

THE MILITANT

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

How FBI aided Klan terrorists

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Government tanks move against rebel air force units. In wake of ultraleft coup attempt, military regime has launched drive against democratic rights. See page 6.

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THE MILITANT

VOLUME 39/NUMBER 46
DECEMBER 12, 1975
CLOSING NEWS DATE—DEC. 3

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

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

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

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

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

In Brief

GOV'T DROPS FEE ON ROSENBERG FILES: The Justice Department and the CIA have now decided to waive charges totaling nearly \$35,000 for release of secret files on the 1950s frame-up and execution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. A ten-cents-per-page copying fee had prevented the Rosenbergs' sons, Michael and Robert Meeropol, from obtaining almost 30,000 pages from files awarded to them in a suit under the Freedom of Information Act. The decision to drop the exorbitant charges came after protests were launched by the Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case.

Regarding the new decision, Deputy Attorney General Harold Tyler said, "I wish to affirm my belief that public examination of these records will demonstrate beyond reasonable doubt the integrity of the investigative, prosecutorial, and judicial processes as they were carried out in the Rosenberg [case]." However, Tyler and his cronies are still hiding from public examination what the Meeropols estimate at 270,000 to 470,000 additional documents.

NASHVILLE SPY OPERATION REVEALED: According to Nashville police, "groups that had caused trouble in the sixties" and anyone who "advocated the violent overthrow of the United States government" are on file at police headquarters. The existence of the intelligence files on 230 groups and individuals was recently revealed in articles in the *Nashville Banner* and *Nashville Tennessean*. The Coalition for the Protection of Political Rights has been initiated by the Tennessee Valley Socialist, New American Movement, the Young Socialist Alliance, and concerned individuals to fight the police spying operation. Nearly fifty people attended the first public protest meeting on November 13. The cops have said that they plan to continue their spying and refuse to reveal the names of those targeted for surveillance.

DOMINICAN TRADE-UNION LEADER FREE ON BAIL: Juan Francisco Vargas, general secretary of the Sindicato Nacional de Trabajadores Telefónicos (SNTT—National Union of Telephone Workers) was released November 25 on \$50,000 bail from jail in the Dominican Republic. He still faces charges of possession of firearms, specifically a handful of bullets planted by police during a raid on his home last August.

Two other labor officials remain in jail—Francisco Antonia Santos, general secretary of the Central General de Trabajadores (CGT—General Workers Federation) and Eugenio Pérez Cepeda, CGT secretary of grievances. A third CGT leader, Julio de Peña Valdez, had been released earlier.

SUPREME COURT TURNS DEAF EAR TO ABORTION RIGHTS: Does a private hospital have the option to forbid doctors to perform abortions? The Supreme Court decided on December 1 that it didn't even want to discuss the matter, thus handing a victory to anti-abortion forces in Orange County, Texas. Two lower courts had ruled against a suit brought by Dr. John Greco challenging the Orange Memorial Hospital's decision to prohibit abortions that were not "medically" necessary. To support this proscription, the courts reasoned that since the hospital was private, it was not bound to respect women's constitutional right to choose.

BIRCHERS SEND FBI SPY ON TOUR: Douglass Durham, an FBI informer planted in the American Indian Movement, is now on the John Birch Society's lecture circuit attacking AIM, which he calls "a communist plot, going to blow up the country in 1976." Durham joined AIM in Iowa at the time of the Wounded Knee occupation. According to AIM leaders, Durham destroyed Iowa AIM by planning an armed take-over of the State Office of Education Building. In St. Paul, as coordinator of the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee, he was in a position to cause considerable harm to the defense effort.

Durham confessed his FBI assignment to AIM leaders in 1975 after being confronted with copies of FBI reports by him.

AIM and the Native American Solidarity Committee of Eau Claire, Wisconsin, have announced their continuing efforts to gain access to all files pertaining to Durham's FBI and CIA ties. The groups are also demanding that Sen. Frank Church's Senate Intelligence Committee thoroughly investigate Durham.

GIMME THAT OLE TIME RELIGION: Kentucky State Sen. Walter Strong has submitted a bill to the 1976 Kentucky General Assembly that could restore the position of Adam and Eve in the study of human development. The senator, a Democrat and minister, hails from Beattyville, Kentucky, about 150 miles north of Dayton, Tennessee. In 1925 Dayton was the site of the Scopes Monkey Trial, which reaffirmed a Tennessee law that only permitted teaching the Holy Scripture's version of "creation." An Associated Press article reporting on the intent of Strong's bill contained an interesting misprint as it appeared in the

November 23 Louisville *Courier-Journal & Times*: "His bill would not require the use of the Bible but would give teachers the option of using it to back up its theory of creation, as opposed to evolution."

MORE ATTICA INDICTMENTS DROPPED: Just before Thanksgiving, Justice Carman Ball dismissed felony charges against thirteen participants in the 1971 Attica rebellion. With these dismissals, only seven indictments remain out of the forty-two original ones. The government has also had trouble getting convictions in the five trials that have reached verdicts—four resulted in acquittals.

On January 5, the government will begin to present its case against eleven prisoners facing kidnapping charges. Similar charges against four former prisoners were dismissed last month.

In contrast to the prosecution's determined efforts to victimize the Attica rebels, only one indictment against a state trooper who participated in the massacre is pending.

BLACK INCOME GAINS WIPED OUT: "The movement of the 1960s toward greater equality" between Black and white income levels "seems to be broken," according to Lester Thurow, economist at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He was speaking at a symposium marking the tenth anniversary of the United States Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

Black family income rose to a high point of 64 percent of white family income in the late 1960s. By 1973 it had fallen to 60 percent. Thurow said the gap points to "a long-run deeply embedded relationship in the economy." Job discrimination reinforced by the "last hired, first fired" principle is a key reason. "At all points in time—good or bad—Black unemployment rates are twice as high as white."

Blacks may make a few gains during periods of boom, but recessions hit them with double force. "The youngest workers are most apt to lose their jobs, and they are the workers where the ratio of Black to white earnings is most likely to be near parity," Thurow explained.

He added that it could take seventy-five years for Blacks to catch up. "Nothing has changed in the past thirty years. No progress has been made."

—Ginny Hildebrand

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How FBI aided Klan terrorists

By Nancy Cole

WASHINGTON—During the civil rights movement in the 1960s, the FBI conspired with Southern cops and the Ku Klux Klan in murderous assaults on Blacks and others fighting for civil rights.

This is the story told by one FBI informer, Gary Rowe, in testimony before the Senate Committee on Intelligence December 2 and in interviews. Rowe, an FBI operative in the Klan for six years, gave a detailed description of the May 14, 1961, brutal beating of freedom riders in Birmingham, Alabama.

Sixteen freedom riders had boarded two buses in Atlanta. The first bus was waylaid by a racist mob in Anniston, Alabama, and burned.

The second reached Birmingham, where the local Klan and cops had planned a "reception" for the freedom riders.

Rowe said he had been introduced by a Birmingham detective to a local cop who explained the setup to him. "We were promised fifteen minutes to beat them, bomb them, burn them, shoot them, do anything we wanted to with absolutely no intervention whatsoever by police," said Rowe.

"But after that time they would have to make a show of force to keep the government from sending the troops in."

One of those most seriously injured in the attack was New York pacifist James Peck, who wrote about the experience:

'Hate on their faces'

"Upon arrival in Birmingham, I could see a mob lined up on the sidewalk only a few feet from the loading platform. Most of them were young—in their twenties. Some were carrying ill-concealed iron bars. A few were older men. All had hate showing on their faces . . .

"As we entered the white waiting room and approached the lunch counter, we were grabbed bodily and pushed toward the alleyway leading to the loading platform. As soon as we got into the alleyway and out of sight of onlookers in the waiting room, six of them started swinging at me with fists and pipes. Five others attacked [Charles] Person a few feet ahead. Within seconds, I was unconscious on the ground."

After the fifteen minutes were up,

Rowe told the Senate committee, "one hundred police officers came on the scene. We had clubs, chains, and pistols—not one officer asked us what was going on."

Later, Birmingham police chief "Bull" Connor told reporters that police hadn't been there earlier because it was Mother's Day, and the police were at home with their mothers!

FBI alerted

Three weeks before the planned attack, Rowe had informed the FBI of all details. They told him to set up another meeting with the cop, which he did at a local restaurant. FBI agents sat at the next table while Rowe and the cop discussed plans for the attack.

Rowe said that the only action the FBI took was to have several agents on the scene taking "unofficial" movies of the assault.

When he pressed his superiors for a reason for their nonintervention, "They told me, 'We're an investigative agency, all we do is collect information.'" Besides, they asked, who were they going to give the information to since the local cops were involved?

This was just one of what Rowe estimates as in the "high dozens" of incidents where he warned the FBI of Klan violence in advance. Only twice, he said, did the FBI take any action to prevent the violence.

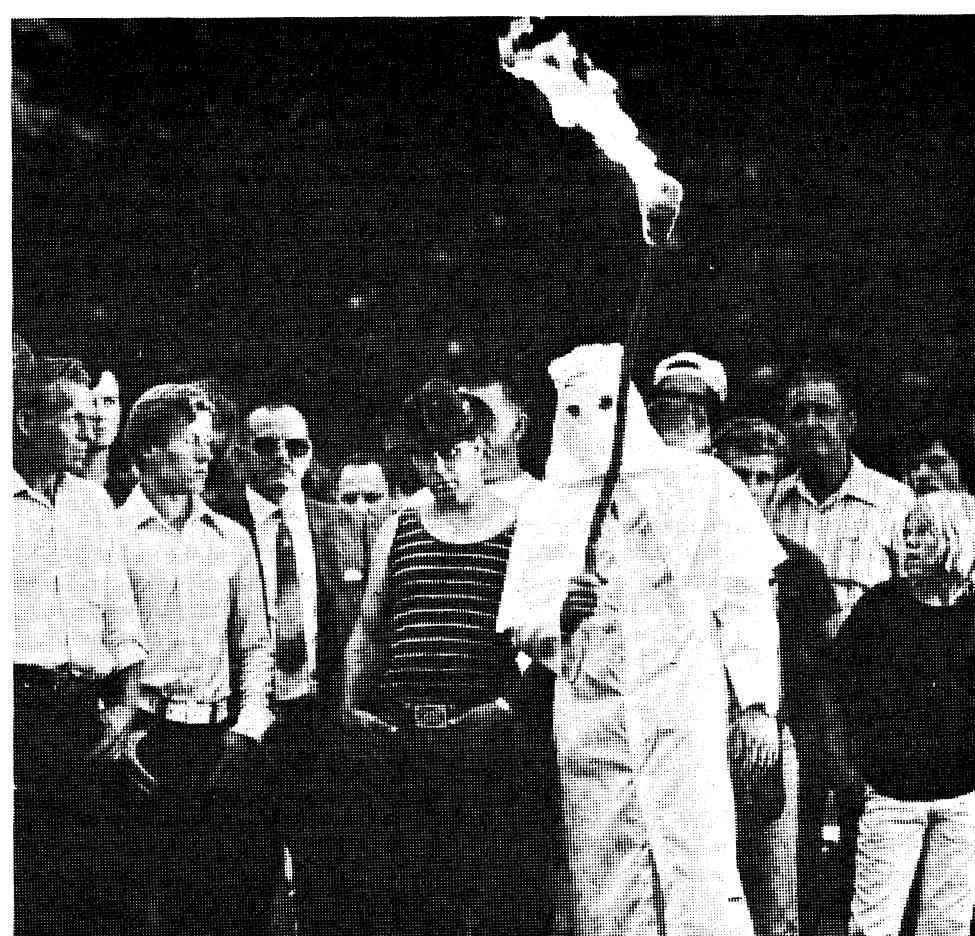
Go-ahead to racists

Thus, as in other cases revealed recently, the government, determined to disrupt and destroy dissident movements and groups, gave the go-ahead to racist police departments and ultrarightist terrorist groups.

The pattern is similar to the recent disclosure of the Chicago Legion of Justice's campaign against socialists, antiwar activists, and others. There, federal agencies, including Military Intelligence, cooperated with Mayor Richard Daley's cops in directing and financing the right-wing paramilitary Legion's attacks.

According to Rowe, Birmingham Klansmen had access to police files on civil rights activists and frequently cruised in cop cars during their "night rides."

Thus, under the subterfuge of "infiltrating the Klan," the FBI was able to expand its war on the Black and civil rights movements.



Bus carrying freedom riders set on fire by racist mob in Alabama. FBI used infiltration of Klan as ruse to expand war on movement for Black rights.

Rowe also told the Senate committee of other Klan incidents. One involved an integrated country club. With FBI approval in advance, local police provided Klansmen with illegal liquor, which they "planted" at the club. At the signal from two deputies inside, cops raided the club, arrested people there, and padlocked the building.

Agent joined murder

Rowe participated in the 1965 murder of Viola Liuzzo, a white civil rights worker from Detroit. Four Klansmen, including Rowe, shot Liuzzo from a cruising car.

On the night Liuzzo was killed, Rowe reported to the FBI that a Klansman had told him, "This is the night you've finally made the big time."

It was after this, Rowe said, that he quit the Klan. He then surfaced to testify against the other three killers.

Throughout the years of the civil rights movement, activists consistently called upon the federal government to act to apprehend the lynchers, arsonists, and snipers. After the 1961 Birmingham assault, these demands intensified.

However, instead of using the powers of his office to take action against the racist murderers, attorney general Robert Kennedy appealed to the freedom riders for a "cooling-off period." This was rejected by civil rights leaders.

Instead, they demanded that the federal government act to enforce the law equally and to protect the rights

and physical safety of the freedom riders and other activists. As the "federal law enforcement agency," the FBI became a logical target for the demands of the civil rights movement. One of the FBI's most prominent critics was Martin Luther King.

Rowe's FBI contact told him that bureau head J. Edgar Hoover hated King with a "purple passion." Hoover transformed that passion into a vendetta against King, as recent revelations show.

FBI's 'finest hour'

At the Senate hearing this week, FBI official James Adams characterized the agency's participation in the Klan during the civil rights movement as its "finest hour." Under questioning he put the FBI membership in the Klan during that period as 6 percent of the total membership.

Adams claimed Rowe is lying about the bureau's instructions on joining in violence. But Adams admitted that Rowe did alert the FBI of planned violent actions. In all cases, Adams asserted with a straight face, the information was relayed to the local cops—the very instigators of the violence to begin with!

"The FBI had no authority to make an arrest without authorization from the Justice Department, and for that we would have had to show that those who initiated the action acted in conspiracy," explained Adams. "We were just as frustrated as anyone else."

FBI: 'Informing is part of life'

WASHINGTON—According to an FBI handout distributed at the recent Senate hearings, "An informant, according to the dictionary, is 'one who gives information.' In light of this definition, it is clear that very few persons, if any, have not at one time or another been informants. To give information is an inseparable part of life. To give accurate, sound and helpful information for a worthy cause is to make one's life more useful and valuable to society."

The above quote introduces the bureau's written statement on "informants in the internal security field."

FBI official James Adams eloquently put it another way for the senators at the December 2 hearing: "Informants are here to stay. Everyone has informants. There have been informants throughout history. There will always be informants."

In their never-ending quest to find ways to pretty up the FBI's appearance without disturbing its basic function, some senators have proposed a plan whereby the bureau

would have to get warrants before they could send spies into political groups. The FBI, however, says that scheme "appears impractical and may be unconstitutional."

It's *impractical*, Adams told the committee, because you have to show a reason for a warrant. Sometimes, he said, this would be impossible because you're not always dealing with "imminent criminal activities."

"Take the Socialist Workers party," the sleuth explained. "They say publicly, 'We're not going to participate in any violence today.' But they're still governed by the tenets of communism. And when the time is right, they will use violence to seize power. But they say they're not going to do it [use violence] now, and you can guarantee they're not going to do it."

Requiring warrants would be *unconstitutional*, as well. Why? "Because it would limit the First Amendment rights of the informant to communicate with the Government!"

—N.C.

Charge FBI conspiracy

Blacks call for new probe of King murder

By Baxter Smith

Black leaders, voicing a conviction that Martin Luther King was slain in a government plot to destroy the civil rights movement, are demanding a new inquiry into the facts surrounding his murder in 1968.

Coretta Scott King said the newly disclosed revelations of FBI harassment of her husband indicate a government conspiracy.

"I don't have the facts but at this stage I say it appears there was a conspiracy in the death of my husband," she said.

"The way he was documented and followed around by Hoover and the CIA when he was abroad, it would have to have been attached to the forces of our government that felt he was a threat to the system as it existed."

Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers party vice-presidential candidate, hailed the demands for an investigation into the killing. She stressed the need for a commission of inquiry, led by the Black community, to uncover the truth. Such a commission, she said, should be independent of government bodies.

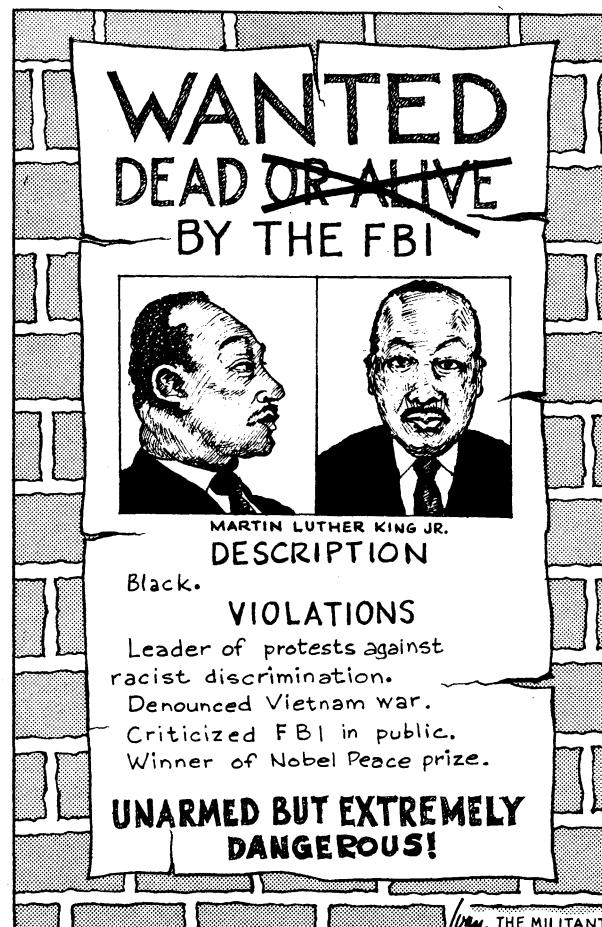
Responding to Attorney General Edward Levi's announcement that the Justice Department might "take another look" at the FBI's files, Reid said such a review, "if it occurs, would be like ordering the fox to look after the well-being of the chickens.

"The FBI is part of the Justice Department," the Black office hopeful said. "This practice of government agencies 'investigating' themselves in civil rights matters is totally inadequate."

Jesse Jackson, head of the Chicago-based Operation PUSH, has charged that the FBI was directly involved in the King murder.

"Our contention is that when character assassination or threat of character assassination failed to deter Dr. King, they resorted to physical assassination," Jackson stated. He also called for a new investigation.

Activist-comedian Dick Gregory, Rev. Ralph Abernathy, and Georgia state legislator Hosea



Williams led demonstrators around the White House Thanksgiving Day to persuade President Ford to reopen the King case. The trio said a new investigation should include evidence from Robert Byron Watson, a federal prisoner who allegedly overheard a plot to assassinate King. They said another man, C.H. Andrews, would be willing to testify about his part in a plot against King if he were granted immunity from prosecution.

Some months back James Earl Ray, the man convicted of the assassination, stated he would tell

of others in the plot if he were granted a new trial. A judge, however, turned down his request.

Rev. Nelson Smith, president of the Progressive National Baptist Convention, which has 1.2 million Black members, has called for "massive international protest action" against FBI conduct against King. His group has called for a tribunal to take another look into the murder.

Besides trying to drive King to suicide, recently released secret documents show the FBI crafted a slew of operations to discredit the famed civil rights leader.

- Employing chicanery, the FBI foisted off a doctored tape recording from a raucous hotel party to plant in Coretta King's mind thoughts of risqué behavior or possible sexual improprieties on her husband's part.

- Employing skullduggery, the bureau planned in 1963 to knock King "off his pedestal." "Negroes will be left without a leader," the bureau schemed, according to one secret document, and then the FBI would create a new "national Negro leader" to step into King's shoes.

- Employing knavery, the bureau planned to circulate on Capitol Hill a false, ribald report on King's private life to make him a laughingstock. Another stratagem involved planting stories that King was goldbricking Southern Christian Leadership Conference funds.

Reaction to the latest disclosures has received front-page articles and editorials of protest in Black newspapers.

"Were these agencies [CIA and FBI], as Reverends Jackson and Abernathy contend, responsible for our brother's murder? Think about it," Black columnist Harry Amana wrote in the Black-owned *Philadelphia Tribune*, in calling for a new investigation. "They made numerous plans to assassinate Castro in Cuba, and also outlined plots against Lumumba, in the Congo, Trujillo in the Dominican Republic, Papa Doc in Haiti, and Salvador Allende in Chile. What would they really care about a nigger preacher in America?"

Calif. farm worker: 'Why I joined the socialists'

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—If there's any way to scrape together the travel money, Fernando Sinental will be among those present when the national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance opens in Milwaukee December 28. Sinental will have to make it there from San Jose, California, but he's determined to do it.

Sinental, twenty-two, is a student at California State University at San Jose. He is also a farm worker who has worked in the fields of California since childhood.

He combines studying to be a teacher with a heavy schedule of political activity. There is a strong United Farm Workers support committee on the campus, and Sinental is an active member of it. He also works with the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners.

And, to round it out, he is a dedicated builder of the YSA.

Sinental joined the YSA as an at-large member in Stockton in 1974, while a student at the community college there. During a recent trip to San Jose, I talked with him about how he became a socialist.

He was born in Mexicali, Mexico, just across the border from California's rich agricultural center in the Imperial Valley.

Commuted across border

His father was a field hand who mainly commuted across the border. When he was ten or eleven, he began going along to help his father with the work. There were nine in the family. All of the children, as soon as they were big enough, worked in the fields.

In 1965, the family decided they might do better if they lived in the United States. For several years they were migrant workers. They followed the crops, picking tomatoes, lettuce, citrus fruits, working under the blistering sun and living in the miserable labor camps.

Then they got work on a farm near Merced in the San Joaquin Valley. The ranch owner gave them a house. It wasn't much but it was better than the shacks in the labor camps.

Sinental recalled how his family and some of the

other workers got into a hassle with the rancher over pay: "He was paying us a dime a bucket for tomatoes, and we wanted fifteen cents." The rancher told them to move out of the house and find themselves another job. They moved on, again following the crops.

Back in labor camp

Finally, they got steady work at a ranch in Tracy, just outside of Stockton. But they were back living in a shack in the rancher's labor camp.

"It was really awful," Sinental said. "It was dirty. There were fleas and bugs in the house. There were maybe ten toilets for a camp where two or three hundred people lived. The smell was terrible."

Sinental went to many elementary schools while his family traveled. And he went to four high schools before he graduated. Transferring from one school to another made it hard. And, he added, "The schools were terrible. The students didn't relate. Lots of them were shooting dope. The teachers didn't care what they did."

"I still had problems with my English," he said, "I didn't get any bilingual education."

In the high school in Tracy, there was a MEChA (Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán—Movement of Chicano Students of Aztlán). It was the time of the huge 1970 Los Angeles Chicano Moratorium against the war in Vietnam.

Sinental was impressed with everything he heard about the Moratorium and he got active in MEChA. When he graduated and went on to the community college in Stockton, he became active in the MEChA farm workers support committee on the campus.

Radical publications

At the same time he found a number of radical publications in the MEChA office. At first, he read mainly the Maoist papers. But for reasons he couldn't fully articulate even to himself, they had little appeal for him. For one thing, he was turned off by some of the ultraleft rhetoric. For another, he felt the Maoists didn't relate to the farm workers movement as positively as he would like.

And then, he began to take Chicano studies courses and read about Chicano nationalism. As he developed a conscious nationalist outlook, the antinationalism of the Maoists turned him off even more.

'¡La Raza en Acción!'

It was just about that time that he began to read the *Militant*. The main thing that attracted him was Miguel Pendás's column, "¡La Raza en Acción!" Soon he was reading the rest of the paper, too.

In 1974, Dan Styron, Socialist Workers party nominee for U.S. Senate, spoke on the campus. Then, a little later, Olga Rodríguez, SWP candidate for governor, came to the campus. "By then I was totally convinced," Sinental recalled.

Shortly after, a YSA regional traveling team came to Stockton. "The fact that the team came to Stockton impressed me," he said. "It's a town that's controlled by the growers. Really reactionary. The team did get busted there, you know, selling the *Militant* in town. We had a protest and they got off."

By the time the team left, Sinental was a YSA member. It was a decision he's still glad about. "I had gone through all of those experiences in high school, not receiving a good education. My family was still working in the fields. I was working in the fields between terms."

"I knew by then who the enemy really was—that it was the system, capitalism itself. I related to the anticapitalist perspective of the YSA. That's why I became active in it."

This year, he finished at the Stockton community college and went to San Jose to continue studying. For the first time, he was able to function in a local of the YSA, working together with other YSAers on and off campus.

Like the other San Jose YSA members, Sinental is delighted that the SWP has now established a branch and opened a headquarters there. "The SWP being in San Jose is the best thing that could happen for us," he said.

As S. African troops invade

U.S. escalates threats against Angola

By Tony Thomas

A series of accusations against the Soviet Union and Cuba by Secretary of State Henry Kissinger is being used to mask American support for increased imperialist intervention in Angola's civil war, including an invasion by South African troops.

Angola remains locked in a civil war. On one side is the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA—People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola). On the other are the Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola (FNLA—Angolan National Liberation Front) and the União Nacional para Independência Total de Angola (UNITA—National Union for the Total Independence of Angola).

Addressing the Economic Club of Detroit November 24, Kissinger warned that "the United States cannot remain indifferent" to Soviet and Cuban military support for the MPLA.

Kissinger declared that Washington "cannot ignore, for example, the substantial Soviet buildup of weapons in Angola, which has introduced great power rivalry into Africa for the first time in fifteen years." (Fifteen years ago U.S.-backed mercenaries, Belgian paratroopers, and CIA agents overturned the radical nationalist regime headed by Patrice Lumumba after it appealed for aid from the Soviet Union. Lumumba was targeted for assassination by the CIA, and was murdered in January 1961.)

Kissinger warned Moscow: "Time is running out; continuation of an interventionist policy must inevitably threaten other relationships." The "other relationships" are those of détente, in which Moscow trades sabotage and betrayal of revolutionary struggles around the world for commercial and diplomatic deals with Washington.

Soviet aid to MPLA

In the past year Moscow has shipped \$110 million in arms to the MPLA and has sent a number of military advisers. Cuba, which generally follows Moscow's line on foreign policy, has sent nearly 3,000 soldiers to fight with the MPLA.

However, the aid coming from Moscow and Havana is not designed to advance the struggle to overturn capitalist property relations in Angola. Rather, its aim is to strengthen the MPLA, which is procapitalist, because Moscow considers the MPLA to be the wing of the nationalist movement most favorable to its own foreign policy objectives.

By backing the MPLA, the Kremlin is maneuvering for favorable diplomatic and economic relations. It is also looking for influence it can use as a bargaining chip in its relations with Washington.

Soviet backing for the MPLA, like similar aid to President Idi Amin of Uganda, the Nimeiry regime in the Sudan, or the Gandhi regime in India, is aimed at advancing the narrow interests of the national-minded Stalinist rulers of the Soviet Union.

Washington's real goal

Behind the scenes, Washington policy makers, and the capitalist interests they represent, have a different view of the MPLA than that expressed in Kissinger's public railings.

Sen. Richard Clark, head of the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Africa, told the *Christian Science Monitor* that "he had had discussions



Angolan coffee workers. Imperialists view nation's vast riches as prize worth fighting for.

a few months ago with the MPLA leaders who convinced him that if they prevailed they would "within a year be pursuing a nonaligned policy independent of the Russians."

Gerald Bender, the author of a forthcoming book on Angola, said in the November 23 *Los Angeles Times* that "Kissinger has little support for his policy within his own African bureau." In June, "the bureau almost unanimously recommended that the United States stay out of the conflict."

Gulf Oil, which has large holdings in the Cabinda enclave of Angola, also has a view at variance with Kissinger's public speeches. Bender wrote in the *Los Angeles Times* that "Gulf does not appear to share Kissinger's or [former CIA chief William] Colby's fear of the MPLA. Saydi Mingas, the MPLA finance minister in the transitional government, recently remarked in Washington that relations between his party and Gulf were 'very good.' The company does not perceive the MPLA to constitute a greater threat to its operations than the FNLA or UNITA."

Gulf, the biggest U.S. investor in Angola, has produced millions of dollars' worth of oil over the past ten years.

Kissinger's threats are aimed at restricting Moscow's maneuvers. At the same time they serve to provide political cover for intervention by Washington and other imperialist powers who see Angola's rich natural resources, especially its oil and minerals, as a prize worth fighting for.

South African invasion

The immediate imperialist threat to Angola is the mounting South African intervention in support of UNITA and the FNLA.

During August and September the South Africans carried out military operations in the border area between Namibia and Angola. Namibia (South West Africa) is a South African colony. One of the aims of the South African actions was to pursue fighters from SWAPO (South West African People's Organization), the Namibian liberation group.

Another aim was to control the Cunene River hydroelectric project. This project, jointly developed by South African and Portuguese interests, was to provide all of Namibia's electric power needs by 1977.

The operations in the border area were followed by participation of South African troops in a military column of UNITA and FNLA forces that quickly advanced toward Luanda, the MPLA stronghold.

One reason for the column's rapid movement was the fact that the Ovimbundu peoples who inhabit the area tend to support UNITA. In Lobito, a major port city in southern Angola, tens of thousands of Ovimbundu cheered UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi after the town was taken from the MPLA.

A dispatch from Reuters correspondent Fred Bridgland in Lusaka, Zambia, reported on what "informed diplomatic sources" there had to tell about the South African forces:

"The sources said it was impossible to state the size of the South African military force involved in Angola. They did say that many of the drivers of armored cars in the columns heading toward Luanda were members of the South African army, and probably all of the armored cars were South African, but that there were no South African

infantrymen inside Angola.

"The sources said the forces were being supplied from permanent South African military bases on the South-West African border with Angola. Regular airlifts of military equipment were made deep into Angola by C-130 transport aircraft."

Draftees, not 'mercenaries'

Tony Hodges, a correspondent in UNITA-held areas for the London *Observer*, reported that many supposed "mercenaries" fighting for UNITA and the FNLA that he talked with appeared to be young South African draftees.

Reports in the South African press indicate that Pretoria is preparing to add substantial reinforcements to its military intervention. The *Johannesburg Star* reported November 20 that military units along the Namibia-Angola border were being beefed up, reserve officers placed on alert, and leaves canceled for soldiers undergoing training.

"A kind of war fever seems to be sweeping this rabidly anti-Communist, white-ruled nation," reported David Ottaway, the *Washington Post* correspondent in Johannesburg, South Africa.

There were also reports that, at the same time as Kissinger's Detroit warning against the MPLA and the Soviet Union, South Africa had demanded that the United States and other imperialist countries come out more openly in favor of the FNLA and UNITA. This was linked to South African demands for increased weapons aid to the FNLA and UNITA from the United States, France, West Germany, and other countries.

Washington has been giving arms, ammunition, and military vehicles to the FNLA and UNITA since the conflict between the rival groups burst into the open. Most of the aid came indirectly through Zaïre or arms dealers in European countries.

The November 17 *Christian Science Monitor* reported that "sources close to U.S. intelligence confirm that if the need arises, funds are available to swing a massive arms lift in behind the FNLA to help expedite defeat of the MPLA—or to counter any sudden and effective increase in Soviet support to the MPLA."

Hands off Angola!

The independence for which Angolans from all three liberation groups fought for so many years is now imperiled by South African and U.S. intervention in Angola.

The political pressure that was mobilized around the world for Angolan independence from Portugal must now be mobilized against the intervention—direct or indirect—of Washington, Pretoria, and the other imperialist centers.

The carnage from the civil war will only be increased by this intervention of the various imperialist factions. The imperialists' aim is to secure control over the wealth of Angola and the destiny of its people. They also know that Angolan independence could give a tremendous impetus to the liberation struggles in Namibia, Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), and South Africa.

The demand of all those in the United States who support the right of self-determination ought to be aimed squarely at Washington and its imperialist cohorts: Hands off Angola!



KISSINGER: Hypocritical warnings to Moscow

Lisbon gov't cracks down on Left



Demonstration after April 25, 1974, overthrow of ultraright regime. Dictatorship's downfall spurred mass radicalization, creating crisis of capitalist rule in Portugal.

By Gerry Foley

From Intercontinental Press

In a climate of sharpening confrontation, paratroop units in the Lisbon area occupied four air force bases November 25 and seized radio and television stations to broadcast revolutionary appeals to the country. The leaders of the rebellion apparently believed that the moment had come to stage a decisive test of strength with the sixth provisional government.

For months, the Communist party-controlled press, radio, and TV had created the illusion of a vast revolutionary opposition to the sixth government. In fact, in confrontation after confrontation, the government appeared to be virtually helpless, thus inspiring more and more daring acts of defiance. The ultraleftists fed these illusions and magnified them, claiming that the "revolutionary left" was already dominant in the armed forces, and that besides, the "vanguard was now armed."

Although the Communist party and its military allies had only limited objectives and the ultraleft groups lacked the strength to stage the "insurrection" they called for, it was almost inevitable under the pressures of the unstable Portuguese situation that this psychological buildup would lead to ultraleft adventures.

When the ultraleft leaders in the paratroop corps tried to act in accordance with these illusions and topple the "power of the bourgeoisie" by a military coup, they suddenly found themselves in a void. The forces they looked to for leadership and support abandoned them. Their appeals failed to win mass support, and in some instances the masses even mobilized against them. The "abundant military equipment" in which they placed their trust proved wholly inadequate.

The "helpless" government came to life with a power no one had suspected. In a matter of a few hours, most of the strongholds of opposition to the government within the armed forces were wiped out. And the bourgeois state that the ultraleftists claimed was virtually nonexistent moved to take advantage of their folly and that of the CP to inflict a grave defeat on the masses of workers who were beginning to move into struggle for their own demands outside the schemas and strategy of these political forces. Reality had caught up with the practitioners of "revolutionary theater."

The rebels staged their coup in opposition to the appointment of a figure identified with the sixth government as military governor of the Lisbon region, replacing Gen. Otelo

Saraiva de Carvalho, who had gone into opposition to the present cabinet three weeks before. They demanded the ouster of the air force chief Gen. José Morais e Silva and his deputy Gen. José Aníbal de Pinho Freire, who was held under guard for a period.

In the course of the confrontation, the rebels occupied the national television and radio stations in Lisbon and began broadcasting revolutionary manifestos to the country, calls that failed to mobilize any significant support. In at least one case, in Monte Real, eighty-six miles north of Lisbon, hostile crowds surrounded the barracks and pressured the paratroopers to abandon their rebellion.

Some mobilizations in defense of the radicalized military units were reported, although these all seemed to be small and abortive. Moreover, it is not yet clear whether these demonstrations were in response to the paratroopers' action or to the counteroffensive launched by the government.

The main radicalized units in Lisbon—the Light Artillery Regiment based near the airport and the military police centered in the area of the presidential palace and the parliament building—reportedly did not join in the paratroopers' action. They merely mobilized to defend their installations. Defensive measures were also taken at the Beirolas arsenal, where radicalized military personnel held a degree of control.

The Government Crackdown

In crushing the isolated rebellion of the paratroopers, the government took advantage of its military—but above all, its political—victory to move decisively against the other centers of radical opposition within the armed forces. According to the Brussels daily *Le Soir*, Major Campos de Andrade, the commander of the military police, placed himself "at the disposal" of the president but refused to go to the presidential palace. The Amadora Rangers, an elite unit led by the reactionary Jaime Neves, then surrounded the barracks.

A clash developed, leading in about ten minutes to the surrender of the military police. A few hundred persons from the workers and tenants commissions in the area, which worked together with the military police, came to support the unit under attack. Apparently this was a peaceful demonstration. However, armed civilians reportedly participated in the fighting, in which four persons were killed. It was claimed that these civilians had been armed by radicals in the services such as the military police officers who

diverted weapons to the ultraleft Partido Revolucionário do Proletariado (PRP—Revolutionary party of the Proletariat).

Several hundred persons from the workers and tenants commissions linked to the Lisbon Light Artillery Regiment reportedly massed outside its barracks to show their support. However, a tank column moving in from the cavalry base in Santarém to the northeast of Lisbon forced the surrender of this unit without a fight and reimposed full government control over the Beirolas arsenal. No casualties were reported in these incidents.

The Communist party came out in strong opposition to the rebellion of the paratroopers, distributing a leaflet that denounced it as an adventure. As yet there have been no reports of explicit support for the attempted coup by any political organization.

At first, only leaders of radical opposition in the military were arrested. Then there was a report that the pro-government forces were looking for leaders of the PRP and the LUAR,* which claim to be armed organizations. The PRP had issued calls for an insurrection in the period leading up to the paratroopers' rebellion.

Then, on November 30, the *New York Times* reported that arrest warrants had been issued for leaders of four parties in the Frente de Unidade Revolucionária (FUR—Front for Revolutionary Unity). One member group of this front is the Liga Comunista Internacionalista (LCI—Internationalist Communist League), the Portuguese sympathizing organization of the Fourth International. The others are the PRP; LUAR; Movimento de Esquerda Socialista (MES—Movement of the Socialist Left); Movimento Democrático Português (MDP—Portuguese Democratic Movement), a satellite of the CP; and the Frente Socialista Popular (FSP—People's Socialist Front).

The net of repression seems to be widening. After the rebellion was crushed, the leading spokesman of the military group identified with the sixth government, Maj. Melo Antunes, stressed that the Communist party was an "indispensable" component of the government.

However, on November 29 the military high command issued a statement accusing the northern regional leadership of the CP of having supported the rebellion. Although this was still only

a partial attack, it was the first time the military has aimed directly at the CP. In the November 29 issue of *Corriere della Sera*, the Lisbon correspondent of the Milan daily reported that in Oporto anti-Communists were collecting signatures demanding the expulsion of the CP from the government.

In the North also, rightists took advantage of the unsuccessful coup to launch a new wave of anti-Communist violence. A CP union leader was gunned down in the street. The cars of four CP leaders were bombed, although no one was harmed. A CP protest demonstration in Leiria was brutally attacked.

Also in the context of this confrontation there was an ominous reactionary mass mobilization of farmers. Some 45,000 farmers met in the central Portugal town of Rio Maior and demanded that the government guarantee that their farms would not be taken away from them. Then on November 24 thousands of farmers blocked the roads leading to Lisbon and threatened to cut off the city's water and electricity.

Purge of CP Members

In one night, the sixth government succeeded in doing what it had failed to do for two months. It broke the CP control of the broadcasting networks and the nationalized press. The studios were occupied. The administrations of the nationalized papers were dissolved. President Francisco da Costa Gomes attacked the media for creating the atmosphere that led to the rebellion. The government said the press would be "reorganized," although at the same time it promised that no workers would be fired.

This seemed to fit in with a plan for cracking down hard but doing so in stages. The CP-controlled nationalized press was generally rather unpopular because of its penchant for heavy-handed Stalinist propaganda and shrill rhetoric. Nonetheless, since the formation of the sixth government, a period in which the CP has been more or less in the opposition, these papers have generally supported the struggles of the workers.

The government cushioned its moves against the press by saying that workers unjustly fired would be rehired. The CP-dominated administration of the Lisbon morning paper *O Século* recently purged sixteen persons who had led the opposition to its editorial line.

In order to check the workers movement and other mass movements in the country, the government had to regain control of the communications

*Liga de União e Ação Revolucionária (League for Revolutionary Unity and Action).

after crushing adventurist putsch

media. The CP's dogmatic and opportunistic exploitation of the press for its own partisan objectives has made the government's task easier. But if General Costa Gomes is able to carry his political offensive forward, the purge will certainly go beyond the propagandists of the CP and its allies.

The government took advantage of the futile rebellion to abolish virtually all civil liberties in the Lisbon region—freedom of the press, assembly, and movement. It banned all demonstrations.

The extent of the offensive is shown by decrees freezing all wage negotiations and suspending pay increases. At the same time, the government moved to widen the gap between the North and the South by isolating Lisbon. It apparently intended to harden up a base in the North for an all-out campaign, if necessary, to crush the working-class movement in the industrial belt at the mouth of the Tejo River.

After nearly two years of a complex game of demagogic leaderships competing to find an effective political formula for controlling the mass radicalization in Portugal, the realities of the class struggle have reasserted themselves with irresistible force. A decisive confrontation in the short run became inevitable after the construction workers' demonstration on November 12 and the following siege of the parliament building by thousands of determined workers.

The action of the workers took place in an atmosphere of defiance of the sixth government both in the military and in the labor movement. This climate was promoted by the CP's exerting pressure to regain a bigger share of posts in the government and to hold its positions in the press, unions, and military.

For example, it was the CP that led the strike of the construction workers in this case, although it previously opposed a similar action. However, the CP leadership did not want a strike of this character. It bowed to demands from a newly emergent rank-and-file committee. Nor did it want to lay siege to the parliament building. It was unable to control the movement that had been unleashed.

The construction workers' demonstration was the first really massive, concentrated, and determined struggle by a section of the Portuguese working class. It was all the more powerful because it was waged by the most disadvantaged layer of the working class, including a large percentage of Africans. It was far removed from the street theater of the ultraleftists or the sectarian "demonstrations of strength" staged by the CP and the SP to press for more positions in the government.

The action of the construction workers was propelled not by any political schemas such as "people's power" but by elementary demands deeply felt by the workers—higher wages, an end to unemployment, and a contract for the industry as a whole to increase their bargaining power. It was not specifically opposed to the sixth government as such.

Similar demands had been raised and left unsatisfied under governments that relied primarily on the CP to assure their control over the labor movement. The demands were aimed, moreover, against the middle layers of native capital considered "progressive" by the CP. In fact, former Premier Vasco Gonçalves, who was strongly backed by the CP, is the owner of a large construction firm.

The attempts of CP and ultraleft activists to get the workers to take up slogans aimed at gaining posts or taking power immediately were generally fruitless. And at the same time,

the workers could not be diverted from gaining their objectives by any means they considered necessary. The result was the most powerful workers struggle in the history of the Portuguese revolutionary process.

It showed the revolutionary dynamic that mass unionization of the Portuguese workers could have in the conditions following the fall of Salazarist repression. The organization and mobilization of the masses of Portuguese workers after forty-eight years of repression disclosed an enormous potential power, particularly in face of the weakness of the bourgeois repressive apparatus and bourgeois political control.

The outbreak of this struggle also showed the processes developing in the working class under the pressure of the economic crisis. This held perhaps the most ominous implications from the viewpoint of the Portuguese bourgeoisie. It meant that despite growing political disorientation and disappointment, the workers could still mobilize in support of their immediate demands.

And after almost two years of upheaval, in face of a deepening economic crisis, the Portuguese bourgeoisie decided it could not afford to give many more concessions. Its reserves are rapidly being exhausted and serious dislocations are appearing in the capitalist economic circuits.

Rightists Inch Ahead

On the other hand, if political confusion and sectarian infighting have not stopped the development of the class struggle, which is generated at a more profound level, they have assured that actions such as that

bloody civil war. With such tensions rising, it is possible that the extensive petty-bourgeois layers in Lisbon could quickly go over to the side of reaction.

The precipitous move of the paratroopers has brought all these problems to a head. After the government's successful crackdown, with the main working-class center in the country subjected to a state of siege and fears of an imminent civil war, it is going to be much more difficult for the workers to increase the momentum of their struggle without some viable political perspective.

Furthermore, once the rightist officers get in a position to strike hard blows against opposition to their authority, they may be able to restore "discipline" rather quickly.

On the other hand, if the political radicalization continues to deepen, any "discipline" the bourgeois officer corps manages to restore will be quickly undermined. This has occurred repeatedly in Portugal since April 25, 1974.

In conditions where the bourgeoisie was extremely weak, its leadership partially paralyzed and incapable of granting the masses significantly higher living standards, the movement of the workers and toilers constantly overflowed all the political dams the reformist parties put in its way. However, there has been no political leadership capable of guiding it in a revolutionary direction, and so the potential of the mass upsurge has been continually undermined.

There was no revolutionary party to take advantage of the upsurge following Caetano's fall. The opportunity for a massive democratic unionization of the Portuguese workers was lost. The

economic policies—mobilizing and uniting the workers behind deeply felt economic demands that the capitalists were less and less able to meet.

There was no revolutionary party that could force the CP to abandon its bureaucratic and sectarian "people's power" schemes and induce it to fight together with the SP workers for the interests of the class as a whole. As a result, the outbreak of the construction workers' struggle caught the entire left by surprise and precipitated a confrontation that the working class was not politically or organizationally prepared for.

How the Stage Was Set

In this situation, the dogmatic and ultraleft rhetoric the CP-controlled press and CP representatives resorted to as a means of countering the SP's broader appeal played a particularly destructive role. It could not help but blind the supporters of the CP and the far-left groups to the reality in the country. It could not help but fan the fears of sections of the masses that these forces intended to impose a dictatorship by some kind of a military coup.

The stage was set for a precipitous action by radicals in the military that could be used by the government as a means of getting support for a decisive move to "restore order." The fact that the government appeared to be almost helpless against the initiatives of the CP and the far left smoothed the way even more.

Obviously it was far from helpless when the time came to move. It was able to act with a force no one on the left suspected when it got the chance to appear to act not as the destroyer of



Militant/Ben Atwood

Construction workers demonstrate in Lisbon November 12. While demagogic leaderships competed for formula to control mass radicalization, class struggle reasserted itself with irresistible force.

taken by the construction workers occur in unfavorable political conditions.

The crisis of Portuguese capitalism has now been in progress almost two years. The mass movements that followed the fall of Caetano awakened tremendous hopes but brought little improvement in the lot of most of the workers and toiling masses. Many have already become tired and defensive as a result of prolonged tensions. Some sections, such as the small farmers, have been alienated and thrown toward reaction. Right-wing forces have had a chance to begin making a recovery, staging their first mass mobilizations since April 25, 1974.

A bitter sectarian political split has developed among the workers, with both opposing sections fearing that the other intends to liquidate them. In these conditions, even in the best hypothesis, there is no perspective for the workers taking power without a

old craft unions remained under Stalinist bureaucratic domination.

There was no revolutionary party that could take advantage of the upsurge against Spinola's coup attempt in September 1974 to begin to organize union militias.

There was no revolutionary party in March 1975 to lead the masses just one step further to abolishing the capitalist system that had proved to be a threat to their new-found liberties.

There was no revolutionary party in May, June, and July that could have taken advantage of the SP's struggle against the MFA's antidemocratic schemes by leading the supporters of both reformist parties to break from the MFA and prevent the hardening of a split in the working class based on false issues.

There was no revolutionary party in September, October, and November that could have taken advantage of the CP's tactical turn toward supporting struggles against the government's

the freedoms gained by the masses after April 1974 but as the defender.

Mass opposition to the paratroopers' coup is probably one of the main factors explaining how it could be so quickly crushed. The radical military units must have seen that they lacked the necessary support to make a stubborn stand.

The illusion that this government is a defender of democracy will not last long, if it has not already been dispelled. But for the moment it has won a considerable victory and regained the political initiative.

It may well prove unable to stop a new rise of massive workers' struggles. But even in the best circumstances, the lack of a consistently revolutionary leadership seems bound to have more and more costly results. The Portuguese workers cannot afford to follow the twists and turns of the reformist parties any further. Their paths lead into an abyss.

Carey plan: new cutbacks

'Equality of sacrifice' in New York

By Andy Rose

"We have brought together in this plan all sections of the City—workers, government, bankers," Victor Gotbaum said, "and we are all making equal sacrifices."

Gotbaum is head of the largest New York municipal union, District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

As quoted in *Public Employee Press*, AFSCME's newspaper, he was trying to explain why workers should support Gov. Hugh Carey's latest package of tax hikes, wage reductions, and social service cutbacks to "rescue" the city from default.

After the state legislature and city council approved the city tax increase and related measures, President Ford announced on Thanksgiving eve that he would support short-term federal loans to the city. As the *Militant* goes to press, federal legislation for the alleged bailout is being rushed through Congress.

'A small price'?

"If the President finally relents and permits the plan to take effect," Gotbaum had said, "we would be paying a relatively small price to save our jobs and our City. And our sacrifices would be matched by the banks and the State."

The sacrifices by city workers in the plan are hard and tangible:

- city taxes raised \$200 million;
- take-home pay of city employees cut by 2 to 4 percent through forcing them to make higher payments into pension funds.

Sacrifices by "the State" does not mean by Carey or any of his high-paid appointees and Democratic party cronies. It means sacrifices by state workers and the poor and elderly who depend on state services. Carey is seeking:

- state cutbacks of \$500 million in welfare and Medicaid, \$400 million in other services;
- state tax increases of \$867 million;
- a wage freeze for all state employees and possibly all employees of local government.

That bankers are sacrificing was merely an assertion by Gotbaum, with no facts or figures to back up the claim. As part of the plan some bankers are "forced" to exchange their shaky city notes for ironclad Municipi-



DEMOCRATIC GOVERNORS CAREY & GRASSO: Demand workers put in more hours for less pay.

pal Assistance Corporation (Big Mac) bonds with high interest rates.

Others agreed to "roll over" New York City debt they hold, that is, extend new loans to cover old ones coming due.

City taxpayers foot the bill for interest on all the debts, new or old, rolled-over or exchanged. It all piles up more profits for the banks, which is what bankers are in business for and do not normally enter in their ledgers as a sacrifice.

'Taxes or bankruptcy'

Nonetheless, this so-called equality of sacrifice was how the top union officials tried to justify not only accepting the new cutbacks and taxes without so much as a bleat of protest, but going out and avidly campaigning in favor of them.

"The choice," declared United Federation of Teachers head Albert Shanker, "is taxes or bankruptcy."

In fact, if the city had defaulted the banks stood to lose more than anyone. Their heavy investments in New York

bonds would have fallen sharply in value and would have been tied up for years in bankruptcy court before interest and principle would be repaid.

When Ford announced he would back short-term federal loans to keep the city afloat, the bankers were truly rescued. All the bonds will now be repaid in full and at the usual exorbitant interest rates.

To make this bailout of the banks possible, the city unions actually handed over more cash than the federal government, sinking \$2.5 billion from their pension funds into city bonds. Ironically, the pension funds will not get in return even the *interest* on their generous investment—it all goes into buying more city bonds!

Gotbaum and Shanker's claims to the contrary, *the sacrifices by New York workers will not avert a single cutback or save a single job. The new plan does nothing whatsoever to solve the New York crisis.*

New cutbacks coming

No funds—from either federal loans or higher taxes—will go to restore jobs or services in New York. This was confirmed by Mayor Abraham Beame December 1.

Instead, another \$524 million in city cutbacks is already in the works, as demanded by the state Emergency Financial Control Board, at a probable cost of 40,000 or more city jobs. And that is not all.

To add insult to injury, interest charges on the federal loans will require another \$150 million a year out of the city budget, which will have to be made up through still more cutbacks!

In the absence of any steps to restore jobs to the city, take the tax burden off the workers and poor, or halt the decay in the quality of life, the fiscal crisis can only deepen, and even more sacrifices will be demanded of the city's working people.

Nor has the specter of default been exorcised, as claimed. If any of the cuts are not carried out to the satisfaction of the state control board and Washington, the federal loans can be withdrawn at any time and the threat of default again used as a club against New York unions and communities.

Teachers got their first payoff for Shanker's support of this plan Decem-

ber 2 when the school board announced it will lay off 2,000 more teachers to meet city hall demands for more budget cuts.

Behind pension scheme

Beame and Carey got more out of the pension fund investment scheme than the money, considerable though it is. They also have a way of binding the union officials even more tightly into taking responsibility for city and state finances and for imposing the cutbacks yet to come. This device is already paying off.

On December 1 Gotbaum declared his agreement with the Beame administration's decision not to use new tax revenues to restore services. Gotbaum cited the need to safeguard union investments in city bonds.

District Council 37 officials also pooh-poohed the effect of the Carey wage cut on AFSCME members, saying it was "less than meets the eye" because it would come out of a future cost-of-living increase.

When the unions were ordered to "defer" their regular, contractual wage increases last summer, the cost-of-living payment was supposedly left intact for those who went along peacefully.

Now, however, city council member Matthew Troy, head of the city finance committee, demands that Beame stop the cost-of-living raise as well. And if the mayor can't or won't, Troy says, he will introduce legislation to kill it.

"The problem with this is that it may mean taking on the unions," Troy said, "but the public is ready for it."

Troy, like Beame and Carey, was elected with the endorsement and financial support of AFSCME and other New York unions.

What lies ahead

A significant warning of what lies ahead was reported in the *New York Times* November 25, just as the "rescue" was being completed with the help of union officials. "Not content with a proposed wage freeze," Francis Cline reported from Albany, "Governor Carey opened contract bargaining with state employees today by opposing existing paid leave for union activities and by demanding more hours of work for the same pay."

The state's chief negotiator was quoted as saying, "I want to stress that collective bargaining is a two-way street. Management makes proposals as well as labor."

The city's director of labor relations sounded the same threatening note. "It's a new ball game now," said John Burnell. "Business as usual can't be carried on any more. I think the unions recognize this, but they've got to sell the idea to their members."

City officials point out that Beame's present budget projections, which will be cut millions of dollars more, include nothing for wage increases for at least three years.

Connecticut, too

The use of the fiscal crisis to attack public employee unions, tested out in New York, is rapidly being applied to other cities and states. In Connecticut, Gov. Ella Grasso announced November 25 a new austerity plan to ward off a projected deficit of \$80 million.

State employees will be required to work forty hours a week instead of the present thirty-five, with no increase in pay. Following the trail blazed by her New York counterparts, Grasso threatened layoffs if the unions do not go along with the plan.

The response of Connecticut union officials to the Democratic governor's scheme was revealing. "When a friend does it to you, it really hurts," said

Suffering on Wall St.

So you think the city's bondholders are taking a beating because of the budget crisis and fears of default? Think again.

A routine Wall Street device called "tax swapping" gives wealthy bondholders a way to clean up on the basis of a *depressed* bond market. Here's how it works, based on a real sample case reported in the November 24 *Wall Street Journal*. Watch closely.

A retired executive owns New York City bonds with a face value of \$50,000. These bonds pay 5 percent interest and will mature (that is, the principle amount will be repaid) in 1984. But right now they will bring only \$27,500 on the market.

So the executive sells the bonds and thereby establishes a capital loss of \$22,500 for tax purposes. This "loss" can be written off dollar for dollar against any capital gains he has made, for example on the stock market, which has been rising. Or \$2,000 of bond "losses" can be used to reduce his ordinary taxable income by \$1,000.

The executive now turns around and buys *another* \$50,000 worth of New York bonds on the depressed bond market, paying only \$27,750. His new bonds pay 5.2 percent interest and mature in 1985.

The executive now holds exactly the same face value in bonds; he will collect \$2,600 annual interest instead of \$2,500; and through his paper "loss" he has set up a big tax write-off to avoid paying taxes on income he has really collected.

It's all perfectly legal, and right now such tax swaps account for 60 to 70 percent of all the business in the municipal bond market.

Meanwhile, back at city hall, Mayor Beame has proposed eliminating a bond-transfer tax that went into effect in mid-August. A city commission explained that the tax "adversely affects the profitability of the local securities and banking industries."

Think that one over next time Beame announces that "we must all tighten our belts."

—A.R.

crisis?

Michael Ferrucci of AFSCME District Council 16.

"The way we hungrily endorsed her and contributed to her candidacy and worked for her and then celebrated when we had a Democratic Governor again after four years of tough Tommie Meskill—and now she kicks us in the pants again, worse than anything Governor Meskill ever did."

Ferrucci's complaint points to the real reason the union officials are capitulating to the cutbacks in New York, Connecticut, and across the country: They put their political alliance with Democratic party "friends" like Beame, Carey, Grasso, and Troy ahead of the needs of the workers.

Blindly insisting that only Ford is to blame, these union officials refuse to recognize that Democratic and Republican officeholders are carrying out the



Militant/Mary Jo Hendrickson
GOTBAUM: It's a 'small price' to save city from default.

same measures with the same aim: to make working people pay for the worldwide economic crisis of capitalism.

The only alternative?

If New York had defaulted, these politicians would have exacted terrible sacrifices from the workers in jobs, wages, and social services. That much is true.

The only alternative, the Shakers and Gotbaums said, was to sacrifice jobs, wages, and social services voluntarily to avoid default. Once that logic is accepted, they can always find a "greater evil" to point to as a threat. When wages are frozen, the workers can be told they are lucky they weren't laid off. When a quarter of the union gets laid off anyway, they can be told they are lucky it wasn't half the union. And when the rest are laid off...

But those are not the only alternatives for the unions. They can reject the fraud of "equality of sacrifice." They can expose the lie that there is "no money." They can unite with other victims of the cuts and begin to fight back. They can break with the parties of the employing class and launch an independent political party of labor.

Such a course will be bitterly opposed by the Shakers and Gotbaums. They will stick with the Democrats if it costs the job of every worker in the city. But as their policy leads only to defeat after defeat, an outcry will begin in the ranks of the unions for a new policy and a new leadership. That is the only way the crisis in New York can be resolved.

Beame: circuses, no bread

By Frank Lovell

What is happening in New York with the money crisis and mass layoffs of city workers foreshadows what is in store for other cities and states. In fact, the same unraveling is beginning in Connecticut, where the workweek for state employees is being extended with no raise in pay.

Nearly all state and city governments, like the federal government, have been operating at a deficit. That is, they have spent more money every year than they collected in taxes. The bankers encouraged this because they could float loans and buy city bonds that paid high interest rates, and the unearned income was all tax-free.

The politicians in office were happy because the arrangement allowed them to hand out jobs to their in-laws, partisan hangers-on, and some others to do the work that had to be done.

Highway construction and other planless building projects were a bonanza for the crooked cost-plus contractors.

Everything went well for the insiders, while the general quality of life steadily deteriorated. Welfare rolls grew, and the numbers of unemployed and working poor increased.

The world economic crisis of capitalism prompted the bankers to call in their loans. They told the politicians it is time to pay up. This left the politicians with the bitter choice of higher taxes or lower budgets.

Under instruction from the bankers, they decided to do both. But the problem for them was where to place the blame, and how to escape responsibility.

In New York they have just gone through an elaborate and protracted performance in the city and state governments, emergency meetings of the city council and special sessions of the state legislature, designed to show

that no one was to blame.

Not the Ford administration in Washington, which refused to tamper with the Pentagon's billions to provide funds for social welfare.

Not the Democrats or Republicans in Albany, who are prohibited by their commitment to the bankers from taxing the rich who have cornered all the money.

Not the local ward heelers in city hall, who don't have any money and can only do what they are told anyway.

Schools, hospitals, welfare, public transportation, sanitation, fire control, child-care centers, housing, cheap midday meals for the aged and impoverished, food stamps for the poor, everything that helped the needy, the deserving, the young and the helpless—all had to be sacrificed because there was no money, they said.

And this was something that nobody caused. It just happened like the changing of the seasons, or the occurrence of an earthquake or cyclone or some other natural catastrophe.

Right in the middle of this, as part of the political performance to absolve themselves of all blame, Mayor Abraham Beame and his entourage at city hall decided to hold a mass rally on November 24 of "all the people of New York" in the seedy Times Square center.

The idea must have been not only to absolve the politicians but to bring everyone else into the act so that there would be no sense of guilt.

A lot of prominent entertainers were brought in to get a crowd and to make people feel good and prepare them for Thanksgiving, even if the politicians had nothing to offer that most people could be thankful for. Leonard Bernstein, the symphony conductor, showed up to lead an orchestra in "New York, New York, A Wonderful

Town." They also played the "Star-Spangled Banner."

The platform was loaded with politicians in addition to the other performers. Sen. Jacob Javits was there for the Republicans. A vacant chair was placed for Gov. Hugh Carey, who failed to show. He was busy preparing a tax package that both Democrats and Republicans could vote for, raising taxes another 25 percent for New York workers and leaving loopholes for the bankers.

No one heard what Mayor Beame said, and few cared. When he was introduced there was such a round of boos that the announcer said he was presenting the honorable mayor, not Gerald Ford. The booing continued.

Most of the union officials representing city workers were on the platform. Some of the laid-off union members were in the crowd. That's where the boos came from.

Altogether it was an unhappy experience for the politicians. Everyone was invited to the rally, but few came. And those who did come, estimated at between five and ten thousand, wanted to see the big-name entertainers or else were there to protest high taxes, poor services, and job layoffs.

But this is not the kind of thing that stops these politicians. They will do it all again and again so long as they can keep their jobs. That's what they get paid for.

Even if they can't keep the mass of people happy, they will be there until the union movement and working people replace them with their own representatives.

This is what the rest of the country can expect from local Democrats and Republicans. They will band together the same as in New York to protect the bankers and rob the poor. And if they think a few outdoor circuses will help their plans, they'll try that too.

Anticutback protests continue

By Stephen Bloom

NEW YORK—Three hundred students from City University of New York (CUNY) campuses demonstrated December 1 outside a meeting of the board of higher education here.

This was the second consecutive Monday on which pickets have marched outside the board's meetings against proposed budget cuts in the CUNY system.

For several weeks CUNY students and faculty have been organizing anticutback protests, led by the University Student Senate, the umbrella student government for the entire CUNY system; student governments of various campuses; the New York Student Coalition Against Racism; and the Professional Staff Congress, the union of CUNY faculty.

CUNY is threatened with various cutback schemes, including the closing of six campuses, imposition of tuition, faculty layoffs, and virtual elimination of SEEK, College Discovery, and other vital campus programs.

The demand of the December 1 demonstration was that the board not implement Chancellor Robert Kibbee's latest plan, which would end the policy of open admissions to CUNY for all high school graduates. The protest was called on very short notice over the Thanksgiving holiday weekend.

As a result of continuing opposition on the campuses to any cutback plan, as well as disagreements within the city administration on exactly how such cuts will be implemented, the board again voted to table the proposal.

CUNY students plan continued protests at future board meetings, along

with other campus activities, such as teach-ins.

Meanwhile, the University Student Senate has called for a broader meeting of students, unionists, and community groups to discuss united action against all budget cuts.

The meeting will be held on Wednesday, December 10, at Baruch College, Twenty-third Street and Lexington Avenue in Manhattan, Room Four North. It will begin at 6:30 p.m.

Although the meeting is still in its initial planning stages, endorsements have already been received from a number of community organizations and individuals. Among them are Harlem Fight Back, Student Coalition Against Racism, South Bronx Commu-

nity Corporation, Central Harlem Alliance for Progress, East Harlem Community Corporation, West Side Harlem Coalition, Aguilar Center for Senior Citizens, El Grito Del Barrio, Puerto Rican Hispanic Youth Coalition, and Public Health Physicians Association.

Also, the Brooklyn and Jamaica, Queens, branches of the NAACP; Percy Sutton, Manhattan borough president; Robert Johnson, acting executive director of Kings County Hospital; Moses Harris, Black Economic Survival; David Beasley, AFSCME Local 1930; and Charles Straub, New York Council of Churches.

For more information on the December 10 meeting call (212) 794-5546 or 725-3038.



Militant/Lou Howort
Anticutback activists are planning December 10 meeting to discuss united action

In Our Opinion

Letters

Israeli terror

Israel's murderous bombing and strafing of three Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon have once again given the lie to the Zionists' hypocritical hue and cry against "Arab terrorism."

The December 2 raids on the Nahr el Bared and Badawi camps in northern Lebanon, and the Nabatiye settlement near the Israeli border, killed at least 75 refugees and wounded 120. Although similar Israeli forays have terrorized the uprooted Palestinian people almost nonstop since 1968, this one took the highest death toll in eighteen months.

A communiqué from the Lebanese military warned residents of nearby areas that booby-trapped toys were believed to have been scattered by the planes as well.

These brutal attacks reflect Israel's lashing out against its growing international isolation. On top of the resounding majority vote in the United Nations General Assembly recently to label Zionism a form of racism, the UN Security Council has now invited the Palestine Liberation Organization to its upcoming Mideast debate.

But Israel's atrocities only focus the eyes of the world more sharply on the *original atrocity* that underlies all the others: the forcible expulsion since 1948 of a million-and-a-half Palestinians from their homeland. Those Arabs who remain in the Zionist Israeli state live there at best as second-class citizens.

Until that massive injustice is resolved, there can be no lasting peace in the Mideast.

FBI & the Klan

The latest facts to emerge from the Senate investigation of the FBI's Cointelpro operations detail a web of collusion between the FBI, local cops, and the Ku Klux Klan to terrorize civil rights fighters.

It comes as no surprise to veterans of the civil rights battles of the 1960s to learn that Birmingham police chief "Bull" Connor's cops conspired with the Klan to give the freedom riders "a reception they would never forget" in 1961. But what is only beginning to come to light is the fact that this conspiracy included the FBI: the agency supposedly charged with enforcing the law of the land.

Not content with its own clandestine weapons against the civil rights movement—such as the use of agents provocateurs, sending poison-pen letters to foment divisions, and framing up activists—the FBI employs the terrorists of the KKK.

Firsthand information on the extent of this conspiracy has been made public by one ex-informer who, for his own reasons, decided to come forward.

The details of the similar activities of thousands of the other FBI informers and agents remain locked in the secret files of the FBI. Now is the time to demand that *all* these files be opened, so the truth can be brought to light.

Cancer profits

Deaths from cancer are soaring to epidemic proportions in this country: an estimated 350,000 this year alone, up more than 5 percent from 1974. Why? Evidence is growing that most cancers are caused by poisons introduced into our air, water, and food by capitalist industry.

One recent study found that ingredients in the daily diet may be responsible for half of all cancers among women and 30 percent of those among men. Pesticide residues, food additives, and nitrates used as preservatives are all known cancer-causing agents. Another study estimated that a big majority of cancers may be caused by industrial pollutants in the air: asbestos, chlorine, nickel, mercury, carbon monoxide, and hydrocarbons.

These cancer victims are being killed for profit. Nothing as crude as the FBI or CIA's assassinations, to be sure. But it is profitable to produce food in the fastest, cheapest way, with no regard for safety. It is profitable to pump foods full of chemicals so they will have a longer shelf life. It is profitable to keep production costs down by not installing pollution controls.

And no government run by and for the profit makers is going to impose the strict pollution controls or demand the rigorous testing of additives it would take to stop the slow, mass killings. And so it goes on. Capitalism is killing us.

More & more credible

I'd like to see the *Militant* cover some of the newest revelations regarding the Kennedy and King assassinations. In the light of what we know about the CIA and FBI's illegal activities, which include assassinations, earlier rumors and circumstantial evidence linking those murders with those organizations are more and more credible.

T.F.
Evansville, Indiana

Repression in Ecuador

I was made aware of a case that may be of interest to you.

It appears that a twenty-five-year old man, Jorge Lima-Trujillo, has been imprisoned for three years in Ecuador. He was a student leader and an active member of the Ecuadorian Socialist party. He and more than twenty other political activists were tried and convicted of complicity in a number of crimes of violence, although there was no basis for these charges.

Following a hunger strike in 1974, the convictions were set aside and most of the prisoners were released unconditionally. However, some of the group, including Jorge Lima, have been subjected to further trials on the same charges, and prison conditions are very harsh.

The prison's address is Penitenciaria del Litoral, Guayaquil, Ecuador.

I want him to get fair representation, to be allowed reception of letters, clothing, and medicine, and (hopefully) to be freed. Help me if you can.

Michele Mooney
1653 Redcliff St.
Los Angeles, California 90026

Eulogy

Francisco Franco died too late—eighty-two years too late.

M.C.
Mount Vernon, Illinois

Three needing support

I am writing in behalf of La Causa Legal Defense Committee. The committee was established approximately one year ago to provide financial assistance to individuals who we felt were being intentionally intimidated by law-enforcement agencies because of their activities in the community. The financial assistance is limited to covering attorneys' fees, court costs, and any other legal expense that might be included.

At the present time the Legal Defense Committee is launching a national fund-raising campaign for Ramón Arroyos, Alfredo Espinosa, and Rubén Ogas, accused of the August 6 fire bombing of the Popular Department Store. We have studied all aspects of the incident and are convinced that these three individuals are innocent of all charges and are victims of a conspiracy to halt their organizing efforts in El Paso, Texas.

The three have been and are still very active and responsible organizers in the Chicano community of El Paso. Due to their efforts at least \$2 million for medical services and recreational facilities have been appropriated to the Lower Valley. They have saved many young lives by endlessly combating drug abuse and putting an end to the gang warfare in the Lower Valley. These are but a few of the things they have done to improve the Chicano community.

La Causa Legal Defense Committee, in behalf of Ramón, Alfredo, and Rubén, is soliciting donations to help pay the legal expenses that the three and their families are faced with. They borrowed \$4,500 to secure their release from jail, and they need an additional \$10,000 to pay their attorney.

We would appreciate any assistance that you are able to offer us. Send check or money order to: La Causa Legal Defense Committee, Post Office Box 3537, El Paso, Texas 79923.

Maria López
La Causa Legal Defense Committee
El Paso, Texas

Busing forum

The Lexington, Kentucky, Student Coalition Against Racism and members of the Lexington-Fayette NAACP sponsored a forum on "Racism and Desegregation" on November 22 on the University of Kentucky campus. Other endorsers included the UK Student Senate, UK Gay Students Coalition, and Lexington Desegregation Institute.

About sixty-five people attended the program, which included a morning and afternoon panel, workshops, and movies.

Prominent speakers were: Mac Warren of the Boston SCAR; Anne Braden of the Kentucky Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression; and Edgar Wallace, local NAACP president. Members of the university and Lexington community and Louisville SCAR also spoke.

The discussion centered on the racist nature of the antibusing movement as just the beginning of the attempt to roll back the gains won by Blacks and other minorities through the civil rights movement. There was much talk about the need for people to organize a response to the racist violence in Louisville and Boston.

Anne Braden pointed out that there is support in the white community of Louisville, saying, "They've had to decide that they can't live in a community ruled by terroristic mobs."

Mac Warren closed the day's activities by saying that from here we have to build mass activities in Boston or Louisville or wherever the racists mobilize, to show that the majority does support the right of Black children to an equal education.

Bronson Rozier
Lexington, Kentucky

Prisoners' suit

The Control Unit of the federal prison in Marion, Illinois, is the subject of a civil suit brought by the inmates. There have been legal actions and strikes by inmates against the Control Unit since it was started in 1972, but this is the first effort to dismantle the program entirely.

Besides asking for the abolition of the Control Unit, the Marion Brothers are asking for \$75,000 in damages for each of the seven inmates who first filed the suit a year ago. The trial ended in July and the decision is expected in about four months. It will be the first of its kind, thus creating a legal precedent on the use of behavior modification in prisons.

Though the program is described by the administration as "rehabilitative," the inmates know that it is designed to suppress and brainwash the "troublemakers"—radicals, jailhouse lawyers, etc. The basic methods of treatment are intense isolation, sensory deprivation of individual inmates in segregation cells for long

Women In Revolt

Linda Jenness



ERA: can we win?

In the aftermath of the November 4 defeat of the Equal Rights Amendment in New York and New Jersey, right-wingers have been ecstatic, pointing to this as "proof" that feminist ideas have no appeal to the masses of women.

Phyllis Schlafly, national head of Stop E.R.A., claims that the ERA's defeat means women have "repudiated this fraudulent proposal prompted by a little bunch of military radicals."

This theme, and the reactionary views that go with it, were echoed by liberal commentator Pete Hamill in the November 17 *Village Voice*, a New York weekly. Hamill's article is titled "Does the Women's Movement Still Have Clout?" His answer is no.

When the ERA lost, he writes, "the amorphous entity known as The Women's Movement was in a shambles, apparently rejected at the polls by many women themselves . . .

"It became clear that in many ways last week's vote was a judgment on the Women's Movement itself. Many women perceive that movement as elitist, upper-class, and, in this city, Manhattan-oriented."

"Elitist." "Upper-class." Where have we heard these epithets before?

These charges, along with the slanders about "bra burners," "frustrated women," and "middle-class white women," were the capitalist media's standard description of the early activists in the feminist movement.

Pete Hamill himself spewed out vicious diatribes against women's liberation in those days. In 1969, for instance, he attacked the fight for legal abortion. "In the age of the pill, it is a rare or stupid girl who gets herself pregnant," he wrote. "If a girl shares pleasure, why should she not face the consequences?"

Today, Hamill has a somewhat slicker argument. Feminists are "elitist" and "upper-class" in 1975, you see, because sexism is no longer the issue—the economic crisis is.

"More than anything else," Hamill claims, "the city's crisis hurt ERA. It apparently didn't matter much to a lot of people whether we would have an ERA if the city of New York wasn't going to be there anymore."

"The crisis shoved such considerations as ERA, or

women's rights in general, to the back burner. In working class areas—those most threatened by the loss of jobs, the collapse of the construction industry, the overcrowding or closing of schools and hospitals—the women's issue seems of minor importance. And perhaps their perceptions are correct."

But among working people, especially women, the ideas of women's liberation have never enjoyed wider popularity. National polls on the ERA last spring showed that ERA supporters outnumber opponents by two to one.

Why did the ERA lose? There was no campaign to mobilize ERA supporters into action.

Victoria Pellegrino, answering Hamill with an article in the November 29-December 13 *Majority Report*, pointed out some of the weaknesses of the pro-ERA coalitions. "We did not have a rally—or a march down Fifth Avenue," she writes. ". . . Coalition leaders felt that, in the face of the apathy on the issue, we wouldn't be able to get the bodies needed for a successful rally. I don't think this was true."

Pellegrino also criticizes the fact that ERA supporters did not actively involve the unions and other forces who have come out for ratification. "We did not get across to the voter the broad base of support we had for the ERA," she explains.

Instead, the pro-ERA coalitions tended to be dominated by the perspective of Democratic and Republican politicians—don't march, don't hold rallies, just rely on your friends in the legislature. As a result, when November 4 rolled around, there had been no campaign of demonstrations, picket lines, and speak-outs to answer the lies of the right wing.

The fight is not over. The reactionaries have inflicted a defeat on women in New York and New Jersey, and they intend to go on now to overturn ERA ratifications around the country.

March 8, International Women's Day, is a good time for us to start turning the anti-ERA forces back. Pro-ERA actions around that date can begin to set the tone for the kind of aggressive, national campaign that is needed to win ratification in 1976.

We can show the Phyllis Schlaflys and the Pete Hamills that the women's movement does indeed have clout and we intend to use it.

La Lucha Puertorriqueña

José Pérez



'La Verdad'

The proindependence and workers movements on the island of Puerto Rico have a new, militant voice fighting against U.S. imperialist domination and exploitation of that country.

It is *La Verdad*—"The Truth"—monthly newspaper of the Liga Internacionista de los Trabajadores (LIT—Internationalist Workers League), the Puerto Rican Trotskyist organization that was formed on the island about a year ago. The first issue of *La Verdad* came off the presses in mid-November as a twelve-page tabloid.

The editorial in the first issue outlines the purpose of the paper and its guiding principles: "*La Verdad* pledges itself to denounce the abuses and calamities that are committed every day against the working people. We pledge ourselves to struggle against the oppression and double exploitation that is carried out against women. Our newspaper throws open its pages to the victims of all forms of oppression."

True to its words, *La Verdad* fulfills this pledge in its very first issue, devoting more than a page to an article in defense of women's right to abortion, written by Ana Rivera, one of the founders of the present-day women's liberation movement on the island.

La Verdad claims no allegiance to the "impartiality" of big-business newspapers that use the excuse that "there are two sides to every story" to present the lies and cover-ups of the ruling rich.

Instead, *La Verdad* openly proclaims, "We will call things by their right names, without subterfuge or evasion. We declare ourselves partial. We are partial to the struggle against discrimination, to the struggle against the exploitation of man by man, to the struggle against any form of despotic authoritarianism."

La Verdad informs its readers not only about the

struggles of working people in their own country, but also around the world. It includes articles about last September's murder of seven militants of the Argentine Socialist Workers party, about repression in Iran, about FBI attacks against the Left in the United States, and about racism against African students in the Soviet Union.

The back cover of the paper contains an analysis of the New York City crisis, reprinted from the *Militant*, and there is also a major article on the situation in Portugal reprinted from the Argentine Trotskyist magazine, *Revista de América*.

Much of the issue is devoted to an analysis of government proposals to solve Puerto Rico's economic crisis, which all boil down to one thing: make the workers pay.

La Verdad proposes that an action campaign be carried out for the right of all workers to unionize and strike free of government interference and against proposals to make Puerto Rico's workers pay for the economic crisis by freezing wages.

In all, *La Verdad* promises to live up to the job that a revolutionary newspaper has to carry out. It speaks to the needs and concerns of Puerto Rican working people; it not only reports but also analyzes major news events from a Marxist standpoint; and it presents a program for action around which working people can rally in defense of their rights and interests.

I urge all *Militant* readers who are interested in the Puerto Rican independence and workers movements to read it. A six-month subscription from the United States, Canada, or Mexico is available for three dollars from *La Verdad*, Post Office Box 22699, University Station, Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico 00931.

periods of time, and harassment and physical abuse.

Although the trial is over, the conditions creating the need for the trial have not diminished; in fact, they have intensified. It is obviously the intention of the administration to provoke a surge of resistance among the general prison population that will enable the warden to assert a necessity for maintaining the Control Unit. For this reason it is most urgent that attention be focused on the cause of the Marion Brothers. The Marion Brothers are asking for support in these ways:

- 1) Write a letter protesting the inhumane conditions and asking that the Marion Control Unit be closed down to: Judge James Forman, U.S. District Court, 750 Missouri Avenue, East St. Louis, Illinois 62202. Send copies to the Marion Brothers' office (address below).

- 2) If you belong to an organization, publicize the case.

- 3) Contribute money to help pay the enormous expenses needed to fight this campaign. Send contributions and requests for information to: National Committee to Support the Marion Brothers, 6199 Waterman, St. Louis, Missouri 63112; telephone: (313) 725-1082.

Char Sawatzke
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Bits and pieces

One of the most informative and concise articles that has appeared in the *Militant* this fall was Frank Lovell's analysis of "Why labor officials seek 'another Truman'" in the November 28 issue.

In it, Lovell used a lot of penetrating insights into the pre-1950 period that help round out an image of what must have been the real conditions under which many of us were born, but of which we have only hazy notions from what we've heard or learned from our parents and others.

It's as if we wanted to put together a puzzle of the whole world around us. And often, looking back at what we did in our youth and out of our childhood, we wonder why our plans and childish dreams seemed so illusory.

Well, there really shouldn't be any wonder when, in retrospect, we can see that not only was it an overly impressionistic picture that the puzzle would have projected had it ever been completed, but now we should grasp the implications that lie in the fact that the pieces weren't made to fit together.

They had indeed been cut and curved in fantastic ways. And in our innocence, we were naturally amazed and impressed with each of the pieces as we picked them up, one at a time, in isolation from all others.

But only occasionally anymore, and only when the present is being analyzed in the context of the past as skillfully as Lovell is able to portray it, do we see how beautifully the cuts and curves had been made and how distortive even our actions of trying to work with that puzzle were.

Thomas Boushier
Houston, Texas

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.

Jobs for politicians, bureaucrats

Hawkins bill: can it end unemployment?

By Andy Rose

Is the Hawkins-Humphrey Bill, now pending in Congress as H.R. 50 and S. 50, an answer to unemployment?

Titled the "Equal Opportunity and Full Employment Act," the legislation was authored by Black Democrat Augustus Hawkins of California and House Banking Committee Chairman Henry Reuss of Wisconsin.

It has won the support of a few union officials, but the greatest enthusiasm seems to be among liberal Democratic and Republican politicians. No less than 111 members of Congress have signed on as cosponsors. In the Senate these include such prominent figures as Democrats Hubert Humphrey, Edward Kennedy, and Philip Hart, and Republicans Edward Brooke, Richard Schweiker, and Jacob Javits.

The Congressional Black Caucus has made the Hawkins-Humphrey Bill the centerpiece of its alternative to the Ford administration's economic policies.

The Communist party also supports the bill, although offering some minor amendments to "strengthen" it, and has volunteered to go out and collect petition signatures for it.

'Right to a job'

If enacted, the Hawkins-Humphrey Bill would make it a "declaration of policy" by Congress that "all adult Americans able and willing to work have the right to equal opportunities for useful paid employment at fair rates of compensation."

Taken alone, this amounts to a statement of good intentions with which few could disagree. Every person (not only "adult Americans," one might add, but also young workers and immigrants without citizenship papers) should have the right to a job.

But good intentions are not worth much to the unemployed. The question is *how* jobs will be provided.

Back in 1946 Congress passed and president Truman signed into law an earlier Employment Act. It directed the government to set economic policies so as to "provide maximum employment, production and purchasing power," and to assure "useful employment opportunities, including self-employment, for those able, willing and seeking to work."

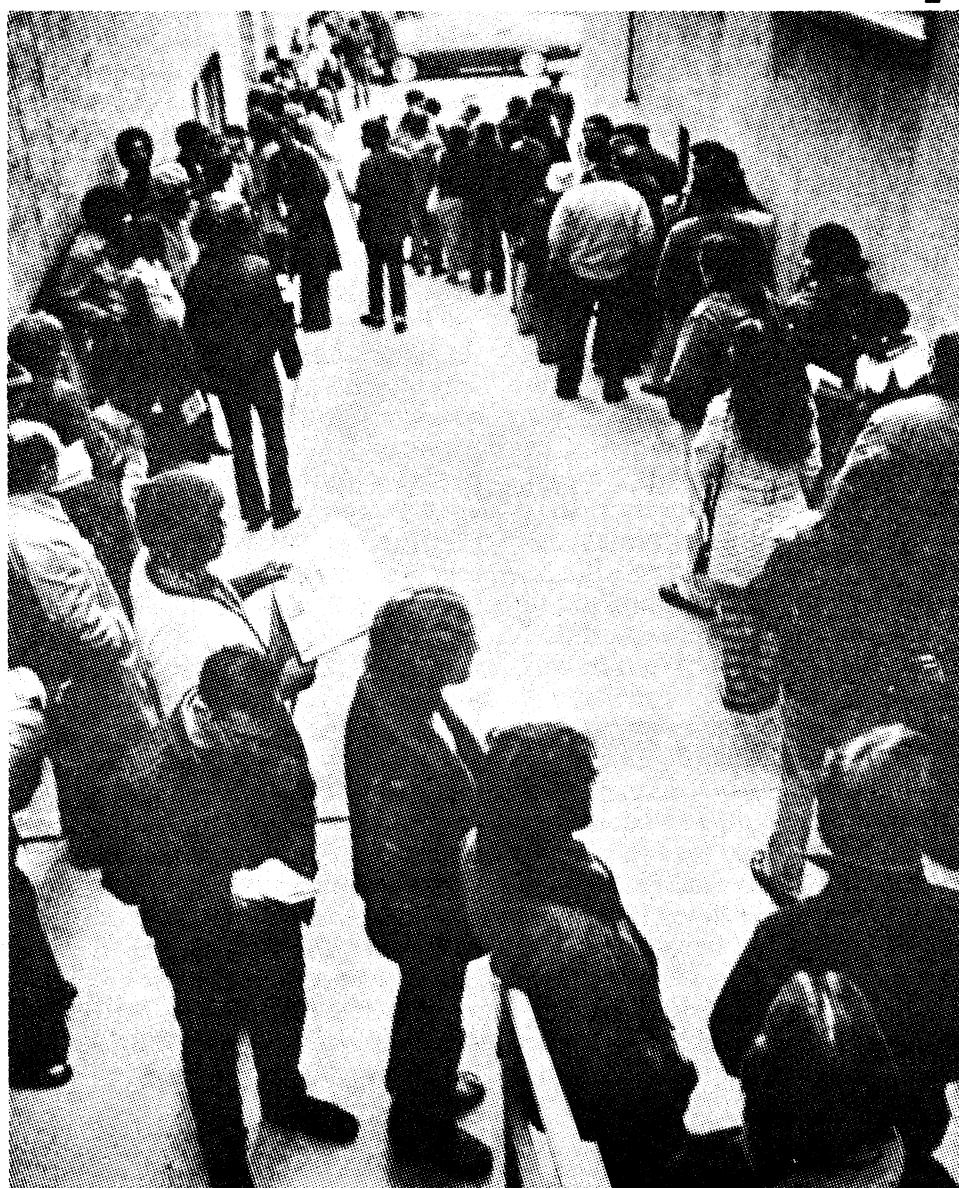
To this end the president was directed to submit an annual economic report, a Council of Economic Advisers was set up to assist the chief executive, and Congress was provided with a Joint Economic Committee to review everybody's progress.

The committees were all duly established, but the "full employment" directives have been ignored by every administration and every Congress since the 1946 bill was adopted. Few today even know it is still on the books.

Provisions of bill

Representative Hawkins, who wrote an article on his bill for the November-December issue of the economics magazine *Challenge*, promises that it will not meet the same fate. "It comes down to brass tacks by spelling out exactly *how* to make good on the promise and providing legal machinery for enforcement," he says. Here are its provisions:

- The president is directed to submit to Congress each year a Full Employment and National Purposes Budget.
- The Council of Economic Advisers is "strengthened" and the role of the Joint Economic Committee (now run by Senator Humphrey) is "expanded." The latter is to organize each year a Conference on Full Employment and National Purposes.
- The United States Employment



Unemployed in San Francisco line up for scarce public service jobs. Hawkins-Humphrey Bill opposes massive public works program that could put jobless back to work.

Service is renamed the United States Full Employment Service, and the Manpower Report of the president is renamed the Labor Report of the president.

• A twenty-member National Advisory Council on Full Employment and National Purposes is to be appointed by the president.

• A National Institute for Full Employment Research is to be established.

• Local Planning Councils are to be set up, with unspecified composition and no authority.

• Other federal agencies, notably the Federal Reserve Board, are directed to shape their policies so as to provide for full employment.

This maze of new or renamed councils, commissions, and institutes would provide a certain number of positions for professional office seekers and aspiring bureaucrats, but no jobs for the unemployed.

Same old stuff

So far nothing in the bill goes so much as one step beyond the routine government fiscal and monetary policies that proved incapable of averting the current depression. Future administrations are admonished to find some way—through manipulation of taxes, interest rates, and so on—to get the economy rolling enough to provide jobs for all.

But the reason neither the Republican administration nor the Democratic-controlled Congress has done so to date is not that they lack sufficient bureaucratic apparatus to implement full employment policies. The reason is that the government is dedicated to the profit interests of private industry rather than to the welfare of the masses of working people.

There is only one section of the Hawkins-Humphrey Bill that directly deals with providing jobs for the

unemployed. A Job Guarantee Office and a Standby Job Corps are to be set up under the Full Employment Service. This is where you go if you need a job.

The primary, stated purpose of this office is to match up unemployed workers with job openings in private industry. But private industry is not providing enough jobs these days. That's why there are more than ten million people unemployed.

What is clearly required to provide jobs, rather than promises, to these workers is a massive, federally financed program of public service employment. *The Hawkins-Humphrey Bill is openly opposed to any such program.*

Minimum' of jobs

The summary of the bill provided by the House Committee on Education and Labor states: "Priority is given to job development through the private sector. . . . Job guarantee activities of U.S. Full Employment Service and its Standby Job Corps are [to be] reduced to a minimum."

And Representative Hawkins writes: "The basic concept of these ultimate job guarantee sections is of a strictly temporary nature, and even in that respect an emphasis is placed upon the private sector."

A good indication of the minimal nature of job creation under the Hawkins-Humphrey Bill is that it would appropriate a total of only \$15 billion. And only a fraction of this sum would go toward public works jobs. Spread out among all of those out of work today, the money might provide carfare to the unemployment office, but surely not the jobs "at fair rates of compensation" as promised.

Even Hawkins makes it clear, however, that not *all* the unemployed are to get jobs. The bill actually calls for reducing the official unemployment rate, as currently measured, to 3 percent—within eighteen months after

the president submits his first "Full Employment" budget.

By Hawkins's own estimate, this would leave 2.9 million without jobs. If you are one of the unfortunate 2.9 million whose right to a job got lost in the shuffle, you can always sue.

If the Hawkins-Humphrey Bill would actually reduce unemployment to 3 percent, it might be criticized as inadequate. But it is not just inadequate—it is a complete fraud. There is nothing in the bill's provisions that would reduce the unemployment rate by so much as one percentage point.

It is at most a proposal for tinkering with the capitalist economy in the blind hope that the capitalists will again find it profitable to provide more jobs. Hawkins does not try to hide this subordination to the profit system. He promises that his bill will "provide the basis for fair, stable, and long-term profits for American business."

What they could do

If any member of Congress were serious about eliminating unemployment, the means to do so are straightforward:

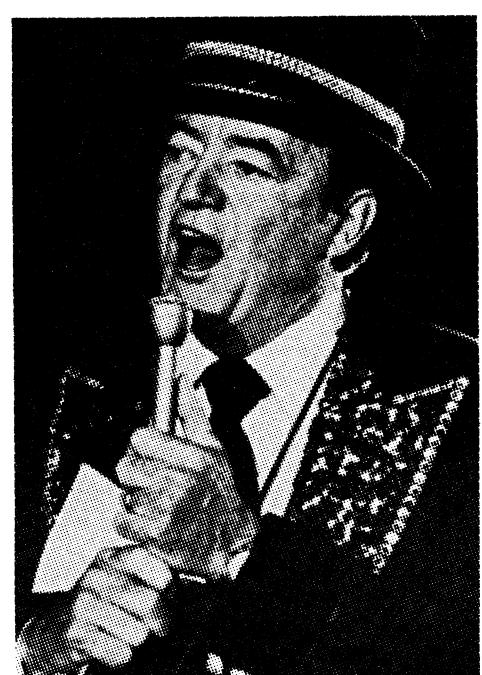
- Eliminate the \$100 billion war budget and use those funds to launch a massive, emergency public works program to provide socially useful jobs at union wages.
- Amend the federal hours-and-wages law to provide for an immediate thirty-hour workweek at forty hours' pay in all of industry so as to spread the work to all who need jobs.

These measures are urgently needed by the workers regardless of whether they mean "long-term profits" for the capitalists. They are not to be found in the Hawkins-Humphrey Bill.

As millions of unemployed are exhausting their meager unemployment compensation, this legislation does not even advocate granting them a decent standard of living through compensation at union wages for the full duration of unemployment.

All this is not to imply that Hawkins, Humphrey, and the bill's other sponsors are not concerned about jobs. They are quite concerned about their own jobs, which are up for grabs next November. Several have put in for promotions, maybe even to the White House. They figure promises of jobs for all should be worth a few votes.

That's just routine chicanery for capitalist politicians. But those within the labor, Black, and women's movements who tout the Hawkins-Humphrey Bill as a solution to unemployment are diverting energy and attention from any real struggle for jobs.



Promising jobs to get votes is just routine chicanery for Democratic politicians like Hubert Humphrey.

Candidate speaks in Chicago

Camejo backs Puerto Rican independence fight

By David Salner

CHICAGO—"In the presidential campaign, I have only heard one candidate even mention Puerto Rico and I've only heard one candidate take a stand against U.S. aggression. And that candidate is Peter Camejo."

The speaker was Carlos Torres, a professor at Northeastern University and a member of the Union for Puerto Rican Students. Torres was speaking to a rally for the Socialist Workers party presidential candidate at the West-North campaign headquarters here November 29.

Torres urged the audience of 150 to join the fight to free the five Puerto Rican nationalists who have been imprisoned in the United States since the early 1950s for their activities in support of Puerto Rican independence. He pointed to the hypocrisy of holding a bicentennial celebration of the victory over British colonial rule while Puerto Rico remains a colony.

"If we have to celebrate this bicentennial, at least we should do it without colonies," he said.

Camejo backed Torres's call for independence for Puerto Rico, adding, "We're taught that America is the



Militant/David Salner
Camejo at Chicago rally

greatest democracy the world has ever known. But actually, as Malcolm X said, it is the greatest *hypocrisy*."

Camejo also voiced support for the growing demands for a new inquiry into the government's role in the 1968 murder of Martin Luther King. However, he said it would be foolish to rely on members of Congress, "who are scared out of their minds at what might come out," to get the full story aired.

"What is needed instead," Camejo said, "is an investigation conducted by people we can trust—people responsible to the Black community."

In an interview after the rally, he expanded on this point. He said such an independent investigation should include representatives of civil rights and community groups, trade unions, church organizations, and others who have an interest in seeing a genuine inquiry.

A prime task of such an independent commission, Camejo explained, would be to mobilize support for the demand that all secret files of the FBI, CIA, and other government agencies be opened to public inspection.

Patricia Grogan, a member of the

SWP, reported on another effort to uncover the truth about government crimes. The SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance have filed suit against the Chicago police and other officials for conspiring with the Legion of Justice, an ultraright terrorist gang, to harass and assault socialists in Illinois.

The cops participated in the planning and execution of armed attacks on the SWP and on other groups in the Chicago area. Army Intelligence was also in on the conspiracy.

Grogan explained that a recently published grand jury report on the criminal activities of the cops confirmed the major charges included in the socialists' \$7.9 million suit. However, the grand jury refused to hand down any indictments.

Therefore, Grogan explained, the suit filed by the SWP and YSA, along with similar actions brought by other groups, represents the best vehicle for continuing the fight to bring out all the facts on these government crimes. The Committee for Defense Against Terrorist Attacks is organizing support for the socialists' legal action.

Reid tours Texas, urges Rodino bill be defeated

By Debby Woodroffe

HOUSTON—"The Socialist Workers candidate for vice president of the United States predicted Monday her cause will be a winner even if she is not elected next November," began an article in the *Houston Post* reporting on Willie Mae Reid's arrival in Texas.

Reid's two-week tour of the state included campaigning in Austin, San Antonio, Dallas, Houston, and other cities.

While she was in San Antonio, Reid met with Antonio Cabral, a leader of TU CASA, an antideportation group. Cabral talked with Reid about his group's campaign against the Rodino bill. This bill would make it a crime to "knowingly" hire undocumented workers. Throughout her Texas tour, Reid blasted this bill, pointing out that it would provide "an open license for the further oppression of all Latin American workers in this country."

Most of Reid's campus meetings were sponsored by Black student

unions or student governments. At Sam Houston State University in Huntsville, the BSU brought out seventy-five people to hear the socialist candidate. The Black students printed up posters and announced the meeting in churches, the local press, and over the campus loudspeaker system.

After addressing the students, Reid remained for more than an hour to answer their questions. Several of the questions asked at this meeting were asked frequently at Reid's talks on Texas campuses.

"I've heard Fred Harris," one student said. "He's anti-privilege and is saying many of the same things you are. What's the difference?"

"The basic difference," Reid said, "is that he's a Democrat. As a Democrat, he is committed to maintaining capitalism, the system that brought about the present economic crisis, the system that breeds racism, the oppression of women, unemployment, and wars. The Democratic party serves the needs of the capitalist class."

"As a socialist, I am committed to advancing the interests of the working class, the majority class. We don't think working people should subordinate their struggles to the interests of the capitalists. That's why we think working people should break from the Democratic party."

In her speech, Reid called for an end to all military spending. This provoked the question, "But cutting military spending would eliminate thousands of jobs. What are you going to tell those workers?"

Reid's answer was short: "We don't need war materials. You can't eat bullets. You can't drive a tank to work. I'm for putting these people to work building things we *do* need—such as schools, hospitals, and efficient mass transportation."

She said this should be done by beginning an emergency public works program financed by the more than \$100 billion now wasted on war spending.

Many students told me that Reid

was the only candidate they had heard who actually answered their questions. "I can see now that socialism will one day become a reality," commented one woman who heard Reid speak at the University of Texas in Arlington.



Militant/Debby Woodroffe
Reid talks with students after meeting at University of Houston.

Bill Hampton speaks at Militant Forum in Mpls.

By Holly Harkness

MINNEAPOLIS—On the eve of the bicentennial of the First American Revolution, the freedoms in the Bill of Rights are still being denied to those seeking justice for oppressed peoples or criticizing U.S. government policy.

This was the theme of a "Civil Liberties Speak-out" sponsored by the Militant Forum here November 24.

Speakers included Bill Hampton, brother of murdered Black Panther party leader Fred Hampton; Vernon Bellecourt of the American Indian Movement (AIM); and August Nimtz, representing the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF).

All three pointed to the FBI and its "Counterintelligence Program" (Cointelpro) as a prime offender in the attacks on civil liberties. They also stressed the need for united opposition to government attempts to suppress the activities of those fighting for change.

Bill Hampton delivered a moving speech about the fatal shooting of his

brother in Chicago. Hampton and his family have been working for six years to bring the murderers to justice.

At 4:30 a.m. on December 4, 1969, police under the orders of state's attorney Edward Hanrahan entered the apartment where Fred Hampton and eight other people were sleeping and opened fire.

Hanrahan claimed that it was a shoot-out because the cops found weapons in the apartment. "But," said Bill Hampton, "ballistics tests showed those guns had never been fired."

Recently released FBI documents have shown that the raid was one of the activities encouraged by the FBI under Cointelpro.

In January 1970 the Hampton family filed a \$47 million suit against Hanrahan, the fourteen cops who participated in the raid, the city of Chicago, the county, and the state for their role in the crime. Hampton told the audience the case is expected to go to court in early January.

The December 4th Committee was

set up by the Hampton family to mobilize support for the suit and to keep the public informed. The committee works closely with other defense committees in Chicago. "The people have to learn that this is all our movement," said Hampton. "We've got to fight in it together."

He went on to explain their strategy for winning the case. "If it takes demonstrating and petitioning, then we're going to do it, and we're going to need your help. It's going to take the people to win this case. Just like Angela Davis's case, just like Joanne Little's case."

Hampton continued, "And it's what you gotta do for Hurricane Carter, for Delbert Tibbs, and for J.B. Johnson" (three Black men who have been framed up for murder in different cities).

Vernon Bellecourt reported on the situation in South Dakota, where a grand jury has been meeting secretly in an effort to obtain information from Indians on the Pine Ridge reservation

about the shooting of two FBI agents last June 26.

Several people have refused to testify, citing rights guaranteed by an 1868 treaty between the Sioux Indians and the United States. But the court ignored their treaty rights and threw them into jail for contempt of court.

"It's impossible for an Indian to get a fair trial in South Dakota," said Bellecourt.

August Nimtz told about the Political Rights Defense Fund, which was set up to win support for the \$27 million suit filed against the government by the Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance. "The SWP and the YSA have been one of the prime targets of the FBI's Cointelpro," said Nimtz. "This suit has encouraged many other victims of FBI harassment to take action as well."

A tape was prepared for the meeting by William Kunstler, who had been scheduled to speak but had to cancel because of a court appearance.

Dallas rally tells judge: 'Stop the delays now!'

By Marty Anderson

DALLAS—On Saturday, November 22, 200 people gathered here at the A. Philip Randolph Institute to demand: "Get the buses rolling. Desegregate Dallas schools. No more delays!"

In 1971 the Dallas Independent School District (DISD), feeling pressure both from local racists and from the Black liberation movement, issued a "compromise" desegregation plan. It involved only minimal busing of Blacks, and almost none of whites.

The total inadequacy of the DISD "compromise" became more obvious with each school year. Last spring, Dallas Legal Services, backed by the local NAACP, challenged the plan before the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans.

Last July, the court threw out the 1971 plan. It ordered Federal District Court Judge William Taylor to draw up a better plan for implementation by January 1976. The court suggested that more extensive busing would probably be necessary, and it said that Chicanos must be included in the plan.

This fall Taylor rejected out of hand an inadequate new proposal from the

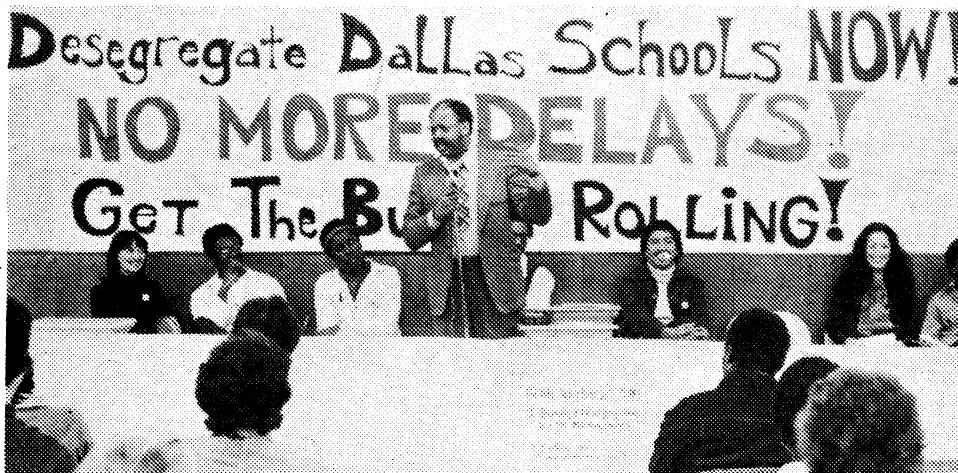
DISD. However, he also asked the appeals court to push back his deadline to August 1976. So far there has been no ruling on this request.

The November 22 rally was called by the Dallas Student Coalition Against Racism (SCAR) to protest the continued delay in implementing a busing plan to desegregate Dallas schools.

Dr. Daniel Georges, a SCAR leader and professor of urban studies at the nearby University of Texas at Arlington, chaired the rally.

Dallas NAACP President Rev. H. Rhett James recounted the history of the desegregation struggle in the city. He pointed out that in the past busing has been widely used in Dallas to preserve segregation.

Other speakers included: Yolanda Guerra, a Chicana member of the Dallas Tri-ethnic Committee set up by the court to oversee desegregation; Akintunde Funso, a Black student leader from El Centro Community College; Bill Eden, president of the University of Texas at Arlington Student Congress; Lydia Espinosa, of the Texas Farm Workers Union; and NSCAR leader Norman Oliver.



Dallas NAACP President H. Rhett James speaking to November 22 probusing rally

Busing causes stir as Democrats meet in Ky.

By Steve Clark

Democratic party liberals are in a quandary over busing. Many of them have already retreated from former probusing stances under the pressure of mounting racist mobilizations in Boston, Louisville, and other cities. Others fear the reaction of the Black community to such a retreat.

And almost all these politicians wish the issue would just go away.

That was the message that came out of the National Democratic Issues Convention, which ended in Louisville on November 23.

The conference's liberal organizers were furious at their party's 1972 presidential candidate, Sen. George McGovern, for a probusing speech he made to the gathering. Columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak reported, "McGovern had been specifically asked not to raise the busing issue, both by Democratic politicians here in Louisville . . . and by politicians sponsoring the conference. . . ."

One conference bigwig told Evans and Novak that McGovern "did a disservice to the Democratic Party."

McGovern himself talks a better game than he plays. Over the past twelve months he has not even endorsed—let alone actively publicized—the probusing demonstrations, teach-ins, and conferences sponsored by the NAACP, the National Student Coalition Against Racism, and other groups.

Not that McGovern wasn't aware of these protest actions. In fact, the specter of more and more of these

kinds of activities was undoubtedly what the senator had in mind when he told the Louisville conference, "I do not want a great political party which nearly lost its soul in Vietnam to sell its soul on the issue of busing. . . ."

There were other indications at the gathering that the probusing counter-offensive has begun to spur some second thoughts among liberals who just a year ago were beating a hasty retreat. A survey of opinions at the conference by pollster Peter Hart showed that a majority at least thought busing "did more good than harm," although only 13 percent of the delegates considered busing to be an absolute good.

But momentum is still building in both capitalist parties to roll back Black gains won under the impact of the civil rights movement. The battle to repulse this racist drive is still quite young.

This was clear from the events that took place outside the Democratic party conference: segregationists from the Louisville area (backed up by a support contingent from South Boston) staged a Saturday demonstration of 5,000 people, while probusing forces mustered only 150.

But the potential power of the antiracist movement was pointed to by University of Louisville teacher Fred Hobby, one of the speakers at the probusing rally. Hobby said that the racist onslaught can be turned back if antiracists "take to the street with marches every time white racists take to the streets."

Black leaders air views on closing up 'Southie'

By Jon Hillson

BOSTON—South Boston High School is currently at the center of an important legal battle here initiated by the Boston NAACP.

Affidavits submitted to Federal District Judge W. Arthur Garrity, and the testimony of Black students during court hearings convened November 21, have documented a pattern of racist harassment and victimizations at the school by white students, teachers, police, and administrators. The NAACP contends that the situation has become so destructive to the safety and education of Black students that the school should be shut down.

The NAACP suggests that South Boston students either be transferred to a building in another neighborhood or dispersed among other Boston schools.

Judge Garrity heard closing arguments on the NAACP request November 28. As the *Militant* goes to press, Garrity's ruling has not been announced.

During the final court session, Attorney Eric Van Loon—arguing for the NAACP motion—said that because of the "nonstop pattern" of verbal and physical racist abuse at South Boston High School, "parents are fearful of sending their children back there."

Van Loon told Garrity that the desire to close the school represented the "strong consensus of dozens of Black parents, students, and many community leaders."

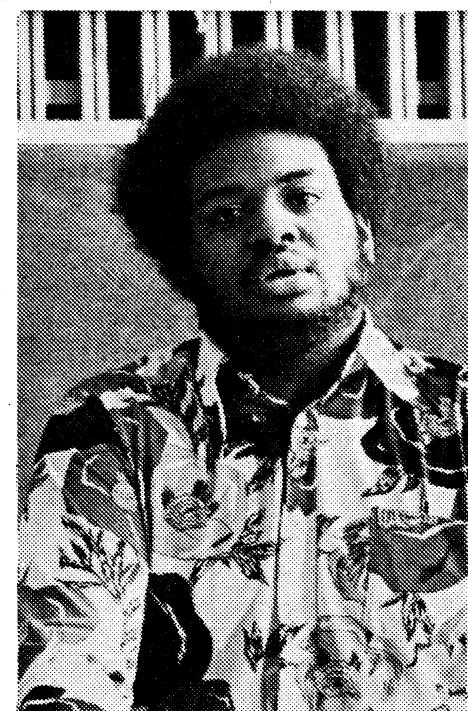
I recently talked to four of these leaders about their impressions of the South Boston situation.

Percy Wilson, executive director of the Roxbury Multi-Service Center, is a strong supporter of closing the school. "There is no learning going on there now," he told me, "nor will there be in the near future." Wilson placed the blame for this situation on "the inability of the present school administration to enforce" Boston's court-ordered desegregation plan.

Boston NAACP leader Ed Redd blasted the claim by South Boston State Sen. William Bulger, a Democrat, that the request to shut South Boston signaled "the failure of desegregation."

"As long as the school stays open," he said, "it will be a symbol of resistance" to the racists. "We are not going to allow Black kids to be subjected to the jeers, the stares, the violence, and the harassment."

Redd terms the widely publicized court hearings "a victory in themselves," because "they got the truth out." Even if Garrity turns down the motion to shut the school, he said, "there will be more attention paid to it,



Militant/Ginny Hildebrand
DIXON: 'Until Black students can get an education at South Boston, it should be shut down tight.'

and this will make things improve."

Ruth Batson, director of the crisis teams that monitor many newly desegregated Boston schools, opposes the NAACP motion. She fears that closing the school will be seen nationally as a sign that desegregation can't work in racist strongholds like South Boston.

"Black kids would be kidding themselves," she said, "if they saw it as a victory that, 'Whew! We finally got out of South Boston.' But they would just get slammed if they ever crossed the threshold of that neighborhood again."

Maceo Dixon, a leader of the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR) and a captain of one of the crisis teams, told me that he supports the motion to close down South Boston.

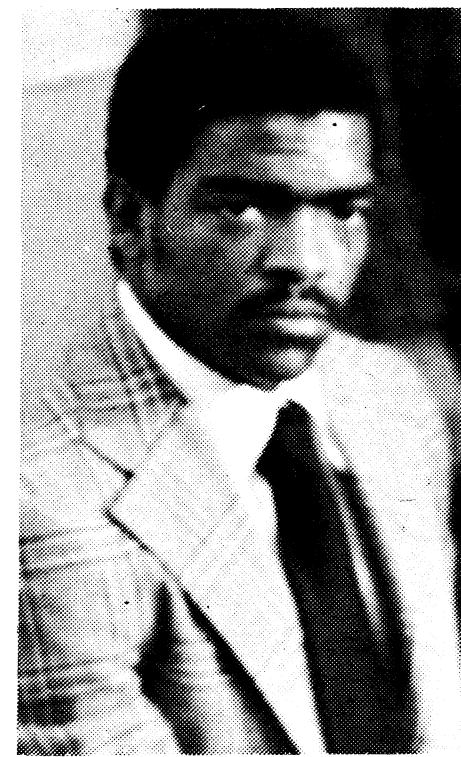
Dixon said that while he understands the reservations expressed by Batson, he differs with her conclusions. "We do not want to be in this situation," he said, "and we are not in it by choice. But because of the criminal default by city, state, and federal officials, the racists both inside and outside the school have been able to wage a relentless campaign with one goal: to keep 'Southie' open and all white by driving the Black students out.

"Of course, NSCAR favors—as do many Black leaders—a wide-open, safe, and fully desegregated South Boston High School. However, we are also in complete solidarity with the courageous Black students who have spoken out against the rotten, racist conditions inside the school. And until these students can go in safety to their school, and be guaranteed a decent education there, that school should be shut down tight."

Dixon pointed out that last year the Black community and other probusing forces carried out a campaign of mass mobilizations to support desegregation—including two demonstrations of more than 10,000 people each. These activities, he said, helped create the pressure that forced government officials to deploy thousands of police and the national guard to hold the racists at bay as school opened this September.

"This fall that campaign has slackened considerably," Dixon continued. "But the intolerable situation that has developed at South Boston High School shows that ongoing mobilizations are an absolute necessity."

"We need marches, rallies, picket lines, and other actions to place maximum pressure on the government to enforce the desegregation order and ensure the safety of each and every Black student in this city."



REDD: 'Court hearings a victory in themselves because they got the truth out.'

High court to review plan

Pasadena racists challenge desegregation

By Arnold Weissberg

PASADENA, Calif.—Over the objections of the Black community here, the U.S. Supreme Court agreed November 11 to consider overturning a lower court order to desegregate the Pasadena schools.

Black parents, represented by Fred Okrand of the Southern California American Civil Liberties Union Foundation, charged that the Pasadena Board of Education has sabotaged the busing program, known as the Pasadena Plan, every step of the way. The plan was first ordered by Federal District Judge Manuel Real in 1970.

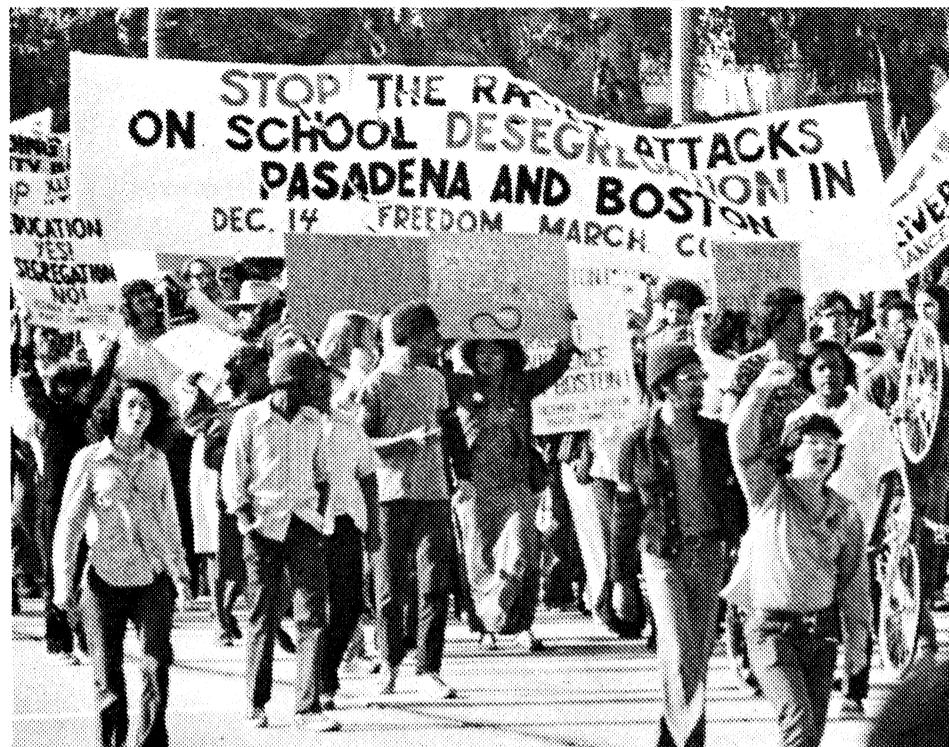
The board asked the Supreme Court to release it from having to implement the plan, claiming that it hasn't worked and should therefore be dismissed. The board also asserted that the desegregation plan had increased racial polarization in the city.

Any blame for failure of the Pasadena Plan, however, must be squarely shouldered by the board, which has bitterly resisted any desegregation of the city's schools.

The Pasadena Plan was approved by a three-to-two vote of the board in 1970. But in 1973 racists, running under the slogan "Stop forced busing," elected a majority to the board.

In 1974, after spending thousands of dollars on fighting the desegregation plan, the board announced it was short of money and had to cut back on educational services.

It proceeded to lay off school bus



Militant/Henry Snipper

Pasadena prodesegregation march, December 14, 1974. More demonstrations will be needed to turn back school board's racist assault.

drivers and cut bilingual programs and kindergarten.

Also in 1974, Real held four board members in contempt for filling administrative posts in a way that violated the desegregation plan.

In 1975, the board began to set up "fundamental schools," where the

emphasis was to be on readin', 'ritin', and 'rithmetic, along with patriotism and "discipline."

Enrollment in these schools was to be voluntary, and students could be bused to them.

Such an educational program was hardly likely to appeal to Blacks, so

the "fundamental schools" would be all-white. The board was thus using busing to maintain segregation.

Judge Real ordered an end to these schools last October unless it could be proved they were not designed to maintain segregation. The board has failed to do so.

Another scheme the board tried was to establish "freedom of choice" schools. Under this plan, the school district would retain the zones that the Pasadena Plan had established, but would require only that "ethnic balance" be maintained within each zone, not within each school.

This zone ploy, which would have led right back to segregated schools, was rejected by the U.S. Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals, but will be reconsidered by the Supreme Court.

The Supreme Court's decision to reopen the case was hailed by board Vice-president Richard Vetterli. "We are delighted," he told the press. "The whole trend of the country, the opinion of our politicians, is against forced busing."

In a statement denouncing the attack on school desegregation, Laura Moorhead, a coordinator of the Los Angeles Student Coalition Against Racism, said, "Equal education is the law of the land and it must be upheld. Black children must not be forced to accept unequal, segregated education. We must band together and demand the enforcement of the law."

Black student falls victim to Louisiana 'justice'

By Joel Aber

NEW ORLEANS—Sixteen-year-old Gary Tyler has been sentenced to die in the electric chair on May 10, 1976. Tyler, a Black high school student, is a victim of Louisiana "justice."

Tyler was convicted November 14 of shooting and killing a white student at Destrehan High School in suburban St. Charles Parish near here. The story that emerged at his trial showed how he was picked from a busload of Black students, framed up, and tried in an atmosphere of racist hysteria.

On October 7, 1974, a series of fights between white and Black students at the high school prompted the principal to close school early. Tyler had not been in school that day. He and a friend were arrested by a deputy sheriff while walking several miles from the school. They were searched and driven back to the school, arriving just as school was closing.

Along with other Black students they were crowded onto buses past a mob of 200 stone-throwing white students.

As the buses pulled away, fourteen-

year-old Timothy Weber was shot. He died a few hours later.

Sheriff's deputies stopped the bus Tyler was riding in, claiming the shot had come from it. The bus and all seventy-five Black students aboard were searched for two hours. Every seat was taken apart, but no gun was found.

During the search, Deputy Sheriff Nelson Coleman arrested three students, including Tyler, for "disturbing the peace."

The bus and all of the students were taken to a sheriff's substation, where another search ensued. Finally, the deputies removed a seat from the bus and carried it into the substation. A few minutes later, they announced they had discovered a .45-caliber automatic pistol stuffed into a slash in the seat.

The deputies then tried to pin the shooting on Tyler's cousin. When Tyler protested, they grabbed him and tried to beat a confession out of him instead.

Tyler testified that one of the deputies repeatedly punched him in the stomach, saying, "You're a stubborn

nigger. You shot the gun that killed my cousin."

The bus driver, Ernest Cojoe, testified under cross-examination by the defense that he had never seen a slash in the bus seat. Cojoe was in the military service for twenty-five years. "I know the sound of a .45," he said. "No way it could have been fired from my bus. It carries a lot of noise."

Several students testified for the prosecution. One, Larry Dabney, later revealed that the sheriff's department threatened to charge him with the murder if he didn't testify for the state.

The students told the court that a gun was passed among them on the bus after they heard the shot outside, but they identified it as a smaller gun, not the .45.

A few students claimed they were handed the gun, but no fingerprints were found on it. The reason, according to the prosecutor, was that Tyler was wearing gloves. He did not explain whether all the other students were also wearing gloves.

One student testified she had sat next to Tyler and had seen him reach

out the window and fire the gun. But all other witnesses identified other students as the ones sitting by Tyler.

Two weeks before the trial opened this fall, police claimed they had found powder marks on Tyler's gloves. Since this "evidence" had been withheld for more than a year, defense attorney Jack Williams got the state supreme court to issue a temporary injunction against proceeding with the trial. After one week, the injunction was lifted and the trial opened.

When Williams asked about getting an independent test done on the gloves, a prosecution lab expert testified that a test would probably show no powder marks, because the police had removed all the powder in the original test!

During the trial the Ku Klux Klan made phone calls threatening members of the jury should Tyler be found innocent. The all-white jury took only two hours to find Tyler guilty of first-degree murder, and the judge dutifully handed down the mandatory death penalty. The conviction is being appealed.

Wisconsin teachers discuss busing

By Alexandra Topping

MILWAUKEE—Desegregation was one of the major topics of discussion at the Milwaukee Teachers Education Association convention held here November 6 and 7.

Meyer Weinberg, a teacher at one of the city colleges in Chicago, addressed the convention, exposing a number of myths about the effects of desegregation.

He said that busing is not the cause of "white flight"—white people leaving the cities to live in the suburbs. This is happening, but it stems from the general decay of the cities and from the ability of whites to afford to move to the suburbs.

He pointed out that the academic achievement of students from minority groups goes up when they attend

desegregated schools, which shows that students who now attend inferior schools can learn faster when they attend schools with better facilities. At the same time, the scholastic achievement of white students stays the same and does not decline in desegregated schools.

Segregation is worse in the North than in the South, Weinberg has found. He blames school boards and school administrators for maintaining school segregation.

Weinberg urged the teachers to be in the forefront of the struggle against racist segregation. Teachers should take the initiative and come up with plans for desegregation of their own, he said.

Weinberg also criticized as ineffective the "magnet school" desegrega-

tion plan proposed by Milwaukee's school superintendent.

Under this plan each high school in Milwaukee would become a specialty school, and students would be able to choose any of the schools in the city to receive a specialized education in the field of their choice.

Weinberg said that he does not know of a single case anywhere in the country where school desegregation has been achieved voluntarily through the use of "magnet schools."

Weinberg was received warmly by many of the Black teachers in the audience. A recent survey done by the *Milwaukee Sentinel* showed that a majority of Black teachers favor busing, but that a majority of other teachers still support the "magnet school" plan.

'You can't be silent'

East Boston whites say 'no' to racists

By Jon Hillson

BOSTON—It has been six months since rocks sailed through the windows of Evelyn Morash's home, red paint splattered on her house, and harassing phone calls woke her in the middle of the night.

Today this East Boston mother of five staunchly maintains the probusing views that led neighborhood racists to try to silence her.

East Boston is a predominantly white, Italian area. Antibusing sentiment runs high among its residents, many of whom have marched and rallied against court-ordered desegregation during the past year.

Middle and elementary schools in East Boston were drawn into city-wide desegregation plans for the first time this fall.

Morash grew up in East Boston. She works for a religious charity organization and is a member of the state board of education. She is also on the forty-two-member Citywide Coordinating Council appointed by Federal District Judge W. Arthur Garrity to monitor the implementation of desegregation.

When Phase One of school desegregation was announced for the fall of 1974, Morash helped initiate East Boston for Quality Education (EBQUE).

"We thought we had to make it clear we stood behind Phase One," Morash recalled recently in an interview with the *Militant*.

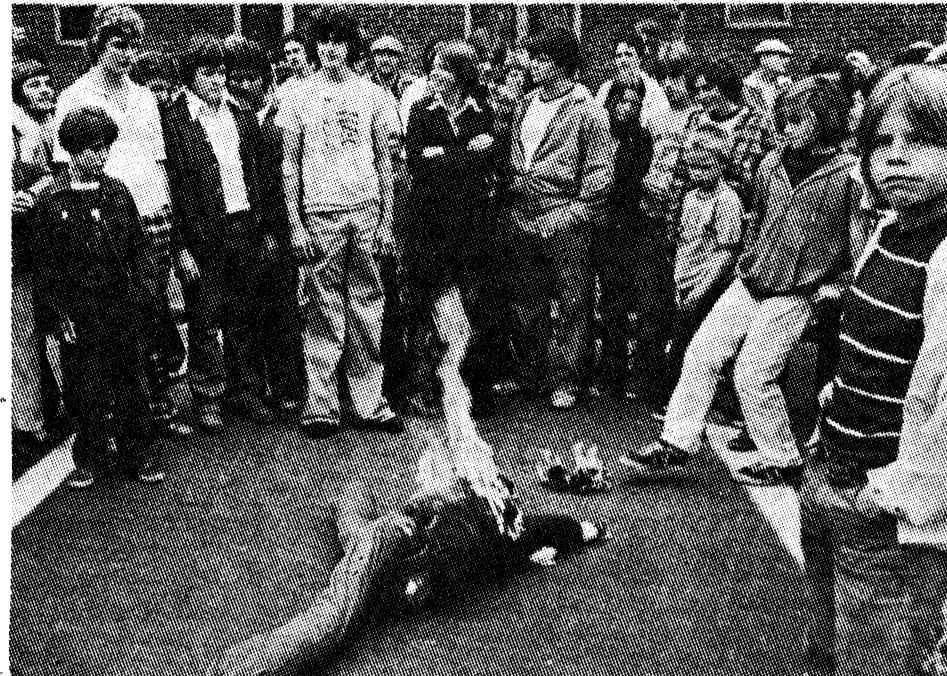
The goal of EBQUE was to explain desegregation to East Boston residents. "You know, I would bet 99 percent of the women of East Boston have never been to Roxbury [in Boston's Black community]. There is a great fear and ignorance. Everything was unknown," Morash added.

Meanwhile, ROAR, Boston's main antibusing group, was doing its best to create a racist, antibusing hysteria in East Boston. "Your daughters face rape in Roxbury," sloganized the racists. Rallies and motorcades against desegregation served to intimidate people who were not opposed to desegregation or who were hesitant.

Prepared for busing

EBQUE continued to meet, preparing for when the buses would begin to roll in East Boston.

In May 1975 harassment of the Morashes began. At the same time, physical assaults on Black and Puerto Rican families living in East Boston escalated. Morash associates the attacks on these families, which were



Racists burn effigy of Black student. Antibusing violence has been extended to probusing whites as well as Blacks.

carried out by young hooligans, with the antibusing drive. "It clearly set the mood," she observed.

Morash decided to fight the harassment directed against her family. Antibusing toughs who assaulted her home with rocks and paint were never apprehended. But the racists who threatened her life were. One was Thomas Johnson, Jr., whose father is a central leader of the racist movement in Charlestown and of ROAR. In a typical case of East Boston "justice," however, Johnson's case was bound over for a year. Since Johnson was caught the attacks on Morash have ceased.

"I think we've been left alone," she says, "because we decided to fight it out in the open."

This fall EBQUE leafleted residences in the area with a flyer headlined, "Busing will not go away."

"For years," the leaflet states, "antibusing leaders told us it would never happen here. But since 1954 the U.S. Supreme Court has said that segregated schools like those in Boston are unconstitutional. Segregation is against the law. And that law won't be changed."

'Right to go to school'

The leaflet also took aim at the racist harassment of whites who wanted to comply with desegregation. Under the heading "The right to go to school," it said, "Last September several East

Boston parents received phone calls warning them to keep their children out of school. Other parents became afraid and pulled their children out of school when protest marches were held . . .

"Those who want to send their children to school should be able to do so without being afraid."

EBQUE held meetings and socials for parents who intended to have their children bused.

Two of Morash's children attend desegregated schools. As a longtime supporter of desegregation, she found that the decision to send them to these schools wasn't particularly hard to make. "But I was amazed at how much better the education is that they're getting," she commented.

"I believe a desegregated education is best for both Blacks and whites. In Phase Two, it wasn't simply a question of manipulating numbers to achieve balance. The plan includes increased parent involvement, expanded curriculum, new programs, and so on. It's an educational experience."

The idea that white children suffer when bused out of their neighborhoods into formerly Black schools is false, according to Morash. "The school one of my children is going to was a mess before it opened," she noted. "That is the way it was probably kept when it was segregated."

"But with the parents coming around, with busing opening it up, it

has been all cleaned up. There is a teacher-pupil ratio there that has meant more time for individual attention. It's a better school than the comparable middle school in East Boston."

Slowly but surely

Slowly but surely, white parents are coming to Morash, quietly asking her how to put their children into the desegregated schools.

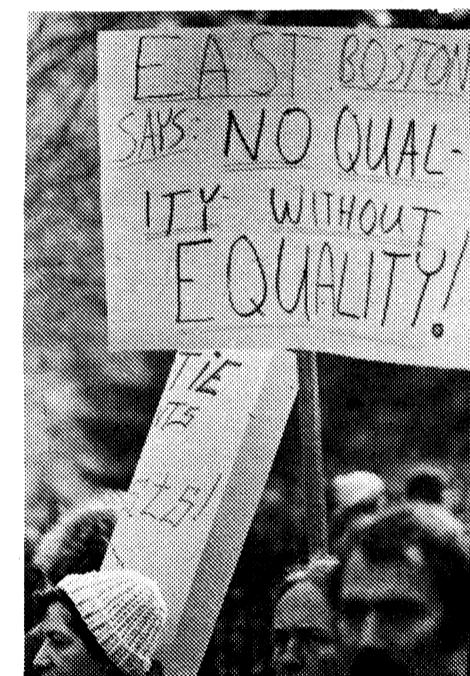
"I tell them my son walks two blocks and gets on a bus that takes him right to school. If he went to a 'neighborhood' school, he'd walk three times as much," she said.

"Once in a while someone comes up to me and says, 'When it's all over, your side is going to win because you're right.' So I ask them to do something about it if they feel that way."

Mass marches and mobilizations, she observed, take "lots of energy and commitment, but they are needed." We talked about two such actions by probusing forces, the December 14 march of 12,000 last year and the one of 15,000 on May 17 this past spring.

"They make people feel less isolated, they give you the feeling that someone is on your side," Morash said.

"You cannot be silent on this issue. Silence gives your consent to the antibusers. That is why people have to stand up."



Militant/Flax Hermes

Some white parents in racist strongholds are speaking out for desegregation.

'Southies' harass probusing families

BOSTON—"They met in little bands of parents, maybe four or five, and moved from one house to another each week," Betty said. She was describing the nearly clandestine efforts of white parents in South Boston to comply with court-ordered desegregation.

Betty, who asked to remain anonymous, is a community agency employee here, and she has worked with some of these parents. In an interview with the *Militant*, she detailed several incidents in the harassment campaign directed against white parents who refuse to join the racist antibusing drive.

• Loretta not only agreed to bus her children, but she spoke out against the racist violence. For that, Betty said, her home was the target of flying bricks and bottles last spring. Phone threats were common. Her children

were harassed. This fall, the assaults broadened to include relatives outside her immediate family.

The windows of a relative's grocery store were smashed a month ago, his car tires slashed.

• Kathleen was a busing foe in Hyde Park until school opened in the fall of 1974 under the new desegregation order. "ROAR was very heavy-handed, very pushy in Hyde Park, and a lot of parents got turned off," Betty noted.

Kathleen began to speak out in support of the court order. Thugs drove motorcycles onto her lawn in the middle of the night, tearing up the grass. The harassing phone calls started.

Although the high school there is tense, Betty observed, "things are going better there this year. ROAR has

lost a lot of its base. The people have backed each other up."

• Vera is a vocal supporter of desegregation in Dorchester. Her children ride the buses. One time, Betty recalled, Vera traveled across town to meet with Loretta in South Boston. Apparently some people knew what for. While they were meeting, "a mob of 100 gathered outside," Betty said. "I think they threw rocks. She realized she could not get out. For an hour she waited for the police to respond to her call."

• Every morning a group of parents in South Boston waits at a corner for a bus to pick up their children. Betty explained it from the point of view of one mother: "She takes her son by the hand every day, to and from the bus, because she is sure if she does not, he will get beaten up."

This same woman lives on the second floor of a three-story house. "The people upstairs would pound away all night long to let her know they disapproved of her letting her child be bused," Betty said.

• The first institution in South Boston to come out against the racist violence in any way was the Laobour Center. This Catholic agency housed meetings for the parents wanting to comply with the court order.

Over the spring and summer its windows were broken and priests were assaulted. A van used for its day-care facility was fire bombed. Thugs physically broke up some of the parent meetings.

"Families split over the issue in some neighborhoods, over the issue of compliance," Betty commented. "You hear the word 'Judas' a lot." —J.H.

By Dick Roberts

The summit conference on the world economy in Rambouillet, France, was a historic event—at least on the surface.

The top officials of the six most powerful capitalist nations met for three days of secret talks. Their agenda could have included a battery of staggering problems facing world capitalism.

• Unemployment, just in the six nations represented at Rambouillet, officially stands at fifteen million.

• Britain faces not only growing unemployment but also an annual inflation rate of 25 percent.

• Energy prices, high everywhere, find gasoline in Europe costing the equivalent of \$1.40 to \$2 a gallon.

• The volume of world trade is declining, and demands for import restrictions to protect domestic industry from foreign competitors are being raised in virtually every capitalist nation.

• World currencies continue to "float" in international money markets, meaning that their exchange rates can change on a day-to-day basis. "Daily movements of 2% or more between the dollar and the German mark or French franc and three-month zigzags of 15% have not been uncommon," *Business Week* magazine reported December 1.

Yet, according to all the information that has been released about Rambouillet, it was only the last of the problems that received close attention in the November 15-17 meeting. And even here, in the arena of currency exchange rates, the Rambouillet agreement has been open to widely varying interpretations.

'Floating' exchange rates

At issue is the long-standing demand, particularly by France, that currency exchange rates return to a fixed basis, as they were up until the U.S. "New Economic Policy" of August 1971.

If the values of currencies are fixed in relation to each other over a long period of time, it tends to encourage international trade since traders can make fairly accurate estimations of their future costs.

But the United States has used the float of the dollar, allowing its value to greatly decline in relation to other currencies since 1971, as one of its main weapons in international trade.

The devalued dollar makes U.S. goods cheaper in foreign markets and foreign goods more expensive in the U.S. market. It has resulted in a dramatic about-face in U.S. balance-of-trade figures.

The most recent reports show a U.S. trade surplus of exports over imports of \$1.08 billion in October, the ninth consecutive monthly surplus. "The trade performance means exports have run ahead of imports by a record of \$9.5 billion so far this year, and a record surplus for the entire year is a virtual certainty," said the November 27 *New York Times*.

Moreover, the float of exchange rates is a keystone of Washington's domestic economic policies in the 1970s. It has allowed the United States to inflate the dollar as a means of propping up the economy at home without at the same time inflating the price of U.S. exports, which would undermine its position in world trade.

U.S.-French truce?

France does not have the chips to face down the United States on this policy. The Rambouillet "truce" established an international committee to watch over foreign-exchange rates. It would ask governments to intervene in money markets "to counter disorderly market conditions, or erratic fluctuations, in exchange rates."

Reporters have pointed out that it all depends on how governments interpret the words "disorderly" and "erratic." This is only a diplomatic way of saying that imperialist nations, and above all the United States, will in fact pursue whatever international monetary policies they need and can get away with at a given time.

Nixon and John Connally, then secretary of the treasury, consulted no foreign governments when they floated the dollar in August 1971. And it is this precedent, not the wording of the Rambouillet pact, that Washington will follow in the future. The opinion of one analyst cited by the *Wall Street Journal* November 18 was undoubtedly accurate in saying that the Rambouillet compromise was "70% by France and 30% by the U.S."

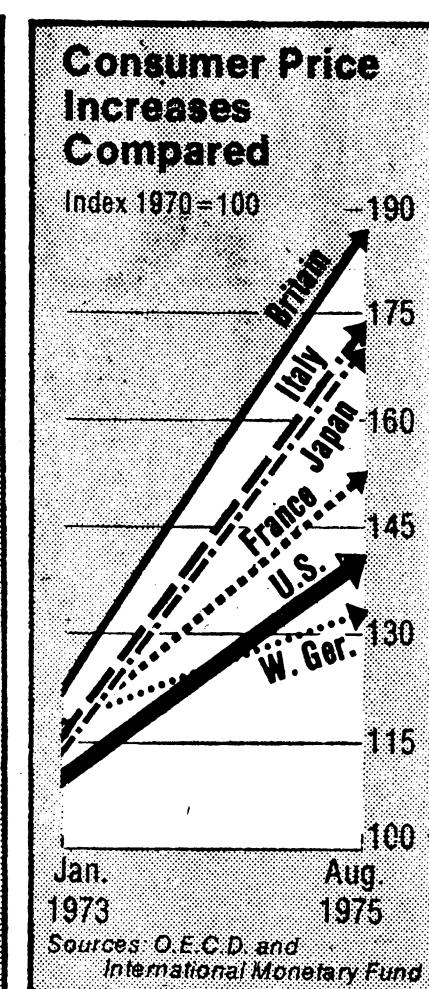
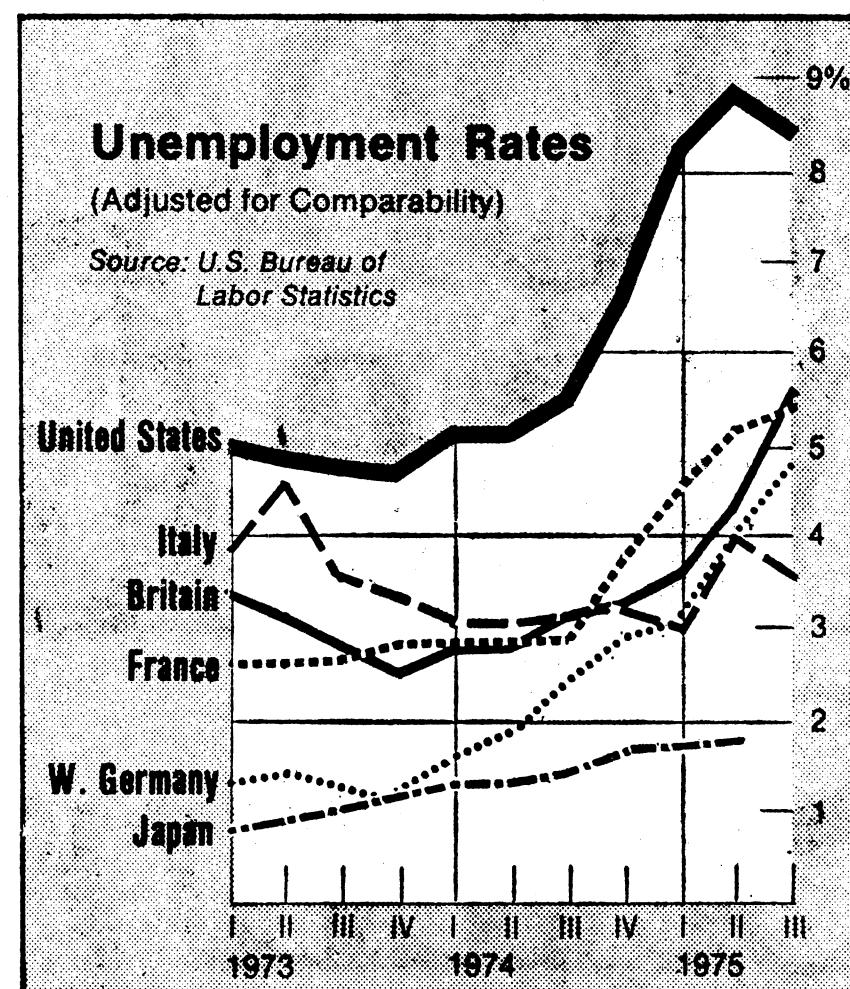
Behind the scenes

Nevertheless, there are reasons to believe that the summit signified a good deal more than is represented by its brief resolution on exchange rates.

It is necessary to look at the relative strengths of

Rambouillet summit

Rulers 'solve' crisis: let unemployed suffer



These graphs from the *New York Times* hint at truth about the Rambouillet summit conference. Having succeeded in driving down the rate of U.S. inflation through massive unemployment, the U.S. rejected any talk about 'stimulating' the American economy.

the U.S. and foreign economies. Here the view of Thomas Mullaney, the chief financial editor of the *New York Times*, may prove useful. Mullaney toured Europe after the Rambouillet meeting ended.

"It became readily clear," he wrote in the November 30 *Times*, "that the American economy has been flexing its muscles vigorously again and exhibiting much more vitality—in both absolute terms and in relation to other economies of the Western world—than was obvious close-up at home."

Mullaney stresses that "the greatest disappointment detected in talks with government officials, bankers and businessmen of major European nations was the slow emergence of their own economies from a cyclical contraction that came close to destroying the economic and social structure of the whole Western community."

If the United States is in initial stages of recovery from two years of economic downturn, most of Europe is not. "Industrial production is down sharply everywhere; unemployment is still rising in most places to the highest levels since the 1930s," says Mullaney. Further, "Only modest reductions have occurred so far in the fight against inflation—considerably less than has been achieved in the United States in recent months."

Then comes the important point. "Apart from their own troubles," says Mullaney, "the major anxiety everywhere on the Continent centers on whether or not the American economy would continue to move forward and thus, it is hoped, provide a measure of buoyancy for other economies that are so much more heavily dependent upon a brisk revival of world trade."

This was the question European business executives and officials put to Mullaney. It was also the question that the top officials of Britain, France, West Germany, and Italy put to President Ford at Rambouillet.

Would Washington adopt stimulative fiscal and monetary policies at home so that an accelerating U.S. economy could purchase European goods and accelerate economic revival abroad?

A hint of Ford's answer to this question came in a front-page column on Rambouillet in the November 24 *Wall Street Journal*. Writing from Paris, *Journal* reporter Richard Janssen asked, "Are President

Ford and the others really still going for the glowing growth rates which had been the outstanding achievement of the postwar Western economic system?"

Janssen's answer is most noteworthy: "There is reason to believe that the political leaders, and their economic advisers, have indeed decided to settle for less economic growth in the next few years, to quietly accept chronically higher unemployment in hopes of lower inflation, of avoiding booms-and-busts."

Unemployment

And Janssen explains, "This is possible, policy makers privately confide, because the public's tolerance of unusually high levels of unemployment is proving much greater than they had believed."

In other words, the ability of the leading imperialist nations, especially the United States, to withstand massive unemployment over a long period of time has convinced the top officials that they do not need to stimulate the economies yet.

From the capitalist standpoint unemployment is far preferable to inflation so long as they get away with it. It drives back the wages of workers and increases productivity and profit margins without raising costs. That on top of devaluation is precisely the explanation of the U.S. export-trade boom already cited.

It is also the explanation of the continued refusal of the Ford administration to go over to "easy money" policies even when there are growing signs that the revival of the U.S. economy is faltering. *Washington is trying to prolong high levels of unemployment as long as it can.*

This would explain, in addition, the possibility of Washington's adopting a slightly more accommodative stance on international exchange rates at this time. In the near future the rulers in Washington do not foresee the need of swinging to sharp inflation and further dollar devaluation.

In any event, the whiff of the truth from the pages of the *Wall Street Journal* more than explains the silence surrounding Rambouillet.

The massive unemployment facing workers in capitalist nations was discussed. It was decided that this unemployment could be prolonged.

Spied on workers during vote

Gallo, Teamsters used illegal surveillance

By Arnold Weissberg

LOS ANGELES—A regional office of the California Agricultural Labor Relations Board has charged the Teamsters union and the E & J Gallo winery with using "massive surveillance" to interfere with the farm workers union representation election held at Gallo on September 10.

This is the first time the giant winery and the Teamsters have been accused of anti-United Farm Workers collusion by the state agency.

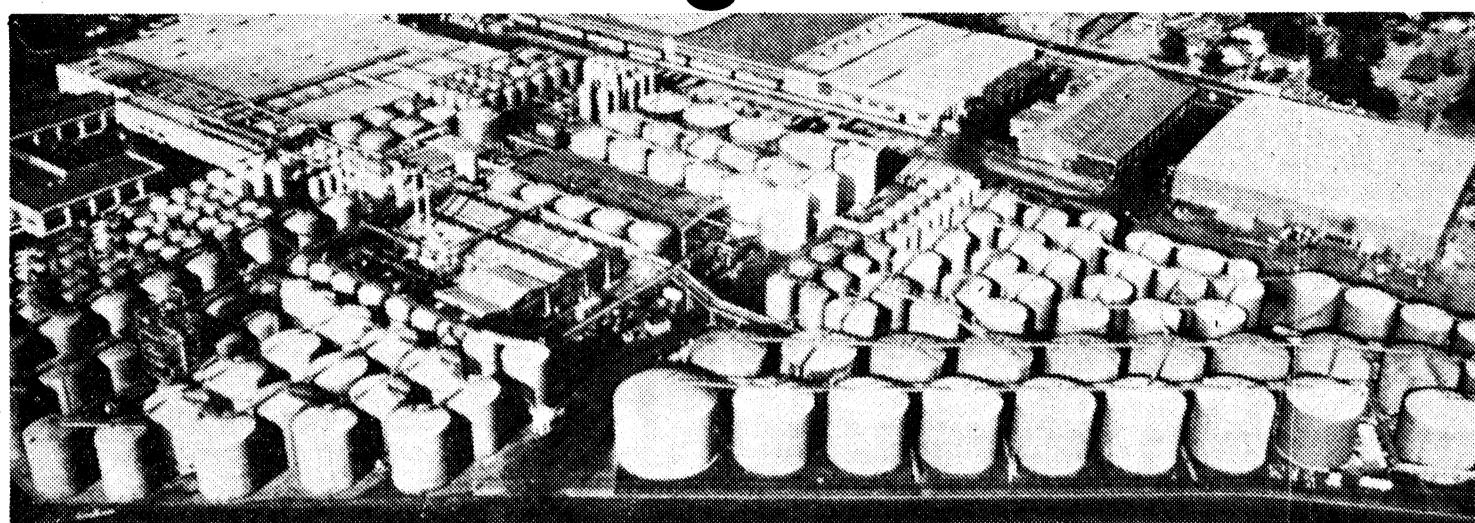
The charges were based on evidence supplied by the UFW.

The board's office also charged Gallo with illegally firing two pro-UFW employees for their union views.

The ALRB's regional offices have the responsibility of investigating complaints of election irregularities. A regional office makes a recommendation to the full board, which can accept, reject, or modify the office's findings. The full ALRB has yet to rule on the latest findings.

At the time of the election, the UFW charged that Gallo, in collusion with the Teamsters, had systematically followed UFW organizers and photographed them while they talked to workers about the upcoming elections.

Fred Ross, UFW director of organizing, described the company's tactics to



Storage tanks at giant Gallo winery in Modesto, California. To keep United Farm Workers from winning union election, Gallo conspired with Teamsters to intimidate workers.

the *Militant*: "At Gallo's Snelling Ranch, I went door to door in the company housing. Each door I knocked on, a guard would take a picture of me talking to the worker."

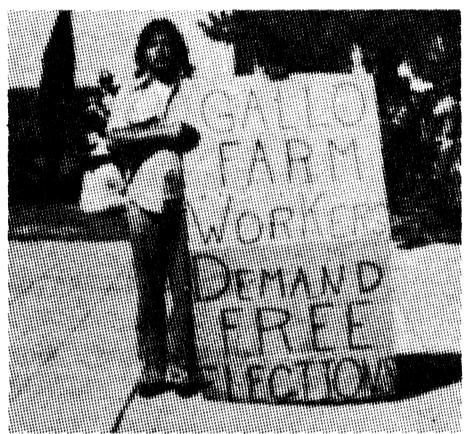
Ross added that, although the ALRB had ordered Gallo to stop this intimidation, the company continued right up to the election.

Gallo blandly asserted that its photography was simply to prove that the UFW organizers had not been denied access to the workers.

An ALRB Fresno office spokesperson said that the huge number of shots taken by Gallo far exceeded the number needed to prove their point. "When hundreds of pictures were taken, we contend that intimidation is involved," he said.

The election results at Gallo are still undecided because 181 votes were challenged.

The same regional office that made the charges is conducting hearings on whether the challenged ballots should be counted. The hearings began October 6.



As a result of evidence given at the hearings, the local board office recommended throwing out fifty-one votes. These included the votes of security guards and foremen, who are not eligible to vote under the law, and of workers not employed at Gallo on the day of the election.

This decision, if upheld by the full ALRB, will help the UFW, since all fifty-one were probable Teamster votes.

The remaining 130 challenged votes were cast by strikers who walked off the job at Gallo in June 1973 after their UFW contract expired and Gallo signed a sweetheart agreement with the Teamsters.

Both Gallo and the Teamsters have claimed that the strikers were only temporary workers who wouldn't return even if their jobs were offered back to them.

The hearings have dragged on because Teamster and Gallo attorneys have insisted on cross-examining each striker to try to prove that they were ineligible to vote.

After the 1973 walkout, Gallo went to

great lengths to ensure that no new workers were pro-UFW, subjecting prospective employees to intense screening.

Gallo also began hiring families with small children and older farm workers—people who could least afford to lose their jobs. The winery kept the threat of firing hanging over the heads of any workers who didn't "vote right" or who just showed too much interest in the UFW.

But despite all Gallo and the Teamsters could do, the UFW won 37 percent of the vote among the workers hired since the strike.

It remains to be seen how the ALRB will rule. A fair count will give the election to the UFW, which will force Gallo to either sign a contract or face an intensified boycott—a boycott that has already proved costly to them.

And even if the election should be stolen from the UFW, the evidence already made public gives the lie to Gallo's claim that the Teamster bureaucrats "represent" the Gallo farm workers.

Threat to all labor

The NCLC's union-busting disruption plan

By Jim Mack

In March 1974, the United Steelworkers went on strike against the Dow Chemical Company plant in Midland, Michigan. The 5,300-member local decided to take strike action to force the company to come to terms with union demands for an adequate cost-of-living clause and improved pension and insurance plans.

Midland is Dow's largest chemical plant. There hadn't been a strike there since 1948.

Dow responded to the union decision with a brutal strikebreaking drive. It kept the plant in operation, using scabs. When the union set up picket lines, Dow got a compliant judge to issue an antipicketing injunction, and then called the state troopers in to enforce it.

Within hours after the first shift of pickets went on duty, they were assaulted by more than 100 troopers. The cops used riot sticks freely to pummel the strikers. Dozens were injured, many requiring hospitalization. More than fifty pickets were arrested and carted off to the county jail in a rented U-Haul van.

It was a bitter confrontation, with high stakes involved for both the union and the company. Tension was high.

Suddenly, a group of "organizers" from the National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC) arrived in town. They began distributing leaflets at

tacking the local union leadership and accusing representatives of the international union of being "CIA agents."

'Punish the workers'

The NCLC charged that the Steelworkers union had planned the strike to "punish the workers with a series of provoked clashes with other sections of the working class [i.e., scabs and cops]."

When the union decided to turn out a large force of workers to challenge the injunction limiting picketing, the NCLC proclaimed: "The mass picket is a set up designed to provoke violence . . . between strikers and scabs." The NCLC accused the union leaders of preparing "lambs . . . for the slaughter."

The aim of the NCLC was transparent: to shift the blame for violence away from the cops and onto the union, and to do everything it could to discredit the union in the heat of the strike battle.

Typical scab role

The NCLC scab role during the Midland strike is typical of the insidious, union-busting activities of this right-wing organization. Masquerading as "socialists," NCLC squads are active across the country and in many parts of Europe and Latin America. Everywhere it operates, this fascistlike outfit carries out similar attacks on working-class organizations.

The NCLC has opposed virtually every major strike in the recent past. When the Amalgamated Clothing Workers struck in 1974, the NCLC denounced the action as "not a strike at all but a complete charade, a militant cover for a Rockefeller-ordered lockout."

When the United Mine Workers struck last year to win a decent contract, the NCLC announced, "The coal miners have no right to strike in this idiotic, non-political way."

Disrupting union meetings

In addition to attacking unions on strike, NCLC goons have forced their way into union meetings and news conferences, often using phony press credentials. They have succeeded by these aggressive tactics in breaking up some union news conferences.

In February of this year, the Public Relations Department of the AFL-CIO sent a communication to affiliated unions, warning them of the activities of this group.

The NCLC toughs, the AFL-CIO reported, "are using press credentials in an effort to gain admittance to union meetings with the sole purpose of disrupting the meetings. . . . In addition, upon returning telephone calls we have discovered that members of this organization had left the names of legitimate reporters for daily newspapers in attempts to gain interviews or comments."

These right-wing activities are justified by NCLC condemnation of unions, such as the United Auto Workers, which they call a "police agency." The NCLC claims that "trade unions are finished as effective self-contained fighting forces for real wages and job conditions."

In its attack on the Midland strike of the Steelworkers, the NCLC put the case starkly: "There can be no more local trade union strikes."

The NCLC is clearly playing the bosses' game of trying to disrupt union activities and discredit the unions themselves. This labor-hating outfit poses a threat to the entire trade-union movement.

But the NCLC's targets include more than just the union movement. It conducts the same kind of poisonous crusades against the Black and Puerto Rican movements, against those fighting for civil liberties, and against socialists and other political organizations.

Currently, the NCLC is carrying out a campaign of harassment and threats against the Socialist Workers party and other radical groups. In 1973, the NCLC launched a series of violent attacks against the SWP and the Communist party; the current wave of harassment has all the earmarks of preparation for another round of physical assaults.

In future articles, we'll examine more of the NCLC's disruption operations.

World Outlook

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

DECEMBER 12, 1975

Popular Front paved Franco's way

How Spanish fascists rose to power

By David Frankel

The defeat of the Spanish revolution and the establishment of the Franco dictatorship in 1939 was one of the great tragedies suffered by the European working class. The fascist victory after nearly three years of civil war left 600,000 dead out of a population of 24 million. It ushered in thirty-six years of brutal repression in Spain, and it was the prelude to World War II.

Franco's fascist uprising was the answer of the Spanish capitalist class to a situation it could no longer control by traditional methods. The Great Depression had shattered the fragile stability imposed by the military dictatorship of Gen. Miguel Primo de Rivera. In 1930 the dictator was forced to resign. The following year, under the pressure of massive political strikes, a republican mutiny in the army, and a decisive electoral defeat, King Alfonso XIII left the country and a republic was proclaimed.

'Bloodless Revolution'

A coalition government of the Social Democrats and various capitalist parties was set up, engendering high expectations among the masses. "Under a régime of liberty, the bloodless revolution is still more possible, still easier than under the monarchy," the Anarchist newspaper *Solidaridad Obrera* declared in April 1931.

But the capitalist regime proved unable to solve even the agrarian problem—the most pressing and most elementary of the tasks facing it. Seventy percent of the Spanish population lived on the land—almost all of them partially or wholly dependent on wage labor on the big estates. The division of the land was even more unequal in Spain than it had been in Russia, and starvation among the peasantry was commonplace.

In his book *The Spanish Cockpit*, Franz Borkenau discussed the problem from a liberal capitalist perspective:

The republicans were no socialists; neither were those who called themselves "socialists"; they were, under Caballero's leadership, fully satisfied for the time being with the democratic republic and social reform. And much could be said to prove that their attitude was sound. But if a democratic republic was to exist, it had to get rid of the independence and the claims to power of the Church and the army, and this could only be achieved by breaking the power of the landed aristocracy and getting the sincere allegiance of the yet untouched peasantry. Abolition of *de facto* serfdom, splitting up of the *latifundia* in the South and the Centre, legislation securing humane conditions of land tenure for the tenants of the North and the East, and a sweeping diminution of rents on land, would have been a minimum programme to give the republic a solid backing in the countryside.

Unfortunately, Borkenau noted, "the opportunity was lost."

The Spanish capitalists—linked by



Franco (right) with Hitler, 1940. Nazis sent their 'Condor Legion' to back Spanish fascists' drive to power.

blood, marriage, and bank mortgages to the landowners—could not apply Borkenau's idyllic solution. And the republican government followed their orders. As Borkenau admits, not even the toothless land-reform measures eventually passed by the republic were actually carried out:

The civil service, deeply implicated with the interests of the large landowners, sabotaged the reform, and the only way left to make it effective would have been to appeal to the peasants to take their claims into their own hands; which would have meant social revolution. The republicans were far from wanting that. Exactly as in 1873, but with more violence, the republic had awakened the masses of the peasants, who, without the invitation of the Government, tried to speed up matters by revolting against the guardia [riot police] and the landowners. All over the country ran a wave of peasant risings. They merged, in a disquieting manner, with proletarian risings in all the larger towns of Spain. The workers, too, had expected the republic to introduce a new régime to their advantage, and, as they got nothing without a fight, they tried to take their cause into their own hands. Under the leadership of the CNT [the Anarchist-led trade-union federation], Spain was filled with combined risings of workers and peasants. The Government had little hesitation in deciding how to deal with them; it called for the help of the

guardia and the army, and thus put itself into their hands.

The republican government went so far as to put down a general strike in Seville by shelling the working-class districts. Asaltos, the republic's special police, moved in to break up a land occupation in the village of Casas Viejas by shooting down the peasants. Prisoners were shot without trial.

In November 1933 new elections were held. After their experience with the liberal bourgeoisie, the masses withheld their votes from the republican parties and the Social Democrats. An openly rightist government was formed.

However, the combativity of the workers and peasants remained unbroken. The new government was met by a series of general strikes.

Another dimension to the mass resistance was added by the national liberation struggle of the oppressed Basque and Catalan minorities. These minorities accounted for roughly five million persons. The rigid centralizing policies of the rightist government resulted in growing opposition in the Basque Country and Catalonia.

In October 1934 representatives of the clerical-fascist party of Gil Robles

were invited into the government for the first time. The working-class parties compared this move to Hindenburg's appointment of Hitler as chancellor of Germany the previous year. General strikes were called in numerous cities. In Catalonia the nationalists led a revolt. In Asturias the Anarchists and left Socialists led an insurrection and declared a socialist commune. All were put down.

The Asturian workers in particular were suppressed in the most brutal way. Under the command of Gen. Francisco Franco, who had made his name in the colonial war in Spanish Morocco, foreign legionnaires and Moroccan mercenaries killed 3,000 persons, most of them after they had surrendered. More than 30,000 political prisoners were held in connection with the rebellion.

Popular Front Steps In

But the repression of the Asturian workers created a rallying point for the masses instead of intimidating them. New layers of the population were drawn into political activity by the campaign for amnesty for the political prisoners. Street demonstrations against the government repeatedly drew hundreds of thousands of participants.

The regime staggered from one crisis to another; finally, new elections were called for February 1936. In these elections the Communist and Socialist parties joined with the bourgeois republicans in an electoral bloc pledged to release the political prisoners. With the tacit support of the Anarchists, the Popular Front coalition swept to victory. A new government was formed under the leadership of Manuel Azaña, who headed the republic from June 1931 until the rightist victory in 1933. Among the points in the Popular Front's program were the following:

The republicans do not accept the principle of the nationalization of the land and its free distribution to the peasants. . . .

The republicans do not accept the subsidy to unemployment (dole) solicited by the workers' delegation. . . .

The republican parties do not accept the measures of nationalization of the banks proposed by the workers' parties.

In addition, the Popular Front program had nothing to say about the right of Morocco to independence or the right of the Basques and Catalans to self-determination.

The workers and peasants, however, had other ideas. They broke open the jails without waiting for the promised amnesty for political prisoners. A great strike wave began. "Every city of any importance had at least one general strike during those five months," Felix Morrow wrote in his description of the period between the election of the Popular Front government and the fascist revolt.

Continued on next page

...How Spanish Popular Front paved way for rise of

Continued from preceding page

Land occupations involving tens of thousands of peasant families were mounted against the big estates; in the province of Malaga 125,000 peasant families engaged in a five-week strike.

The Popular Front regime did its best to stem the tide. Press censorship and the state of alarm decreed by the previous government were extended. Anarchist leaders were arrested, and Anarchist headquarters were closed down.

"The troublemakers and fomenters will be exterminated," one Popular Front minister promised on April 15.

The same day Azaña declared, "The government will revise the whole system of defense, in order to put an end to the reign of violence."

On June 4, Minister Augusto Barcia announced that "if the syndicalists persist in disobeying the orders of the Ministry of Labor, the government proposes to declare syndicalism outside the law."

Franco's Rebellion

But the Spanish ruling class had lost confidence in the ability of the reformist regime to hold the revolution in check. On July 17, 1936, the fascist rebellion began in Morocco. Within days almost all the fifty garrisons in Spain had joined in.

The republican government responded by assuring the masses that everything was under control, while it sought to make a deal with the fascist officers. For two days, with the rebellion advancing, the government refused to arm the workers. Azaña's prime minister, Casares Quiroga, announced that anyone giving arms to the workers would be shot.

The inability of capitalism to solve the problems facing Spain had been demonstrated during the failure of the reformist regime of 1931-33, and by the record of the Popular Front in power. It was proved once again by the republi-

Morrow's book, *Revolution & Counter-Revolution in Spain*, is an account of the Spanish Civil War from a Trotskyist point of view. It is available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.

Also available from Pathfinder Press is *The Spanish Revolution (1931-39)*, by Leon Trotsky. It contains all published material by Trotsky on Spain.

can reaction to Franco's rebellion.

The mass of the propertied classes went over to the fascists. Even the few bourgeois figures who remained with the republic showed that they were more afraid of a socialist revolution than of a fascist triumph. As Borkenau described it:

The ruling group disintegrated immediately. Casares Quiroga broke down. Martínez Barrios took office, and saw himself between the alternative of arming the workers or surrendering to the generals. He and his Minister of the Interior, Sanchez Roman, resolutely refused arms to the trade unions, which implicitly meant surrender to Franco.

Had the conduct of affairs been left to the republican politicians, the fascists would have come to power in Spain, as in Germany, without a fight. It was the spontaneous uprising of the working masses in city after city that prevented this. Barricades were erect-

ed, armories seized, and garrisons stormed. The civil war had begun.

George Orwell, who fought against the fascists in Spain, wrote of the masses' response to the fascist uprising in his book *Homenaje a Cataluña*:

It was the kind of effort that could probably only be made by people who were fighting with a revolutionary intention—i.e. believed that they were fighting for something better than the *status quo*. . . . Men and women armed only with sticks of dynamite rushed across the open squares and stormed stone buildings held by trained soldiers with machine-guns. Machine-gun nests that the Fascists had placed at strategic spots were smashed by rushing taxis at them at sixty miles an hour.

In Catalonia, where nearly half the industrial proletariat in Spain was concentrated, the workers pushed the capitalist government completely aside in their response to the fascist uprising. The trade unions took over all

transportation, public utilities, and big industrial plants. Factory committees were elected by the workers, and workers militias rapidly conquered all four Catalonian provinces. Under workers control, industry was converted for war production.

Borkenau said of this:

Neither the anarchists nor the socialists took Government office. But they alone retained real power in their respective strongholds, and exerted it through the defence committees created in the days of the street-fighting.

The rising of the generals had achieved what socialists and anarchists themselves would never have achieved: in half Spain and in six out of its seven largest towns it had played power into the hands of the revolutionary proletariat. The problems were: Could they hold it? What use could they make of it?

Within what was left of republican Spain, dual power existed. For the time being, the working class and its allies were masters, although the capitalist regime of Azaña remained the formal government. The lack of a mass revolutionary-socialist party assured the maintenance of capitalism in Spain and the eventual triumph of Franco.

The Question of Questions

The day before the fascist uprising, Leon Trotsky wrote in regard to Spain:

The question of questions at present is the Popular Front. The left centrists seek to present this question as a tactical or even as a technical maneuver. . . . In reality, the Popular Front is the *main question of proletarian class strategy* for this epoch. It also offers the best criterion for the difference between Bolshevism and Menshevism. For it is often forgotten that the greatest historical example of the Popular Front is the February 1917 revolution. From February to October, the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries, who represent a very good parallel to the "Communists" and the Social Democrats, were in the closest alliance and in a permanent coalition with the bourgeois party of the Cadets, together with whom they formed a series of coalition governments.

Even with the working class in effective control of the republican territory, the Stalinists and Social Democratic leaders continued to insist on its subordination to the capitalist government. The extent of the betrayal



Spanish workers at barricades (top), peasants demonstrating for land. Trotsky said strength of Spanish revolution 'lies in its ability to rouse the great masses to action.'

King Juan Carlos follows in dead tyrant's footsteps

The winds of change in Spain have stirred very little since the November 20 medical bulletin announcing the death of the country's decades-long dictator, Francisco Franco.

The clemency decree November 25 to mark the coronation of Franco's handpicked successor, Juan Carlos de Borbón, was no exception. Correspondent Richard Mowrer described the decree in the November 28 *Christian Science Monitor* as "similar in form to clemency measures taken by General Franco in the past. . . . It is not likely to arouse the ire of Spanish right-wing hard-liners."

The decree explicitly excludes an estimated 250 political prisoners charged with "terrorism," actions "connected with terrorism," or merely belonging to groups labeled "terrorist" by Spanish law, such as the Basque nationalist organization Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna (ETA—Basque Nation

and Freedom). The decree does not apply, for example, to the prominent Spanish feminist Eva Forest, who faces a probable death penalty on framed-up charges of participation in the 1973 assassination of Premier Carrero Blanco.

A group of 200 members of the Madrid Bar Association immediately denounced the decree, pointing out that it "excludes from the benefits of the pardon almost all the political prisoners and defendants in Spain."

There have also been continued arrests of political dissidents—more than 200 in the past several weeks alone, according to the December 1 *U.S. News & World Report*. Most of the arrests are simply on charges of "illegal association" or "illegal propaganda," since all political parties are banned, except for the ruling National Movement. Membership in a trade union is also cause for arrest.

Attacks on the freedoms of speech and press are unabated. The Information Ministry in Madrid announced on November 27 that it was closing down a leading Spanish weekly, *Cambio 16*. The ministry also announced a ban on interviews by foreign correspondents with Felipe González, a well-known critic of the clemency plan.

The so-called language reform issued just before Franco's death did nothing to enhance the status of the languages spoken by the oppressed Basque, Catalan, and Galician nationalities. In fact, it further entrenched Spanish as the sole official state language. The "reform" legalized use of the languages of the oppressed nationalities in newspapers and other arenas where they had never been illegal, but banned their use in local and provincial governmental bodies, *where they previously had been legal*.

Washington, which is currently rene-

gotiating its military accord with Spain to ensure continued use of several major air bases and a naval installation, sent Vice-president Rockefeller as its representative to Juan Carlos's coronation. While in Madrid, Rockefeller met privately with the new king.

The topic of their conversation was hinted at in a November 24 dispatch from *Washington Post* correspondent Miguel Acosta. Quoting "informed sources," Acosta wrote:

"The United States, according to the sources, has advised the king that a fast break with the 36-year dictatorship Franco imposed could lead to chaos similar to that which erupted in neighboring Portugal following the downfall of its rightist regime 19 months ago."

The November 25 *Post* article noted that the State Department refused comment on the report.

Franco's fascist movement

is indicated by Borkenau's description of Barcelona in August 1936:

The first impression: armed workers, rifles on their shoulders, but wearing their civilian clothes. Perhaps 30 per cent of the males on the Ramblas were carrying rifles, though there were no police, and no regular military in uniforms. Arms, arms, and again arms....

The amount of expropriation in the few days since 19 July is almost incredible. The largest hotels, with one or two exceptions, have all been requisitioned by working-class organizations.... Practically all the factory owners, we were told, had either fled or been killed, and their factories taken over by the workers. Everywhere large posters at the front of impressive buildings proclaim the fact of expropriation, explaining either that the management is now in the hands of the CNT, or that a particular organization has appropriated this building for its organizing work.

At first the Anarchists resisted the attempts of the Popular Front government to reassert its authority. But they had no alternative to propose. The Anarchists refused to lead the working class in the establishment of its own government, since they denied that there was any difference between a capitalist state and a workers state.

When the Anarchists found the theory that the state could be ignored untenable, the world was treated to the spectacle of Anarchist ministers in a capitalist government. They joined the Catalonian regional government in September 1936, and the central government in Madrid in November of that year.

With the entry of the Anarchists into the Catalonian government, the reaction picked up steam. The local militia and antifascist committees that had been ruling the towns and villages were ordered dissolved.

Through its control of the treasury and banks, which allocated credit, the central government systematically whittled away at the areas of the economy controlled by the workers.

Political censorship became increasingly heavy-handed, with frequent suspensions and even banning of left-Anarchist and Marxist periodicals and meetings.

The government also moved to reestablish a regular army and police force. In Catalonia, where the revolution had made its most extensive advances, a March 1, 1937, decree unified all police into a single state-controlled corps, its members prohibited from association with trade unions and political parties. This was followed by attempts to suppress the workers patrols that had fulfilled police functions up to that time.

On the front lines, the Popular Front government systematically withheld arms from the units of workers militia not reorganized as part of its regular army.

These measures were vigorously pushed by the Stalinists. Although the bourgeoisie had gone over *en masse* to the fascists, the Stalinists were determined to preserve capitalism in Spain. As early as September 1936 they raised the slogan, "Protect the property of the small industrialist."

The Stalinists argued that the social revolution could only be a diversion from the antifascist struggle. In accordance with the strategy being followed by the Kremlin at that time, they advocated an antifascist alliance with the liberal bourgeoisie and the imperialist democracies.

They consciously and systematically strangled the Spanish revolution. The aim was to prevent the rise of a



Spanish CP rally. Stalinists' class collaborationism dealt deathblow to revolution.

workers state in Spain, in hope that this would enhance Stalin's prospects for a pact with the imperialist democracies against Hitler.

In his article "The Class, the Party, and the Leadership," Trotsky said:

The most consistent policy in the ruling bloc was pursued by the Stalinists. They were the fighting vanguard of the bourgeois-republican counterrevolution. They wanted to eliminate the need for fascism by proving to the Spanish and world bourgeoisie that they were themselves capable of strangling the proletarian revolution under the banner of "democracy."

The December 1936 *Pravda*, the Soviet Communist party newspaper, had written, "So far as Catalonia is concerned, the cleaning up of Trotskyists and Anarchists has begun and it will be carried out with the same energy as in the USSR."

And in fact, the GPU went to work in Spain, applying the methods used by Stalin in the Soviet Union against political oppositionists, including murder.

But in rolling back the social revolution, the Stalinists cleared the way for the triumph of Franco. As Trotsky explained immediately after the civil war began, in July 1936:

A civil war is waged, as everybody knows, not only with military but also with political weapons. From a purely military point of view, the Spanish revolution is much weaker than its enemy. Its strength lies in its ability to rouse the great masses to action....

It is necessary to proclaim that, from now on, the land, factories, and shops will pass from the hands of the capitalists into the hands of the people. It is necessary to move at once toward the realization of this program in those provinces where the workers are in power. The fascist army could not resist the influence of such a program for twenty-four hours; the soldiers would tie their officers hand and foot and turn them over to the nearest headquarters of the workers' militia. But the bourgeois ministers cannot accept such a program.

Indeed they could not. In a country where peasants made up 70 percent of the population, the Popular Front regime refused to expropriate the wealthy landowners and declare the land the property of those who till it.

Morocco was the base of the fascist rebellion; much of Franco's army, including many of his crack units, was Moroccan. It had taken fourteen years

of warfare to subjugate the freedom fighters, but the Popular Front government refused to declare Morocco independent. Any tampering with the colonial status of North Africa would have upset the French imperialists, and it was to them the republican regime looked for aid.

The imperialist democracies, however, were afraid that the rapid defeat of the fascist uprising would result in a Soviet Spain. Paris, London, and Washington, pledging "nonintervention" in Spanish affairs, clamped an arms embargo on both sides in the conflict. In reality, this was aimed solely at the antifascist side, since Franco was liberally supplied with arms by Hitler and Mussolini.

The Nazis openly sent their "Condor Legion" and other forces, totaling about 16,000, into the war, and Mussolini dispatched 50,000 Italian troops. The Kremlin sent supplies to the republican regime, but never enough for a decisive military effort. Stalin's policy of limited aid was similar to the one followed by his successors in relation to Vietnam.

The worthlessness of relying on the imperialist democracies for support against fascism was dramatically shown when London and Paris recognized the Franco regime in February 1939 while the loyalists still held one-third of Spain.

Those who argued that the Spanish workers should tailor their policies to limits acceptable to Moscow—and ultimately to the imperialists—were answered by Trotsky. He wrote in 1937:

Revolutions have been victorious up to this time not at all thanks to high and mighty foreign patrons who supplied them with arms. As a rule, counterrevolution enjoyed foreign patronage.... The proletariat of Russia conquered domestic reaction and foreign interventionists without military support from the outside. Revolutions succeed, in the first place, with the help of a bold social program, which gives the masses the possibility of seizing weapons that are on their territory and disorganizing the army of the enemy.

Strikes Punishable by Death

In his history of the Spanish Civil War, Hugh Thomas succinctly described the primary mission of the fascist regime:

Strikes were made punishable by death.... Throughout Nationalist Spain, all Masons, all members of Popular Front parties, all members of trade unions and, in many areas, everyone who had voted for the Popular Front in the elections of February were arrested and many of these were shot.

The defeat of the republic was accompanied by an exodus of approximately 500,000 refugees. Nevertheless, the Franco regime officially admitted to 271,000 political prisoners in 1940. The number of persons in prison in 1942 totaled about 241,000. The decline, however, was not because of the number of prisoners released.

Gabriel Jackson wrote in *The Spanish Republic and the Civil War, 1931-1939*:

... I consider it certain that close to 200,000 men died in the years 1939-43. A professional officer and lawyer, who had served with the Nationalists in the war and was appointed as a defense attorney for the mass court-martials, swore to me that on the basis of Ministry of Interior lists alone, he knew that more than 300,000 death sentences had been executed by the end of World War II.

Thomas cites an estimate that two million persons passed through Franco's prisons and concentration camps by 1942.

Day of Reckoning?

Even this staggering repression, however, failed to root out working-class opposition. In May 1947, for example, 50,000 Basque workers struck on May Day. Government reprisals sparked strikes that were admitted by the regime to involve 40 percent of the workers in the Bilbao area, and 75 percent of those over a broader area.

In 1951 there were even bigger struggles. In Barcelona, 300,000 workers took part in a one-day general strike in March. The following month 100,000 struck in Bilbao and other Basque towns, and students went on strike in Madrid.

With help from Washington, however, Franco was able to stabilize his regime during the following years. In January 1950, U.S. Secretary of State Dean Acheson announced that Washington was ready to vote for an end to the diplomatic blockade that had been instituted by the United Nations in retaliation for Franco's aid to Hitler during World War II.

In December 1950 Washington and Madrid exchanged ambassadors, and the following year Washington began negotiations for bases in Spain. Also, Spanish officers began to train in the United States. Since concluding its 1953 military pact with Franco, Washington has supplied him with a steady flow of economic and military aid.

Now, with the reins dropping from the old dictator's hands, Spanish capitalists may soon be facing the day of reckoning postponed by the fascist victory in the civil war.

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.

4,000 Germans demonstrate for abortion law repeal

FRANKFURT—As the West German Bundestag prepared once again to discuss proposals for a new abortion law, more than 4,000 persons demonstrated here October 25 for an end to government restrictions on the right of women to abortion.

Smaller demonstrations also took place in Berlin, Freiburg, and Munich, capping a week of activities called to demand the repeal of Paragraph 218 of the criminal code—the abortion law.

The Action Week was called by the Action Committee Against the Prohibition of Abortion and a conference of local women's groups that took place here September 27 and 28.

In June 1974 the Bundestag passed a liberalized law allowing abortions during the first three months of pregnancy. This law was never put into effect. In February 1975 the highest court ruled it unconstitutional.

Now, the SPD/FDP¹ government is proposing a new Paragraph 218. This new law would allow abortion through the first twelve weeks of pregnancy whenever continuation of the pregnancy would mean "a serious impairment of the physical or mental condition of the pregnant woman." Such impairment could be assumed when:

1. It is probable that the child will be deformed.
2. The pregnancy was caused by rape.

3. "Interruption of pregnancy is otherwise advised in order to avert the danger of a calamity for the pregnant

1. Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands/Freie Demokratische Partei (Social Democratic party of Germany/Free Democratic party).

woman so serious that the continuation of the pregnancy cannot be demanded of her."

The proposed law would allow the government to certify certain doctors, who would establish whether a woman desiring an abortion met the legal requirements. If such a doctor approved, the woman would then have to find another physician to actually perform the abortion. Under the new law doctors or hospitals could still refuse to perform abortions.

The opposition CDU/CSU² coalition is proposing additional restrictions, demanding that women desiring abortions be "counseled" and investigated by an even larger number of doctors than is required in the government's proposal.

The Action Committee Against the Prohibition of Abortion has announced its opposition to both the SPD/FDP and CDU/CSU bills.

"The one who will decide in the final analysis," the committee explained, "is the doctor in the traditional medical sense—and not according to the social situation in which the woman finds herself. Thus there has been no change at all from the situation where the state and the doctors decide about the birth of a child."

Among the supporters of the Action Committee are seventeen local women's organizations, the Gruppe Internationale Marxisten (GIM—International Marxist Group, German section of the Fourth International), and a

2. Christlich-Demokratische Union/Christlich-Soziale Union (Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union).

number of prominent public figures. The Frankfurt Jusos (Young Socialists, youth wing of the SPD) gave their support to the October 25 demonstration just prior to the action.

Women in Stuttgart, Augsburg, and Frankfurt have been indicted for helping other women to get abortions, in some cases for merely giving out the addresses published without penalty by such major magazines as *Stern*.

In Frankfurt fifteen women from the Women's Center have been indicted for "aiding and abetting an abortion," and "membership in a criminal association"—the latter being the same charge used against the Baader-Meinhof urban guerrilla group.

The Paragraph 218 Committees, dominated by the Maoist Kommunis-

tischer Bund Westdeutschlands (KBW—Communist League of West Germany), refused to support the October 25 demonstrations. Although in some cities they organized meetings to compete with the activities planned by the Action Committee and various women's groups, a number of 218 Committee supporters joined in the Frankfurt demonstration.

There is a great potential for a mass movement in Germany against restrictions on abortion. This has been shown by the recent actions as well as by the 25,000 persons who turned out September 21 for a demonstration in Bonn sponsored by the Paragraph 218 Committees.

Further activities against the restrictive abortion laws are planned.



Part of October 25 march in Frankfurt. Front banner reads, 'Abortion trials are today's witchcraft trials.'

'Only the Trotskyists never went down on their knees'

Leopold Trepper, the former head of the Red Orchestra (the Soviet anti-Nazi espionage network in Europe), pays special tribute to the moral and political courage of Trotskyist victims of Stalin's purges in his recently published autobiography, *Le Grand Jeu* (The Great Game).¹

Trepper joined the Communist party in 1925 and went to the Soviet Union from Poland in 1932 as a student. Afterward he entered the Red Army intelligence service, rising to the head of the Red Orchestra during the Second World War. His network correctly informed Moscow in 1941 of the imminent Nazi invasion. But Stalin, confident of the pact he had signed with Hitler, disregarded the information.

Trepper was captured by the Nazis during the war, but escaped. In 1945 he fell victim to a Stalin purge. He spent nearly ten years in Lubianka prison. After his release he went to Poland, only to suffer further persecution during the anti-Semitic campaigns under Wladyslaw Gomulka and Edward Gierek. Following an international solidarity campaign, he won permission to emigrate and now lives in Denmark.

In his memoirs, Trepper explains how most of his generation of Communist militants succumbed to the Stalinization of the first workers state:

The degenerated revolution had given birth to a system of terror and horror where the ideas of socialism were overturned in the name of a fossilized dogma that the butchers still had the gall to call Marxism.

1. Paris: Albin Michel, 1975. 417 pp. 49 francs (about US\$11).

But we went along with it, torn apart but tamed, eaten away by the rot we ourselves had set in motion. Cogs in the wheel, terrorized to the point of desperation, we had become the instruments of our own subjugation. All those who did not stand up to the Stalinist machine are responsible—collectively responsible. I do not exempt myself from this verdict.

But who did protest in this period? Who stood up to shout their disgust?

The Trotskyists can claim this honor. Starting with their leader, who paid for his firm convictions with an icepick in his head, they fought tooth and nail against Stalinism. They fought alone.

At the time of the great purges, they could no longer give voice to their revolt in the frozen wastes where they had been taken to facilitate their extermination. In the camps their conduct was dignified, in fact exemplary. But the sound of their voices was lost in the tundra.

Today the Trotskyists have the right to accuse those who bayed with the pack for their blood. They should not forget, however, that they had an immense advantage over us. They had a coherent political system capable of replacing Stalinism that they could hold on to in the deep distress of the revolution betrayed. They did not "confess" because they knew their confessions would serve neither the party nor socialism.

In an interview with the Paris weekly *Informations Ouvrières* (the newspaper reflecting the views of the Organisation Communiste Internationale—Internationalist Communist Organization), Leopold Trepper's wife, Luba, paid her own tribute to the Trotskyists. "In the USSR only the Trotskyists never went down on their knees. They always struggled," she said. "I am not a Trotskyist, but I can say that they fought back in the Soviet

Union, in the camps, everywhere."

Leopold Trepper told Denis Folias and Jacques Meyrand of *Informations Ouvrières*:²

At the time when Trotsky analyzed what was happening in the Soviet Union, many militants did not believe him. But afterward you did not have to be a Trotskyist to understand that [the bureaucratic caste] is real, had developed as Trotsky had foreseen. It is enough to live two years in a socialist country—and not as a delegate from a fraternal party, in which case one can understand nothing—but to live one, two, or three years in any one of these countries. And without being good at theory, you can tell that this caste exists. You can call it a caste or class, as you wish.

Leopold Trepper stated later in the interview that in his view the Soviet bureaucracy "is not a class."

"What is the worst sickness in the Soviet Union?" Trepper asked rhetorically. He answered:

I think it is that we have come to the point where millions and millions of workers are not involved politically; they are depoliticized. How has it been possible to depoliticize the Soviet Union? We can explain that historically. This country experienced a democratic life for only a few years. With everything that happened, the worker faced the problem, Find the means to live a little better, to escape the lamentable conditions of life... They came to say we must leave politics to those on the top.

While Leopold Trepper remains very pessimistic about the prospects for radical change in the Soviet Union, Luba Trepper is optimistic.

2. See issues Nos. 711, 712, and 714 of July and August 1975 for the full text of the interview.

I have to say this: In the Soviet Union for the past six or seven years there have been many spontaneous movements of workers and youth, occupations of mines, peasant protests, many strikes, but they did not last long. What is unfortunate is that these spontaneous movements are not organized by a single political force. The youth in the Soviet Union knows what it wants. There is underground literature, samizdat. When we began the struggle we were very small in number. Of course, because of the severe repression in the USSR, it is very hard to struggle. However, at the time of the Hungarian events in 1956, thousands of students protested against the military intervention. It is necessary that this struggle find a response outside, and it is the role of the left to let it be heard. That would be a great thing.

Struggles have taken place inside the CP of the USSR as well, but we do not hear of them in Europe. The Communist parties have never given any help. Today the situation is altogether different. There is a left critique of the Communist parties and they are going to have to accept our views. Moreover the youth again seeks its way forward, the youth wants to struggle.

While Leopold Trepper remains pessimistic about current prospects for change in the USSR, he shares Luba Trepper's confidence in the youth. At the end of his book he writes:

In Denmark, in the fall of 1973, a young man asked me at a public meeting: "Didn't you sacrifice your life in vain?" I answered, "No." No, on one condition—that people draw the lesson of my life as a Communist and a revolutionist and do not sell themselves to a deified party. I know that the youth will succeed where we have failed, that socialism will win, and that there will not be the stain of Russian tanks crushing Prague.

Boston conference

One thousand say, 'Grant Blanco a visa!'

By Gary Cohen

BOSTON—The 1,000 people attending a conference on "Repression and Resistance in the Third World" here voted unanimously November 22 to send a telegram to the U.S. Justice Department protesting its arbitrary decision to bar Hugo Blanco from the United States.

"We protest the abrogation of our democratic rights to hear a firsthand account of how U.S. foreign policy has affected the lives of people in Latin America," the telegram said. "We demand the immediate granting of a visa to Hugo Blanco so we may hear the voice of the landless campesinos [peasants]."

Blanco, a Peruvian revolutionist, is best known for his role as leader of a union movement among Peru's Quechua Indian peasants in the early 1960s.

The two-day conference, which was held at Boston University, was only one of dozens of events where Blanco was to have spoken on a projected U.S. tour that was sabotaged by the government's refusal to give him a visa.

Sponsors of the conference included the American Friends Service Committee, Citizens for Participation in Political Action, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), and sixteen other groups.

Speakers at the gathering included Eqbal Ahmad and Prof. Howard Zinn.

At the opening session of the conference Russell Johnson, on behalf of the organizing committee, explained that participants would be unable to hear Blanco. He urged all those present to sign petitions demanding that the government lift its ban. Close to 800 people did so.

Mirta Vidal, a national coordinator of USLA, played a taped message to the conference from Blanco in which he explained why he is banned from the United States. He said the U.S. government does not want the Ameri-



Conference sent Justice Department telegram demanding entry for Blanco (above) 'so we may hear the voice of the landless peasants of Peru.'

can people to know the truth about what it is doing in Latin America, and particularly in Chile. Blanco was an eyewitness to the bloody, Kissinger-inspired coup that overthrew the government of Chilean president Salvador

Allende two years ago.

Vidal also explained the development of the visa fight. At first, it was the State Department and Henry Kissinger that stood in the way. After months of protests and widespread

publicity, the State Department publicly reversed its stand and recommended to the Immigration and Naturalization Service that Blanco be allowed to enter. The INS, which is a branch of the Justice Department and has final authority in the case, has so far refused to allow the revolutionist in.

The conference capped a week of heightened activity in support of the right of the American people to hear Blanco.

On November 18, the *Boston Globe* published a protest letter signed by sixteen prominent Bostonians, including Prof. Noam Chomsky; State Rep. Barney Frank; and Dana McLean Greeley, former president of the Unitarian Universalist Association.

The next day, a news conference to protest the ban on Blanco was held at the Massachusetts Statehouse. It was attended by State Rep. John Businger; John Roberts, executive director of the Civil Liberties Union of Massachusetts; Joshua Rubenstein, director of the Boston-area Amnesty International; and Russell Johnson of the American Friends Service Committee.

In addition, statements demanding the right to hear the peasant leader were read from Rabbi Roland Gittlesohn, State Sen. Jack Backman, and State Representatives Elaine Noble and Mel King.

After the news conference, a delegation visited Patrick Coomay, district director of the Immigration and Naturalization Service in Boston. He was presented with copies of the statements made at the news conference, which he agreed to forward to Washington.

The widespread support generated during the week for the right of Blanco to come to the United States was reflected by an editorial published in the November 22 *Boston Globe*.

Calling Blanco "a recognized spokesman for freedom and dissent," the *Globe* editors urged that McCarthy-era legislation under which he has been banned be done away with.

Articles on cuts protests boost 'Militant' sales

By Pat Galligan

At the top of the scoreboard for the last week of the fall sales campaign is St. Louis. The Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance there decided to make an all-out effort to spread the word about the fight against the New York City cutbacks. And the November 21 *Militant* (headline: "Students: 'March on D.C. Nov. 19!'") met with a good response in this midwestern city.

Peter Seidman, St. Louis SWP organizer, tells us that a major focus of the week was campus sales. At Forest Park Community College, where students are discussing how to fight a proposed tuition hike, sixty-one *Militants* were sold. A tuition increase also looms at Washington University. Fifty-two copies were sold there.

In all, 225 of the week's total of 443 were sold on area campuses. Another 146 copies were sold at busy intersections and stores on the city's predominantly Black North Side.

A trip to Cahokia, Illinois, the scene of a recent victorious teachers' strike covered in the November 21 *Militant*, resulted in sales of thirty-seven copies.

Twelve copies were sold at Barnes Hospital. Nurses there were especially interested in reading about the "sick-outs" staged by nurses at Bellevue and other New York hospitals.

Commenting on the successful week, Seidman observed: "Students were not

the only people interested in the CUNY [City University of New York] demonstration and other anticutbacks activities. Workers at the plants where we sell were very responsive."

"In general, people were glad to see that something is being done, that the students are fighting back," he said.

New York City socialists sold a total of 776 *Militants*. Salespeople found that the *Militant* was well received at Brooklyn, Baruch, Hunter, John Jay, and other CUNY colleges. *Militants* were sold at planning meetings and teach-ins on a number of campuses and at the city-wide University Student Senate meeting.

As we reported earlier, 150 *Militants* were sold at the November 17 anticutbacks demonstration in New York's financial district. On November 19, 300 copies were sold to participants in the CUNY march on Washington protesting cutbacks.

Brooklyn's sales were highest in the city with a total of 331 for the week. SWP sales director Diane Shur reports that 161 copies were sold at anticutbacks activities. Another 60 copies were sold on campuses throughout the week.

"The paper also met with a great response at picket lines organized by District 1199 workers at the Woodland Nursing Home in New Rochelle, New York," Shur adds. "One person sold thirty copies of the November 21

Militant, which carried an article on their strike."

Bob Kissinger from Baltimore reports that the SWP and YSA there sold 106 *Militants* on four campuses in the area. Baltimore socialists also accounted for 49 of the *Militants* sold at the CUNY demonstration in Washington. That was enough to put them over their goal of 150 for the eighth time this fall, against only two misses.

San Francisco deserves special mention for making its goal for the tenth straight week—a perfect record. Socialists in that city now have the distinc-

tion of having made their goal each week of the last three sales campaigns. Congratulations!

The scoreboard shows sales for the November 21 issue. Reported sales for the November 14 *Militant* were 4,860.

Six more areas met their subscription goals this week. They are South Side Chicago; Milwaukee; New Orleans; Boston; Indianapolis; and Bloomington, Indiana. The 385 subscriptions received this week bring the national total to 5,219 or 87 percent of the goal. The final subscription scoreboard will be printed next week.

Sales scoreboard

Area	Goal	Sold last week	%
St. Louis	300	443	148
Newark, N.J.	100	141	141
Ann Arbor, Mich.	20	26	130
New Orleans	150	190	127
Brooklyn, N.Y.	300	331	110
Cleveland	200	217	109
Baltimore	150	155	103
Philadelphia	275	280	102
San Francisco	325	327	101
Pittsburgh	175	177	101
South Side Chicago	250	251	100
Cincinnati	60	60	100
Santa Cruz, Calif.	20	20	100
Urbana, Ill.	5	5	100
Lower East Side N.Y.	250	244	98
Detroit	175	167	95
Portland, Ore.	200	188	94
San Diego	200	183	92
Lawrence, Kans.	15	13	87
West-North Chicago	250	213	85
San Jose	150	109	73
Oakland/Berkeley	350	250	71
Washington, D.C.	325	212	65
Denver	275	176	64
Upper West Side N.Y.	325	201	62
Twin Cities	300	160	53
Central-East L.A.	350	171	49
Seattle	275	128	47
Boston	300	135	45
Houston	350	150	43
West Side L.A.	300	130	43
Milwaukee	125	54	43
Atlanta	375	124	33
Total	7,500	5,631	75

Pittsburgh teachers strike to block layoffs

By Dan Rosenheim

PITTSBURGH—Public school teachers went on strike here December 1. The 3,800-member Pittsburgh Federation of Teachers voted overwhelmingly to hit the bricks in face of attempts by the board of education to roll back previous contract gains.

Following the example set in New York City, municipal governments around the country are stepping up attempts to cut back social services, and Pittsburgh is no exception.

In an interview with the *Militant*, PFT President Al Fondy described the board's position as "intransigent." "Anything that costs money they say they can't afford. The few proposals that don't cost money they say are 'policy matters' and not subject to negotiation. They're sitting around talking about cutting the budget, while we're talking about increasing it."

The school board's contract proposals are designed to increase teacher work loads and to strip current contracts of many of their most important provisions. If implemented, they would lengthen the workday for all teachers, reduce sick leave days, provide totally inadequate salary and benefit increases, and remove from the contract all provisions relating to class sizes and job security.

The PFT, on the other hand, is seeking major salary increases to make up for inflation, a limited cost-of-living escalator clause, a guarantee



Militant/Fred Stanton

Pittsburgh Federation of Teachers was forced to strike by board of education drive to roll back gains won in previous contracts.

against layoffs, and a provision on class size.

The guarantee against layoffs is seen as a particularly important issue in light of the school board's clear desire to cut back the education budget.

For the past several weeks, city officials have tried to whip up public sentiment against teachers and other city workers by raising the specter of a fiscal crisis. The Public Transit Authority has announced that it might

not be able to meet its December payroll. Both city and state officials have recently called for tax increases on incomes and a variety of goods. They are pointing to the New York cutbacks as a means of threatening workers here.

Unfortunately, the PFT has done little to win over the public to supporting the strike. A massive educational campaign is needed to explain the issues. So far the union has limited

itself to intermittent statements to the media.

The PFT has also undercut potential support by holding back from supporting the struggle of the Black community for equal education. Its position on school busing for the purpose of desegregation is ambivalent, and it took a "hands off" attitude toward a struggle against inferior schools in one section of the Black community earlier this year.

An additional barrier to winning community support is the union's call for reinstating corporal punishment in the schools. Corporal punishment was often used arbitrarily in the past against Black students.

Despite these shortcomings, the union's decision to strike represents a positive response to the squeeze on city workers.

Pittsburgh supporters of the 1976 Socialist Workers presidential campaign passed out a statement backing the strike to teachers on the picket lines. The statement read, in part: "The attempt by the school board to roll back the previous gains of teachers is part of a nationwide attack on the standard of living of all workers. This attack reflects the policies of both the Democratic and Republican parties—both of whom put the profits of big business before human needs. The union movement and its allies need to rely on their own strength to organize a powerful movement that can stop this attack."

Dec. 13 rally will back 'Washington Post' strike

By Jim Gotesky

WASHINGTON—Two of the featured speakers at the December 13 rally in support of striking *Washington Post* unions will be William Lucy, secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, and César Chávez, president of the United Farm Workers.

The rally, which was initiated by the Greater Washington Central Labor Council and the Post Unions United, will be held at 10:30 a.m. at McPherson Square, two blocks from the struck newspaper's offices.

Also cosponsoring the rally are the Social Justice Committee of the National Council of Churches, the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, and the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

Support is growing for the rally and the striking unions. The central labor council is supporting the call for a consumer boycott of the *Post* and has issued a bumper sticker saying, "No Grapes, No Lettuce, No Post," linking the efforts of the *Post* workers to defend themselves from a union-busting attack to the similar struggle being waged by the United Farm Workers in California.

The Post Unions United, a coalition

of the striking newspaper unions headquartered at the International Union of Electrical Workers offices, is coordinating a phone-calling and leafleting campaign to promote the *Post* boycott. D.C. retailers are also being discouraged from placing advertisements in the *Post*.

A meeting was held November 25 at the University of Maryland campus at College Park to mobilize support for the union.

Speakers included James Dugan, president of press operators Local 6 of the International Printing and Graphic Communications Union; Jimmy Cox, president of mailers Local 29 of the International Typographical Union; and Brian Flores, coordinator of Post Unions United.

The strike began October 1 when the press operators walked out after months of negotiations that saw the *Post* management intransigently demanding that the workers give up hard-won gains in the areas of job security and working conditions.

Two other mechanical unions joined the press operators on the picket lines, and the other labor organizations at the *Post* all asked their members to respect the strike. All but the local unit

of the Newspaper Guild, the editorial and clerical workers union, agreed to go along.

The *Post* management admits that it had been planning for years to "come eyeball to eyeball" with the unions when the contracts expired September 30.

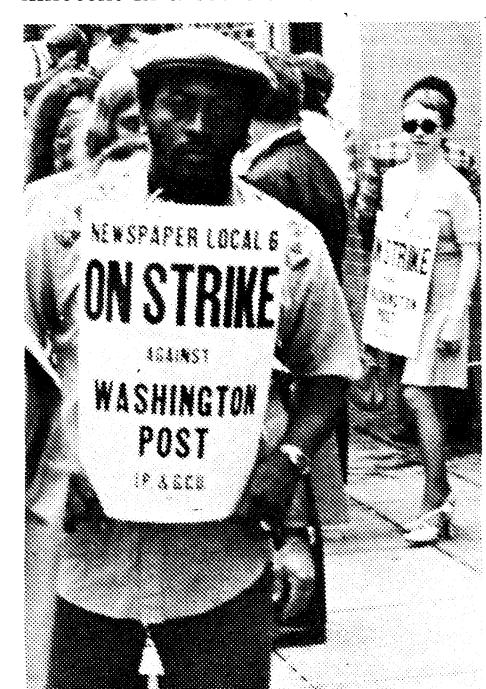
A "contingency plan" was drawn up two years ago that included clandestine training of executives at a scab training school in Oklahoma City set up by a union-busting conspiracy of several hundred newspapers.

The *Post* management contends that there are "wasteful" and "excessive" overtime and staffing practices under the old contracts—in plain English, the bosses want speedup and layoffs. Their announced target is to raise profits by two-thirds, to a 15 percent annual return on investment.

Katharine Graham, publisher of the *Post*, alleges in a letter to scabs that she is negotiating in "good faith" for a "fair settlement." But in that letter, she said it was not "a sure thing" that the company would agree to a new settlement at all.

In the same letter, Graham said she would agree to "no layoffs"—provided she is allowed to arbitrarily fire work-

ers she believes were involved in damage to the paper's presses that occurred at the beginning of the strike, even if these workers are proved innocent in a court of law.



Militant/Mark Ugolini
Strikers at 'Washington Post.' Main issues are job security, work conditions.

Blacks condemn racist redlining in Seattle

SEATTLE—At a November 21 Militant Forum here, a panel of Black community leaders blasted the racist redlining policy of Seattle's major banks. Under this policy, the banks refuse to make loans to homeowners and small businesses in redlined areas, causing housing to deteriorate and businesses to fail.

Panelist Eugene Peterson pointed out that redlining is particularly aimed at the Central Area, a predominantly Black neighborhood adjacent to the downtown business district. Peterson is a leader of the Central Seattle Community Council Federation, the organization that first investigated and exposed the banks' racist lending practices.

"We found that for every dollar invested in these banks from the Central Area in savings and checking

accounts, the banks return only twelve cents to the community in the form of loans. Suburban branches of the same banks return \$2.25 per dollar invested."

Another panelist was Thad Spratlen, a professor at the University of Washington Business School and a consultant for the Washington State Human Rights Commission. Spratlen noted that bankers deny charges of discrimination, claiming they just determine "bad risks" on "purely economic" considerations.

"But no matter what the banks say," Spratlen countered, "this is not just an economic problem, but one which must also be fought on the political level."

The third panelist was Chuck Jones, an instructor of economics at Seattle Central Community College. He is also a member of the Task Force on

Disinvestment, which was created by Mayor Wes Uhlman when redlining became a major issue in the recent city council elections.

Jones pointed out that the task force lacked the staff and resources necessary to carry out a comprehensive study, and its work was being undermined by the banks, which refuse to disclose how much was loaned to each district of the city last year. He told the audience, "More people like you need to get involved . . . to get the task force moving."

One organization doing that is the Seattle Student Coalition Against Racism. SCAR organized informational picketing of branches of the two largest banks here. Pickets distributed a fact sheet on redlining that asked customers to pledge to boycott banks that continue this racist practice.

By Frank Lovell

The jailing of teachers, and other brutal treatment accorded them by local school boards in collusion with compliant judges, is becoming common practice in many sections of the country.

The broad purpose of the concerted attack on teachers is to cut school costs by reducing teacher staffs, increasing class sizes, eliminating elective courses, and otherwise lowering the standard of public education. This inevitably brings protests from teachers.

To stifle their protests, teachers are demeaned and their organizations restricted. They must be discouraged from demanding better schools for their students and living wages for themselves. One way is to outlaw teacher strikes and throw strikers in jail.

Most states have laws restricting or prohibiting strikes of public employees. The new economic and political situation encourages stiffer interpretation and enforcement of these laws.

Teachers are only the first victims. The rough handling of them, if tolerated by parents, students, unions, and community organizations, will quickly victimize everyone. The decline of the schools contributes to further deterioration of the general quality of life. If teachers can be deprived of the right to defend themselves, then that right can be denied others.

The union movement is in danger, but not only the unions. All working-class families are under attack.

Solidarity in New Haven

One recent teacher strike, in New Haven, Connecticut, set an example of how this attack can be beaten back.

The local school board, pleading poverty, reduced the teaching staff and refused pay raises to meet rising living costs. When teachers went on strike, a judge ordered them back and jailed twelve of their leaders.

On November 18 the same judge jailed seventy-eight rank-and-file teachers. Since the local jail would not accommodate them, they were confined in a national guard camp. Punitive fines were also imposed on both the individuals and the union.

The parting words of the judge before the teachers were led away accused them of taking "the first step toward what amounts to anarchy."

The harsh ruling of this judge and his cynical admonishment of his victims did not intimidate other workers as intended. The next day 1,000 janitors, cafeteria workers, and other school employees walked out.

On the evening of November 21, delegates to the New Haven Central Labor Council voted unanimously to schedule a half-day general strike for November 25. Locals of the United Auto Workers and United Electrical Workers, not affiliated to the council, pledged their support and participation.

Within a few days the board "found" the necessary funds to come up with a contract appreciably better than its previous offers, although less than what teachers asked for and needed. The strike ended with a clear victory for the teachers.

Dozens of jailings

The same crackdown methods are being used against striking teachers around the country, and not all the confrontations end in victory as in New Haven:

• In Shelton, Connecticut, nine union leaders were jailed overnight on November 6 for defying a court injunction. The teachers then voted to return to their classrooms.

• Nineteen teachers and teacher leaders of the New Bedford (Massachusetts) Education Association were jailed from September 17 to October 9. Teachers had struck after ten months of fruitless bargaining.

• In Lynn, Massachusetts, the president of the American Federation of Teachers local was jailed for ten days.

Schools under attack

How teachers can fight cuts in public education



Police harassment of striking Hortonville, Wisconsin, teachers (above) typifies cruel and degrading treatment used in school boards' union-busting efforts.

- In Woonsocket and Pawtucket, Rhode Island, fourteen teachers were jailed.

- Eight teachers in Orchard Park, New York, were jailed overnight October 30.

- Twelve teachers in Schenectady, New York, have been sentenced to ten days in jail and \$20,000 in fines.

- Twelve leaders of the Nyack, New York, Teachers Association were jailed over the weekend of November 15.

All the New York teachers are subject to that state's vindictive Taylor Law, which prohibits strikes and mandates jail terms, loss of union rights, and double forfeiture of pay for individual strikers.

Not all these attempts at judicial blackmail succeeded in their full purpose, but they served to put the teachers unions at a disadvantage as free collective bargaining agents for their members.

The obvious intention of the judges and school boards is to destroy the teachers unions or, failing that, to convert them into tame organizations under the jurisdiction of the courts, with judges or other "impartial arbitrators" deciding the future of the schools and the wages of teachers.

Early warnings

These outrageous attacks on teachers began early last year in small communities where the union movement is weak or nonexistent.

In a rural New Hampshire school district, 104 members of the Timberlane Regional Education Association struck for higher wages in February 1974 and were promptly fired. Schools were kept open by supervisors and scabs. The following September when the new school term began, ninety strikers and supporters who were demanding their jobs back and union recognition were arrested for "parading without a permit."

In Hortonville, Wisconsin, eighty-four of the eighty-seven teachers struck in March 1974 for higher wages. All were fired. Vigilante gangs were organized by local school authorities to drive the teachers off the picket lines.

This cruel and degrading treatment of teachers moved out of the small isolated rural communities later last year and into the suburbs of major industrial cities where the union movement is strong.

In East Detroit six leaders of the teachers union were jailed in September 1974. That strike was settled when the union movement mobilized support for the teachers, but the court imposed heavy penalties on the union and the strikers.

Three weeks after schools opened in the Detroit suburbs, locals of the National Education Association remained on strike in seven school districts. All were hit with antistrike injunctions. In the Crestwood district 204 teachers were summarily fired.

Antiunion laws

In some parts of the country teachers have been prevented from organizing because of antiunion laws. The board of education in Atlanta has refused until this year to negotiate with teachers, claiming that state laws prevent the signing of a union contract.

The Atlanta Association of Educators, an affiliate of the National Education Association, and Local 1644 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees closed Atlanta schools for one day last October, but returned under a court injunction that ordered the school board to negotiate. Nothing has come of the negotiations and the unions are preparing future action. They are currently circulating petitions to recall the school board.

In Cahokia, Illinois, an attempt by the local school board to destroy the teachers union, tear up their contract, reduce the teaching staff, and cut wages was defeated after a twenty-seven-day strike that won a new contract for the teachers on October 28.

In Cahokia, as in New Haven, there were court orders against the strike, jailings of union leaders, mass arrests of strikers, and stiff fines.

The strike was won by solid support from parents, students, and the labor movement. The East St. Louis Trades and Labor Council, the Illinois Federation of Teachers, the meatcutters, steelworkers, ironworkers, and postal workers unions all came to the aid of the small Cahokia Federation of Teachers.

When teacher pickets were arrested, the picket lines were renewed and expanded by parents, students, and members of other unions.

One of the devious methods of the Cahokia school board that incensed

parents and residents of the town was the squandering of school funds to hire an outside union buster to advise and represent the board in sham negotiations with the teachers union.

This is not an isolated incident, a bright idea of one small-town school board. The practice is more widespread than is generally known, and indicates a well-managed drive against public education in all parts of the country.

In the Detroit area, the suburban school districts signed a pact not to raise teacher wages and were advised to uniformly reduce teaching staffs. In Atlanta the board of education retains as labor relations adviser an attorney associated with antiunion business interests in the South.

The examples of Cahokia and New Haven in defending public education show the way for the rest of the country and for the union movement. Defense of the schools requires a national campaign to expose the concerted drive to undermine them, and the mobilization of the union movement and the communities.

There should be no lack of money to maintain and improve the school system. Teachers ought to be paid decent wages and encouraged to raise the level of education.

It is the highest crime that young people should remain functional illiterates for lack of money to finance public schools while the Congress appropriates more than \$100 billion every year for the military machine of U.S. imperialism.

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Calendar

ATLANTA

GAY LIBERATION: VIEWPOINTS ON THE LEFT. Speakers: Margo George, Dykes for the Third American Revolution; Linda Regnier, SWP; others. Fri., Dec. 12, 8 p.m. 68 Peachtree St., Third Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (404) 523-0610.

MALCOLM X SPEAKS. A film. Sat., Dec. 13, 8 p.m. 68 Peachtree St., Third Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Georgia Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (404) 525-0644.

CLEVELAND

THE ERA: HOW TO WIN RATIFICATION. Speakers: Virginia O'Shea, Cleveland Newspaper Guild president; representative of Women's Law Fund; Christine Gauvreau, SWP; representative of NOW. Fri., Dec. 12, 8 p.m. 2300 Payne Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 861-4166.

HOUSTON

WINDS OF CHANGE. A program of political music, poetry, and art. Featuring: John Henry Faulk; Thomas Malanson; Stand-up, Sister. Fri., Dec. 12, 8 p.m. University of Houston. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 526-1082.

LOS ANGELES

THE FBI'S SECRET WAR ON POLITICAL FREEDOM. A panel of victims of FBI harassment programs. Panel: Fred Halstead, author of *Out Now!*; Hayden Perry, former SWP candidate; Evelyn Sell, PRDF; Robert Allen, editor of *Black Scholar*. Fri., Dec. 12, 8 p.m. 4040 W. Washington Blvd. Suite 11 (at Washington Square Shopping Center). Donation: \$1. Ausp: West Side and Central-East Militant Forums. For more information call (213) 732-8196.

NEW YORK CITY

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY. Featuring: Willie Mae Reid, 1976 SWP vice-presidential candidate. "New York Crisis: Strategy to Fight Back and Win." Fri., Dec. 12, 8:00 p.m. Martin Luther King Labor Center, 310 West 43rd St. Donation: \$2. Sat., Dec. 13, **Socialist Educational Conference.** 11:00 a.m.: **The Roots of the City Crisis.** Speaker: Lynn Henderson, NYC SWP trade-union director. 2:30 p.m.: Workshops on aspects of the city crisis. Hunter College, 68th St. and Lexington. Donation: \$1. Ausp: New York 1976 Socialist Workers Campaign and YSA. For more information call (212) 982-4966.

TWIN CITIES

A RADICAL CRITIQUE OF THE NEWS MEDIA. Speakers: Jack Miller, *North County Anvil* editor, former reporter for *Minneapolis Tribune*; Larry Adcock, reporter for Sun Newspapers, former reporter for *St. Paul Pioneer Press*; Nancy Kimker, campaign manager of 1975 Minneapolis SWP campaign, contributor to the *Militant*. Fri., Dec. 12, 8 p.m. 25 University Ave. SE, Mpls. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

...CLUW

Continued from back page

These divisions have been fostered by the employers through decades of unequal treatment of women and Blacks.

Perpetuating this unequal treatment today through discriminatory layoffs only weakens the unions. If the labor movement fails to champion the interests of its most oppressed sectors, it has no hope of protecting any workers from the attacks of the bosses.

The trade-union hierarchy's position boils down to demanding that the jobs of relatively privileged, white males take precedence over the jobs of women and Blacks. That hardly unites the working class. Rather, it deepens the divisions that already exist. It says, in essence, that affirmative action is fine when the economy is expanding, but out of place when jobs get tight.

By this logic, women have no right to ask for decent jobs until the unemployment rate reaches zero.

"Women workers should be patient and wait their turn"—isn't this exactly what CLUW was organized to combat? Isn't defense of the special interests of women workers at the very heart of CLUW's reason for existence?

CLUW should be in the forefront of the fight against discriminatory layoffs, mobilizing the unions to defend affirmative action, and uniting with

the NAACP, NOW, and other forces to beat back the employers' attack.

This is the type of action campaign that can build CLUW—a campaign that would be seen by all union women as in their interest.

CLUW also has a responsibility to join the fight for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment. CLUW can play a crucial role in drawing the unions into this fight. While the AFL-CIO has gone on record in support of the ERA, it has offered no active support to the ratification campaign.

In some cities, plans are already under way for pro-ERA activities around International Women's Day, March 8. CLUW should join with NOW chapters, ERA groups, unions, and others in helping to make these March 8 actions a large, visible show of support for the ERA.

At the Detroit convention, CLUW stands at the crossroads. Only by choosing the perspective of fighting for the interests of women workers can it win thousands of union women to its ranks. This will take the struggle for women's rights and the struggle of the labor movement as a whole a big step forward.

Correction

Because of a typographical error, a sentence in the article "Sixth government" in Portugal hangs by thread as

workers continue mobilization" in last week's *Militant* was incorrect. The sentence as printed said, "The capitalist media in the United States has tried to minimize the power of the workers' demonstrations, claiming that no more than 200,000 construction workers participated in the Lisbon mobilizations." The figure given should have been 20,000.

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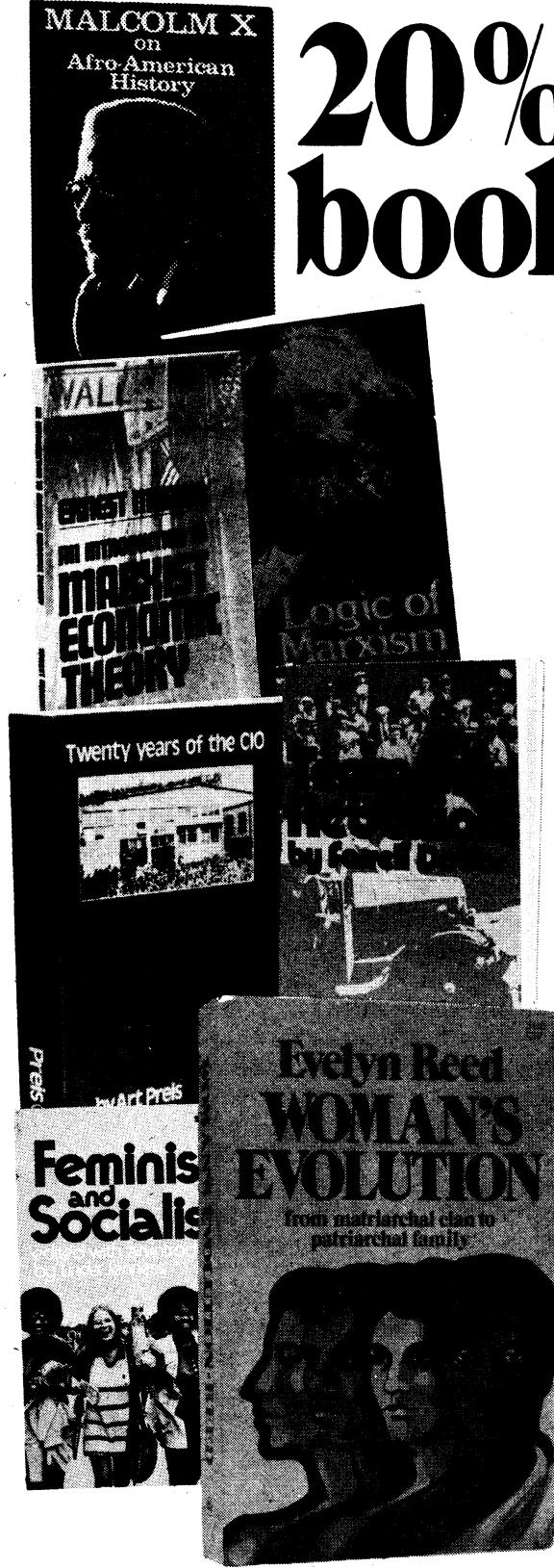
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THE MILITANT

What road for CLUW?

Union women & the fight for affirmative action

By Cindy Jaquith

The Coalition of Labor Union Women faces a critical test at its December 5-7 convention in Detroit.

The central issue before the convention is how CLUW will respond to the challenge of discriminatory layoffs, which are wiping out the gains won by women and Blacks through affirmative-action programs.

The debate inside CLUW over this issue expresses most sharply two different perspectives for the future of CLUW—whether it will become an organization mobilizing rank-and-file women in action to defend their needs, or whether it will subordinate these needs to the narrow interests of the officialdoms of the AFL-CIO and the United Auto Workers.

CLUW's founding purpose

The union women who came together in March 1974 to form CLUW were inspired by the women's liberation movement. They were fed up with low wages and rotten jobs, and tired of waiting for the top officials of their unions to do something about it.

These women resolved to unite their union sisters in an organization that would champion the special needs of women workers and seek to win the support of the labor movement as a whole.

The problems faced by women one and a half years ago are even more acute today. The economic crisis is bearing down hardest on the most exploited workers. Nowhere are the unequal effects of the depression clearer than on the unemployment lines, where the "last hired, first fired"—women and Blacks—stand by the millions.

Discriminatory layoffs are quickly eroding the meager gains won through affirmative-action battles in the 1960s and early 1970s. The employers, of course, deny the racist and sexist effect of their layoffs. They say they are simply complying with "strict seniority." The AFL-CIO and UAW hierarchies have backed them to the hilt.

But observing "strict seniority" has meant the following for women and Blacks:

• At the Ford Motor Company's Brook Park complex near Cleveland,



Militant/Fran Collet

Coalition of Labor Union Women needs to launch major campaign to defend affirmative-action gains now threatened by layoffs

700 of the 10,000 workers were women, most of them hired in the past year. When layoffs hit there recently, 2,000 workers were fired, 600 of them women. The proportion of females in the plant went from 7 to 1.25 percent.

• At the Harvey, Louisiana, Continental Can factory, 250 of the 400 workers were laid off in 1973. Forty-eight of the fifty Blacks employed there lost their jobs, *including every single one who had been hired under affirmative-action plans.*

Seniority debate

Clearly, the seniority system as it now stands has to give way to halt the wholesale destruction of affirmative action. This is the position taken by the NAACP, the National Organization for Women, and some unions. The debate over affirmative action and seniority is spreading throughout the Black, women's, and labor movements.

This is not a debate CLUW can afford to ignore. To the contrary, as an organization pledged to fight the special discrimination women face on the job, CLUW has a major responsibility in this struggle.

As a first step, the issue of discriminatory layoffs must receive a full discussion at the CLUW convention. This is all the more imperative in light of the stand taken at CLUW's National Coordinating Committee meeting May 31-June 1, which represented a step backward for the organization.

At that meeting, Cleveland CLUW leader Jean Tussey presented a resolution calling on CLUW to "oppose in every way possible any reduction through layoffs in the proportionate

number of women and minority workers hired under affirmative action programs."

Supporters of CLUW President Olga Madar, who is a retired UAW vice-president, refused to back the Tussey resolution. Instead, they proposed a resolution that sidestepped the seniority issue. The Tussey resolution lost by a vote of thirty-three to forty-two.

Seniority: a principle?

AFL-CIO President George Meany and his lieutenants claim that seniority is a "principle" of the labor movement that cannot be altered for any reason. Those who oppose discriminatory layoffs, he says, are really trying to "destroy" seniority.

Women and Blacks are not out to destroy any of the gains of past labor struggles, including advances won through seniority.

When it was originally fought for, seniority was seen as a way of protecting union militants from punitive firings by the boss. But today, seniority is being used *against* the interests of working people, used to perpetuate the effects of past racist and sexist hiring policies.

Just as the unions fought for seniority to prevent the boss from singling out militants, they must fight now to prevent the boss from using *preferential firing* to erase all the gains the most discriminated-against workers have made.

CLUW and every other union organization ought to demand that layoffs not be allowed to reduce by even one percentage point the proportion of women, and of Blacks and other

minorities, in any workplace.

Another argument used for refusing to defend affirmative action is that "it's better to fight for jobs for all, rather than pit worker against worker."

This argument is particularly hypocritical coming from the mouths of people like George Meany or Leonard Woodcock, who haven't lifted a finger to mobilize their memberships against unemployment.

The union movement *does* need to launch a massive campaign to win jobs for all, by demanding a shorter workweek with no cut in pay and a public works program to create millions of jobs. But Meany and Woodcock haven't shown the slightest interest in organizing such a campaign. The only time they talk of "jobs for all" is when women and Blacks protest discrimination.

The fight against discrimination cannot be dissolved into the fight for jobs for all. These two struggles are not the same. The fight against discrimination requires specific measures, such as affirmative-action plans. And, when the plans are under fire because of discriminatory layoffs, they must be defended.

What is needed is a struggle by the unions against both unemployment and discriminatory layoffs.

Who divides workers?

Defense of affirmative action only divides the working class, argue the AFL-CIO tops.

But who is responsible for the racial and sexual divisions among workers?

Continued on page 26

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