

# THE MILITANT

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

## BLACK STRIKERS FIRED BY ATLANTA MAYOR

—PAGE 17

## FBI targeted Catholic U. in plot against peace group

—PAGE 6

## The mentality of a steel union bureaucrat

—PAGE 24

## FALN grand jury: witch-hunt against Puerto Ricans

—PAGE 27

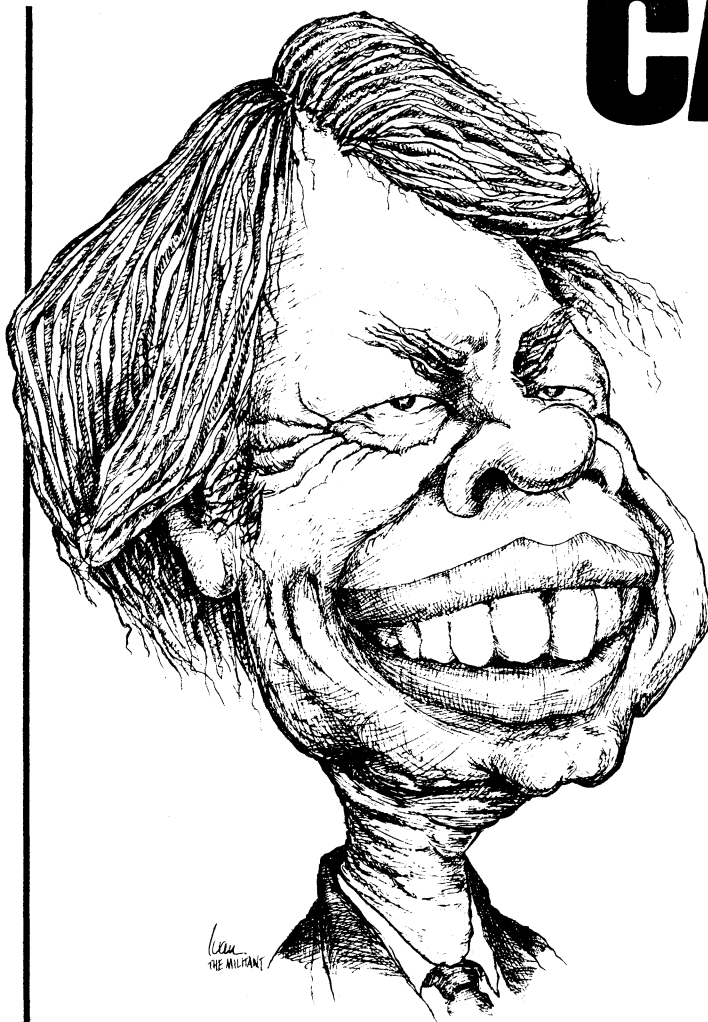
## HUMAN RIGHTS & SOCIALISM

Four exiled dissidents speak out

—PAGE 19

## CARTER'S ATOMIC SHELL GAME

—PAGE 23



Beneath U.S. SALT proposals, stepped-up nuclear arms spending



## WILMINGTON 10

Clearly innocent,  
but still behind bars



WASHINGTON—Wilmington Ten defense coordinator Imani Kazana (left) and Koko Farrow, United Church of Christ Commission for Racial Justice, at March 24 news conference here to protest government stalling on freedom for ten framed-up North Carolina civil rights activists. Page 4.

Militant/David Frankel

# In Brief

## THIS WEEK'S MILITANT

- 6 Catholics hit by plot against peace mov't
- 7 SWP sets ambitious 1977 campaign plans
- 8 Death row doctor speaks against death penalty
- 9 Community candidates in Dist. 1 school race
- 12 NOW prepares for its second decade
- 14 Chicana feminist tells why she's in NOW
- 15 Los Angeles busing fight
- 16 J.P. Stevens: antiunion textile giant
- 17 Atlanta fires 1,000 in strikebreaking drive
- 18 Carter names antibuser to Justice Dep't
- 24 I.W. Abel: driven by fear
- 26 Herbert Aptheker's attack on dissidents
- 27 Court rejects appeal of two in P.R. probe
- 29 1911 Triangle factory fire

2 In Brief

5 As I See It

10 In Our Opinion Letters

11 Women in Revolt ¡La Raza en Acción!

28 In Review

### WORLD OUTLOOK

- 19 Dissidents on issues facing E. Europe
- 21 World News Notes
- 22 Strikes in Pakistan demand new election

## THE MILITANT

VOLUME 41/NUMBER 14  
APRIL 15, 1977  
CLOSING NEWS DATE—APRIL 6

Editor: MARY-ALICE WATERS  
Managing Editor: NELSON BLACKSTOCK  
Business Manager: HARVEY McARTHUR  
Southwest Bureau: HARRY RING  
Washington Bureau: DAVID FRANKEL

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: 1250 Wilshire Blvd., Suite 404, Los Angeles, California 90017. Telephone: (213) 482-3184. Washington Bureau: 1424 16th St. NW, #701-B, Washington, D.C. 20036. Telephone: (202) 265-6865.

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: U.S., \$9.00 a year; outside U.S., \$14.50. By first-class mail: U.S., Canada, and Mexico, \$36.50. Write for surface and airmail rates to all other countries.

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.

**UFW ORGANIZING DRIVE IN COACHELLA VALLEY:** Nearly 2,000 farm workers marched the nine miles from Mecca to Coachella, California, April 3. There they were joined by 2,000 supporters for a rally to kick off a United Farm Workers organizing drive among grape workers in the area. The UFW will be petitioning for representation elections as the peak employment season in Coachella begins in late April.

This time the UFW will not face the destructive tactics of Teamster officials, who last month agreed to end their collusion with growers and withdraw from the fields.

After the harvest in Coachella, the workers, and the union, will move up to the Arvin-Lamont area and then to Delano.

Meanwhile the boycott of grapes, nonunion lettuce, and Gallo wines continues.

**CHICAGO SOCIALISTS IN BALLOT DRIVE:** The Chicago Socialist Workers party is petitioning to put Dennis Brasky, its candidate for mayor, on the June 7 ballot. On Saturday, April 2, Brasky's supporters collected 6,800 signatures. Their efforts pushed the total for the first week of petitioning over the 11,000 mark. The SWP has two weeks left to meet a 20,000-signature requirement set by the Chicago Board of Elections. Before an SWP lawsuit forced it to back down, the board had demanded that parties other than the Democrats and Republicans collect 66,000 names on nominating petitions.

**OAKLAND INVESTMENT IN APARTHEID UPHOLD:** The Oakland, California, City Council voted March 22 to keep more than \$16.6 million in city pension funds invested in corporations that operate in South Africa.

The five-to-two vote came after a delegation presented a petition demanding the immediate withdrawal of these investments.

Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor, whose campaign helped expose the city's racist investments, told the city council, "Sixty percent of Oakland's population is composed of people who suffer discrimination and oppression because of skin color. It is adding insult to injury to invest in corporations involved in maintaining the apartheid system in South Africa."

**CONYERS BACKS CMU 3 DEFENSE:** Rep. John Conyers (D-Mich.) has announced his support for the Committee for Free Speech. The committee was established to defend three members of the Young Socialist Alliance who were arrested October 20 while distributing literature for the 1976 Socialist Workers party presidential campaign at Central Michigan University in Mount Pleasant.

The three—Brigid Douglas, Jim Garrison, and Tom Smith—were charged with "criminal trespass" and "disruption" of university functions "by force or threat of force." They each face sentences of up to six months in jail and fines of up to \$1,650. Conyers says this is part of the "pattern of harassment of political dissidents that we have come to be familiar with in the recent past."

For more information on the Committee for Free Speech, write Box 626, Mount Pleasant, Michigan 48858.

**ARAB LAND DAY COMMEMORATION IN BOSTON:** One hundred fifty people marched and rallied in downtown Boston April 3 in commemoration of last year's Arab Land Day protests against the oppression of Arabs in Israel and the occupied territories.

The Massachusetts Committee for Human Rights in Jerusalem sponsored the demonstration as part of its protests against Gov. Michael Dukakis's proclamation of "Jerusalem Month" in Massachusetts. Dukakis's pro-Zionist proclamation went beyond even official U.S. government policy in describing Jerusalem as "the capital of Israel."

**HOUSTON MAYOR REHIRES VAN HIGHTOWER:** The all-male Houston City Council voted March 29 to abolish the post of advocate for women's rights. But an all-night protest rally in support of the controversial advocate, Nikki Van Hightower, helped force Mayor Fred Hofheinz to rehire her the next day as an "affirmative-action specialist."

Van Hightower had come under attack by right-wing groups opposing the Equal Rights Amendment and abortion rights for her participation in a March 5 International Women's Day rally.

Hofheinz, who "reluctantly" agreed to the post's abolition, said Van Hightower will receive the same salary and perform the same functions in her new post. But, as Van Hightower herself has said, "I have no real power . . . so, much of what I have done has been involved with organizing and mobilizing women."

**NEW YORK 'TAX DAY' DEMONSTRATION:** New York's Citywide Community Coalition (CCC) has called an April 15 ("Tax Day") march and rally to protest layoffs and

cutbacks in social services.

Demonstrators will assemble at 11:00 a.m. at 116th Street and Lexington Avenue and march to the offices of the Emergency Financial Control Board at Fifty-fifth Street and Sixth Avenue for a 3:00 p.m. rally.

More than eighty organizations have joined the CCC, whose statement of purpose pledges "to fight for union wage jobs, decent housing, quality education, free tuition at City University, free health and day care. . . ."

**THE 'MILITANT' GETS AROUND:** *Jornal Novo*, a mass circulation Lisbon, Portugal, daily, published *Militant* Southwest Bureau head Harry Ring's article "Carter aide announces crackdown on 'illegals'" in its March 31 issue. Ring's article originally appeared in the March 11 *Militant*.

**RALLY HITS QUEENS COLLEGE TIES TO SHAH:** More than 200 students and faculty members rallied March 17 against a recently exposed Program of Cooperation Between the City of New York (CUNY) and the National University of Iran (NUI).

The program, in fact, would set up a center at Queens College where the shah's dreaded secret police, the SAVAK, plan to screen Iranian students in the United States.

Speakers at the rally included former Iranian political prisoner Reza Baraheni, honorary chairperson of the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran; Daniel Berrigan; Eric Bentley; and Prof. Charles Cairns, cochairperson of the Ad Hoc Committee to Abolish the Program of Cooperation Between CUNY and NUI.

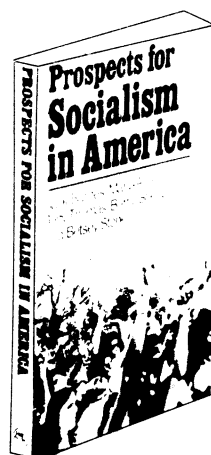
**REACTIONARY STRIKE FOR IMPORT TARIFFS SET:** The Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union and the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union have called a one-day national work stoppage for April 13 to demand higher tariffs on shoe imports. They are protesting President Carter's decision to negotiate for voluntary import curbs instead.

The union campaign against imports—orchestrated by the employers—puts the blame for job losses on workers of other countries rather than on profit-seeking capitalists at home. Higher tariffs would only mean higher prices for all American workers who buy shoes.

The April 13 work stoppage for this reactionary cause contrasts sharply with the ineffectual consumer boycott of J.P. Stevens that the union leadership is relying on to solve the problem of unionizing the southern textile industry. Union members may wonder why their officials call for "militant" action only to defend the bosses' interests, and why there is no one-day work stoppage to show the union's determination to organize the South. —Peter Seidman

## SUBSCRIBE NOW! 10 WEEKS FOR \$1

Or subscribe for 6 months  
or 1 year and get this  
**FREE BOOK!**



This 269-page book is the best explanation of the ideas of the Socialist Workers party. Five leaders of the SWP discuss proposals for strengthening the struggles of working people, women, Chicanos, Blacks, Puerto Ricans, students—and building a mass socialist movement that can take on the ruling super-rich and win.

Offer good for new or renewal subscriptions.

- ( ) \$1 for ten issues  
( ) \$5 for six months and *Prospects for Socialism*  
( ) \$9 for one year and *Prospects for Socialism*  
( ) New ( ) Renewal

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Send to: The Militant, Box A  
14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014

# Gary Tyler faces new assault by racist officials

By Scott Breen

NEW ORLEANS—Only four days after the Louisiana State Supreme Court denied motions for a new trial for Gary Tyler, the St. Charles school board took legal action to paralyze Tyler's defense.

The board is trying to make Tyler and the Gary Tyler Defense Fund—the organization coordinating support for Tyler nationwide—liable for \$507,500 in damages. The damages claim stems from a suit filed in December 1975 by the parents of Timothy Weber, for whose death two years ago Tyler is being framed.

However, the original suit charged the state of Louisiana, the school board, and the sheriff's office with negligence in Weber's death.

Now more than a year later the school board has asked the court to name Tyler and the defense fund as defendants because, says the board, they should pay any damages awarded, not the board itself.

Jack Peebles, Tyler's attorney, filed a reply March 14, demanding that this

new frame-up be dismissed by the court.

This maneuver by the school board is an obvious attempt to tie up the Gary Tyler Defense Fund in court and subpoena its records, including names of contributors. Thus a further burden would be placed on the defense—draining financial and human resources from the task of taking Tyler's case to the U.S. Supreme Court and publicizing it across the country.

The Gary Tyler Defense Fund itself was established in the fall of 1976, two years after the death of Weber. How it could have been responsible at the time is beyond comprehension.

At a March 19 defense meeting in St. Rose, Tyler's hometown, it was reported that Tyler is again suffering harassment from prison officials. More than two weeks after being returned to Angola, he remains, illegally, on death row—though he is not sentenced to die. Prison officials say that he can't be moved until they receive "proper notification" of his new sentence, despite the widespread publicity surrounding the

decision.

The meeting demanded a halt to this harassment. Speakers included Juanita Tyler, representing the defense fund; Mary Howell, defense fund legal staff; Kalamu ya Salaam, People's Defense Coalition; and Ernest Kojo, a school-bus driver who witnessed Weber's killing.

The meeting ended with everyone

chanting:

"It could be you,  
"It could be me;  
"We're going to set  
"Gary Tyler free!"

For more information, and to send contributions to the defense, write Gary Tyler Defense Fund, Post Office Box 52223, New Orleans, Louisiana 70152.

## Eyewitness: 'Tyler's innocent'

NEW ORLEANS—Ernest Kojo's testimony was the highlight of the meeting in St. Rose. A veteran of twenty-five years in the marines, Kojo said: "I can detect a .38, a .45, or a 16mm howitzer, and as God is my judge, no gun was fired from my bus. Gary is innocent."

He recounted the "discovery" of the gun that allegedly killed Weber. Police claim they found it hidden in a seat on the *third* search of the

school bus. He strongly questioned how it was possible to miss it the first two times, and why he was never allowed to see either the gun or the seat in which it was hidden.

Tyler was a passenger on the bus at the time Weber was killed.

"I want them to subpoena me," said Kojo, "and I'll tell them again and again, if it takes a thousand years—it was not possible." —S.B.

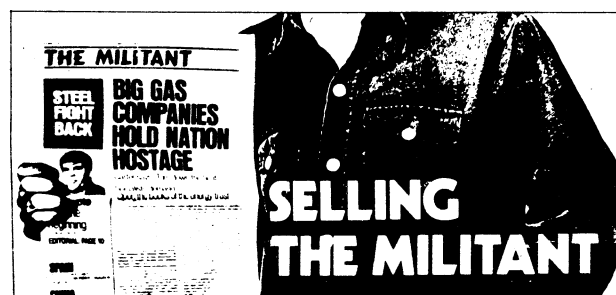
## Sales target week

# 9,000 papers in two days—and still counting!

By Harvey McArthur

New York: 2,083! Detroit: 1,000! Los Angeles: 937! Boston: 750!

All across the country, the *Militant* sales target week of April 2-8 got off to a tremendous start. Members of the Socialist Workers party and Young



Socialist Alliance in forty cities report selling more than 9,000 copies of the paper on Saturday and Sunday alone—more than during any entire week of the drive to date.

After initial sales, many areas had to order special shipments of papers to be sure they had enough on hand for extra sales planned during the week.

Baltimore socialists sold 196 *Militants* while canvassing in the Black community last Saturday. "We had never sold more than 70 papers on a Saturday," said Helen Meyers, Baltimore SWP organizer, "and we were really upset when we woke up and found it pouring rain."

"So we decided to do something new—door-to-door sales in the Black community where we had sold subscriptions last fall.

"We got a good reception. We met people who bought the *Militant* last fall and were glad to see us back again. And we found that we had more time to talk with people about the paper and our activities than we do when selling on the street.

"Everyone is so excited. We just ordered 100 more papers and raised our goal for the target week from 150 to 270."

New York socialists turned out 200-strong to sell 1,803 copies of the *Militant* in housing projects and on street corners Saturday.

"It was pouring rain all day, so we planned four hours of canvassing in the huge Rochdale projects," reports Bob Cantrick from Queens. "We took a lot of brochures on the SWP candidate for mayor, Catarino Garza, and passed them out as we sold *Militants*. That day we sold more than 200 papers in these projects, and it's already bringing us calls from people who want to know more about the election campaign."

Other New York SWP branches also focused sales in housing projects. "I think that it really helped that we sold *Militants* in these projects last fall," said Linda Jenness, New York SWP city organizer. "We met a lot of people who already knew the *Militant* and were eager to buy it again. We also sold several subscriptions."

"People also remembered the SWP campaign last fall. The more we do this sort of canvassing, the more we find people interested in socialism and reading the *Militant*."

The new SWP branch in Albany, New York, is also having success in projects. They have been selling regularly in Lincoln Park, where they now have several subscribers and many people who buy the *Militant* regularly. They have arranged for these people to meet at the apartment of one of their subscribers to discuss the SWP's plans to run a candidate in the Albany city elections.

Two other cities deserving special mention for sales during the first days of the target week are: Dallas—one of the newer SWP branches—which sold 313 copies of the *Militant*—261 percent of their regular weekly goal. And Newark, which although petitioning to get the signatures necessary to place their gubernatorial candidate, Rich Ariza, on the ballot, still managed to sell 290 papers—129 percent of their regular weekly goal.

Next week's *Militant* will have a full report on the target week.

Reports are also coming in on the progress of workplace sales. Together with increasing the weekly total of papers sold, regularizing sales in front of plant gates is a central objective of the spring sales campaign.

Cleveland has established regular sales at several steel mills where they sell more than twenty papers a week.

"We go every week to Republic Steel and Jones and Laughlin," reports Cleveland sales coordinator Phil Norris, "and we have just started a regular sale at the Alcoa plant. We go to the same gates at the same time each week so that the workers are beginning to expect us now."

"We started these sales during Ed Sadlowski's campaign for president of the United Steelworkers a few months ago."

"We soon found out that steelworkers were interested in the issues that the *Militant* covers: especially the liberation struggles in South Africa."

New Orleans found a similar response from longshore workers. They sell twenty or more papers regularly at the hiring hall, where the workers have to wait for an hour or more before being sent out to work on different ships. Most of these workers are Black. They buy the *Militant* for its coverage of South Africa, the fight against the death penalty, and struggles against racism in the U.S.

During the week of March 26 to April 1, SWP branches and YSA chapters sold 6,151 copies of the *Militant*—61.5 percent of the 10,000 weekly goal.

Nine areas made their goals, including Toledo, which did so for the first time.

The Young Socialist Alliance traveling teams had their best week yet. The East Great Lakes, Northeast, and Northern California teams all went over their goal of 90, and the Mid-Atlantic team sold 125. Altogether they sold 621—98.6 percent of their goal.



SELLING IN NEWARK: Neither snow, nor rain, nor heat, nor gloom of night can stay these couriers. . . .



# Wilmington 10 continue long fight for freedom

By David Frankel

WASHINGTON—Attorney General Griffin Bell met behind closed doors with North Carolina officials March 23 to discuss the case of the Wilmington Ten. "We discussed many things I can't talk about," North Carolina Attorney General Rufus Edmisten told reporters as he emerged from the meeting.

The Wilmington Ten, nine Black men and a white woman, were sentenced to prison terms totaling 282 years for allegedly conspiring to fire bomb a grocery store in 1971. The frame-up began to fall apart last year, however, when a key prosecution witness recanted his testimony.

Widespread publicity following the recantation of a second prosecution witness, who signed a sworn statement that he was bribed by prosecutor Jay Stroud, put additional pressure on the government. On February 2, the Justice Department announced that it was carrying out its own investigation into the case.

Since then, the third and last prosecution witness has also recanted his testimony. However, at a March 24

news conference supporters of the Wilmington Ten expressed their dissatisfaction with the Justice Department's handling of the case.

Imani Kazana, national coordinator of the Wilmington Ten Defense Committee, told reporters at the news conference:

"Although the Justice Department announced that they will release . . . transcripts of the federal grand jury investigation and the FBI reports [on the case] on request, this essentially implies that the Justice Department itself is not willing to make any moves against Jay Stroud and the other public officials who have committed federal crimes in North Carolina by railroading our defendants to jail."

If Justice Department officials were planning any legal action against their North Carolina counterparts, they would hardly be willing to release the grand jury findings that indictments would be based on. Commenting on the Justice Department's do-nothing stance, Kazana said:

"Given that the public has now heard from two of the state's former

witnesses that they were coerced by Mr. Stroud to lie at the 1972 trial and has also heard from a third witness that he was bribed for his testimony, it seems to us that there is more than enough evidence to prove beyond a doubt that Stroud used illegal tactics to gain a conviction of the Wilmington Ten."

Meanwhile, nine of the Wilmington defendants continue to serve time in prison for crimes they did not commit. "Just how long will this investigation drag out? When will they make a decision?" Kazana asked.

"It appears to us that Mr. Bell has done as the federal courts have already done to us and that is to make the defense continue to fight this case out in the lengthy appeals process. . . . This process could take five or six years to complete. . . ."

"We are disappointed at this lack of positive action. . . . We were hoping that he and Mr. Carter would be concerned about clearing this case up quickly."

Also speaking at the news conference was Koko Farrow of the United

Church of Christ Commission for Racial Justice. Farrow released a letter from Rev. Ben Chavis, the principal defendant in the Wilmington case, to President Carter.

"As only one of many American citizens who has been unjustly imprisoned not because of criminal conduct but as a direct result of participation in the human and civil rights movement in the United States," Chavis said, "I appeal to you, President Carter, to first set a national priority of freeing all U.S. political prisoners. . . ."

"How can our government honestly proclaim support for human rights as a matter of foreign policy while allowing domestic violations of human rights to continue?"

Amnesty International threw its weight behind the Wilmington Ten March 4 when it officially adopted the remaining nine members still in prison as prisoners of conscience. The case, Kazana pointed out, "is causing Mr. Carter and Mr. Bell considerable international embarrassment as they run around talking about human rights."

# 400 protest New Orleans cop brutality

By Scott Breen

NEW ORLEANS—They started from two different locations, 400 angry people, mostly Black, marching through the city March 26.

The spirited chants told onlookers the story:

"Who killed Wayne Smith? The police killed Wayne Smith."

"It could be you. It could be me. We've got to stop police brutality."

They converged on city hall downtown. Many held banners and posters; "Justice for Wayne Smith," "Free Gary Tyler," "Indict the cops who killed Wayne Smith," and "SUNO Students Stand Up Against Police Brutality."

Wayne Smith, a young Black man, was murdered by a club-swinging cop on Mardi Gras Day, February 22. The day before the march the grand jury investigating the incident had found the cop, Detective Richard Hoselle, innocent of manslaughter charges.

Gary Tyler, another young Black man, sits in Angola prison, condemned to jail for life by Louisiana's racist frame-up system.

Called by the Ad Hoc Committee for Accountable Police, the protest drew people from a wide range of community and civil rights organizations, including: NAACP and its youth chapter; Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Urban League; community centers in St. Bernard, Desire, Melpomene, and Tremé housing projects; and Student Coalition Against Racism.

Also, the American Civil Liberties Union; Socialist Workers party; October League; Gary Tyler Defense Fund; University of New Orleans; Southern University at New Orleans; Xavier and Dillard colleges; Communist party; and Reising Bakeries strikers.

Kalamu Ya Salaam of the People's Defense Coalition and Ad Hoc Committee opened the rally. "Who are the real criminals?" he asked. "Wasn't it [Chief of Police] Giarusso who declared war on us? If you or I had done that, we would have been arrested for inciting to riot."

Bill Rouselle, coordinator of the Ad Hoc Committee, spoke of that group's fight to end police brutality. "The city council and police department have portrayed us as a tiny minority," he said. "But when we forced the city council to hold a public hearing on January 7, the council chambers were packed."

The city council showed its "con-



Marchers demanded indictment of cop who murdered Black youth

Militant/Ike Nahem

cern" by doing nothing. "The people who experience police brutality daily," said Rouselle, "Black people and poor whites, are not the minority—we're the majority."

Attacking the verdict exonerating Detective Hoselle, Rouselle said, "If the city council don't take that man off the force, we will."

He then introduced three victims of police brutality to the crowd.

Evelyn Gastinelle told how police broke down her door last September and beat her son without reason. He needed twenty-seven stitches to close the gashes in his head.

The sight of young Richard Johnson, walking slowly to the microphone with the help of a cane and supported by a friend on each side, said more about police brutality than could any words. Speaking slowly, in a low, strained

voice, Johnson told the crowd of being pistol-whipped by police.

They had jumped him at night, as he was out walking. "Freeze, nigger!" they yelled at me. I panicked and ran under a house. They told me to come out. When I put my head out, the first one hit me here," said Johnson, pointing to his bandaged head.

"They dragged me out and beat me, and one of them said, 'We're gonna kill you, Lionel.' And they probably would have if a woman hadn't seen them from her window and shouted to them to stop."

But Johnson's name is not Lionel, it's Richard. The cops had beaten up the wrong man.

Finally, Joyce Charles told of the arrest of her and her brother and their subsequent abuse by police last July 17.

They had been taken to the police station for a minor traffic violation. When the cop called her "bitch," she replied, "I'm as much a lady as your mother." The cop punched her in the eye. Her vision is still blurred today.

She was charged with resisting arrest and hitting an officer, but the judge threw the case out of court. Although that cop is no longer on the force, she and her brother, who suffered head injuries, are suing the police in federal court.

The Ad Hoc Committee is demanding a federal investigation of the police and police brutality in New Orleans, and is organizing citizen monitoring of the police in each neighborhood. "We've got to start looking out for each other," Rouselle said. "This is not the ending, this is the beginning."



# U.S. out of S. Africa, Black majority rule

Last week the Militant reported the initial results of the March 25-26 nationwide protests against U.S. complicity with the racist regimes in southern Africa. Initiated by the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR) at its November 1976 conference, the protests drew wide support.

Because of the significant response to the demonstrations and to the tours of Soweto student leaders Tsietsi Mashinini and Khotso Seatlholo, NSCAR will be discussing a broad range of future activities against U.S. complicity at its southern steering committee meeting April 10.

In addition to the reports printed below, actions took place in Houston, Atlanta, Pittsburgh, Miami, St. Louis, Indianapolis, Minneapolis, San Diego, and Portland, Oregon.

## Los Angeles

By Joanne Tortorici

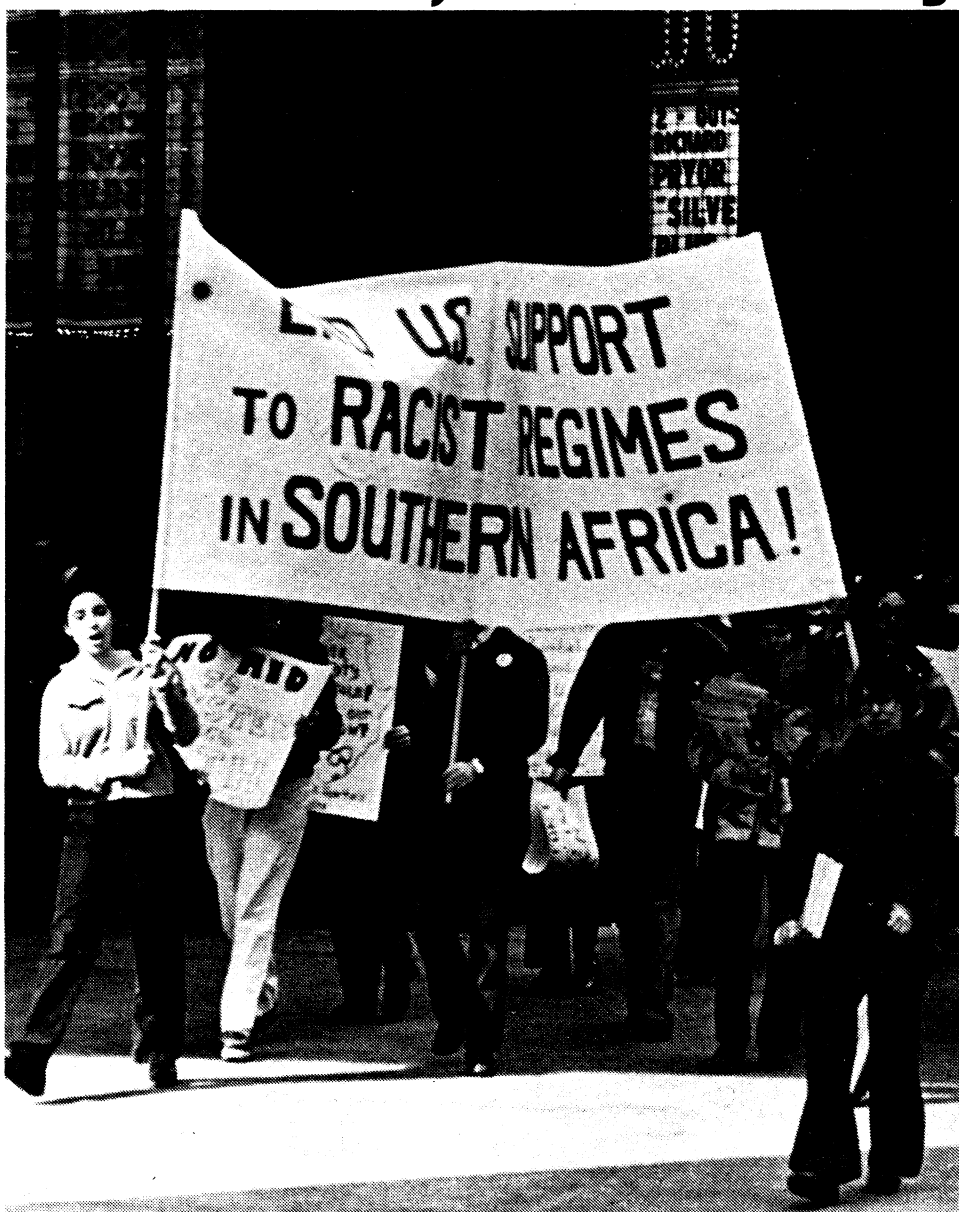
LOS ANGELES—Chanting "Black rights yes, apartheid, no—U.S. aid has got to go," 200 demonstrators marched through downtown here March 26 to protest U.S. complicity with the South African regime.

At the rally Laura Garza, representing SCAR, pointed to the need to educate people in this country about the true role of the U.S. government's involvement in South Africa.

Paraphrasing Tsietsi Mashinini, first president of the Soweto Students Representative Council now touring the United States, Garza said SCAR's job is to get "our country out of their country."

She urged continued action against U.S. aid to the racist regime and called on people at the rally to join the April 16 picket against the U.S.-South Africa Davis Cup tennis match in Newport Beach, California.

Other speakers included Yemi Toure, Pan African Secretariat; Rev. Al Dorch, United Front for Justice in South Africa; Les Higgins, Del Monte boycott; and Sam Manuel, Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor.



250 march in Chicago

Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

## Wash., D.C.

By Baxter Smith

WASHINGTON—Some 225 people attended a rally at Lafayette Park across from the White House to demand an end to U.S. aid to South Africa. A large contingent of students from Cardozo High School participated in the march preceding the rally. The March 26 U.S. Out of Southern Africa Coalition sponsored the protest.

Among the speakers at the rally were Willie Gerald, Cardozo High School SCAR; Paul Pumphrey of the Anti-Apartheid Movement in the U.S.; Laura Moorhead, SWP; Vince Benson, executive council, D.C. Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; Eugene Williams, Black Vietnam Vets Association; and Jean Galloway, Morgan State University SCAR.

Messages of solidarity came from Newspaper Guild Local 6 and Josephine Butler of the Statehood party.

## Detroit

By Meg Hayes

DETROIT—More than 200 people from southern Michigan and northern Ohio marched down Woodward Avenue here March 26 protesting U.S. complicity in southern Africa.

The spirited march, which included contingents from Cass and Western high schools, carried picket signs demanding "No U.S. support to Vorster and Smith," "Down with racism," and "Free all political prisoners."

The march culminated in a rally at Kennedy Square attended by more than 300 people. Speakers included representatives of SCAR, the March 26 Anti-Apartheid Coalition, and the African Liberation Support Committee.

Al Duncan of the March 26 Anti-Apartheid Coalition stressed that "our major task in the U.S. is to force the government to get out of southern Africa." This point was made again by other rally speakers who also linked the fight at home against segregated schooling, the death penalty, sterilization abuse, and attacks on abortion rights to the fight for Black majority rule in southern Africa.

## Chicago

CHICAGO—Some 250 people marched through downtown Chicago March 26 to commemorate the Sharpeville massacre and protest U.S. support to the racist regimes in southern Africa.

Eddison Zvobgo, U.S. publicity secretary for the Zimbabwe African National Union, opened the rally by stressing the responsibility of the American people to direct protests against the role of their government in southern Africa.

Other speakers included Bill Hampton, brother of slain Black Panther leader Fred Hampton; José López, Puerto Rican activist under subpoena by a federal grand jury set up to harass the Puerto Rican movement; Saladin El-Tabuk, Student Coalition Against Racism; Dennis Brasky, So-

*Continued on page 30*

## 'Revolutionary' slogans—Lenin's view

By Cliff Conner

The March 26 antiapartheid demonstration in New York City was most impressive for the unity displayed on the rally platform: From Africa came speakers from the Soweto Students Representative Council, the African National Congress of Zimbabwe, and the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania. From this country they came from the NAACP, the National Student Coalition Against Racism, the Patrice Lumumba Coalition, and other organizations.

### AS I SEE IT

But during the demonstration itself, there was competitive slogan-chanting, indicating differences of opinion.

Most of the demonstrators seemed to favor "U.S. out of Africa" and "Black majority rule now." But a couple of small groups with big red banners apparently considered these slogans inadequate. They preferred "The only solution is revolution" or "South Africa must be free—overthrow the bourgeoisie."

A march leader with a bullhorn began a chant by asking, "What do you want?" The predominant response was "Majority rule!" The small groups, however, countered with "Revolution!"

And these oppositionists had their own opposition—an even smaller group, finding mere revolution too mild for its taste, felt compelled to holler "Socialist revolution!"

Such is the logic of one-upmanship in slogans. It hardly seems worthy of comment, but some observers could be misled by the antics of these "rhetoric revolutionaries."

As a member of the Socialist Workers party, I am unequivocally in favor of socialism, revolution, and the demise of bourgeoisies. I do not, however, believe that using these words as shibboleths to be chanted on all occasions can advance the goal of socialist revolution.

The groupings imply that a refusal to shout "Socialism" at a South Africa demonstration means opposition to socialism. And anyone who won't yell "revolution" must be a reformist or a liberal.

Since most of these types mistakenly think they are following in Lenin's footsteps, they should take the trouble to learn what Lenin really stood for. He had nothing but contempt for what he called "ultra-left childishness."

Lenin wrote *The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution* in April 1917. It was essentially Lenin's program for the Russian revolution. In it he pointed to the need to "free ourselves from the reigning bacchanalia of revolutionary phrases." And he gave an example:

"The slogan, 'Down with the War,' is correct,

to be sure, but it does not take into account the peculiarity of the tasks of the moment, the necessity to approach the masses in a different way. It reminds me of another slogan, 'Down with the Tsar,' with which an inexperienced agitator of the 'good old days' went directly and simply to the village—to be beaten up."

Lenin believed the slogans were correct—that is, formally true—but so what? They were also useless. As would be expected, the ultra-lefts of the day concluded that Lenin was a hopeless reformist.

To the "inexperienced agitators" of 1977, the message should be clear:

"The slogan 'Socialist revolution now' is correct, to be sure, but it does not take into account the peculiarity of the tasks of the moment, the necessity to approach the masses in a different way."

The task of the moment with respect to southern Africa is to build a powerful movement to demand "U.S. out now!" Millions can be won to support that idea, just as they were won to "U.S. out of Vietnam!" And masses in motion in defense of Black majority rule in South Africa would be a material step forward for both the African and the American revolutions.

If it makes you feel good, go out and holler "Socialist revolution" until you're blue in the face. But don't be so stupid as to consider it a political act.

## Six more Cointelpros

# Catholics hit by FBI plot against peace activists

By Diane Wang

J. Edgar Hoover praised the San Antonio FBI's idea as a "unique counterintelligence situation." While the anti-Vietnam War movement was the target of the plot, the Catholic church became a victim of the FBI intrigue.

Socialists discovered the plot among 15,000 pages of files the FBI has turned over within the last four months in response to the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance lawsuit against government harassment. Files on this and five other Cointelpro disruption projects were released April 6 at news conferences across the country.

The San Antonio project involved the New York and Washington, D.C., FBI offices in a plan to prevent a 1971 conference of the Student Mobilization Committee Against the War in Vietnam (which the FBI claimed was dominated by the SWP and YSA).

The SMC had rented the gymnasium at Catholic University in Washington, D.C., for a national student convention set for February 1971.

The San Antonio FBI had a contact in the Archdiocese of San Antonio who was, agents said, an "enthusiastic supporter of U.S. policy in Vietnam." The agents reported that there was "strong resentment" among local Catholics against funding Catholic University. Why not take advantage of that resentment to pressure the school to refuse SMC the gymnasium?

Agents in New York were a little wary of the idea:

"At the present time, various forms of radical philosophy has [sic] found its adherents at all levels of religious life. Public disclosure of such an action on the part of the Bureau is thus a possibility, however remote. In addition, such exposure could constitute a source of embarrassment to the FBI not commensurate with any positive results that may be obtained."

The San Antonio agents were peeved. "With respect to New York's patronizing comments," they answered, "... It is strongly felt that at

the emergence of the so-called permissive attitude that if effective counterintelligence actions had been taken, the Bureau's investigation in New Left and other such matters would not have been as great as it is today."

Despite the squabble, once Hoover asked for more ideas the New York and Washington, D.C., FBI were eager to help in the plot.

Washington agents suggested the FBI get some "commercially purchased paper to protect the Bureau as the source" and write anonymous letters about SMC and Catholic University to such organizations as the Knights of Columbus, Daughters of Isabella, Catholic Daughters of America, Catholic War Veterans, the Catholic Youth Organization, and the *Catholic Standard* newspaper.

One story the FBI prepared to circulate among Catholics, for example, pointed to the recent arrests of antiwar Catholics, including Philip Berrigan and Elizabeth McAlister. "Has the Catholic church been duped again?" the FBI's story asked.

These anonymous letters were supposed to whip up a protest campaign against Catholic University's rental of the gymnasium to the SMC.

The New York bureau suggested that agents posing as Catholics carry out a telephone campaign to pressure the university.

Hoover liked the ideas. He wrote, "Considering financial support CU receives from Roman Catholics throughout U.S., majority of whom are undoubtedly anti-communist and loyal Americans, it appears unique counterintelligence situation presented with potential to have SMC conference cancelled."

His only worry was secrecy: "Major and overriding concern, of course, is providing full security to insure Bureau is protected as source of action."

Catholic University did try to get the antiwar conference moved. John Studer, staff coordinator of the SMC at the time, recalls: "It was crystal clear they had changed their minds and wanted us out. But they didn't want it to



Militant/Howard Petrick



Militant/Mark Satinoff

COINTELPRO FOILED: 2,000 students attended SMC conference at Catholic University (top) despite FBI maneuvers, and organized support for the April 24, 1971, antiwar demonstrations of more than one million people.

appear as a political move." So the university administration resorted to arbitrary rules and threats.

The biggest obstacle thrown up was the campus's last-minute demand that SMC get a \$1 million insurance policy against damages. "They didn't think we could do it," Studer said, "but we got the policy—from Lloyds of London."

In his memo about the San Antonio plan Hoover commented:

"It is opinion of Bureau decisive,

aggressive, timely and well organized counterintelligence operations invaluable in disrupting or altering, to our advantage, activities which are clearly against U.S. public interest."

But this particular campaign to exploit the Catholic church did not work. The SMC conference was held. Two thousand students attended it and helped organize the antiwar demonstrations planned for later that spring.

The April 24, 1971, marches in San Francisco and Washington, D.C., drew more than one million people.

## Files show 'Cointelpro' after alleged cutoff date

By Diane Wang

The FBI has always claimed it halted its sinister Cointelpro operation on April 22, 1971. That was the date the supersecret disruption scheme was made public following an anonymous break-in at the FBI office in Media, Pennsylvania.

While socialists have insisted that Cointelpro-style operations continued—with only the name changed—they now have proof that at least one plot was executed under the Cointelpro heading after that date.

Among the FBI files released by the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance April 6 was a "post-Cointelpro" Cointelpro operation carried out in Houston, Texas. There, on February 19, 1972, the FBI arranged to have local police and Alcohol Beverages Control agents raid a private party being held by SWP campaign supporters. Several people were arrested on trumped-up minor charges.

An FBI agent reporting the incident gloated, "As a result of the bonds placed against the individuals arrested, [blank] that the funds of the SWP have been completely depleted. . . ."

According to Rich Finkel, one of those arrested, the raid did strain—though not deplete—the group's finances. "Most of the charges were dropped," Finkel recalls, "but by the time we paid for bonds, fines, and a lawyer it cost at least a thousand dollars."

Soon after the socialists' lawsuit

began in 1973 they asked the government whether any Cointelpro activities had continued after April 1971. In a sworn affidavit signed in 1974 the FBI answered unambiguously: "No."

Yet the government now admits that the Houston raid was a Cointelpro dirty trick and not part of an "investigation." FBI records on the incident were turned over under the category of "Cointelpro actions."

The other Cointelpro operations documented in the newly released files happened before 1971. But they give a good summary of the tactics the FBI used against political dissidents:

**FBI violence:** A 1970 FBI report from San Diego said that "violent counterintelligence action such as breaking windows in homes and offices has been taken against radical groups in San Diego for some time." The agents said this was being done by "unidentified individuals."

When those individuals were finally identified, of course, it turned out they were led by Howard Godfrey, an FBI informer. The "violent counterintelligence" by Godfrey and his Secret Army Organization included an attempt to murder a local antiwar leader, Peter Bohmer.

The San Diego FBI also reported it was passing on intelligence information and looking for ways to "interfere" with radical groups' finances.

**Targeting a campus YSA:** After secretly giving a report on SDS (Stu-

dents for a Democratic Society) in 1969 to Thomas Hall, adviser to the Arizona State Board of Regents, the Phoenix FBI decided it needed more information on the YSA. In a message to Washington, Phoenix said:

"Since information presently at hand strongly suggests that during the coming year YSA might well be more of a threat to campus tranquillity than SDS; particularly at ASU [Arizona State University] an in-depth study of YSA origin, methods, personalities and objectives could be a timely and useful counterintelligence item."

The next year the Arizona State Board of Regents (with Mr. Hall's advice) dismissed philosophy Prof. Morris Starsky, campus adviser to the YSA at ASU.

**Their man in the house:** St. Louis FBI agents considered Missouri State Rep. Richard Marshall a "potential confidential source" for the bureau. They gave Marshall material on the student movement from FBI files. Under the heading "Tangible Results" the FBI reported that the legislator had "several bills pending . . . which involve control of new-left activities on college campuses."

**The press as FBI mouthpiece:** The FBI used Boston reporter Gordon Hall as its mouthpiece. In 1965 the bureau fed him information for several articles red-baiting the antiwar movement.

"It is believed," said a Boston FBI

memo, "that if such an article were written by an outside highly respected individual, such as [name deleted], it would do much to expose to the public the local participation and direction of such . . . groups as the YSA, SWP and CP [Communist party] who are behind these anti-American crusades."

Unfortunately for the FBI, the McCarthyite witch-hunt was over by 1965. Hall's article appeared in the *Boston Herald*. (The FBI forgot to delete Hall's by-line from the copy of the article turned over to the socialists.) But the article did not succeed in scaring people away from protests against the Vietnam War.

The Boston FBI had similar relations with a local television station. "THOMPSON, PELL [WBZ-TV general manager and newscaster] and Station WBZ have been extremely cooperative, discreet and reliable with this Office in the past, not only in regard to counterintelligence activities, but to all other phases of the Bureau's investigative interests," bragged one agent's report.

When J. Edgar Hoover gave the Boston FBI permission to give material to their friendly reporter he wrote, "Insure Mr. Hall understands that under no circumstances may he reveal the Bureau's interest."

The top cop was shortsighted, it seems. Twelve years later the socialists' lawsuit has made sure that the bureau's interest in manipulating the press has come to light.

# SWP sets ambitious 1977 campaign plans

By Peter Seidman

Matilde Zimmermann, Geoff Mirelowitz, and Stacey Seigle are members of the newly organized Socialist Workers party national campaign committee.

I spoke with them about why the SWP set up the committee and what projects they are working on.

All three were very optimistic about what the 1977 SWP campaigns could accomplish.

"None of the problems that made so many people more willing to consider socialist ideas during last year's presidential campaign went away after the election," Zimmermann said. "So we wanted to maintain an organized way of introducing the SWP to more people."

Mirelowitz added that "although 1977 is an 'off' election year, we're involved in more local campaigns than we have been in any comparable election year."

"This is one result of the SWP's expansion into new cities. I think there are more than thirty major industrial centers that we're going to run campaigns in. So there is a greater need to coordinate and share the experiences of these campaigns nationally."

Seigle predicted that "people will rapidly begin to feel disgust with Carter as his real policies—in contrast to his campaign promises—become known. There will be a growing interest in the socialist alternative."

"That's why," Zimmermann said, "we announced our 1977 campaigns in cities like New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago as soon as we could after the 1976 campaign was over."

Seigle added, "We need to use every avenue that exists to get out our ideas. The campaigns are one very important part of this. They go along with the *Militant* sales drive and the SWP's weekly forum series."

I asked how the national campaign committee plans to help the local campaigns reach out.

"One thing we're doing," Mirelowitz answered, "is organizing extensive speaking tours this spring. A number of female leaders of the SWP will be speaking in cities all over the country about our views on the fight to defend women's rights."

"We've already toured SWP National

Secretary Jack Barnes through most of the major steel centers. Barnes explained the SWP's views on the Steelworkers Fight Back slate in the United Steelworkers union presidential election and its significance for the fight for union democracy.

"And we'll be touring a lot more people as well," Mirelowitz added, "who will speak on 'The Prospects for Socialism in America.'"

Seigle talked about the media work she is doing. "As a result of our lawsuit against government spying and of our 1976 election campaign," she said, "the SWP is seen differently than in the past. More and more we're looked on as the socialist opposition in this country, more than any other organization on the left."

"This means," she went on, "that the media are more willing to report our views. This holds true even in areas where we're not running candidates right now."

Seigle said her office sends out almost weekly national news releases on the views of the SWP. One Black radio network tapes regular party statements.

Zimmermann told about plans to reissue in updated form some of the material used by the SWP in its 1976 campaigns. One of these will be a new version of the "Bill of Rights for Working People."

We passed out more than a million of these during the 1976 campaign," she said. "This can be used by the SWP even in cities where we're not currently campaigning for office to introduce people to our ideas and answer some of their questions about socialism."

Zimmermann said her office is also working on new editions of brochures on women's rights and on the fight for Black equality. Plans to publish a basic piece of socialist literature in Spanish are also under way, she said.

Mirelowitz predicted that "you'll find there will be no comparable pieces of literature put out by the Democrats and Republicans this year. It's unlikely," he quipped, "that the Democrats will decide to reissue and circulate in large numbers the platform Carter was elected on—people might try to hold Carter to some of his promises. And that's the last thing they want to remind people of."

# Socialist speakers tour coast to coast

Leaders of the Socialist Workers party are touring the United States this spring speaking on "Prospects for Socialism in America."

Listed below are the speakers and tour dates. For more information contact the SWP branch nearest you listed in the Socialist Directory on page 31.

**CATARINO GARZA** will speak in Boston April 20-22, and in Albany, New York, date to be announced. Garza is also speaking throughout New York City as part of his campaign for mayor. See the article below for a report on his tour so far.

**ED HEISLER** will speak in Philadelphia, State College, and Allentown, Pennsylvania, April 19-22; Baltimore April 23-25; Washington, D.C., April 26-28; Richmond, Virginia, April 29-30; and Raleigh, North Carolina, May 2.

**DERRICK MORRISON** will speak in Atlanta April 11-13, and Miami April 19.

**AL DUNCAN** will speak in Cleveland, Kent, Youngstown, and Toledo, Ohio, April 25-30.

**PAT WRIGHT** will tour St. Louis April 18-20; Kansas City, Missouri, April 21; Chicago and Champaign, Illinois, April 25-27 and May 4-6; Louisville and Lexington, Kentucky, April 28-29; Milwaukee and Madison, Wisconsin, April 30-May 3.

**DON GUREWITZ** will speak in Bloomington, Indiana, April 22; Indianapolis April 23-25; Minneapolis and St. Paul April 25-29; Cincinnati April 30-May 2; and Detroit May 3-6.

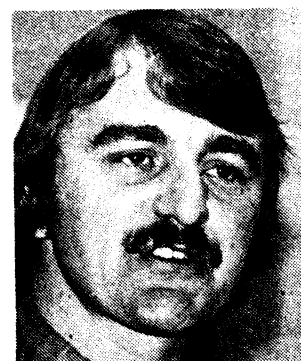
**OLGA RODRIGUEZ** will speak in Salt Lake City May 4-6, and in Denver and Boulder, Colorado, May 7-10.

**SAM MANUEL** will speak in San Francisco, Oakland, Berkeley, and San Jose, California, May 5-15.

**NAT WEINSTEIN** is touring Seattle, Tacoma, and Spokane, Washington; and Portland, Oregon, April 1-9.

**TONY THOMAS** will tour Los Angeles and San Diego, California, May 2-7.

**FRED HALSTEAD** will speak in Albuquerque, New Mexico; Phoenix, Arizona; and San Antonio, Texas. Dates to be announced.



ED HEISLER



AL DUNCAN



PAT WRIGHT



DON GUREWITZ



NAT WEINSTEIN



SAM MANUEL



OLGA RODRIGUEZ

# Garza tells how to fight N.Y. cutbacks

By Jenny Brookstone

NEW YORK—The 1977 city elections here are the first since the bankers and politicians declared a "fiscal crisis" two years ago. The Democrats and Republicans haven't been able to agree yet on which candidate should be elected mayor. But they all agree the cuts are necessary in order to balance the city's budget in favor of the rich.

For New Yorkers this has meant two years of layoffs, wage freezes, and shrinking social services.

There's been a growing resistance to these cuts, especially in the Black and Puerto Rican communities and among students. At the same time, more working people are willing to listen to what socialists have to say.

Catarino Garza, the Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor, is touring the city campaigning for the socialist alternative to the Democrats and Republicans.

So far, Garza has toured for a week

in the Bronx and a week on the Lower East Side of Manhattan.

One highlight was a bilingual meeting at Roberto Clemente Auxiliary Services High School in the Bronx on March 18.

Clemente is a "minischool" housed in an old Quonset hut. It accepts students who were considered "problems" in previous schools. Many are now beyond high school age. They are working for high school equivalency degrees. Clemente is bilingual and predominantly Black and Hispanic. Like other important social services, Clemente is considered an "extra" by Mayor Abraham Beame. Its funding is being threatened.

About seventy students came to hear Garza speak. Everyone opposed the cuts. Questions focused on what could be done to stop them.

One student asked Garza what he could do if he were elected mayor. How

could just one person return the money to the working people of New York?

Garza explained that one person, in fact, could not do anything, but that he would not be just one person. "If the people of New York elect me as their mayor," he explained, "then it means they want to fight back. I'd mobilize people to defend their rights. If we all fought back together, how could the few bankers and corporation presidents possibly win?"

During the course of his tour, Garza has been confronted everywhere with similar questions. He spoke at or visited meetings of the Coalition to Save Lincoln Hospital in the Bronx, the Citywide Community Coalition Against the Cuts, the Latino Coalition of the South Bronx, and the Por los Niños/For the Children coalition in the Lower East Side.

Several of these groups recently sponsored lobbying trips to the statehouse in Albany. The results of this

effort depressed many of those who had participated. As one person at the meeting of the Coalition to Save Lincoln Hospital said, "What can we do about the politicians? We can't trust them. They don't do things for us, and as soon as we leave their offices they turn their backs on us."

Garza agreed that capitalist politicians cannot be trusted. He added that working people need to rely on their own strength in independent political action.

"How many votes do the bankers have?" Garza asked. "Surely working people have many more votes than they do. But the bankers don't have to rely on their own few votes, because they control the Democratic and Republican parties. So when you vote for a Democrat or Republican, you're really voting for the bankers. That's why working people need our own party, a labor party."





Militant/Harry Ring

DR. WILLIAM GRAVES

# Death row doctor speaks against death penalty

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—Death in the gas chamber is a grisly business.

But I didn't know just how grisly it was until after I interviewed Dr. William Graves, a physician who had served on San Quentin's death row.

Now a Los Angeles surgeon, Dr. Graves is active in the movement to abolish the death penalty. The American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California frequently relies on him as a speaker on the issue.

Dr. Graves became an opponent of the death penalty on the basis of his San Quentin experience.

He went to work at San Quentin back in 1952 and made regular rounds on death row over a two-year period.

During that time he became friends with Caryl Chessman, the condemned man whose twelve-year fight won world sympathy and proved a major factor in the fight against the death penalty.

Dr. Graves was active in the fight to save Chessman. But his convictions on the issue stemmed from an earlier experience with another condemned man—one whose execution he participated in.

Discussing his San Quentin experience Dr. Graves said, "I had no feelings about the death penalty when I went to work there. In fact, I just accepted it."

"There was a requirement," he explained, "that there be two doctors present at an execution. One was to certify that the condemned person was sufficiently well, prior to the execution, to be executed, and one to certify he

was dead after the execution.

"They have to be well enough at the time of their execution," Dr. Graves continued, "to understand that they are being punished. If they don't meet that criterion they can't be legally executed."

"There was one fellow, Henry Ford McCracken," he continued. "He had killed an infant and buried the body in a shallow grave. He had been in various mental hospitals before that. While he was on death row he went steadily downhill.

"Finally, one morning I found him in his cell wallowing in his own excreta. I had him transferred to the prison hospital where he was given a series of electric shock treatments. Then arrangements were made for his execution.

"But," Dr. Graves continued, "it wasn't possible to carry it out. He still didn't pass the test. So he went back for more shock treatments.

"Finally he was found sufficiently mentally clear that he could be executed."

It was soon after that when Dr. Graves was asked to be present at an execution. The victim was William Edward Cook, a young man of about nineteen from Indiana.

Dr. Graves described Cook as an extremely disturbed person.

From infancy, he had been totally rejected. The records indicated that on a number of occasions his father had literally thrown him out in the snow. His mother would bring him back in.

Finally, he was abandoned and was shifted through a series of foster homes.

From there he went to a reformatory. He fled the reformatory and began hitchhiking west.

A family gave him a lift in Indiana. He killed the entire family, depositing their bodies in a well.

In California, he killed a man in a gas station and was caught.

For the Indiana killings he drew a three-hundred-year sentence. The California court sentenced him to death.

"After six months on death row," Dr. Graves said, "he was executed. The morning of the execution I arrived about fifteen minutes before ten. The executions usually occur on Fridays at ten.

"Dr. Lucas, the other doctor, was carrying out the final physical examination to make sure he was well enough to be executed. He had Cook stripped to the waist, and he strapped a stethoscope to his chest. The stethoscope was then connected by means of a long rubber tubing out through the wall of the gas chamber to earpieces, which it was my duty to hold and listen to.

"That's the means by which you determine when the execution is over. I'm listening to his heart and lungs and can determine when it's all over.

"They dress them in certain clothing for the execution," Dr. Graves recalled, "without pockets or cuffs where the gas might collect and be a hazard. They don't wear shoes. They have a little carpet on which they walk from the holding chamber about twenty feet to the gas chamber."

The prisoner is held there until about one minute to ten in case there is a last-minute stay.

"But in this case," he said, "it didn't happen. The door was opened and he was strapped into one of the two chairs.

"There was no emotional reaction on his face at all. Nothing, although he was physically very healthy.

"The guards walked out, sealed the door, and I took my place, listening with the stethoscope, with one of the guards at the lever.

"Usually they wait until one minute after ten to give it a little leeway.

"Then the lever was pulled and within about thirty seconds I could hear a choky cough. The fellow was breathing quite deeply at that point, and rapidly.

"This type of breathing continued on for a minute or a minute and a half. Then the breathing became slower and

more shallow. Finally in about three minutes it stopped.

"The heart tones continued, very distinct, very regular. But they too becoming gradually slower as the minutes went by.

"Finally, about ten minutes after the hour, I heard the last heartbeat, and there was nothing more. I indicated to the warden that the execution was over.

"I walked around to the front of the chamber and looked through the door window at this figure sitting in the chair.

"His head was thrown back, his mouth gaping. And just white—white as a sheet. One thing that happens is that you get total cardiovascular collapse. The blood just drains down. The top part of the body, you just can't imagine how white it is. It's just wrung out."

"From that moment," he added, "I didn't want anything more to do with executions."

On leaving San Quentin, he made a study of ninety California executions carried out over a ten-year period. He compiled the homicide rate for a fifteen-day period before, during, and after these executions.

His study appears in the anthology *The Death Penalty in America* edited by Hugo Bedeau.

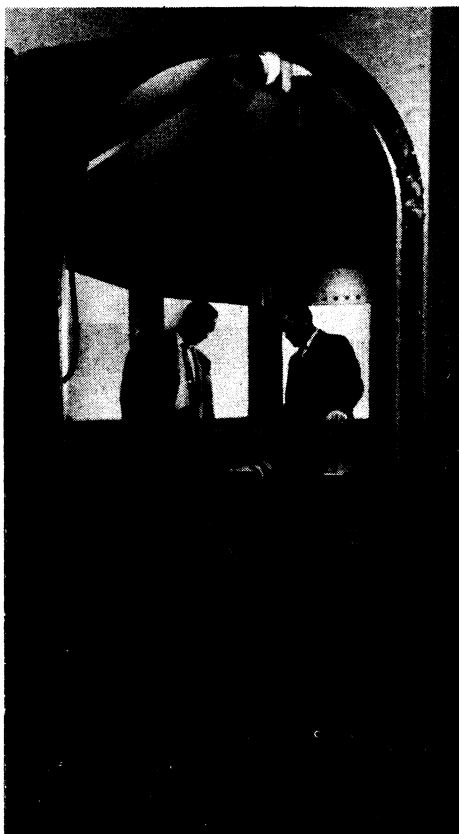
Graves found a 20 percent increase in homicides the day before and the day of an execution, and a 20 percent drop the day after. Otherwise there was no significant change. The net result, he says, is that executions seem to be accompanied by a slight increase in the homicide rate.

The reason for this, he said, is that executions "probably affect certain disturbed people by precipitating their impulses. . . . The more highly publicized an execution is, the more personal 'executions' are going to be carried out."

Discussing capital punishment as a "deterrent" to crime, he observed that every study has demonstrated that it simply isn't. In the early 1950s, he said, a British royal commission made a worldwide survey and concluded that there was absolutely no evidence that the death penalty is associated in any way with a lessening of homicides.

But even more important, he said, capital punishment "is inconsistent with the idea that human life is a thing of worth. . . . The use of the death penalty degrades human life, demeans it.

"To that extent," he continued, "it demeans us all. It injures the whole society—not just the one who is executed."



San Quentin's gas chamber

## Death row USA

The following state-by-state census of persons under sentence of death as of March 17 is based on figures compiled by the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund.

In addition to those identified by race, one person in Nebraska and one in Pennsylvania are of unknown race. The states that have death penalty laws but no one under sentence of death are: Connecticut, Louisiana, Missouri, New Hampshire, Washington, and Wyoming.

State	Blacks & Latinos	Whites	Total
Alabama	3	2	5
Arizona	5	11	16
Arkansas	3	3	6
Colorado	2	2	4
Florida	36	48	84
Georgia	28	25	53
Idaho	0	2	2
Indiana	2	5	7
Kentucky	0	3	3
Mississippi	1	2	3
Montana	1	4	5
Nebraska	0	3	4
Nevada	0	3	3
New York	2	0	2
Ohio	43	27	70
Oklahoma	1	0	1
Pennsylvania	8	3	12
Rhode Island	2	0	2
Texas	29	29	58
Utah	2	3	5
<b>Total</b>	<b>168</b>	<b>175</b>	<b>345</b>

## Executions: who will be next to die?

By José G. Pérez

Before the Gary Gilmore execution, opponents of capital punishment warned that killing Gilmore could open the door to scores of other executions within a few months. But two and a half months later, no more executions have occurred and none seem likely in the near future.

There are several reasons for this.

First, capital punishment is a political hot potato, and the next execution will be front-page news all over the country. Nobody seems eager to bear the onus of ordering the next execution.

Another reason is that the U.S. Supreme Court has specifically upheld the laws of only three states: Florida, Georgia, and Texas. A condemned person in any other state can challenge the constitutionality of the state law, a process that can delay execution for years. (In this respect, Gilmore's was a freak case because he refused to challenge the Utah law.)

Also, on March 22 the Supreme Court ruled in a Florida case that judges could not consider background reports on defendants in sentencing them to death unless the defense had a chance to refute what was in the reports. Many death row prisoners in Florida might get new sentencing hearings as a result of this ruling.

Georgia and Texas authorities have set dates for many executions, but all have been called off pending further court proceedings.

As of the end of March, nobody was threatened with immediate execution. But this could change at any time if courts turn down appeals in a case or uphold more state death penalty laws.

What's for sure is that there are 345 persons on death row, and more are being added each week. Unless capital punishment is abolished, most of them will one day face the executioner.

# Community candidates in NYC District 1 school race rebuff joint slate with racists

By Roger Rudenstein

NEW YORK—Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese parents on the Lower East Side of Manhattan are campaigning to elect a pro-community-control majority to the New York School District One school board in the May 3 elections.

The candidates were chosen by the District One Parents Council, which makes policy for the Por los Niños/For the Children coalition backing the candidates.

The Por los Niños slate is committed to a program that includes support to

*Roger Rudenstein is a member of the executive committee of the New York City local of the Socialist Workers party.*

bilingual-bicultural education and opposition to cutbacks and layoffs.

The candidates running on the slate today are:

- Rosa Ambrose, parent at Public School 64;
- Maria Barreto, student at Seward Park High School;
- William Carlotti, parent at P.S. 34;

- Carmen Díaz, parent at P.S. 61 and member of the Puerto Rican Socialist party;

- Rev. David García of St. Mark's church;

- Hector Lavergne, parent and community activist; and

- Nicomedes Sánchez, chairperson of the Puerto Rican Association for Community Affairs (PRACA) and member of the Socialist Workers party.

Parents of the Lower East Side of Manhattan have been fighting to win control over the education of their children for nine years. In the elections two years ago, the racist slate gained a two-thirds majority on the school board. The board majority has dismantled bilingual-bicultural programs, gone along with cutbacks and layoffs, and reduced the number of Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese teachers to 2 percent—although 92 percent of the children are from these minority groups, most of them Puerto Ricans.

The blind hatred the board majority has for Puerto Rican and Chinese children is so great that they refused a \$334,000 federal grant for bilingual-bicultural programs.

## Racist slate

Running against Por los Niños in the May 3 elections is the "Brotherhood" slate, the grouping that now controls the school board. Composed mainly of aspiring small-change Democratic party politicians, the slate is backed by all the forces and resources of the United Federation of Teachers bureaucracy.

Also in the race for school board are six liberal Democrats running independently of the Por los Niños slate, the "Brotherhood" slate, and each other.

All candidates are listed on the ballot as individuals. But because of complicated proportional representation provisions, candidates who do not campaign as part of a slate stand little chance of winning.

A new factor this year is a divisive slate launched by the officials of District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

D.C. 37 is the largest union of city employees in New York. It has close to 90,000 members. D.C. 37 head Victor Gotbaum, together with teachers union chief Albert Shanker and other bureaucrats, has led employees of the city into defeat after defeat.

Subordinating the needs of the members to an alliance between the union tops and the Democratic party, Gotbaum and other officials have supported the cutbacks, layoffs, and wage freezes that have devastated education and other social services in this city.

Two years ago, before the cuts were instituted, D.C. 37 endorsed the Por los Niños slate and provided material aid to the parents. This year, however, Gotbaum has extended his no-win strategy to District One.

Instead of backing Por los Niños, D.C. 37 is putting together its own slate of sixteen candidates for the nine school board seats. Gotbaum's proposed slate included five of the original nine Por los Niños candidates, five racist "Brotherhood" candidates, and the six independents.

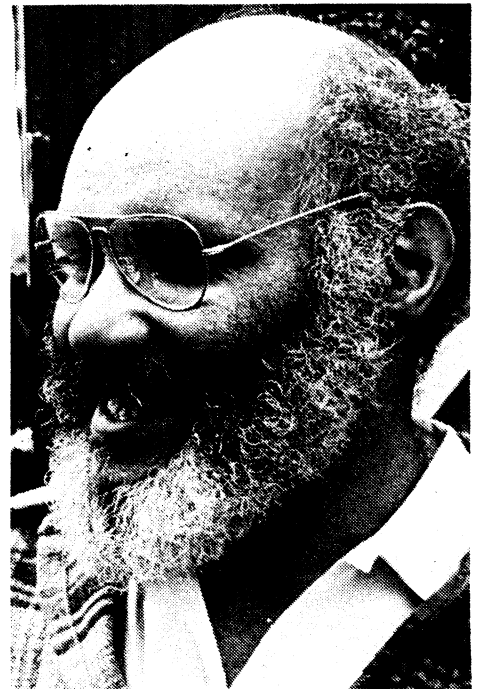
This action was taken over strong objections of the Por los Niños coalition. It has caused quite a stir on the Lower East Side.

## The issues

I asked Nicomedes Sánchez, a long-time activist in the Puerto Rican community and a school board candidate, to explain the issues.

"The parents are outraged because they see Victor Gotbaum doing the same type of thing that Shanker does," Sánchez said. "They feel Gotbaum is imposing a slate of candidates on the community, instead of supporting the candidates picked by the community."

"Gotbaum not only ignored the parents' wishes," Sánchez said, "he



Militant/Phil Reed

NICOMEDES SANCHEZ: Por los Niños candidate calls on Gotbaum to repudiate endorsement of racists.

endorsed five 'Brotherhood' candidates—the enemy.

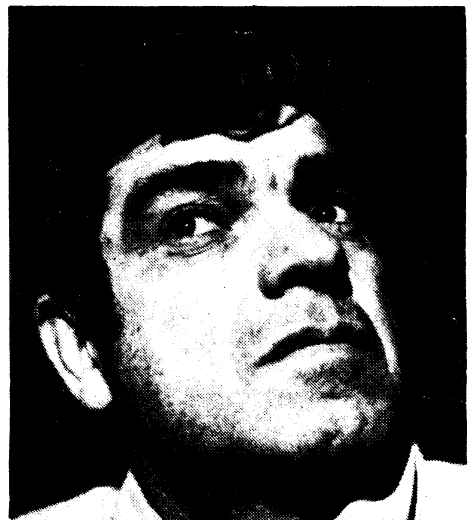
"Two of the 'Brotherhood' candidates that D.C. 37 endorsed, Charles Bayor and Theresa Bussichio, are on the present school board majority, which is cutting programs and closing schools. The other three 'Brotherhood' candidates hold the same views."

Sánchez said that D.C. 37 officials claim that by endorsing some candidates from each side D.C. 37 is making sure that no matter who wins they will have some influence on the school board. They say this will keep D.C. 37 cafeteria workers and other staff from being laid off.

## Losing strategy

"This is the same losing strategy that Gotbaum and other labor officials have been following in relation to the

*Continued on page 30*



VICTOR GOTBAUM: AFSCME chief withheld union support from parents' slate.

# Death penalty protest set in New Jersey

By Tom Bias

NEWARK—Opponents of capital punishment in New Jersey have called a statewide protest rally for Saturday, April 30. The New Jersey Witness Against Executions will be held in Princeton, across the street from the governor's mansion, beginning at 1:00 p.m.

A bill reinstituting the death penalty has been passed by both houses of the state legislature and is now on Gov. Brendan Byrne's desk for signature. Byrne campaigned in 1973 as an opponent of capital punishment, but he said earlier this year that he would sign a death penalty bill into law if the legislature passed his penal reform bill.

More recently he said he might sign the death penalty into law with or without the penal reform package, claiming the people of New Jersey want executions resumed. The central demand of the April 30 demonstration will be that Byrne veto the death penalty bill.

The protest was called by an all-day conference of New Jersey Death Watch held in Princeton at the end of February.

Death Watch is a coalition of groups and individuals throughout the state who are working to stop capital punishment. It includes the American Civil Liberties Union; New Jersey Council of Churches; Newark Human

Rights Commission; Newark Justice Program of the American Friends Service Committee; People's Independent Coalition, New Brunswick; and Socialist Workers party.

Among the other projects of Death Watch are an ongoing educational campaign on capital punishment; weekly vigils in front of the governor's mansion; and a prayer vigil in Newark's New Bethlehem Baptist Church to be held April 16.

Speakers at the April 30 rally reflect the broad support that Death Watch is gathering. They include Stanley Van Ness, commissioner of the Department of the Public Advocate (which is responsible for providing public de-

fenders for indigent defendants); Dorothy Schoenwald, executive secretary of Death Watch; and Wray Bailey of the Newark Justice Program of the American Friends Service Committee.

Also, Ed Carter, cousin of Rubin "Hurricane" Carter; State Rep. Eldridge Hawkins, a Black Democrat who led the floor fight against the death penalty in the legislature; Paul Stagg, executive director of the New Jersey Council of Churches; and Haywood Burns, former head of the National Council of Black Lawyers.

In addition, candidates for governor who oppose the death penalty are being invited to give a brief statement of support to the rally.

# Legislator finds executions 'exalting'

By David Frankel

WASHINGTON—Both the Maryland and Virginia legislatures approved new death penalty laws in March. In both states, legislative debate showed the racism and contempt for human dignity motivating the mostly white legislators.

In Virginia the new death penalty law was enacted just before the legislature adjourned March 5. The legislation, which had been requested by Gov. Mills Godwin, passed with only two dissenting votes in the state senate—one of which was cast by the only Black member.

In the house of delegates, laughter greeted the remarks of Delegate Ray

Garland, who told his colleagues that he found the execution of Gary Gilmore "exalting." He added: "What's so bad about death really? We all face it."

Equally callous was Delegate Eva Scott, who noted that some innocent people might be executed, but said she wasn't worried because, "I don't believe it's going to happen very often."

In Maryland, late in the second day of a one-man filibuster by State Sen. Clarence Mitchell, the state senate finally voted to shut off debate March 1. The legislators proceeded to approve reinstitution of the death penalty.

"There are those who suggest that the death penalty is not an issue along

racial lines," Mitchell said during his filibuster. He went on to cite figures showing that racism was precisely the issue. Of the seventy-nine persons executed by the state of Maryland between 1923 and 1961, sixty-two, or 79 percent of the total, were Black. Blacks comprise only 18 percent of the state's population.

Further proof of the racism behind the death penalty was given by the bill's sponsor, Baltimore County Democrat John Coolahan. A smiling Coolahan said of Mitchell, "Let him talk . . . He can go home and tell his Black brethren in his district he's saved them from the cyanide pill."

## Attacks threaten affirmative action

Recent court decisions in affirmative-action cases are cause for alarm. They threaten to reverse with frightening speed the hard-won progress made by oppressed minorities in their long fight for equality in the workplace and higher education.

- On February 22 the U.S. Supreme Court agreed to hear a University of California appeal of the Bakke decision. That ruling, handed down by the California State Supreme Court, overturned a quota system that promoted recruitment of Chicano, Black, and other minority students to the UC Davis medical school.

- A month later, March 21, a federal appeals court reversed a lower court decision ordering two New York locals of the International Union of Operating Engineers to increase their Black and Puerto Rican membership.

- And on March 30 the New York State Supreme Court invalidated a New York City requirement that construction contractors on municipal projects institute affirmative-action programs to insure hiring of minority workers.

Federal Judge Ellsworth Van Graafeiland warned against “overzealous” enforcement of Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which guarantees equal employment opportunity. The courts, he said, “should not proceed to issue a broad sweeping remedial order” without taking into account its effect on the defendants.

New York State Supreme Court Justice Abraham Gellinoff decried the New York City affirmative-action plan as an abridgement of the “standard of individual merit” established by law.

All the legal arguments and pious declarations of moral commitment to equality for oppressed minorities serve only to cover a blow to the heart of affirmative-action programs—that is, quotas.

The problem does not lie with “overzealous” enforcement of Title VII, abridgement of “individual merit,” or the issuance of a “sweeping remedial order.”

The problem lies in the centuries-old practice of excluding oppressed minorities and women from equal employment and education opportunities—despite their individual merit.

This exclusion, zealously enforced by custom and by law, has left women and minorities lacking in skills and education and therefore at the bottom of the economic heap, exposed to every fluctuation in the economy.

The responsibility of government—federal, state, and local—does not end with legal abolition of overt discrimination but continues through to the abolition of inequality in reality.

This can only be accomplished through real affirmative action—which means quotas, imposed by the government and backed by its power of enforcement.

But such broad and sweeping remedies would impinge on the rights and privileges of big business and the union bureaucracy. That explains the recent statement issued by Carter’s Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Joseph Califano retracting his advocacy of racial and sexual quotas to redress past discrimination.

Califano’s hasty retreat symbolizes the government’s offensive against affirmative action, which supporters of the rights of women and oppressed minorities must counter.

## Miranda and Moon

By a narrow one-vote majority, the U.S. Supreme Court recently upheld its 1966 Miranda decision. Miranda was a milestone in the protection of the rights of the accused. It requires police to inform arrestees of their right to a lawyer and to remain silent. The ruling has been a thorn in the side of cops and prosecutors, who yearn for the “good old days” of the rubber hose, torture, and forced “confessions.”

The very same week, however, a California state court handed down a decision that marks a serious threat to civil liberties. The court allowed parents to “rescue” their children from Rev. Sun Myung Moon, the South Korean evangelist and extreme right-winger.

The “children” range in age from twenty-one to twenty-six.

Repulsive as we find Moon and all he stands for, we oppose this dangerous decision. If parents can exercise such power, why draw the line at Reverend Moon? What about other religious groups parents may not like? What about political groups?

Let the government curtail anyone’s rights, and it can use that precedent to limit everyone’s rights.

## Letters

### Radical historians meet

The Mid-Atlantic Radical Historians Organization’s fifth annual conference will be held at Columbia University’s School of International Affairs, 420 West 118th Street, New York City, on April 16 and 17.

The theme of the conference is “History and Culture: Legitimation and Resistance in Class Societies.” For further information, contact MARHO, Box 946, New York, New York 10025. *Liborio Campisi*

*New York, New York*

### Saccharin comment

In response to your “As I See It” column on the saccharin ban (*Militant*, April 1): I don’t see it that way.

Banning saccharin means a big increase in sugar intake for millions of people who will be much the worse off for it. We can definitely expect a huge jump in obesity-related deaths and diseases to result.

As I understand it, saccharin has been in use for seventy years and not a single death has ever been attributed to it. I conclude that my survival odds are far better with saccharin than with sugar.

Your arguments against saccharin are unconvincing:

- You cite the banning of cyclamates as a precedent. So what? I oppose that ban, too.

- You say that big business interests, particularly the food chemical industry, are maneuvering to defeat the ban. The implication is that we should automatically be on the other side of the issue. But this is one-sided, to say the least. It leaves out of account the far more powerful sugar lobby—which led the drive against cyclamates and now seems to have total victory over artificial sweeteners.

- You present the “mammoth dose” research technique as if it is universally accepted among scientists as valid. It is not.

Anyway, my own position on all of this is that I should have “the right to choose.” As I said, I’ll take my chances with saccharin any day. And if the cyclamate ban is rolled back, I’ll say, “Right on!”

*C.D.C.*

*New York, New York*

### More saccharin comment

I was deeply disappointed in Arnold Weissberg’s column (*Militant*, April 1) supporting the proposed ban on the use of saccharin. It is this proposed ban, and not the manufacture of saccharin, that stands as a major example of big business’s complete disregard for human health and safety.

Weissberg fails to note the role of the sugar industry in suppressing the most widely used sugar substitute. It seems somehow curious that saccharin (like cyclamates before it) is to be taken off the market on the basis of dubious and inconclusive research, while refined sugar (which will replace this substance in most saccharin-users’ diets) is proven detrimental to human health.

Sugar—which is consumed at an average rate of 175 pounds per person each year—is responsible for heart problems, obesity, fatigue, and blood-sugar disorders such as diabetes, which affect millions of people in this country. Sugar is virtually unique in that it is *antinutritive*.

This is not to suggest that saccharin is proven safe. Virtually nothing people in this society ingest is “safe”!

But sugar is big business—much bigger than saccharin. And so refined sugar wins out.

In my opinion, forcing people to substitute a proven poison for a potentially hazardous substance, all for the sake of profit, is hardly a move to be applauded.

*David Keepnews*

*San Francisco, California*

### Socialists and reformists

I wish to comment on the articles on the so-called independent politics of the American Communist party and the somewhat related story on the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee convention (*Militant*, March 25).

The interest in and reception to socialist ideas has certainly improved over the years. Nevertheless, the likes of individuals such as the bourgeois professor Michael Harrington and Gus Hall with his group of “reformists” can claim the responsibility of cultivating a “bad name” for socialism in the eyes and minds of less-informed citizens and disillusioned seekers of alternatives.

The act of calling oneself socialist (as Harrington stubbornly maintains) or communist while at the same time devoting time and energy to “reforms” by way of collaborating with the capitalist parties is not only blatantly misguided but farcical!

*Craig McKissic*

*Silver Spring, Maryland*

### Unsafe ships

Recently the Canadian folk singer Gordon Lightfoot wrote and recorded a song called “Wreck of the *Edmund Fitzgerald*.” The song is about the sinking of a freighter in a November 1975 storm on Lake Superior. The ship was carrying twenty-nine crew members and 26,000 tons of iron ore when it sank.

Upon hearing the song, curiosity prompted me to look into what had happened to the ship. Looking through the *New York Times* for the end of 1975 I found only sparse references to the coast guard investigation. The final *Times*’s item carried a statement by the ship’s former second mate that the captain had once told him, “This [ship] scares me sometimes.”

It’s no secret that the recent rash of oil-tanker disasters was due to capitalism’s eternal hunger for profits, despite the threat of ecological damage. But was that hunger responsible for an even greater tragedy, the loss of twenty-nine human lives?

A real investigation of this and other maritime disasters—conducted by the mariners and their organizations—would undoubtedly shed some much-needed light on one of the foulest aspects of capitalism.

*Carl E. Rennhack*

*Philadelphia, Pennsylvania*

### Hampton and Clark

I appreciate and want to congratulate you on your continuing coverage of the Fred Hampton and Mark Clark case in Chicago. The racist media are trying to push it out of the eyes of the people, but the whole Black, Chicano, and Native American communities will never forget the murder of Fred Hampton or the principles he stood for. We will also never forget the courage of Fred



# Women in Revolt

Hampton's brother Bill Hampton and the family's lawyers.  
Brian Aldridge  
Richmond, Virginia

## 'Humane' death penalty?

Virginia State Sen. Herbert Bateman has come up with a more humane fashion of execution. Instead of electrocution, the present form of execution, Senator Bateman would like to have people executed by injecting pentobarbital sodium and tubocurarine into them. Senator Bateman considers this to be more humane than the conventional "frying" the person to death.

Senator Bateman and other "responsible" political leaders are giving some very concrete reasons for all Black, Puerto Rican, and Third World people to unite and strengthen their ranks in the fight against American imperialism and genocide.

If this is not done now, twenty years from now the Senator Batemans of this country will have all of us interned in concentration camps because of our ideas and beliefs. The right time to start is right now.

A prisoner  
New York

## Likes gay rights coverage

I'd like to thank the *Militant* for its article on the Miami fight for gay rights (*Militant*, April 1). I hope this is an indication of a continuing commitment by the *Militant* to the gay movement.

Gary McCormick  
Skokie, Illinois

## 'Murderous' doctrine

The *Women in Revolt* column (*Militant*, February 18) that referred to the Catholic church proposing sainthood for a woman who chose to die in childbirth rather than have an abortion encourages me to write about an aspect of Catholic dogma that has not yet been used by the movement to defend abortion rights.

When complications arise during childbirth, church doctrine says that the mother should die for the sake of the birth. This dogma has to do with the idea that the mother had the opportunity to partake in the sacraments, whereas the unborn child—which the church says is a human being from the time of conception—did not. Death before baptism automatically bars the child from entering Heaven.

In proposing sainthood in this case, the Catholic church is saying this is what women should do, what the priest should urge, what doctors should do, and what the husband or other close relatives should agree to.

The exposure of this hypocritical and murderous doctrine and its effects could be a valuable weapon for the women's movement.

Brian Shannon  
New York, New York

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

# Liberating Black women

"When we were brought here from Africa, we were enslaved because we are Black. How can you say women's liberation has meaning for Black women?" A young Black man asked me this after I gave a talk in New York recently on the women's movement.

His doubts about the participation of Black women in the women's liberation movement parallel the negative conclusions drawn by some of the Black media.

The *Bay State Banner*, a Boston Black weekly, recently ran a series of editorials rejecting the Equal Rights Amendment, abortion rights for teen-age women, and the women's movement itself.

The national television show "Black Journal" featured Ntozake Shange on February 27. Shange is the Black poet who authored the play *For Colored Girls Who Have Considered Suicide When the Rainbow is Enuf*. Moderator Tony Brown took Shange to task for her support to Black feminism.

This discussion is not new, and it's becoming more pronounced as Black women increase our involvement in the women's movement. As Shange admirably explained, the reality of Black women's everyday conditions is forcing us to speak honestly about our oppression as women.

Black women's bottom-of-the-barrel economic existence can give us the determination to struggle against our oppression.

Black women are in the labor force because most Black families depend on our wages, either as one of two working parents or as the sole supporter of the family. The majority of Black women are locked into low-paying menial jobs as clericals or service employees.

Black women have no control over whether we will be victimized as workers, as Blacks, or as women. Most of the time we are victimized all three ways by

the same economic system.

Today Congress, the courts, and the "new south" Democratic party administration are attacking working people on every front, singling out Blacks and women first.

Black women must be prepared to fight back against our oppression on every front. We're the ones who died by the thousands from illegal abortions. We're the ones who need child-care centers we can afford. We're the ones who will benefit from equal pay and job opportunities.

These are the issues the women's movement raises, and that dictates a place in the movement for Black women. This does not exclude Black women organizing separately.

Black women are not all in agreement on how we view ourselves and what issues are more important. We need to discuss out our priorities, too. Then we can respond as a united whole.

The actions called this year by women's groups on the fourth anniversary of legal abortion, January 22, and International Women's Day, March 8, show that many Black women are interested in *acting* to bring about change.

We can defeat the Hyde amendment that threatens Medicaid-funded abortions; we can win the Equal Rights Amendment; we can reopen child-care centers; we can stop forced sterilization if we join with massive numbers of women to protest our conditions.

Sojourner Truth fought slavery and she was prominent in the women's rights movement in the 1850s. Black women today must become prominent in the women's liberation movement—as planners, organizers, and leading spokespeople.

The women's movement fights this oppressive system and Black women *belong* in the women's liberation movement!



Willie Mae Reid

# iLa Raza en Acción!

## Colo. Chicana conference

DENVER—Organizers of a Chicana conference in Boulder, Colorado, are having a hard time. The student government at the University of Colorado campus won't give the Chicana students funds to hold the gathering.

While admitting that the written request for funds was one of the best proposals they had seen, the cultural events board refused to fund it. Lack of funds was claimed. There were even hints that it was racist to have a conference aimed at involving Chicanas.

One of the organizers of the conference, Irene Blea Gutiérrez, pointed out that the board has funded projects this semester that were poorly attended and lost money to boot.

The Chicanas solicited and received letters from community and campus leaders appealing to the board to fund the conference. There is still a chance some funding may come through.

Regardless of how that turns out, Gutiérrez said, they plan to go ahead with the conference. It was scheduled for April 22 and 23. These dates were chosen because the organizers see the gathering as an opportunity for Chicanas to get together to discuss their participation in the Colorado Women's Conference to be held June 2-4.

Workshops and presentations are planned on how Chicanas are affected by health care and other social services, education, family life, and politics.

Other workshops are expected to take up how Chicanas should relate to the general women's liberation movement, and how the problems of Chicanas differ from those of Anglo women.

Ana Vigil, a former member of the Colorado Civil Rights Commission, will speak on the problems of

aging Chicanas. Pro and con views will be heard on whether religion is oppressive to Chicanas.

Lola Gutiérrez, a Chicana poet, will give a reading, and there will be a talent show, an arts and crafts exhibit, a feminist *teatro*, a slide presentation, and music by Chicanas.

Alongside an announcement of the upcoming conference in the campus Chicano paper was an article entitled, "Men earn twice as much as women." It was a reminder of precisely why a conference where Chicanas can get together to discuss their problems and what to do about them is so necessary.

The article reported that the gap between the earnings of women and men has nearly doubled since 1955. A government report indicates that women are concentrated in low-skilled, low-paying occupations. This is especially true for Chicanas and *mexicanas*.

There are other issues facing Chicanas that need immediate attention: the government attempts to take away pregnancy benefits and Medicaid benefits for abortions; forced sterilization of a large number of Chicanas; and the need to pass the Equal Rights Amendment, to name just a few.

The argument that Chicanas' problems are of no interest to others can only contribute to the perpetuation of sexist and racist discrimination. The oppression of Chicanas is a social problem to which the university has a responsibility to address itself.

The organizers of the Boulder conference ask for the support of all who agree that this conference deserves university funding.

For further information contact: Irene Blea Gutiérrez, 1300 Thirtieth Street, A1 #13, Boulder, Colorado 80303, (303) 442-7669; or Virginia Maestas, (303) 499-0359.



Miguel Pendás

# National Organization for Women

## Calif. NOW debates strategy to win ERA and defend rights

By Valerie Libby

SAN FRANCISCO—"We are moving from a pressure group outside to a power group within the system," Grace Levin told the state board of the National Organization for Women, which met here March 26-27.

Levin is a member of the board. Her remarks reflect one side of a debate going on inside NOW.

The other side of the debate is represented by women who propose an independent women's movement that rejects reliance on Democratic and Republican politicians.

They say the movement should reach out to Blacks, Chicanas, Puerto Ricans, and other working women, and mobilize the power of all women to win their rights.

The national conference of NOW in Detroit April 21-24 offers the membership an opportunity to discuss these two strategies fully. Such a discussion began during the board meeting here.

### Nevada ERA

The recent defeat of the Equal Rights Amendment in Nevada had a special impact on California NOW. Leading up to the 1976 elections, California NOW spent much of its time, energies, and money trying to elect "pro-ERA" state senators in

Nevada. Following the elections, NOW concentrated on lobbying.

The senate passed the ERA by one vote, but the assembly crushed it. Eleven Democrats who had accepted campaign contributions from groups supporting the ERA voted against the amendment.

In defending their strategy to the board meeting, NOW leaders called it "innovative, far-reaching, and the way forward."

They placed blame for the Nevada defeat on a pro-ERA group, Nevadans for the ERA:

"What we have discovered is that we have inexperienced people trying to complete ratification of the ERA," announced national board member Toni Carabillo.

Sandi Sherman of San Jose NOW argued that the problem was not "inexperience" but rather relying on politicians' promises.

She pointed to the example of Lloyd Mann, who was elected to the assembly on a pro-ERA platform. He later voted *against* ratification, saying it was the will of his district.

"NOW kept quiet and relied on him," Sherman said. "We should have gone to his district and organized a pro-ERA march straight to his office. Then he'd know the will of his district."



Militant/Ginny Hildebrand

Debate emerged at California meeting over significance of May 16, 1976, national ERA march of more than 8,000.

Under a point on the NOW national conference, a resolution passed for a National ERA Mobilization Strike Force to coordinate all future ERA efforts. This proposal boils down to repeating the Nevada plan in other states, avoiding the "inexperience" factor by limiting the role of local activists.

The NOW national president would head the strike force and appoint all its members. The force would then be "charged with planning overall strategy."

The strike force is described as a "small group of the best experts" who would concentrate on lobbying. No mention of any kind of visible, public activity is in the resolution.

The board moved to further codify the Nevada strategy when it approved forming the Political Action Committee (PAC) of California NOW.

According to the proposal, PAC's purpose will be to collect contributions and distribute them to political candidates. Implicit in the proposal is the assumption that these will be Democrats and Republicans.

Despite the Nevada debacle the resolution asserts that NOW must "add direct monetary support to political candidates to complement our organization's political endorsements which have had so great an impact, and to help defeat obstructionist legislators."

During discussion of the resolution, its backers tried to present it as "one facet" of an ERA strategy that could include other tactics, such as rallies and pickets.

The central thrust of the strategy, however, was made clear by Carabillo. "Our efforts on the ERA depend on what happens in the 1978 elections," she explained. "After that we have three months to get three states to ratify."

When some women tried to talk about another strategy—one that would not wait for the 1978 elections but would be *now* to mobilize pro-ERA forces—they were ruled out of order.

### Different perspective

Under the national conference point, Jude Coren from East Bay NOW introduced for discussion a resolution initiated by Clare Fraenzl and Rhonda Rutherford from Philadelphia NOW. It is supported by scores of members across the country. It states that:

- The government and other antiwoman forces are trying to divide the women's movement by chipping away at the rights of the poorest women first. Abortion rights for Medicaid recipients, child care, maternity benefits, and other rights are under fire.

- NOW must make its main priority a response to these assaults. It is Black, Chicana, Puerto Rican, and other working women who have suffered most, but the rights of *all* women

are threatened.

- NOW should launch a campaign to counter the attacks with demonstrations, rallies, picket lines, speak-outs, and other public events.

Women opposing adoption of this resolution argued that NOW had already tried it. Carabillo said it is a "repetition of ten years of work by NOW." The May 16, 1976, national ERA demonstration proved that the strategy of mass mobilization doesn't work, she claimed, because Illinois didn't ratify the ERA.

Carole Seligman of San Francisco NOW countered that this resolution represented the long-needed call for involving minority women, who are bearing the brunt of the recent attacks.

"To have expected the ERA to win in Illinois after one mobilization is a mistake," responded Coren in her summary. "That demonstration must be the first of many."

"We must build a movement like the suffragists did, involving all who support the ERA. We have to stay out in the streets and be visible by the thousands. That's where our power lies."

Four board members voted for Coren's resolution and two abstained. But the majority voted against it.

### Red-baiting

Carabillo introduced a dangerous element into the discussion. In her national report, she said, "I've been getting calls from chapters around the state about the presence of the Socialist Workers party in their meetings."

"There has been concern about certain resolutions being offered for endorsements in the chapters."

Carabillo tried to mask her red-baiting remarks by adding that all women are welcome in NOW, including SWP members. But the whole point was to suggest that some are less welcome and less legitimate than others.

She ended her report by "cautioning" women to consider the resolutions by their "merits alone." Her initial statement on the SWP and "certain resolutions," however, could serve only to cloud the discussion and create suspicion.

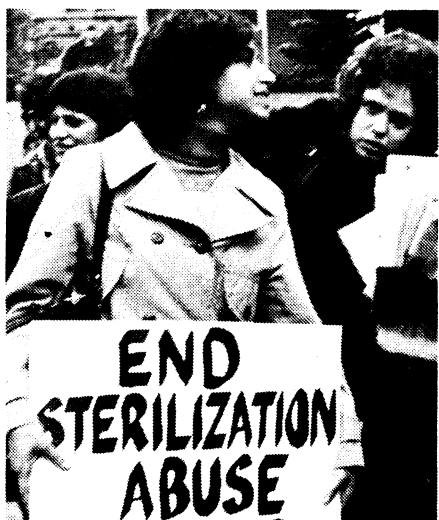
Many of the women took the remarks for what they were—red-baiting.

Red-baiting has always had a poisonous effect—in the labor, Black, and women's movements. The aim of branding certain views as "socialist" is to discourage open-minded consideration of the real issues.

The government's attacks on women pose a serious challenge for delegates at the upcoming NOW conference. A free, democratic discussion is vital if NOW is to come to grips with these attacks and plan a strategy to combat them. Red-baiting can only distort the issues and divide women at a time when we must move forward as a united movement.

## Board opposes sterilization rules

SAN FRANCISCO—At its meeting here March 26-27, the California board of the National Organization for Women reaffirmed its opposition to new state guidelines intended to protect women from sterilization abuse.



Militant/Caryl Loeb

ments must be in the patient's language. And someone must witness the patient's consent.

The NOW board says these guidelines violate a woman's right to choose! They argue that the fourteen-day waiting period is a violation of a woman's right to immediate sterilization once she has made that decision. Requiring a witness, they say, implies that women are children who can't make these decisions themselves.

But these conclusions ignore the facts on sterilization abuse.

Most victims are coerced into signing consent papers while in labor, under sedation, or immediately after giving birth. Since the current period between signing consent papers and the sterilization procedure is only three days, it has been easy to cover up sterilization abuse at the time of childbirth.

Instructions and the consent forms are frequently in English only.

The witness requirement is intended to ensure that the woman is not in labor or under sedation at the time of consent.

The board's view on these regulations reflect its composition—predominantly white women with relative economic privileges. They failed to see the seriousness of forced sterilization for Black, Chicana, Puerto Rican, Native American, and other poor working-class women.

—V.L.

Many other women's groups back the regulations—including the Third World Women's Alliance, Committee for the Medical Rights of Women, Committee to End Sterilization Abuse, and San Francisco Commission on the Status of Women.

The new regulations require a fourteen-day waiting period between signing consent papers and the sterilization. Instructions and docu-

# prepares for its second decade

## Boston panelists discuss racism and sexism

By Willie Mae Reid

BOSTON—Cambridge Vice-mayor Sandra Graham told a meeting here March 23 that the National Organization for Women "should get credit for still being alive and sustaining the movement that fought for women's rights and a new consciousness."

Graham spoke with two other Black women on a panel sponsored by the Boston NOW chapter. Fifty people attended the forum on women and racism, which was followed by a lively discussion.

Carmen Rivero, a Puerto Rican woman from the bilingual/bicultural department of Boston public schools, briefly described conditions in Puerto Rico.

"The combined Spanish, African, and Indian cultural traditions still bind Puerto Rican women to the home, even though more Puerto Rican women than men are now in the labor force," Rivero said.

"A women's commission with money and power has recently been established on the island to fight sexual discrimination. Women can now be joint administrators of property and teen-age women can sign legal documents without parental consent."

Abortion and sterilization remain under government control, Rivero went on. "Many large billboards, paid for by the government, advertise free sterilizations. Women between nineteen and forty years old in Puerto Rico are sterilized at the rate of 1,000 a month."

"The sterilization campaign is a result of pressure from the United States to hold down the island population as a way of dealing with the Puerto Rican problem."

"I feel oppression in the United States in the same way I'm listed in the school directory—as a Black, a woman, and a Spanish-speaking person," Rivero said.

Hattie McCutcheon, speaking as a representative of the March 26 Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa, explained that "Black women's rights were never dealt with in the civil rights struggle."

"The question still needs to be addressed," she said. "As the attacks come down on women, it becomes crucial to organize a strong women's liberation movement."

"NOW, the main women's organiza-

tion active around women's rights today, has a special role to play in orienting to the needs of Black women to build a viable and massive women's movement."

"Looking at the effect the Hyde amendment would have by cutting off Medicaid abortions and at the other attacks that single out low-income sisters who are mostly Black makes me give serious thought to becoming a NOW member. I want to be in a position to fight back," McCutcheon said.

Graham, a Democrat who has been on the Cambridge City Council for six years and was just elected to the Massachusetts State Assembly, said she, too, was questioning whether to join NOW.

"I feel a conflict in viewing NOW," Graham said. "Just like the Democratic party has said to Blacks, NOW, also, has said to Black women, go deal with the racism thing outside the organization, then come back and report."

"In the few months I've been in the state legislature, I've seen money for

child care, housing, education, employment, and wages whittled away," Graham pointed out.

"It's the poor and women who are being targeted in this state. A legislative committee just introduced a 'pro-life' bill in the state house. The sponsors feel certain it will pass."

"We're all going backward and Black women on the bottom are going even further back. I think the time has come for me to get involved again," Graham said. "I need to do something about NOW from inside the organization."

"Women need to get back out in the streets again like we did in the 1960s," Graham said.

Reba Williams, a Black NOW member, chaired the panel. She ended the formal discussion by inviting everyone to the April 21-24 NOW national conference in Detroit.

"This is an important conference for NOW because we will be having a national discussion like this on NOW's perspective in its second decade," Williams said.



## 400 rally for ERA in Miami

MIAMI—Nearly 400 people rallied here April 3 to demand ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. The Miami National Organization for Women called the rally and Florida NOW organized car caravans throughout the state to coincide with the opening of the legislative session.

After the string of ERA defeats in other states, activists here felt that they needed to show visible support to win passage in Florida and move ratification along nationally. The

ERA is three states short of approval.

Rally speakers included NOW National President Karen DeCrow; Kathleen Nolan, president of the Screen Actors Guild; and representatives of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1363, Common Cause, and Dade County Commission on the Status of Women.

Three local TV stations and the *Miami Herald* covered the rally.

## New York celebration: a lost opportunity

By Nancy Cole

NEW YORK—On March 25 women packed the Biltmore Bar, alias the Biltmore Men's Bar, for an anniversary celebration. The ten-year-old New York chapter of the National Organization for Women had returned to the men's-only saloon that Betty Friedan and others forced to admit women during NOW's second year.

Later, more than 600 people—mostly women—crowded into a hotel banquet hall and listened to speakers laud the first decade of the country's largest feminist group.

The Biltmore baked a huge birthday cake. The *New York Times* ran a half-page-plus piece on New York NOW's history. Local TV crews covered the affair.

No small accomplishment for a movement openly laughed at ten years ago.

Since then the New York chapter has grown to 1,000 members. Nationally NOW numbers some 50,000.

They were all here—Betty Friedan, Gloria Steinem, Bella Abzug—those who lead the feminist movement in the eyes of most American women.

There is cause for celebration. NOW was the product of an awakening of American women to their second-class status along with a determination to do something about it. Victories have ranged from outlawing discriminatory "help wanted" ads to legalizing abortion.

Unfortunately, it hasn't been all ups. As NOW was completing its tenth year, the government and its right-wing allies were well into their assault on rights the women's movement struggled years to win.

The right to choose abortion—a demand that NOW helped popularize and thousands of women marched in the streets for—is threatened.

Affirmative action for women in jobs with government contractors—partly a result of NOW's campaign to include women in the executive order banning discrimination—is under attack.

Maternity benefits, child care, equal job opportunities—all sought by the women's movement—are targeted in this war against women.

An effort as big as or bigger than those that won the last decade's victories is needed to defend these rights.

There was an opportunity to sound the alarm at the New York anniversary event. It was lost. Observers could only surmise that the fight for equality is moving smoothly ahead, except for a snag here or there.

Friedan did propose that we have "to get together to get the ERA ratified."

Steinem asserted that to get women out of low-paying job stereotyping, an "organizing drive equal to that of the thirties is necessary."

NOW national President Karen DeCrow had just come from meeting with U.S. Attorney General Griffin Bell. She had nothing but praise for Bell, who she says now supports the Equal Rights Amendment and doesn't think states can legally rescind their ERA approvals.

Democrat Abzug, greeted with the most enthusiasm, had the least to say. Supporters of her unannounced campaign for New York City mayor circulated through the room handing out "Bella Abzug for Mayor" buttons. She plugged for more women elected officials.

Eleanor Smeal, head of NOW's national board and a candidate for the group's presidency this year, spoke last. It was about 11:30 p.m.

Smeal dispensed with the laurels, and focused

on the ERA. "Without question, the ERA is going to be ratified," she said. "But we will have to fight as we never fought before."

The Florida legislature is soon to consider the ERA, and Smeal urged people to "reorganize your lives" and go to Florida to show support. "Join in the effort in any way you can," she said.

Smeal concluded by noting that NOW is entering its second decade "totally united" in its goals. During the next ten years, she projected, there would be campaigns for better job opportunities, not just equal pay. And there would be feminist child development programs, not just child-care centers.

"But right now, we have one little problem to solve from the first decade—ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment."

Without question, the reactionary move to junk the ERA is a problem that requires an emergency mobilization by the women's movement. But there are other crucial problems the first decade failed to resolve.

There were several women at my table who were relatively new to the organization. They were excited about being part of NOW and the women's movement, but disappointed in many of the speeches.

At a time when there are so many things going wrong, one said after DeCrow spoke, you would expect more proposals for action.

Banquet participants, who paid twenty dollars each to attend, included a handful of Black women, perhaps a few more Latinas.

It is the women who weren't here to celebrate—Black, Puerto Rican, and other poor working women—who have been the first victims of the government's fire. But a system in deep economic crisis will not stop with them. It has all women in its sights.



# Chicana feminist tells why she's in NOW

Pat Flores, twenty-eight, is a member of the executive council of the San Antonio chapter of the National Organization for Women. She was recently elected an alternate delegate to the NOW national conference to be held in Detroit April 21-24.

Flores is a supporter and one of more than eighty signers of a resolution submitted for discussion at the conference by two Philadelphia NOW members, Clare Fraenzl and Rhonda Rutherford. The resolution proposes that NOW make its top priority defending the rights of Chicana, Black, and other working women.

Flores was interviewed in San Antonio by Jo Della-Giustina.

*Question. What made you become a feminist?*

*Answer.* It was a slow process. I was always interested in civil rights movements. I went to the University of Texas in Austin and was a participant in the anti-Vietnam War movement there. I was also in the Mexican-American Youth Organization (MAYO).

The Chicano movement was then at one of its heights. [United Farm Workers President César] Chávez was marching in Texas, and [Raza Unida party leader José Angel] Gutiérrez was becoming well known. So I saw a lot of protests going on.

When I entered the job market was probably when I really noticed not only the anti-Chicano feelings and attitudes, but also antiwoman. When you get out and start working and looking for jobs, you realize how low on the totem pole you are.

*Q. How did you become involved in the women's movement?*

A. South Texas is so obviously discriminatory against women that you can't help but be slapped in the face with it all the time. So I decided that women had to bond together. They had to learn about each other and about the problems they have in common and then do something about them.

So naturally I came to the National Organization for Women because I felt it was the organization with the best combination of activism and philosophy. I joined NOW in 1974, but I had been a NOW supporter since about 1972.

I had an abortion in 1972, and it was a turning point in my life. I had just moved to San Antonio. I didn't know anyone. I realized that I was probably not the first woman in the world who had had an unwanted pregnancy, that there must be zillions of us out there. That was when I realized that women really had to get together.

I went to California where abortion was legal, and had it done in a hospital. It cost me \$500. I was very, very lucky that I didn't have to go to a back-alley abortionist.

*Q. What are the issues that you see as most important to Chicanas?*

A. Poverty, education, jobs, abortion rights. They are all tied in together. If you can get off welfare and get a job, you'll be okay. One way to do this is to have control over your own body. The priorities are abortion rights and employment.

*Q. How do you think NOW can involve more Chicanas, Blacks, and other working women?*

A. Members in each NOW chapter have to become more aware of the problems of that

community. This means, for example, inviting people who are actively involved in some of the poverty organizations. I think NOW should make a better effort to tackle the problem of poverty.

I've always felt that NOW does not appeal to women who are struggling for their everyday existence. NOW needs to become more conscious of the problems of minority women.

At the same time we must fight for legal rights—for the Equal Rights Amendment and against the Hyde amendment [which would cut off Medicaid-funded abortions].

NOW needs to involve more Chicanas and Blacks. One of the ways it can do this is by involving minority women on the campuses.

*Q. How would you describe NOW?*

A. It is the most militant women's organization nationally. All the other groups tend to be very upper middle class and white. They don't demonstrate.

I hope NOW continues to be the organization of the movers and the shakers.

National NOW has been bogged down with a lot of infighting lately. Hopefully that's all over now, and we can get on with tackling these issues that are so important.

*Q. What are your thoughts on the resolution you signed that will be submitted to the NOW national conference?*

A. It's a terrific resolution. I think it has a good chance of being passed. The real battle when it comes to resolutions is not to get them passed, but to get them implemented.

Just recently we had two defeats for the Equal Rights Amendment. This is definitely an indication that we can't depend on elected officials. I'm not sure what the solution is, because it is the state legislatures that vote on the ratification. I suppose the only thing left to do is to demonstrate for it.

*Q. What are your priorities personally within NOW?*

A. My energies are with the ERA, abortion rights, and the organization itself.

The ERA because I think it's do or die. If we don't ratify that amendment, we will suffer a tremendous loss. To see that it's enforced once it's ratified is a whole different battle.

And then, of course, abortion rights because it affects every woman and every family. I've had an unwanted pregnancy and I know the terror—the absolute fear that a woman goes through when she has to face an unwanted pregnancy.

*Q. Here in Texas there's a bill in the state legislature to rescind the ERA. What do you think must be done to ensure that the ERA is not rescinded here, and how can we win it nationally?*

A. We're going to have to have multiple strategies. It's going to take a lot of women. It's going to take money. It's going to take lobbying these people in the legislatures. And it's going to take demonstrations.

The opponents are really coming together. It's going to take everything we've got to keep the pro-ERA movement going. And to keep ourselves aware of the other issues.

We have to continue to fight around other issues because of the old strategy of divide and conquer. If all we do is ERA, then abortion rights will go.

## Protest Carter's anti-abortion drive

The newly formed Committee for Motherhood by Choice in Washington, D.C., has informed President Carter of its intention "to demonstrate our strong advocacy of abortion rights" by marching and rallying outside the White House on Mother's Day, May 8.

"We shall gather to affirm our constitutional right to choose abortion," said the group in a March 24 open letter to Carter.

"We . . . must come forward to protest your statement of March 16, 1977, in Clinton, MA, opposing abortion and urging Congressional action to eliminate federal funding for legal abortion," states the letter.

"Last year some 300,000 poor women were able to terminate unwanted pregnancies safely and legally through Medicaid-paid pregnancy care, which rightfully includes abortion services."

Signers of the letter include Marian Finne-  
ran, Abortion Rights of Washington, an  
affiliate of National Abortion Rights Action  
League; Virginia Andary, Catholics for a Free  
Choice; Elizabeth Joyce, Georgetown Univer-  
sity Women for Abortion Rights; Louise  
Caplan, Montgomery County National Organi-  
zation for Women; Diane Prokipchak, North-  
ern Prince Georges County NOW; Ann Wilcox,  
Socialist Workers party; and Naima Robin-  
son, Women Concerned for Choice, Howard  
University.

## Socialists speak on winning strategy for feminist movement

By Gale Shangold

"Many want to hear and discuss the ideas of the Socialist Workers party on where the feminist movement stands today," Cindy Jaquith, Socialist Workers party women's liberation director, told the *Militant*.

"They want to know our opinion on how women should respond to the growing attacks on their rights and they want to know the socialist position on how women's liberation will once and for all be achieved."

That is why fifteen women leaders of the Socialist Workers party are now available to speak on "A Winning Strategy for the Women's Liberation Movement."

Among them is Katherine Sojourner.

Sojourner, chairperson of the Salt Lake City SWP, spoke on a panel with representatives from the National Organization for Women and Welfare Rights Organization.

The panel discussion, sponsored by the Salt Lake City Militant Forum, focused on abortion rights because of the recent attempt there to ban funds for abortions.

All day before the forum a radio station alternately played statements from Right to Life (an anti-abortion organization) and Sojourner.

Several women attended the forum after they learned about it from the extensive media publicity.

Sojourner also spoke to a full house in Denver. In the audience were members of the SWP and NOW, as well as several high school students. Many stayed afterwards for more discussion at a wine and cheese party.

"We got the right to vote and the right to abortion because we educated and organized the largest number of women possible and because we demonstrated in the streets," said Rhonda Rutherford to a crowd of forty people in Baltimore.

Rutherford is a Black feminist, a member of the Socialist Workers party in Philadelphia, and a member of NOW.

In the audience were members of the SWP, NOW, and Ultimate Woman, a lesbian feminist organiza-  
tion.

Rutherford also spoke to sixty people in Wash-  
ington, D.C., at a conference called "Issues Facing the Women's Movement."

After hearing Miesa Patterson speak at Florida State University in Tallahassee, five Black women decided to organize a Black women's conference later in the spring.

Patterson is a member of the Young Socialist Alliance National Committee. She has been active in Georgians for the ERA (GERA) and helped organize GERA's Black Women's Task Force.

To arrange for a speaker to appear before your group, call the SWP office nearest you (see page 31).



"When you get out and start looking for jobs, you realize how low in the totem pole you are." Above: Chicana farm workers.



Militant/Bruce Marcus

# Los Angeles busing fight 14 years of official racism

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—Under court order to desegregate, the Los Angeles school board has concocted a "plan" that is so patently phony that if the judge was serious, he would jail the board for contempt of court.

Last June, the California Supreme Court ruled that school officials here had failed to carry out their constitutional duty to desegregate the city's school system.

After months of maneuvering, a majority of the board on March 4 approved a scheme to be submitted to the court.

In a city as spread out as Los Angeles—and as segregated—it's a joke to talk about desegregation without mandatory busing. Yet it is busing that the school board is stubbornly determined to resist.

According to the board's own estimate, 325 of the district's 559 schools are segregated. Of these, 157 have better than 97 percent Black or Chicano enrollment.

Yet of all this, less than one-third of the segregated schools could be touched by the school board plan.

The board's plan is limited by a simple device—no bus trips of more than thirty minutes at the elementary level and thirty-five minutes at the secondary level.

Schools within such a busing radius would be told to develop a "voluntary"

plan for pupils in the fourth to sixth grades by February 1978. If there is not such a plan by then, the board sternly advises, it will institute a mandatory one.

The same program would be instituted for junior high school students a year later, and for senior high schools a year after that.

Kindergarten pupils would be exempted. Some pupils in the first through third grades would be tapped for a ten-day-a-year "integration" program.

High school students would be asked to spend one school year in an integrated situation.

Bobbie Fiedler, leader of the racist antibusing group Bustop, saw the plan as "a step in the right direction."

Henry Dotson, president of the Los Angeles chapter of the NAACP, assailed the plan as "further proof that there is no will or desire on the part of the school board to desegregate the school system."

Superior Judge Paul Egly, the man who is supposed to approve the plan, seemed to feel it was a good starting point. He refused to consider alternate plans that others wanted to submit.

In restricting himself to consideration of only the school board majority plan, Judge Egly indicated that if it wasn't adequate he would pass it back to the board to be reworked.

Which is exactly what the board wants.

It was on August 1, 1963, that the American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California launched a court suit to desegregate the schools.

The case finally went to trial in 1968, five years later.

The trial lasted more than six months. Then in February of 1970, Judge Alfred Gitelson handed down an order declaring every school in the district should be desegregated.

The school board appealed.

Five years later, in 1975, the state appeals court reversed the Gitelson ruling.

The ACLU appealed.

On June 29, 1976, the state supreme court reversed the appeals court. It ordered the school board to desegregate, but modified the original Gitelson ruling that each school be desegregated.

Left to its own devices, the school board will have the case in court another fourteen years.

Nor is it simply a matter of the board bowing reluctantly to the pressure of the racists.

In the original ACLU suit, the school board actually argued that the Los Angeles school system was "separate but equal."

It argued the city could not "afford" to desegregate the schools.

And, it argued, even if it could afford it, it was not persuaded it was worth doing.

Why?

Because, the board explained, it was "agnostic" on whether or not Blacks were inferior to whites in learning ability. And, they continued, if Blacks really are inferior then it's "unrealistic" to work for equality in achievement.

In March 1976 the board majority rammed through a motion pledging "no compulsory busing of students."

They rescinded that antidesegregation motion only after an angry outcry

from representatives of the Black community.

The situation was summed up in a June 29, 1976, article in the *Los Angeles Times*, a paper by no means critical of the board.

It wrote: "Over the years, the board's political complexion has changed but its position on achieving integration has remained constant. The board's efforts to achieve integration have been largely voluntary."

"Voluntary" desegregation, of course, is as effective as "separate" is "equal." If "voluntary" worked there wouldn't be any need for court orders and "plans." It would have happened already.

The Los Angeles school board majority is able to play its racist game only because of the collusion of the politicians and the courts.

The situation has reached the point where Thomas Bradley, the city's Black mayor, seeking reelection, openly speaks out against a meaningful busing program.

During the first days of his campaign, Mayor Bradley simply ducked the issue. Piously declaring he would enforce whatever plan was adopted, he took the posture of silent neutrality.

Then on February 24, he told a white audience: "Most parents, whatever their color . . . don't want their kids transported back and forth across the city."

He has repeated this position many times since then.

The actions of the Los Angeles school board and the city's top officials make it clear that the wall of segregation will not be broken down until the Black community and its allies organize to do the job.

A promising beginning was made when 1,600 probusing demonstrators took to the streets here February 12. More actions like that one are necessary.

## City council attacks busing

LOS ANGELES—Racist opponents of school desegregation won another victory when the city council voted eight to four against "forced busing."

The council has no jurisdiction relating to the school system, but its March 30 declaration helps fuel the racism being whipped up in this city by the antibusing forces.

The council majority included liberal Democrats as well as open right-wingers. Four of the eight have endorsed Mayor Thomas Bradley for reelection.

They were undoubtedly emboldened in their stand in that Bradley, a Black, declares himself an opponent of "massive crosstown busing."

Among Bradley's eleven opponents in the mayoral race, only one favors busing. That's Sam Manuel, the Socialist Workers party nominee.

Responding to the city council

resolution, Manuel commented: "It shows who the enemies of desegregation are. Voting for that racist resolution were Democrats and Republicans, liberals and reactionaries alike."

"It was a real bipartisan stand," he continued, "and it makes clear that we're not going to deal with the problem of racism until we clean both these parties out of city hall."

The four city council members opposed to the antibusing resolution included the two Black members.

One of them, Gilbert Lindsay, declared: "They are saying we can have equal but separate schools."

Dave Cunningham was enraged by the council action. Advised by one of the antibusing members to "relax," he retorted, "Relax. . . . It was the same thing about relaxing in 1865 when you owned me. Like chattel."

—H.R.

## Busing, bilingual education: 'We can have both'

By Mark Schneider

SAN DIEGO—The California Superior Court, in response to a nine-year-old suit, recently ruled that twenty-three of the city's schools are segregated.

Supporters of school desegregation, however, assailed the ruling as inadequate. The suit contended that thirty-three of the city's schools are segregated—ten more than the court. In addition, Judge Louis Welsh's ruling rejected mandatory busing and instead directed the San Diego school board to devise a voluntary desegregation plan.

Ambrose Brodus, chairperson of the Urban League's Education Committee, voiced prevailing sentiment among

desegregation advocates. "It will be a minor miracle," he said, "if the board can desegregate the schools by voluntary methods."

Opponents of school busing welcomed the judge's order. "The most significant thing about the order to the district," said Republican Mayor Pete Wilson, "are the arguments against forced busing."

Welsh's ruling cited "white flight" and "resegregation" of schools as major reasons for rejecting mandatory busing.

Welsh also contended that busing would harm bilingual education programs for the city's Chicano students.

"I think we can have both," said Larry Carlin, a junior high school

teacher and a plaintiff in the suit. "There are people who can look at this creatively and come up with an adequate solution."

As for "white flight," local NAACP President Dr. Charles Thomas said: "Whites have been running away from people of color for years, and busing will not change that."

School board officials have moved to ensure the most feeble voluntary plan possible. Superintendent of schools Tom Goodman recently appointed a forty-five-member desegregation planning board, which includes representatives of seven business associations and the navy. Conspicuously absent are representatives of the NAACP.

Student Coalition Against Racism

leader Mark Friedman condemned Welsh's rejection of mandatory busing.

"Mandatory busing is the key to achieving meaningful school desegregation," he said.

"The judge argued that busing and bilingual education are incompatible. But bilingual programs don't have to be hurt. It's how you devise the plan that counts."

"The real problem in San Diego is that there isn't enough of either."

"What's needed is united action led by groups like the NAACP, Urban League, and the Chicano Federation, to win meaningful school desegregation and adequate bilingual programs for this city's Black and Chicano students."

# J.P. Stevens: antiunion texti

By Frank Lovell

(first of a series)

The nationwide consumer boycott of J.P. Stevens products by the AFL-CIO has generated big noises but little action since it was launched last year.

This is the way it was planned. Top union officials hope that public attention will bring a political solution to the problem of union organization in the South.

J.P. Stevens is the second largest U.S. textile manufacturer. It has eighty-five plants in this country, others in six other countries. Sixty-three of its plants are in North and South Carolina. It employs more than 44,000 workers. Nowhere has this company signed a union contract.

Its annual sales are \$1.1 billion. Only one-third of its products are in such consumer items as sheets, towels, blankets, table linen, carpets, draperies, and



To organize the South...

hosiery—all under a variety of different brand names. The best known are Utica, Mohawk, Simtex, Tastemaker, and Gulistan. Also about fifty others.

Two-thirds of its total production is for clothing manufacturers, furniture and auto makers, and other users of bulk textiles.

## Number one lawbreaker

Stevens has been a major target of union organizing since the 1930s. It is charged with being the number one union-hater and lawbreaker in the textile industry, where all other manufacturers run a close second.

Stevens has been convicted fifteen times since 1963 of violating the National Labor Relations Act, more times than any other company. Federal courts in recent years have ordered it to reinstate 289 workers fired for union activity and pay them more than \$1.3 million in back wages. Unpunished violations far exceed these penalties.

In an out-of-court settlement, Stevens paid the Textile Workers Union \$50,000 after it was caught tapping the phone of union organizers.

The company has refused to negotiate a union contract at its seven plants in Roanoke Rapids, North Carolina, even though the 3,500 workers in those plants voted in 1974 for union representation. A National Labor Relations Board regional director found in July 1976 that the company had not been bargaining "in good faith" and ordered it to stand trial for this violation of the law.

A federal judge has ruled that Stevens management in Roanoke Rapids was guilty of discriminatory employment practices against Blacks and women. Over a six-year period, salaries for Black workers averaged nearly \$670 a year less than for whites.

Labor Department inspectors have cited Stevens plants for violations of health and safety standards, with cotton dust levels three times higher than the legal maximum. Brown lung, a crippling disease caused by breathing cotton dust, afflicts an estimated 100,000 textile workers.

Stevens has also been charged with price-fixing and tax evasion. It reached out-of-court settlements in both cases.

Race prejudice, religion, debt foreclosures, physical intimidation, and firings are used to destroy existing union locals and prevent the spread of unionism in the South, especially in the textile industry. With 700,000 workers, textile is the largest industry in the South. Only 10 percent of these workers belong to unions. The result?

The Labor Department reports the average hourly wage in textile mill products is \$3.81 nationwide as of November 1976. That's in contrast to about \$7 an hour for members of the United Auto Workers in organized auto plants.

## Boycott demonstration

A dramatic protest demonstration in support of the AFL-CIO boycott of Stevens products was held in New York on March 1 at the company's annual meeting of stockholders. More than 1,500 pickets marched and chanted outside.

The demonstrators included at least one prominent New York City Democratic party politician,

Paul O'Dwyer; some civil rights figures, including Coretta Scott King; representatives of church groups; and a group of top union officials who had organized the demonstration.

At the stockholders' meeting two resolutions were presented by several church groups seeking disclosure of the firm's labor and minority-hiring policies. The resolutions were defeated by a 73 percent majority vote.

The noisy four-hour debate was dominated by union officials and religious groups holding shareholder proxies but lacking the votes to carry any issue.

Coretta Scott King told the company executives that she, like her husband before her, was struggling "towards putting justice in business."

The union brought in former workers at J.P. Stevens plants in Roanoke Rapids to refute company claims of fair treatment.

William DuChessi, executive vice-president of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, told the meeting of stockholders, "If it takes ten years, twenty years, J.P. Stevens is going to be made to live up to the law and recognize the aspirations for all Stevens employees."

On this note of determination the union forces ended that particular clash with company management . . . but not to march into the South with renewed efforts to organize the unorganized industrial workers there.

## Meany defines aims

From the beginning of the boycott campaign AFL-CIO officials have said that their purpose is to establish peaceful labor-management relations in collaboration with government agencies and enlightened employers.

On March 2, the day after the confrontation of Stevens stockholders, AFL-CIO President George Meany restated the union goal. The occasion was a big dinner party in Washington attended by 1,500 officials of government, labor, and industry to celebrate the casting of 30 million votes in NLRB elections since 1935.

Speaking directly to industry representatives present, Meany said, "In fact, what we propose will benefit you. For the employers who will resist us are cutthroat competitors of every decent corporation in America." Presumably Meany meant companies like J.P. Stevens. "They compete by exploitation," he said, "and it is exploitation of human beings that we are determined to halt."

This statement by Meany is for sound effect and has no other meaning. He is a staunch supporter of capitalism and knows that capitalist economy rests on the exploitation of labor.

R. Heath Larry, vice-chairman of U.S. Steel and head of the National Association of Manufacturers, was also a guest speaker. He said nothing about halting exploitation. Neither did Labor Secretary Ray Marshall, another prominent speaker.

One occasion when union officials appealed directly to textile workers, not employers or government, was in Roanoke Rapids on the Sunday before Labor Day last year, when a rally was called to demand a contract from J.P. Stevens. But even here their words were mostly for the politicians who were listening.

There was a good crowd of 1,500 on hand. Andrew Young, who has since become Carter's representative at the United Nations, was one of the speakers. He said things like, "The power to make change in America is in the hands of the people, just like you and me." And, "JFK didn't do some of the things he did until the people said, 'We're ready.'"

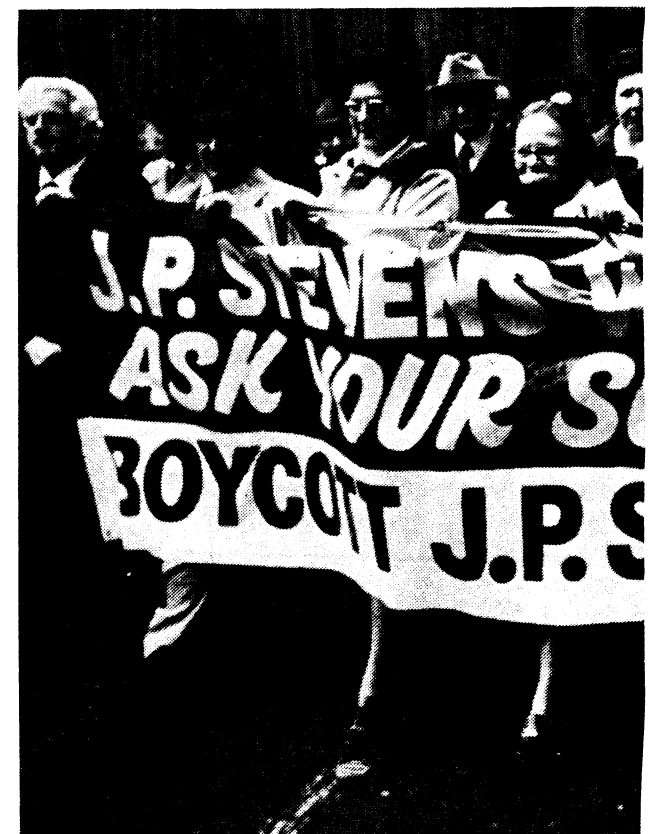
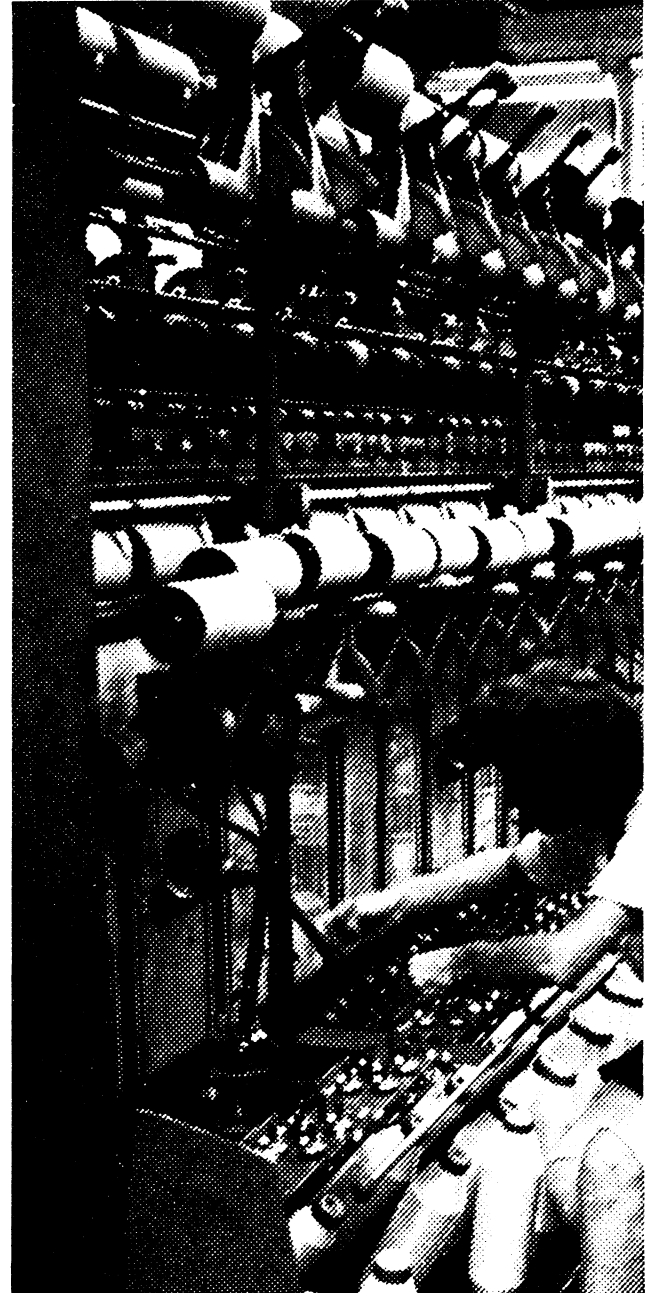
That was a campaign speech before Carter won, and like most campaign speeches it wasn't meant to be taken literally or very seriously.

## Unity: for and against

Militant correspondent Michael Pennock reported from Roanoke Rapids that other speakers, Alice Tanner of the local organizing committee in particular, drew a better response than Young. She closed the rally with an appeal for unity against the company's racist practices.

"There's not a white union or a Black union," she said, "but a union of the people. We're all out for better pay, hours, and conditions. And we've got to work together and stick together."

The rally was disrupted briefly by the remarks of ACTWU Vice-president DuChessi, who devoted the whole of his speaking time to an attack on a little-noticed leaflet distributed by a group of radical students. Unlike Young, DuChessi was in earnest and hoped others would take him seriously.



Demonstration outside meeting of Stevens stockhold

The leafleters were polite and in no way a bother to anyone until DuChessi launched his tirade, bellowing that "if these people don't like America, then they can go help the workers in Communistic Russia and Communistic China."

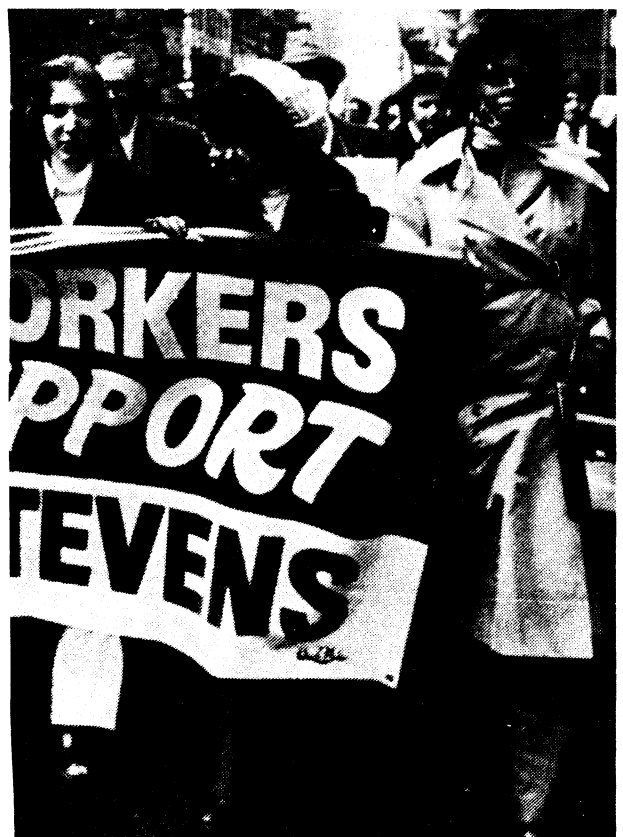
He said that he knew none of the leafleters worked in textile mill, at which point one of them jumped to the speakers' stand to say that he was a mill worker. A short fistfight broke out and he was led away. DuChessi ended with an appeal for a Carter-Mondale vote in the presidential election.

Our correspondent reported that the crowd's reaction seemed to be about evenly divided between uncertain approval of DuChessi and bewilderment. "The net effect was to increase curiosity about the leaflet and to disrupt the mood of the rally for twenty minutes," he said.

Such conduct is partly a reflection of the frustra-



# e giant



tion of top union officials. After thirteen years of unsuccessful organizing efforts in the Southern textile industry, they hope desperately for outside political help and are afraid that any radical movement of the workers will shatter that hope.

Their feelings were expressed by Sol Stein, former president of the Textile Workers Union, when the IWU merged with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers last June to form the 500,000-member Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union and launch the Stevens boycott.

"When we launched the Stevens campaign," Stein said, "we never imagined that thirteen years later it would still be the focus, the symbol, the center—almost the obsession—of our organizing efforts in the South."

(Next week: why have all previous Southern organizing drives failed?)

## Atlanta fires 1,000 workers in attempt to smash strike

By Al Budka

ATLANTA—Mayor Maynard Jackson fired more than 1,000 striking city employees here April 1 and ordered the city to begin taking applications to replace all strikers who refuse his ultimatum to return to work. The strike began March 28.

This was Jackson's response to the workers' demands for a fifty-cent-an-hour wage increase, improved liability insurance, increased steward representation, and an increase in the payroll checkoff to cover union dues.

The city workers make poverty-level wages, starting at \$6,435 per year. They are represented by American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1644. Eighty percent of the workers are Black.

At a full meeting of Local 1644 on April 2, the city workers voted to stay out.

Jackson has called on citizens to break the strike by hauling and dumping their own garbage. The city announced plans April 4 to keep landfill areas open to residents and provide trash pickups for schools and shopping areas. In addition, the city has pledged to distribute free trash bags at fire stations.

In response to Jackson's strikebreaking proposals, AFSCME intends to extend its picket lines to the landfills, schools, and shopping areas.

Jackson made an early attempt to break the strike through court action. On March 31 the city sought a Fulton County Superior Court injunction to end the strike. A similar move by the Atlanta school board in 1975 was successful in stopping a strike by AFSCME-organized school employees.

This time, however, the court refused to grant the injunction. It did rule that pickets must remain ten feet apart and may not congregate within 500 feet of city installations.

Superior Court Judge Charles Wofford recommended federal mediation to the city and the union. Since the court decision, AFSCME has called for intervention by the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Board. The city has refused.

At the center of the dispute is Jackson's refusal to discuss a salary increase for city workers, who have not had a cost-of-living increase in thirty months.

The Atlanta strike takes place in an atmosphere of setbacks for AFSCME members across the country. The overriding need of the ruling rich today is to drive down the standard of living of all workers. Municipal workers are high on the list.

While the militancy and fighting spirit of the Atlanta strikers remain high, the AFSCME leadership has no strategy for winning the strike and turning back the growing attacks on AFSCME members.

From its very beginnings as a union AFSCME has relied on friendly relations with Democratic politicians rather than its own strength and ability to mobilize support among its real allies—poor and working people who are hurt most by the attacks on social services.

In 1969 AFSCME was a major supporter of Sam Massell in his successful campaign for mayor of Atlanta. The next year, when AFSCME sanitation workers were forced into a thirty-seven-day strike, Massell did everything in his power to crush the strike and smash the union.

In the 1973 campaign for mayor, Local 1644 supported Democrat Maynard Jackson, a Black labor lawyer who, like Massell before him, posed as the candidate of working people and poor people.

The leadership of AFSCME has learned nothing from its mistakes. In the midst of the present strike Local 1644 supported the congressional campaign of another Democratic party "friend of labor," John Lewis. Lewis, a former civil rights leader, rewarded Local 1644 by refusing to support the striking city workers.

AFSCME's strike strategy is heavily influenced by its general reliance on Democratic politicians. The strike is seen by AFSCME officials as a pressure tactic to help create the atmosphere in which a deal can be made with these politicians.

A strike is a crucial test of strength between the bosses and the workers. The entire strength of the union and its allies has to be mobilized.

Maynard Jackson, as the representative of the bosses, shows he has a better understanding of what a strike is than AFSCME's leadership. He has mobilized his allies and he intends to use this strike to smash the union and silence Atlanta's municipal workers for many years.

AFSCME cannot win by trying to make a deal with Jackson, or counting on "friends" in the city council, or relying on federal mediators and Jimmy Carter.

Atlanta municipal workers can only win this strike by mobilizing the support of Atlanta's labor movement and Black community—as Martin Luther King was doing in the Memphis sanitation workers' strike at the time of his assassination.

This will not be easy. It is difficult to mobilize people against the same politicians you were telling them to support just a few months ago.

In addition, AFSCME is now finding that some Black community leaders who joined it in hustling votes for Jackson put their loyalty to the Democratic party first and denounce the strike.

The week before the Atlanta strike began, AFSCME announced a \$60,000 ad campaign criticizing the Jackson administration.

But this campaign is not designed to mobilize Atlanta's Black community in defense of social services and municipal workers. Most of the ads are planned for publications like the *New York Times*, *New Republic*, and *Commentary*.

This campaign is an attempt to pressure Jackson by embarrassing him among other Democratic party liberals. It is just a new gimmick in the same bankrupt policy.

The first ad concludes: "The Falcons [Atlanta's football team] have hired a new coach. It's time for one at City Hall."

But what kind of new coach? Another Democrat?

Local 1644 should use these ads to explain—to all working people and all municipal employees—that we are losing ground because *none* of the coaches in the Democratic party are any good. They are all members of the opposing team.

Local 1644 should declare it will no longer support any Democratic or Republican candidate for office. Atlanta's unions, working people, and Black community can and should select the next coach from their own team by running an independent labor candidate for mayor.



Striking sanitation workers march in Memphis, 1968. Atlanta strikers today need to mobilize Black community support as Martin Luther King was doing in Memphis at the time of his assassination.

# Carter names antibuser to Justice Dep't

By David Frankel

WASHINGTON—There was never any doubt about how the Senate Judiciary Committee would vote on President Carter's nominee for deputy attorney general. Several senators didn't even bother to wait for the testimony of concerned witnesses during the March 22 hearing before giving their views on Pittsburgh Mayor Peter Flaherty.

"He is just the type of man we want," Sen. Orrin Hatch of Utah enthused.

Sen. Joseph Biden of Delaware called Carter's nominee "a brilliant choice," adding, "I am not at all dismayed that you do not have a strong predilection for forced busing."

South Carolina Sen. Strom Thurmond also noted Flaherty's racist record on busing: "I understand some opposition has arisen to you because of your stand on busing." After Flaherty reaffirmed his support for "neighborhood schools," Thurmond assured him, "I think you will make an excellent [deputy] attorney general and I wish you success."

Opposition to Flaherty was expressed by Clarence Mitchell, NAACP Washington Bureau director and the first witness at the hearing. Expressing dismay at a report that White House Press Secretary Jody Powell "made a statement to the press asserting Mr. Flaherty and the president had similar views on busing," Mitchell summed up by saying:

"It is clear that Mr. Flaherty used his office of mayor of Pittsburgh to create racial animosity and to delay school desegregation. The Depart-

ment of Justice must perform many law enforcement duties, including those related to civil rights. Its highest officials should not have records of advocating defiance of the law or using their offices to prevent desegregation of public schools."

Flaherty has been a key figure over the past seven years in blocking school desegregation in Pittsburgh. In November 1972 he made his second appearance in six months before the Pittsburgh school board, where he told a crowd of several hundred cheering bigots, "This [desegregation] order cannot be enforced. Don't believe it can be enforced when the community is against it."

In 1974 Flaherty fought to prevent the opening of Herron Hill Middle School. This school, located in the Black community, was the keystone of a desegregation plan that would have shifted white students to schools in Black neighborhoods. Flaherty got out of the school-house door in this case only after losing a long and bitter court fight.

Biden argued that Flaherty had not violated a court order. Mitchell replied by pointing out that rulings by the Pennsylvania Human Rights Commission have the force of law. When the power of the commission was challenged by racist forces opposed to school desegregation, the commission's role was upheld by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court. Following that ruling, Flaherty called for continued defiance of the busing order.

Virginia Sen. William Scott claimed that the

NAACP's concern was unwarranted because "actually the deputy attorney general does not enter into decisions on civil rights cases."

Mitchell did not agree. He asked why Carter had paid off a political debt by appointing Flaherty to an area where he would be dealing with civil rights. "I must say, I have very serious questions as to the attitude over the White House on things of this type," Mitchell concluded.

Also testifying against Flaherty was Harvey Adams, the president of the Pittsburgh NAACP. Answering those like Senator Thurmond, who had praised Flaherty's record in cutting back social services and local government spending, Adams said:

"I have some photos of the largest Black area in Pittsburgh that I would like to put into the record, and if this is what seven years of good government has brought us, we don't need seven more years."

Testifying in favor of Flaherty was John Bingle, former public safety director under Flaherty. He talked about Flaherty's record of hiring Blacks and women for police and fire department jobs—neglecting to mention that such hiring practices were initiated only after the courts ruled against the city administration in a job-discrimination suit.

On March 24 the Senate Judiciary Committee voted ten to one to approve Flaherty's nomination. Sen. Edward Kennedy, who claims to support school desegregation, was among those voting for Flaherty.

## Phila. transit strikers: 'We won't be 2nd-class citizens'

By Terry Hardy

PHILADELPHIA—A strike of 5,000 transit workers here is becoming a major test of strength as Mayor Frank Rizzo, Gov. Milton Shappe, and the Southeastern Pennsylvania Transportation Authority (SEPTA) refuse to budge. They insist that they will not come up with one cent more in wage increases for the striking workers.

On April 1 SEPTA management notified workers that all company-paid health and insurance benefits were being ended. Strikers branded this an attempt "to bring us to our knees" and insisted it would only strengthen their resolve to stay out for their demands.

The strike began March 24 after members of Transport Workers Union Local 234 voted down an agreement previously accepted by union officials.

SEPTA is offering a sixty-cent-an-hour wage increase over a two-year contract. The union membership has forced its leadership to ask for all sixty cents "up front"—that is, in the first year of the contract—with an additional forty to sixty cents in the second year.

Matthew Guinan, international president of the TWU, echoes the charges made by city and state officials that dissidents within the union drummed up opposition to the contract simply to cause trouble.

Only a few months ago Guinan forced New York City transit workers, in his home local, to accept a contract with no wage increase. Many Philadelphia transit workers feel that Guinan is afraid a decent wage gain by workers here will make him look bad back in New York.

Typical of the membership's views were the comments of Joe Reagan, a driver for twenty-four years.

"I don't like a strike. Hey, I could very well lose my car out of this strike," he said, "but I'll be damned if I'm going to sit here and listen to the mayor and the governor say, 'It's just a handful of trouble makers. They don't count.'"

"It wasn't just a handful, and it wasn't just the young guys. Twenty-five hundred people voted against that

contract and somebody is going to have to wake up and see who are the rank and file. We are the average American people and we don't want to be second-class citizens."

Like many of the drivers who voted against the proposed contract, Reagan doesn't think much of the union officials. "It's the same approach every time," he said, "show them [the ranks] anything at the last minute. Get them back on their buses and they'll accept it."

"The unions, they want 'yes' people. If you don't go along, they don't want you. You're a dissident. You're a rabble-rouser. But all this could have been averted if they'd paid attention to the rank and file."

Curtis Brown, southern depot chief, said in an interview, "Mayor Rizzo can talk all he wants but when Gimbels, Wanamakers, and Strawbridges [three major Philadelphia department stores] start hollering—when those rich people start hollering—they're going to put pressure on the mayor to give them what they want."

## U of Michigan fires AFSCME militants as strike ends

By Nat Walker

ANN ARBOR—After twenty-six days of a bitterly contested strike, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1538 has signed a two-year contract with the University of Michigan. On March 21 the majority of the 2,300 service workers were back on the job.

The settlement was far from satisfactory, and a number of potentially explosive matters remain unresolved.

The main issue in the walk-out was economic. The union demanded a \$1.04-per-hour wage increase over two years, and the administration offered \$.55. The final settlement was \$.60.

The administration immediately launched a campaign to dismiss the most militant AFSCME supporters. Twenty-eight workers were suspended at once, and on March 24 fifteen of these were fired.

The university claims that the dis-

missed workers are guilty of "serious misconduct" and stated that more firings are a possibility, including some union officials.

The real lawbreaking, however, was carried out by management in trying to bust the union. One example was an incident involving William Neff, head of the administration's bargaining team. Neff hopped behind the wheel of a laundry truck, which he isn't licensed to drive, and ran down a member of the AFSCME bargaining team who was picketing.

AFSCME announced that it will protest the dismissals, and both sides have agreed to waive preliminary grievance steps to speed up the arbitration process.

In addition to the persecution of

AFSCME members, the administration is taking steps against part-time student workers. Though not members of the union, a number of these students felt obligated to honor the picket lines.

Now they are being selectively fired and there is evidence that the administration is seeking to purge known organizers of AFSCME support activity.

Despite the minimal economic gains, the strike marked the first successful stand against the union-busting of the administration.

Throughout the university, workers in all job categories remain angry, and there has been increasing talk of the possibility of all campus workers merging into a single union.

## A strike for 'human rights'

By Rich Stuart

FREMONT, Calif.—More than 5,000 auto workers shut down the big General Motors assembly plant here March 28 after a foreman assaulted a union committeeman.

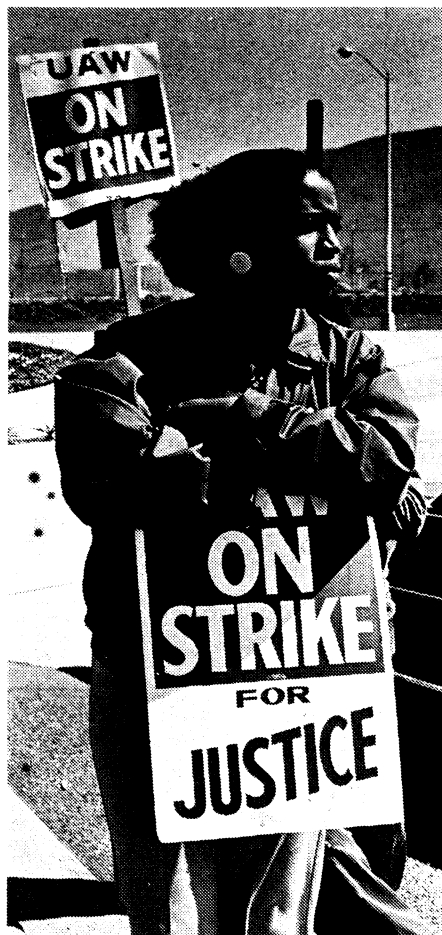
It was one of a long series of abuses of union members by this foreman and others. United Auto Workers Local 1364 demanded that he be removed from any supervisory position over UAW members.

GM declared the walkout illegal and fired the entire UAW shop committee.

UAW international representatives went before a meeting of nearly 1,000 strikers to tell them to go back to work. "This is not a strikable issue and you will get no benefits, no support, no nothing from the international," said one. He was met with hoots and jeers.

Angry workers rose to denounce this lack of support. "This is a human rights issue!" one said. "If we can send our union president [Leonard Woodcock] to Vietnam for human rights, why can't we get any here?"

The strikers finally returned to work April 1 after GM pledged no reprisals against those involved. The foreman was not fired.



Fremont picket

Militant/Rich Stuart

# World Outlook

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

APRIL 15, 1977

## Dissidents discuss issues facing opposition movement in East Europe

[The French Trotskyist daily *Rouge* invited four pro-socialist dissidents from Eastern Europe to take part in a round table, publishing the transcript of their remarks in its March 3 issue. Participants in the discussion were:

[Leonid Plyushch, the Ukrainian mathematician released from a Soviet psychiatric prison-hospital in January 1976 following an international campaign in his behalf.

[Victor Fainberg, a Soviet worker militant who took part in a demonstration in Red Square in 1968 to protest the invasion of Czechoslovakia, for which he was ordered to undergo "psychiatric" treatment.

[Krzysztof Pomian, a philosopher and historian who has been active in the opposition movement in Poland since 1956, leading to his expulsion from the Polish CP in 1966 and to dismissal from his university post in 1968.

[Ilios Ianakakis, a university professor who joined the Czechoslovak CP in 1948 and was a supporter of the Prague Spring.

[The translation of excerpts from this discussion and footnote are by *Intercontinental Press*.]

\* \* \*

*Ianakakis.* The year 1977 has seen profound changes occurring simultaneously in all the Eastern European countries.

Now it is necessary to take a position on the two fundamental questions of democracy and human rights, which are raised by all the opposition currents in Eastern Europe.

*Plyushch.* After 1956 the liberalization began. This should not be confused with "democratization," because it occurred in the same period as the crushing of the Hungarian revolution. The end of the intellectual bondage came next, but so did the growth of the Khrushchev personality cult and increasing repression. Because of the fact that freedom of thought was being restored at the same time that repression was being intensified, resistance grew up. In its early stage, samizdat took on a literary form.

Next came the clandestine literary works by Sinyavsky and Daniel, their trial and the protests against it, the repression of these protests, and a strengthening of the resistance. The trial of Ginzburg and Galanskov came in the same period as the Prague Spring. This is what pushed our oppositionists to the left. After the Prague Spring was crushed, all of the halfhearted warriors, like Yevtushenko, beat a retreat. The only ones who remained were those who really wanted to fight.

In 1972, after a series of provocations, a pogrom was launched in the Ukraine. It was aimed first at the dissidents, then at the artists, and finally at the party apparatus itself. This was the beginning of a conscious attempt to "Russify" the Ukraine. The pogrom was extended to the entire

country, and before 1976, nearly every movement had been smashed, except for the Jewish movement. But at the same time, nearly all of the currents began to unite.

*Ianakakis.* What were your demands, and what was their significance?

*Plyushch.* In the Soviet constitution, nearly every right is guaranteed except the right to strike and the right to form other parties. And it was precisely the illusions about Khrushchev that gave us a chance to see how this constitution could be utilized. The civil rights movement, which was centered in Moscow, but which also existed in other places, began to exercise the right of freedom of the press. This became samizdat.

After that, we tried to win the right to meet and demonstrate. This resulted in the introduction of some amendments to the penal code that further restricted freedom of movement. The authorities responded to our demand for freedom of speech with the law prohibiting "slander." This is what has made us all into "lawyers."

This year we have put the right to form organizations on the agenda. And now, because of what has happened in Poland, I hope that the right to strike and to form independent unions will become issues.

*Ianakakis.* So the opposition movement in the USSR developed on the basis of appealing to the constitution.

*Plyushch.* Yes, but now, because of the Helsinki accords, we have a different legal basis. We can prove to the authorities that they are the ones who are breaking the laws, and we will make every effort to show the people that the laws have never worked to their benefit. The problem we face is that which the European countries faced in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—human rights.



LEONID PLYUSHCH



CP HEADQUARTERS IN SZCZECIN, POLAND, AFTER 1970 WORKERS PROTESTS: 'The fundamentally anti-working-class nature of the regime has been exposed.'

*Pomian.* Our experience in Poland has been very different. It all began in 1955, with an economic crisis on the one hand, and a political crisis on the other. The 1956 movement was extremely widespread; at its highest point, the revolt of the working class extended throughout the country. It should be noted that at the time a large part of the intelligentsia took part in the workers' struggle to win their rights. At this time, there was a period of freedom of the press the like of which has not been seen since.

At the end of 1956, a new leadership team took over, and a series of deepgoing changes were made, inaugurating a period of relative calm that lasted until 1964 or 1965. What is significant about this is that up to 1964, a dialogue with the authorities was still considered possible.

There was one document that had a huge impact—the "Open Letter to the Party," by Kuron and Modzelewski, two party members. This letter served as the inspiration for whole waves of opposition in 1966 and 1968, which helps explain the authorities' reaction.

March 1968 represented a grave setback for the Polish opposition, which at that time had only a vague sense of what type of democratization it was struggling for. An anti-Semitic campaign was launched amid severe repression, so that by the time of the events in Czechoslovakia, Poland was already "pacified." I am sure that the events in Czechoslovakia would have turned out differently if the Polish "May '68" had not ended in defeat. Still, if the opposition began to really develop after 1968, this was because it had been able to learn the lessons of this defeat.

In 1970, there was a three-month strike wave. Gierek replaced Gomulka, and this constituted a victory. Nothing remained of Gomulka's economic policy. However, this was followed, on the one hand, by the deepening of the twenty-year-old economic crisis, reflected by the large number of strikes

between 1971 and 1976. On the other hand, the intellectuals, who had remained silent during the events of 1970, returned to the political scene. The opposition, which had started out with a perspective of socialism with a human face, became aware of the political, economic, and social issues arising from class contradictions.

And so, having begun with the assumption that socialism could be democratized through working within the party, the opposition became radicalized and transformed into an open opposition beginning in 1975, when it realized that we had a constitution as Stalinist as the Soviet one.

*Ianakakis.* To add to what Plyushch and Pomian have said, it should be pointed out that there was a time lag between the events of 1956, a lack of synchronization. In Czechoslovakia, aside from the shock effect produced by the Twentieth Congress, the situation was totally frozen. The period leading up to the 1960s was the harshest the Czechs had ever known.

Then, three kinds of problems arose: The economic crisis and its consequences emerged—at least to some degree—along with the social and cultural problems, and the Slovak question. The common denominator, the focal point for everything, was the question of rehabilitating the victims of the purges. This was called "liberalization," and had nothing to do with democratization.

In Czechoslovakia, a reformist attitude predominated. Unlike in Poland, there were no movements outside the party, such as strikes. On the contrary, the entire opposition was inside the party, where a tremendous amount of work was done. The social crisis was reflected in the crisis within the party. Accordingly, the period from 1962 to 1967 was one of liberalization—one step forward, two steps back, in which there were several stages. There was the Slovak national question, which

*Continued on next page*



## ...discuss issues facing E. European dissidents

*Continued from preceding page*

launched the movement that was to lead to the "Prague Spring"; as well as the economic problems; and work among the intellectuals.

The "Prague Spring" was a historical accident, the product of a crisis within the party leadership. The crisis was bottled up at first. It was only after March 1968 that it spread throughout the society. Prior to this, there had been a vast expansion of sociological studies. The knowledge about the problems in the society that had been gained through these studies played a leading role in this reformism. With freedom of the press, workers' participation in the management of industry, the freeing of the unions from the party's grip, and the granting of autonomy to the youth movements, the party's monolithic structure began to crack. But unlike in Poland and Hungary, no one was killed. Everything proceeded peacefully.

This is what worried the Soviet leaders, whose intervention was prompted by two events: the coming congress of the Communist party of Czechoslovakia, which was to codify all the democratic measures that were going to be put into practice. Within a very short time, the entire population had been affected by a growing political consciousness. The unions began to organize strikes; the workers were raising demands. Self-management was the central question.

But this period of time was too short to allow for the restructuring of society. The constitution had not yet been changed. There was a huge gap between what was permitted by law and what was permitted in practice. This laid the basis for the process of "normalization." The gains could be quickly swept away because they had not been codified by law.

The party underwent a huge purge. This is how they managed to get things back into the old channels.

A characteristic of the movement today is that reformism—the idea that such societies can be reformed through working within the party—has been discredited. Another characteristic is that the role played by the USSR

looms much larger in the minds of the opposition and of the population as a whole.

What has come on the agenda is coordinating all that is going on in Eastern Europe, so as to overcome the unevenness that has been disastrous for our struggle in the past. This is one way in which the present situation differs from previous ones.

*Pomian.* The central question today is the relationship between the various social forces. From this standpoint, something absolutely unprecedented is happening in Poland. The movement of the intellectuals for democracy has joined forces with the workers movement in a way that has never happened before.

This has several consequences. First, the effect of the intellectuals' alliance with the workers movement is that a large number of them have completely cut their ties with the authorities. This means an increased isolation of the party apparatus as a whole. The fundamentally anti-working-class nature of the regime has been exposed; so has the myth that "this regime is bad for the intellectuals, but it may be good for the workers."

*Plyushch.* In the USSR, there is a lack of understanding of the fact that this small group of dissidents will not be able to accomplish anything without the support of a mass movement. In this respect, the Czech and Polish comrades are politically much more advanced than we are. I hope that through Western radio broadcasts, the Soviet working class will be able to benefit from what is happening in Poland, and that our dissidents, whether left or liberal, will understand that they must turn to the working class. For there are many more strikes than the oppositionists know about.

*Ianakakis.* The Western left is playing a deceptive game with words by talking about "attacks on democratic freedoms." This implies that such freedoms exist, since socialism is supposed to equal freedom. This obfuscation will serve to further isolate the



Czechoslovaks protest Soviet invasion in 1968

oppositionists and increase the risk of a major defeat.

What the oppositionists are demanding is freedom of speech for all social categories. This is the precondition for advancing toward socialism.

The term "socialism" can no longer be used today for the Eastern European states.

*Plyushch.* Neither can the term "degenerated workers states."

*Ianakakis.* Right. The events are forcing us, in the West, to make painful historical revisions, to get rid of our fetishes. People in East Europe have a responsibility to tell the truth about these things to the Western left.

*Plyushch.* Not just to the left, but to the peasants and workers as well, to show them how much our freedom depends on their social advance.

*Fainberg.* The tragedy for us is that we are isolated. We who are in exile in the West should ally ourselves with the workers movement. We should publish a newspaper of our own that would combat the illusions about the USSR. Such a newspaper would be a means of uniting the left opposition in Eastern Europe.

The movement for human rights in the USSR has not made up its mind to engage in political action, and thus has not reached to the working class. At first it was just the opposite; clandestine groups were formed on a clearly political basis, including intellectuals and workers. But because of the repression, these groups did not survive for more than a few months. It was the failure of such clandestine organizations that led to the movement of today.

But the failure of these groups was not only due to their being broken up by the police. It was also related to the difficulty of developing a political program in the absence of information and opportunities to exchange ideas. The human-rights movement is a force fighting simply to establish the basis for a free discussion. In the background, though, programmatic discussions have already begun.

It is precisely the representatives of the opposition in exile who can play the very important role of formulating a program. This is why we need our own newspaper. The Soviet workers' hesitancy about joining the movement for democratic rights stems from their uncertainty about what this movement can do for them, and what program it is putting forward.

*Ianakakis.* The left must find new bridges to people in the Eastern European countries, and show an understanding of their problems, so that they will not think everything has to be done through the established powers in the West, and so that they know that the left is a force that will assume its responsibilities. The left forces could send delegations to meet with the oppositionists.

*Plyushch.* That is why we must force the Communists to help us.

*Ianakakis.* By all means. We have to force them to do something more than make statements. We have to turn to the SP as well. The SP thinks that by making a few statements they have cleared their name, just like the CP. Belgrade<sup>1</sup> should not be left a matter for governments alone, but be taken up by the left as a fundamental question.

*Plyushch.* One thing we can be sure of is that the governments will make deals at the oppositionists' expense. Carter's stance is strictly a diplomatic maneuver. The organizations on the left must force their governments to take principled stands.

*Ianakakis.* It is hard to believe that a workers' delegation has not yet gone to Radom to shake hands with the workers, or donated a single franc, even as a symbolic gesture, to the solidarity fund, and that as yet not a single delegation has met with the signers of Charter 77.

*Plyushch.* Commissions of inquiry must be sent.

*Ianakakis.* We have had enough of forever playing this diplomatic game.

*Plyushch.* Because in this game we always lose. We must work to undermine the myths that have grown up around Eastern Europe, condemn the agreements between the USSR and fascist countries like Iran, and expose the bourgeoisies that are ready to sell us out.

Amnesty International has declared 1977 the year of prisoners of conscience. We must offer our solidarity to the Iranians, Chileans, and others on the same platform. Winning amnesty for political prisoners is a long-term fight. We must get special status for political prisoners recognized internationally. This is what the Soviet prisoners are fighting for.

1. A conference scheduled to meet in June in the Yugoslav capital to review compliance with the Helsinki accords.



ITALIAN CP DEMONSTRATION: 'We should ally ourselves with the workers movement in the West.'

# Women's Day protests, rallies around the world

By Judy White

Demonstrations marking International Women's Day around the world centered on economic issues, the right to abortion and contraception, and government attempts to cut back women's democratic rights.

In **Bilbao, Spain**, 1,000 women held a mass meeting and march. This was the first time in history March 8 had been celebrated in the Basque Country, G. Bengochea reported in the March 10 issue of *Rouge*.

The mass meeting, attended mainly by young women, heard women speak about their struggles in the workers' movement and their oppression as housewives and in the prisons.

Bengochea reported:

One former prisoner from the women's prison at Alcala de Henares testified on the conditions women face in jails and police stations—on the insults and torture of prison life. She reminded the audience how women are systematically overlooked in the campaigns for amnesty. Ninety percent of the women in prison are there on charges of adultery or abortion. We must keep in mind that 500,000 illegal abortions are performed annually in Spain and that women accused of adultery can be sentenced to five years in prison.

On the march following the meeting, the demonstrators chanted, "Amnesty for women," "Equal pay for equal work," and "We want child-care centers."

In **Australia**, "the most significant aspect of the marches around the country was their emphasis on economic demands," Mary Rabbone reported in the March 17 issue of *Direct Action*. "For the first time women incorporated the demands for the right to work and the shortening of the work week with no loss in pay."

In most cities, women turned out in much greater numbers than in 1976, with 1,000 in **Adelaide**, 2,000 in **Sydney**, 700 in **Melbourne**, and 150 in **Brisbane**.

Seven thousand persons demonstrated in **Brussels** March 5, *Intercontinental Press* correspondent Anne Vanesse reports. The march, which was organized by twenty-eight abortion committees throughout the country and supported by a wide range of political organizations and trade unions, was called to demand "a woman's right to choose."

This was the first mass demonstration of the Belgian abortion movement in four years, Vanesse notes.

More than 500 persons demonstrated in **Montréal** March 8 to demand free, twenty-four-hour-a-day child-care centers, financed by the state and controlled by those who use them.

In **Paris**, 5,000 women marched through the city on March 5 to mark International Women's Day, and more than 600 demonstrated in front of the

Palais de Justice on March 8.

The March 8 action was part of a campaign to win the release of six members of the Movement for Freedom of Abortion and Contraception. The women were under indictment for committing or conspiring to commit abortion in Aix en Provence. Their trial was scheduled for March 10, and they faced between five and ten years in prison if convicted.

The day of the trial, a national mobilization of proabortion forces was held in Aix. Unusually lenient sentences were handed down, with five of the defendants receiving suspended sentences of two months, the sixth a suspended sentence of one month.

In **London**, American Marxist anthropologist Evelyn Reed shared the platform with British Communist party leader Irene Brennan and British anthropologist Hermione Harris at an International Women's Day symposium.

The discussion, on "Why Women Are Oppressed," drew about 400 women, the British Communist party daily *Morning Star* reported March 10.

*Morning Star* quoted Reed as saying:

Women are oppressed for the same reasons and by the same forces that black people, minorities of all kinds and the working class in general are oppressed.

They are oppressed because the social system of private property and class division is founded on profit. It is profitable to oppress the working class and women.

A rally organized by the Movement of Socialist Women (MMS) in **Bogotá, Colombia**, was attended by 350 persons. The working women who addressed the gathering set the tone of the event, the March 10 issue of *Revolución Socialista* reported.

Referring to Colombian President Alfonso López Michelsen's demagogic promises to women, Socorro Ramírez, a leader of the MMS and of the Colombian Federation of Educators, said, "We cannot confuse the real problems of women with the naming of women to high posts." Women have to raise their own demands, she said, and fight for their liberation while also participating in the struggles of the workers and oppressed masses.

Rallies, organized by the Socialist Bloc and other groups, were also held in **Ibagué**, drawing about 250 persons, and in **Cali**, where more than 100 persons were present.

In **Lisbon**, a petition demanding the revocation of the repressive laws on abortion and free access to contraceptive devices was presented to the legislature on International Women's Day. The petition pointed out that 2,000 women in Portugal die each year as the result of illegal abortions and that the 180,000 women who have abortions run the risk of two to eight years in prison for this "crime."

## World news notes

### Santo Domingo student protests

United Press International reported March 10 that a "rising wave" of student struggles was shaking the Dominican Republic. According to UPI, students in Santo Domingo are demanding the government of Joaquín Balaguer raise the monthly subsidy paid to students at the Autonomous University of Santo Domingo.

After police took over a secondary school, students went into the streets and the Federación de Estudiantes Dominicanos (FED—Dominican Students Federation) threatened a student strike. Clashes between police and students on March 8 resulted in twenty-five arrests and left eight wounded.

While the strike was called off after police abandoned the occupation of the secondary school, students said the demonstration showed "the decision of the students to make themselves heard."

### Torture and executions in Argentina

Amnesty International announced March 23 that Argentina was holding between 5,000 and 6,000 political prisoners, and that torture and summary executions were still common occurrences under the country's military dictatorship.

The report, based on findings of a three-person mission to Argentina last November, also said that "between 2,000 and 5,000 people have disappeared without trace" since the March 1976 coup.

### Angela Davis on dissidents

On a recent trip to Paris, Angela Davis was interviewed by Dominique Pouchin, a staff writer for *Le Monde*. Her remarks were published in the paper's March 19 issue.

Asked to comment on the cases of Vladimir Bukovsky, Leonid Plyushch, and other Soviet dissidents, the American CP leader and former frame-up victim said:

"There are dissidents and dissidents. Some of them are even racists, like Solzhenitsyn, who is such a reactionary that even Gerald Ford would have nothing to do with him."

"But what about the Polish workers, Charter 77, and all these European Communist parties taking their distance [from Moscow] these days?" Pouchin asked.

Davis hesitated a moment before replying. "In France, as you know, the CP is very strong and has a great deal of influence. In the United States, we are still very weak, and that's the main purpose of orchestrating the campaign around the dissidents—to keep us from growing."

She added: "The slightest statement about the dissidents, and you can bet I'd make page one of the *New York Times*. I'm not going to let myself be manipulated by the American press."

### China releases protesters

Wall posters in Peking have announced the release of protesters arrested following last year's mass demonstrations in Peking's Tien An Men Square, Agence France-Presse reported March 18.

An unknown number of persons were detained after police and soldiers clashed with tens of thousands of demonstrators on April 5, 1976.

### Sri Lankan Trotskyists to campaign

At a mass rally in Colombo March 9, Bala Tampoe, the secretary of the Revolutionary Marxist party (RMP), Sri Lanka section of the Fourth International, announced that the RMP would run candidates in the next general elections. He said that the campaign would be supported at the trade-union level by the Ceylon Mercantile Union (CMU), of which Tampoe is also a leader.

The rally at Hyde Park followed a demonstration to observe the recent lifting of the state of emergency, which had been in force since 1971 when the regime of Sirimavo Bandaranaike launched a bloody crackdown on the young revolutionists of the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (People's Liberation Front), killing thousands.

According to the March 10 *Ceylon Daily News*, Tampoe attacked the ex-Trotskyist Lanka Sama Samaja party (Ceylon Equal Society party) and the Stalinist Communist party for having supported Bandaranaike's state of emergency and other repressive laws. He pointed out that the RMP and CMU had opposed the emergency. Tampoe also demanded the repeal of the Public Security Act and the Criminal Justice Commission.

### Defense committee formed in Mexico

A Committee of Former Political Prisoners and Relatives has been formed in Mexico to campaign for the release of 244 political prisoners.

At a recent news conference, a group of defense attorneys admitted their list of 244 was "regrettably incomplete."

At the same time, a group of lawyers has published a list of 257 persons who have "disappeared" in Mexico's Guerrero state during army "antiguerrilla" operations.

While the Mexican government routinely denies holding political prisoners, the stepped-up efforts by relatives and defense attorneys to publicize the plight of detainees has already produced results. In March the attorney general promised to drop charges against seventy-six prisoners, forty-six of whom have been held without trial since 1971.



March 5 demonstration in Paris

Rouge



## Strikes across Pakistan demand new election

For the second time in two weeks, Pakistan's major cities were seriously affected by a general strike called by the opposition Pakistan National Alliance (PNA). The March 26 strike, called a hartal, closed many shops and businesses in Lahore, the country's capital, as well as in Karachi, Rawalpindi, Hyderabad, and other cities.

The regime of Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto sent riot police to patrol many commercial sections, with army units standing by.

The strike was called to coincide with the opening of Bhutto's new National Assembly, which the PNA has charged was installed through massive vote rigging in the March 7 election. Although the PNA made a strong public showing in massive pre-election rallies and marches, it was credited with only 36 seats in the 200-member National Assembly. Bhutto's Pakistan People's party (PPP) claimed to have won 163 seats. The PNA's elected members boycotted the opening of the assembly.

The PNA, a rightist alliance of nine opposition parties, has demanded that new elections be held under the supervision of the military and the courts. The PNA has also called for the

release of all political prisoners and the lifting of the state of emergency that has been in effect since 1971.

The weeks leading up to the March 26 general strike were marked by demonstrations and clashes in a number of cities, particularly in Karachi, Pakistan's largest city and a PNA stronghold.

One-third of Karachi was placed under military control March 19 and an 8 p.m. curfew was imposed in two of the city's industrial districts. According to an Associated Press dispatch of the same day, "The curfew was ordered after demonstrators set fire to two Government-owned auto assembly plants, a movie theater and several cars and private buildings earlier today in the Landhi and Sind industrial districts."

In Lahore, several hundred lawyers marched through the city March 25, chanting slogans against the government. They protested the arrest of PNA leaders, as well as that of Amer Raza Khan, president of the High Court Bar Association, two of his associates, and eighty-four heads of bar groups in Punjab Province. They also denounced Bhutto's orders to

police to shoot demonstrators on sight. Two days earlier, police firing tear gas clashed with thousands of demonstrators in the capital for about an hour.

The PNA has accused the regime of killing more than eighty persons during the demonstrations. A March 20 Associated Press dispatch reported that, according to casualty figures released by hospital sources, fifty-five persons were killed in Karachi alone in the previous two days. According to the same dispatch, a newspaper in Hyderabad reported that seventeen demonstrators in that city were killed when paramilitary forces fired into the crowds.

In the days before the March 26 strike, Bhutto arrested an estimated 200 leaders of the PNA. The PNA charged March 22 that more than 10,000 persons had been detained throughout the country.

Some of Bhutto's associates have conceded that "malpractices" had taken place during the elections. Bhutto has also offered to give the PNA some more seats in the National Assembly. But so far he has rejected the PNA's central demand that new elections be held.



ZULFIKAR ALI BHUTTO

## Suarez's labor code: straitjacket for Spain's unions

By Gerry Foley

As the government of Adolfo Suárez moves closer to holding parliamentary elections, its relations with the Spanish Social Democrats have sharply deteriorated.

The rift opened up after the government's decision February 23 to allow a right-wing splitoff from the Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE—Spanish Socialist Workers party, the main Social Democratic formation) to run in the elections under the party name. The Social Democrats suspected that this move was part of an operation to create a renovated official party in the guise of a "broad center-left coalition." In protest, they withdrew from negotiations with the government, hinting that they might boycott the elections.

According to *Cuadernos para el Diálogo*, a Madrid weekly magazine close to the PSOE, Suárez allowed the anti-Communist splinter group (called the "históricos") to use the party's name so that he could include them in his "coalition" as representatives of the Social Democracy and the "democratic left" in general.

The formation of the Federación Social Independiente (FSI—Independent Social Federation) in early March tended to confirm this suspicion about Suárez's political plans. At the same time, the new labor code adopted on March 9 indicated that Suárez intends to try to maintain the fascist union structure in remodeled form.

On March 21, the General Workers Union (UGT), the semilegal federation controlled by the PSOE, withdrew from the Coordinating Committee of Trade-Union Organizations (COS), breaking its bloc with the CP-controlled Workers Commissions (CO) and the ex-Catholic independent union USO (Workers Trade Union).

The justification the UGT gave for this move was that the CO and USO members had not resigned the posts they won in the vote for *enlaces* and *jurados*, the two lowest echelons of the fascist union structure and the only elective ones.

In the March 26 issue of *Cuadernos*

*para el Diálogo*, UGT General Secretary Nicolás Redondo gave the following explanation for his organization's withdrawal from the COS:

The UGT thinks that it is necessary now to propose a mass response to the measures adopted ten days ago by the government. It intends to intensify its efforts by carrying out a campaign for trade-union freedom. This campaign necessarily has to be centered on demanding the resignation of all *enlaces*, *jurados* . . . etc. in order to push for the liquidation of the CNS [National Federation of Syndicates, the fascist union structure]. It must focus also on abolition of the compulsory union dues [paid to the CNS]; the return of our property, which was seized in 1939; and the restitution to the workers of the assets accumulated in the name of trade-unionism since then [i.e., the property of the CNS]; full recognition of the right to strike and freedom of action for trade unions; and recognition of democratically elected plant committees as the only bodies that can represent the workers in negotiations with the bosses. . . .

The point of difference [between the UGT and the CO and USO] . . . is that for us you cannot talk about liquidating the CNS without calling for resigning such positions as *enlaces* and *jurados*. Holding such posts represents an *objective contradiction*. This contradiction has been reflected in the factories and localities, obstructing the development of the COS on these levels. This is why the UGT thinks that a campaign for trade-union freedom can be waged effectively only by resigning these positions. Unless this is done, our freedom of action will be seriously limited.

The new trade-union code made public by the government March 9 includes such provisions as requiring a three-fourth's vote of all workers in a plant to declare a legal strike. It bans all political and solidarity strikes, as well as strikes demanding a change in a contract.

The government is authorized to intervene to halt a strike if it thinks a "serious situation" has arisen. There is no restriction on bosses bringing in scabs from outside the area where a strike is going on. Bosses are authorized to fire workers for participating in illegal strikes, or in any actions that interfere with the progress of work.

The government avoided the question of trade-union representation entirely. At the same time it has begun to phase out demagogic fascist provisions designed to give the appearance that "national solidarity" at least guaranteed workers job security. Redondo commented:

Despite its promises, the government has once again acted in a unilateral way, yielding to the pressure of the employers and pushing aside the real representatives of the workers movement. The new strike regulations . . . the provision about "flexibility of workforces" designed to make it easier to make mass layoffs, and other measures are a direct attack on the legitimate interests of the workers and at the same time reflect the government's lack of interest in negotiating the transition to free unionism with the union federations.

One of the dangers represented by the maintenance of the vast, wealthy, and corrupt fascist union bureaucracy was illustrated by the arrests in the case of the late January murders of lawyers for the Workers Commissions.

In its March 16 issue, *Le Monde* quoted Police Chief José María Calleja Peinado as saying that the killings were the result of a union conflict. One of those charged was Francisco Albadaledo, secretary of the CNS transport union in Madrid. At the time of the raid on the CO offices, a transport strike was in progress, led by Joaquín Navarro of the Workers Commissions. Navarro, who was not in the CO offices when the commandos struck, was supposed to be the actual target of the killers.

The use of gangster methods to maintain government unions is a common tactic. It is an ominous sign that the police chief chose to portray this murder as part of a conflict in the labor movement.

The government's moves on both the political and union levels have apparently convinced the PSOE that Suárez does not intend to open up room for them to play a role in either the parliamentary arena or the labor movement.

In the March 19 issue of the Barcelona weekly *El Mundo*, Rafael and Angel Gómez Parra offered an explanation of why the government might be less interested in negotiating with the reformist workers parties:

What has led the government to push ahead . . . without waiting to negotiate with the COS is that in recent months this organization has proved incapable of controlling the workers. . . .

The CO's famous theses that a conflict lasting more than a week can only favor the bosses or that hard-fought conflicts only pave the way for a "reactionary coup" has not reduced either the duration or militancy of strikes. This line has been successful only in keeping strikes in individual factories and branches of industry from spreading. . . .

A detailed study of the most important labor conflicts in the last three months . . . shows that the number of hours lost is essentially the same as in the first quarter of last year, when there was a general strike in Madrid.



UGT congress in Madrid, 1976

Informations Ouvrières



## What Carter gained

# Behind SALT talks collapse

By Joseph Hansen

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

The breakdown of the March 28-30 "arms limitation" conference between Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance and General Secretary Leonid I. Brezhnev has been described in terms ranging from a "setback" to a "disaster" for the cause of peace—or at least for the Carter administration.

The assessment is based on the assumption that Carter is genuinely trying to reduce the stockpiles of nuclear weapons on both sides, in this way lowering the chances for a holocaust that could end civilization if not all of humanity. This assumption is flawed, to say the least.

Vance laid two options on the table:

1. Accept "deep cuts" in the level of intercontinental nuclear delivery systems. This proposal amounted to a unilateral revision of the agreement reached by former President Ford and Brezhnev at Vladivostok in 1974. It would give the Pentagon a virtually free hand to push the development of the Cruise missile, a pilotless bomber that can carry nuclear weapons.

2. Or continue the Vladivostok agreement, but defer the question of limiting the Cruise missile and the Backfire bomber, a Soviet intermediate-range weapon which the Pentagon claims is "intercontinental," since it could reach the United States if the trip were one way.

### Advance publicity

Carter's proposals were given such great advance publicity in the United States that Murrey Marder of the *Washington Post* was able to calculate in advance (March 26) the cuts Vance would propose in Moscow: "... a 25 per cent reduction, or [a level of] about 1,800 strategic weapons on a side."

Marder noted that a cut to 1,800 "would mean reducing existing Soviet forces by 740, but cutting U.S. forces only 328."

He also observed that "what preoccupies Soviet leaders is the great U.S. advantage in existing multiple warheads. The United States has more than a 2-to-1 edge, with 8,500 strategic bombs and missile warheads to hit Soviet targets, compared with 4,000 Soviet bombs or missile warheads."

In view of this and other considerations, Marder said, "... U.S. officials anticipate a prickly exchange in Moscow over the goals set by President Carter."

A few criticisms have been voiced by some of the Washington pundits over Carter's tactics:

1. His public stand on "human rights," which was openly directed against the Soviet government as if in anticipation of the conference, infuriated Brezhnev.

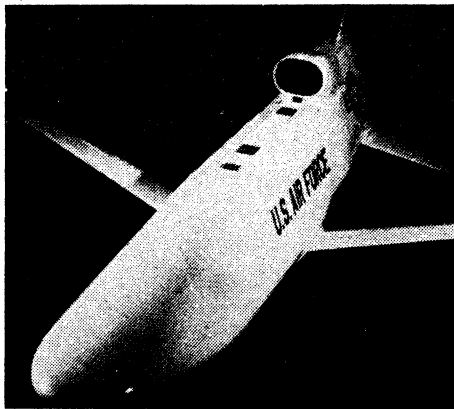
2. Carter's "open diplomacy" likewise made Soviet officials hot under the collar. Accustomed only to the dark channels of secret diplomacy, they cannot stand the light of day.

3. The critics claim that no tip-off was given to the Soviet embassy in Washington and that the Kremlin tops knew only what was reported by the wire services. Carter thus seemed to be telling them to sign on the dotted line, without studying the contract. To demonstrate a modicum of independence, Brezhnev had no choice but to say, "Nyet."

### Watch those peanut shells

According to these friendly critics, the mistakes were merely tactical, stemming from Carter's naïveté in the tricky business of dealing with Moscow.

If we consider the gains Carter made at Moscow, a different picture emerges.



Model of U.S. cruise missile

First of all, his immediate response to Brezhnev's "nyet" should be noted. In a press conference March 30, Carter said:

Obviously, if we feel at the conclusion of next month's discussions that the Soviets are not acting in good faith with us, and that an agreement is unlikely, then I would be forced to consider a much more deep commitment to the development and deployment of additional weapons.

At the conference Carter ostensibly went all-out for "deep cuts" in nuclear stockpiles. The outcome was just the opposite—he gained an excuse to step up the arms race, which he at once converted into a new threat. Working the old shell game, Carter proved again that the hand is faster than the eye.

Secretary of Defense Harold Brown followed up at a breakfast meeting with reporters April 1:

Asked about the increased costs if the President should decide the Russians were not negotiating in good faith and ordered a speed-up in the development of American strategic weapons systems, he said:

"If there were no arms agreements, it would go up \$4 billion a year."

The present spending on strategic arms is \$10 billion, a total that already is scheduled to increase by \$2 billion annually for the next few years.

Officials explained that Mr. Brown was talking in terms of another \$2 billion annual increase if no agreement could be reached with the Soviet Union.

Carter's tough reaction to Brezhnev's "nyet" brought the right-wingers, the hawks, the Pentagon's partisans, and other riffraff to their feet in wild applause. Carter had proved himself to be *their* president!

### Carter's objectives

Thus Carter achieved what was undoubtedly one of his main objectives. The reactionary columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, who have been picturing the new president as a disaster, put it this way in their April 2 column, "... President Carter is now solidly entrenched with both congressional conservatives and the Pentagon, without any shaving of his liberal Democratic base. ... Carter appears to have emerged from the Moscow debacle reinforced politically on all sides."

James Reston, writing in the April 3 *New York Times*, said that Carter has now "consolidated his political power at home":

In the short run, it was good politics but dubious diplomacy. By his defense of human rights, Mr. Carter reassured his liberal supporters, and by his open proposal of a freeze on new weapons, and a major cutback in old weapons, he reassured his conservative critics.

Another gain scored by Carter was the reinforcement of his image as a straightforward, guileless man of the people. The head of the world's most powerful and most rapacious imperialist power is for "open diplomacy." No less!

Brezhnev retired to his corner with a black eye and not a word to say. He had only himself to blame, of course,

for sticking to a practice introduced by Stalin in imitation of the imperialists.

It was the opposite in the days of Lenin and Trotsky. They opened up the Tsar's files and published the secret treaties they found there. In foreign affairs they conducted negotiations in public, a prime example being the negotiations with the Germans at Brest Litovsk when Trotsky headed the Russian delegation.

To conduct everything in the open was highly embarrassing to the capitalist governments; but it was one of the practices that won great popularity for the Bolsheviks among the masses of the world.

### Gromyko's lament

How does Carter's maneuver affect overall relations between the United States and the Soviet Union? The leaks from the chancelleries indicate that the general opinion in those circles is that not much will change in substance. Secretary General Kurt Waldheim of the United Nations said April 2 in Vienna that there was no prospect of another cold war even if the relationship between the two countries had cooled.

The Kremlin certainly wants to continue the "détente." This can be judged by Gromyko's remarks at a press conference March 31. The Soviet foreign minister sought to counteract the publicity gains made by Carter, using language that was described as "harsh" in the Western press. As yet, only excerpts from the speech are available in New York, but these are sufficient to indicate that Gromyko was anything but harsh. It would be more accurate to say he was tearful:

We stand for an agreement that would curb the arms race and remove the threat of nuclear war.

One cannot talk about stability when a new leadership arrives and crosses out all that has been achieved before. We would like to see our relations more stable, and we would like them to be founded on the principles of peaceful coexistence, and even better—that they should be friendly.

### Straight from the heart

That was straight from the heart of this Stalinist bureaucrat whose most ardent desire is to make a favorable impression on the new man in the White House. Here is more of the same:

It was suggested that we would eliminate half the Soviet missiles that are called in the U.S. "too heavy." What has changed

since Vladivostok? What dictates such a revision of the accords reached earlier? Nothing. The Vladivostok accords still constitute a good basis for concluding a new agreement to limit strategic arms.

Gromyko said that a version was being widely circulated in the West alleging that Vance had proposed a "broad disarmament program" that the Soviet leadership had rejected. The version, he said, is "basically false." "Nobody proposed such a program to us."

He included the following hint:

The results of talks with the U.S. Secretary of State indicate a substantial difference between the positions held by the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A., but this does not mean that there are insurmountable obstacles.

Gromyko even made a mild effort at panicking Carter:

In the light of the latest American proposals, we have the right to raise the question of liquidating [American strategic bases in Europe and other areas], atomic submarines, bombers and other vehicles capable of carrying nuclear arms. This is required by our security interests.

Gromyko would have done better to make two simple counterproposals:

1. To conduct all further relations in the open, thus eliminating all secret diplomacy between the two governments.

2. To begin destroying *all* nuclear weapons, no matter who has the "most." Joint commissions could be placed in charge to allay any suspicions, and other members of the nuclear club ought to be drawn into this work for the cause of peace.

Of course, no capitalist power has ever engaged in self-disarmament. But that is precisely the point. A genuine challenge would immediately expose the fraudulent nature of Carter's maneuver.

Another policy could be followed—preferably in combination with the first—namely, abandoning class collaborationism and advancing the proletarian revolution.

Again, the Soviet bureaucracy is incapable of making such a turn; for it would engender a political revolution at home.

Both the White House and the Kremlin stand in equal fear of revolutions anywhere on earth, a fact impelling them to form a counterrevolutionary bloc. That is the fundamental basis of the "détente" and the reason it will continue.



From left: Gromyko, Vance, Brezhnev

# I.W. Abel: driven by fear

In this issue we continue publication of an interview with Jack Barnes, national secretary of the Socialist Workers party, about the recent election in the United Steelworkers of America. Barnes toured nine U.S. cities in January and February, speaking on the significance of the union election and talking with activists in the Steelworkers Fight Back campaign. In the February 8 election, Fight Back candidate Ed Sadlowski lost narrowly to Lloyd McBride, handpicked successor to USWA President I.W. Abel. Below, Barnes discusses the program and outlook of the Abel-McBride bureaucracy.

*Question. I think many Sadlowski poll watchers were surprised at the heavy turnout in the election of the older, more conservative workers who voted for McBride. How do you account for this?*

*Answer.* First, of course, you have to remember the unanimity of the machine against Sadlowski. Staff representatives, full-timers, district directors, and local officers were almost unanimously part of the "official family" machine.

Remember that whenever you file a grievance, whenever you try to fight the employers, you feel yourself dependent to a large extent on the attitude of the staff representative and ultimately the district director. Tremendous pressure can be brought to bear because of their power over what happens to locals and to individual workers.

I was in Houston a few days before and then during the election. I watched the machine get out the day before the voting, get every full-time functionary out passing out the McBride material, get the McBride voting cards in everyone's hands, and organize to get workers to the polls.

## Pressure at the polls

Then a lot of pressure is brought to bear in the voting itself. I went inside the local union hall at Armco Steel in Houston and watched some of the voting. I saw the staffers and local officials bring people to the door with the McBride cards in their hands. It's supposedly a secret ballot, but you have the distinct feeling that the local officers and staff are keeping a close eye on how you vote.

The McBride people often would not even fold their ballots, or would only fold them once, and kind of wave them as a sign they were voting the right way.

I got the feeling I knew who voted for Sadlowski by seeing the steelworkers who folded their ballot over and over about eight times and then dropped it in the box.

This, of course, was a local where there was a Fight Back poll watcher. The ballot box was empty at the beginning of the voting, unlike some places, and nobody dropped in three ballots. You can imagine what happened in locals dominated by these forces where there were no Sadlowski poll watchers.

There's more to it, though. You also have to understand the kind of campaign the machine actually ran, their real program; and the fears they appealed to among the older workers and those who are part of the union apparatus. The red fear, the strike fear, and especially the fear of the employer.

I got a graphic picture of this from I.W. Abel himself. While I was in Pittsburgh I went to hear Abel's final campaign speech. It was February 1 at the Islam Grotto in Pittsburgh. Although it was advertised as a big McBride rally, McBride wasn't there and was hardly even mentioned.

## Few steelworkers

There were precious few steelworkers there, either. Even the reporter from the *Pittsburgh Press* took note of how the crowd was different from those at Sadlowski's rallies—more stylishly dressed, he said, more coats and ties, more "decorous."

Abel seemed to quickly get the picture of who was there. He started speaking straight from the shoulder—as a top union bureaucrat addressing a gathering of fellow bureaucrats. His purpose was to whip them up against Steelworkers Fight Back and arm them with the arguments to take back and use in the locals.

One of the things that was most striking about Abel's speech was this fear of the corporations. His major defense of the ENA [Experimental Negotiating Agreement, the no-strike pact in basic steel] was not that it had accomplished great things for steelworkers, but that it had averted the danger of the union being destroyed by the employers.

"Industry has enjoyed taking us on in the past," Abel said, "and would enjoy trying to destroy us in the future. ENA will prevent that." These are actual quotes from Abel—I took careful notes on his entire speech. He thinks the ENA was a generous concession by the bosses!

He went on: "ENA is one of the greatest things that ever happened to steelworkers. They don't have to worry about hitting the bricks. The union hasn't given up the right to strike," he said, "the employers have given up the right to take a strike, with all their power and massive assets."

Abel's class-collaborationism and privileged living standards have taken him to the point where he believes that the corporations are all-powerful.

Anyone hearing this speech would know that he has absolutely no confidence in the fighting capacity of the American workers. Abel truly believes that the only salvation for the union—which he identifies with himself and his kind—is to make common cause with the bosses and rely on their goodwill.

## Not 'give me'

Here is I.W. Abel's view of unionism: "We contribute as well as receive. We are not a 'give me' organization. We had the well-earned reputation of being strike-happy. The ENA settled that."

Apparently Abel thinks that strikes took place in the steel industry because the union demanded too much, a view he undoubtedly picked up from the steel executives he hangs around with.

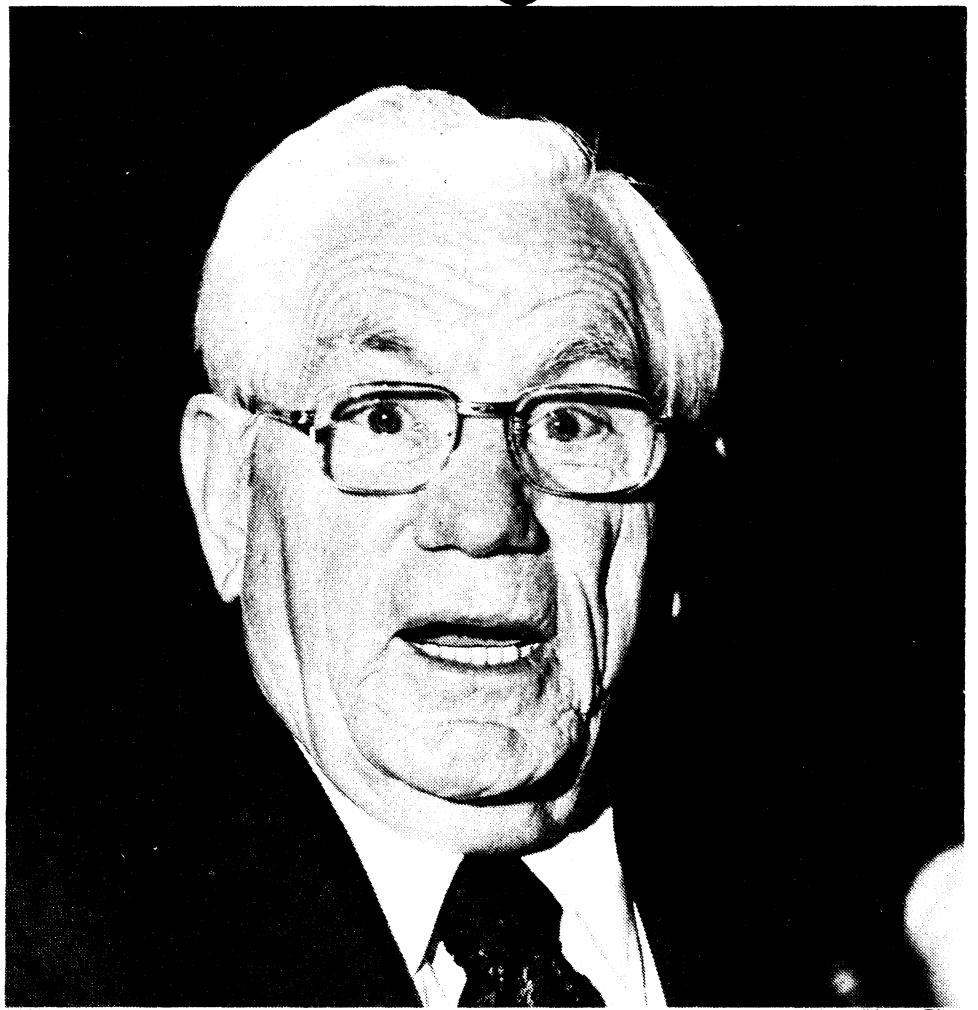
But now, Abel said, ENA means that "the union shop and the cost-of-living clause are sacred."

Can you imagine that? He believes that when the relationship of forces changes the employers won't try to take away the cost-of-living clause or the union shop. He's blind to the prospect that the union might have to fight to defend these gains—because he can't even conceive of mobilizing the union ranks for a fight against the bosses.

And Abel carefully fails to mention the places like Texas—and nineteen other "right to work" states—where the union shop not only isn't sacred, it's been outlawed by the Democratic and Republican politicians.

It was also clear from Abel's speech how deeply the question of foreign imports is tied up with the no-strike deal. This is a question I hope the *Militant* will carry more on, because it is central to the bureaucrats' rationale for collaboration with the bosses in steel and many other industries.

They palm off the bosses' fight



I.W. ABEL

Militant/Harry Ring

against imports as a fight to protect jobs, when it's really only a fight to protect the monopoly price structure and monopoly profits of American capitalists against their competitors. And in the process the bosses strengthen their hand against the union.

## 'Our' industry?

Here's how Abel put it in his speech: "Foreign imports are the greatest danger to our well-being and our national security. The ENA was the answer to this threat. The purpose of the ENA is to stabilize our industry and to safeguard our markets."

You can see how Abel identifies completely with the outlook and interests of the capitalists. *Our industry . . . our markets . . . our national security.* That's the voice of steel bosses, not steel workers.

Abel went on to say that Fight Back "wants more imports and fewer jobs for steelworkers." He didn't mention, of course, that his regime cooperated in a productivity drive that eliminated thousands upon thousands of jobs—all in the name of making "our" industry more competitive.

This was leading up to Abel's charge that Sadlowski is seeking "Japanese yen" to finance his campaign. Supposedly this is said because a mailing list the Fight Back office used to send out a fund appeal—one of many lists they got from liberal magazines and groups—included the name of someone who had been a lawyer for Toyota. Something absurd like that.

But Abel's real message was clear to all the union staffers there: if you want to fight the yellow peril, vote McBride. The whole place rose in applause and laughter at this racist taunt.

## Disdain for workers

Abel shares the capitalist disdain for workers as nothing more than unthinking cogs in the machinery of production. He used his speech to ridicule Sadlowski's statements on the intellectual capacities of the workers.

"These people say steelworkers are capable of becoming doctors, songwriters, and poets," Abel said this with a tone of heavy sarcasm, as if only a total fool could think such a thing.

This is "glib and irresponsible," he said. "We have no interest in reading poetry to a bunch of wierdos. We have no interest in crazy and vulgar words,

strumming on a guitar. No—we are interested in protecting the greatest society ever produced, safe against all intruders."

Abel didn't spell out who the "intruders" are that Fortress America must be protected against. In front of that audience, he didn't have to. They knew he meant safe against the "aliens," safe against the "Japs," safe against imports—and most of all safe against any challenge to their fat salaries and expense accounts.

"We should have no illusions," Abel said. The real logic of this opposition is "to do away with the capitalistic system and institute a socialistic system. Our members appreciate the capitalistic system whose fruits we enjoy."

That "we" was truly heartfelt by the assembled staff members, who enjoy a lot more fruits of the system than the workers they're supposed to represent.

But Abel assured them they're worth every penny they're getting. "Don't forget," he said, "take this to the members—the gains we have won are attributable to the work your officers have been doing." The workers themselves have nothing to do with it, in his view.

Maybe this is an over-long answer to your question, but I think it's valuable to see the mentality and program of the bureaucracy, which Abel spelled out so bluntly: total collaboration with the employers, "our" industry against foreigners, defense of the capitalist system.

Years of capitulation to the employers by Abel—and by [former USWA Presidents] McDonald and Murray before him—have fostered among part of the ranks this attitude that the corporations will react with great power if anybody tries to stand up to them. The bureaucracy has done its best to wipe out the idea that you can fight the employers and use the union power to defeat them.

Fight Back has begun the job of turning this around. But there are still many workers who will have to learn in struggle that you can make gains by fighting back.

If the American workers do take over their unions and use them as instruments of struggle for *their* class interests, they will be the greatest power on earth.

(to be continued)



## Honest elections 'too expensive'

# Gov't blocks challenges to union vote fraud

By Andy Rose

No more challenges to fraudulent union elections.

No more election reruns in which government observers block vote theft by incumbent officials.

That is the purpose of a new "permanent advisory unit" on union elections set up by the federal Labor Department. It is the same gimmick the department used to whitewash vote fraud by President I.W. Abel's machine in the recent United Steelworkers election.

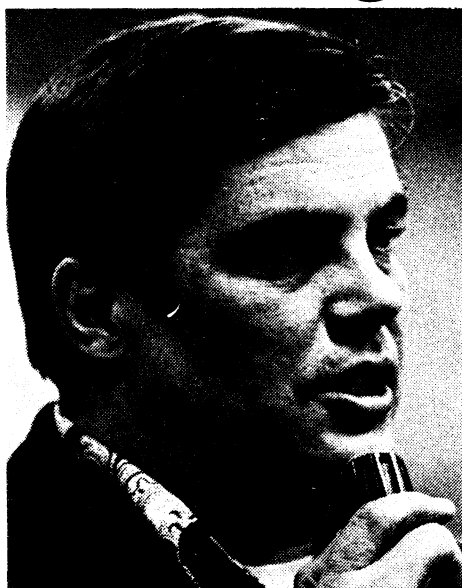
In that race, the Labor Department rejected insurgent candidate Ed Sadlowski's call for "full and complete" supervision of the February 8 voting. Instead it accepted Abel's request for "technical assistance."

The department sent only two observers to each of the union's twenty-two U.S. districts—obviously not for the purpose of watching thousands of polling places.

Steelworkers Fight Back denounced the government's action as "a sham intended to put a 'Good Housekeeping Seal of Approval' on a corrupt election."

Sure enough, the Labor Department "advisers" were no obstacle to vote fraud. But they may be a very big obstacle to overturning the rigged election, even though Fight Back has uncovered hundreds of cases of ballot-box stuffing and other illegalities.

When Sadlowski first ran for USWA District 31 director in 1973, Abel's gang counted the ballots and declared him the loser. Sadlowski took them to court under Title I of the Landrum-



SADLOWSKI: Fighting for union democracy.

Griffin Act, which says fair elections are the right of every union member.

Sadlowski forced a rerun under Labor Department supervision in 1974, and with an honest count he won by two to one.

When Steelworkers Fight Back announced last year for the top union posts, Abel was determined that this time the "official family" vote count would stick. He found a willing accomplice in W.J. Usery, labor secretary under President Ford.

Now the Carter administration proposes to make the cover-up role permanent. Ray Marshall, the new labor



MARSHALL: Whittling away at 'labor's bill of rights.'

secretary, poses it as a money-saving proposition.

"Experience shows that the investigation, resulting legal action and supervision of a new election of international union officers can require millions of dollars in spending by the labor organization and the department," Marshall says.

Experience also shows that union officials steal elections and that sometimes workers can use Landrum-Griffin to obtain a greater measure of union democracy.

But the Carter administration's professed concern for "human rights"

does not extend to the democratic rights of union members at home. Instead the administration is cooperating with the union hierarchy to suppress those rights.

The Carter Labor Department has further shown which side it is on by challenging Fight Back candidate Jim Balanoff's overwhelming victory in 1976 as president of USWA Local 1010.

The Democrats and Republicans have never been in the business of protecting union democracy. When they enacted Landrum-Griffin in 1959 as a further curb on union power, Title I—sometimes called "labor's bill of rights"—was added solely as window dressing. The capitalist politicians never had in mind that workers would take these rights seriously and demand that the government enforce them.

This problem was addressed in 1974 by the National Commission for Industrial Peace, set up by Richard Nixon to find ways of eliminating strikes. I.W. Abel was one of five union bureaucrats Nixon named to the panel.

The commission's final report attacked Title I, arguing that challenges to entrenched union officials make it more difficult for them to curb strikes.

No action was taken on the Nixon no-strike commission's report. But that doesn't mean that the employers, their representatives in Washington, and the union bureaucracy have given up on their hope of repealing Title I.

For now they welcome a slick proposal for gutting Title I in practice. And that is the intended effect of the Labor Department's latest move.

## Teachers discuss lessons of Racine strike

By Alexandra Topping

MILWAUKEE—"We fought a tough battle, and we won, but not all the way." That was how Martha Pettit, a leader of the Racine Education Association (REA), evaluated the fifty-day teachers' strike that ended March 16. She was speaking at the Friday night Militant Forum in Milwaukee March 18.

The other speakers were Bob Ginsberg, president of the Teaching Assistants Association at the University of Wisconsin, and Tony Prince, a member

of the Milwaukee Teachers Education Association (MTEA).

The Racine school board picked out eleven teachers for victimization for their role in the strike. One of the eleven, Martha Pettit's husband, Dean Pettit, was present at the forum.

In the lively discussion period after the presentations, he mentioned that one of the school board's tactics was to "starve the teachers back in." The board found a judge to get an injunction against the strike, thus cutting off food stamps for the teachers.

He also pointed to the role played by a public employees coalition in Racine in building solidarity for the strike. Other unions that belong to the coalition, like the fire fighters, school custodians, and American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, refused to cross the picket lines and sent members to help picket. Pettit suggested that the formation of a similar coalition would help Milwaukee teachers.

Someone in the audience asked Martha Pettit why the Racine strike didn't turn out like the teachers' strike in Hortonville, Wisconsin, in 1974, where all the teachers were fired and their jobs taken by scabs.

Pettit said that strong union backing for the REA was a key factor. "In Hortonville," Pettit said, "the teachers didn't have anyone to lean on."

She also praised the role of the *Racine Labor Press* in counteracting the antiteacher bias of Racine's only daily newspaper, the *Journal Times*.

Bob Ginsberg, the second speaker, talked about the issues facing the teaching assistants in Madison and the problems they have had in getting a contract.

Tony Prince of the MTEA pointed to the stalled contract talks between the union and the Milwaukee school board as an indication that another Racine may develop in Milwaukee.

Milwaukee teachers have been working almost three months without a

contract. No significant progress has been made in negotiations. On March 14, teachers voted three to one to authorize a strike.

The board has chosen this year to go on a campaign to "restore management rights," which means lengthening the workday with no increase in pay, refusing to negotiate class size, and eliminating the union shop.

Prince discussed two of the major questions facing Milwaukee teachers. One is the MTEA plan for faculty desegregation, which calls for voluntary teacher transfers in order to racially balance the schools.

Many Black teachers have protested against this plan because it could take many years to complete.

If the MTEA ignores the demands of Black teachers and the Black community, Prince said, it cannot hope to win their support for the struggles of teachers.

The other issue is how the MTEA should relate to the school board

elections in April. The MTEA's political arm—Educators Politically Involved Council—is considering endorsing some of the candidates, all of whom are either Democrats or Republicans.

Prince emphasized that this strategy was self-defeating for the MTEA, since these parties are both controlled by big business. The Democratic party is leading the attack against public employee unions around the country.

"It makes no sense to win our demands on the picket line and then lose them in city hall or the statehouse," he said.

"Instead, workers should form a labor party, based on and controlled by the unions and the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican communities. Though some people may consider this an unrealistic perspective, it's a lot more realistic than expecting to make any gains by supporting the party of the employers."



Militant/Sue Hagen

Active solidarity from other unions was crucial to winning REA strike.

## 500 K.C. strikers fired

By Mimi Pichey

KANSAS CITY, Mo.—In an attempt to force striking teachers back to work, the Kansas City board of education voted April 4 not to renew the contracts of 500 nontenured teachers.

The strike began March 21 when the school board refused to negotiate seriously with American Federation of Teachers Local 691. After seven weeks of meetings less than a quarter of the issues were resolved.

Local 691 carried out a successful forty-two-day strike in 1974. Since then the board has been chopping away at gains made in that strike and implementing cuts. In the past

two years more than 650 teachers have been laid off.

The union is refusing to return to the bargaining table until the school board agrees to federal mediation.

On March 20 the Jackson County Circuit Court issued a temporary injunction against the strike. A special prosecutor appointed by the court is threatening striking teachers with criminal contempt of court citations.

Despite these steps the strike remains strong. The union estimates that two-thirds of the teachers are out. The entire school system remains closed for lack of personnel.



# Herbert Aptheker's attack on Soviet dissidents

## The Kremlin gets a little help from its friends

By Peter Seidman

On March 8 the *Daily World*, the newspaper of the U.S. Communist party, announced that a two-part article by Herbert Aptheker, one of the CP's leading theoreticians and historians, would soon appear "as a reprint for quantity distribution."

Clearly the *Daily World* believes Aptheker's article, which it first published February 19 and 22, is very important.

Why? Because in it Aptheker explains why he supports the campaign of repression being directed by Moscow, Prague, Warsaw, and other East European capitals against the dissident movement. The American Stalinists feel the need to bring Aptheker's authority to bear in support of the Kremlin's undemocratic policies.

No doubt many of the CP's younger members feel uncomfortable defending the totalitarian suppression of basic freedoms of speech, press, assembly, and dissent.

And more than a few older CP members—remembering the rationales their leaders used to justify the now-admitted crimes of Stalin—are also restless with the repression they are again being asked to defend in the name of "socialism."

Moreover, the stock argument of Aptheker and other CP leaders is that the dissidents—and all those who defend them—are simply procapitalist "counterrevolutionaries." But this doesn't hold much water any more, since the mass CPs of France, Italy, and Spain have all issued statements or participated in activities in defense of the dissidents.

And at least some CP members must know—despite the efforts of their leaders to keep them ill informed—that Soviet and East European dissidents hold a wide range of views—from Marxist to reactionary, with a broad spectrum in between.

It is true that some dissidents erroneously think that Western capitalist nations offer a superior form of social organization to the planned economy established by the victorious socialist revolution of October 1917. These dissidents are led to this wrong conclusion because they see that in some capitalist countries the masses have won and preserved greater democratic freedoms than exist today in the Soviet-bloc countries. This blinds them to the constant attempts by the capitalist ruling classes to roll back democratic rights in pursuit of higher profits and new markets around the world.

The main responsibility for such an error lies not with the dissidents and their supporters, however. The responsibility lies with the suffocating regimes administered by Stalinist bureaucrats and defended by their apologists like Aptheker.

These regimes distort the liberating vision of socialism—making even imperialist regimes like the United States seem attractive by comparison.

### What CP fears

The truth is that the dissidents are striking a blow for genuine socialist democracy by demanding their right to speak out—even if what some of them have to say is wrong.

Freedom of speech means more than just the freedom to say what is correct.



HERBERT APTHEKER

And it *certainly* means more than the "freedom" to say what some government bureaucrat tells you is correct.

A Soviet society where everyone had full democratic rights would be a giant step forward for all humanity. It would inspire millions upon millions of workers in the Western capitalist countries to join the struggle for socialism.

By doing away with bureaucratic mismanagement and unleashing the creativity of the Soviet masses, it would open the door to large increases in productivity throughout the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, improving living standards enormously.

Of course, the victory of such a socialist democracy would require the ouster of the narrow-minded and conservative Stalinist bureaucracies.

The economic backwardness of the Soviet Union at the time of the Russian revolution fostered the development of such a ruling caste. This later set the pattern for other East European Stalinist regimes.

In each case, by ruthlessly and bureaucratically controlling production and distribution, these castes assure themselves substantial economic and social privileges. These would never be permitted if genuine workers democracy reigned over the planned

economies of the Soviet-bloc regimes.

The Stalinist bureaucrats fear any move toward democratization, which would threaten the stranglehold of power on which their privileges depend.

Aptheker attempts to defend the bureaucracies' undemocratic policies by shifting discussion away from the issue that really concerns the Soviet and East European regimes—their fear of this dynamic of the dissidents' demands.

Aptheker's basic argument is that "all revolutions always act so as to prohibit a return to that condition against which the revolution fought—i.e., all governments produced through revolution forbid counter-revolution."

This is merely a warmed-over way of repeating the charge that all the dissidents are counterrevolutionary.

### 'Theoretical, even ludicrous'

The American Revolution, Aptheker explains, culminated in a Constitution that outlawed the restoration of monarchy.

"If 99.4 percent of the citizens of New York State," Aptheker says, "should decide that they wanted to replace the governor with a monarch and wished to crown King Nelson the First and proceeded to do so, the United States government would be compelled to forbid it—by force if necessary. The citizens of the United States do not have the right to choose a monarchy."

Similarly, Aptheker argues in bold type, "THOSE WHO END CAPITALISM WILL NOT PERMIT ITS RETURN."

But this analogy does more to undermine Aptheker's arguments for the bureaucracy than to support them.

As Aptheker himself admits, his argument that Washington has the right to crush any new "King Nelson the First" sounds "theoretical—even ludicrous—today."

But why? Because American workers—whatever their complaints about the status quo—know that a return to monarchy could not possibly improve their standard of living or expand their rights.

Similarly, Aptheker surely doesn't believe that Soviet workers can be

convinced by dissidents to give up the enormous benefits they won in the Russian revolution.

Surely he knows that the Soviet workers would not join a procapitalist faction in a bloody civil war in order to submit themselves once again to layoffs, runaway inflation, expensive medical care, high rents, and all the other social ills that are endemic to capitalism but have been abolished—or at least lessened—in the postrevolutionary Soviet Union.

If the "danger" posed by the human rights activists in the Soviet Union was simply that some are procapitalist, why does Aptheker believe they would be any more of a threat than monarchists are in the United States?

### The real issue

The truth is that the bureaucrats fear that the dissidents will strike a different, deeper chord among the Soviet masses.

Let's return to Aptheker's analogy with the American Revolution to see why.

The repressive power wielded during and after the revolutionary war by America's new ruling capitalist class was not directed only against the traitorous Tories. It was also used to create a regime of class privilege at the expense of the toiling masses.

Surely Aptheker, the historian, knows that after the American Revolution, working people had to continue their revolutionary struggles. They even had to fight to add the Bill of Rights to the Constitution.

Another revolutionary war had to be waged to rid the country of the pestilence of slavery. Working people had to fight for the right to unionize and strike. Women had to fight for the right to vote. And the list goes on.

Surely Aptheker realizes that the democratic rights guaranteed in the Constitution are increasingly under attack today. Only a socialist revolution in the United States can insure the eradication of racism and sexism and the extension of democracy into the sphere of economic planning.

### What is socialism?

Aptheker says these tasks have all been completed in the USSR. He claims the USSR today is socialist because it has achieved the "termination of the private ownership of the means of production and the ending of production for the acquisition of profit."

But these are only the *prerequisites* for socialism. Socialism is more than this. It is more than "leading the world in the production of oil and steel, iron and milk," as important as these things are.

Socialism is the expansion of democracy into all areas of life—including genuine control over economic planning of production and distribution by the working masses. It means an end to national and women's oppression. It means complete freedom of expression. And more.

These are the goals for which the Russian revolutionaries of 1917 gave their lives. These are the goals set by the Bolsheviks under Lenin's leadership, and defended after his death by Trotsky and the Bolshevik Left Opposition.



French CP leader Pierre Juquin greets Soviet dissident Leonid Plyushch at October 21 rally in Paris. Protests and actions by some of mass European CPs expose Aptheker's argument that all Soviet dissidents are 'counterrevolutionary.'

Moscow's fear of the dissidents is proof enough that the Soviet masses have not yet won these revolutionary objectives.

While the economic and social revolution of 1917 broke Russia out of the orbit of capitalism, the Stalinist degeneration choked the full flowering of socialist economic, political, and cultural development. A political revolution is still urgently needed to bring the political organization of the Soviet Union into line with its economic base.

### A socialist Smith Act?

In their fear of the Soviet masses, the Stalinist bureaucrats ape the crudest police-state methods of the imperialists.

The U.S. government today does not direct the fury of its cops against monarchist and proslavery elements—although Aptheker's "historical" analogy, by dwelling on the government's "right" to do this, implies that this is the case. No, Washington levels its fire at Blacks, women, and working people who are fighting for progressive social change.

Similarly, the Kremlin's attacks on free expression reflect its fear that the dissidents' struggle will be taken up by the Soviet masses.

While welcoming the support it gets from "theoreticians" like Aptheker, the Kremlin knows that in the long run its privileged rule and conservative policies cannot be successfully defended by political argument alone. So Moscow studies the very laws used by Washington against American dissidents to see if it can find any useful tactics.

Hence, Sergei Gusev, deputy prosecutor general of the Soviet Union, in an article published on the Op-Ed page of the February 23 *New York Times*, writes that laws similar to those against "slandering propaganda with the aim of discrediting the Soviet political system" are "contained in practically all penal codes of the Western countries."

Pointing to one example, Gusev cites chapter and verse from the "United States Code, Paragraph 2385 of Title 18."

Gusev does not give the popular name for this law, the Smith Act, or mention that it was used by Washington to jail leaders of both the Socialist Workers party and the Communist party in the United States!

Does Aptheker believe that a genuinely socialist society would justify its need for a law like the Smith Act, portions of which have even been ruled unconstitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court? Is that the kind of world the CP is fighting for?

This is certainly not the vision that has inspired people to give their lives for socialism ever since 1848. That year, Marx and Engels wrote the *Communist Manifesto* to launch a movement "to win the battle of democracy" and build a society "in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all."

## On Socialist Democracy

Available now!

### Detente & Socialist Democracy

A discussion with Roy Medvedev  
165 pp., cloth \$9, paper \$2.45

### Samizdat

Voices of the Soviet Opposition  
Edited by George Saunders  
464 pp., cloth \$15, paper \$3.95

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

# Court rejects appeal of two jailed for silence in Puerto Rican probe

By José G. Pérez

A federal circuit court at the end of March turned down appeals from two women who have been imprisoned for refusing to testify before a federal grand jury in New York.

The two women, Maria Cueto and Raisa Nemikin, are employees of the Episcopal Church's National Commission on Hispanic Affairs (NCHA). They have been in prison since the beginning of March, and unless they win further appeals they may remain there until May 1978.

The government claims that the grand jury is investigating the Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional Puertorriqueña (FALN—Armed Forces of Puerto Rican National Liberation), a mysterious group that reportedly has taken credit for many bombings in New York and other cities over the past two and one half years.

But the evidence shows what is really involved is a wide-ranging fishing expedition against supporters of Puerto Rican independence.

The tie-in between the two women and the FALN is slim.

Last November, cops raided an apartment in Chicago said to be rented by Carlos Alberto Torres, who has been active in the Puerto Rican movement in New York and Chicago.

Cops claim they found a "bomb factory" in the apartment and said they suspected Torres might be a member of the FALN. The government has been looking for him ever since.

Torres served as an adviser to the Episcopal commission. The FBI in New York went to the headquarters of the commission and questioned people there.

Cueto and Nemikin say they answered the FBI's questions: Yes, they had known Torres. No, they didn't know where he was. No, they didn't know anything about the FALN. Then they were subpoenaed to appear before the grand jury.

Not only were they subpoenaed. The government wanted personnel records of the commission, financial books—

anything and everything having to do with the commission down to the typewriter balls of all the IBM machines in the Episcopal Church's national offices.

Now the plot thickens. Beginning in 1967, the Episcopal Church sponsored programs that developed ties with movement activists.

Last September—weeks before the launching of the investigation into the NCHA—the executive council of the church called for the release of five Puerto Rican nationalists who have been in U.S. prisons since the early 1950s.

Then at the end of the year the church house of deputies approved a motion calling for self-determination for all colonies, including Puerto Rico.

This and parallel moves on other social issues have led to a dispute within the church, with presiding Bishop John Allin leading the conservatives who want to make social-action programs more "accountable" to the church. The conservatives want

more traditional charity-type programs, rather than programs that aim to build up the political power of oppressed minorities.

The grand jury inquisition has put the government right in the middle of this dispute, and on the side of the conservatives.

When the subpoenas arrived, the two women—backed by several church leaders—refused to comply.

They said they knew nothing about the FALN and that it would be a violation of freedom of speech, religion, and association to force them to testify about their religious and political activities.

They said that their work for the church made them, in effect, lay ministers, and entitled to the same protection from government inquiry as ordained ministers.

Moreover, they pointed out that testifying in secret before a grand jury would disrupt their collaboration with groups in Hispanic communities.

But presiding Bishop Allin disagreed and gave the FBI unrestricted access to records and files at the church's national headquarters. He also used the women's stance on the subpoenas to effectively dismantle the Hispanic commission.

Meanwhile, the federal government has another grand jury in Chicago, also supposedly investigating the FALN. That grand jury, however, hasn't been able to send anyone to prison yet because its composition is being challenged.

The whole operation is a classic fishing expedition. The government doesn't know who or what it is looking for, so it has subpoenaed everything and everyone it claims might be related to the FALN.

In the process, the government has engaged in massive snooping under cover of the grand jury; put an end to the work of the Hispanic commission; and put two activists behind bars although they haven't been accused—much less tried and convicted—of any crime.

## Socialists voice support

On March 11 Catarino Garza, Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor of New York City, and Julio Roldaz of the Committee to End Grand Jury Repression spoke to an Upper West Side, Manhattan, Militant Forum.

Following the talks, people at the meeting voted to send a solidarity message to Raisa Nemikin and Maria Cueto, who have been imprisoned for refusing to testify before a grand jury.

"[We] support your right to keep silent," the message said, "... and condemn the use of grand jury harassment to intimidate you and others who advocate independence for Puerto Rico."

# YSA plans April 11-17 sales drive

By Diane Wang

Young Socialist Alliance members are marking their calendars and making plans. April 11-17 is the national "target" week for selling the monthly *Young Socialist* newspaper.

"In April our top priority is selling the *Young Socialist*," explained YSA National Chairperson Rick Berman. "We're going to put the same effort into sales that we put into building International Women's Day demonstrations and the recent protests against U.S. support to white racist regimes in Africa."

The YSA plans to sell 6,000 copies of the paper this month. By the end of the April 11-17 target week the socialists aim to have sold 3,000.

Why the big sales drive? Nancy Brown, editor of the *Young Socialist*, explained: "Selling the paper is a good way to meet people and talk to them about joining the YSA."

"We have important ideas we want to share with people," Brown continued. "For example, in this issue we explain the connection between socialism and human rights and why socialists defend dissidents in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe," Brown said.

Other articles in the April *Young Socialist* tell about how the Iranian secret police made a deal with a New York City college; "Mod Squad" spies hired by the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia to keep track of political students; the fight against the Bakke decision in California; how

Minneapolis feminists are defending abortion rights.

"YSA members learned a lot from taking part in the *Militant* sales drive," said *Young Socialist* business manager Brian Williams, "and we're using those lessons for our target week."

For example, YSA chapters are ordering larger bundles of the paper for the sales drive. The Denver chapter has raised its monthly sales goal from 185 to 235; Minneapolis from 100 to 125; San Antonio from 50 to 75; State College, Pennsylvania, from 60 to 80; and the new Miami chapter from 40 to 50 copies.

April 11-17 is the week for trying

new sales ideas and going to new places. "That is the week chapters can organize special sales to all the high schools in their areas," Williams suggested.

The YSA has eight traveling teams selling both the *Young Socialist* and *Militant* at campuses across the country. During the sales target week, Williams said, chapters will organize additional sales teams to visit campuses in their local areas.

If you want to be a part of the April *Young Socialist* sales drive get in touch with the YSA chapter nearest you (listed on page 31) or write the YSA National Office, Post Office Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.



YS/Joanne Murphy

YSA members aim to sell 6,000 copies of the April 'Young Socialist.'

## Poems of protest from Iran

This March 19, the eve of the Iranian New Year, marked a historic event of Iranian literature in exile. Two leading Iranian poets, Ahmad Shamlu and Reza Baraheni, read their poetry at a benefit held at New York University by the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI).

Shamlu read before the celebration's dinner; Baraheni afterwards.

### Poetry

Gatherings to celebrate the arrival of the New Year are now a well-established tradition of Iranians living abroad. Many are organized by Iranian students as protest rallies against the shah of Iran's repressive regime.

The CAIFI benefit was an important political event attended by more than one hundred people, both Iranians and Americans. It will be viewed, both in Iran and abroad, as an action in defense of Iranian political prisoners, some of whom are the country's best writers.

Throughout the past seventy years, following the defeated Constitutional Revolution (1906-11), Iranian literature has been the literature of *commitment*. This term, coined by dissident Iranian writers of the post-1953 coup generation, refers to literature that depicts the suffering of the Iranian masses under the rule of the Pahlavi dynasty.

During the last half century in particular, this political commitment has been manifested by writers in almost all forms of literature, including: Ahmad Shamlu, Reza Baraheni, and Jallal Al-Ahmad (one of Iran's greatest intellectuals, believed to have been murdered by the regime); Gholam-Hossien Sa'edi, Iran's foremost playwright; Forough Farrokhzad, the greatest woman poet of Iran; and many others. They have created a literature that exposes and condemns the totality of the monarchial system, the base of imperialist domination of Iran.

Literature has become the language of political dissent. Its metaphors and symbols, its characters and plots portray the shah and his cabal as devils incarnated. That is the reason for the shah's brutal crackdown on literature and its creators in Iran.

The Iranian regime's systematic imprisonment and torture of all the outstanding writers and intellectuals of the country has led to their growing immigration abroad. In 1974 Reza Baraheni, who had earlier spent 102 days in an Iranian jail, left the country after a successful international campaign to free him.

Since then his determined fight to expose the atrocities of the regime has brought the cause of human rights in Iran

to the attention of the world public opinion.

Now Ahmad Shamlu is in the United States too. Fifty-two years old, with more than two dozen volumes of poetry printed during thirty years of consistent creativity, Shamlu too had to escape the shah's unbearable repression.

Shamlu and Baraheni are the best representatives of two generations of Iranian poets.

Among the post-World War II generation of Iranian poets, Shamlu is the foremost disciple of Nima Yusheej, founder of modern Persian poetry, who challenged and systematically changed almost all the traditional tendencies in Persian verse.

Representing the younger generation of the postcoup era, Baraheni's poetry—particularly his uncensored works published outside Iran—vividly depicts the reality of the oppression suffered by the Iranians.

Shamlu's poetry, particularly that written within the last fifteen years, has been based on the rhythmical pattern of prose rather than verse. It is unique in its choice of beautiful words and precise, laconic language.

It is the poetry of great aesthetic surprises, appealing sometimes to one's senses, at other times to one's emotions, but generally to the whole emotional and intellectual capacities of the reader.

Some of Shamlu's poems, the "Fairies" for instance, are among the most famous poems of Iran's contemporary literary circles.

Baraheni's is the poetry of action, with dynamic and real images. It portrays his childhood experiences in the slums of his native city of Tabriz, as well as his later life in Tehran.

His recent poetry, published in *God's Shadow* by Indiana University Press,\* was called by *Publishers Weekly* "both a political and human event." It describes the torturous sufferings of men and women in the jails of the shah.

One major aspect of Baraheni's life has been his profound concern with the plight of his own oppressed nationality, the Azerbaijani Turks. This concern has been most apparent in his later prose and poetry.

In his opening remarks, said in Persian and translated by a colleague, Shamlu stressed the need for unity in the struggle against repression in Iran. He reiterated his desire to work with all dissident Iranian groups.

Baraheni opened his reading with the remark: "The true New Year celebrations will not come for us until we succeed in our struggle to release all political prisoners and hold them in our arms at home."

—M.N.

\* Available in Persian from Abjad Publications, 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10003.



AHMAD SHAMLU

### The Song of Abraham in Fire

[Translated from Persian by Ahmad Karimi-Hakkak for his forthcoming *Anthology of Modern Persian Poetry*]

Under the bloody tumbling of twilight  
there stands a man of another kind  
who wanted the land to be green  
who wanted love to be worthy of the  
most beautiful of women.

For this to him  
was not so worthless an offering  
as to become only dust and stone.

What a man! what a man!  
he said  
better for the heart  
to sink in blood  
by the seven swords of love  
and better for the lips  
to utter the most beautiful name.

And a mountain-like hero, thus in love  
crossed the bloody battlefield of destiny  
with the heels of Achilles  
an invulnerable hero  
the secret of whose death  
was the sorrow of love  
and the depth of solitude.

"Ay! sad Esfandiar  
your eyes  
better closed.

"Was a *no*  
only one *no*  
enough  
to make my fate.

"I only cried *no*  
I refused to sink.

"I was a voice  
—a form among forms—  
and thus I found my meaning.

"I was  
and I became  
not as a bud becomes a flower  
nor as a root becomes a shoot  
nor as a seedling becomes a forest  
but as a common man becomes a martyr  
for heavens to worship him.

"I was not a servile little slave  
and my way to a heavenly paradise  
was not the path of submission and  
servility.

"I deserved a God of another kind  
worthy of a creature  
who does not humble himself  
for the indispensable morsel.

"And a God  
of another kind  
I created."

Alas! mountain-like hero  
that you were  
and mountain-like  
formidable and firm  
before falling on the ground  
you were dead.

Yet neither God nor Satan  
but an idol wrote your destiny  
an idol whom others worshipped  
an idol whom others worshipped.

—Ahmad Shamlu



REZA BARAHENI

Militant/Lou Howort

### The Mask of the Writer Facing the Police

[Reprinted from *The Crowned Cannibals*, to be published by Random House, Vintage editions, in June]

I come back from the city  
where I have shaken hands with the  
police  
The ritual is worthy of historical remembrance

He puts his rifle on the floor  
I put my pen on the paper  
He takes off his cap  
I take off my pants  
He takes off his pants  
I take off his jacket  
He takes off my shorts  
I take off his shirt  
He takes off my jacket  
I take off his shorts  
I remove the label: "Up with the King!"  
from his penis

He removes the label: "Down with the King!" from my ass  
We shake hands solemnly  
Like a general surrendering to another  
general

Then we dress:  
I put the label: "Up with the King!" on his  
ass  
He puts the label: "Down with the King!"  
on my penis

I put on him his shorts  
He puts on me my jacket  
I put on him his shirt  
He puts on me my shorts  
I put on him his jacket  
He puts on me his cap  
There's mistake  
I take off his cap  
I put on him his cap  
He picks up my pen  
I pick up his rifle  
There's mistake again  
He gives me my pen  
I give him his rifle  
He follows me  
I run

I come back from the city  
Where I have shaken hands with the  
police  
—Reza Baraheni



# Gov't pulls back from attack on affirmative action

By Ginny Hildebrand

The Labor Department has admitted that protests from Black and women's groups played a major role in forestalling approval of new affirmative-action guidelines. The new regulations would have crippled existing affirmative-action employment requirements for federal contractors.

However, the proposed changes are still under active consideration, a spokesperson for the Labor Department's Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs (OFCCP) told the *Militant*.

Last September the OFCCP quietly proposed the new guidelines to "streamline" enforcement of affirmative-action regulations, which are called for under Executive Order 11246.

The National Urban League and other groups denounced them for what they really were: "a pardon for businesses and educational institutions" and "a disastrous regression" for women and Blacks.

In a recent phone interview, Robert Geleter from the OFCCP admitted to the *Militant*, "You could make a good case that the government was taking a step backwards" with the September proposals.

The public outcry this past fall forced the Labor Department to hold hearings in four cities during December. Testimony from the National Urban League, Women Office Workers, Socialist Workers party, National Organization for Women, and others exposed some of the worst features of the proposed guidelines, including:

- Exempting employers from submitting written affirmative-action programs if they employ less than 100 workers and seek a government contract of less than \$100,000. The old guidelines apply to employers with 50 or more employees and contracts of \$50,000 or more. The change would eliminate more than 3,400,000 employees from coverage.

- Boosting the dollar value of contracts from \$1 million to \$10 million before companies are subject to investigations into hiring practices in order to get a contract. This would cover only 6 percent of contractors.

In January the Labor Department pulled back. "Numerous comments and thousands of pages of hearing transcript," explained the Labor Department in the *Federal Register*, "... indicate a need for further consideration of many of the proposals."

So for now, the old guidelines, with a few amendments, are still in effect.

This is an important victory.

It's no wonder that big business is dismayed. After all, proposed changes in the guidelines "would have required less from the employers," Geleter says.

Even under the old guidelines, businesses were treated gingerly. With 200,000 to 300,000 contractors, Geleter explained, "we don't get around to investigating anywhere near that number."

Lackadaisical enforcement is obvious—in ten years only ten companies have been debarred from holding federal contracts for job discrimination.

Also, many complaints go to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, an agency with more than 120,000 uninvestigated complaints.

Jimmy Carter hasn't announced which set of guidelines he will back. But his short record as president is an ominous warning: Witness his call for a measly \$2.50 minimum wage, his opposition to Medicaid-funded abortions, and his appointment of longtime segregationist Griffin Bell to head the Justice Department.

Black and women's groups must be prepared to answer any renewed moves to water down affirmative-action requirements and press for strict enforcement of existing guidelines. Organized labor should join this fight. Any rollback of affirmative action is ultimately aimed at weakening the entire labor movement.

## March 25, 1911

# Triangle factory fire

By Dianne Feeley

Safe working conditions are a critical issue in many industries. In 1974 Karen Silkwood, a worker in an Oklahoma nuclear plant, was murdered while attempting to provide documentation of the dangerous conditions at her workplace.

The investigation into her murder has been as much an issue to the women's movement as to the trade-union movement.

That was also true for the 1911 Triangle Shirtwaist factory fire.

March 25 was the sixty-sixth anniversary of this tragedy, which killed 146 people—mostly women. From the ashes of that holocaust emerged a campaign for better working conditions. Before World War I broke out, this massive struggle won nearly forty laws regulating factory conditions.

The Triangle fire occurred during the fight to unionize the garment industry. These were also the days when a new leadership was revitalizing the suffrage movement with an approach toward involving trade-union women.

When garment workers demonstrated March 8, 1908, in support of an eight-hour workday, an end to child labor, and for women's suffrage, the women of Triangle were among them. This day of protest later became an internationally celebrated day of the working-class and feminist movements—International Women's Day.

## 1909 strike

In 1909 Triangle workers began to join the young International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU). The firm locked out the workers and tried to hire a whole new crew. Although ILGWU Local 25 had only 400 members and a ten-dollar treasury, it called a strike.

In the course of the strike, which spread to garment shops across the city, cops brutally beat picketers and arrested more than 700 workers. The Women's Trade Union League—a group of women pledged to support working women in their attempts to organize and secure the vote—publicized the strike throughout the women's movement and aided the union.

The "Revolt of the 30,000," as the strike is known, was organized and carried out by a predominantly female work force. It lasted thirteen weeks and ended with 354 firms signing contracts with the ILGWU. Those contracts established a fifty-two-hour workweek and a 12 to 15 percent wage increase.

- But at Triangle, the union wasn't able to win. The workers didn't secure the right to a union or a wage hike.

They had also demanded installation of an additional fire escape and the right to have open doors from the factory to the streets. They were also denied these safety improvements.

## Fire

When the fire struck on a Saturday at about 4:30 p.m., many of the women were trapped on the eighth, ninth, and tenth floors of the plant near Washington Square Park.

Some women were able to flee down the narrow fire escape before it collapsed. Some climbed onto the roof and were helped to safety by students at New York University. Others filled elevators trip after trip.

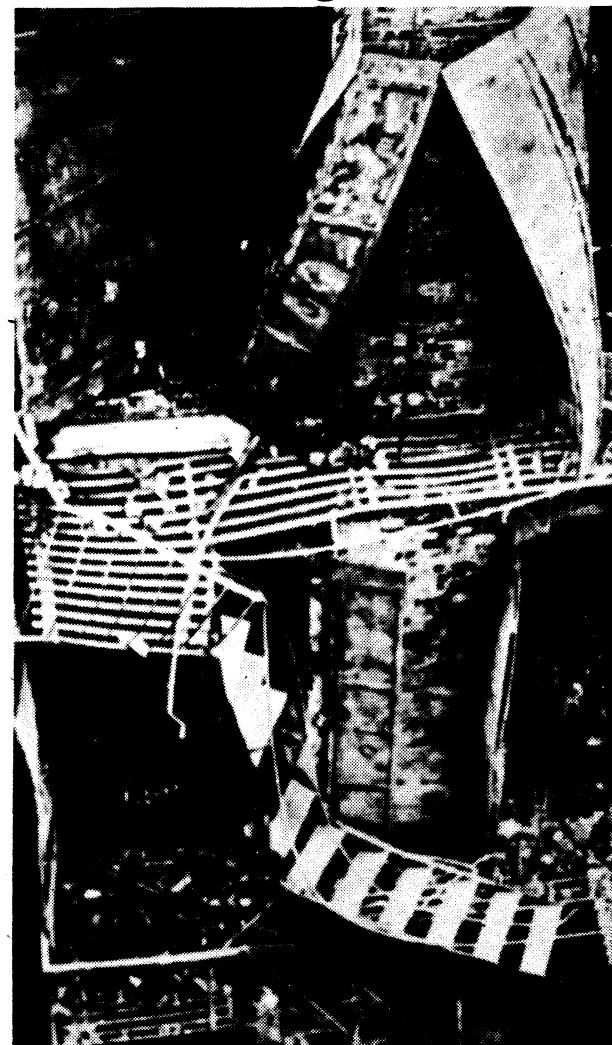
Many were trapped behind a locked door. More than 120 leaped from window ledges or jumped into the elevator shaft, often their hair and clothes aflame. The force of each body falling from the high floors was about 11,000 pounds. Life nets spread by the fire fighters were useless.

During the following ten days, thousands attended memorial meetings organized by the ILGWU, Collegiate Equal Suffrage League, Women's Trade Union League, and others.

At one meeting A.M. Simons, editor of a socialist newspaper, told the crowd: "Your union should have the right to decide questions which are of most concern to working people. . . . These deaths resulted because capital begrudged the price of another fire escape."

At another rally Rose Schneiderman, a leader of the strike at the Triangle factory, most clearly articulated the protesters' sentiments:

"This is not the first time girls have been burned alive in this city. . . . The life of men and women is



'Because capital begrudged the price of another fire escape.'

so cheap and property is so sacred! . . . But every time the workers come out in the only way they know to protest against conditions which are unbearable, the strong hand of the law is allowed to press down heavily upon us.

"Public officials have only words of warning for us . . . and they have the workhouse just back of all their warnings. . . . I know from experience it is up to the working people to save themselves. And the only way is through a strong working-class movement."

Officials tried to defuse any attempt to hold a large public funeral. But on April 5 when seven unidentified fire victims were buried, 120,000 protesters marched.

Isaac Harris and Max Blanck, owners of Triangle Shirtwaist Company, were indicted for manslaughter. Not one factory worker or woman sat on the jury. Its verdict—not guilty.

Today the industrial slaughter continues.

## The slaughter goes on

The government's conservative 1972 estimate is that 100,000 workers are killed by their jobs each year, while an additional 390,000 suffer from occupational disabilities and diseases.

Cotton dust fills the lungs of textile workers leading them to an early grave from brown lung disease. For coal miners, it's death from black lung disease, if they are not buried in a tomb of coal. Steelworkers in the foundries suffer chronic headaches and breathlessness from inhaling carbon monoxide and deadly silica dust.

Workers of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union are plagued with emphysema, bronchitis, and lead poisoning. Chemical fumes and other industrial waste spewed into the air and dumped into our rivers cause high rates of cancer in many cities.

Under the conditions, the words of the most radical protesters of the Triangle fire still ring true.

Workers must seize control over the conditions of their labor from the avaricious bosses. In doing so, they will have to challenge the government, which does not even enforce the minimal health and safety standards that exist.

With women now holding two out of every five jobs, these issues confront the feminist movement. The Triangle factory building, which is today part of New York University, stands as a reminder: one day feminists must join with the workers movement to rid this country of the capitalist rulers who would rather murder working people than pay "the price of another fire escape."

# Puerto Rico:

U.S. Colony in the Caribbean

By José G. Pérez



## PUERTO RICO: U.S. COLONY IN THE CARIBBEAN

BY JOSÉ G. PÉREZ

'Nothing could be more ironic for Puerto Ricans than the celebration of 200 years of American independence. . . . To understand the economic crisis and political ferment on the island, the recurring debates over Puerto Rico in the United Nations, and the maneuvers in the U.S. Congress, it is necessary to begin from one simple fact: Puerto Rico is a colony of the United States.'

24 pp., 35 cents

**Down These Mean Streets**  
By Piri Thomas. paper \$1.25

**Puerto Rico: Freedom and Power in the Caribbean**  
By Gordon K. Lewis. paper \$6.95

**Seven Long Times**  
By Piri Thomas. paper \$1.75

**We, the Puerto Rican People**  
By Juan Angel Silén. paper \$2.75

**La conciencia nacional puertorriqueña**  
(selección, introducción y notas de Manuel Maldonado Denis)  
Por Pedro Albizu Campos. rústica \$1.25

**El emigrante puertorriqueño**  
Por Luis Nieves Falcón. rústica \$4.25

**Lolita Lebrón—la prisionera**  
Por Federico Tovar. rústica \$4.95

**Narcisco descubre su trasero: El negro en la cultura puertorriqueña**  
Por Isabelo Cenon Cruz. 2 tomos. rústica \$10.00

**Puerto Rico, libertad y poder en el Caribe**  
Por Gordon K. Lewis. rústica \$9.50

**Puerto Rico: una interpretación histórico-social**  
Por Manuel Maldonado Denis. rústica \$3.75

Order today from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Write for a free catalog.

# Calendar

## ATLANTA

**SPEAK-OUT IN SUPPORT OF CITY WORKERS.**  
Speakers: Leamon Hood, AFSCME area director; Sid Finehirsh, SWP; others. Fri., April 15, 8 p.m. Grace Covenant Baptist Church, 775 Martin Luther King Jr. Drive NW. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (404) 688-6739 or 755-2940.

## BALTIMORE

**WHO KILLED MARTIN LUTHER KING?** Speaker: Jesse McDade, professor at Morgan State University. Fri., April 15, 8 p.m. 2117 N. Charles St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (301) 547-0668.

## BERKELEY

**THE DEATH PENALTY: DETERRENT OR MURDER?** Speakers: Randy Stallings, Northern California Coalition Against the Death Penalty; Sandy Evans, Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case; representative of SWP. Fri., April 15, 8 p.m. 3264 Adeline St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 653-7156.

## CLEVELAND

**WOMEN'S RIGHTS UNDER ATTACK—WHICH WAY FORWARD?** Speakers: Nan Bailey, SWP; Donna Krause, president, Cleveland NOW; Gloranne Leck, president, Youngstown NOW. Fri., April 15, 8 p.m. 2300 Payne. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 861-4166.

## DALLAS

**STOP THE EXECUTIONS: WHY THE DEATH PENALTY SHOULD BE ABOLISHED.** Speakers: Dr. Dan Georges, University of Texas at Arlington; Texas Rep. Sam Hudson; speakers from Dallas NAACP and ACLU. Fri., April 15, 8 p.m. 2215 Cedar Crest. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (214) 943-6684.

## DETROIT: WEST SIDE

**THE BAKKE DECISION: THREAT TO AFFIRMATIVE ACTION.** Speakers: Dorothy Smith, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission; Clarence Brown, SCAR. Fri., April 15, 8 p.m. 18415 Wyoming. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 341-6436.

## KANSAS CITY

**WHY TEACHERS STRIKE.** Speakers: Barbara

Bowman, St. Louis teachers delegate to 1976 AFT convention and 1976 SWP candidate for U.S. Senate; others. Fri., April 15, 7:30 p.m. 4715A Troost. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

## MINNEAPOLIS

**1977 SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY.** Speakers: Jim Carson, SWP candidate for mayor; Peggi Perrone, candidate for 2nd Ward city council; Faith Einerson, candidate for 8th Ward city council. Sat., April 16, 8 p.m. University of Minnesota, Coffman Memorial Union, Room 320. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Socialist Workers 1977 Campaign Committee. For more information call (612) 870-1284.

## NEWARK: BROADWAY

**HOW CAN WOMEN WIN OUR RIGHTS?** Speakers: Miriam Santiago, counselor, La Casa de Don Pedro de Albizu Campos; Betsy Cummings, SWP and co-coordinator of Newark NOW. Fri., April 15, 7:30 p.m. 256 Broadway. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (201) 482-3367.

## NEW YORK: THE BRONX

**CLASSES ON THE TRANSITIONAL PROGRAM.** Wednesdays, 8 p.m. 2271 Morris Ave. (near 183rd St.) Ausp: SWP. For more information call (212) 365-6652.

## PHILADELPHIA: GERMANTOWN

**UGANDA, ZAIRE, S. AFRICA: CARTER'S NEW VIETNAMS?** Speakers: a Ugandan student; a Soweto refugee; representative of SWP. Fri., April 15, 8 p.m. 5950 Germantown Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) 844-2874.

## PITTSBURGH

**SCHOOL DESEGREGATION IN PITTSBURGH.** Speakers: Carla Hoag, SWP; Alice Carter, Urban League; Bernice Wilson, Concerned Citizens of Homewood-Brushton. Fri., April 15, 8 p.m. 5504 Penn Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (412) 441-1419.

## SAN DIEGO

**LATIN AMERICA: CONTINENT WITHOUT JUSTICE.** Speakers: Page Tulloch, USLA; others. Fri., April 15, 8 p.m. 1053 15th St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 234-4630.

## TACOMA, WASH.

**THE LEGACY OF MALCOLM X.** Speaker: Dave Zilly. Fri., April 15, 8 p.m. 1022 S. J St. Donation: \$1. For more information call (206) 627-0432.

# ...Africa

Continued from page 4

cialist Workers party candidate for mayor of Chicago; and Donna Stutts, National Alliance of Black Feminists.

Several days before the demonstration, South African student leader Khotso Seatlholo was in Chicago for a one-day tour. The high point of his visit was a speech at an assembly of 800 students at Percy Julian High School.

Later that day 100 students heard Seatlholo at Kennedy King College and 70 people at Governors State University.

## New Orleans

By Derrick Morrison

NEW ORLEANS—Seventy-five people here picketed the South African consulate March 25. New Orleans is

one of the few U.S. cities to officially house representatives of the racist South African government.

The New Orleans Student Coalition Against Racism initiated the picket line.

On March 7, South African student leader Tsietshi Mashinini spoke to 700 students on three New Orleans campuses. As a result of the Mashinini tour, NSCAR chapters were formed at the University of New Orleans, Xavier University, and Dillard University. The students there took the lead in building the March 25 protest.

A brief rally capped off the picket. Speakers included Ike Nahem, city-wide SCAR coordinator; Marlene Roeder, American Civil Liberties Union; Sekou Fela, Ujamaa organization; and Johnny Russ, University of New Orleans SCAR.

# ...District 1

Continued from page 9

Democratic party," Sánchez said.

"Gotbaum and the others supported Abe Beame when he ran for mayor, supported Hugh Carey when he ran for governor, supported Jimmy Carter when he ran for president. And the first thing these Democrats did when they got in office was to kick labor in the teeth.

"On the other hand, school workers will have to fight against cutbacks and layoffs and wage freezes. If they go on strike, they'll need community support to win. D.C. 37's support to the racists has hurt that union's reputation in the Lower East Side and undercuts its ability to win support."

Sánchez also noted that because of the complex vote-counting procedure, in order to win the maximum number of seats each slate has to hand out palm cards with the names of the candidates listed in a certain order and with precise voting instructions.

"Last election we lost 600 votes—one school board seat—due to invalid votes. If five Por los Niños candidates

were to be listed on two slates, it would hurt, rather than help, our chances," he said.

When D.C. 37 announced the slate it was putting together, parents sent a delegation to the union headquarters to demand that the union drop the endorsement of the racists. But D.C. 37 officials refused, so the Parents Council—the policy-making body of the Por los Niños coalition and slate—decided to send a letter to D.C. 37 signed by Por los Niños candidates repudiating D.C. 37's endorsement because that endorsement meant five Por los Niños candidates would be lumped together with five racist candidates.

Unfortunately, Ellen Bradley and Leo Lawrence, two leaders of the Lower East Side's Black community, decided not to sign the letter to D.C. 37. They had been on the original Por los Niños slate and were on Gotbaum's proposed slate. Their inclusion on the original slate had been an important step toward healing a split between the Puerto Ricans and Blacks in the Por

los Niños coalition that developed two years ago.

Although Bradley and Lawrence didn't sign the letter, they agreed with the Parents Council decision that Por los Niños candidates could not be listed on the slate with the racists.

For several weeks the parents postponed sending the letter, hoping that Bradley and Lawrence would reconsider. Finally, on April 2 the letter was sent without Bradley and Lawrence's signatures.

Their failure to sign the letter means that Bradley and Lawrence have, in effect, withdrawn from the Por los Niños slate. Thus Gotbaum's maneuver partly succeeded in dividing the parents' slate.

One important reason why Bradley and Lawrence left Por los Niños to run on the D.C. 37 slate is that the union gives large amounts of help—literature and precinct workers—to candidates it endorses.

Its failure to get that support this year will be keenly felt by Por los Niños. Moreover, the delay in sending

the letter has meant that Por los Niños has not yet produced large quantities of literature—since the composition of the slate was in doubt.

Nicomedes Sánchez believes, however, that these obstacles can be overcome.

"Now that the parents have firmly repudiated Gotbaum's divisive maneuvers, D.C. 37 officials have been put in an awkward position: their slate consists of the racists and eight independents. Gotbaum can no longer pretend he's supporting Por los Niños."

Sánchez said he has written an open letter to D.C. 37 members explaining what their leadership has done. "I plan to distribute my letter to other trade unionists and community activists and ask them to demand that the D.C. 37 officials retract their endorsement of the five racists and once again, as in the past, support the right of the children on the Lower East Side to a decent education by supporting the Por los Niños slate."

**WHO KILLED MALCOLM X?**

One assassin was caught at the scene. He confessed at the trial. But the prosecution and police never pursued the central question: Who paid him to pull the trigger?

192 pages, cloth \$8.00, paper \$1.95

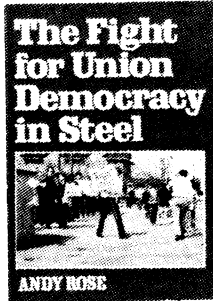
Pathfinder Press, Inc.  
410 West Street  
New York, NY 10014

# Books and pamphlets on the labor movement

## The Fight for Union Democracy in Steel

By Andy Rose

Tells about the background to Ed Sadlowski's campaign, lessons from the history of the CIO, and questions facing all working people today. 40 pp. 50 cents.



## A Struggle for Union Democracy

By Ed Heisler

Tells about the Right to Vote Committee of the United Transportation Union—how it was organized, how it won a mass following among railroad workers, and what it was able to accomplish. 47 pp. 75 cents.

## Labor's Giant Step: Twenty Years of the CIO

By Art Preis, 538 pp., \$3.95; cloth \$14

Fárrrell Dobbs's books tell how Midwest Teamsters built a powerful, democratic union in the 1930s—against sabotage and strikebreaking by the Teamster bureaucracy:

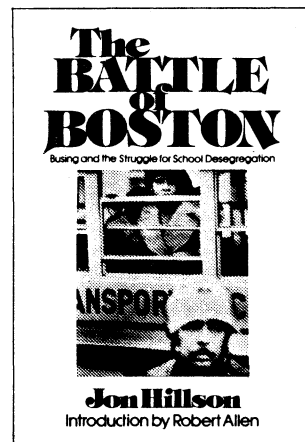
**Teamster Rebellion** 192 pp., \$2.45; cloth \$10

**Teamster Power** 255 pp., \$2.95; cloth \$10

**Teamster Politics** 256 pp., \$2.95; cloth \$10

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

## NEW FROM PATHFINDER



'The Battle of Boston' is the first book to report the story behind the headlines. The 'cradle of liberty' became a testing ground. For the antibusing forces, from the KKK to the White House, Boston was the first step in a nationwide assault on the gains of the civil rights movement. And for the supporters of Black rights, who once again took their cause to the streets, it marked a new stage in the struggle against racism.

286 pp., \$12, paper \$3.95  
Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

## Affirmative Action vs. Seniority

by Linda Jenness, Herbert Hill, Willie Mae Reid, Frank Lovell, and Sue Em Davenport. 30 pp., 50 cents

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

## May Day Socialist educational weekend

Classes on 'American Labor: Yesterday and Today.' April 29-30, New York University, Loeb Student Center.

## May Day Rally & Celebration

Featuring Jack Barnes, SWP national secretary, speaking on 'Labor's Next Giant Step.' NYU Law School.

Donation: \$3. Ausp: New York Socialist Workers 1977 Campaign Committee and NYU Young Socialist Alliance. For information call (212) 260-6461.

# Socialist Directory

**ARIZONA: Phoenix:** SWP, 314 E. Taylor, Phoenix, Ariz. 85004. Tel: (602) 255-0450.

**Tempe:** YSA, Box 1344, Tempe, Ariz. 85281. Tel: (602) 277-9453.

**Tucson:** YSA, SUPO 20965, Tucson, Ariz. 85720. Tel: (602) 795-2053.

**CALIFORNIA: Berkeley:** SWP, YSA, Granma Bookstore, 3264 Adeline St., Berkeley, Calif. 94703. Tel: (415) 653-7156.

**East Los Angeles:** SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 1237 S. Atlantic Blvd., East Los Angeles, Calif. 90022. Tel: (213) 265-1347.

**Long Beach:** SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 3322 Anaheim St., Long Beach, Calif. 90804. Tel: (213) 597-0965.

**Los Angeles, Crenshaw District:** SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 2167 W. Washington Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif. 90018. Tel: (213) 732-8196.

**Los Angeles:** City-wide SWP, YSA, 1250 Wilshire Blvd., Room 404, Los Angeles, Calif. 90017. Tel: (213) 482-1820.

**Oakland:** SWP, YSA, 1467 Fruitvale Ave., Oakland, Calif. 94601. Tel: (415) 261-1210.

**Pasadena:** SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 226 N. El Molino, Pasadena, Calif. 91106. Tel: (213) 793-3468.

**San Diego:** SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 1053 15th St., San Diego, Calif. 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630.

**San Fernando Valley:** SWP, 10508 Haddon St., Pacoima, Calif. 91331. Tel: (213) 899-5811.

**San Francisco:** City-wide SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St., San Francisco, Calif. 94110. Tel: (415) 285-4686.

**San Francisco, Ingleside:** SWP, 1441 Ocean Ave., San Francisco, Calif. 94112. Tel: (415) 333-6261.

**San Francisco, Mission District:** SWP, Socialist Bookstore, Libreria Socialista, 3284 23rd St., San Francisco, Calif. 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992.

**San Francisco, Western Addition:** SWP, 2762A Pine St., San Francisco, Calif. 94115. Tel: (415) 931-0621.

**San Jose:** SWP, YSA, 957 S. 1st St., San Jose, Calif. 95110. Tel: (408) 295-8342.

**Santa Barbara:** YSA, P.O. Box 14606, UCSB, Santa Barbara, Calif. 93107.

**Santa Cruz:** YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, Redwood Bldg., UCSC, Santa Cruz, Calif. 95064.

**COLORADO: Boulder:** YSA, Room 175, University Memorial Center, University of Colorado, Boulder, Colo. 80302. Tel: (303) 492-7679.

**Denver:** SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 916 Broadway, Denver, Colo. 80203. Tel: (303) 837-1018.

**Fort Collins:** YSA, Student Center Cave, Colorado State University, Ft. Collins, Colo. 80521.

**FLORIDA: Miami:** SWP, YSA, Box 431096, South Miami, Fla. 33143. Tel: (305) 271-2241.

**Tallahassee:** YSA, c/o Linda Thalman, 1303 Ocala Rd. #140, Tallahassee, Fla. 32304. Tel: (904) 576-5737.

**GEORGIA: East Atlanta:** SWP, 471A Flat Shoals Ave. SE, P.O. Box 5596, Atlanta, Ga. 30307. Tel: (404) 688-6739.

**West Atlanta:** SWP, Militant Bookstore, 137 Ashby, P.O. Box 92040, Atlanta, Ga. 30314. Tel: (404) 755-2940.

**ILLINOIS: Champaign-Urbana:** YSA, 284 Illini Union, Urbana, Ill. 61801.

**Chicago:** City-wide SWP, YSA, 407 S. Dearborn #1145, Chicago, Ill. 60605. Tel: SWP—(312) 939-0737; YSA—(312) 427-0280.

**Chicago, North Side:** SWP, Pathfinder Books, 1870 N. Halsted, Chicago, Ill. 60614. Tel: (312) 642-4811.

**Chicago, South Chicago:** SWP, Pathfinder Books, 9139 S. Commercial, Room 205, Chicago, Ill. 60617. Tel: (312) 734-7644.

**Chicago, South Side:** SWP, Pathfinder Books, 1515 E. 52nd Pl., 3rd Floor North, Chicago, Ill. 60615. Tel: (312) 643-5520.

**Chicago, West Side:** SWP, Pathfinder Books, 5967 W. Madison, Second Floor, Chicago, Ill. 60644. Tel: (312) 261-8370.

**INDIANA: Bloomington:** YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

**Indianapolis:** SWP, YSA, c/o Mark Severs, 3610 Whittier, Indianapolis, Ind. 46218. Tel: (317) 545-3428.

**Muncie:** YSA, Box 387 Student Center, Ball State University, Muncie, Ind. 47306.

**KENTUCKY: Lexington:** YSA, P.O. Box 952 University Station, Lexington, Ky. 40506. Tel: (606) 233-1270.

**Louisville:** SWP, YSA, Box 3593, Louisville, Ky. 40201.

**LOUISIANA: New Orleans:** SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 3812 Magazine St., New Orleans, La. 70115. Tel: (504) 891-5324.

**MARYLAND: Baltimore:** SWP, YSA, 2117 N. Charles St., Baltimore, Md. 21218. Tel: (301) 547-0668.

**College Park:** YSA, c/o Student Union, University of Maryland, College Park, Md. 20742. Tel: (301) 454-4758.

**Prince Georges County:** SWP, 4318 Hamilton St., Rm. 10, Hyattsville, Md. 20781. Tel: (301) 864-4867.

**MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst:** YSA, c/o Sally Rees, 4 Adams St., Easthampton, Mass. 01027.

**Boston:** City-wide SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., Boston, Mass. 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

**Cambridge:** SWP, 2 Central Square, Cambridge, Mass. 02139. Tel: (617) 547-4395.

**Dorchester:** SWP, 584 Columbia Rd., Room 309, Dorchester, Mass. 02125. Tel: (617) 282-3850.

**Fenway-South End:** SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 510 Commonwealth Ave., Boston, Mass. 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4620.

**Roxbury:** SWP, 1865 Columbus Ave., Roxbury, Mass. 02119. Tel: (617) 445-7799.

**MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor:** YSA, Room 4103, Michigan Union, U of M, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48109. Tel: (313) 663-8306.

**Detroit, East Side:** SWP, 12920 Mack Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48215. Tel: (313) 824-1160.

**Detroit, Southwest:** SWP, Militant Bookstore, Libreria Militante, 4210 W. Vernor Hwy., Detroit, Mich. 48209. Tel: (313) 849-3491.

**Detroit, West Side:** SWP, Militant Bookstore, 18415 Wyoming, Detroit, Mich. 48221. Tel: (313) 341-6436.

**Detroit:** City-wide SWP, YSA, 1310 Broadway, Detroit, Mich. 48226. Tel: (313) 961-5675.

**East Lansing:** YSA, First Floor Student Offices, Union Bldg., Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich. 48823. Tel: (517) 353-0660.

**Mt. Pleasant:** YSA, Box 51 Warriner Hall, Central Mich. Univ., Mt. Pleasant, Mich. 48859.

**MINNESOTA: Minneapolis:** City-wide SWP, YSA, 808 E. Franklin Ave., Room 3, Mpls., Minn. 55404. Tel: (612) 870-1284.

**Southside Minneapolis:** SWP, Militant Bookstore, 23 E. Lake St., Mpls., Minn. 55408. Tel: (612) 825-6663.

**Westbank Minneapolis:** SWP, Militant Bookstore, 510 20th Ave. So., Lower Level, Mpls., Minn. 55454. Tel: (612) 338-5093.

**St. Paul:** SWP, Labor Bookstore, 176 Western Ave., St. Paul, Minn. 55102. Tel: (612) 222-8929.

**MISSOURI: Kansas City:** SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost, Kansas City, Mo. 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404.

**St. Louis:** City-wide SWP, YSA, 6223 Delmar, St. Louis, Mo. 63130. Tel: (314) 725-1571.

**Northside St. Louis:** 4875 Natural Bridge Rd., St. Louis, Mo. 63115. Tel: (314) 381-0044.

**Westend St. Louis:** 6223 Delmar, St. Louis, Mo. 63130. Tel: (314) 725-1570.

**NEW JERSEY: Newark:** City-wide SWP, YSA, 256 Broadway, Newark, N.J. 07104. Tel: (201) 482-3367.

**Newark, Broadway:** SWP, 256 Broadway, Newark, N.J. 07104. Tel: (201) 482-3367.

**Newark, Weequahic:** SWP, 403 Chancellor Ave., Newark, N.J. 07112. Tel: (201) 923-2284.

**NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque:** YSA, University of New Mexico, c/o Student Activities, New Mexico Union, Albuquerque, N.M. 87131. Tel: (505) 277-2184.

**Las Vegas:** YSA, Highlands University, c/o Felipe Martinez, 1010 Douglas, Las Vegas, N.M. 87701. Tel: (505) 425-9224.

**NEW YORK: Albany:** YSA, c/o Michael Kozak, 395 Ontario St., Albany, N.Y. 12208. Tel: (518) 482-7348.

**Binghamton:** YSA, c/o Andy Towbin, Box 7120, SUNY-Binghamton, Binghamton, N.Y. 13901.

**Ithaca:** YSA, c/o Ron Robinson, 528 Stewart Ave., Rm. 13, Ithaca, N.Y. 14850. Tel: (607) 272-7098.

**New York, Bronx:** SWP, Militant Bookstore, Libreria Militante, 2271 Morris Ave., Bronx, N.Y. 10453. Tel: (212) 365-6652.

**New York, Brooklyn:** SWP, Militant Bookstore, 220-222 Utica Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y. 11213. Tel: (212) 773-0250.

**New York, Chelsea:** SWP, Militant Bookstore, Libreria Militante, 200 1/2 W. 24th St. (off 7th Ave.), New York, N.Y. 10011. Tel: (212) 989-2731.

**New York, Lower East Side:** SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, Libreria Militante, 221 E. 2nd St. (between Ave. B and Ave. C), New York, N.Y. 10009. Tel: (212) 260-6400.

**New York, Queens:** SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 90-43 149 St. (corner Jamaica Ave.), Jamaica, N.Y. 11435. Tel: (212) 658-7718.

**New York, Upper West Side:** SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 786 Amsterdam, New York, N.Y. 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000.

**New York:** City-wide SWP, YSA, 853 Broadway, Room 412, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-8214.

**NORTH CAROLINA: Raleigh:** SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 5714 State Univ. Station, Raleigh, N.C. 27607.

**OHIO: Athens:** YSA, c/o Balar Center, Ohio University, Athens, Ohio 45701. Tel: (614) 594-7497.

**Cincinnati:** SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 8986, Hyde Park Station, Cincinnati, Ohio 45208. Tel: (513) 321-7445.

**Cleveland:** SWP, YSA, 2300 Payne, Cleveland, Ohio 44114. Tel: (216) 861-4166.

**Cleveland Heights-East Cleveland:** SWP, P.O. Box 18476, Cleveland Hts., Ohio 44118. Tel: (216) 861-4166.

**Columbus:** YSA, Box 106 Ohio Union (Rm. 308), Ohio State Univ., 1739 N. High St., Columbus, Ohio 43210. Tel: (614) 291-8985.

**Kent:** YSA, c/o Bob Laycock, 936 Carlisle Ct., Kent, Ohio 44240. Tel: (216) 678-2489.

**Toledo:** SWP, 2507 Collingwood Blvd., Toledo, Ohio 43610. Tel: (419) 242-9743.

**OREGON: Portland:** SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 3928 N. Williams, Portland, Ore. 97227. Tel: (503) 288-7860.

**PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro:** YSA, Edinboro State College, Edinboro, Pa. 16412.

**Philadelphia, Germantown:** SWP, Militant Bookstore, 5950 Germantown Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 19144. Tel: (215) 714-2874.

**Philadelphia, West Philadelphia:** SWP, 218 S. 45th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19104. Tel: (215) EV7-2451.

**Philadelphia:** City-wide SWP, YSA, 218 S. 45th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19104. Tel: (215) EV7-2451.

**Pittsburgh:** SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 5504 Penn Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. 15206. Tel: (412) 441-1419.

**State College:** YSA, c/o Lynda Joyce, 169 W. Prospect, State College, Pa. 16801. Tel: (814) 234-2240.

**RHODE ISLAND: Kingston:** YSA, c/o Box 400, Kingston, R.I. 02881.

**TENNESSEE: Knoxville:** YSA, P.O. Box 8344 Univ. Station, Knoxville, Tenn. 37916. Tel: (615) 525-0820.

**TEXAS: Austin:** YSA, c/o Student Activities, Texas Union South, Austin, Tex. 78712.

**Dallas:** SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 2215 Cedar Crest, Dallas, Tex. 75203. Tel: (214) 943-6684.

**Houston, Northeast:** SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 2835 Laura Koppe, Houston, Tex. 77093. Tel: (713) 697-5543.

**Houston, North Side:** SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore-Libreria Militante, 2816 N. Main, Houston, Tex. 77009. Tel: (713) 224-0985.

**Houston, South-Central:** SWP, 4987 South Park Blvd. (South Park Plaza), Houston, Tex. 77021. Tel: (713) 643-0005.

**Houston:** City-wide SWP, YSA, 3311 Montrose, Houston, Tex. 77006. Tel: (713) 224-1082.

**San Antonio:** SWP, 1317 Castroville Rd., San Antonio, Tex. 78237. Tel: (512) 432-7625. YSA, P.O. Box 12110, Laurel Heights Sta., San Antonio, Tex. 78212.

**UTAH: Logan:** YSA, P.O. Box 1233, Utah State University, Logan, Utah 84322.

**Salt Lake City:** SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 461, Salt Lake City, Utah 84110.

**VIRGINIA: Richmond:** SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 1203 W. Main St., 2nd Floor, Richmond, Va. 23220. Tel: (804) 353-3238.

**WASHINGTON, D.C.: Northwest:** SWP, 2416 18th St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20009. Tel: (202) 797-7706.

**Washington, D.C.: Georgia Avenue:** SWP, c/o 1424 16th St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20036. Tel: (202) 797-7699.

**Washington, D.C.:** City-wide SWP, YSA, 1424 16th St. NW, Suite 701B, Washington, D.C. 20036. Tel: (202) 797-7699.

**WASHINGTON: Seattle, Central Area:** SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 2200 E. Union, Seattle, Wash. 98122. Tel: (206) 329-7404.

**Seattle, North End:** SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 5623 University Way NE, Seattle, Wash. 98105. Tel: (206) 522-7800.

**Seattle:** City-wide SWP, YSA, 5623 University Way NE, Seattle, Wash. 98105. Tel: (206) 524-6670.

**Tacoma:** SWP, Militant Bookstore, 1022 S. J St., Tacoma, Wash. 98405. Tel: (206) 627-0432.

**WISCONSIN: Madison:** YSA, P.O. Box 1442, Madison, Wis. 53701. Tel: (608) 251-1591.

**Milwaukee:** SWP, YSA, 3901 N. 27th St., Milwaukee, Wis. 53216. Tel: (414) 442-8170.



# THE MILITANT

## SKYHORSE-MOHAWK CASE

### Indian militants fight crude frame-up in Calif.

By Dave Brown

LOS ANGELES—The California Supreme Court ordered a halt to proceedings in the case of two Indian activists who are facing trumped-up murder charges here.

The court granted the stay April 1 so that it could consider hearing a defense motion that Judge Floyd Dodson, who is handling the case, be dismissed.

The government charges that Paul Skyhorse and Richard Mohawk, two American Indian Movement members, murdered cabdriver George Aird at a Ventura County camp in October 1974.

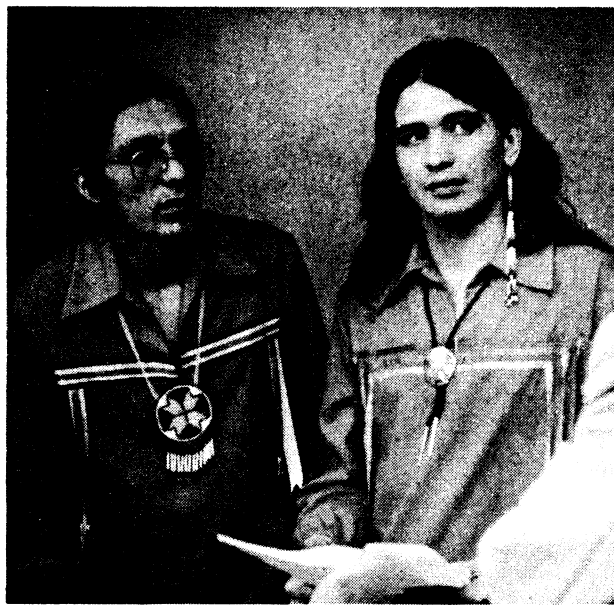
The case against the activists consists of unsubstantiated testimony of three persons arrested at the scene of the crime with blood on their clothing. Initially the government had charged the three with murder. But after they swore the AIM activists did it, these charges were dropped. Instead, two received probation after pleading guilty to reduced charges and one was let off. The three weren't members of AIM.

Jury selection had been scheduled to start within a week when proceedings stopped. Earlier, Skyhorse and Mohawk, who are acting as their own attorneys, had won a change in the location of the trial, but had been unable to convince Dodson to remove himself from the case.

Judge Dodson is not from Ventura County but from Santa Barbara. He has the unique distinction of being the only sitting judge ever to lose an election in his county. He lost amid charges of corruption, arrogance, and racism.

Five days before his term expired, Dodson retired. This made him eligible to hear cases of "judicial overload," which is how he got Skyhorse and Mohawk.

Dodson has shown that he is prejudiced against the defendants. A central issue for the defense is the role of two FBI operatives, Douglass Durham and Virginia "Blue Dove" Deluce.



PAUL SKYHORSE (left) AND RICHARD MOHAWK

At the time of the murders, Durham was AIM national security director. There is strong evidence suggesting he played a central role in setting up Skyhorse and Mohawk.

After the murder, Durham took charge of the defense. He told reporters, "Well the white men used to scalp Indians, and now we Indians are fighting back."

Then he went to California, disrupting AIM communications and telling lawyers their services weren't wanted. Then he convinced AIM to drop the case.

Also involved is Virginia Deluce, also known as Blue Dove. She testified at pretrial hearings against Skyhorse and Mohawk. The prosecution has told the defense she was an FBI spy inside AIM.

Yet when the defense subpoenaed Deluce's FBI

supervisors during the pretrial hearings, Judge Dodson granted, without discussion, a prosecution motion to quash the subpoena.

The stay in proceedings came in the wake of several other developments that show how desperately the government is trying to railroad the activists.

On March 25 Los Angeles County jail officials planted a knife in a file box carried by Paula Giese, a legal aide to Skyhorse and Mohawk.

Giese reports she was delivering a box of files and some clothes to the defendants. When she entered the jail, guards searched her and the file box, finding nothing. Then they told her she couldn't bring in the clothes, so she put them back in her car. She left the file box in the jail while returning the clothing.

When she entered the jail a second time, she was searched again. A deputy exclaimed, "Well, look at this!" A knife was lying across the top of the previously searched files.

Officials have restricted Giese's access to the defendants and denied her the right to give papers to them.

On March 30 Judge Dodson again denied bail to Skyhorse and Mohawk. Initially bail was denied because the men faced a possible death sentence. But since then California's death penalty has been struck down and the charges reformulated. Nevertheless, Dodson denied bail.

And on March 31 the prosecution charged Skyhorse had confessed to the crime. The government produced a prisoner who claimed Skyhorse forced him to have sex with him by saying, "If you don't, we'll butcher you just like we butchered that cabdriver."

With the change in the location of the trial, the Skyhorse-Mohawk Defense Fund has moved to Los Angeles. The new address is: 1438 Echo Park Avenue, Los Angeles, California 90026.

## Feiffer



## Death row doctor tells of execution horrors

INSIDE: PAGE 8