



Barry Chann

Conference laid plans for action against racist cutbacks hitting campuses across country and for defense of victims of racist 'justice.' Above, two participants relax under banners in rear of conference.

actions to defend desegregation

ride the buses," he said, "is because of the defense provided by the state police and the national guard. . . . It had a real strong impact on the racist movement, it demoralized them, and we have to keep up the pressure for that kind of protection."

Atlanta University

The Atlanta University student government resolution called for solidarity with Boston's Black students and Black community in the face of racist attacks. However, it also demanded "an immediate end to forced busing of Black children to achieve school desegregation" and "use of moneys spent on busing and other moneys to upgrade the physical plants of Black schools."

While no one spoke in favor of this proposal on the floor, proponents of the resolution made clear in the Black college students workshop that they counterposed Black community control of the schools to busing. They claimed that busing prevented Black students from developing Black culture and political values.

Activists from Boston in the work-

shop pointed out that in Boston and other cities Black high schools were no more centers of Black culture than the predominantly white schools because they were controlled by the same racist school boards.

Reba Williams, a member of the Boston NSCAR staff, said that the struggle being waged by the South Boston students showed that the fight for Black studies, Black teachers, and Black culture is part of the busing struggle.

On the floor of the conference Ken Miliner commented on the proposal. He is a leader of the Por Los Niños coalition, a community control group in Manhattan's Lower East Side, where a community control struggle has been taking place during the past seven years.

Miliner said there was really no contradiction between community control and busing for school desegregation: "The essence of both of these struggles is the same—the fight on the part of Black people, Puerto Ricans, Native Americans, Chicanos, and Chinese to uproot racism in the educa-

tional system and get better education for their children."

"Now if you look at the opposition of the racists who oppose busing," Miliner continued, "we see that the very same racists are opposed to community control as are opposed to busing."

"We can't counterpose the two. What is important is the right of oppressed nationalities to go to the schools they want—either inside or outside their communities—to improve their education."

When the vote was taken, the proposal for probusing actions on November 22 was carried by the overwhelming majority of the conference. The Atlanta and Spartacus proposals won only a few votes.

A proposal from Puerto Rican workshops demanding full support for bilingual-bicultural education, and other programs for oppressed minorities, was passed. Only the Spartacus group opposed it.

Cutbacks

The next point on the agenda was a discussion of cutbacks in education. Cutbacks in scholarships, special ad-

missions programs, and ethnic studies, and hikes in tuition, housing, and textbooks have hit Black and Latino students the hardest.

In New England and New York, where anticutbacks coalitions have rallied thousands of students, NSCAR has played a leading role in pointing out how the cutbacks, both on and off campus, are a racist attack against Blacks and Latinos.

A proposal on cutbacks submitted to the conference by thirteen student leaders from New England, New York, Colorado, and California was adopted. It called for a week of coordinated activities November 10-15 against campus cutbacks.

The resolution urged students to mobilize not only around their own problems but also to "seek the support of other sections of society victimized by budget cuts—welfare recipients, government employees, the elderly, etc. . . ."

"The preservation of education does not have to be at the expense of other groups. We must make them our allies and support their struggles for jobs

Continued on next page

Rally speakers: 'Full equality for Blacks'

By Baxter Smith

BOSTON—With vigor befitting the occasion, Marcia Codling delivered the opening charge: "You are here to defend the right of minority people to go to any school, walk on any street, and use any public facility that they choose."

Codling was speaking at the Friday evening rally that kicked off the October 10-12 Second National Student Conference Against Racism. She is a coordinator of the National Student Coalition Against Racism, the group that sponsored the gathering.

The fifteen speakers that followed her won repeated applause, prolonged cheers, and approving laughs at times as they pointed out instances of racist abuse, hypocrisy, and degradation in the educational system, the criminal justice system, and society in general.

The speakers came from a wide spectrum of organizations and represented the nation's largest civil rights organization, the largest teachers organization, and the largest student organization.

Perhaps the best received of the speakers were four Black South Boston High School students, who, along with Maceo Dixon, another coordinator of the student coalition, described conditions in the school. (See box on page 6.)

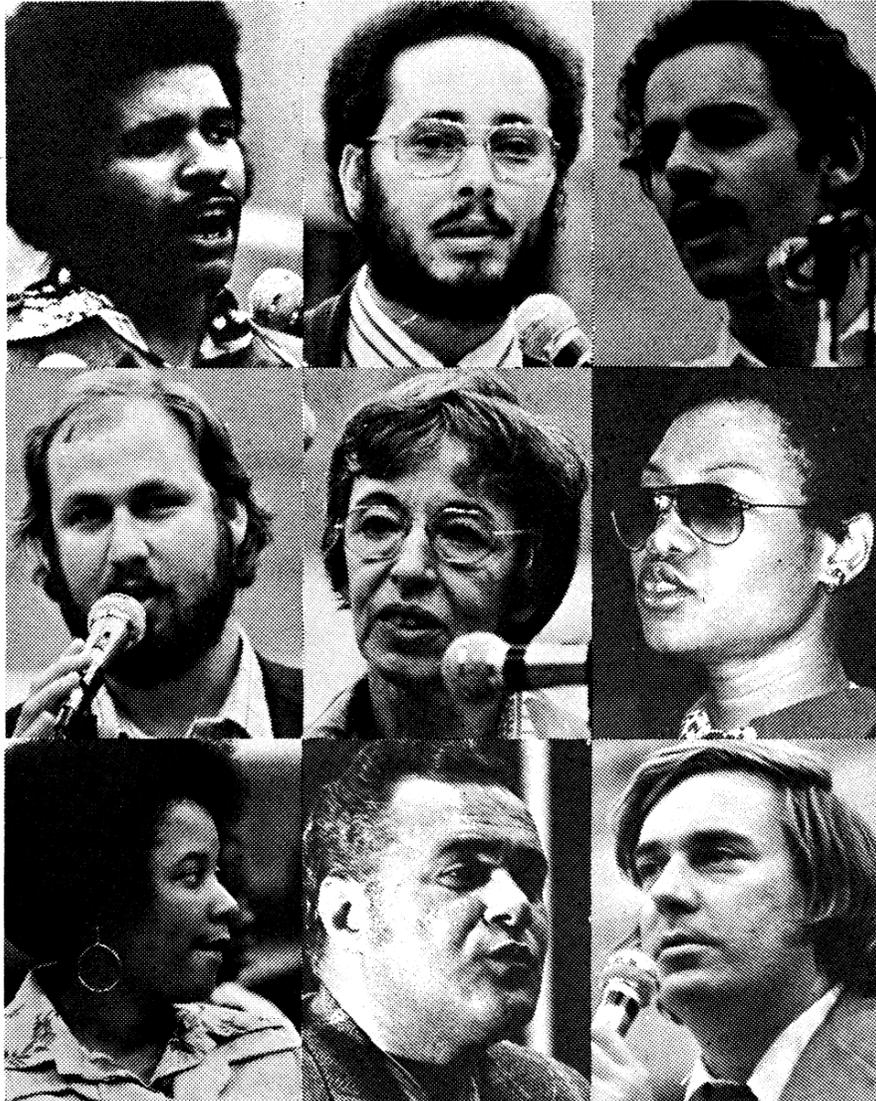
Alice Cummings spoke as an official representative of the nearly two-million-member National Education Association.

"These are teachers who care," she said, "and they went down on record in support of this conference" at their convention last summer.

The NEA is "in favor of whatever legal steps are necessary to implement Judge [W. Arthur] Garrity's order," Cummings said. She promised to "take back your recommendations for further action on the part of the NEA."

Gary Kampel, national vice-president of the National Student Association, described the impact of the cutbacks on campuses. "We are well on our way back to the twenties," he said, "when only white males had the key to the ivy-covered walls of higher education."

If there was any one theme that



Rally speakers. From left, top row: Detroit NAACP President Joseph Madison, 'Black Scholar' editor Robert Allen, FUSP leader Arturo Rivera. Second row: NSA Vice-president Gary Kampel, NEA representative Alice Cummings, NSCAR coordinator Marcia Codling. Bottom row: Joanne Little attorney Karen Galloway, former District One Supt. Luis Fuentes, Jerry Paul, also an attorney for Joanne Little.

came through in the remarks of all speakers, it was that the struggles of the 1950s and 1960s that won legal equality for Blacks must be continued.

"If you remember," Joe Madison, the young executive secretary of the Detroit NAACP, said, "in the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, it was

not enough in this country to have a Supreme Court decision, but it meant that young people, like young people gathered here today, had to hit the roads of Mississippi, of Alabama, and of Georgia.

"Now we find out that we have to hit the roads of Boston, Detroit, Philadel-

phia, Minneapolis, Los Angeles, and Denver."

Robert Allen, editor of the *Black Scholar*, said that the 1954 decision "represented the culmination of many decades of court battles and other struggles by the NAACP and other organizations in the antiracist movement."

But, he added, "there is a vast difference between a court decision and implementation of that decision." And the 1954 decision only "signaled the beginning of a long, hard struggle—a struggle which is continuing to this very day."

Speaking in a raspy voice, suspended superintendent of New York City's school District One Luis Fuentes trampled on the racist concept of neighborhood schools.

"Everyone from Nixon and Ford to [Louise Day] Hicks has portrayed the neighborhood school as an ancient and revered American right. Exactly the opposite is true. The neighborhood school was frowned upon both in law and in practice prior to 1954, particularly when a Black parent brought suit to have his child admitted to a white school in his own neighborhood."

Stating, "We believe that our positions are converging," Arturo Rivera, national president of the Federación Universitaria Socialista Puertorriqueña, explained why his organization was joining with the student coalition.

"The fight to end forced segregation in the schools is not the only struggle taking place in the educational system today," he said. "A struggle just as important for Puerto Ricans is the fight against the effects of the economic crisis of the so-called free world. The budget cutbacks in the financial aid programs and the attacks on the bilingual and Puerto Rican studies departments determine the very survival of Puerto Rican students within the institutions of higher learning in the United States."

The racist frame-up of Joanne Little was recounted by her attorneys, Karen Galloway and Jerry Paul. And attorney and feminist activist Florynce Kennedy also spoke.

...conference

Continued from preceding page and adequate social services."

The conference also adopted a resolution, submitted by students from New York and Texas, in defense of affirmative action.

The resolution said that affirmative-action programs are necessary to make up for the "400 years of slavery, segregation, and discrimination practiced against Black and Brown communities to this day."

The resolution also opposed discriminatory layoffs, which are used to set back gains won through affirmative action.

Defense cases

One of the most impressive parts of the conference was the section devoted to defense of victims of racist injustice. Spokespeople for various defense committees addressed the conference.

Among them were representatives from the Los Angeles Philip Allen defense, including Ellery Allen, the defendant's mother; Mary Watkins, mother of J.B. Johnson, who is facing frame-up charges in St. Louis; Nicomedes Sánchez, from the Committee for the Freedom of the Puerto Rican Nationalist Prisoners; and a representative from the Delbert Tibbs defense committee.

At the Friday night rally, Karen Galloway and Jerry Paul, Joanne Little's lawyers, thanked NSCAR for its work in support of Little's case.

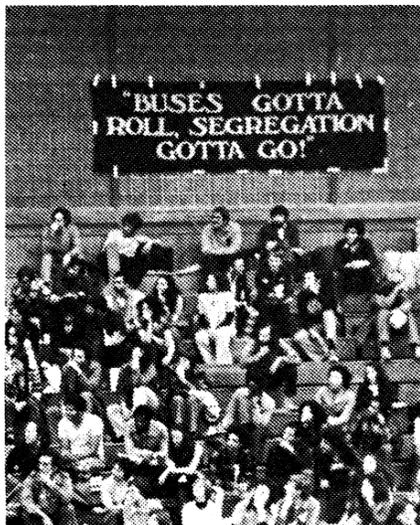
The discussion on defense showed that NSCAR is becoming one of the main organizations rallying support for Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicano activists framed up on racist charges.

Another important discussion at the conference took place earlier, on Saturday in the Black student workshop. It was instrumental in heading off a threatened physical disruption of the conference.

The problem originated with members of two sectarian Black nationalist groups—the All-African People's Revolutionary Party and the United Black Strategists.

The two organizations are vehemently opposed both to busing for school desegregation and to NSCAR's policy of involving other oppressed nationalities and whites in the desegregation struggle.

The most serious incident occurred Saturday when several youth organized by these groups physically at-



Militant/Nelson Blackstock

tacked a white NSCAR activist. Although she wasn't badly injured, her glasses were broken. At the rally the previous evening about thirty of these youth organized walkouts and yelled threats when NSCAR representatives spoke.

The Black student workshop discussed the problem of disruption and unanimously passed a resolution stating that anyone should be able to take part in the conference without harassment.

The resolution also called for the removal by conference marshals of anyone who tried to disrupt the gathering or physically attack a conference participant.

The resolution was subsequently passed by the conference as a whole.

Greetings

During the three days of the conference, greetings came from a variety of supporters. The gathering was read messages from civil rights leader Robert F. Williams, Democratic presidential candidate Morris Udall, and Socialist Workers party presidential and vice-presidential candidates Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid.

On Sunday, Leonard Matlovich, who is fighting his discharge from the air force for being a homosexual, delivered greetings to the conference.

The last order of business was a discussion on structure and the election of national coordinators. The structure proposal brought in from the previous steering committee recommended expanding the role of the national steering committee. The body is comprised of NSCAR leaders from across the country. It will now meet every three months.

Two of the five outgoing coordinators, Ray Sherbill and Paul Mailhot, student leaders from Boston, declined to run. Both pledged to be active in NSCAR and in its steering committee.

Joette Chancy, a Harvard student; Maceo Dixon, a leader of the national NSCAR staff; and Marcia Codling, a leader of Black students at Northeastern University, were reelected as national coordinators of NSCAR.

Mike Ponaman, president of the university senate at the University of Massachusetts at Boston and a leader of the anticutbacks fight in Massachusetts; Sheryl Brown, a Black student activist who is a coordinator of Boston SCAR; and Sam Manuel, a leader of New York SCAR, were elected as coordinators.

Tomás González, a member of the national secretariat of the FUSP, was also elected. NSA representatives were asked to choose a coordinator at their upcoming national board meeting in November.

On Sunday afternoon, hundreds of NSCAR activists returned to their local areas to launch a campaign to keep the buses rolling for desegregation.

Racist suspensions hit Boston Black students

By Jon Hillson

BOSTON—Charlestown and South Boston high schools, located in areas of racist resistance to school desegregation here, are teetering on the brink of explosion in the wake of stepped-up white harassment of Black students there.

Ninety-two Black students refused to enter South Boston High School on October 8, protesting the withdrawal of police forces and demanding increased protection. All ninety-two were suspended.

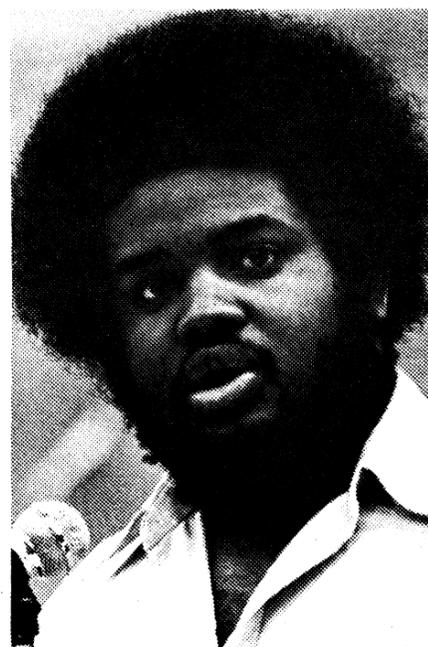
The students were readmitted the next day after they were accompanied to the school by fifteen members of the court-approved "crisis prevention teams."

On October 10 thirty-three Black students at the school refused to go to class, fearing intensified victimization in the halls by roving gangs of white students. The thirty-three students were suspended.

That same day the third floor of Charlestown High was rocked by what police term a "major disturbance." Two white students and one Black student were arrested, and clashes echoed through the corridors for the remainder of the day.

Also on October 10, more than 300 white students refused to enter South Boston High. Then on October 14, 200 white students walked out of Charlestown High, claiming the principal was paying too much attention to the needs of Black students. There was no indication they would be suspended.

Meanwhile, when twenty-one of the



Militant/Lou Howort

NSCAR's Maceo Dixon

thirty-three suspended Black students at South Boston showed up for class that same morning, they were refused admission. The students were forced back on the buses and sent home.

At an October 10 news conference Denise Nicholson, a leader of the South Boston High Black student caucus, stated the demands of the protesting Black students. They include more police protection, Black studies courses, more Black teachers

Continued on page 30

Socialist greetings

Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers party presidential and vice-presidential candidates, attended the National Student Conference Against Racism. The following is taken from a message from the two that was read to the gathering.

"Congress just passed two bills to cut funds for school busing. And President Ford, whose statements in opposition to busing have emboldened the racists all along, now dares to speak favorably of the 'tradition' of 'separate but equal' schools. This is an outrage! 'Separate but equal' are the traditional racist code words for Jim Crow schools. . . .

"These bigots—from Boston to Washington, D.C.—must and can be stopped. To do so, it will take a massive movement of all who can be won to opposing racism.

"You are the advance troops of this movement."

During the Saturday dinner break, eighty-five conference participants met with Camejo and Reid to find out more about their campaign.

'No more nonsense'

BOSTON—People attending the evening rally at the Second National Student Conference Against Racism got a glimpse of the racist treatment Black students receive inside South Boston High, when four Black students from the school and Maceo Dixon, a coordinator of the National Student Coalition Against Racism, gave firsthand reports.

"When we got inside South Boston High we got christened as to what is going on on a day-to-day basis," Dixon said. He and fourteen other members of the "crisis prevention teams" had managed to get inside the school October 9.

Dixon reported that students have to go through three metal detectors.

He said that five minutes after getting inside he saw a white student spit on a Black student and call him a "nigger." The Black student, who hit the white student, was suspended and arrested.

In another incident, he said, a white teacher jumped onto a desk and began imitating a monkey when a Black student walked into the classroom.

Denise Nicholson, one of the Black students, added to the picture.

"Before you get off the buses you have to show ID badges that show we're students there. They must think that a Black person is going to come up to that school if they don't go there. They're not going to go up there and get a beating for nothing."

She told of harassment by state troopers inside the school, and by school personnel.

She said that on one occasion she went to the nurse after a trooper had pushed her and scratched her, and the nurse said she was all out of medicine although it was there.

"She doesn't want to give the Black students medicine, she

doesn't want to give us Band-Aids. If we're sick, she won't check our temperature like she does for whites.

"We're not asking favors of those people. We just want them to treat us equal."

Another student, who told of the demands of the striking Black students, said, "We ain't gonna stand for no more of this nonsense. We need your help. We can't do it by ourselves."

Belinda Shivers, also a Black South Boston High student, put it this way:

"We want all of you at this conference to support our demands and help us fight against the racists in South Boston High and Charlestown and Louisville and wherever Black students are confronted by racist mobs wanting to deny us the right to an equal education."



Militant/Susan Ellis

NICHOLSON: 'We just want them to treat us equal.'

Blanco vows continued fight to tour U.S.

[Despite Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's best efforts, Hugo Blanco entered the United States October 7.

[The exiled Peruvian peasant leader, author, and revolutionist applied in mid-July for a visa to enter this country, having been invited to speak by a number of universities.

[He was to have visited twenty cities during a tour coordinated by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA).

[On the day before the tour was scheduled to start, a State Department spokesperson announced that Kissinger had personally decided to bar Blanco from the United States. The reason was said to be "classified information," but the government cited a McCarthy-era law barring, among others, people who allegedly advocate the overthrow of this or any other "organized government."

[On October 7, however, Blanco was returning to his homeland after four years in exile. His flight from Europe developed mechanical difficulties during a stopover in Miami, Florida.

[All of the passengers, including Blanco, were thus unexpectedly compelled to spend a day on U.S. territory. Blanco then continued on to Peru.

[So far as can be determined, the U.S. government was not toppled by Blanco's presence on U.S. soil during this period. The State Department has not, however, commented on whether this practical test has yet caused it to reconsider Blanco's application for a visa.

[During Blanco's brief stay, the Militant obtained the following telephone interview. The interview has been translated and abridged by the Militant.]

Question. Why do you think Kissinger barred you from entering the United States?

Answer. Kissinger is afraid that I will speak on the things *yanqui* imperialism is doing in Latin America—many of them directed by Kissinger himself.

He knows I've been in Peru, I've been in Argentina, I've been in Chile, and I know firsthand what the United States is doing in those countries. Kissinger doesn't want me coming here to tell the North American people about it.

Q. Have you been officially informed of the State Department's decision?

A. No. When I first applied, they said they would probably turn down my request for a visa, but that this wasn't a final decision. They asked me to return for a final answer in three weeks.

Then when I went back three weeks later, they told me to come back in a couple of days. Then they said to come back later in the week, and then three days from now.

I wasn't living in Stockholm, but in another city, Uppsala. It took time and money for me to go to the U.S. embassy in Stockholm each time.

The only thing the embassy would tell me for certain was that I had to pay for telegrams to Chile asking [dictator Augusto] Pinochet what kind of person I am.

Finally, the last time I went there—a few days before I left Sweden to go back to Peru—they told me that the consul was not there. But there had



Peruvian peasant leader Hugo Blanco, banned from U.S. by State Department dictate. Blanco charges, 'Kissinger is afraid I will speak on the things *yanqui* imperialism is doing in Latin America—many of them directed by Kissinger himself.'

been other people in line in front of me, and although I don't understand English very well, I understand some things. So the people in front of me would ask to see the consul, and the officials would point out the office of the consul, and the people would go in.

Then when my turn came up, I told them I had come back for the answer they had promised weeks ago. The officials said the consul wasn't there. Just like that—a bald-faced lie. They told me to come back another day.

Peruvian regime

Q. Where are you headed now?

A. I'm going back to Peru, after more than four years in exile. I'm going back now because the new government has announced an amnesty for all those who have been deported, both from the left and from the right.

I want to explain a few things about Peru. Under the [former president Juan] Velasco regime, capitalism and imperialism continued to exist and to oppress the Peruvian people.

There had been many reforms within the framework of capitalism, and in the relations between Peruvian capitalism and imperialism, but that oppression had not been done away with.

The riches of Peru were not in the hands of the workers, but rather were in the hands of the capitalists and the imperialists. And this includes resources that theoretically were in the hands of the workers, like the sugar

cooperatives, which in reality were under the control of government bureaucrats.

The daily newspapers were also proclaimed to be in the hands of the workers, but again only theoretically. In reality they were run by bureaucrats, government functionaries.

Naturally, since I am in favor of the riches of our country being truly controlled by the working class, I had criticisms of the previous government.

It was for having these criticisms and expressing them that I was deported. In Peru deportation is not part of the penal code or any other law. Nevertheless, when the government wanted to deport people, they did. They would simply announce it: you, and you, and you are all deported.

And what happened when you asked government functionaries when this illegal situation was going to end? I put this question to [former guerrilla leader, now government official, Héctor] Béjar when he talked with me in Europe. He answered that it is strange that a revolutionary like myself should talk about "bourgeois legality."

So we see that since the Peruvian government called itself a "revolutionary" regime, it felt free to violate its own bourgeois laws!

Now there has been a change in government. Those who carried it out say this is nothing more than a change in personnel and that they will follow the same general policies as the

previous government.

I don't want to make a full analysis of the new government, since this is difficult to do from outside the country and I will be in a much better position to do it shortly.

But if the new government follows the policies of the previous government, I would continue to have many of the same criticisms of it as of the previous one.

The new government says it recognizes the freedom to criticize. Well, I am going to exercise that right.

The new government also says that, although it recognizes freedom of criticism and has granted amnesty, it will be severe with those who try to halt the revolutionary process. You can accuse me of anything else, but certainly not of trying to halt the revolutionary process!

Q. What will you be doing in Peru? Will you continue to fight for a visa to enter the United States, and if granted one will you conduct the tour?

A. Where will I live? What will I do? I don't know. I'll have to see when I get to Peru.

Without a doubt I will do the tour if a visa is obtained. It is something that I have promised to USLA and it is an obligation I have to all the people who invited me.

Also, I believe it is my duty, as a Peruvian and as a Latin American, to expose the activities of imperialism against our people. This should be done in European countries, and even more so in the United States, which is the main imperialist power crushing Latin America.

Spanish executions

Q. Would you comment on the recent executions in Spain?

A. These savage assassinations demonstrate once again the necessity to mobilize throughout the whole world to stop such barbaric actions.

In Sweden, although there was little preparation, demonstrations took place in most of the major cities, with 5,000 to 10,000 protesting in Stockholm.

Particularly in Stockholm, not only young people but even very old men and women demonstrated. You could see in their faces that they were indignant, and they were shouting slogans against Franco. Throughout Europe the solidarity was very impressive.

It is a shame that in the United States there have not been such big demonstrations. Undoubtedly it is because of the news blackout of such things. I hope the North American people will watch more closely these kinds of barbaric acts carried out by Franco.

I know the North American people felt the war in Vietnam very deeply, and helped to bring it to an end. That kind of human solidarity should be demonstrated now over Spain.

Q. Do you think you will get the visa to get into the United States?

A. I hope so, but I don't know. I guess only Kissinger knows. But it is valuable for North Americans to express themselves on this, since it is a question of the political rights of the North American people.

It seems clear now that a visa from Kissinger will reflect the solidarity of the North American people, not the friendliness of the State Department toward me. Because of that, it will require insistent requests to the government for the visa to be granted.

Why teachers, AFSCME struck

The fight for union rights in Atlanta schools

By Cindy Jaquith

ATLANTA—Demonstrating their determination to win better working conditions and a decent education for their children teachers and classified school workers walked off the job October 14 in this city's first united school employees' strike.

The strike was called by Local 1644 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) and by the Atlanta Association of Educators (AAE), the local affiliate of the National Education Association.



Steve Morganstern

Union leaders Willie Bolden of AFSCME (left) and Jesse Moore of AAE demand that school board grant union recognition and bargain seriously . . .

The two groups have joined together here in the Coalition of Atlanta Public Employees.

The October 14 strike began what promises to be a long battle for social and economic justice. The walkout was an initial test of strength for the workers and for the school board, which had refused to grant the slightest concession to the unions.

Rather than considering their demands, the school board answered the strikers on the evening of October 14 by obtaining a blanket injunction against all picketing. The ten-day restraining order against pickets was issued by U.S. District Judge Newell Edenfield, who also ordered the board to sit down with the striking unions and negotiate.

Shortly after midnight, the two unions announced they had asked members to return to work pending the outcome of negotiations.

Issue of Black education

The student population here is more than 70 percent Black, in a city more than 50 percent Black. So the struggle of the school employees has immediately posed the issue of Black students' right to a decent education.

Although the city has a Black mayor, Maynard Jackson, and a majority-Black school board, the last few weeks have made it clear that this Democratic party administration has failed to meet the needs of Atlanta's schoolchildren. Educational needs have a rock-bottom priority in the eyes of the white business interests that control Atlanta.

"It's a racial issue," explained Willie Bolden, AFSCME staff representative, at the union's strike meeting October 13. "If the Atlanta public school system were 85 percent white, like it used to be nine years ago, we wouldn't even be here tonight!"

The 800 workers at the meeting stood up and cheered. AFSCME Local 1644 is almost entirely Black. Shortly afterward, they rose again to their feet to

give a resounding "Aye!" when the vote for a strike came.

Following the vote, Local 1644 Secretary-Treasurer Bill O'Kain gave a report on the organization of picketing for the next morning. His report was followed by speeches by Leamon Hood, AFSCME area director for the Southeast, and Jesse Moore, AAE executive director.

The next morning, at 6:00 a.m., 600 teachers met to consider their course of action. A motion to strike passed easily, with 75 to 100 opposed.

One teacher speaking in the discus-



Steve Morganstern

... while union members who packed into October 6 school board meeting express their support.

sion explained that she felt it was time to take a stand:

"For years I have been insulted. I've taught in classrooms where I've had forty-nine children. I had to take this because we weren't together.

"The school board doesn't care about the children. As you vote, think about the children. They're our responsibility."

AFSCME and AAE's efforts to improve education and the intolerable conditions for workers have attracted new members this fall. Both unions, in fact, are still in the process of organizing. AFSCME has signed up 1,200 of the 1,500 cooks, maids, and custodians. AAE says 2,200 of the 4,000 teachers have joined its ranks. The majority of Atlanta's teachers are Black.

When the school employees struck on October 14, many schools were partially crippled, and a few closed down. The strike's effectiveness was variously estimated at 30 percent to 60 percent.

Some picketers reported that they had convinced other co-workers to join them the next day, had the strike continued.

On the picket line

On the picket line the morning of October 14, workers told the *Militant* what they are fighting for.

At Sammie Coan Middle School, AAE picket captain Jan Burdette said, "Teachers were cut at the beginning of the year. Now we've got the overload. Most of our class sizes went from twenty-five or twenty-eight last year to thirty-two or thirty-four this year."

The AAE is fighting for collective bargaining rights with the school board. The teachers want the AAE to be recognized as their representative, and they want a grievance procedure.

AFSCME Local 1644 is a recognized bargaining agent, but the school board flatly refuses to give AFSCME workers a contract. The union has presented a twenty-nine-page contract proposal for the board, including an 18 percent pay increase, a thirty-five-hour workweek,

and a cost-of-living escalator clause.

At the Atlanta Public Service Center, striking laborers said they are paid as little as \$582 a month. Some have to supplement this with welfare or food stamps.

Other AFSCME workers, performing some of the dirtiest, most backbreaking work in the city, earn as little as \$443 a month.

The issue is a simple one of survival. "They can't live like that any more," said John Jones, the AFSCME picket captain at Sammie Coan.

School Supt. Alonzo Crim, who is Black, claims that the board has "no money" to pay its workers more. But while the city has "no money" to pay custodians a living wage, it allowed corporations to skip out on \$10 million in taxes last year.

The board has hired labor-hating attorney Homer Deakins at the astounding rate of sixty dollars an hour. The notorious Deakins has served such antiunion sweatshops as the J.P. Stevens textile conglomerate.

The school board also says that it is "illegal" to bargain with public employees and that the issue should be settled first in the courts.

"If our forefathers had waited for them to pass a law, we'd still be a British colony," said one AAE member.

The board's complete intransigence indicates that the school workers are in for a long fight.

Effect of depression

Today, public employee strikes are made especially difficult by the worsening economic situation. Federal, state, and local governments are on an offensive to slash money for education and other social services. Around the country, public employees are being laid off by the thousands, and promised pay raises are thrown out the window.



Militant/Meg Rose

... while union members who packed into October 6 school board meeting express their support.

To defend their interests, public employees are finding they have to mobilize their unions and the allies of the unions, particularly the Black communities, in order to even hold on to what they already have.

This is as true for Atlanta as it is for New York City. Here, winning the solid backing of the Black community is especially important.

"We can never make it if the community isn't with us," said teacher Jan Burdette the day of the strike. She reported that at her school many parents and students solidarized with the strike.

But city officials have sought to portray the strike as an attack on the children. One Black newspaper, the

conservative *Atlanta Daily World*, ran a banner headline reading: "Atlantans voice opposition to talk of disrupting schools—Most say children shouldn't suffer from current dispute."

Countering lies

The school workers have taken the first steps toward reaching out to the community to counter these lies.

One strike leaflet addressed to the community explained the real issues: "We are on strike because we can no longer let an insensitive and paternalistic central school authority mistreat children, mistreat employees, and fail to represent the best interests of the people it is in business to serve."

In a few schools on the day of the strike, students walked out to join the picket lines. On the afternoon of the strike, high school student leaders in the United Youth Adult Conference held a meeting to discuss the workers' demands.

Support for the workers also exists on the college campuses, where the school board has threatened to recruit scab teachers. At Georgia State University, activists in the Student Coalition Against Racism met that threat by calling a meeting of students to discuss how to support the strike and stop student scabbing.

Labor support

Support from other unions is also important. Unfortunately, the Atlanta Labor Council, dominated by conservative craft-union officials, has hindered the struggle by publicly attacking the AFSCME-AAE coalition on the eve of the strike.

The labor council's vicious action was taken at the behest of the American Federation of Teachers, the rival of the NEA on a national scale. The AFT has only a handful of members here. In a scandalous violation of



union solidarity, the AFT publicly urged teachers to scab.

Several unions in the labor council, however, are uneasy about the resolution attacking the AAE. The Atlanta Typographical Union No. 48 voted at its monthly meeting to have the issue reopened at the next meeting of the labor council.

AFSCME and AAE members realize that none of the basic issues have been settled. They are moving ahead now to strengthen their unions, win new supporters, and prepare for the battles ahead.

"It's not only our issue," explained picket captain Charles Maddox. "I really think people need to get together to help us fight."

Congress OKs new war moves in Mideast

By David Frankel

By a vote of 70 to 18, the Senate on October 9 approved the stationing of up to 200 Americans in the Sinai Peninsula. The same measure had passed by a 341-to-69 vote in the House of Representatives a day earlier.

Although there had been extensive publicity about the congressional hearings on the use of American military surveillance teams in the Middle East war zone, the outcome was never in doubt. It was necessary, however, to put on a good show.

The cynicism with which this was done was reflected in the comment by Robert Hey in the October 1 *Christian Science Monitor*. "Some senators," he explained, "are concerned that speedy congressional approval would be construed by the public as evidence of insufficiently thorough congressional investigation."

The American people are rightly worried about the possibility of another Vietnam in the Middle East. These fears have been dismissed as simplistic and unwarranted by the capitalist media and the defenders of Kissinger's Sinai accord in Congress.

For example, in an October 11 editorial deriding "all the scare talk about 'another Vietnam,'" the *New York Times* said of Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's secret agreements with Israel, "In most cases they are simply a codification of what this and previous Administrations have been doing anyway. They pledge sympathetic consideration for the economic and military aid requests judged necessary for Israel's security, and contain broad agreement to consult with the Israeli Government on various diplomatic moves which may come up."

Meaning of secret pledges

Even if it were true that the new agreements did not go beyond already-established practices, they would still pose a danger. For instance, they give legal sanction and legitimacy in advance to "a military supply operation to Israel in an emergency situation."

This alone guarantees U.S. involvement in future Middle East wars. Moreover, it lays the basis for using in the Middle East one of the main arguments of the supporters of U.S. intervention in Vietnam: Washington was supposedly obligated to send troops because of its prior treaty commitments to the Saigon regime.

But the intricate negotiations over the secret U.S. undertakings accompanying the Sinai accord, and the fact that these secret deals were essential to Israeli acceptance of the pact, show that even more is involved.

What is the meaning, for example, of the pledge to consult on "possible remedial action" by the United States in the event the accord is violated? Does this mean that Washington might use troops to enforce the pact?

What about the section promising aid to Israel if it is threatened "by a world power"? This pledges consultation "with respect to what support diplomatic or otherwise, or assistance it [Washington] can lend to Israel." This led *New York Times* reporter Leslie Gelb to ask, "Given the explicit uses of the words 'diplomatic' and 'assistance,' meaning material, can the word 'otherwise' mean other than military?"

As in the case of Vietnam, the Democratic-controlled Congress has done its best to evade responsibility for the escalation of Washington's military presence in the Middle East. Ford, however, has already admitted that the "civilian technicians" in the Sinai will include personnel drawn from the CIA, the National Security Agency, and other "intelligence" services.

As for the Senate, Bernard Gwertzman explained in the October 10 *New*



York Times that it "voted 75 to 5 to defeat an amendment offered by Senator Abourezk to bar any American armed forces from being used to go to the rescue of the technicians. A similar amendment barring 'combat activity' to rescue the volunteers was turned back 68 to 25."

While preparing for a more open military role of its own, Washington has agreed to arm an already militarized Israel with even more deadly weapons. Included in the proposal is a pledge to give the Zionist state Pershing missiles. Robert Keatley noted in the October 3 *Wall Street Journal* in this regard, "No conventional (non-nuclear) warheads exist for Pershings, and none are planned. This relatively inaccurate missile is deployed only for delivering atomic explosives."

The cost of all this over the next five years will be "well over \$15 billion," according to columnist Jack Anderson. This will include a few handouts for Cairo in order to maintain Washington's image of "impartiality." The figure of \$15 billion compares with total U.S. aid to Israel from 1948 through 1975 of \$7.2 billion.

Arabs split

The immediate effect of the Sinai deal has been to split the Arab ranks. With Egyptian President Anwar Sadat seeking a separate agreement with Israel, Syria has less leverage in attempting to regain its territory in the Golan Heights. In addition, Cairo has chosen to emphasize its territorial rights while largely ignoring the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination.

Sadat has reacted to criticism from the Palestinian liberation organizations by closing down the "Voice of Palestine" broadcasts from Cairo and closing the Cairo headquarters of the Palestinian Union of Writers and Journalists. A dispatch from Beirut, Lebanon, in the October 8 *Christian Science Monitor* said:

"Palestinian sources say Egypt has threatened to expel the 15,000 Palestinian students in Egypt and also close the Arab University in Beirut, an extension of Alexandria University where many Palestinians study and which provides an active platform for Palestinian nationalism."

Repression of the Palestinians by Arab regimes is nothing new—it has been the rule in the Middle East since the establishment of the Israeli state twenty-seven years ago. Sadat's attempts to get around the issue of Palestine without eliminating the root of the problem will not be any more successful than the previous attempts.

The Palestinian issue is the first reason why Kissinger's diplomatic deals can only lead to a new war. Washington's entire policy is predicated on the maintenance of the Israeli colonial settler-state, which was created through the expulsion of the Palestinians from their land. The Palestinian liberation struggle will not go away as long as the Palestinians are denied their right to self-determination.

The second reason why further conflict in the Middle East is inevitable is that the imperialists are determined to maintain their domination of the region, even though the capitalist system is incapable of solving the economic and social problems that beset the Arab masses. The interpenetration of the national liberation struggle of the Palestinian people and the overall struggle for social justice in the Arab world is illustrated by the current situation in Lebanon.

In 1958 Washington invaded Lebanon when the conservative government there was threatened by a mass upsurge. Today Lebanon is once again torn by a virtual civil war. Since April, fighting there has left some 3,000 dead and 10,000 wounded. Three thousand killed in Lebanon is equivalent to a quarter-million killed in the United States; it is about the same number of dead suffered by the Israeli army during the October 1973 Middle East war.

Two things have come together to produce this situation in Lebanon: the second-class status of the Moslem population and the issue of Israel and the Palestinians.

There are more than 300,000 Palestinian refugees in Lebanon. Their refugee camps and Lebanese villages near the Israeli border have been repeatedly hit by savage terror raids from Israel. This had fed the growth of massive sentiment for the Lebanese government to strengthen the country's military defenses.

The Phalangist party, a fascistlike group named after Spanish dictator Francisco Franco's Falange and based on the privileged Maronite Christian community, has opposed any Lebanese involvement in the Arab conflict with Israel. It has received tacit support from both Washington and Israel and has often engaged in sharp clashes with Palestinian groups.

Last April Phalangist goons ambushed a bus returning from a Palestinian rally. The Phalangist provocation led to a broader struggle in which the Moslem majority in Lebanon raised demands for social and political reforms, as well as demands in support of the Palestinians.

Role of Israel

The *Christian Science Monitor* admitted in an October 10 editorial, "The Muslims have a legitimate claim. The government administration set up on the basis of a census taken in the 1930s has six Christians for every five Muslims. Yet no one doubts a count of heads today would give the Muslims a clear majority in Lebanon, even without the Palestinian refugees."

It remains to be seen how far the current struggle will go in toppling the archaic governmental system in Lebanon, but one thing is certain: the demands of the Lebanese majority for justice are tied inseparably to the cause of the Palestinians.

This was explained by Jason Morris in a dispatch in the May 29 *Christian Science Monitor*. Morris noted that "even if the Lebanese Muslims were to summon the figures of a population census to prove that they constitute a majority of Lebanon's population, there would be little likelihood of Israeli indifference to establishment of a Syrian, Egyptian, or Libyan-style Lebanese Arab republic."

A similar time bomb exists in Jordan. Israel will not tolerate the replacement of the monarchy there by a democratic government.

These examples are not exceptions. Israel was imposed on the Arab masses by imperialism. It stands for the interests of imperialism and against the interests of the Arab peoples as a whole. All the phony "peace plans" in the world will not stop the Arab workers and peasants from opposing its existence.

Readings on the Mideast

ISRAEL AND THE ARAB REVOLUTION: Fundamental Principles of Revolutionary Marxism by Gus Horowitz, an Education for Socialists publication, 8½x11 format, \$1.00

ISRAEL: A COLONIAL-SETTLER STATE? by Maxime Rodinson, 128 pp., cloth \$4.95, paper \$1.75

MIDEAST OIL AND U.S. IMPERIALISM by Dick Roberts, \$35

ROOTS OF THE MIDEAST WAR, anthology taken from the pages of the *International Socialist Review*, 8½x11 format, \$.75

SELF-DETERMINATION IN THE MIDEAST: A debate from the pages of the 'Militant' and 'Daily World,' Dave Frankel versus Tom Foley, \$.60

WAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST: The Socialist View by Dave Frankel, Dick Roberts, Tony Thomas, \$.60

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014

Making workers pay

Chancellor of the Exchequer Denis Healey set the theme for the recent conference of the British Labour party when he told the assembled delegates that "real sacrifices and hard work over a period of many years" would be required to overcome Britain's economic difficulties. The Labour government was successful in getting the British unions to go along with guidelines limiting wage increases to twelve dollars a week, although inflation there has been running at 26 percent.

The military junta in Portugal has a similar program. Speaking in Lisbon on October 13, Premier José Pinheiro de Azevedo called on the Portuguese working class to sacrifice. "We must produce more and consume less," he said.

"We must work more and with more and better output," Azevedo continued, warning that there was "no quick and easy solution" to Portugal's economic problems.

On the same day Canadian Premier Pierre Elliott Trudeau announced that he would ask Parliament for wage restraints that he described as "the heaviest imposed upon Canadians since the Second World War."

Trudeau's program would limit wage increases to 10 percent, although the official rate of inflation in Canada is more than 11 percent and the actual rate is considerably higher. The effect will be a cut in the real wages of Canadian workers.

The demagoguery used to justify these antilabor policies has varied from the insistence that inflation is caused by wage increases to the assurances by the Portuguese military junta that sacrifices by the workers will help to build "socialism." But if the demagoguery is different, the policy is the same, and it flows from the same source. In every case the capitalist governments are trying to make the working masses pay for the economic crisis.

The financial publications of the capitalist rulers have been openly discussing the ways of applying these policies in the United States. If Trudeau is successful in his attack on the Canadian working class, which is organized in many of the same international unions as American workers, it will embolden the ruling class here to push forward.

We have already had a taste of what these policies would mean as a result of the crisis in New York City. Thousands of workers are being laid off, a three-year wage freeze has been imposed, city services have been cut to the bone, and the transit fare has been raised to fifty cents.

The capitalists have not been able to apply these policies without help. They have had the collaboration of the reformist leaders in the workers movement—from Cunhal and Soares in Portugal to Shanker and Gotbaum in New York. But the appeals for the workers to sacrifice cannot solve the problems of inflation and unemployment.

Inflation is caused by the deficit spending of governments, not by workers being paid too much. Unemployment is caused by the saturation of world markets, not by the demands of workers.

These problems are inherent in the capitalist economy; the question is who will bear the cost. For the capitalists the answer is self-evident. They force speedup and austerity measures on the workers in order to improve their profit margins in international competition.

The answer of the Social Democratic and Stalinist trade-union bureaucrats is that there should be "equality of sacrifice"—meaning among the workers. The socialist answer is that working people are not to blame for the economic crisis and should not have to pay. The capitalist system is at fault.

The working class must be compensated for the erosion of its wages by regular cost-of-living pay increases. It must be protected from the scourge of unemployment by the reduction of the workweek with no reduction in pay, in order to spread the available work to all. And it must break from the capitalist politicians and parties and rely on its own independent power in order to fight for such demands. The only alternative is growing misery for millions.

Not all that socialist

I would like to reply to the person who said that the Israeli kibbutzim are socialist [*Militant* letters, October 10 issue]. In 1969 I worked on an Israeli kibbutz, so I have some firsthand knowledge.

The only people who worked on the kibbutz were people who wanted to be there. This meant that no wealthy people would be attracted to the kibbutz, since as a member one would have to give all his or her money to the kibbutz, never to be returned.

Nobody was permitted to have a bank account. As a volunteer, I only got five Israeli pounds a month (to be used in the kibbutz store), room, board, and a few parties and movies. Many people had to use the same shower.

Only 4 percent of the Israeli population lived on a kibbutz. Some kibbutzim were wealthy while others were poor.

To build a commune in a capitalist society doesn't do much good, since one has to get material from the capitalists.

Only in a socialist, nonsectarian Palestine and a socialist world can the kibbutzim work.

C.W.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Finally

I am finally being released from the clutches of the government. I will be going to a halfway house on the twenty-third of this month.

I want to thank you for sending me your great paper all of this time. If possible, please send me an order form for your paper, so that when I get out and get my address I can order it.

Keep up the good work.

A prisoner

Michigan

Unique

Since first subscribing to the *Militant* in 1971, I have thoroughly appreciated its unique contribution to keeping people informed of the truth.

I now have the opportunity to share someone else's subscription. Therefore, I would like to donate the remainder of my year's subscription to a prisoner.

P.F.

Belmont, Massachusetts

Ironic

I am a Chicano student here at Central Michigan University and very much involved with the *movimiento en general*.

However, even though I have been conscious of the struggles of our Puerto Rican brothers and sisters here in the United States and in Puerto Rico, I was never that fully aware of the overall situation of the struggle until a few months ago when it was brought to my attention.

Thanks to the tremendous articles of La Lucha Puertorriqueña, the *Militant* has provided me with valuable insights into recent developments within the realm of the struggle.

The fringe benefits of imperialism and colonialism are undoubtedly manifested through unwarranted acts such as fire bombings in Boston and racist police murders of Latinos through this so-called democratic society.

The irony of it all is that this country is in the process of celebrating its 200th anniversary, and yet today the United States refuses to grant Puerto Rico the right of self-determination and complete independence—even

though the secession and ultimate independence of the thirteen colonies from the mother country was due to the refusal of these same basic rights (taxation without representation, and so forth).

Elias Vásquez, Jr.

Mount Pleasant, Michigan

No wonder

John Doe, José López, Ki Ling, Joey Washington, and their families are being asked to *save*—save electricity, save food, save money.

Consider the following federal governmental expenses, paid for by the Does, the Lópezes, the Lings, and the Washingtons:

- \$113,417 for a study on why mothers prefer no-iron clothing.
- \$342,000 for research on whether students have premarital sex.
- \$71,000 for compiling a history of comic books.

- \$19,300 for research on why children fall off tricycles.

- \$5,000 as a grant to Erica Jong to write her novel *Fear of Flying*.

- \$490,000 for seven years of the Fire Council (federal) for just being there but for doing no more than mailing pictures of fires.

- Millions to the Smithsonian Institution and the National Science Foundation for surveys on such things as: What is passionate love? and Do Americans believe in the devil?

If these expenditures are supposed to serve as examples for us to follow, it is no wonder that the nation is in such pitiful shape.

Choy Low

Los Angeles, California

Can relate

I have found out what the delay is here in getting the *Militant*. The *Militant* and any other papers that do not support or defend capitalism are sent to a prison committee, which examines the material and screens it to insure the "security of the prison." In other words, it is held here to be reviewed every so often.

Just the same we enjoy receiving it here, and I for one feel it is very educational. I have a lot of respect for the ability of the *Militant* to cover important struggles all over the world.

Many people I never heard of before I feel are important to the struggle, such as Evelyn Reed, Norman Oliver, Willie Mae Reid, and so many others. Also Hugo Blanco, who I can really relate to just as a prisoner.

So keep it together. It's too bad that I had to wait all this time to get up on everything. If I were to keep reading just the capitalist press, I still would not know.

A prisoner

California

Bloodsuckers find new diet

A couple of years ago the *Militant* reported on the operations of the Hemo-Caribbean Company, an outfit that set up shop in Haiti in order to buy blood plasma at three dollars a pint and resell it in the United States for twenty. Some people may be under the impression, as a result of such stories, that the aim of the imperialists is to get fat off of human misery. However, the September 19 *Far Eastern Economic Review* had an item proving that this is not always the case.

It reported on "plans by Dr T. Beck, owner of an obesity clinic in Sydney, to extract a slimming preparation (Fat

National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



Underground 'Washington Post'

What happened in the pressrooms of the *Washington Post* on the first day of October must have been different from what was generally reported about the incident by other capitalist newspapers, the *New York Times* in particular. A *Times* editorial called it "criminal vandalism," a frontal attack on freedom of the press. *Times* columnist James Reston followed with a bitter denunciation of the workers who, he said, deliberately destroyed "their own" newspaper.

"Even in the revolutionary turmoil of Portugal, where the Communists and the Socialists have been fighting over control of the last independent newspaper, Republica, and over the operation of the Roman Catholic Church's radio station, nobody put the torch to the presses, or pulled the electrical guts out of the transmitters," says Reston. He wants the "sabotage" of the *Washington Post* to become a "national issue." *Lords of the press, unite!*

"Knowing the fantastic cost and fragility of modern presses, they set at least one of them on fire, cut the webs and ripped the wires out of others, and sawed off the adjusting press screws down to their stubs, before they went out back and picketed for public support," wails Reston.

He knows that if this can happen to one it can happen to others. It is a wonder he didn't think to call it the beginning of another "October Revolution."

Attorneys for the *Post* claim millions of dollars in damage, and have obtained a court injunction to restrict picketing at the crippled newspaper. A federal grand jury has summoned members of the striking union to testify on what happened in order to indict them for criminal conspiracy. The aim is to crush the strike before the facts are known, and to whip up antiunion hysteria.

It is not established that the press operators caused the damage. Nor is the truth likely to be revealed by the government prosecutors.

James Dugan, president of Newspaper and Graphic Communications Local 6, whose members struck the *Post* when management broke off negotiations for a new contract, says management is responsible for everything that has happened.

"They have harassed and reprimanded the men," Dugan says. "They want to change the manning tables and our hiring practices. They were stalling

since December on a new contract. We had not even gotten to wages. The men were upset."

The management at the *Post* is indifferent to the effect of its labor-saving policies upon the workers at the newspaper. It has locked out all members of the typographical, paper handlers, and mailroom workers unions. It has resumed limited publication on out-of-town presses operated by nonunion labor.

Mark Meagher, executive vice-president and general manager of the *Post*, said that the exact identity and location of the nonunion presses would not be revealed for fear of sabotage. So for the next several weeks the *Washington Post* will publish as a kind of underground newspaper.

This should enable it to investigate and expose the destruction of large dailies in nearly every major city of this country in recent years. It could explain how New York City, which once had seven dailies, is left with three today, and why it is likely that Washington will soon have only one. It is well known, of course, that this carnage was not caused by violent newspaper workers but resulted from management mergers and monopolistic control of the press.

While it is reporting on the destruction of newspapers and the dismantling of giant presses that have been sold and scrapped in the interest of greater profits, the *Post* might also report from underground what has happened over the years to the thousands of workers in the newspaper industry whose hopes have been shattered and whose lives have been wrecked by loss of jobs.

The *Post* has already revealed that the reason it is goading its workers is that heavy investment in new labor-saving machinery has caused a decline in the rate of profit *even though gross income is rising*. This means it intends to cancel jobs and lay off more workers.

So it is unlikely that there will be any revelations in the near future—even from the underground—of the consequences that inevitably follow from management policies inherent in the capitalist system. Profits are the only consideration.

What the capitalist class will never learn is that there is a point beyond which workers will not be goaded. That is why they provoke protests of all kinds, and finally create the conditions for revolution.

Mobilising Substance—FMS) from starving people in Bangladesh, for export to Australia where it will be used to help rich, fat people lose weight. . . .

"Dr Beck claims there is nothing macabre in his scheme: 'I came up with the idea that here is a nation of 80 million starving people and, on the other side of the world, a nation of overweight people are willing to pay to lose weight.'"

According to Beck, "It would be of benefit to them and us."

Of course. Isn't it always?

S.R.

New York, New York

Responsible politician?

"I think my black constituency is fearful that if the nation rises up and discards busing, it will indicate something far beyond busing.

"Blacks have seen what's happening in the last eight years in this country. In the area of . . . education, blacks have been put in the back seat again. And they know that. They're afraid that if they really back off busing, it will be taken as a signal to all political institutions that those institutions are backing off on racial progress."

A fervent supporter of Black rights? No. Quotations from Sen. Joseph Biden, Democrat of Delaware, in a recent *U.S. News & World Report*.

Biden is the author of an antibusing amendment that recently passed the Senate.

K.N.

Washington, D.C.

Life & death issue

I think the *Militant* should carry more about the crucial issues of occupational health and safety, which are having a radicalizing effect on growing numbers of workers.

A recent report by a Ralph Nader research group charges the federal government with "inadequate and apathetic enforcement" of even the minimal health and safety rules on the books.

Since the Occupational Safety and Health Administration was set up in 1971, it has conducted inspections at less than 4 percent of the country's workplaces.

The study found that in the past year, the employer's average penalty was \$25.87 per violation. Workers pay for these violations with their lives.

It takes OSHA's review commission an average of 231.5 days to hear a case, and it has a backlog of more than 500 cases. But an employer is not required to fix a hazardous condition until the commission proceedings are final.

"Thus," the Nader researchers explain, "every day of delay is an added day of risk for the individual worker."

Do the *Militant's* correspondents in the unions have anything to say about these issues?

G.A.

Brooklyn, New York

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.

Women In Revolt

Linda Jenness



Women still denied abortions

[This week's column is by Nancy Cole. Linda Jenness is on vacation.]

An estimated 400,000 to 900,000 women in the United States who needed abortions last year were unable to obtain them, according to a study released early this month. This is believed to be 30 to 50 percent of all women in this country who needed abortions in 1974.

The study, sponsored by the Alan Guttmacher Institute of the Planned Parenthood Federation of America, found the major culprits in this illegal conspiracy against women to be the nation's public hospitals. After the January 1973 Supreme Court ruling that overturned restrictive abortion laws, the number of abortions performed in U.S. hospitals actually decreased in each succeeding quarter of 1973. And by the first quarter of 1974, *only 15 percent of public hospitals had performed any abortions at all.*

It's no surprise, of course, that those most affected are poor women. The study estimates that while poor women make up one-third of the abortion need, they end up as half of those denied abortions.

Of the 892,000 legal abortions last year, more than half were performed in abortion clinics. And these clinics pose some problems for poor women—and for rural women. For one thing, they usually require payment in advance. And for the most part they're located in metropolitan areas.

In 1973, five states—Louisiana, Mississippi, North

Dakota, Utah, and West Virginia—performed few abortions or none at all.

So, those women with enough money can find an abortion clinic or private hospital to perform abortions, even if they have to travel to do it. Those women with access only to public hospitals cannot do so if those hospitals refuse to do abortions.

Dr. Frederick Jaffe, coauthor of the study, says that while the nation's health-care system generally discriminates against the poor, "abortion is one service that enjoys constitutional protection." He believes inaccessible abortions can't be treated as just another inequity, but that "the American health system should be called into account on this."

The study's principal investigator, Dr. Christopher Tietze, says that a major reason abortions are unavailable to so many women is that "a lot of public officials who think abortion is morally wrong have translated their beliefs into public policy" and that others have been "intimidated" by the activities of anti-abortion groups.

The anti-abortion forces have used any means, including intimidation, to beat back the 1973 court decision. And they've been aided by such crass injustices as the conviction of Dr. Kenneth Edelin. Edelin is the Black doctor from Boston convicted of manslaughter for performing a legal abortion.

This case alone has prodded hospitals to cut back on abortions. Edelin plans to take his case to the U.S. Supreme Court. A powerful defense campaign in his behalf could go a long way toward seeing that abortions are available to all women who want them.



Crime doesn't hardly pay—Spiro Agnew purchased a modest \$62,000 seaside condominium at Ocean City, Maryland.

Fighting liberal—California's Gov. Edmund Brown signed a corporal punishment bill into law. It requires that if teachers want to whack their pupils they must obtain written consent from parents at the beginning of the semester. A simple ban on child beating was apparently considered too extreme.

Playing it cool—The syndicated newspaper supplement *Parade* reports that 70 percent of its thousands of

letter writers used to sign their names. Since Watergate, 70 percent request that only their initials be used.

Rounded program—Nina Giacalone, daughter of reputed Detroit underworld chieftain Vito Giacalone, was wed at Grosse Pointe. An orchestral group played theme music from *The Godfather* and the officiating priest concluded the ceremony by reading a special blessing sent to the couple by Pope Paul VI.

Won't play anymore—A recent *Playboy* promotion ad featured a cherubic young man sporting a priest's collar and captioned, "I read *Playboy*

and found God." "A cheap shot," declared Rev. Joseph Lupo, vocational director of the Order of the Holy Trinity. The *Playboy* ad recalled one he had placed in the magazine in 1972 soliciting recruits to the order. Besides, the good father sniffed, his ad had drawn but ten responses.

Take that—Jack Vallerga, assessor in Orange County, California, was convicted of six felonies including embezzlement, grand theft, misappropriation of public funds, and conflict of interest. The judge sentenced him to sixty days in the county jail and a \$1,000 fine.

THE WIZARD OF ID



By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



A story of Southern-style justice

BOSTON—Up in this northern Massachusetts city by the Charles River, there is a story going around that has as its setting a southern Florida city by the Caloosahatchee River.

In this story the main character, a Black man named Delbert Tibbs, gets into a predicament and suffers restless nights and near despair.

The story involves intrigue, duplicity, courtroom dramatics and perjury, backward racist prejudices, and Southern-style justice.

The first part opens in Fort Myers, Florida, twenty months ago.

As the story goes, on the night of February 3, 1974, Tibbs supposedly rapes Cynthia Nadeau, sixteen, and shoots to death her white, male companion. The couple are hitchhiking to Marathon, Florida, and are picked up by a Black man driving a green truck. The man supposedly takes the pair to a field in Fort Myers where he rapes Nadeau and kills her companion, throws the murder weapon into a lake, and then drives the young woman back to the highway, where she goes to a nearby house and phones the police.

Three days later the police stop Tibbs, the story goes, while he is hitchhiking, question him, and release him after photographing him and checking him out. Tibbs, you see, is a Chicago writer who is

hitchhiking and traveling through the South, gathering material for a novel.

Later, the police photograph of Tibbs somehow gets into the hands of Nadeau, who says she recognizes him as the assailant. Tibbs is picked up in Mississippi and charged with the crimes.

The second part of the story concerns Tibbs's trial.

The day after the alleged assault, Nadeau works with a police artist to come up with a sketch she says resembles her attacker. In the courtroom Nadeau's sketch of a man with a dark complexion and distinctive facial blemishes is presented. But in person, Tibbs is seen to be of a lighter complexion, have a smooth skin, and not resemble the composite sketch. On the stand, however, a sheriff testifies that Tibbs's face got lighter in jail.

Tibbs swears he is innocent. He says he was in Daytona Beach, Florida, 225 miles from Fort Myers, at the time of the attack.

The prosecution's case is flimsy. They can't come up with the green truck. They can't come up with the murder weapon, and, anyway, it is revealed that there is no lake near the alleged scene into which a gun could be thrown. A police lieutenant testifies that it would be difficult for a drifter to take the pair to the secluded field where the crime supposedly

took place, because only someone familiar with the Fort Myers area would know where it was.

Nadeau's account of how her companion was shot is contradicted by the autopsy report.

Meanwhile, Tibbs's attorney brings in an impressive list of character witnesses, including an Illinois state legislator and a Chicago alderwoman. But the judge limits their remarks to yes-or-no replies to questions.

An all-white jury takes less time to reach a guilty verdict than the time it takes the judge to read the instructions.

The judge sentences Tibbs to death.

The third part of this story concerns how people begin to get together a campaign to win Tibbs's release. They form a defense committee in Chicago and they look for support in other cities. They come to Boston and present Tibbs's case at the Second National Student Conference Against Racism, and win support there.

This story is not like some stories going around Boston these days, stories about how Blacks don't deserve to go to predominantly white schools to get a better education. This story is true.

So volunteer your help and send your contributions to the National Defense Committee for Delbert Tibbs, 3245 South Calumet, Chicago, Illinois 60616. To keep the Delbert Tibbs story going around.

Their Government

Cindy Jaquith



Swindling taxpayers 'part of the game'

WASHINGTON—Taxpayers will be happy to learn that this year we have shelled out more than \$193,000 to former members of the House in a little-known congressional swindle called the "stationery account."

Allan Berlow, in an article in the *Capitol Hill News Service*, describes how this particular fraud works.

Every year, the House doles out to its members—in addition to their salaries and office expense accounts—an additional \$6,500 earmarked for "stationery." But the representatives don't have to use it for stationery. They can legally withdraw the money for anything they want, thus using it "as a hidden supplement to their annual \$42,500 salaries," notes Berlow.

The most outrageous part of this system is that once a representative leaves Congress, he or she can collect all their unused "stationery funds" that have accumulated over the years. This is a tidy sum for people like H.R. Gross, an Iowa Republican, who walked out with \$23,611 this year. Gross prided

himself in being a vocal opponent of federal spending while in office—federal spending on other people, that is.

Seventy-six other former members of Congress also withdrew "leftover" stationery funds, and none of them felt the least bit squeamish.

"That's part of the game down there," explained former representative George Goodling, a Republican from Pennsylvania. "That was my property." Goodling snatched up \$6,542.

He was outdone by John Camp, former Republican representative from Oklahoma, who took home \$9,524. Asked if this wasn't a bit unethical, Camp snapped back, "That's for me to decide."

Ancher Nelsen, Republican of Minnesota, explained that he was just "cleaning up" his account—to the tune of \$6,579. "I wouldn't say [the funds] were not used for government purposes," said Nelsen. "I just don't recall what they were used for."

In the race to see who could rip off the most money, the Republicans edged out the Democrats,

but the Democrats did all right for themselves too. Liberal Democrats like Hugh Carey, now New York governor, Ella Grasso, now Connecticut governor, and Jerome Waldie of California were all in on the take.

Although \$6,500 a year may seem like small potatoes, it's only one of the many extra sources of income available to members of Congress. For example, in addition to paying for their "stationery," we are footing the bill every time these fakers fly home for the weekend—up to thirty-six round trips a term are subsidized by the government.

And that doesn't include the paid vacations—the entire month of August and six ten-day recesses spread throughout the rest of the year.

You would think with all this loose cash and free time the capitalist politicians could pass a few bills to provide jobs and increase funds for social welfare. But there's "no money" for that, they tell us.

Maybe they could at least send us an apology note on their \$6,500 stationery.

Leading in voting despite odds

Victory in Delano: UFW beats Teamsters

By Harry Ring

DELANO, Calif.—Overcoming seemingly impossible odds, the United Farm Workers emerged the victor in union representation elections here.

The Delano victory has special significance because of the particular historical role of the area. It was in the Delano vineyards in 1965 that the first major strikes were conducted, strikes that established the UFW as a force in agriculture. And it was in Delano in 1973 that thousands of strikers were jailed, hundreds were savagely beaten by deputies, and two were killed.

Elections have now been held at all the major grape ranches in the area. The balloting was accompanied by grower violence, widespread illegal arrests, firings of pro-UFW workers, payroll padding on the eve of the elections, flouting of the election procedures, and a lot more.

As a result of all of this, as of

At the previously unorganized Tex-Cal ranch, the UFW won with 171 votes as against 129 for "no union." The Teamsters didn't even try to make it onto the ballot.

I got an idea of the meaning of these victories talking with UFW staff member Bob Datz.

At the Pandol ranch, the growers simply ignored the Agricultural Labor Relations Board (ALRB) ruling that prior to an election the contending unions must have access to ranch property to talk to the workers. There were almost daily "citizen's arrests" of union organizers, with obliging sheriff's deputies on hand to haul them away.

At the last minute, Datz said, the Teamsters apparently recognized there was no way they could win, and, rather than see a UFW victory, they combined with the growers in urging a "no union" vote. This too failed to stop the UFW.

At the Tex-Cal ranch, at least three UFW organizers were assaulted by ranch supervisors. Two were injured seriously enough to require treatment at the Farm Workers clinic.

As the elections throughout the state are showing, the results here confirm that despite everything the growers and Teamster bureaucrats can do, the United Farm Workers remains the choice of the field hands.

The Teamsters have been on the ballot only at those ranches where they held sweetheart contracts. The UFW has secured the necessary petitions and won elections at a number of previously unorganized ranches. But the Teamster hacks wouldn't know where or how to actually start organizing field hands. Without the growers, they're dead.

That's why all the crookedness has not prevented the UFW from moving to the front in the elections. As of October 7, it had won eighty elections as against seventy-three for the Teamsters. With the results since then added in, the UFW margin will be even greater. For example, during the week of September 29-October 4, the UFW took eight out of nine elections.

Its strength was shown in one election at the Franzia vineyards in Livingston. The Franzia family is tied by marriage to the Gallos. Like Gallo, they signed a sweetheart pact with the Teamsters when their UFW contract expired in 1973, forcing a walkout of the workers.

And, as at Gallo, more than a third



Delano farm workers and UFW organizers in fields

Militant/Harry Ring

of the workers hired as strikebreakers voted for the UFW in the recent elections. The present official tabulation at Franzia is eighty-six votes for the Teamsters, fifty-seven for the UFW, and three for "no union." The votes of eighty-one strikers were challenged. If the ALRB rules, as the law provides they should, that these votes be included, the UFW will have a solid majority.

The loyalty of UFW workers to their union was shown in the election at the Perelli-Minetti ranch here, the only vineyard in Delano where the UFW still holds a contract. The vote was fifty-five for the UFW and one for "no union." The Teamsters didn't enter the race.

Now that the elections have been held in the vineyards, the Delano UFW staff will be turning to the organization of workers in the olive groves, whose harvest is approaching here.

Most of the olive ranches are in Tulare County. It's there that Sheriff Robert Wiley has declared that he considers the "no trespass" right of private property to be sacred and has joined with the growers in mass arrests of UFW organizers.

The ALRB went into a Tulare court to get an injunction against Sheriff Wiley, but this was rejected out of hand. Initially the board indicated it would take the issue to the state supreme court. But on October 10,

Gary Queale, the ALRB's press representative, said he had no knowledge of such a projected move.

While the UFW organizing drive continues in Delano and other parts of the state, the main election focus will be shifting down to the Imperial Valley, near the Mexican border, where the lettuce harvest will be coming in and there will be a peak work force.

Vote totals

Following are the unofficial results of voting in the California farm elections as of October 15. Challenged ballots are not included.

	Vote Percent	
United Farm Workers	14,358	52.8
Teamsters	8,383	30.8
No union	4,461	16.4
Totals	27,202	100.0

September 27 the Teamsters were able to claim a 500-vote lead over the Farm Workers.

Since then the UFW moved ahead. As of October 10 it was 3,347 votes for the UFW, 3,167 for the Teamsters, and 1,414 for "no union."

The UFW climaxed its election drive with impressive showings at two big ranches that were the scene of the most extreme grower illegality.

At the Pandol ranch, which signed a sweetheart agreement with the Teamsters in 1973 to avoid renewing their UFW contract, the union polled 154 votes as against 31 for the Teamsters and 137 for "no union." There were 46 challenged votes, a majority of them cast by UFW supporters. Properly counted, these will give the UFW a clear majority. Otherwise there will be a runoff between the UFW and "no union."

FLOC marches for farm worker rights

By Chris Rayson

TOLEDO, Ohio—Farm workers from the tomato, sugar beet, and cucumber fields of northwest Ohio, together with their supporters, gathered here on October 4 for a four-mile march in support of the Farm Labor Organizing Committee's efforts to organize agricultural workers in Ohio and Michigan.

Red flags with the FLOC eagle and slogan, "Hasta la Victoria" (Until the Victory), filled the air.

Among the marchers were children of all ages. About twenty Chicano students came from a FLOC group at a local high school.

The march called for government enforcement of migrant housing laws, better wages for farm workers, the right of farm labor to organize, and replacing the labor contracting system with the union hiring hall.

The marchers, about 130 in all, chanted "Viva FLOC" and "Viva la causa" as they proceeded through the streets of the Chicano community. Supporters waved from their windows. Automobile drivers honked their horns in sympathy. Bystanders shouted encouragement, and some joined the march.

The marchers wound up at the Lucas County Courthouse, where they held a rally. Messages of support for FLOC's organizing efforts came from the Toledo locals of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and the Amalgamated Food and Distributing Workers; Corky Gonzales, chairperson of the Denver-based Crusade for Justice; former senator Eugene McCarthy; the University of Toledo MECHA, a Chicano student group; and the Young Socialist Alliance.

FLOC President Baldemar Velasquez was the featured speaker. FLOC holds the cannery bosses responsible for the plight of Ohio agricultural workers, he told the rally. Demonstrators indicated their agreement with Velasquez's defense of the right of Mexican nationals to live and work in the United States.

"Two children died in the fields this summer because the government won't enforce the child labor law," Velasquez told the *Militant*. "They won't enforce the existing housing codes, either. Farm workers themselves must organize to better their conditions."

Goons assault ALRB head

LOS ANGELES—Emboldened by the failure of the authorities to act against them, Teamster goons have now extended their violence to members of the Agricultural Labor Relations Board, even attacking the Catholic bishop who chairs the board.

About seventy-five Teamsters showed up at the board's Sacramento office October 6 to complain of "unfair" treatment.

After two hours of discussion, ALRB chairperson Bishop Roger Mahony decided to leave. The Teamsters began shoving him as he went to his car. They also slashed three of his tires. State police and Sacramento County deputies finally rescued the bishop.



Ohio farm worker families assembled for march at FLOC's Toledo headquarters.

Militant/Earl Shaffer

'Washington Post' strike

'Trying to keep what we've got'

By Jack Baldwin

WASHINGTON—"Money and fringe benefits have nothing to do with it. The *Washington Post* wants to take away from us what we've negotiated over the last thirty years. We're just trying to keep what we've got."

So said a picketing press operator at the *Washington Post*, which was struck by 200 press operators and stereotypers October 1 after their contract expired. They are members of the Newspaper and Graphic Communications Union Local 6.

The *Post* workers say that management has refused to engage in serious negotiations for a new contract. And, like other newspapers across the country, the *Post* is trying to offset rising costs with increased productivity from its workers and with other attacks on their contracts.

Last December, for example, thirty-six press operators were put on substitute status, which means they could be called in to do work at straight-time pay that others had long done for overtime pay. The union was forced to go to court to have the thirty-six reinstated to full-time.

The *Post* owners also seek complete control over such hard-won gains as the determination of vacation schedules and days off, and the number of persons needed to run press equipment. They are also pushing for more straight time in place of overtime, and an overhaul of grievance procedures in management's favor.

The picket line was reinforced several days after the strike began by the *Post's* International Mailers Union Local 29 and by Graphic Arts International Union Local 285. The two unions are among nine at the *Post* whose contracts expired October 1.

All twelve unions at the paper, with the exception of Washington-Baltimore



Militant/Mark Ugolini

'Washington Post' press operators are fighting attacks on union contract.

Newspaper Guild Local 35, have honored the picket line from the start. The guild, which represents editorial and commercial employees, has held three stormy meetings to decide whether it would respect the picket line.

The vote margin grew progressively narrower—from about 350 in favor of crossing the picket lines to 50 against when the strike began, to 244 to 186 three days later, and three days after that to a cliff-hanging 270-to-251 margin.

A Local 35 bulletin dated October 5

reported: "Other Guild locals around the country have contacted the Washington-Baltimore local demanding to know why members of the *Post* unit are aiding the publisher in breaking the strike. They have said that their own bargaining relations with their publishers and the solidarity with their craft brothers and sisters has been seriously damaged."

The excuse offered by Local 35 is that they are "protesting" damage done to the presses on the night of the walkout. More than 200 guild members, however, have refused to cross the picket line.

Post management has dwelled on the "sabotage" to the presses in its campaign to whip up a public hue and cry against the press operators. Grand jury proceedings have begun against members of the union.

James Dugan, president of the press operators' local, said that while he did not condone the destruction, "anything that was done in there was born of frustration."

Except for the first day of the strike, the *Post* has managed to publish a truncated, twenty-four-page edition at six newspaper plants in Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, and more recently at the *Post* building in downtown Washington, where the presses are being repaired by nonunion machinists.

Morale on the picket line remains high. The Socialist Workers party's two candidates for Washington, D.C., school board—Brenda Brdar and Erich Martel—have joined the picket line and issued a statement in support of the strikers.

Bargaining sessions between the *Post* and the press operators resumed October 7 in the presence of federal mediators.

Broadway musicians end 25-day walkout

By Halina Listopad

NEW YORK—The sound of music returned to Broadway October 13 after union musicians voted to end their twenty-five-day strike. The walkout by members of Local 802 of the American Federation of Musicians had closed nine musical productions and prevented three others from opening.

Despite attempts by the producers to pit other entertainment-related unions against the musicians, Local 802 waged a long and determined struggle. Four times Mayor Abraham Beame tried his hand at "mediating" an end to the strike, contending that "a settlement is imperative for the economic well-being of this city."

The musicians' "unreasonable" demands, their opponents charged, resulted in unemployed actors, taxi drivers without fares, restaurants without customers, garages without cars, and a loss of income for the city in general. Pressure to end the walkout was intense.

A major issue in the strike was the attempt by the League of New York Theaters and Producers to eliminate a contract provision establishing minimum size orchestras. According to I. Philip Sipser, special counsel to Local 802, the most critical victory for the union is the freezing of the minimum size in most theaters for six years. This means that producers must hire a certain number of musicians for each show even if they aren't needed to fill the orchestra.

The union also won a weekly pay increase of sixty dollars, with another twenty dollars scheduled for next year, and ten dollars more the third year. It conceded Sunday bonus pay and half of the extra pay previously given to musicians on stage and in costume.

The union was also forced to give up the requirement that four musicians be employed for shows using four minutes or less of recorded music.

The strike was a battle to retain what minimal security had been won for musicians in previous contracts. After long years of study and training, a musician can be hired one day and have the show collapse the next.

There are no provisions for medical leaves. If a musician gets ill or is injured, he or she is out of a job and out of luck. Instruments are repaired out of the musicians' pay.

The main demand of the strikers to preserve the minimum size orchestras was a demand to save jobs. The producers call the musicians they are forced to hire to meet these minimums "walkers." But to the musicians they are understudies. "I've been in the musical theater for fifteen years," a musician said during the strike, "and this is the first time that I'm in a musical and not playing regularly. I don't want to be a 'walker' and I don't even like the word. In my show I'm an understudy. My contract states that I'm to be available for eight performances each week."

Berkeley teachers suspend strike

By Kathleen Fitzgerald

BERKELEY, Calif.—Public school teachers returned to work here October 6 after voting to accept a proposal aimed at settling their five-week strike.

The proposal establishes a three-member fact-finding committee to study the issues of the strike and come up with a recommendation by October 21.

In return for going back to the classroom, teachers were offered "amnesty" for exercising their right to strike and a \$600 loan to be deducted from their paychecks over the next four months.

The fact-finding committee is composed of attorney Douglas Schwab, representing the school board; Dick Groulx, secretary of the Alameda County Central Labor Council, for the teachers; and Alameda County Superior Court Judge Spurgeon Avakian, as the "neutral" chairperson. Avakian accepted the post only on the condition that teachers return to the schools during the committee's deliberations.

The teachers will meet after the recommendations are made in order to vote on them. The strike began September 3 over wage cuts, loss of fringe benefits, and cutbacks in school supplies and educational programs.

By October 6, when they voted 623 to 159 to accept the plan, most teachers appeared to view it not so much as a victory but as the only option open to them.

The teachers' strike—the first in Berkeley's history—was especially significant because of the unity of the two teachers' organizations, the Berkeley Federation of Teachers and the Berkeley Teachers Association.

The teachers enjoyed widespread sympathy for their demands from parents and students. The strike was weak, however, in any substantial support from other sections of the labor movement.

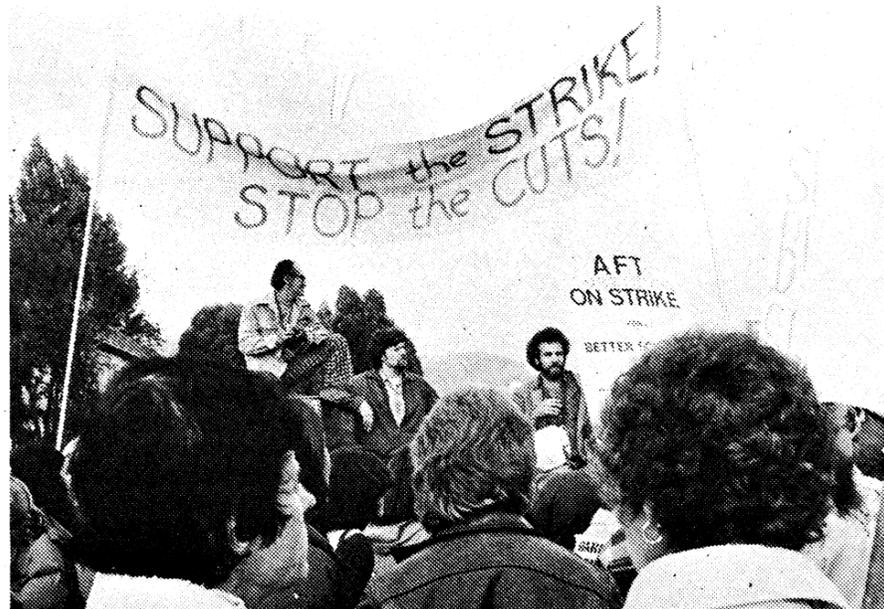
Despite the amnesty promise, a Black picket captain, Ed Allen, has received a dismissal notice for an alleged assault on a scab during the strike. Twelve witnesses, however, report that it was the scab who assaulted another teacher on the picket line. Allen simply moved to stand between the two.

The holding of fact-finding deliberations, with teachers back in school, is

intended as a "cooling-off period." But with such provocations as Allen's dismissal and the ill-equipped and understaffed schools teachers returned to, it may produce the opposite effect.

Teachers have set up committees in each school to discuss their situations, and the picket captains continue to hold regular meetings.

"I'm amazed at the feeling of militancy in the schools," picket captain Walter Merlino told the *Militant*. "I don't know what will happen with this fact-finding panel . . . but I think it's significant that every teacher I talk to says our strike is not over, it's just suspended."



Militant/Joseph Ryan

Berkeley teachers agreed to end five-week strike while fact-finding committee comes up with recommendation on their demands.

AFL-CIO tops meet: reality hardly showed

By Art Sharon

SAN FRANCISCO—The eleventh constitutional convention of the AFL-CIO brought no surprises and only a few minor rumbles to relieve the obvious boredom of its 876 delegates.

The convention was very much old George Meany's show, supported loyally by his cast of top international union officers and special assistants, whose combined weighty presence makes up the AFL-CIO Executive Council.

Observing their performance, the conclusion can hardly be avoided that this body of "labor leaders"—well ensconced, well paid, and well rewarded by the employers for their services—is only dimly aware of the chilling realities of the disintegrating capitalist order on a world scale.

Meany's crew of unabashed cold warriors adopted the predictable slew of resolutions voicing full support for Israel and NATO, mourning the "fall" of South Vietnam, opposing cutbacks in military spending, and calling for U.S. action in Portugal to thwart a "communist dictatorship."

A special film has been made by the AFL-CIO of Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's recent speech under their auspices in Washington, and it was offered to all AFL-CIO affiliates, presumably as a special immunization program against communist ideology.

For many years the AFL-CIO leaders cooperated loyally with the CIA throughout the world to ensure American influence over foreign labor movements. At home they cooperated to clean up the AFL-CIO to FBI specifications. This was their special assignment in imperialism's division of labor.

For all its efforts, this sorry sortie abroad has resulted in a virtual isolation of the AFL-CIO on a world scale. A grand total of three official foreign labor delegates were present—two from Great Britain and one from Canada—a



Militant/Howard Patrick
MEANY: Looking for a new Roosevelt?

clear indication of how the AFL-CIO leadership is regarded in the union centers of Europe and elsewhere.

Few of the resolutions and little of the rhetoric reflected the actual major domestic activity of the federation. On a host of special interest pleas to Washington these labor leaders are indefatigable partners with big business lobbyists seeking relief from taxes, relief from or postponement of government regulations on pollution, waiving of restrictions on the further cutting of timber on national parklands, protection against foreign competition in the clothing and other industries, financial assistance to the railroads, the maritime industry, and so on.

This is business unionism with a vengeance. It flows from their profound conviction that "what's good for business is good for the country"—providing only that these are enlightened businessmen who understand the benefits of close collaboration with the "leadership" of labor.

As for the disastrous economic situation facing working people, the executive council set forth a fifteen-point program that called for a \$5 billion public works program, continuing the 1975 tax cuts into 1976, reducing interest rates, and other modest goals.

The convention also passed one resolution calling for a thirty-five-hour workweek "with no reduction in wages or benefits . . . achievable in the shortest possible time."

It was made clear that the "shortest possible time" was no time soon, and no action in support of this demand was discussed or proposed.

The AFL-CIO also urged the extension of unemployment benefits. The October 6 *Wall Street Journal* responded: "After all, unemployment is only the result of insufficient demand for labor at the wage demanded by labor. If unemployed labor's purchasing power is maintained through unemployment and welfare benefits, its wage demands are prevented from falling and it cannot be priced back into the market."

Against this cold capitalist logic the leadership of the AFL-CIO has little answer except to urge more productivity from their membership. Typically, the building-trades officials now not only call for more effort on the job, but actually encourage their members to meet the competition of nonunion workers by giving up their own hard-won standards.

Some of the resolutions were good, but the trouble here is that they remain part of the record filed in the archives. In this category is the convention's

declaration of support for the embattled United Farm Workers calling upon "all AFL-CIO affiliates to provide whatever assistance is necessary to enable the Farm Workers Union to regain its rightful place as the bargaining representative of agricultural workers in the United States." For this resolution to become meaningful will require persistent follow-up by UFW supporters in the labor movement all across the country.

The AFL-CIO leadership sees trouble and even disaster on all sides, but can only think in terms of a return of a Harry Truman if not a Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Meany and his council are veterans of an old coalition that came into being during Roosevelt's time. They seem to forget that the gains made during that time came not from their coalition with the Democratic party, but rather from the mass rank-and-file upsurge that literally and physically pushed the labor movement into action, and ran over those in the way. As a consequence it gave to the nominal leadership a political importance that Roosevelt recognized and cleverly exploited.

For now Meany and his closest supporters are playing it cagey as far as their plans in the Democratic party. They brought four contenders or possible contenders for the Democratic presidential nomination to the convention—Hubert Humphrey, Henry Jackson, Birch Bayh, and Lloyd Bentsen. Only the old wheelhorse and party hack Humphrey generated any excitement among the delegates.

All the thrust of the speeches and resolutions, whether good, bad, or indifferent, was to appeal to Congress and the administration. Nothing appeared either verbally or written indicating any possibility of striking out on an independent course, of raising a banner for the millions of American workers who are looking for leadership.

Little regard for women, minority workers

SAN FRANCISCO—The needs and interests of the millions of women and minority workers got short shrift at the AFL-CIO convention, as expected.

On the issue of discriminatory layoffs—that is, the disproportionate effect of layoffs on women and minorities because of long-standing discrimination in hiring—the convention pledged its "total, emphatic commitment to the support of seniority systems that grant each member of the workforce his or her 'rightful place.'"

The resolution further stated: "The AFL-CIO will also continue its unflinching opposition to any effort to dilute the rights of any employee by granting others preferential treatment."

The resolution ended with the statement that "many problems remain unresolved largely because of continuing high unemployment. Full employment and civil rights go hand-in-hand. . . . the best weapon against discrimination of any form is a healthy full employment economy."

Since nothing in the convention's actions even suggested that the AFL-CIO officials had any plan for bringing about such a full-employment economy, one must conclude that as far as they are concerned, the affirmative-action gains won by women and minorities can just be thrown overboard.

* * *

On busing, the Kentucky State AFL-CIO introduced a resolution calling upon the federation to change its

position to one of opposition.

The delegate from the Kentucky State AFL-CIO, Leonard Smith, told the assembled delegates that the antibusing resolution "passed our executive board by an unanimous vote, including the Black boy and a most respected boy in Louisville, Kentucky, Jimmy Stewart. He is chairman of the Philip Randolph Committee, he is president of the State Building Trades. So, I'll assure you it's not a racial issue."

This issue was one of the few that actually brought any discussion from the floor. AFL-CIO Vice-president Frederick O'Neal of the actors' union and delegate Edward McMahan of the Glass Bottle Blowers union opposed changing the official position in favor of busing. Both are from Mississippi; the first is Black and the second, white.

The convention upheld the official policy and defeated the Kentucky resolution.

* * *

About a quarter of the AFL-CIO membership is female; only twenty-two or twenty-three women were seated among the nearly nine hundred delegates.

There were some resolutions urging AFL-CIO support to the Coalition of Labor Union Women, but these were voted down, although with the disclaimer that nonendorsement "in no way should be construed as critical of

CLUW." Meany called upon Mary Ellen Riordan, head of the Detroit Federation of Teachers, to oppose endorsement.

She warned that CLUW included "nonaffiliated groups. . . . I am speaking particularly at this moment of the National Education Association."

The AFL-CIO, Riordan said, "cannot afford to endorse another organization which will work in opposition to our goals and our directions."

There was some speculation prior to the convention that Meany would bow to the changing times and fill one of

the vacancies on the executive council with a woman representative. No woman has ever sat on that august body.

But Meany remained unmoved by speculation or considered advice. The council retained its image as an aging, all-male, cigar-chomping, closed body.

Even a proposal to set up a standing committee on women was apparently going too far. The only concession made was to add to the existing Civil Rights Committee "persons who are knowledgeable about the problems of women workers." —A.S.



Militant/Howard Patrick
Delegates at AFL-CIO convention. Fewer than twenty-five were women.

Anti-free-speech law cover-up

Milwaukee officials refuse to act against Nazis

By George Dolph

MILWAUKEE—The failure of city officials here to take effective action against members of the National Socialist White People's party (Nazis) who have carried out terrorist attacks against individuals and organizations, particularly Blacks and Jews, has become an important political issue.

Within the past year and a half Nazi attacks have included vandalism against synagogues and the homes of individual Jews, the sacking of the offices of Youth Against War and Fascism, and physical assaults against individuals on downtown streets.

One of the most widely publicized attacks occurred against Michael Murphy, a Black member of the Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance.

Murphy was assaulted by a Nazi thug on July 12 while on his way to sell *Militants* in the downtown area. Although the attack occurred in full view of the police and it is well known that the Nazis have initiated such attacks before, the police charged both Murphy and the Nazis with disorderly conduct.

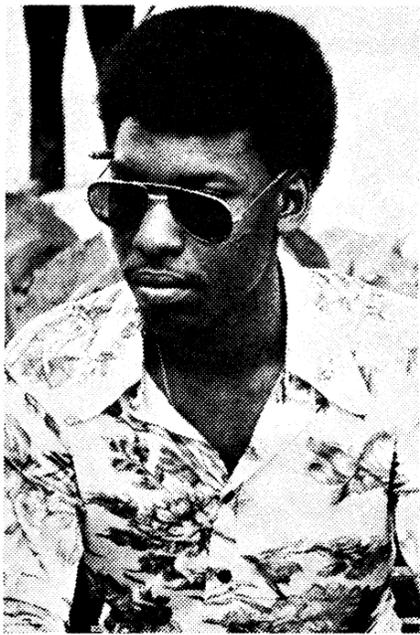
The Nazi pleaded guilty and got off with a fifty-dollar fine. Murphy declared his innocence and faces a jury trial on January 7.

The Michael Murphy Defense Committee has been established to organize a broad defense effort demanding that all charges be dropped.

Victims into criminals

City Attorney James Brennan's prosecution of Murphy follows his publicly stated policy of leveling charges against all parties involved in any "altercations" with the Nazis. In other words, those who defend themselves against attacks will be charged as well.

This policy of prosecuting victims of Nazi harassment and the failure to apprehend those guilty of violent attacks is angering many people, especially Blacks and Jews.



Militant/Linda D'Rand
SWP member Mike Murphy, attacked by Nazi, was charged with disorderly conduct.

The *Milwaukee Courier*, a Black weekly, protested in a September 13 editorial that "there are all the unresolved instances of vandalism and fires which have occurred at synagogues and the offices of left groups over the past two years. Nazi leaders have denied any responsibility for the swastika painting or the trashings or the fires, but the point remains: Why has our proud police force failed to catch anybody in connection with any of these incidents?"

"It is time our elected officials began asking the questions we have raised here."

But while Brennan's office sits on its hands when it comes to investigating and prosecuting terrorists and vandals, it is trying to create a public impression that it is doing something about the Nazi attacks. Brennan has proposed that the Milwaukee Common Council adopt a city ordinance that would make it "unlawful for any

person, firm or corporation to manufacture, sell or offer for sale, advertise or publish, present or exhibit in any public place in the City of Milwaukee any lithograph, moving picture, play, drama, sketch or publication which publication or exhibition portrays depravity, criminality, unchastity or lack of virtue of a class of citizens, of any race, color, creed or religion which said publication or exhibition exposes the citizens of any race, color, creed or religion to contempt, derision or obloquy and which is productive of breach of the peace or riots."

Unconstitutional

The proposed ordinance, according to Brennan, is modeled on the 1949 Illinois Penal Code, which was upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court in *Beauharnais v. Illinois* in 1951. Many civil libertarians now believe that because of subsequent court rulings the proposed ordinance would be found unconstitutional.

In an August 21 letter opposing this proposed anti-free-speech ordinance, David Rancall Luce, congressional liaison for the Wisconsin Civil Liberties Union, explained how the bill's passage would be an attack on the democratic rights of everyone.

Luce asks, "Is a denunciation of 'politicians' or 'greedy landlords' or 'capitalists' to be an offense under the ordinance? . . . [The proposed statute] not only 'might be used,' we can predict that it will be used against militant anti-Nazis as well as against Nazis; only language that the City Attorney's office deems within proper bounds is to be permitted in political debate."

The *Milwaukee Journal* has also editorialized against the law on the grounds that it restricts constitutional rights.

SWP's stand

The Socialist Workers party plans to testify against the law at hearings to be held soon by a subcommittee of the Common Council.

Bob Schwarz, an SWP leader in Milwaukee, told the *Militant* that "if Brennan was really serious about fighting Nazi violence he would drop the charges against Mike Murphy. It's pure hypocrisy on his part to propose an anti-free-speech law under the guise of fighting Nazi violence.

"Experience with similar laws has shown that for every Nazi that is arrested, a hundred labor organizers, Black activists, Jewish leaders, and socialists will be arrested. What is needed is a broad campaign for all those who oppose Nazi violence to demand that the city administration apprehend and prosecute those who are responsible. We don't need any more laws to do that."

However, some groups and individuals, especially in the Black community, who are sincerely searching for ways to keep the Nazis from carrying out their terrorist activities, mistakenly believe this proposed ordinance will help.

The Milwaukee chapter of the NAACP, for example, has endorsed the proposal and objects that the fines (\$200 to \$1,000) are not heavy enough. (A recent state convention of the NAACP, however, tabled a resolution supporting the ordinance.)

The *Courier*, which has consistently exposed the Nazi's terrorist activities and publicized efforts such as the Michael Murphy defense case, also supports the bill's passage.

In addition, some radical organizations support the bill. Under the headline "Milwaukee Council gets anti-hate literature bill" the *Daily World*, newspaper of the Communist party, praises the proposed ordinance.

Youth Against War and Fascism, a group that has been attacked by the Nazis on numerous occasions, says they will not oppose the bill. According to a spokesperson for that organization, they do not believe the bill could be used against left-wing groups and that it would be wrong to "line up with the Nazis and the ACLU in opposing this liberal bill."

Minneapolis socialists fight police harassment

By Greg Guckenburg

MINNEAPOLIS—Following their arrests October 4, eighteen socialist campaigners appeared in court here October 8 prepared to plead "not guilty" to charges of "obstructing the sidewalk."

But the city attorney showed up without written charges, and so was given a two-week grace period to

consider whether his office really wants to prosecute eighteen supporters of Socialist Workers party mayoral candidate Mary Hillery—including Hillery herself!

If no charges are prepared by October 22, the case will be dropped. If they are, the eighteen will have a jury trial.

The case began October 4 at the end of an active campaign Saturday. SWP vice-presidential candidate Willie Mae Reid had participated with Hillery and a group of supporters in passing out campaign literature and talking to voters in downtown Minneapolis.

Several times the police hassled campaigners, citing such "illegalities" as using a bullhorn without a permit, failing to display an American flag at a public rally, and distributing literature without a permit.

Finally Hillery informed police that it was her right to campaign and, if necessary, she would alert the news media to the outrageous police harassment going on.

Shortly, three police cars arrived on the scene as the campaign volunteers—their literature all packed up—were about to call it a day. Within minutes, everyone in the area wearing a "Vote SWP" button or in any way identifiable as part of Hillery's entourage was arrested.

The eighteen were taken to police headquarters and booked on charges of "obstructing the sidewalk." They were released on their own recognizance to



Militant/Debby Woodroffe
SWP's Willie Mae Reid explained police harassment to reporters outside jail.

await arraignment October 8. The charge, a misdemeanor under the traffic code, carries a maximum penalty of a \$300 fine and/or ninety days in jail.

While those arrested were detained for several hours in jail, the case was made known to the city's media at an emergency news conference outside

police headquarters. Reid and local candidates explained the incident as the Socialist campaigners exited the jail one by one to cheers of supporters.

On Monday, October 6, the eighteen's attorney, Douglas Hall of the Legal Rights Center, asked the city attorney to drop the charges. Hall was told the decision was in the hands of the mayor.

Later that day, Hillery, her campaign manager, and a member of the Women's Political Caucus met with Mayor Albert Hofstede and the chief of police. The police chief conceded that the American flag ordinance was ruled unconstitutional *nine years ago*. He said he believed it was removed from the books *nine months ago*. But it is difficult, he claimed, to get so many law changes clear to all his men in such a short amount of time!

The police chief also knew of no permit available for the use of bullhorns, and neither he nor the mayor had ever heard of a prohibition against leafletting.

But, both men said, the charges were in the hands of the city attorney.

Despite this royal run-around and the arraignment postponement, Hillery and her supporters aren't about to cut down on campaigning. The SWP campaign committee has informed the police and the media that campaigners will be on the streets of downtown Minneapolis every Saturday before the November 4 election.



Mary Hillery, SWP mayoral candidate, was among those arrested for 'obstructing the sidewalk.'

Chart campaign to reopen case

Rosenberg committee holds national conference

By Cindy Jaquith

WASHINGTON—More than 100 delegates met here October 3-5 at the first national conference of the National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case.

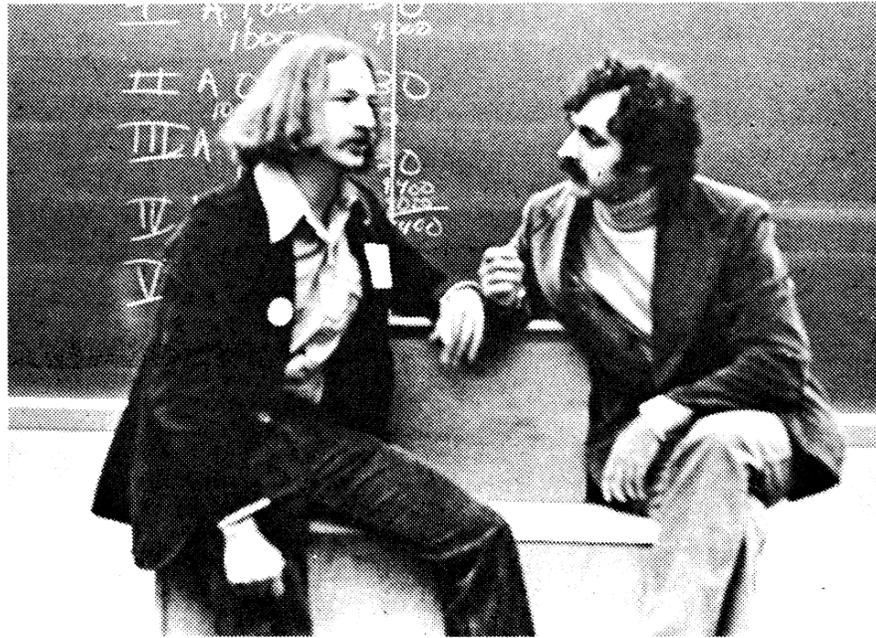
Organized two years ago, the committee is working to vindicate Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, celebrated victims of the McCarthyite witch-hunt. The two were executed in 1953 on the frame-up charge that they gave "the secret of the atom bomb" to the Soviet Union.

Formed at the initiative of the Rosenbergs' sons, Robert and Michael Meeropol, the committee's activities have focused on getting out the truth about the frame-up and demanding that the government turn over its files on the couple and reopen the case.

Every step of the way, the U.S. government has balked at letting out any of the secrets involved in its prosecution of the Rosenbergs. Nevertheless, because of the widespread public suspicion surrounding the case, a few agency files have been forced out.

Last February, the Meeropols requested that eighteen government agencies turn over their documents on the Rosenbergs and on Morton Sobell, the third defendant in the case, who was also convicted and served nearly twenty years in prison.

No files were released. In July the Meeropols filed a Freedom of Information Act suit against the Justice Department, FBI, CIA, ERDA (Energy Research and Development



Michael (left) and Robert Meeropol plan to expose McCarthyite frame-up of parents, Ethel and Julius Rosenberg.

Administration—formerly the Atomic Energy Commission), and the U.S. attorney's offices in New Mexico and New York. The suit seeks to halt the destruction of documents and to compel the government to release the files.

In August the committee won an important victory when Judge June Green ordered the government to stop destroying the documents and to turn them over to the plaintiffs by November 15.

At the October 3 rally opening up the conference, 250 participants viewed a large stack of documents. This was the inventory released by the government agencies on the files they hold on the Rosenbergs. The inventory alone is 2,500 pages and is supposed to represent 500,000 pages of actual documents.

Attorney Marshall Perlin told the conference that the inventory itself is very heavily censored, with some documents not even listed—"for securi-

ty," according to the government.

The real reason the government is holding back, however, is its fear that this monstrous frame-up will be unraveled by the publication of even a few files. Indeed, one document released in a separate Freedom of Information Act suit has exposed the outlines of the conspiracy to convict the Rosenbergs.

The document consists of minutes of a Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy meeting in 1951, just before the trial. At the meeting, Myles Lane, one of the prosecutors, conceded that the case against Ethel Rosenberg was "not too strong," but said she should be convicted anyway. The main discussion at the meeting revolved around how to manufacture the kind of "evidence" that would justify sending Julius Rosenberg to the electric chair. Members of Congress, the Atomic Energy Commission, and the prosecution attended the secret meeting.

The importance of obtaining and publicizing documents like this was one of the topics of discussion at the conference. Participants also discussed how the Rosenberg case can serve to educate people about government crimes against dissenters today, and what relation the committee should have to other defense cases and related fights against repression.

In a series of workshops, activists from more than a dozen cities exchanged ideas on widening the campaign to reopen the case, discussing the use of the media, speaking tours, picket lines, petition drives, demonstrations, and rallies.

News on teachers' strikes spurs 'Militant' sales

By Pat Galligan

"What teachers are fighting for" is a topic of considerable interest at Rhode Island Junior College in Warwick—a fact that accounts for the successful sales of the October 3 *Militant* bearing that headline.

A strike by teachers there early in the term was supported by students who boycotted classes in solidarity. Members of the Young Socialist Alliance in nearby Kingston, Rhode Island, decided to initiate *Militant* sales on the Warwick campus with that issue, which featured a national roundup of teachers' strikes.

Half of the local's bundle of thirty *Militants* were sold so quickly that more papers were ordered. Dean

Athans tells us that the fifty extra copies were sold within two hours.

"Many of the students who bought the *Militant* were not at all familiar with the paper," notes Athans. "Because of the strike here, however, they were attracted to the coverage of other teachers' strikes across the country."

The Kingston local has raised its weekly bundle to fifty copies to make sure that the *Militant* becomes a familiar sight on the Rhode Island Junior College campus.

Kathleen Fitzgerald tells us that sales of the *Militant* to striking teachers at picket lines in Berkeley, California, have averaged twenty copies per week since the strike began. "We found that most of our sales were repeat sales to teachers who had already bought one or two issues," she said.

The *Militant* has been featuring weekly coverage on the fight for union recognition by Atlanta school board workers. The Atlanta branch of the Socialist Workers party has made *Militant* sales to American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees members a focus of their sales.

Interest among these workers in finding out what socialists have to say about the struggle is reflected in the sales of recent issues. For example, 104 copies were sold at a recent AFSCME school board chapter meeting and picket line. Eighty-two additional copies were sold at Grady Hospital and other work sites and meetings.

We just heard that 253 copies of the October 17 *Militant* have already been sold to AFSCME members in Atlanta—in only three days.

Sales of the October 3 *Militant*, which marked the third week of the fall sales campaign, totaled 6,049 copies in the local areas reporting.

Albion, Michigan; Baltimore, Maryland; Boston; Southside Chicago; Denver; Norman, Oklahoma; Pittsburgh; and San Francisco have all made their sales goals each week of the drive so far. Oakland/Berkeley made its weekly

goal twice and was only three copies shy of its 350 goal the other week.

The scoreboards printed each week list sales only for those areas that send in reports. Bundles of the *Militant* are sent out to many more cities across the country. We would like the scoreboard to be more complete both in terms of the number of copies sold each week and the geographical distribution of the paper.

So let's hear from you, Bloomington, Madison, Ann Arbor, San Antonio, Amherst, Edinboro. . .

Judy Hagans from Chicago sent in eight prepaid subscription cards last week. This brings her total to twelve for the fall drive thus far.

Nationally, the subscription drive continues to lag behind schedule. The 375 subscriptions received this week bring the total as of October 14 to 1,289. We should have 2,315 subscriptions at this point in the drive.

The Wisconsin Young Socialist Alli-

ance team sent in twenty-two more subscriptions, boosting their total to date to seventy-four. The Wisconsin team has surpassed its goal of fifteen subscriptions each of the four weeks it has been on the road and leads the YSA teams in total subscriptions.

Team member Jane Harris reports selling several of this week's subscriptions to student government leaders and one to a campus women's center.

"We always visit student government offices, the campus newspaper, women's centers, and other groups on the campus," explains Harris. "Generally, the response has been favorable. Also, quite a few students get a chance to read papers going to those offices."

You don't have to travel from campus to campus to make use of the idea. Why not visit the newspaper, the radio station, and the women's center and other political organizations at your school and ask them to subscribe to the *Militant*?



Atlanta teachers and AFSCME members entering October 11 rally for union recognition bought 150 copies of the *Militant*.

Sales scoreboard

Area	Goal	Sold last week	%	Seattle	275	204	74
Philadelphia	275	322	117	West-North Chicago	250	178	71
Denver	275	312	113	West Side L.A.	75	49	65
Portland, Ore.	200	224	112	Houston	350	225	64
Baltimore, Md.	150	156	104	Milwaukee	200	123	62
San Francisco	325	336	103	Brooklyn, N.Y.	300	159	53
Newark, N.J.	75	77	103	Upper West Side, N.Y.	325	161	50
San Diego	200	203	102	Total	7,500	6,049	81
Oakland/Berkeley	350	352	101	YSA teams			
Boston	300	302	101	Northern Calif.	90	112	124
Pittsburgh	275	275	100	New England	90	106	118
South Side Chicago	250	251	100	Ohio/Kentucky	90	104	116
Norman, Okla.	11	11	100	Mid-Atlantic	90	92	102
Albion, Mich.	10	10	100	Pennsylvania	90	92	102
Washington, D.C.	325	315	97	Missouri/Kansas	60	61	102
New Orleans	200	178	89	Rocky Mountain	90	90	100
San Jose	150	130	87	Wisconsin	90	90	100
Twin Cities	300	255	85	Illinois	60	55	92
Atlanta	375	304	81	Southern Calif.	90	81	90
St. Louis	300	234	78	Southeast	60	47	78
Detroit	375	288	77	Michigan/Indiana	90	59	66
Cleveland	200	153	77	Northwest	90	18	20
Central-East L.A.	350	262	75	Upper Midwest	90	14	16
				Total	1,170	1,021	87

Opponent forced to take stand

Support grows for Seattle socialist's campaign

By Harold Schlechtweg

SEATTLE—One feature of Patricia Bethard's campaign here for city council is the active support she is receiving from people new to socialist politics.

Bethard is a member of the Socialist Workers party, and since her second-place showing in the September "non-partisan" primary, the number of volunteers for her campaign has steadily increased.

One of these supporters, Bud Barricklow, has volunteered to spend one evening a week working for Bethard's campaign. Barricklow is forty years old and works for a wholesale record and tape distributor. In his office he has posters of SWP presidential and vice-presidential candidates Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid hanging on the wall.

Since the Vietnam War, Barricklow says, his politics have been moving further and further to the left. He was attracted to the socialist movement by the election campaigns and other activities of the SWP. For eight years he has cast protest votes for socialist candidates.

Another Bethard supporter works in a community center on Capital Hill in the Black community's Central Area. He is setting up a house party for Bethard at the center.

A trade-union supporter is arranging for Bethard to speak at all Kings County locals of the Washington Federation of State Employees. Bethard is secretary of WFSE Local 1488.

What has won the support of these volunteers is Bethard's outspoken stands on the issues affecting the people of Seattle—jobs, education, redlining (the refusal of banks to make loans to homeowners in the Black community), and the death penalty. By contrast, her Democratic party opponent, incumbent Sam Smith, discusses issues only when forced to.

This was driven home at a recent campaign meeting sponsored by the Northwest Senior Center. More than



Patricia Bethard (center), socialist candidate for city council, opposes death penalty, supports taxing corporations for education. Democratic opponent takes opposite stands.

100 older people attended the luncheon meeting to hear Smith and Bethard discuss the city council campaign.

In her presentation Bethard attacked redlining. She also gave her support to Initiative 314, a proposal on the November 4 ballot that would tax corporations to help pay for public education.

Bethard urged the audience to vote against another initiative, Initiative 316, which would reinstitute the death penalty in Washington state. Noting that Blacks and other minorities are usually the victims of capital punishment, she challenged Smith, who is Black and receives much of his support from the Black community, to make known his position on the issue.

Smith refused to take up the challenge. Instead, he told those at the meeting that he was willing to listen to all points of view and that he was their friend.

But when he finished, a white-haired

woman sitting in the front row asked, "Mr. Smith, we know Ms. Bethard's positions on the death penalty and corporate taxes, but you haven't told us what you think."

Taking the microphone reluctantly, Smith said he opposed the corporate tax initiative. He said the tax was unfair because it was directed toward one group, the corporations. "We should all share in paying for city, state, and federal governments and for education," he said.

Smith said he had "mixed emotions" about Initiative 316, the initiative that would restore death by hanging. "On the one hand, as a religious person, I am opposed to taking human life. On the other hand, I believe that capital punishment can be a deterrent for certain crimes," the Democratic candidate said.

On balance, Smith concluded, he supports a mandatory death penalty

for specific crimes, as is provided for in Initiative 316.

Answering Smith, Bethard rejected the idea that capital punishment is a deterrent to crimes of violence. "Crime will end when the causes of crime—unemployment, poverty, and discrimination—are eliminated," she said.

Taking up Smith's argument against the corporate profits tax, Bethard pointed out that taxes in Washington are already directed against one group—working people. "The only ones paying taxes in this state are ordinary people. While Initiative 314 isn't enough, it is a step in the right direction," the socialist argued.

After the meeting, Bethard commented that Smith's reactionary position in opposition to the corporate tax initiative places him squarely on the side of big business. And, she added, "instead of supporting the death penalty, Smith should use the power of his office to mobilize opposition to it."

Smith's stands, finally forced into the open, have provoked a response from those previously sympathetic, but uncommitted, to the socialist campaign. One woman, angered by Smith's reactionary stands, has invited Bethard to her home to discuss the campaign with her and her friends.

For some, however, the socialist campaign is "old hat." Susan Garret, a campaign volunteer, returned to the Northwest Senior Center a few hours after the candidates' meeting to drop off some literature.

Two elderly women motioned for her to come to the table where they were sitting. "You know, I really bought what she said," one woman remarked.

"Are you kidding?" asked her companion. "I bought what she said twenty years ago, and I still do today."

Supporters of Bethard's candidacy interested in helping plan and participate in campaign activities are invited to attend the next campaign meeting. It will be held on Tuesday, October 21, at 7:00 p.m. at her storefront headquarters, 2200 East Union Street.

Calif. judge sentences Philip Allen, denies bail

By Arnold Weissberg

LOS ANGELES—A Santa Monica Superior Court judge rejected a motion October 7 to grant bail to Philip Allen. Allen, a twenty-year-old Black man convicted in August of killing a deputy sheriff, had been free on \$25,000 bail prior to sentencing.

Originally charged with first-degree murder, Allen was convicted of the lesser charge of voluntary manslaughter and two counts of assaulting a police officer with a deadly weapon. According to the cops' story given at the frame-up trial, Allen—five feet, three inches tall and 135 pounds—had overpowered five deputy sheriffs, seized one of their guns, and shot three of them. No fingerprints were found on the gun.

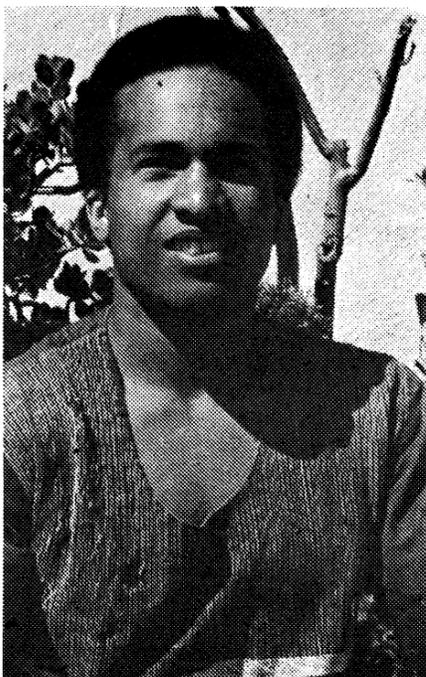
At Allen's sentencing hearing October 2, Judge Laurence Rittenband agreed to continue bail at \$25,000 during appeal proceedings.

Because of a technicality, Allen had to stay in jail overnight. When his supporters went to bail him out the next day, however, they found that the judge had ordered that Allen not be released.

A full hearing on the question of bail was scheduled for October 7. On October 6, the judge viewed films of Allen speaking at a rally in his defense at Los Angeles City College, where he is a student. The film, which was shot by a

local TV station, showed Allen denouncing the guilty verdict and the tactics of the prosecution.

Defense attorney Peter Young told the *Militant* that the only new evidence the judge had between the two



Philip Allen. Judge revoked bail after seeing television film of Allen explaining his case.

hearings was the TV film. He said the denial of bail violated Allen's First Amendment rights, since it was based solely on a speech he made, not on whether he was likely to show up for future court proceedings.

At the October 2 sentencing, Judge Rittenband postponed any decision on the manslaughter conviction and one of the assault counts. On the third charge, Allen was given an indeterminate sentence, which is mandatory in California. That means he could serve anywhere from one day to life in state prison. The length of his sentence is up to the Adult Authority, or state parole board, which will determine when Allen is "rehabilitated."

Such sentences are used to stifle inmate protests against the miserable conditions in prison. Any prisoner who rebels is said to be "unrehabilitated" and not eligible for parole.

Before sentence was pronounced, the defense moved for a mistrial, citing several errors by the judge during the course of the trial.

The most serious irregularity was limiting the number of preemptory challenges allowed the defense. When a jury is being selected, both the prosecution and defense may challenge a certain number of jurors without giving any reason. There are known as preemptory challenges.

Under California law, the defendant

is entitled to twenty such challenges in a case where a life sentence may result. However, Judge Rittenband ruled that that law did not apply in Allen's case, and limited the number to ten.

This limitation was one reason the jury was mainly middle-aged and white.

Defense attorney Lawrence Steinberg also objected that the judge did not screen potential jurors for racist attitudes.

Defense motions for a new trial were denied.

Defense attorney Ben Wyatt then argued that Allen should be given probation rather than be sent to prison. His arguments were vigorously opposed by prosecutor Burton Katz. Although conceding Allen's "fine background" and his "constructive acts in the community," Katz claimed that "the public is clamoring for the end of the use and abuse of guns." Since Allen had been convicted of killing a cop with a gun, Katz said, he should be sent to prison.

Katz's arguments relied heavily on emotion, as they had throughout the trial. He asserted that Allen had not taken the first step in "rehabilitating" himself—he had not admitted his guilt.

An appeal of the convictions has been filed and an appeal of the bail decision is planned. In the meantime Allen is being held in jail.

World Outlook

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

OCTOBER 24, 1975

[At the 1969 world congress of the Fourth International, the debate over what political course to follow, particularly in relation to the class struggle in Latin America, led to the formation of two tendencies. These later developed into two factions, the International Majority Tendency and the Leninist Trotskyist Faction.

[The differences between the two groupings have extended to the Portuguese revolution, as was explained in the contribution by Gerry Foley, Joseph Hansen, and George Novack, "For a Correct Political Course in Portugal," published in last week's issue of *Intercontinental Press*.

[The resolution below constitutes the official position of the Leninist Trotskyist Faction on the Portuguese revolution. It was adopted unanimously by the LTF Steering Committee at a meeting held August 30, 1975.]

The opening of the Portuguese socialist revolution stands at present at the center of the international class struggle. A working-class victory in Portugal would sound the death knell of European capitalism and deal a staggering blow to the main powerhouse of international capitalism in the United States.

In view of the size and power of the Portuguese working class relative to the bourgeoisie and its reactionary contingents, why hasn't it already established its own government? The answer is that the Portuguese workers, like the workers in other countries, are faced with "a crisis of leadership," to cite Trotsky's words in the Transitional Program.

The crisis in leadership can be overcome only by the construction of a team of cadres capable of providing correct political guidance. The nucleus of such a team is very small in Portugal today. The prime problem is to expand that nucleus. This means constructing a revolutionary-socialist party in the very heat of the revolution.

Achievement of this difficult requisite demands, above all, a precise Marxist analysis of all the contending political forces, and, in particular, the political issues at the heart of the developing class struggle. The greatest possible concreteness is demanded. Instructive as analogies with other revolutions may be, they cannot take the place of analysis of the Portuguese events themselves and determination of their political meaning in the living context of national and international contending forces.

This resolution is intended as a contribution in that task, which is a collective responsibility of the world Trotskyist movement as a whole.

Of course, more than accurate analysis and political prognosis are required. Unless the small nucleus of Trotskyist forces in Portugal succeeds in taking full advantage of the openings provided by the revolution, they will not be able to expand sufficiently and at a swift enough rate to gain leadership of the revolutionary-minded masses.

Key issues in Portuguese revolution



May 1, 1974. Masses in Lisbon celebrate overthrow of dictatorship.

Fortunately, the pattern of the Portuguese revolution favors their efforts. It is preeminently *proletarian*. Among other things, this means that it is centered in the cities where the Trotskyists are also based, giving them extraordinary opportunities to spread their ideas among the radicalizing layers of workers.

In a developing revolution, the proletariat has enormous advantages. These include its economic and social weight, the power of its numbers when they move in unison, the effectiveness of its natural methods of organization and battle in the plants and in the streets, the radicalizing and mobilizing effect of its struggles on its allies in the city and countryside, and above all its inclination to move toward socialism, a trend clearly evident in Portugal today.

In accordance with this pattern, the Portuguese workers in their first upsurge began to organize militant unions and to establish workers control of industry. Action committees appeared in many factories, as did similar forms in the armed forces and in some neighborhoods, giving promise of the rise of soviets or comparable bodies. The direction of movement obviously favors the growth of Trotskyism.

Such phenomena, along with the universal determination among the masses to finish with Salazarism, or anything resembling it, and to establish a new governmental system capable of guaranteeing democracy as they understand it and want it, have provided striking confirmation of the correctness of the Transitional Program, which in 1938 outlined the logic of a rising proletarian revolution like the one in Portugal and noted the concomitant slogans and tasks facing the revolutionary Marxists.

By the same token, those Portuguese Trotskyists who have assimilated the lessons taught by Trotsky, above all in the Transitional Program, stand well prepared to tackle the key problem of resolving the crisis of leadership faced by the Portuguese working class and thereby assuring a victory of colossal importance to the workers on all continents.

1. Bourgeois Calculations in the April 25 Coup

The April 25, 1974, military coup that toppled the Caetano dictatorship was an outcome of the conclusion drawn by Portuguese finance capital that neither their colonial empire nor the working class in their own country could be dominated any longer primarily by repressive means.

The Portuguese imperialists had at first resisted turning to neocolonial means to save their empire. As rulers of the weakest of the imperialist powers both economically and politically, they sought to evade the cost of fostering and maintaining a neocolonial bourgeoisie. Moreover, their state apparatus appeared to have a tight grip on society. Thus, the Portuguese imperialists hoped to achieve by deter-

Continued on next page

...Portugal: April 25 coup & the Armed

Continued from preceding page
mination and ruthlessness what other imperialists with vastly greater resources chose not to attempt, or failed to achieve.

However, after more than a decade of savage war against the peoples in the colonies, the Portuguese imperialists found that the sword was incapable of cutting off the sources of the colonial revolution, which continued to mount. Even terror on the massive scale practiced in northern Angola was not sufficient to destroy the nationalist movements, in particular since they received support, and in some instances bases, from the surrounding Black African states.

Although the Portuguese imperialists managed for a time to contain the nationalist movements in the economically important colonies, this was insufficient to accomplish their objectives. They finally realized that they did not have the resources to sustain a large-scale military occupation of the colonies without undermining the bases of capitalist stability in Portugal itself. Nor could they get the necessary support from stronger imperialist powers to make up for their weakness.

Nonetheless, the sectors of the Portuguese ruling class who came to see the need for a change in policy faced grave difficulties in carrying it out. The regime had rested on corporatist repression for nearly half a century. Not only were substantial repressive forces such as the secret police and the riot police strongly intertwined with the regime but the economic interests of a swollen layer of backward petty capitalists and latifundists were bound up with the maintenance of this special repressive system. Furthermore, the Portuguese imperialists had waited too long to shift to neocolonialism; they faced well-organized mass nationalist movements deeply rooted in the populations of many colonies, including Angola, the key piece of the empire. These movements were already substantial. With their long tradition of struggle, they could not be co-opted cheaply. Nor could the colonial masses, after long years of massive struggles and enormous sacrifices and suffering, be easily demobilized by small concessions.

So, Portuguese imperialism, which has always had an extraordinarily weak base, engaged in perhaps the

'AFM has remained essential political instrument of Portuguese bourgeoisie'

most daring gamble in 500 years of Lusitanian expansionism. It moved to reorganize its forms of political and social control by violent means, by a military uprising against an entrenched layer of the state and political apparatus. A major indication of the line of thinking of the ruling sector was their decision to allow Spínola's book *Portugal e o Futuro* to be published in February 1974. The book became a best seller and helped provide the general with a revolutionary image. Through the subsequent coup, Spínola moved to disarm and neutralize a section of the ruling class itself by purging a considerable number of previously sacrosanct authorities. This not only disabled the police forces for a time, it was a violent shock to the habits of obedience instilled in the masses by almost fifty years of dictatorship modeled on fascist Italy and Spain.

The Portuguese capitalists did not embark on such an adventure without



Mass response to overthrow of Caetano helped radicalize soldiers and pushed Armed Forces Movement to left.

taking into account certain favorable conditions. Although they had failed to stop the rising radicalization among the workers and the youth, a powerful, organized mass movement had not yet formed in Portugal. Likewise, although the imperialist army had failed to crush the nationalist movements in the colonies and had suffered some defeats as well as significant losses, it had not been broken or decisively defeated.

The most favorable condition from the bourgeoisie's point of view was the absence of a mass revolutionary Marxist party in either Portugal or the colonies. The mass movement was dominated by dependable reformist elements. As it turned out, the assessment made by the Portuguese imperialist bourgeoisie of the reliability of the reformist workers parties proved to be accurate.

What Portugal's rulers underestimated was the power and extent of the mass upsurge that would be touched off both in Portugal and the colonies by the fall of Salazarism. They failed to gauge correctly the hopes this would inspire among the masses that they could finally gain their democratic right to think, to discuss, to make their own decisions, and to struggle to change their economic and social conditions and determine their own fate.

In the sweep of this mass radicalization, the bourgeoisie found it impossible to sufficiently reconsolidate its repressive apparatus, and was forced to permit far more widespread purges of rightist police and officials than it intended or than was compatible with the stability of bourgeois class rule. The pressure of the mass upsurge opened wider the cracks in the discipline of the armed forces resulting from growing unwillingness to contin-

ue the long and unsuccessful colonial war. As it deepened, this process threatened to shatter the armed forces as an instrument of the bourgeois state.

2. The Armed Forces Movement—a Bourgeois Instrument

The instrument on which the imperialist bourgeoisie relied to remove the Caetano regime and to carry out the needed political reorganization was the Armed Forces Movement (AFM). The AFM began as a movement among professional officers who sought to defend their privileges as graduates of the military academies against the ordinary university graduates, large numbers of whom were given commissions as part of the expansion of the armed forces required to fight the colonial war.

The AFM, in essence, has functioned as the political arm of the military hierarchy. That is what it has always aspired to be, and what the present leadership intends it to be. Following the March 11, 1975, attempted coup, some of the cleverest military demagogues such as Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho have tried to picture things as if a political difference existed between the top military commanders who associated themselves with the April 25 overturn, Spínola in particular, and the "revolutionary movement" itself. This line was intended to explain away the obvious splits in the AFM represented by the attempted rightist coups on September 28, 1974, and March 11, 1975.

In any such conspiratorial movement there are bound to be various layers of officers and various degrees of commitment, with the lowest offi-

cers, who take the greatest risks, generally being the most radical in speech and the most determined in action. The AFM has thus drawn the support of many radicalized young officers as well as radicalized civilians, and has maintained its control over them. However, the AFM has always striven to make itself as representative of the military command as possible; and since the April 25 overturn it has continued to bring in officers on the basis of the positions they hold in the military hierarchy. In addition, representatives of the lower ranks of the armed forces have been incorporated in the formal organs of the AFM to make these bodies better transmission belts for the directives of the military leadership and better barometers of the political processes at work in the armed forces, as well as to divert demands for real democracy in the armed forces. In accordance with their bonapartist strategy, the military tops also brought some left-wing elements into the AFM assemblies to counterbalance the right and increase their maneuvering room.

As a conspiratorial opposition movement under Caetano, the AFM attracted officers influenced by various political currents hostile to the Salazarist regime. In response to the logic and the pressures of the struggle against the old dictatorship, as well as the pressure of the masses following April 25, there was a tendency toward radicalization, in the lower echelons of the AFM in particular. This tendency was reinforced by the mass mobilizations in response to the attempted right-wing coups on September 28, 1974, and March 11, 1975.

In these cases, the most conservative elements in the armed forces feared that the democratic ferment and social struggles were getting out of hand and that the process of reform could not contain the masses but would inspire them to further struggle. At the same time, they were unwilling to accept the minimum demands of some nationalist movements in the colonies. If successful, this "restoration of order" would have meant a purge of important sections of the AFM now regarded as "unreliable" by the conservatives. In each instance, the masses mobilized to defend the military regime, which they identified with their new-found freedoms and the perspective of socialism. These coup attempts further compromised the already discredited Portuguese capitalist class and shifted the balance of forces in favor of the working masses. As a result, the process of radicalization accelerated in the ranks of the armed forces and at the lower levels of the officer corps, and after each coup attempt the AFM was obliged to adopt correspondingly more "socialist" and "anti-imperialist" verbiage in order to divert the political process into the channels of the AFM.

However, the AFM has remained the essential political instrument of the Portuguese imperialist bourgeoisie. And its objective has continued to be to modernize and strengthen Portuguese capitalism—not to overturn it. It simply found itself obliged to rely heavily on demagoguery to persuade the Portuguese workers to help out capitalism in its hour of need. It is also using "socialist" phrasemongering to put capitalist needs in a better light as a first step toward restoring the dominance of bourgeois ideology and of bourgeois "law and order" and repression.

One example of the demagoguery of the AFM is its use of bourgeois nationalism. Since its successful April 25, 1974, coup, the ruling military group has carried on a campaign designed to restore the hold of Portuguese nation-

Forces Movement

alism, which had been largely discredited through its use by Salazar. In order to accomplish this, it has posed as a national liberation movement borrowing the anti-imperialist themes of the rebel movements in the colonies. In the same way, it has tried to borrow the repressive features of the colonial bonapartist regimes and the Stalinist regimes, which, since they are identified to some extent with revolution and progressive struggles, are not so discredited as the repressive devices of the old regime.

Since the April 25, 1974, overturn, the AFM has served as the real government of capitalist Portugal and the empire, using the various provisional cabinets as a means of presenting a civilian façade and assuring the support of the mass reformist workers parties for its rule. During this time, it has presided over and maintained a capitalist imperialist system, consistently taking the side of the bourgeoisie against the workers in economic conflicts. It has made only such concessions to the mass movement as were inescapable if popular support were to be retained and its position held against both the more conservative bourgeois elements anxious to halt the reforms at any cost and the more combative elements in the workers movement threatening to push them out of control.

At every stage the AFM has striven to maintain as much control over the colonies as possible without endangering the conversion to neocolonialist methods. There have been differences over the amount of concessions that had to be given. An example is the reported dispute between Spínola and the present leaders of the AFM over

'The masses began to express themselves for first time in forty-eight years'

withdrawal from Mozambique. The Portuguese imperialists have also been forced to make more concessions than they originally intended.

However, the essential continuity in the policy objectives of the imperialist bourgeoisie has been maintained by its present political agent, the AFM. This is shown, among other things, by the maintenance and reinforcement of the Portuguese military intervention in Angola and by the attempts of the AFM, including its supposed "radical" wing, to regain political support in Portugal for keeping troops in the economically and strategically more important colonies. The fact that the AFM has used "socialist" and "anti-imperialist" demagogy in its attempt to persuade the Portuguese masses to accept continued military intervention in the colonies and continued sending of troops there is indicative both of its methods and its objectives.

From April 25, 1974, until August 1975, there have been five "provisional" governments in Portugal. The rapid turnover testifies to the deepening instability of the bases of bourgeois rule in face of the continuing democratic ferment, the growing social struggles, advance of the colonial revolution, and worsening economic situation. Throughout this process, the provisional governments have been paralleled by military bodies that have functioned as the real governmental authority. The pact signed between the AFM and the main bourgeois and reformist parties in April 1975 in fact tried to formalize this situation by setting up a two-tier governmental structure in which all the decisive

powers were to be exercised by the AFM bodies.

In political composition, the various provisional governments have all been openly popular frontist; and this actually was their main value to the bourgeoisie. The political tendencies and orientations represented in the military bodies have been more veiled, which again constitutes one of the main political advantages of these bodies to the bourgeoisie.

The steady shift since July 1974 toward more and more reliance on the military formations as the political leadership of the bourgeois state had as its complement an accentuation of the bonapartist balancing role of the AFM. Parallel to this trend toward more open military rule, the AFM has escalated its socialist-sounding demagogy and in particular resorted to petty-bourgeois radical themes such as the need for "national liberation" in Portugal, "direct democracy," and various populist nostrums.

3. The Upsurge of the Masses

Because of the sudden collapse of the repressive regime and the extreme political and organizational weaknesses of both the capitalists and the workers, the fundamental classes in Portugal, the political and social situation has remained very fluid.

The old regime fell completely discredited. To a large extent, the bourgeoisie and bourgeois ideas shared in its disgrace. In vast ferment, the masses began to express themselves for the first time in forty-eight years, to examine forbidden ideas, to take hope in their ability to change their conditions. As the best known opposition group, the Communist party had the most prestige. But all the opposition groups, all the left parties and groups, were taken seriously by the masses. All tendencies and groups received substantial press coverage. There was an unprecedented openness to revolutionary ideas on the part of the masses and an attitude of giving equal consideration to the proposals of all tendencies on the left. The ferment of revolutionary ideas spread irresistibly, threatening to dissolve even the discipline of the armed forces, the last prop of capitalist order.

The workers in the factories and the poor masses in the neighborhoods organized spontaneously. Hated bosses and strikebreaking goons were purged. Unused housing was seized. The workers asserted the right to hold meetings and organize assemblies in the plants. The factories became centers of political discussion and activity. Wage gains were made.

Democratic factory committees sprung up in most of the big plants. They were elected by general assemblies involving all the workers. From the craft-union fragmentation imposed by corporatism, the workers went in one leap toward democratically organized industrial unions and opened the perspective of soviet forms of organization.

The splits in the military command that developed as some sections of the bourgeoisie began to fear that the mass movement in Portugal and the colonies was getting out of hand opened the way for democratic organization in the armed forces, especially in the military police, the navy, and some regiments of the army. This development has posed the most immediate danger to bourgeois rule since the April 1974 overturn, provoking some bourgeois forces to turn to very radical-sounding demagogy in an attempt to maintain political control of the process, and other sectors to strike out desperately to crush it before it got further out of hand.

Combined with a sharpening economic crisis and partial paralysis of the bourgeois repressive forces, the ferment in the working class led to a series of factory occupations, the imposition of elements of workers control, and to demands for nationalizations. The workers turned to nationalizations as a way of preventing layoffs and countering claims by the capitalist owners that they could not afford to meet demands for better wages and conditions. They imposed workers control to prevent factory closures and in some key cases, such as the banks, to prevent the capitalists from using their economic power to mount an attack on the workers movement.

In the instance of the banks, the government was obliged to give in to the workers' demand for nationalization partially to defend itself against sections of the bourgeoisie who were now opposed to the reform policy it represented. In other cases, the government resisted demands for nationalizing profitable enterprises. However, because of the economic crisis and the need to reorient the economy in line with the change represented by abandoning the Salazarist regime, the government itself initiated a series of nationalizations to bail out key capitalist interests and strengthen Portuguese capitalism. In the given political context, these nationalizations had contradictory effects: On the one hand, they spread illusions that control of the economy would actually be handed over to the workers; on the other, they encouraged the workers to press for nationalizations going beyond what was acceptable to the capitalist class. This contradiction was expressed most concretely on the political level by the demagogy of the government and the Communist party, calling on the workers to work harder since they now "controlled" production. This kind of "workers control," tied to increasing production, had the effect of shoring up the capitalist profitability of plants in a period of political crisis when the capitalists could not themselves effectively manage their plants. Under these conditions, the capitalists could accept the loss of direct control over their property, even for a prolonged period.

As the radicalization deepened, landless peasants began to seize the land of latifundists, and agricultural workers began organizing unions and demanding equality with other workers.

The ranks of the armed forces became increasingly reluctant to stay in or embark for the colonies to carry out the Portuguese bourgeoisie's neocolonialist plans.

The fall of the Caetano regime gave great impetus to other social movements. The women's liberation movement, for example, quickly raised demands that went beyond what the military were prepared to grant. Despite the opposition of the new regime and the forces most closely allied with it, such as the Communist party, the small nucleus of the women's liberation movement aroused the interest of women in the poor neighborhoods, factories, and peasant villages, indicating that it has the potential for rapid development as the revolutionary process deepens.

The movement among university and high-school students against authoritarianism in the schools and against restricted access to education assumed powerful momentum, along with actions by students from the colonies. High-school students became its most dynamic sector. They entered into struggle against the new military "saviors" themselves and won victories.

It was essentially the continuation and deepening of the broad social ferment that split the AFM and led the more conservative elements to make desperate attempts to carry out right-wing coups in order to halt these processes. Conversely, when democratic rights and other gains of the revolution appeared to be dangerously threatened the masses have mobilized on a huge scale. The political process in Portugal has centered on issues that became explosive because of the concern of the masses over their democratic right to freely consider all alternative points of view and to assert their will as the majority of the populace.

The fight to defend and extend democratic rights in the factory, in the barracks, in society as a whole, is indispensable to advancing toward the

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Force of mass upsurge came as surprise to Portuguese rulers.

...Portugal: role of the Stalinists and

Continued from preceding page

establishment of a workers and peasants government. This fight for a workers and peasants government constitutes the decisive axis of struggle in Portugal today. With their deceptive schemas of "direct democracy" subordinated to a military regime, the demagogues seek to divert the working class and the peasantry from seeing this reality and organizing accordingly.

A major obstacle to mobilizing the masses to struggle for democratic rights, popular sovereignty, and a workers and peasants government is represented by the leaderships of the mass reformist workers parties and their satellites, since all of them favor subordinating the workers movement to the unelected military regime, the main defender of capitalist order in Portugal today. However, there is a strong sentiment among the working class as a whole, which these leaderships cannot ignore, for united-front action in defense of democratic rights, and social gains that have come under attack. Furthermore, they have already been obliged, in different ways, to defend certain democratic rights at certain times for their own specific interests as bureaucrats. The fight to defend the social and economic gains of the toilers, democratic rights, and popular sovereignty, in order to move toward a government of the oppressed and exploited, also brings out the contradictions of the reformist parties most sharply and poses the need for a working-class united front in the strongest way.

4. The Stalinists Support the Bourgeois Order

During the first phase of the new regime, the Communist party and its petty-bourgeois front, the Movimento Democrático Português (MDP—Portuguese Democratic Movement), played a crucial political role in upholding the military government. It was the only political force not compromised with the old regime that had an effective apparatus, and this machine became in effect the mass apparatus of the new regime. It was the only current in the working class that acted like a mass party despite its small size—it took up issues of concern to the masses. This helped it to move to the center of the stage with extraordinary speed, while other currents were trying to assess the situation or were preoccupied with sectarian considerations.

'Portuguese CP is thoroughly Stalinist'

It was the forces of the Communist party that dominated the giant May 1, 1974, demonstrations and rallies in the wake of the downfall of the Caetano government on April 25 and that turned them into demonstrations of support and adulation for the military. It was this apparatus that enabled General Spínola to build his bonapartist image and thus to move swiftly toward restoring a strong bourgeois authority, which would have crushed the Communist party itself, among others.

The political influence of the Communist party hinges on maintaining its working-class base, and, in a situation where the bourgeoisie has been unable to restabilize its political dominance, the Stalinist leaders face great dangers as well as great opportunities for expanding their bureaucratic apparatus. Thus, in both the September 28, 1974, and March 11, 1975, coup attempts, they were obliged to accept mass mobilizations that, although politically and organizationally limited, had revolutionary aspects.

Nonetheless, the fundamental aim of



CP leader Cunhal after return from exile. He pledged support to military junta.

the Communist party goes counter to the revolution. Its objective, as clearly shown in the period since April 25, 1974, has been to serve as a transmission belt in the workers movement for the bourgeois regime, as the mass organizer for the AFM. The Portuguese CP and its mentors in the Kremlin have also tried to use their influence with the MPLA in Angola to further the neocolonialist plans of the AFM. The Portuguese CP today, which knows it has the support of a minority of the workers, prefers a military government with a populist façade to a parliamentary regime. The Stalinists believe that a government of this type offers better possibilities for carrying out the necessary minimal reforms while maintaining firm control over the masses, politically subordinating them to the bourgeoisie, and preventing them from "going too fast too far," as the Stalinists claim they did in Chile.

In view of the prerevolutionary situation in Portugal and the extreme weakness of the Portuguese bourgeoisie, such a solution recommends itself all the more to the Stalinists. A military regime, moreover, seems to offer greater guarantees to American imperialism that mass mobilizations will be kept within limits that will not endanger the status quo on a world scale. To the Stalinists it thus seems to offer a way of achieving their objectives without provoking intervention by Washington or endangering the détente.

As a result of the Communist party acting as the transmission belt and labor policeman of the military regime in Portugal, its popular support has lagged far behind the gains in bureaucratic influence it has achieved as a result of the strength of its machine and its privileged relationship with the AFM. Thus, the Portuguese Stalinists have become dependent on the current bourgeois forces remaining in power to preserve their posts in the provisional cabinet that serves as a façade for the military, as well as to preserve their positions in the labor movement. This situation has led them to take more and more openly antidemocratic positions and finally to join with the AFM in a drive to curtail freedom of the press and union democracy, and to suppress the left groups that do not

subordinate themselves to the military.

Wall Street in particular has taken advantage of these attacks on democratic rights to make publicity gains at the expense of the Portuguese Stalinists and Moscow and to issue warnings about what will happen if the Stalinists go "too far." However, the seemingly aggressive moves of the Portuguese Stalinists have been publicly supported by the Kremlin, and the PCP's class-collaborationist line represents no departure from the policy of détente toward American imperialism.

Although the Stalinists' objective is to consolidate their position as the indispensable auxiliary of the military and thus to prevent any challenge to their position from political rivals, their course is objectively making them more and more captive to the bourgeois military regime. At the same time, by playing the role of an auxiliary repressive force for a regime that cannot solve the economic and social problems of the Portuguese masses and is determined to make the workers pay the price of the deepening economic crisis, the Communist party is preparing the way for a resurgence of reactionary anti-Communism on a massive scale, not only among the petty-bourgeois strata but in large sections of the working class itself.

Acting on behalf of a bourgeois regime and against the development of the Portuguese revolution, the CP is helping to pave the way for restoration of one of the fundamental props of bourgeois rule—the fear among the masses that socialism means an end to their democratic rights and subjugation to a tyrannical machine.

The Communist party grew in the space of a year from a small nucleus to a mass party and has not yet had time to thoroughly consolidate the flood of new recruits. Political differentiations are possible, but as yet no major currents have appeared in opposition to the Stalinist leadership.

The ranks have been rallied behind the leadership through training in a fanatical sectarian spirit. The promise of material advancement for large layers of recruits through the party machine and its alliance with the military rulers also helps to harden this sectarian attitude and to reinforce the position of the leadership. The Portuguese CP is thus thoroughly

Stalinist, particularly distinguished among its sister parties in Europe only by its slavish adherence to the directives of Moscow.

5. The Left-Centrist Satellites of the Communist Party

Left-centrist groups have had a certain influence in Portugal, especially among the youth and the intellectuals but also among the military and the workers. The two parties of this type that participated in the April 25, 1975, elections, the MES (Movimento de Esquerda Socialista—Movement of the Socialist Left) and the FSP (Frente Socialista Popular—Socialist People's Front), won more than 2 percent of the vote between them, over half the vote of all the parties to the left of the mass reformist organizations.

Of these two groups the MES is the most serious. It had broken from the Stalinist-dominated popular front some time before the April 25, 1974, overturn and has tried to develop a theoretical alternative to Stalinism. The FSP is a crudely opportunistic formation. It began as a faction in the Socialist party that was disgruntled over the number of posts granted it in the leadership. The faction leaders decided in early 1975 to set up shop as peddlers of a more extreme version of the MES line. One of their selling points was radical Catholic connections. This group calls the SP a bourgeois party. The MES implies this but has not made it explicit. The FSP subordinates itself completely to the military, while the MES position is more ambiguous. The FSP signed the Pact-Program. The MES did not, but said it had nothing in principle against doing so. Both groups identify with the Latin American guerrillaist groups and attract a following at least partially through ultraleftist phrasemongering.

There are two groups that characterize themselves as armed organizations and that engaged in terroristic actions against the Caetano regime, the Partido Revolucionário do Proletariado-Brigadas Revolucionárias (PRP-BR—Revolutionary party of the Proletariat-Revolutionary Brigades) and the Liga de União e Acção Revolucionária (LUAR—League for Revolutionary Unity and Action).

All of these left-centrist groups constitute new ultraleft editions of old anarchistlike patterns, although this is most pronounced on the part of the groups that have actually developed around guerrillaist actions and not simply around identification with foreign guerrillaist groups. There are various shades of difference. The MES tends to take as models the ultraleft critics of Lenin in the Third International who made a fetish out of the soviet form and who called for soviets under all conditions in an abstract and romanticized way instead of taking up the concrete political task of winning a majority of the workers through leading the workers to break from the bourgeois and reformist parties. This is simply a new form of anarchism masquerading in "Marxist" and "Leninist" clothing. The LUAR comes closest to repeating the formulas of the historic anarchist currents. But these are merely nuances. All of them have essentially the same orientation, and all of them echo the CP line of supporting a military dictatorship with a populist façade.

The MES was in a relatively strong position vis-à-vis the Communist party in the labor movement prior to the April 25, 1974, coup. However, its groups were built in the syndicalist tradition. What they call their "rank-and-filist" orientation did not reveal its

ultraleft groups

weaknesses so clearly under conditions of repression, when workers struggles were scattered and the initiatives of small groups of fighters had more impact. However, its ineffectiveness became glaring when the workers movement reached massive proportions and had to face the political problems posed by a bourgeois government using concessions and demagoguery rather than outright repression to contain workers struggles. As a result, the MES groups in the union movement suffered severe setbacks.

In particular, because of the emphasis of this group on "rank and filism" and initiatives from below, general political questions, such as the attitude to be taken toward a bourgeois government supported by the mass reformist workers parties and how to project a working-class alternative to it, were obscured. The need to propose a working-class governmental alternative to the AFM was lost in the vague concept of the masses organizing themselves. Concretely, this resulted in the acute contradiction of MES activists participating in strikes that were denounced as "reactionary provocations" by the government while the MES itself gave political support to this same government. Ultimately this line boiled down to the simplistic formula that the AFM had to "fuse with the people's movement."

What this evolution demonstrates is the incapacity of the renovated anarchist-type notions to solve the real political problems facing the working-class movement, the problems of breaking the political hold of a demagogic bourgeois government and reformist mass parties. In this, the failure of the MES is reminiscent of the failure of the anarchists during the Spanish Civil War. The fact that this orientation is covered up with implicit and explicit references to "soviets" does not mean that these groups are moving toward Leninism. To the contrary, following their own petty-bourgeois centrist course, they have been tending to approximate the ultraleft misinterpretation of the experience of the Russian revolution first advanced by such figures as Anton Pannekoek.

As a result of its anarchist-type confusion, including the opportunism this confusion breeds, the MES has failed to see the democratic issues involved in the conflict between the Socialist party and the military government and has in effect adopted only a souped-up version of the CP's anti-

democratic campaign. Despite its denunciation of the CP's "reformism" and "conciliationism," it has become an auxiliary of Portuguese Stalinism, and serves as an advance patrol in the Stalinists' campaign against the SP.

The most extreme expression of this anarchist-type confusion is to be found in the Partido Revolucionário do Proletariado-Brigadas Revolucionárias, which was built on a program of urban guerrilla warfare against the Caetano regime. This group has created a phantom organization of "soviets," the "Committees of Workers, Soldiers, and Sailors," and has called on the military security forces, the Copcon, to abolish the political parties and the Constituent Assembly and turn power over to this nonexistent "people's power." Rarely has ultraleft braggadocio been carried to such aberrant conclusions. This ultraleft group has been used as a tool by a group of military officers seeking to abrogate political democracy, such as it is in Portugal, and consolidate a thoroughgoing military dictatorship.

6. The Confusionist Role of the Maoists

Up to now, a sizable section of the youth and the workers looking for an alternative to the left of the Communist party has been attracted to various Maoist groups, which have tended to coalesce into the following four groups: the União Democrática do Povo (UDP); the Frente Eleitoral de Comunistas (Marxista-Leninista), or the FEC(ml); the Movimento Reorganizativo do Partido do Proletariado (MRPP); and the Partido Comunista Português (Marxista-Leninista), or the PCP(ml), which sought to run in the elections as the Aliança Operária Camponesa.

The UDP was the dominant force in the factory council at the Lisnave shipyards in Lisbon from the fall of 1974 until the spring of 1975.

The FEC(ml) has been the organizer of the Grupos de Acção Antifascista (GAAF) in Oporto, which have specialized in attacks on meetings and headquarters of the right-wing bourgeois party, the Centro Democrático Social (CDS).

The PCP(ml) has played a leading role in the chemical workers union and is in very close alliance with the Socialist party.

The MRPP has functioned as a tight cult operating under different initials in its various fronts of work. In every



CP demonstration. Stalinist party has done its best to mobilize mass support behind military rule.

area, this group follows the theatrical tactic of trying to raise the red flag the highest, shout the loudest, and assume the most provocative stances. It has achieved no broad influence but has assembled a dedicated following that is probably larger than that of any of the other Maoist groups.

These Maoist groups differ in many respects, the sharpest dividing line being between the PCP(ml), which acts more like a right-centrist ally of the SP, and the others, which are generally ultraleftist in their poses. However, they all have one salient trait in common—sectarianism, which is exemplified in their common slogan, "Neither fascism, nor social fascism—people's democracy." The Maoists have proved incapable of understanding the real process of the development of political consciousness among the workers and have arbitrarily counterposed their own schemas to this process.

In the case of the UDP, this was expressed in an attempt to counterpose factory committees to the trade unions. By losing sight of the process of the organization of the working class as a whole, the UDP obstructed both the development of industrial unions and of genuine factory committees. This resulted in important sections of militant workers becoming isolated, in the factory committees becoming seriously weakened, and in the Maoists losing their positions.

In the case of the FEC(ml), it resulted in a small group conducting a private war against the CDS and the repressive forces of the bourgeois state.

In the case of the MRPP, its strident

ultraleft posturing aroused the hostility of large sections of the workers and the toiling masses toward the groups to the left of the Communist and Socialist parties.

In the case of the PCP(ml), it resulted in reinforcing sectarian attitudes toward the Communist party among the ranks of the other mass workers party, the Socialist party, thus helping to impede the mass workers organizations from developing united-front actions.

Thus the political program and conduct of the Maoist groups have contributed nothing to developing a revolutionary alternative in Portugal. Without exception, these groups have induced confusion among the militant soldiers and sailors, youth and workers influenced by them, and have led them toward isolation from the class. Along with the anarcho-centrists, the Maoists bear a major responsibility for the grip retained by the class-collaborationist SP and CP leaderships over the radicalized youth and the working class and thus for the continuation and deepening of the crisis of revolutionary leadership in Portugal.

7. Social Democratic Rivalry for Favored Position With the AFM

The Socialist party has become the main rival of the Communist party for mass influence among the workers and radicalized petty bourgeoisie. The Social Democrats, like the Communist party leaders, have a reformist perspective, which is expressed in subordination to the ruling military group. The SP differs from the CP in its methods of organization and political control. It is not a disciplined or homogeneous party. It seeks to control the working class by political and electoral means rather than by building a disciplined machine. Because of its relatively loose organization and its politically heterogeneous composition, it is much less suited than the Communist party to serve as a transmission belt for the military regime.

The SP requires the forms of parliamentary democracy as a means of developing its influence, competing with the machine of the Communist party, and in fact communicating with its supporters, if not even its members. It is as a result of this need that the SP has come into conflict with the Communist party and the military junta. This conflict has been developing since about a month after the fall of Caetano, when the military regime began to move toward cracking down on the radical ferment. Leaders of the SP have repeatedly spoken out in opposition to certain kinds of repressive moves by the military regime and have defended victims of the repression belonging to the groupings standing to



'Raise red flag highest, shout loudest, assume most provocative stance.'

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...Portugal: main issues facing the

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the left of the reformist parties. Another reason for this defense of the left groups attacked by the regime, which up till now have generally been Maoists, is to gain a certain left cover by association with non-Social Democratic left forces not allied with Moscow. Nonetheless, the result of this limited opposition by the Socialist party leadership has been to block more severe repression of revolutionary ideas and consolidation of a more stable bourgeois regime.

The Socialist party has more and more become the rallying ground for forces in the workers movement that refuse to bow to the Stalinists. Like the Communist party, the Socialist party expanded in one year from a small nucleus to a mass party. It is a Social Democratic party, that is, a reformist workers party that claims to represent socialism but whose perspectives are tied to the ability of its own monopoly capitalism to grant concessions to the workers. It does not strive to abolish capitalism and establish a socialist system; and it is not tied to a bureaucratic cast in any country where capitalism has been abolished.

However, the Portuguese Socialist party has developed in a way different from that of the Social Democratic parties in the other imperialist countries of Europe. It is essentially a new formation and is not yet based on a big trade-union bureaucracy.

'Facts do not support claim that SP has become rallying ground for reaction'

The initial nucleus drew together a number of strands of the non-Stalinist left opposition to the Salazarist dictatorship, all of which were deeply antagonized by the sectarianism and dogmatism of the CP, led by Alvaro Cunhal. Some of these elements, most notably Mário Soares, sought the support of the Socialist parties in Western Europe and the "democratic" capitalist countries. Some of them, like Soares, came out of the old bourgeois liberal milieu. Others, again like Soares, served an apprenticeship in the Communist party. A section of the SP leadership comes from the liberal Stalinists who left the Communist party after 1968, most notably the leader of the SP's trade-union work, Marcelo Curto. Another contribution to the initial nucleus was made by youth involved in terrorist actions against the old regime. Many radicalized Catholics were also attracted to the initial nucleus. The original group

included young intellectuals and activists influenced by the international youth radicalization who were critical of reformism but without a well-defined or consistent political perspective. These elements, who sought a broad arena of activity, were repelled by the Stalinism of the Communist party and its satellites and the Maoists.

This heterogeneity has increased during the growth of the Socialist party into a mass organization. The ideological and organizational looseness of the SP made it a gathering place for workers who were radicalizing but who were not ready to commit themselves to the political and organizational conformity demanded by the CP. It attracted in particular workers and intellectuals who feared the totalitarian features of Stalinism, and militant layers of workers who were repelled by the CP's policing the labor movement on behalf of the military regime.

This heterogeneous combination included, as was to be expected, elements bearing reactionary anti-Communist and anti-Leninist prejudices. Moreover, in the conflict with a Communist party seeking to use totalitarian methods in support of military rule, strong currents in such a combination were bound to seek support from the European Socialist parties and the "democratic" capitalist governments.

However, the facts do not support the claim of the CP and its ultraleft satellites that the SP has become the rallying ground for reaction.

The reality is that the SP has become the gathering place of the broadest range of forces representing the majority of the Portuguese workers and radicalized petty bourgeoisie. The working class is profoundly divided and weakened as a result of the policies of the CP and SP leaderships, and the conditions are being created for the restoration of an openly anti-working-class government in Portugal. Thus, the sectarian campaign the CP unleashed against the SP following the latter's electoral victory can at some stage prove suicidal for the Stalinists themselves. It in fact represents a deadly danger to the working class as a whole. In this campaign the CP is motivated by determination to defend the bureaucratic positions it has gained as a result of its role as mass organizer for the military junta as well as by Moscow's calculation that a regime like the AFM fits in best with its current diplomatic needs in the détente with Washington. This campaign of slander and demagoguery against the Social Democracy as the main danger goes counter to the interests of the revolution and must be characterized as reactionary.



AFM meeting in Lisbon. Military junta used demagoguery about 'direct democracy' but had no intention of surrendering any of the real power.

The development of anti-Communist and anti-Leninist sentiments among the Socialist party rank and file can best be fought by revolutionists showing in practice that they defend the democratic rights of the masses, and are battling to extend them to the barracks, the factories, unions, and any popular committees; that they are fighting to unite the working class and its political organizations around a program that genuinely responds to their needs and aspirations. Among other things, this involves exposing the demagoguery of the Stalinists and combating their campaign of slander against the Socialist party. It also includes unflinching criticism of the SP leadership's links to the AFM and popular-frontist orientation, which is a fundamental obstacle to the establishment of a workers and peasants government.

8. The Road to Workers Power and the Role of the Constituent Assembly

The revolutionary process has not reached the point where clear forms of workers power have emerged. What has appeared is sporadic and scattered mass initiatives, forms of workers control, and embryonic factory committees. These developments can point the way toward dual power.

Progress along this road hinges on a correct political course. The fundamental task is to bring the workers to break from subordination to the Armed Forces Movement and to assert their right to put a workers and peasants government in power.

This fight at the present time centers on the sovereignty of the Constituent Assembly, in which the workers parties have a substantial absolute majority and which is the only national body thus far elected by the populace. This is counterposed to the sovereignty of the unelected military hierarchy which constitutes the present government. Closely linked to this is the crucial struggle for democratic rights and democratic control in the armed forces. The various "direct democracy" schemas floated by the demagogues of the AFM are intended to divert the workers from insisting on the concrete expression of popular sovereignty through the Constituent Assembly; that is, by establishing a workers and peasants government. The AFM aims to keep the workers captives of the various popular-frontist provisional governments in which the CP and SP vie for portfolios. In the same way, the alleged "democratization" of the AFM, and the setting up of "revolutionary councils" under AFM tutelage, are designed to divert the ranks of the army from demanding their democrat-

ic right to organize independently of the AFM and to engage in political activity.

The ultraleftist schemas of "revolutionary councils" projected in opposition to the Constituent Assembly play into the hands of the military demagogues. This line of the centrist anarchist-type groups of calling on a bourgeois regime to abolish the only existing nationally elected body with political representation of the working masses in the name of phantom "soviets" and in return for vague promises from demagogic military officers amounts to criminal confusionism if not outright betrayal of the working class.

The capitulation of the anarcho-centrists to bourgeois military "saviors" is also expressed in their demand that the regime use its troops to back groups in the colonies that they consider to be the most "progressive" of those vying for power. This demand is helping the imperialist regime to roll back the sentiment among the masses for bringing all the troops home from the colonies. It thus plays a reactionary role. It also promotes the AFM's policy of restoring the armed forces as an effective instrument of repression.

The factory councils that appeared in the period following the fall of the Caetano dictatorship were a response to the need for an economic organization representing all the workers in an enterprise, a special need created by the fragmentation of the economic organizations of the workers under the Salazarist regime. These bodies have generally remained within the trade-union framework. They have not functioned as soviets. They have not taken political initiatives; they have not assumed control over industrial concentrations; they have not served as arenas of general political debate or as organizing centers of united-front action by the working class; they have not drawn into struggle the most oppressed layers of the masses; they are not seen by the workers as a center of power parallel to or competing with the government. The existing neighborhood committees represent even less a nucleus of workers councils that could lead to workers power.

The most advanced revolutionary-democratic forms of organization that have yet appeared in Portugal are the assemblies and committees of soldiers and sailors that have sprung up in various units at certain times. However, these have not become standing committees on any substantial scale except in the navy, which is not the politically decisive branch of the armed forces.

Parallel with its mounting attack on freedom of the press and on the



SP leader Soares. Social Democrats are replacing Stalinists as main prop of AFM.

working class

Constituent Assembly in the name of "direct democracy" and the "revolutionary process," the AFM has become less and less regarded by the masses of workers and peasants as offering hope for a way out of their difficulties. This decline in the prestige of the military is most marked among the peasantry, since only a revolutionary agrarian policy can begin to solve the problems facing the poor peasants in Portugal. The technical level of agriculture needs to be raised, landlordism abolished in the South, and government-subsidized aid projects established for the poor peasants in the North.

In the South, the agricultural proletariat and poor peasants have been able to profit from the paralysis of the bourgeois repressive forces to seize land and greatly improve their living standard. As a result, they have become strong supporters of the new regime. However, this process can soon run up against severe limitations and even be transformed into its opposite under a bourgeois government. State aid is necessary to effectively reorganize the extensive form of agriculture practiced in this area. Unless the land occupations are integrated into an overall socialist policy for agriculture, the actions of this militant but small layer of rural workers can serve to frighten the far larger stratum of smallholders in the North who fear that a "Communist" government would take away their land and livestock as well as subject them to bureaucratic controls and high taxes.

The failure of the AFM government in the countryside provides an index of its conservative nature. On the one hand, the continuing backwardness of agriculture has meant a continual rise in food prices for the urban workers. On the other hand, the failure to offer any hope of improvement in the lot of the peasants has turned this stratum toward reactionary "saviors." The recent "independence" demonstrations in the Azores are a clear example of this.

The deceit in the AFM demagogy about "direct democracy" is shown perhaps most clearly by the reactionary opposition of the military government to struggles for democratic rights in the high schools, an opposition

reaffirmed in the June 21 policy statement of the Conselho da Revolução (Council of the Revolution). Massive struggles for democratic rights by high-school students have shown this section of the population to be one of the most militant and most highly politicized in the country, and one of the least influenced by the military and the reformists. The June 21 statement points to a new attack by the military on this mass movement, which is struggling for real direct democracy and not "participation" under the rod of military tutors.

Thus, there are six axes of the revolutionary process in Portugal at the present stage.

1. *The defense of the economic gains of the workers and other layers of the masses, and the fight for the economic aspirations awakened by the fall of the Salazarist regime.*

2. *The struggle for immediate withdrawal of all troops from the colonies.*

3. *The struggle for democratic rights of the ranks of the armed forces.*

4. *The struggle for democratic rights and democratic decision-making in every area of social life.*

5. *The struggle for effective workers organizations.*

The Portuguese workers are still at an early stage of organization. The embryonic factory committees and nuclei of industrial unions that have developed, although they show certain advanced features, are still not adequate on a national scale to effectively defend the elementary interests of the workers. In this situation, propaganda and agitation for industrial unions, a united democratic union structure, and the transformation of the embryonic factory committees into action committees that can mobilize and represent the workers and poor masses in the industrial centers combine closely with other revolutionary tasks and form an essential component of a concrete revolutionary answer to the concerns of the masses of workers.

The fight for workers control in the present conditions also fits in with these tasks, and the workers have already asserted control in many instances to protect their specific interests, in the face of government

assaults, employer sabotage, and mounting unemployment and inflation. Workers control is necessary to obtain the economic information and organization necessary to defend jobs, to prevent the flight of capital, to fight inflation, and to administer a sliding scale of wages and hours. However, workers control cannot serve its purpose unless the workers make clear that they do not accept any responsibility for the functioning of the economy until they have real political power over it.

Because of the demagogy of the military regime and the Communist party—demagogy that has been reinforced by the anarchist predilections of the left-centrist groups—the danger is that a façade of "workers control" may be used by the government to induce the workers to accept austerity. If such a tactic is successful, it will result in profound demobilization and demoralization of the working class.

An example of how the government and the reformists have used the theme of "workers control" for demagogic purposes was provided by the closing of the newspaper *República*. In this test case, a brazen attack on freedom of the press and the right of expression of the largest party in the working class was justified by claiming that a small group of Stalinist-influenced printing workers had the right to impose political censorship over a daily paper disliked by the government and the Communist party.

The greatest danger to the organization of the workers on the economic level is the attempt by the military regime and its Stalinist supporters to impose the tutelage of the bourgeois state over the unions. The so-called Trade Union Unity Law, imposing Intersindical as the only legal national federation, was precisely an attempt by the military junta and the Communist party to subordinate the unions to the bourgeois state, to convert the unions into a transmission belt for the policy of the bourgeois government in the working class.

6. *The struggle for a workers and peasants government.*

On the political level, the workers in their great majority look for leadership from three sources: the Socialist party, the Communist party, and Intersindical, the trade-union federation. The Socialist party has the largest following and is the most attractive at the moment to the majority of the working

class. The Communist party and Intersindical are the strongest organizations of the working class and are looked to for leadership in action such as the resistance to the coup attempts in September 1974 and March 1975. At present no alternative to these mass organizations has credibility among large layers of workers. Nor can any alternative develop except as the masses learn in practice the limitations of the leadership offered by these organizations.

The only national politically representative body chosen by the workers and the masses in Portugal is the Constituent Assembly, in which the workers parties hold an absolute majority. The fight for a workers and peasants government cannot be waged without defending popular sovereignty and democracy, and concretely, without defending the Constituent Assembly against attempts by the Communist party, the military junta, and the SP leaders to undermine its authority and limit or destroy its sovereignty.

The struggle for a workers and peasants government focuses at present on the Constituent Assembly. The sharpest issues are defense of the Constituent Assembly, the demand that the Constituent Assembly represent the interests of the toiling masses who elected it, and repudiation by the workers parties of the Pact-Program,

'Fundamental task is to bring the workers to break from subordination to Armed Forces Movement'

which codified their capitulation to the military junta. By signing this agreement with the military regime, the leaders of the mass workers parties betrayed their responsibility to represent the workers who support them.

In the Constituent Assembly, the Socialist party stands in the most contradictory position, since it claims to represent the majority of workers as well as to have been mandated by the majority of the population. Moreover, the leaders of the Socialist party came into conflict with the military government ostensibly in defense of popular sovereignty and the democratic rights of the masses. But they continue to abide by the decrees of the military rulers. The Socialist party leaders are also less able to control their following and more dependent on their electoral popularity than their CP counterparts.

Incipient organs of workers power will arise out of united mass struggles of the working class, as they have in every previous revolutionary upsurge. In Portugal, the way cannot be cleared for such struggles without beginning by contesting the self-assumed right of the military government to rule. Acceptance of this pretension is not only the strongest force in maintaining subordination of the workers to a bourgeois leadership and the biggest impediment to their organization; it is also the main obstacle to the mass working-class organizations engaging in united-front actions.

Concretely, defending the sovereignty of the Constituent Assembly against the military government involves calling upon the Communist and Socialist parties, as the representatives of the overwhelming majority of the Portuguese workers and the majority of the Portuguese people, to establish a new government by exercising their majority in the Constituent Assembly and appealing to the masses and the rank and file of the armed forces to mobilize in support of it. These are also the main political forces in Intersindical, which should remain independent of any government, even a workers and peasants government, as the direct

Continued on next page



Striking postal workers meet in May 1974. Struggle for effective organizations is one of tasks still facing Portuguese workers.

...Portugal: a program for revolution

Continued from preceding page

defender of the economic interests of the workers.

Making this demand on the two mass parties of the working class is an essential part of the process of advancing a socialist governmental alternative to the military regime and exposing the incapacity of these parties to provide such an alternative.

As the disillusionment of the masses with the military regime deepens, and the economic crisis grows worse, the threat of a reactionary coup will become increasingly grave. At the same time, the AFM will lose its capacity and its desire to resist a rightist onslaught. Since its power is based specifically on the bourgeois army, it views arming the masses as a deadly threat. Furthermore, as the regime becomes more and more discredited, the masses will become increasingly reluctant to mobilize under its auspices, since this would continue to subordinate them to a regime over which they have no control, and which seems less and less inclined to respond to their needs and interests.

Thus, propaganda and agitation for mobilizing and arming the masses against the rightist hangmen can only be carried out successfully in combination with the struggle for a workers and peasants government.

9. Tasks of the Portuguese Trotskyists

Under the conditions of Salazarist repression, the Trotskyists were unable to carry out regular and thorough political discussion involving the entire organization. Likewise, they were unable to participate, except in a very limited way, in the life of the world Trotskyist movement. Among other things, this made it difficult to build a politically homogeneous organization on a national scale and to resolve tactical and incipient political differ-

'Threat of a reactionary coup will become increasingly grave'

ences without splits. Since April 1974, however, this tendency has been, to some extent at least, reversed.

Nonetheless, two separate Trotskyist groups still exist. The Liga Comunista Internacionalista (LCI—Internationalist Communist League) was recognized at the February 1974 world congress as a sympathizing group of the Fourth International. The existence of the other organization, the Grupo Marxista Revolucionário (Revolutionary Marxist Group), now the Partido Revolucionário dos Trabalhadores (Revolutionary Workers party), became known to the Fourth International only in the summer of 1974. These two groupings, of a similar size, have concentrated their activity in different arenas and are now complementary in certain respects. Their unification on a principled basis would represent a qualitative advance for Portuguese Trotskyism.

Both Trotskyist groups consist primarily of young people recruited in the student milieu. The PRT has many high-school activists. The LCI has a larger proportion of older activists with experience in the universities and in political campaigns. Both groups have begun work in the factories. In this the LCI has more experience. But neither organization yet has a substantial foothold in the workers movement. Under these conditions, the Portuguese



Demonstrators cheering defeat of rightist coup attempt last year. Disillusionment with military rule will open way to rightist take-over unless masses are won to revolutionary alternative.

Trotskyists face the following tasks.

1. To engage in common discussion to develop a rounded program for the Portuguese revolution and for building a mass Trotskyist party in Portugal.

2. To integrate themselves into the political life of the Fourth International and participate in its discussions.

3. To regularize and expand their propaganda work, in particular by publishing an attractive regular paper and assuring the translation and publication of Trotsky's works.

4. To demonstrate the practical applicability of Trotskyist ideas and principles in the broad struggles against exploitation and oppression.

The common program of the Portuguese Trotskyists should include the following points:

1. Mobilizing a broad movement to demand immediate, unconditional withdrawal of all Portuguese troops from the colonies.

2. Defense of the right of all members of the armed forces to discuss all political ideas and to organize politically on an equal basis in the barracks and on military installations. Full democracy within the armed forces, including the right to elect officers and discuss all orders that have a political significance. Defense of the right of military personnel to participate fully in the political life of the country without any restrictions. Mobilizing a broad defense for any military personnel victimized for political reasons.

3. Presenting a plan for a radical agrarian reform suited to Portuguese conditions. Since the great majority of the one-third of the Portuguese population engaged in agriculture are smallholders, this requires a program of state support for individual peasants, as well as the promotion of state-assisted cooperatives and state farms in the area of extensive farming. For the area where the rural proletariat predominates, it requires also a program for the farm workers unions. The great unevenness in the conditions of smallholding peasants should also be taken into account.

4. Offering timely immediate economic demands and democratic and transitional slogans to meet the needs of oppressed layers of the population, such as women and youth in particular.

5. Rallying the broadest possible front for the defense and extension of democratic rights. The political rights

of most of the workers organizations in Portugal have come under attack at various times since April 25, 1974, including the rights of each of the mass reformist parties. Yet the principle of solidarity of the entire workers movement against such attacks is far from established. Furthermore, even bourgeois and petty-bourgeois political forces and parties have contradictions on this question that can be exploited to serve the fundamental interests of the workers movement. For example, some elements in the bourgeois PPD protested against the police attack on pro-MPLA demonstrators in August 1974 more strongly than did the CP. While every major political party in Portugal claims to support democracy, only the revolutionists are capable of consistently defending and extending democratic rights.

6. Giving impetus to workers control to defend the interests of the workers against layoffs, the speedup, and attempts by the capitalists to use their economic power to sabotage the economy and block the advance of the proletariat toward taking power. Workers control is an extension of democratic rights to the factory and is necessary in the present stage to defend the democratic rights of the workers in the society as a whole against capitalist reaction. However, it can only play

this role if it serves the interests of the working class as a whole and is subordinated to a general perspective of developing workers democracy. Both the attempts by the government and the Communist party to make the workers work harder and the attempts of relatively small ultraleft groups to override the opinions of the majority of workers with minority initiatives and demagogic campaigns do not advance but retard the development of genuine workers control.

7. Winning the political independence of the working class from the AFM and any other bonapartist leaderships that may arise. This involves calling on the mass workers organizations to genuinely represent the interests of the workers and break from all forms of collaboration with the bourgeoisie, including the bourgeois military government in all its aspects, as a way of showing the workers in practice the limitations of their reformist leaderships. This includes calling on the mass workers parties to break the Pact-Program and establish a workers and peasants government.

8. Advancing the unity in action of the working class by pushing the demand for a united front of all organizations that claim to represent the workers in defense of the gains that have been made and against any offensive by bourgeois forces that threatens the proletariat as a whole. This includes the appropriate measures to arm the proletariat to defend its gains.

9. Advancing the independent organization of the working class so that the proletariat can meet the tasks of the class struggle in this period of crisis and win in a direct confrontation with the bourgeoisie. This involves pushing for broader and broader forms of workers organizations, industrial unions, a united and democratic trade-union structure, action committees and democratic factory committees that can unify and mobilize the broad masses of the workers in the industrial zones and draw in other exploited and oppressed layers, and finally regional and national congresses of workers organizations that can adopt general political policies and lead the working masses in taking decisive initiatives. The line of development is toward establishment of a workers and peasants government and the organization of soviets as the basis of a workers state.

Of Special Interest

Two Views on Portugal

In Defense of Portuguese Revolution

By Pierre Frank, Livio Maitan, and Ernest Mandel

For Correct Political Course in Portugal

By Gerry Foley, Joseph Hansen, and George Novack

In the September 8 and October 13 issues of *Intercontinental Press*. Send \$1.50 for both numbers. The address is Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Village Station, New York, New York 10014.

By Dick Roberts

The "New Economic Policy" that Richard Nixon proclaimed on August 15, 1971, purported to freeze wages and prices. A reminder might be necessary because prices continued to spiral upwards after NEP went into effect. In 1973 inflation got out of control.

Three previous *Militant* articles have discussed trends since NEP of U.S. wages and productivity, of international trade and finance, and of world energy prices. This article will examine inflation.

In fact, the sharpest price leap in America since the end of World War II occurred right in the middle of the "price controls" of the later phases of NEP. Prices for urban wage earners and clerical workers were 11 percent higher in 1974 than in 1973. This happened despite governmental agencies that were supposed to keep price rises within narrow limits. The 1973 food and fuel price spiral proved what Marxists had pointed out from the beginning of NEP, namely, that capitalist governments cannot control prices.

It is one thing to freeze wages or to limit wage increases. Wages are settled in contracts that can cover hundreds of thousands of workers at a time. The bosses have every interest in cooperating with a governmental wage freeze.

But prices are negotiated on a day-to-day basis covering an almost limitless number of different commodities—think of all the different parts of a car, for example—and purchases and sales take place at thousands of different points in the market. Capitalist profiteers have no interest whatsoever in controlling their own prices.

Need for inflation

Besides this, however, *postwar monopoly capitalism requires permanent inflation.*

Increasingly since World War II, economic slump has been ameliorated and a catastrophic economic collapse avoided by massive government deficits. Washington spends more money—primarily on weapons—than it takes in through taxes.

Monopolists respond to the infusion of "surplus purchasing power" by raising prices. "The one primal force that puts all prices up in general inflation is the spending by the national government of more money than it takes in," the *Wall Street Journal* said September 22. The remark would not have been likely to appear on the front page of America's foremost financial newspaper four years ago.

The *Journal* gave figures for the rising government deficits. In the last twelve years Washington has had budget deficits in every year except one. For the six years from 1965 to 1970, before NEP, the deficit averaged \$6.5 billion a year.

For the six years from 1971 to 1976 (based on the estimated 1976 deficit) the deficit will average \$28.0 billion a year—more than four times as much!

These figures point to the main source of inflation in the American economy. They also give warning that a new burst of inflation is certain to come with economic upturn in the next period.

The crux of the matter is that Washington does not aim at eliminating inflation. It aims at keeping the rate of inflation in the United States lower than the rates of its main imperialist rivals.

And this has been largely successful in the last four years, as we showed in the previous articles in this series. The United States has gained an edge in foreign competition by keeping U.S. price and wage increases below the levels of increase abroad.

Nixon pretended to present a plan that would benefit all Americans. But the reality of NEP is a strategy aimed at benefiting U.S. corporations and their owners at the expense of the overwhelming majority of Americans.

There is another side to permanent inflation that is rapidly emerging as the paramount concern of U.S. imperialism. This is the huge expansion of credit that is necessary to finance years of inflation.

When the government spends more than it takes in it is not simply a question of printing extra money. Deficit expenditures are borrowed.

The government prints bonds and sells them to bankers, corporations, and private individuals. This raises the needed revenues. But the government must eventually repay the holders of these bonds—at interest.

The "public debt"—that is, the outstanding value of bonds Washington has sold and must repay—mushrooms. Interest on it has long been the second-highest item on the government budget after direct weapons purchases.

"Government borrowing in the fiscal year that began last July 1 is expected to top \$80 billion, up from \$51 billion in the past year. . .," the *Wall Street Journal* reported September 30.

"At the beginning of the current fiscal year, the

Nixon's NEP: inflation they can't cure



federal debt already totaled \$544 billion, up 68% in a decade. Just paying interest on the debt now costs \$36 billion a year."

It is this colossal government debt that underlies the "capital crisis" that has come to center stage in American finance. As the government borrows more and more money—and the process spreads throughout the economy to banks and industry—interest rates are driven up.

A person who owes a lot of money is a greater credit risk than one who doesn't. The government of the United States is not immune to the same considerations. Where Washington could finance the Second World War at short-term interest rates of less than 1 percent and long-term rates of less than 2.5 percent, it has to pay more than 6 percent short-term today and more than 8 percent long-term.

These are the lowest interest rates in the economy. Other rates pyramid upwards from this base.

New York default?

The credit balloon can then take on a semiautonomous momentum of its own. Increasing consideration must be paid simply to the raising of funds to support the ever-growing principal and interest. Credit was expanded in order to supply inflationary purchasing power to prop up the economy. The process seems to have limitless possibilities—as long as the economy expands.

But what happens in a downturn or, as in the United States today, when a recession has deepened into depression? Revenues shrink. Profits, incomes, sales, and tax revenues all drop. But the credit balloon doesn't disappear. It still has to be financed.

The imminent default of New York City brings into sharp focus the contradictions of a permanently inflated capitalist economy under the duress of depression. In the case of New York, debt service is not number two, it is number one in the city budget.

And despite extensive bailing out operations by the leading American banks headquartered in New York City, despite increasing loans from the state government, and despite ever harsher measures against workers—including mass firings, a wage freeze, and the slashing of social services—there still doesn't appear to be enough money to finance New York's debt.

Business Week issued a special report September 22 on the "Capital Crisis" facing the United States: "The jaws that threaten the nation's well-being are not those on the giant fish that looms up in front of moviegoers, but those on the yawning capital gap that faces the U.S. this year and as far ahead as anyone can see. For the failure of the supply of capital to keep up with demand could eat the nation's standard of living alive. . . .

"Indeed," said *Business Week*, "under the lash of a federal budget deficit of more than \$100-billion in two years, this symptom of a capital shortage is already present in the U.S. financial markets even though the demand for funds is low because of recession. . . .

"For a disturbingly large number of would-be borrowers, from New York City to some of the nation's largest corporations, there is no money to be had today at any price."

The bankruptcy of W.T. Grant, the third-largest U.S. retailing chain, a few days later underscored the point.

Inflation comes full circle. It has supplied the credit to salvage the economy from catastrophe in the short term but at the cost of preventing a sustained recovery. "Constant upward pressure on interest rates, and high inflation. . . will make prolonged business upswings impossible but prolonged recessions easy," *Business Week* fears.

But what are the alternatives? The central economic lesson of the past four years has been that between inflation and depression there is no stable middle road for the American economy. This theme will be further developed in the final article of this series.

Further reading

Bourgeois politicians and economists boasted of taming the periodic crises of capitalism through manipulation of fiscal and monetary policy, as prescribed by Keynes. But the miracle cure backfired, leading to the rampant inflation and mass unemployment of the 1970s. Dick Roberts explains why Keynesianism could not overcome the contradictions of the profit system.

Capitalism in Crisis

By Dick Roberts 128 pp., cloth \$6, paper \$1.95
Order from Pathfinder Press,
410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

The Socialist Workers party

The Socialist Workers Party in World War II by James P. Cannon. Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014, 1975. 446 pp. \$14.00, paper \$3.95.

James P. Cannon was the central leader of the American Trotskyist movement from its inception in 1928 until 1953. *The Socialist Workers Party in World War II* is a collection of Cannon's speeches and writings from April 1940 through the end of 1943. It is a record of how the SWP met the onset of World War II.

This was a war that was supported by the great majority of American people. They saw Washington not as

Books

an imperialist power pursuing its own predatory interests, but as a champion of democracy against fascism. The problem facing the SWP was how to carry out revolutionary activity under these circumstances.

From the very beginning it was clear to every thinking person that U.S. entry into the war was only a matter of time, and the impact of this was felt inside the SWP. In April 1940, 40 percent of its membership, including most of the party's best-known writers and intellectuals, deserted the SWP.

Those walking out rejected the need to defend the Soviet Union against imperialist attack. The Trotskyist position was—and still is—that the Soviet economy incorporates the historic conquests of the Russian revolution. The USSR is a bureaucratized workers state that must be defended in spite of the Stalinist leadership that has seized control of the government, just as a trade union must be defended against attack by the bosses regardless of the nature of its leadership at any given time.

As Cannon explained in the first selection in this book, the splitters were driven by the approach of the war, and especially by the frenzy generated in liberal circles by the Stalin-Hitler pact. He wrote:

"Stalin in alliance with the brigands of French imperialism, and prospectively with the United States, was acceptable to democratic public opinion; his frame-up trials and purges and his bloody work in Spain were passed over as the peccadillos of an eccentric 'democrat' . . .

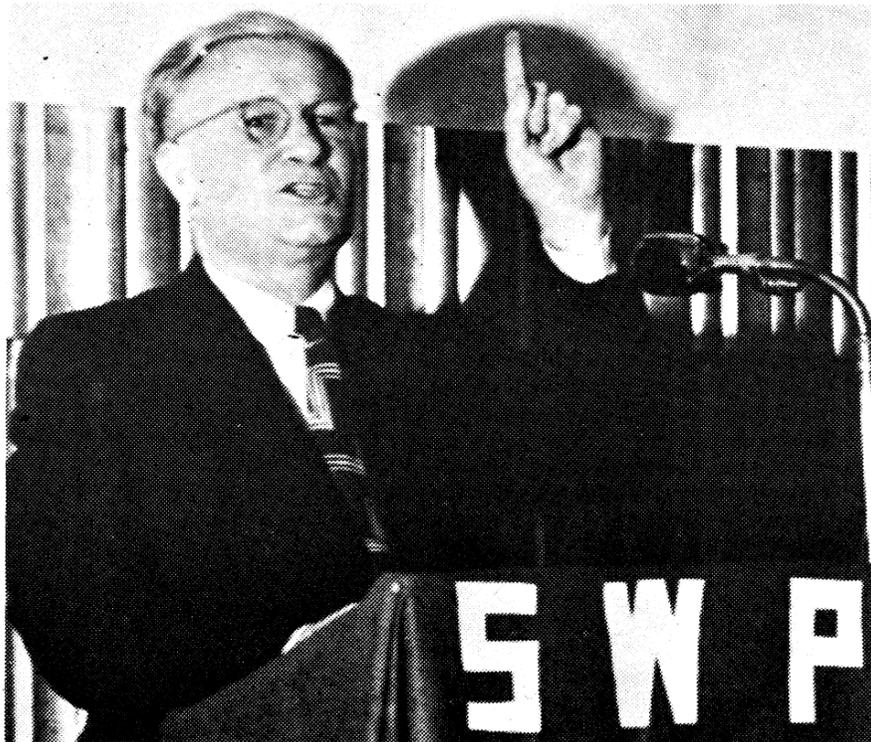
"When the same Stalin 'betrayed' the imperialist democracies by making an alliance with Hitler Germany, he became anathema to the bourgeois democrats."

Murder of Trotsky

The loss of 40 percent of its membership was not a small blow to a party of 1,000 people. Nevertheless, the completion of this internal struggle was a necessary step in preparing the party for the war. It could have been evaded only at the cost of compromising the SWP's revolutionary program.

Cannon understood above all else that the power of the revolutionary socialist movement, its ability to mobilize the masses, rests on the appeal of its ideas. The understanding that a correct program is more important than anything else for a revolutionary party runs like a thread through all of Cannon's writings, and this book is no exception.

It was this idea that Cannon returned to four months after the split in



Smith Act prosecution failed to silence SWP. Above, Cannon speaks at defense meeting in Minneapolis.

the SWP when, in August of 1940, Leon Trotsky was murdered by a Stalinist agent in Mexico. In his magnificent memorial speech "To the Memory of the Old Man," Cannon responded to the question—asked by many—of whether the SWP and the Fourth International would be able to survive.

"Without the slightest hesitation we give an affirmative answer to this question. Those enemies who predict a collapse of Trotsky's movement without Trotsky, and those weak-willed friends who fear it, only show that they do not understand Trotsky, what he was, what he signified, and what he left behind. . . . A great heritage of ideas he has left to us; ideas which shall chart the struggle toward the great free future of all mankind."

Applying the program

Of course, Cannon also understood that ideas alone were not enough. The ideas of socialism can only be realized through the work of a revolutionary party. Having defended its program and having survived the blow of Trotsky's assassination, the SWP still had to find a way to speak to the American working class, despite pro-war patriotism and government repression.

Cannon had no patience at all with the formalists who—then as now—thought that it was sufficient activity for revolutionists to merely quote the slogans developed by the Russian Bolsheviks. In a letter on the SWP's press policy, he noted that "since our aim is to influence a specific, known type of human, namely the American worker, we venture to take the privilege of approaching him in terms he can understand and with arguments which can be of interest to him and lead him in the direction of action."

"All sectarians have one thing in common: they always call for action but never think about the methods and tactics of preparing and organizing it, consequently their 'action' never breaks out of the boundaries of a printed thesis."

The groundwork of the SWP's approach to the working class during the period of the war was established with its adoption of a resolution on military policy in the fall of 1940.

While opposing the imperialist war carried out by Washington, the SWP did not propose a pacifist program of draft resistance. The party's job was to stay with the masses of working-class youth and try to convince them of its ideas. As Cannon explained it in a speech to the leadership of the SWP:

"The workers don't want to be conquered by foreign invaders, above all by fascists. They require a program of military struggle against foreign invaders which assures their class independence. That is the gist of the problem."

Elaborating on this program, Cannon noted: "As long as we can't take the factories away from the bosses we fight to improve the conditions there. Similarly, in the army. Adapting ourselves to the fact that the proletariat of this country is going to be the

proletariat in arms we say, 'Very well, Mr. Capitalist, you have decided it so and we were not strong enough to prevent it. Your war is not our war, but as long as the mass of the proletariat goes with it, we will go too. We will raise our own independent program in the army, in the military forces, in the same way as we raise it in the factories.' . . .

"The workers themselves must take charge of this fight against Hitler and anybody else who tries to invade their rights. That is the whole principle of the new policy. . . ."

Among the ideas advocated by the SWP were the right of the ranks to choose their own officers, and that military training should be under the direction of the trade unions. The Roosevelt government, however, had other ideas. In clearing the decks for its supposed defense of democracy abroad, Washington's first move was to attack the democratic rights of those at home who opposed the imperialist war.

Smith Act indictments

In July 1941 the federal government indicted twenty-nine people, Cannon among them, under the notorious Smith Act for the crime of "seditious conspiracy"—advocating the overthrow of the U.S. government. The victims of this frame-up were all prominent leaders of the Minneapolis labor movement, or national or local leaders of the SWP.

The indictments—which received the enthusiastic support of the Communist party—were handed down under direct orders from President Franklin D. Roosevelt, with the purpose of silencing opposition in the labor movement to the administration's war policies.

The SWP's response to this government attack remains a model to this day. The party members under indictment used the courtroom as a forum to explain their views, while appealing to public opinion against the attack on their democratic rights. Cannon's



Cannon speaking at New York memorial meeting following assassination of Trotsky

during World War II

testimony, later printed as a book under the title *Socialism on Trial*, became a much-read explanation of what socialists stand for.

Although eighteen of the twenty-nine people indicted were eventually convicted and sent to prison for various terms, the government was not successful in silencing the SWP. The Civil Rights Defense Committee, which was set up to organize the legal and political defense of the Smith Act victims, won endorsement from almost 250 labor organizations representing 1.5 million workers. Many Black organizations, such as the NAACP, and a large number of intellectual and academic figures also endorsed the defense.

The Smith Act prosecution did not come as any surprise to the SWP. In facing the approach of the war the party leadership had assumed that opponents of the government would be imprisoned. They remembered the experience of World War I, when the great socialist leader Eugene V. Debs was jailed for making an antiwar speech. Hundreds of antiwar radicals were similarly victimized in that period.

Furthermore, the outbreak of war automatically brought the Espionage Act of 1917 into force. This repressive legislation enabled the government to imprison for up to twenty years anyone its courts found guilty of making "false reports or false statements with intent to . . . promote the success of its enemies," or of attempting "to cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny, or refusal of duty" in the armed forces. In the past, the courts had used this act to imprison radicals who spoke up about their antiwar views.

Undergroundism rejected

Some of the most interesting material in the book deals with the discussion within the SWP on how to meet the government repression. The basic strategy of the SWP in meeting the attacks on it was laid out by Cannon in a report on "Our Party's Answer to the Prosecution" in October 1941.

"What shall be the general attitude to the party in the event of a successful prosecution," he asked, "that is, in the event of a conviction of the defendants involved in this case? Shall we accept this as a proclamation that our party is illegal, withdraw from the public scene, close down our offices, and establish underground corners and places of hiding, etc.?"

Cannon answered: "That would be, in the opinion of the National Committee, the greatest mistake. We don't intend to surrender our possibilities of legal functioning at the very first blow. In spite of all they say, we are not 'conspirators.' We are a political movement and we want to work in the open. The advantages of public activity, agitation, propaganda, and organization are so superior and so much more economical than similar work carried out by illegal and underground means that a serious revolutionary party has to fight to the last ditch to maintain its legal rights."

Referring to the decision of the SWP in New York to run in the mayoral election there, Cannon said, "It is one of the greatest things that ever happened in the party, that the reaction of the New York party organization to our indictment was not to run for cover but to go out in the open, in the election campaign, with the banner of the indicted comrades."

While refusing to abandon its activi-

ty or compromise its principles in this situation, the SWP also recognized the necessity of proceeding intelligently and with caution. Speaking three days after the attack on Pearl Harbor, in December 1941, Cannon explained:

"Now in the past, when we began back in 1938 to discuss more concretely just what our stand and our tactic, our technique, would be in the event of a war, we began to think in terms of a formula that would permit us to establish a clear record of what the party stood for and what its position was and, at the same time, not waste the cadres of the party in the first reaction to the war. . . .

"And have in mind that it is going to be many months before there is any kind of public reaction against this war. The most fatal thing we could do is shoot our whole bolt in this period and then be silenced by having the whole backbone of the party locked up somewhere when we could be using it



Some of the victims of the government's frame-up celebrating their release from prison

to be getting more deeply established, rooted in the unions, etc. . . .

"Our aim should be to have some kind of party functioning when public reaction will be more favorable."

The *Militant* was a particular target of the government's repressive moves during the war. In November 1942 the post office began holding up, and in some cases destroying, issues of the paper. This was the beginning of a year-and-a-half struggle for the right to distribute the *Militant* through the mails.

'Not concerned with truth'

The government's position was explained by William O'Brien, a post office attorney, at a hearing in Washington in January 1943. "We are not concerned here with questions of truth or falsity," declared O'Brien. "It does not make any difference if everything the *Militant* said is true."

While tenaciously defending the *Militant*, the SWP also was prepared for the worst. As Cannon asked at the beginning of the fight, "Let us assume that *The Militant* is suppressed. Then you have no public journal. What do we do then?"

He replied: "We will say, 'We can't say as much openly and legally now as *The Militant* said up to December 7, but we can say three-fourths of that, and since *The Militant* is a suppressed paper, we will try to get three or four people to start a new paper.'"

He stressed the need for tenacity. "We looked forward to various vicissitudes, changes of the situation, with a certain definite line guiding us all the time. We are going to keep our movement out in the open as long as

possible. We are going to develop as much public activity as we can, and we are going to try to exploit even the smallest possibility of keeping open contact with the workers, and the workers' movement, even at the cost of further prosecution."

As its title implies, *The Socialist Workers Party in World War II* is a portrait of the SWP as well as a guide to revolutionary policy. The ability of the party and its leaders to face the prospect of persecution and adversity with the calm determination and confidence that is conveyed by Cannon's speeches and writings was not due simply to the personal qualities of those involved.

What was decisive was their historical perspective, the understanding of how their actions could contribute to the creation of a new society. As Cannon explained in his memorial speech to Trotsky:

"Trotsky himself believed that ideas

are the greatest power in the world. Their authors may be killed, but ideas, once promulgated, live their own life. If they are correct ideas, they make their way through all obstacles. This was the central, dominating concept of Comrade Trotsky's philosophy. . . .

"In a personal letter to me, he once wrote: 'We work with the most correct and powerful ideas in the world, with inadequate numerical forces and material means. But correct ideas, in the long run, always conquer and make available for themselves the necessary material means and forces.'"

Cannon began serving a sixteen-month prison sentence on December 31, 1943, because of his refusal to repudiate his socialist principles. In the last selection in the book, "Speech on the Way to Prison," he pointed out:

"All people pay for their ideas what they think the ideas are worth. If some men are not prepared to pay with the sacrifice of one day's liberty or the missing of one meal or a little inconvenience for the sake of their ideas, they are only saying thereby that they set no serious value upon them. But we think our ideas are the most important thing in this world, that they represent the whole future of mankind."

Today we are once again in the midst of a growing crisis of capitalism. Increasing numbers of people are beginning to realize that socialism is the only way forward for humanity and to join the revolutionary party that Cannon spent his life in building. As for Cannon, although he is no longer alive to take part in the struggle for socialism, his writings will continue to help advance it.

—David Frankel

Wisconsin passes women's rights bill

By Alexandra Topping

MILWAUKEE—Wisconsin's state equal-rights bill, Assembly Bill 431, was passed recently by the state senate and will soon become law. It is one of the first state equal-rights bills in the country to be voted into law and represents a step forward in ending sex discrimination in this state.

The bill is different from the Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which Wisconsin ratified in 1972. Bill 431 is a series of amendments to existing statutes designed to eliminate distinctions based on sex.

In some cases, the bill will mean changing pronouns and nouns and guaranteeing that future statutes conform to the revised nonsexist terminology. For instance, man, wife, and widow are to be replaced with such terms as person, spouse, and surviving spouse.

Laws banning discrimination based on "race, religion, color or national origin" have been amended to include "sex." This change, as well as those amending terminology, will legally establish sexual equality in housing, wages, education, and other areas.

Opponents of equal rights for women have argued that important protective legislation won for women workers in the past would be endangered by bills such as this. Bill 431, however, amends such statutes so that they apply to all regardless of sex.

The current bill is a revision of the Equal Rights Implementation Bill rejected by the Wisconsin state legislature in 1973. Controversial issues such as rape and prostitution were deleted from this year's version.

Opponents of the bill managed to tack on two amendments. One abolishes the Governor's Commission on the Status of Women, replacing it with a Council on the Status of Men and Women. Another amendment transfers the commission's funds to the new council. This maneuver is designed to expose the amendment to partial veto by the governor, thus eliminating the commission/council altogether.

The bill had strong backing from groups supporting women's rights. At a September 15 public hearing in Milwaukee, speakers in favor of the bill included representatives from the Student Association of the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee; Women's Coalition, Inc.; Wisconsin Civil Liberties Union; National Organization for Women; Wisconsin Women's Political Caucus; Socialist Workers party; and the UW Feminist Center.

A central theme of the testimony was discrimination in housing against women living without men and against women with children.

Among those who spoke against the bill were members of the John Birch Society, who claimed the bill attacks the traditional structure of the family.

A few days before the bill passed the state assembly, a suit was filed in Oshkosh, Wisconsin, seeking an injunction against the bill becoming law. The plaintiffs charge that it infringes on their freedom of religion by eliminating the "God-ordained positions of men and women."

Calendar

BALTIMORE

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN CONFERENCE. Speakers: Willie Mae Reid, 1976 SWP vice-presidential candidate; Linda Jenness, 1972 SWP presidential candidate. Sat., Nov. 1, 1 p.m. Johns Hopkins Univ., Great Hall, Student Union (Levering Hall). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Maryland Socialist Workers 1976 Campaign Committee. For more information call (301) 467-5509.

DETROIT

MEDICAL CARE IN THE U.S.—YOU CAN'T AFFORD TO GET SICK! Speakers: Jim Freeman, M.D., Detroit General Hospital; Judy Hagans, R.N., member of SWP. Mon., Oct. 27, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 831-6135.

NEW YORK

FREEDOM FOR THE FIVE PUERTO RICAN NATIONALISTS! Bilingual rally to demand unconditional release of political prisoners held in jail more than twenty years. Speakers: José Rivera Sotomayor (Don Pepe), first vice-president, Nationalist party of Puerto Rico; Carlos Feliciano, former political prisoner; Catarino Garza, SWP. Thurs., Oct. 23, 8 p.m. St. Marks Church, 10th St. & 2nd Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 982-6051.

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

POLITICAL FILMS: Fri., Oct. 24, 8 p.m. 2726 Broadway (at 104th St.). Donation: \$1. Ausp: West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

OAKLAND/BERKELEY

WHAT PATH FOR LABOR? A report on the AFL-CIO national convention. Speaker: Art Sharon, veteran trade unionist and SWP leader. Fri., Oct. 24, 8 p.m. 1849 University Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: East Bay Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 548-0354.

PHILADELPHIA

THE MIDDLE EAST: SETTLEMENT OR PRELUDE TO WAR? Speakers: Peter Buch, author of *Burning Issues of the Mideast Crisis*; a representative of Arab Student Organization. Fri., Oct. 24, 8 p.m. 1004 Filbert St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) WA5-4316.

ST. LOUIS

PORTUGAL AT THE CROSSROADS. Speaker: Barry Sheppard, SWP national organization secretary. Sat., Oct. 18, 8 p.m. 4660 Maryland, Rm. 17. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (314) 367-2520.

WOMAN'S EVOLUTION AND HUMAN NATURE. Speaker: Evelyn Reed, Marxist anthropologist, author of *Woman's Evolution*. Wed., Oct. 22, 11 a.m. Graham Chapel, Washington Univ. Ausp: Assembly Series and Campus Programming.

FEMINISM AND WOMAN'S BIOLOGY. Speaker: Evelyn Reed. Fri., Oct. 24, 8 p.m. 4660 Maryland, Rm. 17. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (314) 367-2520.

SAN FRANCISCO

WHY WE NEED AFFIRMATIVE ACTION. Speakers: Howard Moore, attorney; Valerie Libby, SWP candidate for board of supervisors; representative from CLUW; others. Fri., Oct. 24, 8 p.m. 1519 Mission St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 864-9174.

SAN JOSE

FARM WORKERS' FIGHT FOR SURVIVAL. Also grand opening of new SWP headquarters. Speakers: Eva Terraza, San Jose State Univ. boycott committee; Destie Fauch, organizer of UFW organizing committee; Harry Ring, *Militant Southwest Bureau*. Party to follow. Fri., Oct. 24, 8 p.m. 123 S. Third St., Suite 220. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (408) 295-8342.

...Boston

Continued from page 6

and administrators, and the right to celebrate the birthdays of Black leaders. The students are demanding that South Boston High, a bastion of racist reaction in this city, be changed to conform to their needs.

Until October 9, no leader of the Black community had been able to enter South Boston High. But the suspension of the ninety-two Black students on October 8 required that a parent or guardian accompany them back to school for readmittance. Members of the crisis teams served as guardians.

The program is a special safety monitoring program for Black students and is directed by Ruth Batson, a central leader of the ten-year fight to desegregate the schools here. Batson led a team of fifteen members into the school on October 9. Among other members on the team were Ellen Jackson, director of the Freedom House community agency; Percy Wilson, director of the Roxbury Multi-Service Center; and Mac Warren and Maceo Dixon of the Student Coalition Against Racism.

In an interview, Warren and Dixon told of what they saw.

"Just as we got into the school," Dixon recalled, "in full view of the police, administrators, and students, a big, white student came up to a Black student and called him a nigger."

"The Black student said, 'What did you say?'"

"So the white student said, 'I called you a nigger.'"

"The Black student knocked him out with a punch," Dixon said, "and then he not only got suspended but arrested

for assault and battery. Nothing happened to the white student."

"The whole day I was there it was like that," Warren said. "Whites provoked Blacks, and the Blacks got suspended."

Warren told of one incident where a Black teacher's aide was walking a group of Black students to class. As they mounted a stairway, they saw at the top a group of white students blocking their way. The whites jumped them and started a fight.

"You have to remember these aides wear yellow shirts that say 'teacher's aide' on the back," Warren said. "But the cops came and led the white students away while one cop pulled a Black aide up by the neck and slammed her into a locker and whacked her with a club. Luckily, the Black students got away."

"The white students also wait at the top of the stairs and spit on Blacks. That kind of harassment, and name calling, and shoving is constant. But the cops, almost all of whom are white, assume the Blacks are at fault, even though Black students are outnumbered in hostile territory."

Dixon made it clear that protection is a must for the Black students. "If the police can't do it, then the national guard should come in, or federal troops should come in. And the Black community must be allowed to monitor whatever force is there so that if one hair on the head of one Black student is touched, that cop gets arrested and prosecuted for violation of that youth's civil rights."

...NYC

Continued from back page

nothing at all—not even a partial, deferred wage increase. He wanted to use that as a club to roll up a unanimous 'yes' vote and pass it off as a vote of confidence in his whole approach to the crisis.

"The executive board of my local, Local 1930, was the only one in District Council 37 that recommended a 'no' vote to its members. David Beasley, our local president, explained this recommendation in a Local 1930 newsletter.

"He called the wage deferral plan 'the result of Victor Gotbaum's policy

of appeasement. Victor said he gives in now to win it back another day. I hope he has something left, I just hope there is another day. But I doubt that we can go back to the society we knew just a short while ago. If we are wise, we shall fight to preserve what we have and plan for the future."

"Gotbaum seems to be afraid," Markey said, "of even one small local not capitulating. He brought a lot of pressure to bear for us to reverse our stand, and he let it be known that he thinks our local has 'declared war' on the district council.

"But we honestly believe that fighting back against these cutbacks is the only way to save the union from eventual ruin.

"And I'll tell you this," Markey added, "if that vote were taken again today, there would be no reason for anybody to vote for Gotbaum's deal, because its real results are now clear."

What about the talk of a general strike? "Of course," Markey said, "a general strike to protest the layoffs and cutbacks would be a great thing, a powerful step forward.

"It would mean using the real power of the unions to fight the cuts, instead of relying on backroom deals with Beame and Carey. Second, it would mean *united action* by the city unions, instead of the divisions and backstabbing you see now.

"But frankly, the strike talk by the Municipal Labor Committee is about 95 percent rhetoric and bombast. Their main gripe is that Beame didn't consult with them. Gotbaum says, 'We want to work with the authorities' to come up with some alternative plan for cutbacks, like reducing the work force through attrition. They seem to have given up all hope of fighting to stop the cuts.

"Instead of *empty* talk about a general strike, I would like to see some genuine *action*—marches, demonstrations, educational campaigns to rally the public to our side. That is how we can start now to prepare for whatever action it takes to stop the cutbacks and layoffs.

"I think after these latest attacks more people will begin to see that Gotbaum's policy of accepting the cuts and relying on Democratic 'friends of labor' like Beame and Carey is a total failure," Markey concluded. "I expect more discussion within AFSCME aimed at finding a better strategy."

Socialist Directory

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CALIFORNIA: Berkeley-Oakland: SWP, YSA, Granma Bookstore, 1849 University Ave., Berkeley, Calif. 94703. Tel: (415) 548-0354.

Long Beach: YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, CSU, 6101 E. 7th St., Long Beach, Calif. 90807.

Los Angeles, Central-East: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Tel: SWP, Militant Bookstore—(213) 483-1512; YSA—(213) 483-2581.

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Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 207 E. Michigan Ave., Rm. 25, Milwaukee, Wis. 53202. Tel: SWP—(414) 289-9340; YSA—(414) 289-9380.

Socialist campaign party

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 24, 8 P.M. Socialist Workers campaign benefit party. Special guest: Ed Heisler, national cochairperson of Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee. Party includes food, refreshments, entertainment. Walsh's Bar, 6018 Broad Street Mall (E. Liberty, near Highland Ave.) Donation: \$1.50. For more information contact 3400 Fifth Ave., Pittsburgh, or call (412) 682-5019.

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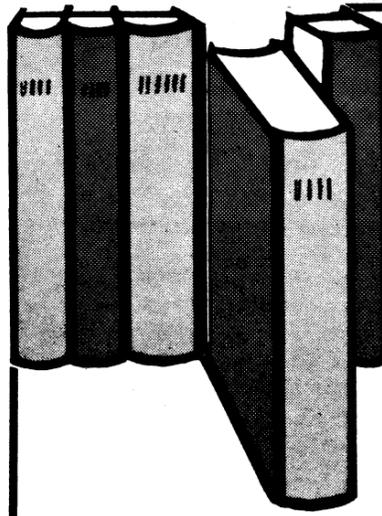
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THE MILITANT

What response from unions?

Harsh cuts yet hit NYC workers

By Andy Rose

NEW YORK, Oct. 15—The relentless drive against social services, jobs, and wages in New York City took another leap forward today as Mayor Abraham Beame announced new budget slashes of \$200 million.

For the first time since the city's financial crisis began, municipal union officials are making noises as though they might fight back, going so far as to raise the prospect of a general strike.

The new cuts fall hardest on education (\$40 million), Medicaid (\$17 million), and hospitals (\$10 million). Also badly hurt are the fire department, day-care centers, youth and senior citizen services, drug treatment, libraries, and museums.

Beame's latest plan calls for laying off thousands more city workers, on top of the estimated 31,000 already fired, and extending the city's wage freeze for at least three years, including cancellation of all cost-of-living increases and contract increments.

This comes less than two months after union officials pushed through acceptance of a "wage deferral" scheme by promising their members that further layoffs would be averted and that cost-of-living raises would be paid.

These same officials are now howling that they have been cruelly betrayed. "The governor and the mayor are trying to destroy collective bargaining in this city," Victor Gotbaum, head of District Council 37, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, said.

The Municipal Labor Committee, made up of officials representing some 270,000 city employees, met yesterday and warned that massive new layoffs would "be regarded as a collision course towards inevitable conflict and a general strike." The statement was also endorsed by Albert Shanker, head



BEAME: Freezes wages, slashes schools and hospitals, fires city workers.



GOTBAUM: 'We want to work with the authorities.'

of the United Federation of Teachers, which does not belong to the committee.

"There is not one union here that wants to strike," Gotbaum said, "but before we see the deaths of our contracts and our unions it would be the only mechanism left to protect our people."

Beame's cutback announcement culminated a series of calculated challenges to the unions in recent days:

- The board of education announced that in order to make cuts already demanded by the city it would violate major provisions of the settlement that ended the September UFT strike. In fact, New York Gov. Hugh Carey had already voided the minimal provisions of that agreement as "too costly."

- The same day as Beame's announcement, the chancellor of the city university system called for cutting

back the number of students and faculty by 20 percent.

- On October 10, the city personnel director announced that sanitation workers who struck last summer would be fined more than \$1.3 million, or \$120 to \$600 per worker.

The *Militant* talked with Ray Markey, a leader of AFSCME Local 1930 and a delegate to District Council 37, about the meaning of the new attacks on the city unions.

"This union-busting proposal from Beame," Markey said, "is the real payoff for the so-called wage deferral plan the Municipal Labor Committee agreed to last month."

"Victor Gotbaum actually boasted of his role in getting this legislation passed by a special session of the state legislature. He said it helped save the city from default—meaning that the banks will get all their interest pay-

ments on city bonds right on time. But what did this legislation really do?"

Markey explained: "Its most important provision was setting up the Emergency Financial Control Board, with absolute power to veto union contracts, to violate labor agreements, and to dictate whatever cuts it chooses in the city budget."

"This law also required Beame to come up with new cuts by today, October 15, of \$800 million over three years and \$200 million this year. That is exactly where these new cuts come from," Markey said.

He charged that Gotbaum had deceived AFSCME members, pointing to a question-and-answer article on "How the New State and City 'Rescue' Laws Affect City Employees," published in the September 26 issue of District Council 37's newspaper, *Public Employee Press*.

In the article, AFSCME officials claimed that "the likelihood of further layoffs is relatively slim. . . . Attrition, not layoffs, will be used to stabilize the workforce. . . . Most, if not all, of the permanent Civil Service workers who were laid off are to be returned to the payroll."

The article further claimed that the wage freeze would last only one year and that "all other scheduled increases, including COLA [cost-of-living adjustment], step-ups, increases in shift-differential, holiday pay and the like will be paid as called for in local contracts."

Markey commented: "The very least we should be able to expect from our union leaders is that they tell the truth, and not put over frauds like this on their membership."

"But the most disgraceful part is that Gotbaum got *written into the law* a provision that any local that didn't vote to approve this deal would get

Continued on page 30

Black teachers protest discriminatory layoffs

By José Pérez

NEW YORK—One hundred Black educators and supporters picketed here October 14 in front of city hall to demand an end to disproportionate layoffs of Black teachers and other school personnel.

Protesters carried signs saying "Black children need Black teachers," "Miracle city—qualified Black educators laid off," and "Rehire laid off Black teachers."

The demonstration was called by the recently formed Federation of Blacks Concerned with Education.

Two older Black women who teach at Public School 305 in Brooklyn explained that out of seventy-five teachers in that school, fifteen have been recently laid off. Twelve of the fifteen were Black, about half of the Blacks on the teaching staff.

Martin Cummings, a twenty-nine-year-old social studies teacher at Junior High School 57 in Brooklyn, was laid off September 12. That school had been the only one in the city to have a majority-Black teaching staff before the layoffs. Now the staff is majority white.

Cummings is head of the legal committee of the Brooklyn Coalition of Concerned Black Educators, one of the groups that cosponsored the demonstration.

He explained that during his twelve years as a student in New York schools, he had only one Black teacher, because Blacks were excluded from the teaching profession through many racist practices.

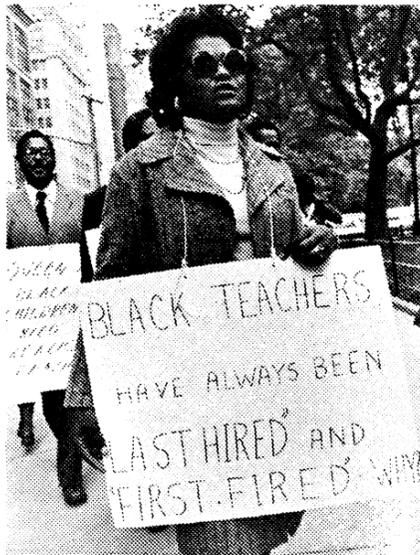
He described himself as one of a layer of Blacks who got into college and were able to get teaching positions

"because of the pressure of the Black movement."

"Now, we're the ones being laid off," he said. "We got up to about 9 percent Black teachers a year or two ago; now the figure is probably around 4 percent."

Cummings reported that the committee he heads was formed specifically to work with the NAACP in filing a suit demanding that the proportion of Blacks in professional positions in New York schools be restored to pre-layoff levels. The suit is expected to be filed within the next several weeks.

Other demands of the demonstration included "maintenance of the full school day with no shortening of class time" and "that Black studies be incorporated into the basic school curriculum."



Militant/Lou Howert