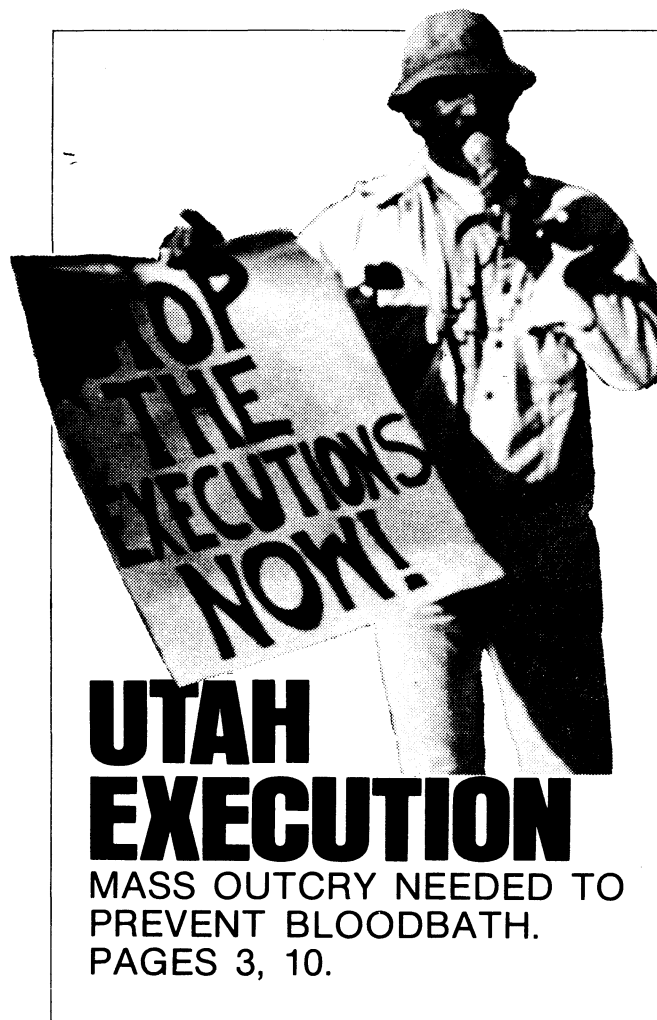


# THE MILITANT

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



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**DEFEND 'WASHINGTON POST' PRESS OPERATORS:** The trial of fifteen *Washington Post* press operators indicted last summer on charges including "rioting" and "grand larceny" arising from last year's strike against the D.C. daily begins December 6.

The frame-up charges are part of the *Washington Post's* campaign to break the press operators union and every other craft union at the paper.

Defenders of the press operators have organized a December 5 rally to answer this union-busting drive. The rally will start at 7:00 p.m. at All Souls Church, Sixteenth and Harvard NW in Washington. The film *Union Maids* will be shown. Lucha, a musical group, will perform.

There will be a picket outside the D.C. Superior Court, at Fifth and E NW, beginning at 8:00 a.m. the next morning when the press operators' trial begins. The rally and picket line are sponsored by the Local 6 Legal Defense Committee. For more information call (202) 737-2810.

**WILMINGTON DESEGREGATION UPHELD, FOR NOW:** The U.S. Supreme Court refused November 29 to review an appeal of a federal court-ordered desegregation plan for Wilmington, Delaware. The Wilmington plan set a September 1978 deadline for merging the predominantly Black Wilmington district with ten other districts, nine of which have more than 90 percent white students.

Wilmington's desegregation order has become the focus of Justice Department attempts to limit the use of busing.

The November 29 Supreme Court ruling was against appeals of the desegregation plan made by the nine predominantly white school districts and the state of Delaware. The decision sends this appeal back to the lower courts and does not rule out future Supreme Court action on the appeals.

## Nazis attack SWP

Five members of the Nazi party attacked the Southside Minneapolis headquarters of the Socialist Workers party on November 20. During the attack, two front windows of the offices were broken. The incident occurred just minutes after the Nazis had also attacked a nearby demonstration protesting U.S. involvement in South Africa.

Jim Carson, the organizer of the Southside Minneapolis SWP, was in the headquarters at the time of the attack. Carson told the *Militant* that when a squad car arrived, the police promised to pursue the Nazis, who were still visible from the SWP offices. But ten minutes later the cops returned. They told Carson they had not arrested the Nazis because they had to chase a speeding car instead.

A news conference scheduled for December 2 will protest police inaction and demand that Minneapolis Mayor Charles Stenvig order the immediate arrest of the Nazi goons.

In New Orleans, three Nazi swastikas were painted on the outside of the SWP headquarters sometime in the early morning of November 28.

So far, Mayor Moon Landrieu has refused to meet the SWP's demands for action against right-wing attacks. Despite the fact that a brick was hurled through the socialists' window three months ago and that the SWP's offices were picketed by the Ku Klux Klan on February 1, a spokesperson for Landrieu's cops told SWP organizer Pearl Chertov, "Unless you can find a witness who'll testify, there's nothing we can do."

**PROTEST FRAME-UP OF BUFFALO ACTIVIST:** Kenny Johnson, a Black community activist in Buffalo, New York, was arrested December 3, 1975, on charges of rape and armed robbery. Johnson has proof he was not at the scene of any of a series of rapes in downtown Buffalo last Thanksgiving. Prior to Johnson's arrest, the assailant was described as a light-skinned Black. Johnson has dark skin.

The Committee to Clear Kenneth Johnson has called a demonstration to protest this racist frame-up for Saturday, December 11, beginning at noon at Goodrich and Ellicott. A rally will occur at 1:00 p.m. at Cathedral Park. The committee's address for information and donations is Post Office Box 75, Station J, Buffalo, New York 14208.

**KRUGGERRAND, SOUTH AFRICAN BLOOD MONEY:** South Africa's racist apartheid regime is beset with economic difficulties, including an estimated \$1.7 billion balance of payments deficit for 1976. To overcome this, South Africa has launched a \$4 million, twenty-five-city advertising campaign aimed at U.S. sales of one million of its one-ounce golden Kruggerrand coins (worth about \$130 million).

Behind the Kruggerrand's glitter is the barbaric exploitation of South African Black miners.

A fact sheet distributed by the Africa Fund (305 East Forty-sixth Street, New York, New York 10017) reports that "Black miners earn on average 1/15 that of white miners.

## Taiwan protests



Militant/Barry Chann

This November 29 New York City demonstration was one of nine held across the country that week to protest political repression in Taiwan. Organized by the Committee to Stop Secret Execution of Political Prisoners in Taiwan, the protests sought to draw attention to the arrest of Chen Ming-chung and at least sixteen others. The Chiang Ching-kuo regime charges them with having read scientific and technological books published on mainland China.

The committee reports that neither the arrest, charges, trial proceedings, or sentencing of the prisoners were made public by the martial law Taiwan government. The committee says only public protests forced the regime to stay the death sentence secretly passed on Chen Ming-chung.

There are an average of 3 deaths per shift on the mines of South Africa. Black miners work on 18 month contracts, are forced to live in barracks separated from their families who are not allowed to live with them. Trade unions and strikes are outlawed."

**'LA MIGRA' RAIDS D.C. SOCCER GAME:** Agents of the Immigration and Naturalization Service raided a Washington, D.C., soccer match between teams from El Salvador and Peru on November 28. Spectators were chased by agents searching for workers without papers. Twenty-four people face deportation hearings as a result of the raid.

The Militant Forum in Washington will host a panel of community activists protesting the raid. The forum will be December 10 at the Wilson Center, Fifteenth and Irving streets Northwest, beginning at 8:00 p.m. For information call (202) 797-7706 or 797-7699.

—Peter Seidman



## Special Offer For New Readers

The fight for union democracy in the United Steelworkers of America will affect the future of the entire labor movement. For coverage of the upcoming USWA elections . . . Ed Sadlowski's challenge to the Abel bureaucracy . . . struggles for jobs, decent wages, and safe working conditions—subscribe to the *Militant*.

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## Gov't seeks new trial

# Jury deadlocked in trial of N.Y. Muslim

By Baxter Smith

New York State Supreme Court Justice Martin Evans declared a mistrial November 27 in the cop-slaying trial of Lewis 17X Dupree, after the jury announced it was deadlocked ten-to-two for conviction.

The jury, which had only two Blacks as members and had deliberated on a verdict for nine days, declared it had "exhausted all possibilities."

The Manhattan district attorney immediately said the case would be retried.

Dupree, a member of the World Community of Islam in the West (formerly known as the Nation of Islam) said his fate now rests "in the hands of God." He remains free on \$15,000 bond.

The trial stems from the shooting death of Police Officer Philip Cardillo inside Muhammad's Mosque No. 7 in Harlem on April 14, 1972.

Dupree at the time was the dean of boys at the mosque's school when Cardillo and other cops burst inside, supposedly pursuing an officer-in-distress call.

Prosecutor James Harmon asserts that Dupree then fought with Cardillo, pulling his service revolver and shooting him. The defense contends that the case is a frame-up. Dupree, his attor-

neys charged, was nowhere near the scene, and Cardillo was likely struck by a wild bullet fired by another cop.

In his summation, defense attorney Saad El-Amin zeroed in on the testimony of a cop who said he believed he hit someone when he fired his pistol inside the mosque. The cop said he saw someone with a gun crouched over Cardillo in the confusion that followed, but that it was not Dupree.

Another cop under cross-examination earlier had revealed that he, too, had fired blindly into the mosque.

"The fact is," defense attorney Edward Jacko hammered home, "that you don't know whether any of the bullets that you fired into the mosque killed Officer Cardillo?"

The cop admitted he didn't know what his bullets struck.

El-Amin pointed out that the police, in a departure from the norm, undertook no ballistics test to determine how Cardillo died. The gun and bullet that killed Cardillo were never recovered.

Of the forty-six witnesses the prosecution called to the stand during the sixteen-week trial, only one, Foster 2X Thomas, testified he saw Dupree do the shooting.

"Brother Lewis was trying to get the gun out of the holster," Thomas testi-

fied. "There was a scuffle. Brother Lewis pulled the gun out of the holster, and while at close range he shot the cop."

Thomas, however, admitted that he had been paid off with police money in anticipation of his testimony. The cops, he swore, gave him \$23,000 to say what he said on the witness stand.

Thomas testified further that authorities had assured him that criminal charges against him—meaning an almost certain jail term—would be dropped in exchange for his testimony.

"You said you would speak to the DA in the Bronx about my case after I testified," Thomas reminded what must have been an embarrassed Harmon.

Thomas, who also stood to receive a \$25,000 reward if Dupree were convicted, faced charges of attempting to bilk \$9,000 from a Master Charge account.

Just after the trial opened the judge clamped an unusual gag order on all parties to prevent them from talking to the media. In one of his rare comments to the press, defense attorney James Carroll reacted to the mistrial declaration.

"Under the circumstances I wasn't surprised that we got a mistrial because the judge gave a very



LEWIS 17X DUPREE: Framed up on charges of killing New York cop.

prosecution-oriented charge to the jury," he said.

Carroll said the defense isn't "disheartened, and we're ready to try the case over again."

He added that they will probably retry it "on more political lines" to underscore the nature of the frame-up.

## Dallas protest: 'Stop the executions'

By Becky Ellis

DALLAS—Shouts of "Two, four, six, eight—stop the murders by the state!" echoed from Kennedy Plaza to the Federal Building here November 21 as 100 people marched to "Stop the executions now."

The march, sponsored by the Dallas Coalition Against the Death Penalty, was called to protest the macabre race on the part of Texas judges to be the first to have someone executed.

The march was set for November 21 because November 22 was to have been the date of the execution of Ernest Benjamin Smith, a twenty-eight-year-old Black man from Dallas. That execution date was subsequently stayed indefinitely pending further appeals.

Among the speakers along the march route were Smith's sisters and

his eleven-year-old son, who read a letter he wrote to President-elect Jimmy Carter asking mercy for his father.

Other speakers at the demonstration included representatives from the Catholic Diocese of Dallas, Black Women's United Front, Black Seminars at Southern Methodist University, and the Student Coalition Against Racism chapters at El Centro Community College and Bishop College.

The local media covered the protest for the Sunday evening television news and the morning paper. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation also filmed the activities as part of a documentary on the death penalty.

The Dallas coalition plans educational activities for December 4 and 11 at Warren United Methodist Church. It

also hopes to initiate a statewide demonstration in Austin early next year when the state legislature convenes.

On Monday, November 22, two more men were sentenced to die in the state's electric chair. Judge John Mead set December 27 as the date for Doyle Glenn Boulware. Five minutes later Judge Jerome Chamberlain sentenced Mark Milton Moore to die January 14.

Two other men—Robert Excel White and James Owen Livingston—had earlier been sentenced to be electrocuted December 10.

However, appeals have not been exhausted in the case involving these two men, and a motion for a stay of execution so appeals can be heard is being filed with the U.S. Supreme Court.

## Students set campaign against death penalty

By Jon Hillson

BOSTON—With the shadow of state-ordered executions looming across the country, the third National Student Conference Against Racism, held in Boston November 19-21, launched an ambitious drive to mount opposition to the death penalty.

The 1,100 activists unanimously backed a resolution submitted by outgoing National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR) Coordinator Mike Ponaman calling for the building of "a powerful movement . . . that demands that the government abolish the death penalty."

Prior to the vote, more than forty activists met in a workshop that discussed the role, history, and meaning of capital punishment.

Tufts University Prof. Hugo Bedau, a member of the American Civil Liberties Union and an author of books and pamphlets refuting pro-death penalty arguments, told the students the Supreme Court decision upholding capital punishment has "diminished the possibility of legal

struggle for the time being at the federal level.

"We have to be alert to begin opposition to new state laws ordering capital punishment, to stopping specific executions, to supporting the moratorium on executions that exists now," he added.

Bedau traced the racist character of the death penalty—the frame-ups of Black men for rape and their executions in the Jim Crow South.

A special feature of the racism today inherent in the death penalty is the exclusion of opponents of capital punishment from juries considering possible death sentences, Bedau said.

Thus, Blacks and members of other oppressed nationalities facing capital punishment are dealt decisions generally made by all-white, pro-death penalty juries.

He urged the SCAR members to "intensify your efforts as the clock ticks down to the first execution. The power of the people in the streets cannot be underestimated."

This theme of public protest was emphasized by workshop leader

Jerry Hunicutt, a leader of the Georgia Committee to Abolish the Death Penalty.

He described the action campaign of the organization, which grew out of a seminar initiated by the ACLU in Georgia. "That seminar, held right after the Supreme Court decision, drew 400 people, and it became a protest," Hunicutt said.

Since then, the committee has sponsored picket lines, vigils, debates, and demonstrations. It has involved church groups, embarked on a petition campaign, and come in contact with prisoners organizations.

As a result, Hunicutt said, "a growing number of people oppose the death penalty," and the governor has temporarily stayed all planned executions.

Hunicutt stressed the potential of debates between foes and supporters of the death penalty to "raise the real issues."

"We have to get out the truth that the death penalty does not stop crime," he said. "In fact, the FBI has published figures which show that

the three states with the lowest homicide rates *don't* have the death penalty while the states with the six highest homicide figures do.

"The fact that 56 percent of those on death row are nonwhite—and that a majority of them are Black, that 405 of 455 men executed for rape since 1934 were Black, that 60 percent of those on death row were unemployed when they committed a crime, says it all.

"The death penalty is racist and is used against poor people," Hunicutt said.

One Richmond, Virginia, activist described the potential of the new movement against the death penalty in his state.

The newly formed Virginians Against the Death Penalty has scheduled December 15 protests. The coalition includes the NAACP, the ACLU, the National Organization for Women, the World Community of Islam in the West (formerly Nation of Islam), NSCAR, the Socialist party, and the Socialist Workers party.



## Abortion clinic moves in

# St. Paul community clashes over new neighbor

By Susan Vass

ST. PAUL—When the Supreme Court handed down its 1973 ruling legalizing abortion, women heaved a collective sigh of relief.

The right to decide if and when to bear children was a long time in coming. However, the sighs of relief over our long-sought victory proved somewhat premature. The reactionary, antiwoman adherents of the "keep 'em barefoot and pregnant" philosophy were not about to be dragged into the twentieth century without a protest.

Haunted by the specter of women as free, equal, independent human beings, the right wing has mounted a well-financed, full-scale attack on what they quite correctly realize is a central aspect of the liberation of women—the right to safe, legal abortion.

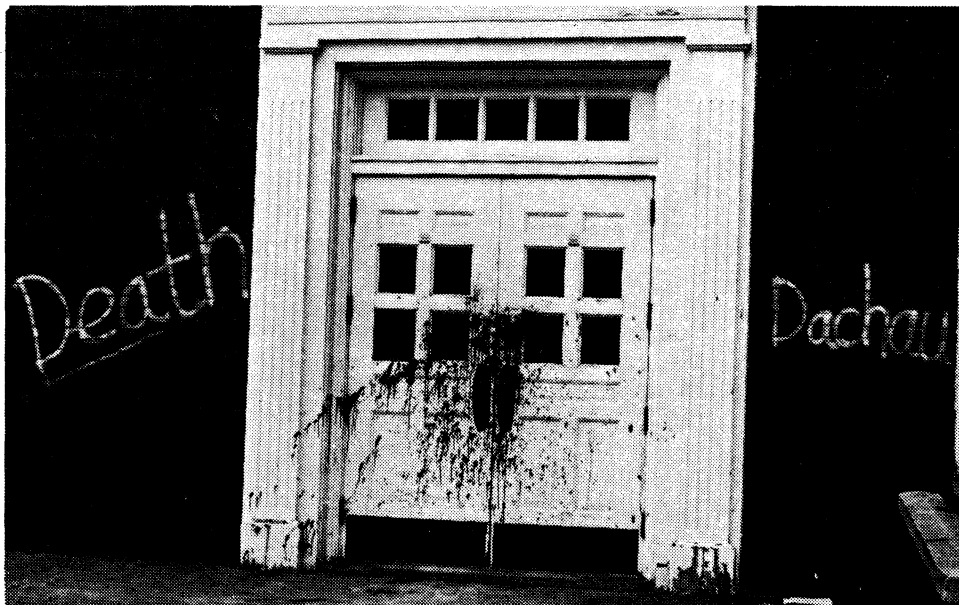
In the context of high unemployment and inflation there have also been attempts to hack away at the pathetically inadequate child-care facilities, affirmative action, and the Equal Rights Amendment, and generally to try to roll back the clock to a time when women "knew their place." But most of the fire has been concentrated on the right to abortion.

St. Paul has recently become a crucible for the abortion conflict.

On October 1, 1975, the lease expired on a Planned Parenthood full-service facility formerly located in the Midway area of the city. The agency announced plans to move to the Highland Park section of St. Paul. The proposed new facility would house its administrative offices, as well as run the full gamut of health-care services—ranging from testing for breast and cervical cancer and venereal disease, to family planning counseling and an abortion clinic.

Shortly thereafter the forces began to coalesce on either side of the question of Planned Parenthood's right to exist in Highland Park.

The anti-abortion group, Citizens for Community Action, recognized that the majority of people support the 1973 Supreme Court decision. So it has



Right-wing message sprayed across abortion clinic entrance

Militant/Ginny Burke

sought to broaden its base of support by portraying the struggle as simply one of "community control."

They say that they "don't want the clinic in our neighborhood where our children would be exposed to it."

The reality, of course, is quite different. The facility is a modest two-story red brick building flanked by a car wash and a Burger King. Across the street is a playground that is all but uninhabitable during Minnesota's five-month winter. A stronger case could be made for removing Burger King on the grounds of exposing children to its shakes, fries, and fried fruit pies.

Some were angered that the anti-Planned Parenthood group was claiming to speak on behalf of the entire neighborhood.

Civil libertarians, feminists, clergy, housewives, and other Highland Park residents organized to welcome Planned Parenthood. The Concerned Neighbors' Coalition prepared an information sheet entitled "Support An Open Community" in which they stated their position:

**"Planned Parenthood is responsive to the community. It is open to those who choose to use it. Others may choose not. . . . Freedom of choice means to have access to all the information and alternatives, whether counseling offered by private practitioners of our neighborhood or by the 50-year old pioneer in family planning services, Planned Parenthood of Minnesota."**

At first the clinic opponents contented themselves with legal maneuvers. In June the city council enacted a six-month moratorium on development of nonhospital medical facilities. But on July 20, Judge Earl Larson ruled that the council action was discriminatory and enjoined the city from enforcing the moratorium.

Denied a legal leg to stand on, the partisans of forced motherhood began a campaign of intimidation. In an open bid for harassment, they published the names, addresses, and phone numbers of Planned Parenthood's board of directors.

The Planned Parenthood building itself has been sprayed with everything from bullets and stones to paint. It now sports the graffiti "Death" and "Dachau"—an ironic choice of words, inasmuch as Dachau was the scene of Nazi "medical experiments" on women while abortion was strictly outlawed under the "pro-life" Hitler regime. The graffiti have yet to be removed—an expensive process for Planned Parenthood.

One wonders what the children in the frozen playground make of the "Death" scrawled on a building.

The most serious threats include the promise to photograph and harass women going into the facility. The Concerned Neighbors' Coalition is just as determined to ensure the safe, free access to the facility by all women.

Jean Druker, a leader of the coalition, expressed the readiness of the group to "be prepared to respond at once to escort women into the facility should the need arise." The pro-free choice coalition has placed ads in newspapers, petitioned, sold buttons, and sponsored a large, successful community informational meeting. Future plans include a January 15 open house to officially welcome Planned Parenthood to Highland Park.

The mood in the Concerned Neighbors' Coalition is cautiously optimistic.

But the word "Death" sprayed on the facility should serve as a grim reminder of the all-too-recent time when thousands of women died at the hands of back-alley illegal abortionists. Activists in St. Paul and nationwide must remain ready for action—or else they may find the right to control their own bodies has been chipped away.

It is easy to become complacent about a right that seems assured, a question that we believed settled, until that right evaporates. Women, Blacks, civil libertarians, socialists, and partisans of freedom of choice everywhere should be fully prepared to defend these rights.

## Debate: women's rights vs. forced motherhood

By Karen Sandys

NEWARK—Advocates and adversaries of the right to abortion clashed in a debate at Rutgers University here November 22. The event was sponsored by more than a dozen campus groups, including the Women's Litigation Clinic, Black Organization of Students, Puerto Rican Organization, and Young Socialist Alliance.

Judy Novack, of the New Jersey "Right to Life," and Stephen Foley, an attorney, argued for outlawing abor-

tion. Speaking for women's right to choose were Nadine Taub, a lawyer and professor at Rutgers, and Judith Lambert, a former staff member of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition.

Novack spoke while a slide projector flashed pictures of what she claimed was an aborted "baby." This was designed to convince the 100 viewers that abortion is the same as infanticide.

Judith Lambert spoke next. "There have been no scientific rulings on the question" of when life begins, Lambert stated. Even religions disagree, she said, pointing to Islamic, Shinto, and Catholic dogmas.

The woman, Lambert continued, "is the one that has to make the decision [about abortion]. Neither the church nor the state is going to step in to save her job, pay her bills, or support that child. It will be her burden. It must be her decision."

Lambert explained that majority public sentiment, along with demonstrations, teach-ins, and rallies organized by the women's movement, won legalization of abortion. Activities like these are needed again, she said, because "the anti-abortionists continue to use every means . . . to chisel away" at legal abortion. As an example, she cited the Hyde amendment, calling its supporters racist because Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicana women would suffer disproportionately if denied Medicaid abortions.

A "joke" in Stephen Foley's opening remarks revealed his bigotry. Explaining the decision he and his wife made to limit their offspring he said, "The reason we stopped at eight was because . . . every ninth child born in this world is Chinese." Without flinching, he went on to boast that he opposes abortion because he is for "equality" for all, including fetuses.

"How can you decide that the 'rights' of the unborn override the right of a woman who is already living?" asked Nadine Taub when she got her turn at the podium. "What we're talking about," she continued, "is whether that vocal minority [the anti-abortion move-

ment and politicians] can block every individual person from having a choice about something that's very fundamental and very personal."

During the discussion period an angry Black woman took the floor. She described herself as a forty-year-old mother of five, a student, and a welfare recipient.

Addressing Foley she said, "Since you fight for the 'right to life' before birth, do you also fight for a Black child's right to survive? . . . Am I to have an unwanted child that I can't afford? That is an infringement on my rights. I think I have a right to that abortion!"



Militant/Joanne Murphy

LAMBERT: 'Abortion must be a woman's decision!'

## New Jersey court victory

NEWARK—Supporters of a woman's right to choose won an important victory November 17 when the New Jersey Supreme Court ruled that private, nonsectarian hospitals cannot prohibit the use of their facilities for elective abortions.

Nadine Taub, the American Civil Liberties Union attorney for the case, said that the "landmark" decision will keep those who have "control and monopoly" over hospital care from being able to "pick and choose what services they will provide."

The case stemmed from the refusal of several hospitals to provide abortion services based on a "conscience clause" in the state law. Twenty-eight states have adopted "conscience clauses," which stipulate that doctors and hospitals can refuse to perform abortions on "moral" grounds.

The six-to-one decision by the New Jersey justices excludes nonsectarian, private hospitals in this state from the clause. The ruling is the first of its kind by a state supreme court.

—K.S.



# Feminists set plans to defend right to choose

By Ginny Hildebrand

Last month, women's liberation activists in California, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and New York began setting plans for a public response to the stepped-up anti-abortion drive.

**California:** Abortion was one of the issues discussed at a statewide conference of the National Organization for Women in Fresno November 12-14. The conference of 370 women adopted a proposal condemning: the Hyde amendment, which cuts off federal Medicaid funds for abortions; Catholic church funding of the anti-abortion movement; and the attempts by Jerome Lackner, director of California's department of public health, to restrict abortion under the guise of sustaining the lives of fetuses.

The resolution urged California NOW chapters to "picket, demonstrate against and write to" public officials, protesting these attacks on women's right to abortion and "to join in coalitions to facilitate the implementation of activities."

The resolution targeted January 13 and March 8 for rallies and news conferences in support of abortion rights.

**Pennsylvania:** Over the same weekend 400 feminists gathered in Pittsburgh for the Pennsylvania NOW conference. The "Reproduction Politics" workshop unanimously adopted a resolution calling for demonstrations throughout the state on January 22,

the fourth anniversary of the Supreme Court's decision legalizing abortion.

Noting that anti-abortion forces have held large protests on that date, workshop participants asserted that women should "take back our day" to demonstrate determination to defend abortion rights.

**Ohio:** At the November 20 Ohio NOW conference of 300 women, an abortion workshop discussed the need to take action against efforts to restrict abortions in Akron and Youngstown as well as on a national scale. A workshop resolution pointed to January 22 as a time for "NOW chapters throughout the state [to] sponsor actions involving both NOW members and other pro-choice supporters to show visible and public support" for keeping abortion safe and legal.

**New York:** Women's rights activists in New York City have called for a December 11 meeting to discuss organizing an educational and action campaign in defense of women's right to choose. Involved in planning the meeting are members of the Bronx and New York NOW, the Committee to End Sterilization Abuse, the Socialist Workers party, the New York University Women's Center, the Young Socialist Alliance, and Healthright.

The Riverside Church Women's Center is hosting the meeting, which will begin at 10:00 a.m. at 120th Street and Claremont Avenue.

## 'Ratify ERA in 1977!'

By Delrene Ellis

INDIANAPOLIS—Indiana leaders of the National Organization for Women have called for a march and rally here on Sunday, January 9, to demand that the Indiana state legislature ratify the Equal Rights Amendment.

NOW is urging ERA supporters from throughout the Midwest to join the demonstration, and encouraging East Coast support as well. The national board of NOW has also endorsed the action.

Thirty-eight states must ratify the ERA by 1979. If Indiana is the next to do so, it will become the thirty-fifth state to ratify.

At a November 21 meeting here,

civil rights organizations, and trade unions, urging their active participation.

The Student Coalition for the ERA at IUPUI (Indiana University, Purdue University, Indianapolis) is organizing a December 9 forum and planning meeting to build the march, in conjunction with NOW.

Carole McKee, campus rally coordinator for NOW, told the *Militant*: "This march comes on the heels of a big victory for pro-ERA forces on election day, when Massachusetts and Colorado voters upheld the ERA in referenda. We need to go out and get as many different organizations as possible behind the January 9 demonstration."

"The Indiana state legislature goes into session just a few days after the march," she said. "And when the gavel goes down to open up the 1977 session, we want the legislators' ears to still be ringing from the echoes of our many voices demanding immediate passage of the ERA."

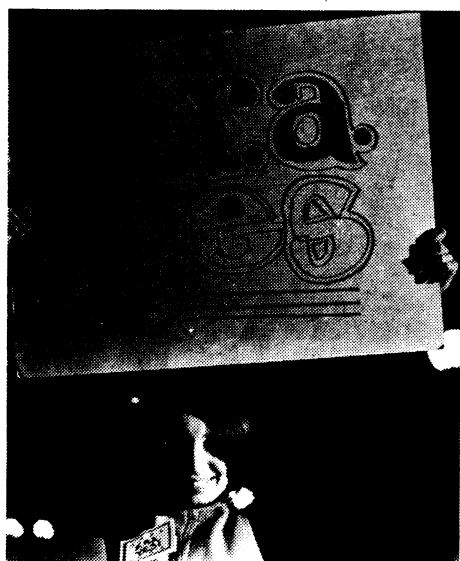
A week of ERA protests is also planned in Virginia's capital, Richmond. Virginia is another state that has not ratified the ERA.

The ERA Ratification Council of Richmond, an umbrella organization, has called for a week of activities beginning January 8. The culmination will be a January 15 speak-out for the ERA, to be held in Monroe Park.

The week of activities has been endorsed by the Women's Caucus of the Virginia Education Association; Virginia Commonwealth University for the ERA, a student group; and the Richmond YWCA public policy committee.

In Lexington, Kentucky, the University of Kentucky Campus ERA Alliance held a teach-in November 18. Speakers came from the Kentucky Civil Liberties Union, Lexington NAACP, Lexington league of Women Voters, Campus ERA Alliance, Council on Women's Concerns, and Young Socialist Alliance.

The meeting voted overwhelmingly to endorse and build the January 9 ERA march in Indianapolis.



Militant/Joe Sanders

ERA supporters from Indiana and Kentucky met to set plans for the protest. It was announced that women at Indiana University in Bloomington have already chartered buses; that NOW chapters in Detroit and Louisville have pledged support; and that the United Auto Workers Community Action Program has offered to print leaflets and posters for the march.

Plans to publicize the rally and win support include news conferences, a daily vigil in Indianapolis beginning January 5, and a call to NOW chapters, other women's groups, students,

# Calif. court threatens minority admissions

By Arnold Weissberg

LOS ANGELES—Black and Chicano gains in higher education in recent years are endangered by a September decision of the California Supreme Court.

The court ruling threatens preferential admissions programs not only in this state, but throughout the country.

Behind the decision was a situation where the party supposedly defending the programs from a legal challenge—the University of California (UC) regents—presented a feeble defense that was bound to get a reactionary ruling.

The university's defense "borders on malpractice," according to a statement issued by the National Conference of Black Lawyers.

The regents refused to use the most powerful argument in defense of special admissions programs for minorities: that they are designed to make up for generations of past discrimination.

The court as much as said it would have accepted this defense of the programs if the regents had presented it. But the regents were not about to admit previous guilt—especially if it strengthened the case for preferential admissions.

The regents' case was so weak that Black and Chicano organizations were nearly unanimous in asking the board to drop its intended appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court.

The regents overrode their objections and voted November 19 to make the appeal.

Speaking for the National Conference of Black Lawyers, attorney Roland Coleman told a November 18 news conference that an adverse ruling in the appeal could endanger special admissions programs all over the country.

He said it was very likely that the U.S. Supreme Court would affirm the decision of the California court because the case had been argued so poorly.

A movement to defend minority admissions at the university has already begun.

Two hundred students rallied at the University of California at Los Angeles while the regents met elsewhere on campus November 19. The protest called for defense of minority admissions programs.

A meeting of MEChA chapters—the Chicano student organization—from around California, held November 20, called for a statewide conference in

January to plan a campaign in defense of special admissions.

The meeting also called for February demonstrations at all nine UC campuses.

It is hardly surprising that the regents offered only a perfunctory defense of special admissions.

As Rev. Garnett Henning of the African Methodist Episcopal Ministers Alliance pointed out, the regents have a "conflict of interest" on this question.

He explained that in order to preserve existing programs, the regents would have had to admit they had discriminated in the past.

UC general counsel Donald Reidhaar denied that the university had been guilty of discrimination against Chicanos and Blacks.

Despite Reidhaar's protestations, it is common knowledge that the UC graduate schools were virtually all-white before the regents yielded to student and community pressure and established the special admissions programs.

The board bitterly resisted demands to establish programs aimed at letting in more minority students.

The present suit had been filed by Allan Bakke, a white student who was rejected by the UC Davis Medical School. Bakke charged that the school's admissions policies, which set aside 16 out of 100 places for Blacks and Chicanos, "discriminated" against whites.

The university didn't try to get the complaint dismissed before trial, a routine move in such cases.

The defense "evidence" consisted of one affidavit, a handful of interrogatories, and a deposition. No expert witnesses were called to testify on the benefits of special admissions. No witnesses testified to the success of the program in changing the all-white makeup of the medical school. The whole case took only a few weeks.

The regents chose to appeal directly to the state supreme court, skipping the appeals court level.

The regents also refused legal assistance from any Black or Chicano groups.

Organizations such as the NAACP and the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund were limited to filing "friend of the court" briefs in the case.

Bakke's suit was supported by the racist leadership of the American Federation of Teachers and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

## 'L.A. Times' editorial

LOS ANGELES—Even the *Los Angeles Times*, not noted for its passionate defense of Black and Chicano rights, was moved to criticize the California Supreme Court's decision in the Bakke case.

A November 9 editorial said:

"The court also must weight the inherent inequity of taxing all citizens for a benefit that would go to only one class if Bakke's position prevailed. Every Californian must share the cost of maintaining the university system, but students from affluent white families overwhelmingly dominate the enrollment of the professional schools."

"The preferential policy recognizes that poverty and cultural disadvantages work against the minority students' ability to compete on equal terms with whites at the admissions level, but are not indicators of their ultimate competence in the profes-

sions they wish to practice. To eliminate the preference would be to eliminate their opportunity to engage in professions in which they have never had more than token representation."

"The process of choosing one applicant for a medical school over another—or one applicant for a job over another, as in the case of fair-employment laws or the voluntary affirmative-action hiring policies of private institutions—must necessarily penalize the person who is not chosen."

"We continue to believe that the choice should favor those who have been the victims of discrimination for many generations, and who will always stand at the back of the line if the U.S. Supreme Court should read the 14th Amendment as commanding inequality, rather than prohibiting it."

## Urge student conference to take action

# Black leaders speak out against apartheid

One feature of the National Student Conference Against Racism held November 19-21 in Boston was a panel on the freedom struggle in southern Africa.

Excerpts from all but one of the talks given by the panelists appear below. The talk given by Dr. Herbert Vilakazi, a professor at Essex County College in New Jersey who was an eyewitness to the events in Soweto, South Africa, last summer, has been published in the December-January Young Socialist.

In addition to those who spoke at this panel, many other leaders of the struggle against U.S. support to apartheid in southern Africa were present at the conference. Panel chairperson Vince Eagan, a member of the national staff of the National Student Coalition Against Racism, the organization that hosted the conference, introduced a number of these prominent activists.

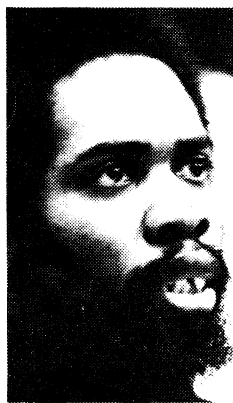
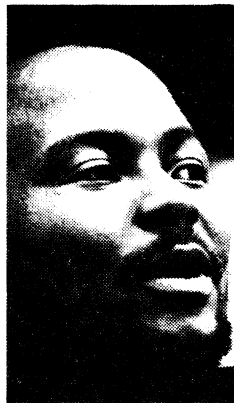
Among them were: Paul Pumphrey, national organizer for the Anti-Apartheid Movement in the USA, a Washington, D.C., group; and Mike Fisher, who heads the Atlanta Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa.

Also present were: Burgess Carr, secretary-general of the All African Council of Churches; Herb Boyd of the Detroit Committee for the Liberation of Southern Africa; Dr. James Garrett, a Howard University professor who directs the Washington, D.C.-based June 16 Movement; Ann Crane of the Boston Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa; Koko Farrow of the Commission for Racial Justice of the United Church of Christ; and representatives of the Ethiopian Student Movement and the African National Congress.

**JEFF BAQWA**, a member of the executive committee of the South African Students Organisation, is currently exiled in Botswana.

Basically, the stand we take about foreign investors is that they must leave South Africa. We take that stand because we're not so much concerned about the rate of unemployment. We know why these corporations are down there. Essentially they are there to exploit. To oppress.

Insofar as these corporations remain they are serving the interests of the



PANEL ON SOUTH AFRICA: (from left) Jeff Baqwa, exiled leader of South African Students Organisation; Tsietsi Mashinini, exiled leader of June 16 Soweto Black student protests; Synos Mangazza, chairperson, Zimbabwe African National Union in the United States; Courtland Cox, researcher for Center for National Security Studies; August

Nimitz, professor at University of Minnesota; and New York State Supreme Court Justice William Booth of American Committee on Africa. After hearing panel, participants at third National Student Conference Against Racism voted to set March 25-26 as days of protest against U.S. role in support of southern Africa racism.

Vorster regime. They'll never serve our interests.

We know that at some point the American people took a stand against Polaroid, because Polaroid is taking pictures for our passports that we have to carry every day. And when the boycott movement started against Polaroid over here, you forced Polaroid inside South Africa to take a rather liberal posture where they started benefit schemes. They even had some quality programs for Black people. And this is not what we want. We want Polaroid to pull out of that country. And if the boycott here can be intensified against the corporations that continue to murder us, we'll be beginning to define solidarity in proper terms.

**TSIETSI MASHININI** was a central leader of the June 16 revolt against the forced use of Afrikaans by Black students in Soweto, South Africa. He is currently in exile in London.

Africa's Black messiah came to South Africa, Dr. Henry Kissinger. When students stood up and said "Kissinger go home," students were shot. And why did students stand up and say "Kissinger go home?" It was because they knew exactly what Kissinger represents. We don't want Kissinger in Africa! He may sound like a genius to the Americans. But we don't want Kissinger in Africa. To us he's not a genius but a representative of western imperialism.

There are 500 students in Botswana who are in exile. They are living on twenty pounds a month. There are 117

exiles in Swaziland. I know for a fact that there are more than 3,000 students in detention. And more than 800 prominent political figures in detention. We've got so many inside the country who have been hard hit.

We've got people outside who need help. We appeal to you to give us any form of help you can in order that we can do something about that situation.

We cannot understand why, if America is a free country, then why should its corporations in South Africa comply with the racist policies whereby at General Motors, an ordinary white worker gets 200 rands a month and an ordinary Black worker gets 18 rands a month?

**SYNOS MANGAZZA** is chairperson of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) in the United States.

How did we come to be Rhodesia? A sick individual from Britain [Cecil Rhodes], one of whose ambitions was to marry the queen, decided to come to South Africa, in Natal, to recuperate in the beautiful African sunshine. He came, he recuperated. He got well. But, I want to argue that he got well physically, but mentally he was a sick man.

He started a sick society in southern Africa, beginning from the Cape up to Zimbabwe. He changed the name from Zimbabwe into Rhodesia, in honor of his own name. Racism in southern Africa, particularly in Azania, Namibia, and Zimbabwe, is the worst you can find anywhere on earth.

**COURTLAND COX** is currently a researcher for the Center for National Security Studies.

It is France, West Germany, Britain, and the United States that sell the nuclear material, the planes, the computers, the submarines, the helicopters, and other military hardware and software that maintain the illegal regime in South Africa.

It is Britain, Japan, Israel, West Germany, France, the Netherlands, and the United States that are the economic props of South Africa.

They provide the capital, the technology, and the markets for the South African economy. And in turn, the minority regime supplies the huge profits and stolen raw material and forced cheap labor for the western powers.

Both in Vietnam and South Africa, the United States initially got involved to protect what it calls its economic and strategic interests in the region. Kissinger testified before the Senate and said the United States was economically involved in South Africa for the raw materials, not only for itself but more importantly for the defense of western Europe.

The other thing that Kissinger gave testimony on [is] that [a United States] objective is to prevent the revolutionaries, the men with the guns from taking control and to establish [instead] moderate and responsible leadership in the situation, that is responsible to the United States and Western interests.

So for those of you who have been wondering what we have in terms of a new situation with Jimmy Carter, I think you have, as we used to say with Richard Nixon, "Four More Years."

**AUGUST NIMITZ** teaches on African politics at the University of Minnesota. He was active in the anti-Vietnam War movement and in the African Liberation Support Committee.

We need a national movement in support of liberation in southern Africa.

This movement should have an action perspective. That is, not simply to educate, but also to mobilize. To put it another way, education does not come only from teach-ins, lectures, forums, and so on. We also can educate people through action, through actually mobilizing large numbers of people in the streets on behalf of African liberation.

Because of our particular situation in the United States, we must focus our demands on the role of the government and American corporations. The United States, through its investments there, has a \$2 billion stake in southern Africa. More than 300 corporations realize a profit rate of more than 16 percent.

This movement must not only be broad and nonsectarian, but also it must be a democratic movement. It must be a movement that has at its base the possibility of free political discussion. It must include all people of all political persuasions who agree that the United States should get out of southern Africa.

And lastly, the movement must be independent. It must recognize that no faith can be placed in a government such as we have here in America whose interests are diametrically opposed to Black liberation.

**WILLIAM BOOTH** is president of the board of the American Committee on Africa. He is a New York State Supreme Court Judge.

You've been seeing advertisements that are paid for by the Republic of South Africa touting the independence of the Transkei. I spoke with some of the ministers there.

I went into the parliament and I was mightily impressed when I went to that beautiful new building built by the Republic of South Africa for the Transkei.

Continued on page 26

## Texas students say 'U.S. out'

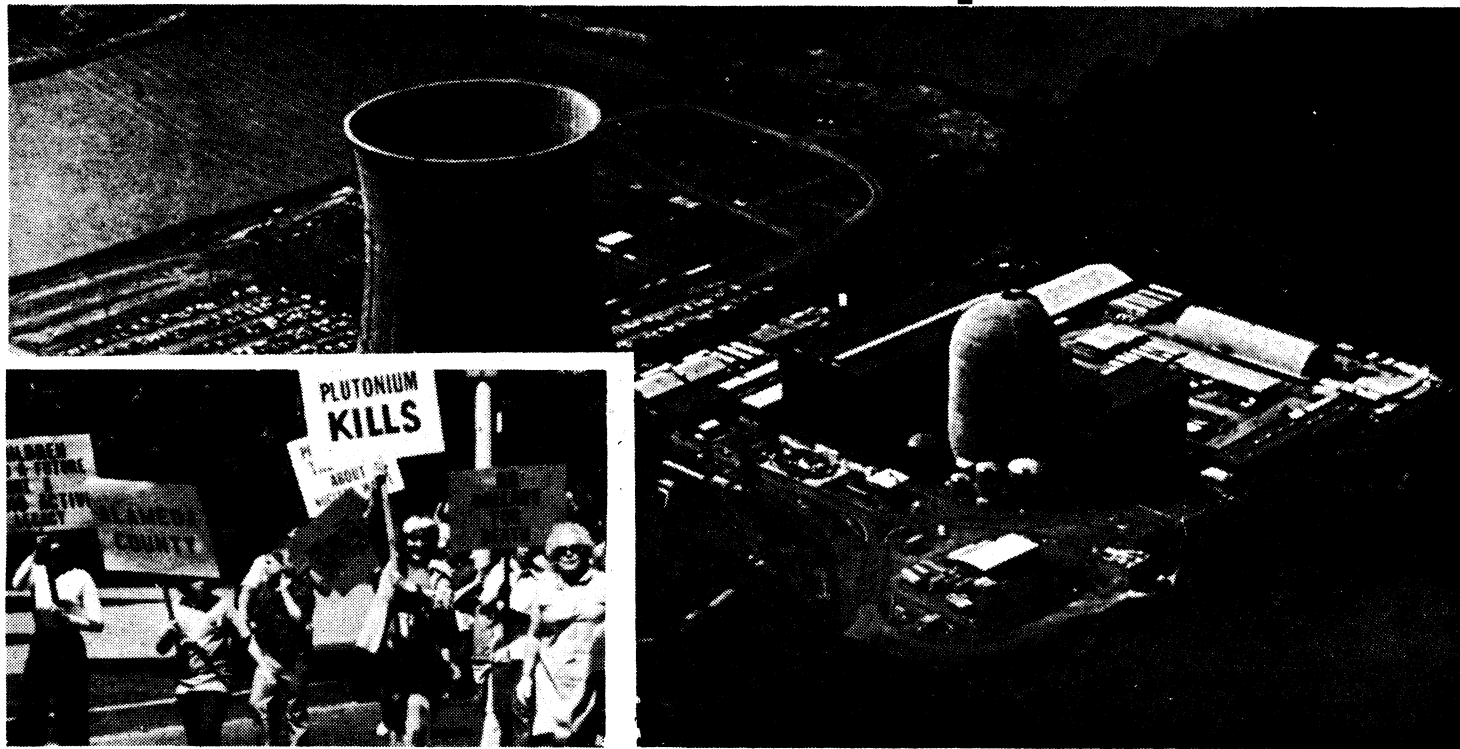


On November 10, 150 people participated in an outdoor rally and picket line on the campus of the University of Texas at Arlington. The Student Coalition Against Racism and the African Student Association organized the events as a day of solidarity with freedom fighters in southern Africa.



## Safety activists press fight

# Behind Nov. 2 nuclear power vote



Nuclear power plant under construction on Columbia River in Oregon. Safety advocates demonstrate in California earlier this year (inset).

### By Steve Wattenmaker

Fearing that strict safety regulation would cut into expected superprofits from the "nuclear energy boom," major utilities and the nuclear power industry waged a vigorous—and expensive—campaign this fall to assure the defeat of nuclear safety initiatives in six states.

The voter-sponsored initiatives were on the ballot November 2 in Oregon, Montana, Ohio, Washington, Colorado, and Arizona. All six were modeled on a similar proposal that lost in California June 8.

Each required the state's legislature to certify the safety of nuclear plants.

The state governments would also have to assure the reliability of disposal plans for radioactive nuclear wastes. At present, all such wastes are being stored by temporary means. No method of permanently storing the deadly waste products from nuclear reactions has yet been found.

Finally, the initiatives called for doing away with the \$560 million legal limit on damages that can be claimed in the event of a nuclear accident. Initiative proponents argued that the current liability ceiling is ridiculously low for a disaster that could easily contaminate an entire city and kill thousands of people.

### Job issue

The nuclear safety initiatives quickly gained wide acceptance. Polls at the end of the summer showed voter support for the measures way out in front of opposition.

By mid-October the picture had changed dramatically. In a last-minute effort to crush the initiatives, power utilities, reactor manufacturers, and industrial energy consumers contributed millions of dollars to anti-initiative war chests.

For example, by November 1 opponents of the Washington initiative had contributed \$648,000 with 89 percent contributed by large corporations. Proinitiative forces had come up with only \$108,000.

Supporters of the referenda were outspent in most states by margins ranging from eight-to-one up to twenty-to-one.

The nuclear industry financed an effective media blitz aimed primarily at the issue of jobs. Passage of the referenda, industry representatives falsely warned, would be tantamount to banning further nuclear development. They predicted huge job losses in construction as well as in industries

forced to close because of power shortages.

In Oregon, Pacific Power & Light Company spokesperson Edward Prince told the press that 800,000 new jobs would be lost in the coming years if the initiative passed.

"Their issue is safety and fear; ours is ban and shortage," said C. Montgomery Johnson, who headed up Washington's anti-initiative forces.

As in the presidential race, improving the economy and generating jobs were decisive issues for voters.

While some trade unions, especially in the construction industry, sided with the initiatives' opponents, a number of important unions supported the referenda.

Backing the safety measure in Ohio were the United Auto Workers, United Mine Workers, International Chemical Workers, Toledo Federation of Teachers, and Cincinnati Federation of Teachers.

The Oregon initiative was backed by the Oregon Federation of Teachers and Portland's big Retail Clerks union local. Other smaller locals supported the referenda in all six states.

### Not discouraged

Despite their recent setbacks, advocates of tougher nuclear safety regulations say they are not discouraged. Chris Thomas, an Oregon lawyer who served as legal counsel for the proinitiative forces, remarked before the election:

"People didn't give up with California and they won't give up if they lose these elections. It may be like the Vietnam War; it may take a while for the impact of these issues to sink in."

Thomas and other activists in the nuclear safety movement point to several recent victories as the reason for their optimism.

- Even though the initiatives lost,

having them on the ballot started a broad public debate and educated millions of people on the specific issues involved. Activists in Maine, Michigan, and other states are already preparing similar initiatives.

- Voters in Missouri passed a nuclear referendum November 2. Worded differently than the others, it prohibited utility companies from passing on construction costs—normally highest for nuclear plants—to consumers.

- The Environmental Protection Agency revoked its approval of plans for the proposed Seabrook, New Hampshire, nuclear power station's cooling system. The Seabrook site has been the focus of most recent protests over nuclear safety in the Northeast. Last August more than 1,000 people demonstrated at the site, and 179 were arrested during a sit-in.

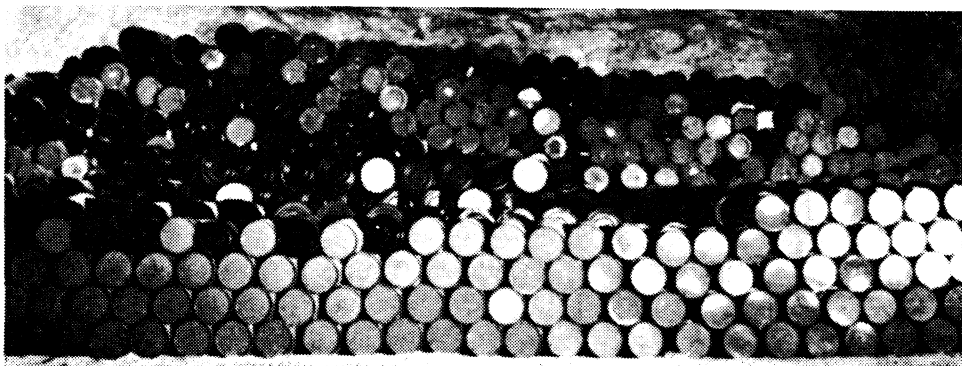
- Increasing numbers of nuclear scientists and technicians are critical of current safety standards. Columnist Jack Anderson reported on November 7 that scientists employed by the federal Nuclear Regulatory Commission protested that "the NRC is being forced by industry to accept designs" that don't even meet the commission's own dubious safety standards.

\* \* \*

The nuclear industry has shown that it intends to put up bitter and lavishly financed resistance to any safety regulations that might increase its costs or slow construction of nuclear facilities.

Where voters pass initiatives, they will need to be prepared to fight to get them enforced.

Commenting on the successful initiative in Missouri, the Kansas City Power and Light Company said, "It's clear that the revenue requirements of Kansas City Power and Light can't be legislated away by the passage of this proposition."



Temporary storage of radioactive waste in abandoned salt mine. No permanent disposal method has been found.

## Black GI faces trial over haircut

By Mel Mason

MONTEREY, Calif.—A Black woman GI was slated to be court-martialed here December 1 because she insisted on her right to wear her hair in an Afro. Private First Class Janis Stewart faced possible imprisonment as well as a less-than-honorable discharge.

PFC Stewart ran afoul of a racist interpretation of army regulations governing the length of women's hair.

Harassment of Stewart began shortly after she reported for duty at Fort Ord, near Monterey. She was continually pressured by Sergeant-Major Westmoreland, the highest ranking non-commissioned officer on the post. Westmoreland was known as an advocate of "white wall" hair cuts—where all hair on the side of the head is cut down to the scalp.

Westmoreland was finally ordered by Stewart's supervisor, a captain, to leave her alone.

However, after Stewart was transferred elsewhere on the post, Westmoreland again began his "advice" to "get a haircut."

Both Janis Stewart and her sister PFC Carole Stewart, were told to trim their hair by another sergeant, a friend of Westmoreland. Carole Stewart didn't, but Janis Stewart did have three inches trimmed off.

This didn't satisfy the brass. Apparently not realizing that Carole hadn't cut her hair at all, Janis Stewart was told to get a haircut like her sister's!

Pointing out she had already gotten a haircut, Janis Stewart refused to get another one.

Two days later, after receiving the same order twice more, Stewart consulted an army attorney who advised her that her hair met regulation and that any order to cut it was unlawful.

However, the brass kept after her and she continued to resist. Her commanding officer offered her the choice of accepting an Article 15, which is a disciplinary measure that can be carried out without a court-martial.

She refused, declaring that an Article 15 would be an admission of guilt. She added that her constitutional rights were being violated.

She was then charged officially with failing to obey a lawful order.

Many local groups have rallied to Stewart's support, including the Community Action party of Seaside, a town near Monterey; the Black Student Unions at Monterey Peninsula College, Monterey High School, and Seaside High School; and the Monterey Peninsula College chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance.



# Maoist conference in NYC

## Who really represents the Peking line?

By Les Evans

NEW YORK—Some 1,300 people attended a conference on the international situation held here at the Cathedral of St. John the Divine and at Columbia University November 20. The gathering was advertised as a broad forum on "war, revolution, and the internationalist tasks of the American people."

Sponsors were said to include Nobel Prize-winning biologist George Wald, Princeton international law professor Richard Falk, and Richard Barnet, codirector of the Institute for Policy Studies.

These three withdrew their sponsorship. Falk told the press, "It turned out that we didn't really know what we were sponsoring, and the whole thing was terribly manipulative. It began to have the feeling of a left-sectarian event."

In fact, while a certain range of views was permitted by the conference organizers, the essential business at hand was another round in the ongoing war between the various Maoist groups over who really represents the Peking line.

The actual organizers of the meeting turned out to be the Revolutionary Communist party (RCP) and its youth affiliate, the Revolutionary Student Brigade. They were out in force with a full-scale national mobilization of their membership from as far away as Hawaii.

A number of the invited guests did attend and were allowed to speak. These included author Egbal Ahmad, pacifist Dave Dellinger, and Ralph Schoenman, former director of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation and head of the Vietnam War Crimes Tribunal.

The "real" debate, however, as far as the RCP was concerned, was with William Hinton. Hinton, the author of *Fanshen*, an eyewitness account of the Chinese revolution in a peasant village, and until recently the national chairperson of the U.S.-China People's Friendship Association, has been causing the Maoist organizations considerable problems by his enthusiastic promotion of China's actual foreign policy line: a bloc with American imperialism against the "main danger" of "Soviet social-imperialism."

### Crisis in Maoist movement

China's alliance with West European, Japanese, and above all U.S. imperialism against the Soviet workers state has provoked a crisis in the Maoist movement.

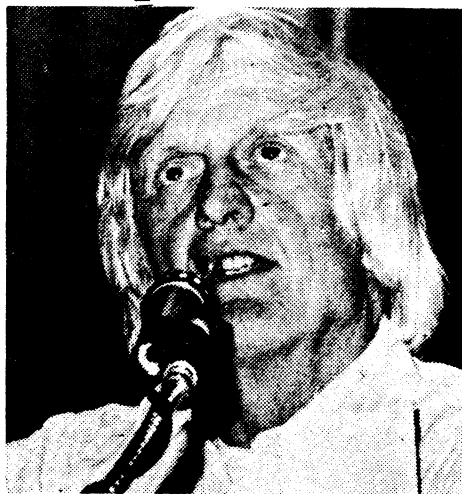
The American Maoist groups were built during the Vietnam War on the basis of an appeal to radicalizing youth against the crimes of the U.S. government, in Vietnam and throughout the semicolonial world. China, as a formerly colonized nation that had thrown off capitalist rule, was presented as a champion in the fight against imperialism.

Now the Maoists face a dilemma. If they maintain their stance as opponents of American imperialism, they lose the backing of Peking. But if they side with Peking and make their main activity attacks on the Soviet Union, they run the risk of losing their membership.

The three major Maoist tendencies have gone off in different directions on these questions.

The New York weekly *Guardian*, the country's most widely read Maoist newspaper, has conceded that Hinton represents the official Peking line. However, the *Guardian* has been openly critical of China's foreign policy. Peking has retaliated by dropping the frequent references to the *Guardian* that used to appear in the Chinese press.

The October League has lined up with Peking, declaring the Soviet



Guardian/George Cohen

WILLIAM HINTON: Argued in favor of China's real foreign policy—that USSR is 'main danger.'



Guardian/George Cohen

BOB AVAKIAN: Claimed China's foreign policy puts equal stress on combating two 'imperialist superpowers.'



Militant/Lou Howort

RALPH SCHOENMAN: Argued China's foreign policy is similar to USSR's.

Union to be the "main danger."

The purpose of the conference was to convince the members and supporters of the RCP that they could have it both ways. As Robert Avakian, RCP chairman, put it in the evening debate at the conference, "We don't stand with either of the two imperialist superpowers. Right now there is no basis for unity with U.S. imperialism." At the same time, he insisted that he spoke for the Chinese Communist party on this.

Given the fact that Peking states openly in its press what its line is and that the overwhelming majority of the Maoist groups in the world accept the facts and either support the line or reject it, how could the RCP hope to straddle the issues?

In France and Scandinavia, where some of the largest European Maoist organizations are located, the Maoists openly campaign for increasing the arms budget of their governments and for strengthening NATO, the U.S.-dominated, anticommunist military bloc.

But the RCP's membership was recruited on the basis of anti-imperialism. It is by far the largest Maoist organization in the United States. Many of its members are not

hardened Stalinists. There is little doubt that they would quit if the RCP adopted the October League line.

### Debate 'main danger'

Hence the need to "refute" that line at all costs. That the conference had no other purpose can be seen in the fact that it did not discuss any concrete actions against imperialism of any kind. It "debated" only the abstract slogans of "main danger" and "equal blame for the two superpowers."

The October League boycotted the conference on the grounds that "revisionists" were permitted to speak. The *Guardian* was also absent, for reasons that have yet to be explained.

In this closed circle, where the RCP could choose who would defend opposing views, Avakian and his colleagues had little trouble in whipping up the audience to believe what they were told by the RCP.

The choice of William Hinton to defend the "main danger" line was a fortunate one for the RCP. Hinton is a well-known figure in Maoist circles and makes a plausible opponent. But he proved to be a disorganized and rambling speaker who never bothered to cite a single piece of documentary evidence to sustain his side.

In the morning, a polite exchange was staged between Nick Unger of the RCP, Hinton, and author Egbal Ahmad. The key debate took place in the workshop on China's foreign policy attended by some 400 of the conference participants. It was opened by Ralph Schoenman.

While the conference had invited reformists and Social Democrats of various stripes, the steering committee had passed an explicit motion barring "Trotskyites." Clearly, Schoenman had been invited in ignorance of the fact that he is a revolutionary Marxist. He shocked the audience by disputing the thesis that the Soviet Union is "capitalist."

Schoenman traced the history of China's class-collaborationist policy of "peaceful co-existence" and declared it similar in all essential respects to that of the Soviet Union.

He argued that the roots of this counterrevolutionary foreign policy lie in the conservatized, privileged bureaucracy that rules the People's Republic and denies genuine proletarian democracy to the Chinese masses.

Schoenman was jeered and verbally abused by hardened Stalinists. Significantly, however, even in this gathering some 25 percent of the audience applauded him at the end.

The RCP position was presented by Clark Kissinger, former antiwar activist and one time national secretary of Students for a Democratic Society. He began by justifying the imprisonment of the Chinese Trotskyists:

"Once when speaking on China, a fervent young man demanded to know why China had released after twenty-five years a large number of Kuomintang war criminals but still kept Trotskyites in jail in China."

"I replied that I did not know precisely. But the penal policy in China is to work for ideological reformation of the person, and I could only conclude that Kuomintang generals were more liable to this process than Trotskyites."

### 'Government-to-government'

He went on to make the RCP's basic case: that China's friendship for imperialism and for a host of military dictatorships in the colonial world is a "government-to-government" policy and that China simultaneously pursues a "party-to-party" policy that encourages revolution against these same regimes.

Hinton pointed out that certain of China's frequently expressed policies, such as support for NATO and Japanese rearmament, do not refer to trade or diplomatic agreements with China, which would fit into the pattern Kissinger described. These were a matter of political *advocacy* of actions by imperialist governments against the Soviet Union, resting on American backing.

One could be for trade between China and Japan and still be for the overthrow of the Japanese government. But it was not possible to be both for and against Japanese rearmament.

Significantly, this Maoist rally did not discuss the recent developments inside China: the purge of Chiang Ch'ing and the "gang of four." An October League speaker in the question period sought to nail the RCP on this and demanded to know of Avakian, who was in the audience, where he stood on this. Avakian took the floor and said the RCP was still discussing the question and had not made up its mind.

This by itself is enough to lose the RCP the "mandate" from Peking. The Chinese press has already featured an article from the October League's *Call* endorsing Chairman Hua Kuo-feng and hailing the crushing of the "gang of four" (*Hsinhua*, November 10, 1976).

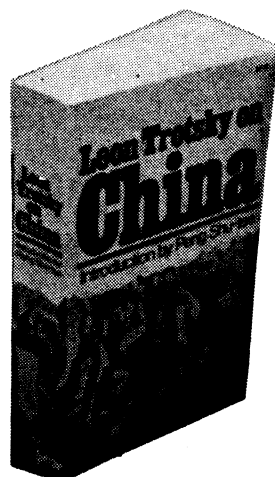
In the evening "debate," Avakian confronted Hinton and pacifist Dave Dellinger. Here the mask of an orderly exchange of views was dropped. Avakian was greeted with a standing ovation by the RCPers in the crowd. He shouted his "remarks," reading the *Guardian* and the October League out of the Maoist camp. In the question period he defended Stalin's forced labor camps and purge trials as a "great achievement" for socialism and said the RCP would know how to deal with "enemies, external and internal," in the future.

Avakian declared the main task of the RCP to be a "united front" against the "two imperialist superpowers." He didn't say with whom or to do what.

Hinton was shouted down when he insisted that China considered the Soviet Union to be the "main danger." He proposed two concrete actions for

*Continued on page 26*

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# Catholic church vs. abortion rights



Militant/Betsy Whittaker

By Evelyn Reed

*Not the Church! Not the State! Women Will Decide Their Fate!*

This provocative challenge was printed on many of the placards that women in the United States raised in the abortion rights demonstrations in the early 1970s. Their determined efforts were successful. In January 1973, the U.S. Supreme Court handed down its decision legalizing abortion.

Today, four years later, women are

*Evelyn Reed, noted Marxist anthropologist, is the author of Woman's Evolution. She will be a featured speaker at the December 17-18 socialism and feminism conference in New York City (see box below).*

confronting a second round in their historic battle for self-determination.

Legal abortion is under attack on many fronts—in Congress, with the passage of the Hyde amendment outlawing Medicaid-funded abortions; in the states, where local restrictions against abortion are proliferating; and in the streets, where anti-abortion forces are mobilizing.

Most visibly in the forefront of these reactionary forces is the all-male hierarchy of the Catholic church, which is conducting a nationwide campaign to rob women of their abortion victory.

The pope and his bishops are determined to impose forced pregnancies not only on Catholic women, but on all women, under the deceitful slogan of the "right to life." By this they do not mean that women are to have the right to live and shape their own destinies. On the contrary, this is a shameless attempt to drive women back to the butchering, back-alley abortions that have maimed and killed thousands.

## Virulent woman-haters

As the record shows, women have had and will continue to have abortions to end unwanted pregnancies. The only question is whether these are to be open, legal, and safe—or secret, illegal, and destructive. The relentless efforts to again outlaw abortion show these men in the Catholic church hierarchy to be virulent woman-haters, ready and willing to destroy countless women under the sanctimonious cloak of theology.

An article by Lawrence Lader, a member of the executive committee of the National Abortion Rights Action League, was published in the January 31, 1974, *Village Voice* under the title: "They're Trying to Abort Abortion." He warned that "the most striking advance in feminist rights" was in grave danger and that "the assault comes primarily from the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic church."

According to Lader, huge sums were being poured into the drive to defeat

the women, while Catholic priests across the country "hammer away at legal abortion in every possible sermon" and intimidate parishioners into writing anti-abortion letters to Congress. The Conservative-Republican James Buckley, wrote Lader, went after the poorest women, demanding that Congress cut off Medicaid funds for abortion, "thereby forcing hundreds of thousands of women . . . to either bear unwanted children or suffer criminal abortion."

## Majority supports abortion

This aggressive campaign was undertaken at a time when the polls showed that a majority of the American people, 64 percent, and even a majority of Catholics, 56 percent, favored legalized abortion. By 1976, according to a survey conducted by the Knight-Ridder newspaper chain, 81 percent of Americans (82 percent of Protestants and 76 percent of Catholics) endorsed women's right to decide.

The rising tide of favorable sentiment was no doubt spurred by reports that legal abortion had saved many thousands of women from death and injury. This infuriated the "right to lifers," who are out to punish insubordinate women.

They stepped up their campaign until, in the 1976 elections, it reached fever pitch. By September, an intimidated Congress passed the Hyde amendment. This was a terrible blow aimed at the many thousands of poor, Black, and minority women most in need of assistance. It also encouraged the racist and sexist rabble, who in a number of cities attacked legal abortion clinics. In one instance they left their murderous mark—the Nazi symbol—on a bricked-up door.

## Cover for politicians

The Catholic church hierarchy and other ultraright forces, whose membership frequently overlaps with the ranks of the antibusing and anti-Equal Rights Amendment groups, serve as a cover for the capitalist politicians. Under the guise of respecting Catholic "moral beliefs," these politicians are steadily chipping away at abortion rights.

On October 22, Federal Judge John Dooling ruled that the Hyde amendment was unconstitutional. At present a chaotic situation prevails. The fight on the Hyde amendment and the abortion issue as a whole is far from over. Meanwhile the lives and health of women are being kicked around like a football by the religious woman-haters.

Many women who thought the 1973 decision of the Supreme Court settled the matter are chagrined and bewildered by this ferocious assault. Some are wondering whether they can effectively fight back against the machinations and intimidations of so wealthy and powerful an enemy.

They should know that these male supremacists are now as powerful as they seem. The bishops and cardinals have paid a heavy price for their arrogance and aggression against women.

## 'Religious disaster'

The results of a survey by the National Opinion Research Center were reported in the March 24, 1976, *New York Times* under the headline: "Papal Birth Stand Found to Hurt Church." For some years, it said, there has been an overwhelming rejection in the United States of the 1968 papal ban on artificial birth control.

Yet in January of this year, the Vatican not only reaffirmed its reactionary stand on birth control, but added its condemnation of premarital sex, masturbation, and homosexuality. This has brought about a "massive defection" that is characterized as "an organizational and religious disaster."

Belief in papal infallibility fell from 70 percent ten years ago to 37 percent today. Remarriage after divorce is now approved by 73 percent. The number attending monthly confession is down from 38 percent in 1963 to 17 percent today. Perhaps where it hurts most is in the collection plates—lighter by a billion dollars a year.

All this has created alarm among the more sensible and realistic priests and laity. As John Deedy put it in an article in the May 23 *New York Times*, "The news within American Catholicism has been almost unrelievedly bad for the last decade: school closings, fewer worshippers, declining financial support, nuns and priests exiting from the active ministry, challenges to traditional authority."

In Chicago, Rev. Andrew Greeley, a sociologist-priest, said there were "dunderheads" among the priests. "If Rome wants to salvage American Catholicism," he said, "and the money which historically has come from it, it is going to have to retire a considerable number of mitered birdbrains."

One of the most repugnant sights in the 1976 presidential elections was the bowing and scraping of both capitalist candidates, Carter and Ford, before these "mitered birdbrains," hoping thereby to win the large Catholic vote. But they failed to gauge the temper of the bulk of Catholic women and workers.

Deedy wrote, "American Catholicism is changing," and "a dual American Catholic Church may be evolving, one in which people in the pews differ markedly from the leadership on doctrine and discipline." Those who are blind to the change and look for a return to the old ways are like "whistlers passing a graveyard."

One sign of this temper was reported at the very time the two presidential candidates were groveling before the bishops. In Detroit, an assembly of Roman Catholic delegates, both priests and laity, met under the theme of "A Call to Action" to present proposals on such major issues as birth control, divorce, and the role of women in the church.

According to the October 25 *New York Times*, "Women's concerns received a large share of the attention both before and during the conference. Thirty-nine percent of the delegates, a total of 520, were women, many of whom led meetings and wrote position papers."

Feminist nuns have been outspoken in castigating the reactionary policies of the hierarchy. One who marched on an abortion picket line in New York with the rest of the women declared publicly: "The church is the most sexist institution in the world."

Another told me at a faculty lunch in St. Louis that if the church forces

*Continued on page 26*

## Feminism and socialism conference, Dec. 17-18

"I am also an adultress," reads the placard worn by this demonstrator outside a Barcelona courthouse. Inside, a woman is on trial—facing up to six years in prison—for the "crime" of adultery. The rebellion of Spanish women against the archaic Francoist laws has inspired feminists around the world.

Right now, Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers party 1972 presidential candidate, is on a speaking tour in Spain. She will report back on the explosive Spanish feminist movement on Saturday, December 18, in New York City during a "Women's Liberation and Socialism" conference. Jenness's talk will begin at 3:00 p.m. in Horace Mann Building of Columbia University's Teachers College.

The conference opens at 7:30 p.m. Friday, December 17, with a keynote address by Marxist anthropologist and feminist author Evelyn Reed. At 10:00 a.m. Saturday, "Issues Facing Black and Puerto Rican Women" will be the topic of a panel discussion featuring Dr. Helen Rodríguez, a leader of the Committee to End Sterilization Abuse. At 1:00 p.m. discussion groups open to women will focus on issues confronting the women's movement today.

A donation of \$1.00 will be asked for each day of the conference. For more information, including requests for housing, contact the SWP or Young Socialist Alliance at 853 Broadway, New York, New York 10002. Telephone (212) 982-8214.



## Gilmore

As the *Militant* goes to press December 1, a Utah judge said Gary Mark Gilmore should be shot December 6 at sunrise.

Gilmore says he wants to die. As the story has unfolded in the media, it has often been made to look like one man's personal tragedy.

But the state of Utah is trying to take Gilmore's life. That makes it everybody's business.

There are hundreds of human beings on death rows across the country. Up till now, the executioner's hand has been stayed.

But Gilmore's execution could open the way to a bloodbath. The death penalty is cruel and barbaric. And, as applied in the United States, it is also racist to the core. Most victims of this bloodbath will be poor and Black.

A massive public outcry is needed *right now* to stop the executions before they begin. Abolish the death penalty!

## The folksinger

Wolf Biermann sings the hopes and protests of Germans on both sides of the Berlin Wall.

He is a hero to West German youth who want a socialist society. For East Germans he voices the yearning for a democratic socialism.

This folksinger's life itself symbolizes the struggle of the German working class:

When Biermann was seven, Nazis executed his father, a Communist, at Auschwitz.

At age seventeen Biermann followed his own communist convictions and left Hamburg to live in East Germany. He called it the "better Germany."

And on November 16, 1976, the day after he turned forty, Biermann was stripped of his East German citizenship because of his protest ballads. When he finishes his concert tour of West Germany, the bureaucrats have decreed, Biermann cannot return home to his wife and six-month-old son.

The Stalinists denounced the folksinger as a "counterrevolutionary."

But Biermann's comrades know better. Thirteen of them issued a public protest. Within days seventy of East Germany's leading figures had signed the demand that Biermann be allowed to return.

The folksinger's ballads, too, show clearly that he is no anticommunist. Biermann's song about the 1968 Prague uprising is a good example:

*Prague is the Paris Commune; it still lives.*

*The revolution regains its freedom.*

*Marx himself and Lenin and Rosa and Trotsky*

*Stand by the communists.*

*Communism once again holds freedom in its arms*

*and makes it a child that laughs.*

*Life will be, without desk-dinosaurs,*

*free from exploitation and the tyrants' sway.*

*The pharisees, the fat ones, twitch;*

*their sharp noses smell the truth: The day*

*is not far off.*

*On the bottom of the Vltava the stones are shifting;*

*four emperors lie buried in Prague.*

*We breathe again, comrades. We laugh the*

*rank sadness out of our lungs.*

*People, we are stronger than rats and dragons.*

*And had forgotten it and always knew it.*

Stalinist bureaucrats may try to exile the folksinger. But his songs are stronger than rats and dragons.

## December 4, 1969

On December 4, 1969, Chicago cops raided a Black Panther party apartment, killing Fred Hampton and Mark Clark.

The murderers have never been brought to justice. Federal, state, and local officials have been unwilling and unable to obtain convictions.

Relatives of the slain Panthers and survivors of the raid are now suing local, state, and federal officials for damages in federal court.

This civil suit is bringing out the truth about the government's war against the Black movement, thereby helping to defend the American people from further government attacks on their democratic rights. We urge everyone to support this legal action.

### Equal justice under law?

An editorial in the *Rocky Mountain News* pertaining to the Scottsboro pardon concluded with the following paragraph:

"The Scottsboro case was a terrible stain on this nation's conscience for a generation. But one fact has emerged from it that all Americans can cherish: The America of 1976 is a far different place from what it was in 1931—and the Scottsboro case simply could not happen now. Equal justice under law has come much closer to being an ideal realized."

This should be a great consolation to Joanne Little, H. Rap Brown, Angela Davis, etc., etc., etc.

*A reader*

*Oklahoma City, Oklahoma*

### Sisters like paper

Recently I moved from my family's home and, lacking a permanent address, I didn't have my mail forwarded. Instead I went home every few days to pick up my mail. However, the last couple of weeks when I've gone home, I haven't been able to find my *Militants*. It seems that my three younger sisters, aged twelve, fourteen, and sixteen, have been passing the *Militants* around among themselves. I think they like it so much they don't want to give it back.

I'd like to have my address changed with the *Militant* now, but I don't want to deprive these young, potential revolutionaries from the best source of news in the country. So here's a dollar for a ten-week introductory subscription for my sisters.

*Amy Husk*

*Louisville, Kentucky*

### Disagrees on immigrants

There is an issue that you present that I do not entirely agree with. That is the stand you take on immigrants.

While I understand their reason and need to enter this country, I believe that as long as we have uneducated, poor, jobless, and those with no health care in the United States, we should satisfy our own needs before we take on the necessary responsibility of caring for others.

If our own citizens were provided for in an adequate manner, I think many more people would be moved to help others less fortunate.

The huge amount of imported goods into this country annually takes away possibly a million jobs per year. And the large amount of immigrants each year helps to further decrease the number of jobs significantly. In return we make our ability to gladly help people other than our own a much harder task to fulfill.

*A reader*

*Coal Valley, Illinois*

### People in glass houses . . .

In the November 12 *Daily World* Joelle Fishman, Communist party candidate for Congress in the New Haven area, complained that the local press had not reported her vote. She charged that this was deliberate, and I don't doubt for a moment that she's right.

But if Fishman is concerned about papers that don't report the Communist party vote, she should send letters to the *Daily World* and the West Coast CP paper, the *People's World*. They also seem prejudiced on this score.

For instance, the day after the *DW* ran Fishman's complaint, it discussed

the good showing made by Amadeo Richardson, the CPer who ran as an independent for the New York State Assembly from the Sixty-fourth District in Manhattan.

The *DW* said he won 6 percent of the vote. But the article never said how many votes he actually got.

First I thought this was just sloppy writing or editing. But then I remembered I've been waiting two weeks for the *People's World* to report Gus Hall's, the CP presidential candidate's, vote in California.

The November 6 *PW* did report the Socialist Workers party's presidential candidate's, Peter Camejo's, California vote (17,083). But while the CP's vote was also then available, it only reported the vote for Los Angeles County and several Bay Area districts where they felt he made a good showing.

I waited for the next issue.

No better.

Why couldn't the paper simply report he had been credited with 12,791 votes in the state?

A cynic might think the *PW* simply—and stupidly—couldn't bear reporting that Camejo had edged Hall out.

In any event, getting back to Fishman's complaint about the New Haven papers, a word of advice. Even in a bourgeois court, it helps to come in with clean hands.

*B.W.*

*Los Angeles, California*

### Need an American Trotsky

I've just read your May 14, 1976, edition. The article "Prospects for Socialism in America" brought a greater understanding of the ideas of your program.

My question is, should not the teachings of Marx and Lenin be applied according to the unique conditions and circumstances of a nation?

What I mean is, just as Ho Chi Minh led the people of Vietnam, Castro led Cuba, should not the Socialist Workers party be guided by a Marxist American who is alive, instead of Leon Trotsky?

*A prisoner*

*New York*

### Not rich but. . .

The following letter, which I think *Militant* readers will enjoy, was received along with a \$50 check by the Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee soon after the elections:

"I sent another donation early in October [\$200] with a note saying that I hoped I could afford to send you more by the end of the month. Well, I couldn't, but now I can. My companion and I aren't exactly rich. She is a waitress. I work in a felt factory. Neither of us are political activists, but we've read your paper for several years and support the SWP.

"I remember the first time I heard of the SWP. Pete [Peter Camejo, the Socialist Workers party presidential candidate] was speaking at a small amphitheater on the University of Massachusetts at Amherst campus, and he was great. He brought together and clarified for me so many things I'd been thinking about for years. This was no SDS [Students for Democratic Society] nut jumping up and down on a table top and shouting a lot of overblown nonsense. Camejo was cool, down-to-earth, determined, and sharp as a razor blade. What he said just made sense.

"Since I left school I've read a lot



# By Any Means Necessary

**Baxter Smith**



## 'America must pull out'

BOSTON—Trouble is the South African government's most wanted man outside of that country. So it was natural for Uncle Sam to keep the welcome mat rolled up like a scroll when Trouble flew in especially for the November 19-21 National Student Conference Against Racism. The State Department wanted to be sure he stayed only a few days.

Trouble (Tsietso Mashinini, when translated from English back into Sesotho) is a Black nineteen-year-old who could pass for a length of rope. He is certainly no contender for Muhammad Ali's crown. He is no challenger to Bruce Lee's legacy. He couldn't even lick his way through a book of trading stamps.

So he is feared for his ideas. Those bloody ideas. The ones that were instrumental in putting together the Black protests that rocked South Africa beginning June 16, until Trouble ran into deep trouble in August and was forced to leave the country and go into exile.

He fled to Botswana, where he joined the hundreds of other political refugees from the South African regime. A month later, after two attempts on his life by the apartheid regime, he moved on to London.

Mashinini fared no better and no worse than the millions of Blacks in the vise called apartheid.

He grew up in the Black township of Soweto, just another hungry mouth among fourteen in his family. Thoughts of ever seeing them again he dismisses with a shrug.

Mashinini was in the twelfth grade when the order came down that Afrikaans was to be the medium of instruction, the same as English.

As president of the Students Representative Council, a body comprised of delegates from the primary and

high schools in the township, he said no.

And so Black kindling went up in Soweto, sparked by the SRC.

A bonfire of antiapartheid protests soon engulfed the country. Mashinini says it was an appropriate reaction to centuries of racist abuse.

To the student conference, the young rebel brought one message: America, he said in his rolling, Spanish-like r, "creates racism down south, and America must pull out."

"I come from an imprisoned society," he says, "where very little is known about what is happening out here."

Mashinini projected the above remarks in 3-D for a newspaper columnist who tagged after him:

- On the way to lunch Mashinini spotted a car he said was like the one Black actress Tamara Dobson drove in *Cleopatra Jones*, a Black film he wanted to see because it is banned "down south."

- At one point Mashinini was seen half toying with a camera, shooting walls, auditorium seats, and empty space.

- At another point he watched a white man jogging through a park, and jested, "He is getting in shape for his funeral."

- Mashinini told the columnist, "It came as a shock when I learned not too long ago that America is a racist country."

Capable of electrifying an audience, Mashinini off the stage is restless, confident, and hungry to learn. After spending a few hours with him, the columnist himself felt what Mashinini told the conference rally: "I have lived Soweto."

about revolutionary ideas, Marxism, history. I'm no leader, I'm no activist. I'm only a worker with a brain in his head. But I've looked into the politics of just about every other group on the American left and have never doubted for very long that you people are far and away the best—especially the hardest working, the most honest, the most meticulous.

"Eventually the majority of working people in this country cannot but come to share my appreciation of the Socialist Workers party—our party. So keep your spirits up, and keep up the good work."

Arthur Hughes

Treasurer

Socialist Workers 1976

National Campaign Committee

### Conference on Marxism

Marxist scholars from all over the United States gathered under the auspices of the University of Nebraska at Omaha November 11-13 for a first conference on the "Current State of Marxism." Eighteen papers were read to a total audience of approximately seventy-five.

Several in attendance commented that their only knowledge of the conference came from the letter to the *Militant* of October 15. Otherwise, the conference was not well advertised except through academic networks.

A Pathfinder Press literature table sold \$80 in books and pamphlets. The most interest was shown in theoretical works, although a smattering of feminist and other topical titles were sold.

K.K.

Kansas City, Missouri

### Israel and South Africa

In Peter Seidman's attack on Israel in the November 19 issue of the *Militant*, he makes a statement that smacks of being absurd.

After accusing Israel of collaborating with South Africa in planning its invasion of Angola, he writes:

"This—as in the case of Israel's raid on Uganda last July—shows how the Zionist regime serves as a military club against the freedom struggle in Africa."

Is Seidman suggesting for one single moment that the lunatic Arab terrorists at the Entebbe airport and Uganda under Idi Amin are somehow engaged in a struggle for freedom?

If so, then he has gone off his ideological mind.

G.L.

New York, New York

### Clear-cut coverage

Many thanks for sending a sample copy of the *Militant*. I like what I read. Good clear-cut coverage of important issues and events too often omitted or distorted by the "mainstream" press.

I'm sending along a dollar to ensure that I won't miss any more of this kind of urgent information.

T.C.

Syracuse, 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.

## Their Government

**Nancy Cole**



## Kissinger's slot in history

WASHINGTON—It's more than I can take. Every time you pick up a newspaper, another leading journalist pays tribute to the "greatest statesman" of all time. A new appointment is suggested, each one more prestigious than the last.

It's the passing of Henry Kissinger—once dubbed by *Time* as the "world's indispensable man"—from secretary of state to private, ordinary citizen. Only there's nothing private or ordinary about Kissinger's departure.

Democratic Sen. Abraham Ribicoff suggests that President-elect Jimmy Carter keep Kissinger on as a "special envoy" to the Middle East.

*New York Times* columnist C.L. Sulzberger proposes that the professor-turned-world-savior be made president of Harvard University.

During the presidential campaign, Carter lashed out at Kissinger as a "secretive Lone Ranger" of "international adventure." Emerging from a meeting with the master of shuttle diplomacy November 20, however, Carter fawned over Kissinger, calling him "my good friend."

Still to be leaked is what Kissinger himself has in mind once inauguration day rolls around January 20. It's a given that he'll make a million from the sale of his memoirs alone.

Sources say he is exploring a "quasi-independent" role as adviser and consultant, an academic appointment, or maybe even a slot on a corporate board of directors.

A job as television commentator is out, those in the know reveal. That would be beneath the dignity of a former diplomatic wizard.

And to make sure the wizard's around awhile to enjoy his bullet-proof Georgetown brownstone, the State Department is checking into special legislation to guarantee Secret Service protection after he resumes his "private" life—a costly service reserved only for former presidents and presidential widows.

Well, why not?

Didn't Dr. Kissinger forsake the quiet life of Harvard to bring peace to the world? Didn't he win the Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts at ending the Vietnam War? Didn't he time and again act to avert

nuclear holocaust in the Middle East? Didn't he steer the United States on a course in support of Black rights in southern Africa?

Didn't a *Newsweek* cover portray him as superman and *Time* as magician of the world? Didn't his deeds and lifestyle make him a world celebrity, even a sex symbol!? Doesn't he deserve the attention he's getting?



Oh, I've no quarrel with notoriety for Kissinger. I think he'll go down in history, and deservedly so. But not as a global peacemaker.

History will record him a devious and manipulative agent of the U.S. ruling class, who helped spread terror and repression throughout the world.

Chileans will remember his role in the bloody coup that brought the dictator Pinochet to power. Vietnamese will recall his part in prolonging that war of U.S. aggression. Palestinians will not forget his wheeling and dealing in the Middle East that aimed to crush the struggle to regain their homeland. And the Blacks of South Africa will be haunted by Kissinger's criminal complicity with the racist apartheid regime of Vorster.

I think people of the world will most remember Kissinger as a murderer.

## Hearing in Meeropol suit

# Rosenberg case still haunts Foley Square

By May Cramer

NEW YORK—The U.S. courthouse at Foley Square is an imposing building with tall columns and sixteen steps leading up to its doors.

The chambers on the seventeenth floor are designed to inspire a reverence for the authorities who preside there. It has blue upholstered chairs, long rows of tables for lawyers, and carpeting to keep the room quiet. At the front sit three judges of the Second Circuit Court of Appeals.

So far on the morning of November 23, the day's schedule had been read and all the lawyers who were there to argue cases had answered "ready" when called for the list. The judges had heard and denied an appeal for bail. They had skipped over another case because the lawyer was missing.

And now they were ready for the case we had come to hear, *Meeropol v. Nizer*.

We had waited weeks for this hearing. Twice the court dates had been changed as one appeals judge after another—Kaufman, Oakes, Lombard, Friendly—disqualified himself from presiding over the case. On November 23 a three-judge panel was finally assembled to hear the Meeropols' request.

Marshall Perlin, attorney for Michael and Robert Meeropol, stepped up to the podium facing the judges and explained the appeal.

Louis Nizer wrote a book about the Meeropols' parents, Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. In it he claimed, among other things, that the Rosenbergs were justly convicted of espionage and that they neglected their children. The Meeropols have sued Nizer for defamation, invasion of privacy, and using their parents' letters without permission.

Lower courts had ruled in favor of Nizer. Now the lawsuit is before the Second Circuit Court of Appeals. Perlin was asking that the case be transferred to another circuit or that other judges be assigned to hear it.

Why? Because the chief justice of the Second Circuit Court of Appeals at Foley Square is Judge Irving Kaufman—the man who sentenced the Rosenbergs to die.

Twenty-five years ago in Room 110 of this same Foley Square courthouse Kaufman had pronounced his judgment on the Rosenbergs:

"I consider your crime worse than murder. . . . I believe your conduct in putting into the hands of the Russians the A-bomb years before our best scientists predicted Russia would perfect the bomb has already caused, in my opinion, the Communist aggression in Korea, with the resultant casualties exceeding fifty thousand, and who knows but that millions more of innocent people may pay the price of your treason. . . . It is not in my power, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, to forgive you."

None of the Rosenbergs' protests of innocence or the worldwide defense rallies or the thousands of petitions for mercy changed that sentence. On June 19, 1953, the couple were executed.

The Rosenbergs did not commit what the FBI called "the crime of the century." But their case was certainly the most spectacular trial of the 1950s witch-hunt.

And now the Rosenbergs' sons were asking that Kaufman's court not have another chance to hear a Rosenberg case.

"I do not believe a hearing before this court would constitute a hearing



Militant/Diane Rupp  
Michael Meeropol, outside Foley Square court after November 23 hearing.

before an impartial tribunal," Perlin explained to the three appeals judges.

Even though Kaufman has disqualified himself from sitting on the case, he is chief justice of this court of appeals. He might use his position to unfairly influence the other judges, the Meeropols' attorneys argue. They have evidence to back up their fears about Kaufman.

Why did the Meeropols originally file their suit against Nizer in this district where Kaufman was head of the appeals court? one of the judges asked Perlin.

"When we filed three years ago we did not expect to find what we did in

the FBI papers," the Meeropols' lawyer answered. Only last year the FBI was forced to release some of its documents about the Rosenbergs. Those records included a lot of memos by and about Kaufman.

The three judges hearing the appeal had been given copies of those FBI files. If they read them they saw how Kaufman secretly consulted with prosecution lawyers about the death penalty even before the 1951 trial was over.

They would have read how Kaufman conspired with J. Edgar Hoover to suppress criticism of the trial once evidence came to light showing the Rosenbergs' innocence. For example:

A 1969 FBI memo: "Judge Irving Kaufman, Circuit Court of Appeals, Second Circuit, telephonically contacted the Director concerning the above-mentioned play [critical of the frame-up and execution]. Judge Kaufman was alarmed that the 'New York Times' reviewed this play two weeks in a row. . . ."

A 1965 memo about *Invitation to an Inquest* by Walter and Miriam Schneir, a book that documented the Rosenbergs' innocence: "Steps have already been taken in New York and by various 'contacts' of ours to refute the book written by the Schneirs. Judge Irving Kaufman has been furnished certain public source information and is having a lengthy letter written to the Editor of the 'New York Times.'"

If the three judges read the FBI records they saw evidence of how Kaufman tried to intervene before when the Second Circuit Court of Appeals heard another case that had to do with the Rosenbergs.

In 1962 a three-judge panel heard an appeal for parole from Morton Sobell,

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## Defend Houston students

# Texas meetings protest repression in Iran

By Stu Singer

HOUSTON—"Iran's political prisoners are U.S. political prisoners," said Babak Zahraie, quoting Daniel Ellsberg. Zahraie, national secretary of the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran, was speaking to a crowd of more than 200 people at a CAIFI forum in Austin, Texas, November 17.

Zahraie explained, "The best proof of that statement was the beating and imprisonment of Iranian students by police in downtown Houston.

"That brutal performance reveals the essence of Iran-U.S. relations. That attack reveals the essence of the CIA-SAVAK relationship. These are relationships based on the suppression of human rights and freedom by force and violence."

The meeting protested both the suppression of rights in Iran and the recent arrest of Iranian students in Houston. The other featured speaker was humorist John Henry Faulk. Raza Unida party leader Dr. Armando Gutiérrez chaired the forum.

The next day, November 18, Zahraie spoke to a meeting of 150 in Arlington, Texas. Other speakers at that forum included former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark; Jeanne Ford, director of the Women's Center; Gertrude Barnstone of the Texas Women's Equity Action League; and D.R. Martin, associate professor of psychology and a member of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Both the Austin and Arlington meetings voted unanimously to send messages to Houston officials protesting the attack on Iranian students there.

On November 9, 125 Iranian stu-



More than 200 persons attended November 17 CAIFI forum in Austin

dents were arrested while demonstrating outside the French consulate in Houston. The protest had been organized by the Iranian Student Association, Iran House faction, as a twenty-four-hour vigil against the arrest and threatened deportation of two Iranian students in Paris who have been charged with shooting an Iranian embassy official there.

Police attacked the vigil forty-five minutes before it was scheduled to end. News media at the scene reported that police gave a two-minute warning to disperse, but charged only fifty-four seconds later.

At least 150 cops with clubs attacked. Fifty demonstrators were injured.

A few hours later Houston Police Chief "Pappy" Bond called a news conference. He told the press he was

tired of these students demonstrating in Houston, since "Houston has nothing to do with their problems."

Houston's mayor and city council expressed their support for the police attack the next day.

Some of the arrested students were held in jail almost two weeks. At least one student was beaten by cops in jail and spent four or five days in the hospital.

Ninety-two students are charged with disturbing the peace. One is charged with aggravated assault on a cop. The student who was beaten in jail is accused of simple assault.

Sixty of the arrested Iranians face deportation hearings that begin December 18. If deported, they face imprisonment, torture, and possible death in Iran.

The Immigration and Naturalization

Service is using a technical violation to threaten the students. The INS claims that the students were not carrying their visa papers. The officials even tried to charge forty-one of them with violating their visas by missing school without excuse while they were held in jail. But the INS later dropped this Catch-22 reasoning.

The letters columns of both Houston daily newspapers and radio call-in shows have been filled by people discussing the Iranian students. Comments range from open chauvinists who support the cops against these "foreigners" to strong condemnations of repression in Iran and its extension to Houston.

Enough complaints have been registered against the police attack that Police Chief Bond has had to publicly acknowledge that noncitizens have the same right to demonstrate as citizens.

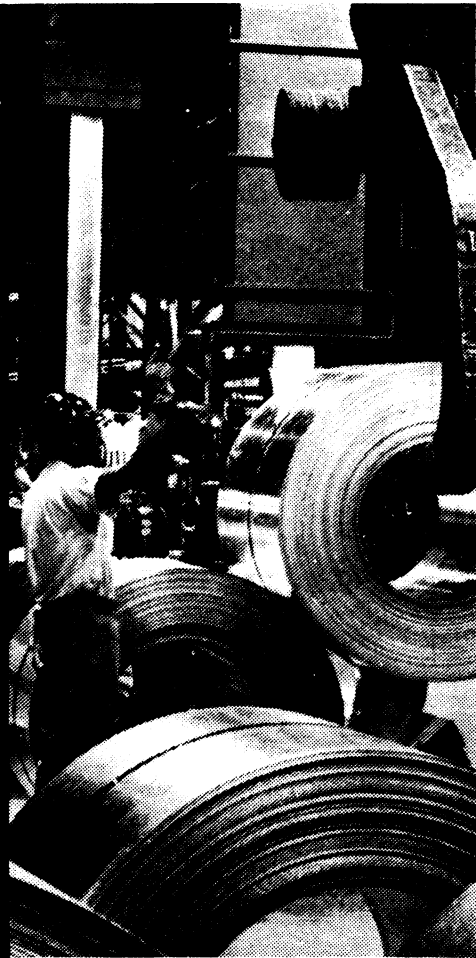
A November 18 picket line of sixty-five people in support of the Iranians took place in front of the Federal Building in Houston without incident.

Nancy Hormachea of the National Lawyers Guild, an attorney for the students, points out that the November 9 attack was a planned effort to deter political activity by Iranian opponents of the shah.

Hormachea urges that messages protesting the arrests be sent to Judge Larry Wayne, who is hearing the criminal charges, at the Harris County Courthouse, 301 San Jacinto, Houston, Texas 77002. Protests should also be sent to INS Judge James Smith, Federal Building, 515 Rusk, Houston, Texas 77002, and to INS Director General Chapman in Washington, D.C.

## SPECIAL FEATURE

# Sadlowski challenges steel union bureaucracy



Next February 8, the members of the United Steelworkers of America will elect their top international union officers, including a successor to retiring President I.W. Abel. The contest is the hardest fought in USWA history. The entrenched bureaucracy—whose slate is headed by District 34 Director Lloyd McBride—is being challenged by an insurgent ticket led by Ed Sadlowski.

Sadlowski won national prominence in 1974 when he defeated the Abel machine's candidate to become director of USWA District 31 in Chicago-Gary. The Sadlowski forces—who call their movement Steelworkers Fight Back—aim to establish democratic, rank-and-file control over the union. They call for the right to strike, the right to vote on contracts, and militant defense of the workers' interests.

This special Militant feature on the steel election begins with news of recent developments in the campaign. On the following pages you will find speeches by Fight Back candidates, articles highlighting the problems of Black and women steelworkers, and other features. Future issues will take up the campaign among Chicano steelworkers, analyze the government's role in the election, and provide regular coverage of campaign news.

This battle in steel, the largest industrial union in the AFL-CIO, will affect the future of the entire labor movement. To keep on top of this historic campaign, you should subscribe to the Militant. See our special introductory offer on page 2.

## 'Steel Labor' suit victory

Ed Sadlowski's lawsuit charging factional misuse of the union newspaper, *Steel Labor*, has forced the union officialdom to make unprecedented concessions to the insurgent candidate. Sadlowski filed suit in federal district court November 10, charging the United Steelworkers of America leadership with illegally using *Steel Labor* to attack his candidacy.

A settlement order, entered on November 23, allows each presidential candidate to send one mailing—at union expense—to every one of the union's 1.4 million members.

In addition, representatives of both candidates may review forthcoming issues of *Steel Labor* before publication.

According to the Steelworkers Fight Back office in Chicago, these two remedies are unique in union election campaigns and were vigorously opposed by the USWA leadership before Sadlowski filed his suit.

Sadlowski commented: "It was apparent to everyone in the courtroom that my charge of a biased campaign against me in *Steel Labor* had been proved beyond a shadow of a doubt." —Andy Rose

## Chicago: first debate

CHICAGO—Ed Sadlowski and Lloyd McBride held their first face-to-face debate here November 16. It was taped for a late-night local television program shown November 21.

McBride quickly set the tone for the debate by accusing Sadlowski of "dereliction of duty" as District 31 director.

Asserting that Sadlowski had the worst safety record of any district director in the union, McBride charged his opponent with at least partial

responsibility for twenty-seven on-the-job deaths.

Sadlowski retorted that he has set up "comprehensive safety programs" in many plants under USWA contract. He contended that the real problem is lack of "safety clauses with teeth on a national level."

Sadlowski attacked the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement for depriving the union of its economic muscle.

McBride, although he has supported the no-strike deal since its inception, felt compelled to hedge his stand. "If it [ENA] does not meet the needs and desires of our membership" in 1977 negotiations, he said, "it goes right out the window."

McBride said nothing, however, about letting the members express their "needs and desires" through voting on the ENA or on basic steel contracts.

McBride also indicated his support for joint union-management speedup committees. He said the union should help increase the productivity and competitiveness of the American steel industry against foreign producers.

Sadlowski ripped the union officialdom's record on bringing women and minorities into staff and policy-making positions within the union. He called for real programs to bring Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and women into the leadership, rather than "token appointments" like that of McBride's Black running-mate Leon Lynch as interim vice-president for human affairs.

The sharpest exchanges of the debate came after McBride's accusation that Sadlowski is backed by both "limousine millionaires" and "communists."

Sadlowski blasted McBride's red-baiting as "playing the bosses game." "They called Walter Reuther that. They called John L. Lewis that. They called Philip Murray that," he said. "And now we see one union member calling another union member a communist in the same fashion."

The two candidates agreed to hold a series of televised debates in major steel centers across the country.

—Michael Gillespie

## Detroit: clear 'tilt'

DETROIT—Oliver Montgomery, Steelworkers Fight Back candidate for vice-president for human affairs, blitzed the Detroit area November 19.

Montgomery first spoke at a news conference, then joined local supporters to campaign at Great Lakes Steel, the biggest steel company in Michigan.

His visit ended with a talk before 200 steelworkers at a fund-raising beer blast organized by District 29 Steelworkers for Sadlowski.

The steelworkers responded enthusiastically to Montgomery's remarks. He got a big ovation when he suggested that all top union officers should be required to work on the shop floor a few weeks each year, so they would know firsthand what steelworkers have to put up with.

On November 24 Marvin Weinstock, Steelworkers Fight Back candidate for vice-president for administration, came to Detroit to debate Lynn Williams, the McBride slate candidate for international secretary.

The confrontation took place before Local 1299, which represents about 9,000 workers at Great Lakes Steel. The two candidates debated in front of 350 steelworkers who had come to vote on nominations that evening. Some members had voted earlier in the day.

Williams spoke first of his many years of "experience" in the union apparatus. That was his big and only pitch.

Weinstock talked about the real issues, such as membership ratification of contracts, dignity on the job, and job safety.

The local union officers, who support McBride, tried to delay the start of the debate and voting. Apparently they hoped that Sadlowski supporters would get tired and go home.

When Williams got up to rebut Weinstock, members rose to their feet and demanded, "Let's vote, let's vote."

When a division of the house was called for on the vote, one steelworker said, "the room tilted." Sadlowski won

the vote with a three-to-one majority.

Williams got the lowest vote of anyone on the McBride slate. One steelworker explained why: "He should have kept his mouth shut."

The entire Fight Back slate won nomination by a big majority. Local 1299 was considered by the union bureaucracy a "safe" McBride local.

Not anymore. —John Hawkins

## LA: quiz for Odorcich

LOS ANGELES—Joe Odorcich, McBride slate candidate for vice-president for administration, spoke here November 7 to a subdued group of seventy-five steelworkers.

The meeting was in sharp contrast to the one held here three weeks earlier for Ed Sadlowski. Twice as many steelworkers attended the spirited Sadlowski gathering.

The meeting of McBride forces here presented an image of uneasiness and frustration over the progress, or lack of it, of their slate.

Several questioners sought some reassuring word about the progress of the campaign nationally.

Some asked why there was no campaign literature—as contrasted to the Sadlowski forces, who have been distributing literature at plant gates here for weeks.

Odorcich responded only in the barest generalities, referring several times to the "young people supporting the other side."

He said young steelworkers are going over to Fight Back because they are interested in fighting the companies, like he wanted to do when he was young.

Apparently Joe has outgrown all that. His message was to vote for his slate because it represents stability and no change.

Meanwhile, local Sadlowski forces are going ahead with plans for future meetings and have opened a campaign office at 4833 Slauson Avenue in Maywood. —Robert Mahoney



The following are excerpts from recent speeches by Ed Sadlowski, candidate for president of the United Steelworkers of America, and two of his running mates on the Steelworkers Fight Back slate: Oliver Montgomery, candidate for USWA vice-president for human affairs, and Marvin Weinstock, candidate for USWA vice-president for administration.

Their remarks were made at meetings in Cleveland, October 3; in the Pittsburgh area, October 31; and in Houston, November 7. In some cases introductions have been added in brackets to explain the context.

## Sadlowski

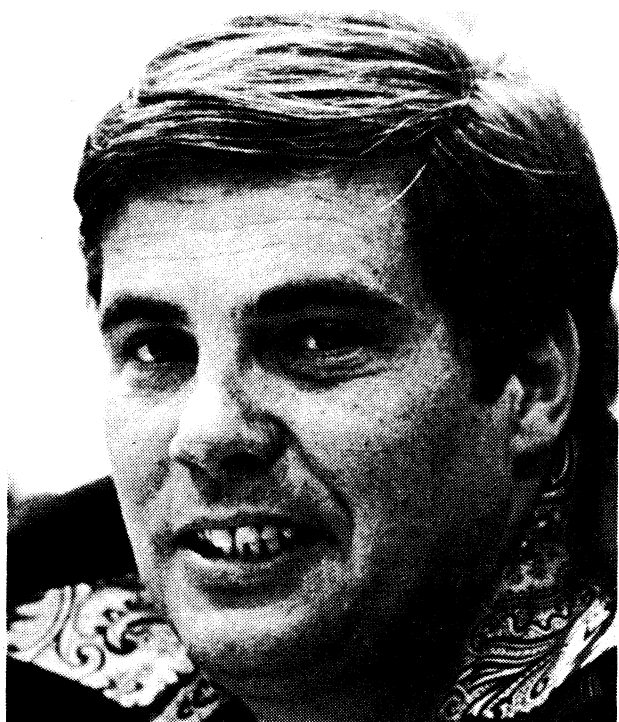
### RIGHT TO STRIKE

[The Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA) was signed in 1973 by USWA President I.W. Abel and the basic steel corporations. Extending through 1980, ENA prohibits industry-wide strikes and provides for binding arbitration of unresolved collective bargaining issues.]

Well, you know the whole selling point on ENA. Abel said, look, this is going to dissipate the foreign import question. It's going to dissipate the hedge-buying question. We won't have thousands of people laid off. And we're going to give you \$150 if you sign it that way.

A hundred and fifty bucks, 150 bucks for six years. That don't buy you cigarettes, brother. Break that down to an hour and you get six cents per.

When we find the *Wall Street Journal*, or *Business Week*, or the *Chicago Tribune* hailing ENA as the greatest agreement that's ever been negotiated in the annals of labor history—well, I know instinctively that we got screwed.



Militant/Harry Ring

ED SADLOWSKI: 'The American labor movement has got to develop into a cause, a cause that was prevalent in the 1930s.'

We went into ENA with some 430,000 basic steel workers in this country. And now we've got 357,000 basic steel workers since the ENA.

ENA is completely opposite to what the labor movement should be all about. It's taken all of the bargaining muscle out of your arm. It strips your collective bargaining muscle right down to the bone. It allows this industry to walk all over you, run rampant, and to pay you a mere pittance for that type of agreement.

Abel sold out on that in the worst way. He's done something that has set our union back ten years. And this not only covers people that are covered by ENA. ENA specifically pertains to the basic steel industry. As you know, that basic steel industry also sets the bargaining pattern for anyone and everyone else. What we get, you get. What we don't get, you don't get. You're getting screwed as much as the guy who does have the ENA. ENA is a lousy, rotten cop-out formula.

### LOCAL STRIKES

[One of Abel's arguments in defense of ENA is that locals still have the right to strike over local issues.]

Let's say come next May ENA is still in effect. If you didn't resolve [local issues] the last time, I guess they're going to be issues again. Common sense tells me you're going to carry those thirty-some

issues into local negotiations.

When that company tells you no, and they continue to tell you no all the way to August 1, what the hell are you going to do at the Irwin Works to correct that situation? Strike the Irwin Works and let South Works run, and let Homestead run, let Gary run, let Fontana run, let U.S. Steel run? U.S. Steel can strangle you to death. You know that and I know that and that's the fallacy of striking on a local issue.

The only time you're going to be effective in correcting that is when South Works, Gary, Fontana, and Geneva, and Birmingham go out with you. There is no effective action that can be taken against the steel industry if you go in piecemeal, because they'll kill you. They'll leave you laying in the streets. You can't beat them individually.

### ARBITRATORS

Now I've never met an impartial arbitrator. There ain't no such thing. Who the hell are arbitrators? Doctors, lawyers, college professors, guys that are making \$75,000 a year. You think they can relate economically to what a loaf of bread costs in your neighborhood or what a pair of shoes costs that you've got to put on your kid's feet? They have no concept of that at all.

Guys who make \$75,000 a year don't think like steelworkers, there's no way in the world they think like steelworkers. You tell them we need a nickel more for a loaf of bread. They're not concerned about that because they don't have to worry about that nickel more. And that's where we find ourselves today, putting our economic destiny in the hands of those people.

### UNION BUREAUCRACY

They're calling Abel a labor statesman and a responsible union leader. I'm very leery about any form of statesman, especially a labor statesman. His concept is to be responsible to the industry, not to the membership. The only guy that he thinks he's responsible to is the boss.

A labor leader is supposed to be responsible to the membership. That's the primary function of a labor leader. Not to the plant manager, the superintendent.

### LAWYERS & WORKERS

There's some mysticism about lawyers. [Former USWA President David] McDonald, I think, promised a lawyer in every district to handle your problems. We as workers—and I've been in that trap myself as a matter of fact—we think that lawyers are all problem-solving people and have answers to everything that ails you.

Well, lawyers usually get more than they put in. There are a lot of lawyers who are responsible for what ails us as working people. There's lawyers that make laws, lawyers that write contracts that nobody can read. There's lawyers that work for the finance companies that shyst you. And you can bet your sweet ass there's lawyers that do that arbitrating and do the persecuting at the same time.

Look, we don't need lawyers to give direction on how our membership should be serviced and how our union should be going. We need workers, and what would be wrong with the United Steelworkers of America going right into the ranks and training and teaching working people to be working people's lawyers. Those who have the gut instincts of workers, who know what it is to work in a plant.

### RIGHT TO VOTE

Any contract that's ever signed in the steelworkers union after we're elected is going to be submitted to the membership for ratification. You people determine what kind of contracts you want to work under. That's not only a question of democracy. That's something that should have been there a long, long, long time ago. That's just human rights.

### RANK-AND-FILE MOVEMENT

You look around and get to know each and every person sitting around you and get to know them on a first-name basis and start organizing yourselves, organizing as workers, organizing in the most viable political force this nation has ever seen.

If you're capable of doing that, you're going to be capable of directing any leader—be it Ed Sadlowski or Lloyd McBride—in what direction you want them to go. Don't let no one come down here and promise you pie in the sky without you having the ability to put your shoe in his ass. And you can do that if you start joining together.

We need you. We need you very badly. Just winning the seats we're vying for is not going to do us any damn bit of good after February 8 if we don't

# STI FIGHT CANDI SPEA

have you on our side as a strong, viable force within our union. Organize. Organize around the premise of what you want this union to be.

### RACISM

Anyone that doesn't realize that racism exists in the steel industry has got their head in the sand. Anyone that doesn't realize that racism exists in the steelworkers union equally has their head in the sand.

You can't be a unionist and be a racist. That's a divide and conquer game. It's not compatible [with unionism]. It never was and it never will be.

Segregation should not exist in any society, and you've got to put every ounce of muscle to see to it that it doesn't exist. It's something the trade-union movement has to be in the forefront on. Unfortunately in many segments of the trade-union movement it hasn't.

I don't believe that segregation will exist if the American labor movement gets serious and says no. No more than I believe that the Vietnam question would have existed if the American labor movement would have said no.

The consent decree [against discrimination in hiring and advancement] is a sham in correcting those very bad, antiquated, discriminatory seniority units that existed in the basic steel industry. The consent decree has not corrected that. The consent decree restitution [money payments for past discrimination] was not enough.

It's not forceful enough. It didn't give the people enough tools to correct the situation. It has to go a lot further than it has. It hasn't eliminated discrimination and we've still got a big job ahead of us.

### JOB SAFETY

What you have to do is implement the safest program possible and the safest standards that's technologically possible and then be in a position to police those standards.

Not just policing them under an agreement where the employee tells the boss the job is unsafe. And the boss says, OK, fine, we'll take you off the job. And you go home and you lose a day's pay. That's what happens now. That doesn't mean a fiddler's damn.

What you've got to do is say that job's unsafe, it's unsafe now, and it's not going to be worked until it's corrected. And the employee isn't going to lose any money. You shut the job down. You'd be amazed at how readily he'll correct the unsafe condition when you're capable of doing that. It's corrected within minutes.

### SMALL PLANTS

We've got to be fair to the union membership. I don't think just by virtue of someone working for U.S. Steel that that individual should be making more money and more benefits than someone who's working for some small company. Their ambitions, their desires, are the same as someone who works for one of the large firms.

The majority of our members today are employed in fabricating. You've got a multitude of employers, and one employer playing off the worker against another worker across the street.

One, I think we have to start negotiating things with common expiration dates in geographic areas.

# THE BACK DATES OUT

We have to start looking at employers, in the Cleveland area for example, as one employer—capable then of negotiating common expiration dates, common rates of pay, etc., in that geographic area. The ultimate thing is that we then negotiate on a national basis.

## PENSIONS

My pa is on pension. He put in thirty-eight years at Inland Steel. He's drawing down \$187 a month, I believe. Well, he just got an increase, twenty bucks, probably \$207 now. He can't make it. I don't know of anybody that can make it out of that meager pension.

I believe very firmly that when an individual works for twenty-five or thirty or thirty-five years and goes out on pension, that person should receive the same amount of money on pension as if he was working. There should be no reduction.

He's the guy that made the profits for that industry. He's the guy that's realized the thirty-five years of making tin cans or buckets or steel or whatever—that gave that boss the opportunity of living up in some real plush house. That worker should not be penalized and that's exactly what does happen with the pension system we now have.

## WAGE CONTROLS

I'm very skeptical about that. It makes your eyebrow twitch a little bit, you know. If he [Carter] does that, I'll tell you what, there's no room on economic pay boards for labor. Believe that.

That was the tragedy of that whole thing, when the George Meanys and the I.W. Abels and the Leonard Woodcocks sat on those very boards. And it was you and the worker next to you that was getting it in the neck.

## UNION ORGANIZING

It's not that easy in the North and it's twice as hard in the South. I've organized plants and lost them and won them. What we've got to do is unionize the unorganized. That's number one.

We've got to develop a cause. People organize



Militant/Ruth Robinett

OLIVER MONTGOMERY: 'The right to strike is synonymous with the word union.'

around causes. We've got to develop a very strong cause in this country. Chávez [of the United Farm Workers] is a good example of that. It's a cause. Even with the roadblocks and setbacks he's successful.

I think that's what the American labor movement has got to develop into, a cause, a cause that was prevalent in the 1930s, in 1937. More than just a union it was a cause.

## Montgomery

### THE CIO

My granddad worked in the steel mills forty-some years before he retired. My dad worked in the steel mills and was very active in the union. I used to hear my dad and granddad say the union is the greatest cause in the world. It is the cause of poor people. It is the cause of working people. The union was everything.

The message that was conveyed to me as a very young lad was that labor leadership was something sacred. The United Steelworkers of America was a sacred thing, was the only hope for working people.

### LOST TIME

Our union isn't in business to save the company's record on lost time. A man gets hurt, we say he stays out and you pay him until he's well enough to come back to work. The companies bring you back in there like mummies so they can have a good record on the lost-time board.

They're in business for profit. They could care less about our people hurt. As a union we can apply muscle to get the issue in the right place to stop that kind of thing. The doctor you have, the doctor you have faith and confidence in, the one that you pay, should have the final say—not the company doctor. The company doctor has a conflict of interest. He don't care if you come back dead.

### INDUSTRIAL SLAVES

You have been reduced to the level of industrial slaves. This does not have to be. We hear local union people tell us that the only thing they have going for them in the plants is frustration after frustration. Everything we negotiate on one end is taken away on the other end. This is what I'm talking about.

So here again, the team is saying that one of the first things we shall do is say to the giant steel industry: Get off the back of steelworkers. We're a union one million four hundred thousand strong. An offense against one steelworker is an offense against all.

This is the kind of determination that made me join a team like this. This is the kind of determination when I sensed where Ed is coming from.

The only way that you can have dignity on the job is if we give you the tools and power you need as local union officers, as grievance committeemen, as stewards on the shop floor, on the battlefield where the real battle goes on.

We say steelworkers should have the right to determine when and if they should use the weapon of the strike to get the bosses off their backs. We say that the right to strike is synonymous with the word union. If the foreman or the companies have the right to fire, there can be no balance of power unless we have the right to strike.

### WOMEN STEELWORKERS

We must recognize that first of all the structure and nature of the work force is changing. I think one of the first things we have to do is work on changes in attitudes. We have a chauvinistic attitude within the union. That male chauvinist attitude has to be changed. We may have to get into sensitivity training or something, but this is very high on our priority list.

Secondly, we recognize that as men we certainly don't even understand, are not even sensitive to many of the kinds of problems that women face. And we say that in that area we need direction from women to give input, to sensitize us. I think that's very necessary. I think that is part of the whole human struggle we're in.

## Weinstock

### RESPECT FOR THE UNION

We think the leadership of this organization better start realizing that the members have lost respect for the union's ability to perform. Why do

the members in the plants say, "Well, you can't go to the union, they won't solve the problem anyway." In part, because management has lost respect for the union's ability to fight and put them straight.

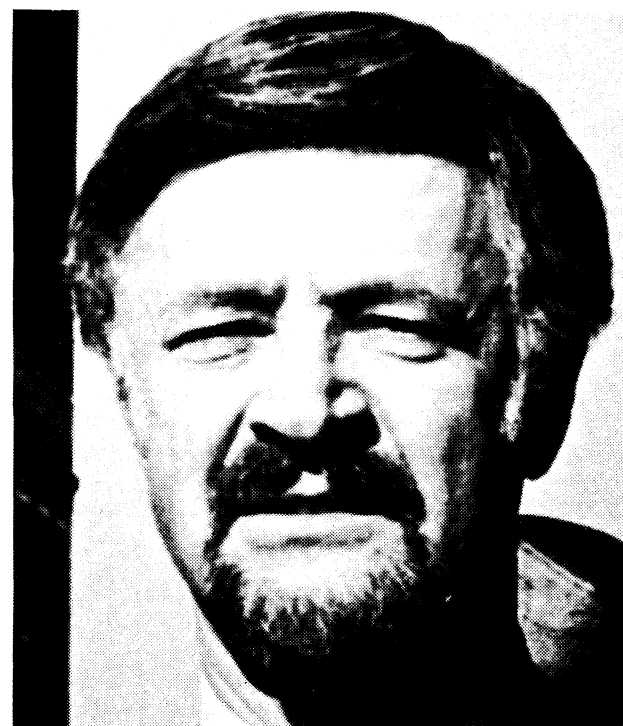
Management and top union leadership have a very close buddy-buddy relationship. And it doesn't stop there, either, because the superintendents of these plants talk in terms of the good friendly relationship that they're having with the union.

We all like to get along—but the end result is that it filters right down to the foreman in the shop. And that foreman says, "If you don't like it, file a grievance." How many times have you heard that lately?

Well, that is disrespect for this organization! That means they forgot what this union is all about. They don't believe we can fight them. They don't believe we can beat them. And the grievance procedure proves they're about right.

The grievance procedure is slow, cumbersome, when you get to arbitration what are your chances? We get packs of arbitration decisions every week: grievance denied, grievance denied, grievance denied. I don't think we win one out of ten. The facts are we do not. The facts are the arbitration procedure is stacked against us.

We can't get a fair deal for our problems in the



Militant/Ruth Robinett

MARVIN WEINSTOCK: 'The members have lost respect for the union's ability to perform, in part because management has lost respect for the union's ability to fight.'

shop when there's no respect for the union committeeman there, because he doesn't have the backing of the district or the international.

### COKE PLANT WORKERS

I understand we have some coke plant workers here, and I have a few words to say about this situation. I'm going to tell you, the coke plant workers have been sold down the river on the ecological problems that have been created in the plants.

Yes, there's a court order and yes, there's a government procedure. And what is the union going to do about it, huh? Can we depend on the government to solve any of our problems? The fact is, we cannot.

I'll tell you this. There are about sixty-five coke plants in the United States today functioning with 22,000 workers. Almost all of them are in the United Steelworkers of America. The workers there are being poisoned slowly but surely.

We cannot take threats, we cannot take government edicts, and we cannot take halfway measures to save the lives of our fellow workers in those sixty-five coke plants. It's up to the union to do something about it, right now! Well, what can the union do? We have a contract coming up, do we not?

Medically proven facts are that the fewer hours that you're in those gaseous, poisonous conditions, the better chances are that you will not be infected. The longer time you have to rest after working, your body takes care of some of those benzene particles. If you're out of that environment longer, you have less chance of having the problem.

Well, what about the six-hour day for the coke plant workers right now—at eight hours' pay!

We're going to have to have that in this union overall. A shorter workweek must be a demand of this union for all steelworkers, because there just aren't enough jobs around anymore. The technology that makes us all 100 percent more productive than ten years ago has eliminated those jobs, and we have tens of thousands of our fellow workers unemployed.



By Michael Gillespie

EAST CHICAGO, Ind.—An agreement between the Inland Steel Company and United Steelworkers of America Local 1010 here has rekindled controversy over race and sex discrimination in steel and become an issue in the upcoming union elections.

After two years of protracted negotiations, Inland signed a limited antidiscrimination agreement establishing plant-wide seniority. It went into effect November 21.

The pact is modeled on the consent decree between the union and nine other major steel companies, agreed to in federal district court in April 1974.

For decades the steel corporations had segregated Blacks and Latinos into the dirtiest, hottest, most dangerous jobs in the mills—such as the blast furnaces and coke ovens—and barred them from the skilled trades.

Seniority based on department or unit served to lock minorities into these positions, since transferring would mean loss of seniority and probably a cut in pay.

Because of the union's complicity with this discrimination, it was sued along with the companies by civil rights agencies and individual steelworkers. Some of these suits scored important legal victories.

The consent decree was a deal worked out between the companies, union, courts, and federal agencies to head off further suits while ending only the worst aspects of the industry's racist practices. The decree's most important features were:

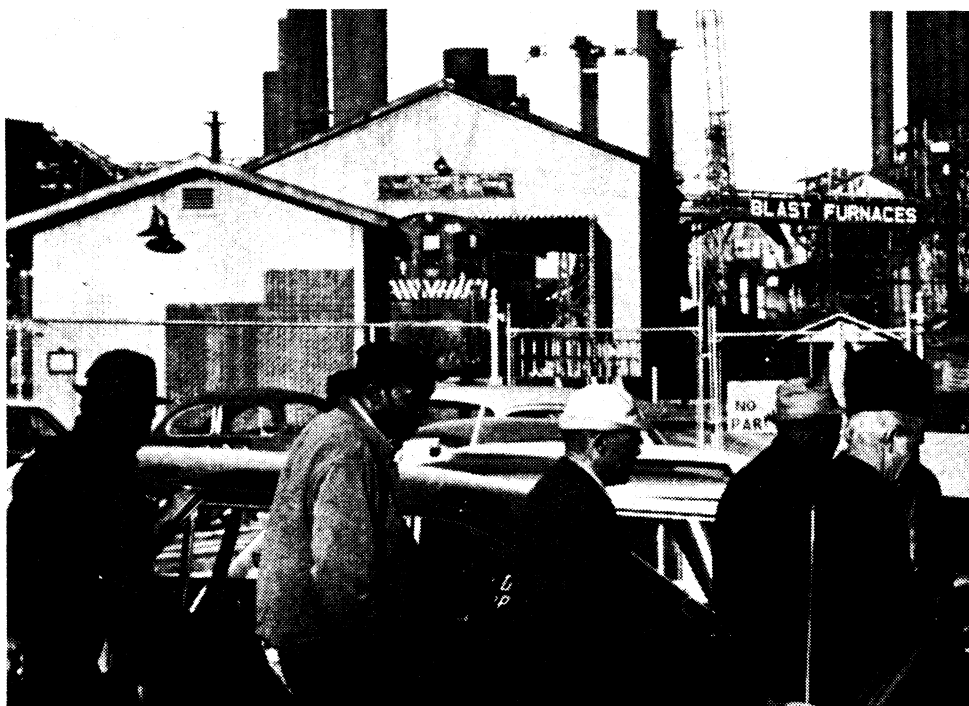
- establishing plant-wide seniority for promotions, layoffs, and transfers;
- setting quotas for the hiring and training of women, Blacks, and Latinos as apprentices in the skilled trades; and
- distributing some \$31 million in back pay to women and minority employees for past discrimination.

Hiring quotas and plant-wide seniority were gains for women and oppressed minorities. But implementation of the decree has far from ended discrimination. And to receive the back-pay awards—widely criticized as inadequate—workers are forced to waive any further legal action against the companies.

Inland Steel withdrew from the final negotiations and refused to sign the consent decree. The company said it was willing to accept plant-wide seniority. But it rejected proposals for back pay and quotas on the grounds that it had not discriminated against women and minorities.

The federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission exploded this claim in a November 1975 report documenting that Inland "had engaged in a pattern and practice of

# Inland Steel resists action on job discrimination



For decades Blacks were segregated into dirtiest, most dangerous jobs in the mills

discriminating against blacks, Spanish-surnamed Americans and women."

This led to renewed negotiations between the EEOC, Inland, and the USWA. Negotiations began while Henry López was president of Local 1010 but were concluded by Jim Balanoff, who was elected local president last April, and District 31 Director Ed Sadlowski, along with top USWA attorneys from Pittsburgh.

At a November 24 news conference, Sadlowski and Balanoff condemned the inadequacies of the Inland agreement.

"Inland has adamantly refused to establish any rate retention for workers who want to transfer [to another department], along the lines of the 1974 decree," Sadlowski said, "and flatly refused to implement any other provision of the decree, such as quotas for [hiring women and minorities in] the skilled trades and back-pay reimbursement."

Refuting Inland's claim that it doesn't discriminate, Sadlowski pointed out that "there aren't more than a handful of Blacks in the 900-man

electrical department."

Some 6,500 of Local 1010's 18,000 members are Black or Latino, with Latinos outnumbering Blacks. About 800-900 women work at the plant.

Opposition to the agreement has arisen from the 350-person transportation department at Inland, where railroad engineers and switchmen fear that plant-wide seniority will disrupt

their bidding system for work schedules.

In September and October workers in the transportation department held several large, angry meetings at which Sadlowski and Balanoff faced a barrage of hostile questions. Both men defended the limited gains in the agreement.

"I understand their objections," Sadlowski said, "but it's the right thing to do, something that should have been done forty years ago to end the discriminatory situation that exists in the plant."

Sادلowski and Balanoff believe that only pressure from the EEOC and the union can force the company to take more meaningful action. Both men plan to meet with EEOC officials soon to investigate the possibility of a class-action suit against Inland to win back pay for women and minority workers.

Anti-Sادلowski forces in the local—supporters of the USWA officialdom and the McBride slate in the international election—are trying to use the turmoil and divisiveness at Inland for factional advantage.

Among whites, they blame Sadlowski and Balanoff for alleged disruption of seniority. Among minorities, they blame the two for the inadequacies of the agreement.

But as Sadlowski noted at the November 24 news conference, "the company is responsible for this situation and the lack of progress, and we have been negotiating all along with the advice of [USWA attorneys] Carl Frankel and Bernie Kleiman in Pittsburgh."

Sادلowski and Balanoff's defense of the gains for minorities under the consent decree and their call for more thorough measures to end discrimination in the union and the industry stand in stark contrast to the McBride slate's satisfaction with the shortcomings of the consent decree and their factional use of misunderstanding and racism.

## A revealing demonstration

EAST CHICAGO, Ind.—A recent incident here illustrated how anti-Sادلowski forces in the union are trying to play upon the backward attitudes of some white workers against hiring and promotion gains for minorities.

A demonstration was called for November 23 outside the offices of Local 1010 to protest the antidiscrimination agreement with Inland Steel and alleged "disruption of seniority."

Organizers of the protest predicted participation by 400 steelworkers.

When reporters arrived at the demonstration, however, no more than twenty people were picketing. And their signs said nothing about the consent decree, the Inland agreement, or racist discrimination.

The demonstrators were carrying campaign posters for Lloyd McBride—the union bureaucracy's chosen candidate to oppose Ed Sadlowski for international president—and Len Hickey, a candidate for District 31 director who supports McBride. —M.G.

# Black unionists in tribute to Montgomery

By Michael Gillespie

EAST CHICAGO, Ind.—In an important expression of Black support, Jesse Jackson gave a spirited speech backing the Steelworkers Fight Back slate of Ed Sadlowski at a November 17 rally here.

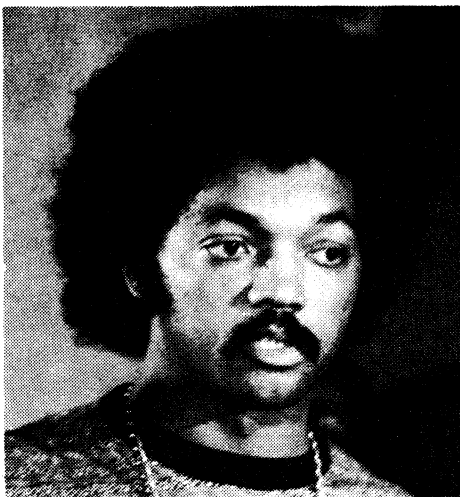
Jackson is president of the Chicago-based civil rights organization Operation PUSH. He was the featured speaker at a testimonial dinner for Oliver Montgomery, Black candidate for United Steelworkers of America international vice-president (human affairs) on the Sadlowski slate.

Nearly 600 steelworkers attended the testimonial, which was organized by leading Black steelworkers in USWA District 31. Sharing the platform with Jackson were prominent Black unionists, both staff representatives and rank-and-filers, who have known and worked with Montgomery for many years.

Among them were Jim Davis, head of the national Ad Hoc Committee of Concerned Steelworkers; Rayfield Moo-

ty, longtime leader of the civil rights movement in the union; and Curtis Strong, a member of the USWA's Civil Rights Department in Pittsburgh.

In his rousing keynote address Jackson said he was "honored and



Militant/Terry Quilico

JESSE JACKSON: 'This union needs a new direction, not just new leaders.'

privileged" to be asked to speak. "One has to admire the courage, tenacity, and background of a fighter like Oliver," Jackson said.

He pointed out that Montgomery's father and grandfather had been involved in the movement against discrimination in the union and in society. Jackson said Montgomery is carrying on that tradition of fighting for the rights of all steelworkers.

The civil rights leader also praised Sadlowski as a man who knows the "difference between being jealous for power and being philosophically opposed to what those in power represent."

Jackson said that the "Sادلowski-Montgomery slate represents freedom, sacrifice, responsibility, and the blood of your blood, the flesh of your flesh, and the spirit of your spirit."

The Black leader brought the crowd to its feet, stomping and cheering, when he denounced the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement in basic steel as the "most damnable

thing" he has witnessed in the labor movement.

"What kind of union, what kind of union leaders, give up the right to strike?" Jackson asked.

"Progress is always born on the back of rebellion," he said, "and this is no time to go to sleep. The union needs a new direction, not just new leaders. We have to change things from the bottom up."

"Real change doesn't come from the White House. No, real change comes from my house and your house, and we have to get out there and work," Jackson said.

The Black leader concluded by pledging to "hit the road and walk through those plants" to support Montgomery and Sadlowski.

"I'm here tonight to stand with the forces of rebellion, to stand with folks who have more to gain by fighting than by not fighting. We have got to have change in the steel plants and you must win this election," Jackson declared.



By Nancy Cole  
and Helen Meyers

BALTIMORE—In 1973 the U.S. Labor Department issued an antidiscrimination order against Bethlehem Steel. It directed the company to allow Black steelworkers at its Sparrows Point plant here to transfer out of segregated units to better jobs without loss of seniority.

The order made no mention of women employees.

Kathleen Beasley, a steelworker for twenty-four years at Sparrows Point, knew firsthand what a serious omission that was.

As it turned out, even for Blacks the government order "didn't amount to too much," Beasley said in a recent interview with the *Militant*. "But we felt women were in practically the same category as the Black workers, and women were ignored completely."

The Sparrows Point plant employs some 20,000 workers and is one of the largest steel mills in the country. It is both a raw steel production facility and a finishing mill.

"Most all the Blacks were always put over on the [raw] steel side, in the lower-paying, dirty jobs. A lot of them were in the coke ovens," explains Beasley. "And the women were hired in the tin mill, all in the low-paying assorting department."

### Unit seniority

A major complaint of both women and Black steelworkers was unit seniority. Under this system, workers accumulated seniority only as long as they stayed in one unit. Blacks and women who wanted to try for a better-paying job had to start at the bottom of the seniority list within the new unit.

After the Labor Department order on behalf of Black steelworkers, Beasley and two other women filed charges of company discrimination against women with the federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. The EEOC investigated and found "reasonable cause" to agree.

Out of 16,687 hourly rated employees at the time, the EEOC found, only 1.4 percent were women. All but 33 of the 238 women were confined to three departments in the plant.

There are twenty-eight job classifications. Eighty percent of the women were in the five lowest-paid classifications.

### Legal action

Beasley is a member of the National Organization for Women. Through the NOW newsletter she learned of its activity in defense of women steelworkers' rights. She contacted NOW, and women there urged her to file a lawsuit based on the EEOC findings.

In April 1974 Beasley, her co-worker Catherine Lloyd, and Baltimore NOW filed a class-action suit against Bethlehem Steel and the United Steelworkers of America. The suit demands fair employment practices, equal pay for equal work, and back pay for past discrimination. In addition, the women sought damages totaling \$1 million.

"We held a news conference on April 11 to announce our suit. On April 12," Beasley laughs, "news of the consent decree hit the papers."

The consent decree was a settlement reached between the United Steelworkers of America, nine major steel companies, and the federal government. It promised improvements in the seniority system and a partial back-pay award for Blacks and women.

The plant-wide seniority worked out under the 1974 consent decree is "unit seniority in disguise," Beasley contends.

"It's an incumbency system. If you change units, you're up a few steps from the bottom. But then you're usually frozen because people younger than you have 'incumbency' over you. It's not likely those younger people are going to retire or die, which is the only way you can move up."

NOW filed an immediate appeal of the decree, as did other groups, includ-

# A woman steelworker's long struggle for equal opportunity



Militant/Nancy Cole

KATHLEEN BEASLEY: Twenty-four-year veteran of Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point plant and initiator of lawsuit against sex discrimination.

ing the NAACP. These appeals were rejected in August 1975 by a federal appeals court. The U.S. Supreme Court later refused to review that decision.

Meanwhile, the Sparrows Point women's lawsuit has been stalled. Before they can get to the company, they have to contend with the federal government.

### \$500 back pay

About eight months ago, Bethlehem Steel began offering back-pay awards under the consent decree. After twenty-four years of discrimination on the job, Beasley's payment came to \$700.

"By the time they took out taxes, I think it was \$500—for twenty-four years!"

It was meant to be an offer she couldn't refuse. But she did.

"I would never accept a check they offered me no matter what the amount, because of the wording on the back of the check. You have to waive all the rights you have under Title VII [of the Civil Rights Act]" to bring suit for damages because of past discrimination.

Beasley knows how valuable the civil rights law is. She first went to work at the plant in 1952. At that time there were some 500 women. Almost all of them were in one department.

"They called it 'assorting,' but it was really inspection. Assorting is a lower-

paying job. The women in that department are still 'assorters' today."

After she had been on the job ten years, Bethlehem moved to automate the "women's department." They brought in men to operate the automated machines. They got rid of about half the women. The remaining women were subject to layoffs at any time.

Despite her ten years' seniority, Beasley was laid off at least once a year for the next five years.

The 1964 Civil Rights Act provided her and other women at the plant with the weapon they needed. "The first time I got laid off in 1967 I transferred to a different [previously all-male] department. But I had to start all over again. I was at the bottom of the pay scale."

"And it wasn't only the pay that hurt. It was the attitudes of the foremen that we women were 'bottom people.' We naturally got all the work. No matter what you did, it wasn't enough for them."

The harassment helped convince the women that legal action was necessary. "They provoked us right over to Washington," Beasley says.

### 'Strong stomach'

How about the attitudes of her male co-workers? "It was terrible to begin with. You had to have a strong stomach to break into something new."

You've really got to be strong to put up with some of the abuse. But it's improved. A lot of them have come to say, 'Well, they're here to stay.'"

There are now about 500 women in the plant—an increase over the 238 there when they first initiated the EEOC complaint, but still a small percentage of the total work force.

More than half of the women now are young, hired during the past two years. Most of the women with as much seniority as Beasley are still in the low-paying "women's department." They are still getting laid off once a year.

"There are still a lot of departments women are not in," she says. "Electronics, for instance. And there are no women in research. I used to think all those research fellows were college graduates, but they're not. Their only qualifications are that they're white males."

Beasley is "gungho" about the Equal Rights Amendment. She marched in the August 28 ERA demonstration in Washington this year.

She joined NOW in 1973. "I was always curious about what they did. I wanted to get into a women's organization. I thought NOW was the most popular, the most effective."

"You have to have an organization behind you. Where would the Blacks be today without the NAACP and CORE? It's the organization that really gives any kind of a lawsuit or charge effect."

"NOW has 60,000 members. When you go into court—that quick you have 60,000 women on your side. This is the way courts look at it."

### No aid from union

A question about aid from her union—USWA Local 2609—provokes an agitated response.

"They were terrible, terrible, really terrible! When EEOC notified us about the 'reasonable cause,' the union must have been sent a copy of it. They were furious."

"I called the local president, Dave Wilson. We hadn't filed the suit yet. I asked him to join with us and help us. He says, 'I can't do that. I would be admitting guilt.'"

"Besides, he said, it is his opinion that women are a special breed, and they belong on a pedestal!"

"When we went into court, he nearly flipped. He sent a petition around the mill, a seven-page petition, and he wanted all the women to sign it. It stated that the company had never discriminated against the women there."

"He told people we were trying to bankrupt the local. All we wanted was representation. We never got it before. Any female grievance that was ever filed was thrown in the garbage."

Wilson, who is now running for director of USWA District 8, went so far as to suppress an issue of the local's newspaper that was set to publish an article by Beasley explaining the women's legal action.

Beasley has heard little about Ed Sadlowski's campaign for international president of the steelworkers union. One thing she does know is that the union needs a "radical change." But she doesn't know where Sadlowski stands on women's issues, and that's of the greatest importance to her.

"This steelworkers union has always been terrible on women's issues. One time I fought a case all the way to [USWA President I.W.] Abel. My boss took a new employee—he'd only been there two months—and moved him over me into a job class eleven and kept me at four."

"I filed a grievance, and can you imagine, Local 2609 said it had no merit and threw it out. I appealed it to the grievance committee, and they threw it out. So I wrote to Abel, and he wrote back and said it had no merit."

There aren't many women active in the union here. Wilson tries to make the meetings "unbearable" for anyone except his yes-men, Beasley says. "Everytime I do anything with the union, I end up fighting them for representation."

By Doug Jenness

"Unionists—and many nonunion workers—are closely watching Ed Sadlowski's campaign for president of the United Steelworkers of America."

This was Ed Heisler's conclusion after returning from a fall speaking tour of Midwest cities on behalf of the Socialist Workers party presidential ticket in the November elections. Heisler met and talked with many unionists and attended several Sadlowski rallies.

"The Sadlowski campaign is the most important thing happening in the labor movement today," Heisler told the *Militant* in a recent interview.

"It's not only an election campaign. Thousands of steelworkers are getting active in the union, many for the first time. They are fed up with union leaders who fail to defend their jobs and living standards.

"Steelworkers have had enough and are now demanding the right to control their union, the right to strike, safer working conditions, and many other changes. I think their mood is well summed up in the name of their organization: Steelworkers Fight Back.

"That's why so many working men and women are watching what happens in steel. Members of all unions face the same problems: a leadership that doesn't represent them, that doesn't fight for their interests, that is outside their control.

"Any gains made by steelworkers in their fight for union democracy will inspire similar movements in other unions. This can be the beginning of a huge reform movement to shake up and democratize the entire American labor movement."

#### Can Sadlowski win?

I showed Heisler a recent article in *Business Week* that said Lloyd McBride "is a slight favorite over Sadlowski in the election. But Sadlowski appeals to younger workers and cannot be counted out." I asked Heisler if he thought Sadlowski was going to win.

"I don't know the answer to that," he replied. "But it's interesting that *Business Week*, the *Wall Street Journal*, and other big-business papers are so worried about it.

"The employers are clearly rooting for the McBride slate. After all, they see eye-to-eye with McBride on many things. They're against the right of union members to vote on their contracts. They support the no-strike agreement in basic steel, and want to see it extended. Both the steel companies and McBride favor continuing 'labor-management partnership' to enforce speedup on the job.

"Sادلowski does have a fighting chance," Heisler said. "I think everyone who supports union democracy and opposes the narrow-minded 'business unionism' of McBride and Abel ought to be doing whatever they can to help out this historic campaign.

"However," Heisler continued, "we should realize something else as well. This battle isn't over with the February 8 elections. As Sadlowski himself points out, the key thing is to build a movement that won't end on February 8, no matter who wins the union presidency.

"Even if Sadlowski loses, this movement can and should continue. The gains made during the campaign—the members reached, convinced, and organized; the lessons learned—can be the building blocks for the next stage in this insurgent movement for union democracy."

#### Using union power

Heisler went on to point out that a Sadlowski victory won't automatically mean that the membership will be in control of the union. "This depends on whether the members are organized to fight for their own interests, and whether they rely on their own collective strength.

"For a Sadlowski victory to have real meaning, Fight Back could not disappear after the election. It would

# 'This can begin a fight to transform the entire labor movement'



Ed Heisler is a member of the Socialist Workers party National Committee. A railroad worker for ten years in Chicago, he was a leader of a struggle in the United Transportation Union from 1969 to 1972 to win the right of the membership to vote on contracts.

have to expand its activities and help mobilize the membership to exercise control over the union."

That poses the question of how a democratized steelworkers union should use its power.

"This is very important," Heisler responded. "It relates to what Sadlowski is talking about when he says that the labor movement has got to develop into a *cause*. It means a radical departure from thinking of the unions solely as agencies for negotiating a few cents more from the employers every three years.

"Union power should be mobilized to fight inflation, unemployment, speed-up, and all the other problems that afflict working people. But the unions need allies in this fight, and to win those potential allies labor must champion the cause of all the oppressed and downtrodden—Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, women, everyone who is put down in this society.

"Labor should put some teeth into its fine-sounding resolutions on civil rights by organizing massive demonstrations for desegregated schools and housing.

"It should fight for the rights of women—passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, affirmative action, defense of abortion rights.

"It should be in the forefront of any actions to stop U.S. intervention in another country like Vietnam.

"Labor should be the leading force to help change society into a better place for all working people. That's how labor can become a cause, win important and powerful allies, and accomplish real gains for union members."

#### Political independence

Heisler said that another change is necessary before the power of labor can be mobilized in such a movement: "Labor must end its political subordination to the political parties of the employers, the Democrats and Republicans.

"Here, in my opinion," Heisler said,

"Sادلowski makes an important mistake. He said he was voting for Carter—not enthusiastically, but because he thought Ford was even worse. And he supported former Sen. Fred Harris back during the Democratic primaries.

"I think that any support to either the Democrats or Republicans is a dead end for labor. It stands in contradiction to many of the principles Sadlowski speaks out for.

"The workers need unions that *they* run, unions that stand up for *their* interests against the employers, right? Well, it stands to reason that workers also need *our own political instrument*. We need a party that's run by workers, accountable only to workers, and that fights for the needs of all working people.

"That party is certainly not the Democratic party. It pretends to represent both workers and bosses, but its whole record shows it is run entirely by and for the employers. And Carter isn't going to be any different.

"Labor has to organize and fight

politically. Nobody in the union movement disputes that anymore. But to be politically *effective*, labor has to be politically *independent*.

"The great labor leader Eugene Debs, who Sadlowski speaks highly of, considered this a matter of principle. He believed that labor should *never* support the Democrats or Republicans."

Heisler said he thought that the Steelworkers Fight Back campaign made the prospect of a labor party more understandable. "If workers don't see any way to get their unions fighting for them," he said, "then naturally a labor party based on those unions isn't going to make much sense.

"But we're not talking about a party that follows George Meany-type or I.W. Abel-type policies. We're talking about a party that would unite millions of workers against all the schemes of big business to drive down our living standards and take away our rights.

"It would do a lot more than run candidates for office. It would organize huge protest campaigns around all issues affecting working people."

#### Red-baiting

I asked Heisler if he thought red-baiting was a big problem for the Sadlowski campaign. "Red-baiting has been a weapon of the employers against union militants for decades," he answered. "This is nothing new.

"When the McBride forces red-bait Steelworkers Fight Back, they play into the employers' hands and hurt the union. Their fear of debating the real issues reflects their bankruptcy as union leaders."

Heisler explained that the most effective way to combat red-baiting is to expose its origins and its sinister aims.

"Any idea," he declared, "that the red-baiters will go away if a few of the more radical activists are purged is dead wrong. Reactionaries are not impressed with such demonstrations of respectability. In fact, this inspires them to demand more, until the whole dissident movement is wiped out."

Heisler explained that the policy of Steelworkers Fight Back has been to welcome everyone, regardless of political affiliation, who supports the Sadlowski slate and works for its victory.

"This stand is right on the beam," he stated. "If Steelworkers Fight Back were to take a different approach and declare that union members with this or that political affiliation couldn't participate in the campaign, or that their views couldn't be openly circulated, it would be very divisive.

"It would undermine the unity of the movement for union democracy, turning one part of it against another. The movement's ability to inspire masses of union members to join its campaign would be severely harmed.

"Nowadays most steelworkers and other unionists don't fall for these witch-hunt tactics by the right-wingers," Heisler concluded. "The excellent response Steelworkers Fight Back gets when it stands up firmly against the red-baiters is a good sign it's on the right track."

## Steel pamphlet sales drive

By Fred Stanton

The Houston Socialist Workers party was the most outstanding area last week in sales of *The Fight for Union Democracy in Steel*, a pamphlet by *Militant* staff writer Andy Rose.

Houston sold fifty-two copies at three steel fabricating plants: Reed Tool, Hughes Tool, and Hydril.

At Hughes, salespersons had to flag down workers driving into the plant gates to tell them about the pamphlet. Nevertheless, thirty-six copies were sold in just two shift changes, mostly to Black and Chicano steelworkers.

Stu Singer, SWP organizer and one of the top salespersons, attributes the good response to "a greater

amount of political discussion in the plant and in the union since the Sadlowski campaign has really gotten under way here."

Singer added that "people are very interested in reading something about the history of their union."

*The Fight for Union Democracy in Steel* describes the Sadlowski campaign and draws lessons from the history of the CIO for today's fight for militant and democratic unionism.

Single copies of the pamphlet cost fifty cents. Or you can join in the sales effort by ordering a bundle of five or more at the discount rate of thirty cents each. Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.



# World Outlook

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

DECEMBER 10, 1976

## Syrian occupation halts civil war in Lebanon

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

By David Frankel

The Syrian army completed the occupation of Beirut without a battle November 15, ending more than a year and a half of civil war in Lebanon. Although formally representing a multinational Arab peacekeeping force, the Syrians did not bother with the fiction of repainting their helmets and vehicles. Similarly, although they are supposedly under the command of Lebanese President Elias Sarkis, it is well understood that the real power in Lebanon is held by Syrian President Hafez al-Assad.

Now that Assad occupies Beirut, what will his next moves be? A number of points are clear.



ELIAS SARKIS

- Assad will attempt to limit any changes in the discriminatory governmental and economic system that was one of the prime causes of the civil war.

Muslims are the majority in Lebanon, but the economy is dominated by a largely Christian ruling class. Among presidents of industries before the civil war, 105 were Christian and twenty-one were Muslim; in banking, Christian presidents outnumbered Muslims by 11 to 2; and in services, the ratio at the top between Christians and Muslims was 40 to 5.

Christian economic domination was fostered by a governmental system imposed by the former French colonial rulers. Christian sects were guaranteed a 6 to 5 majority in the parliament, the leadership of the armed forces, and the presidency. The only change in all this proposed by Assad was an agreement announced in February in which the Maronite Christians—estimated at about 20 percent of the country's population—would have continued to be guaranteed the presidency, while seats in the parliament would have been divided on a 50-50 basis, and religious quotas in other governmental posts would have been eliminated.

This plan would have still left the Christian minority in effective control of the government. There is no indication that Assad intends to go any further than this in dealing with the grievances of the Muslim majority.

On the contrary, he has made clear that he intends to rebuild the governmental apparatus in Lebanon by relying on the moderate representatives of Maronite domination. In May,



Syrian tank enters Beirut . . . but the big winner in Lebanon so far has been the oppressor-state of Israel.

for example, Sarkis was elected president of Lebanon by parliament only because of Syrian support.

Sarkis, a key man in the Lebanese government from 1959 through the late 1960s, failed to win the presidency by one vote in 1970. He created the secret police apparatus that became notorious for its suppression of political dissent in the 1960s.

- Assad will move to repress dissident political groups in Lebanon. A glimpse of this came during the lull in the civil war in February, when Saiqa commandos, acting in behalf of the Syrian regime, attacked two Beirut newspapers and killed seven journalists.

- Assad is also in a position now to put heavy pressure on the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) to fall in with his plans for a negotiated settlement with Israel.

But will the temporary stabilization of Lebanon and his newly gained leverage against the PLO help Assad win his larger objectives?

In practice, the immediate result of Assad's policy has been to enable Israel to extend its domination to much of southern Lebanon. The big

winner in Lebanon so far has been the oppressor-state of Israel.

Assad is now working in a bloc with Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat and King Khalid of Saudi Arabia. They hope to see American-sponsored negotiations on the Middle East reopen this year, followed by an agreement leading to the return of Arab lands occupied by Israel in the 1967 war.

Reliance by Assad and his allies on the good will of the State Department is based on their fear of the alternative—the mobilization of the Arab masses. It was this fear, above all, that led Assad to carry out his risky intervention in Lebanon.

Having carried out his mission in Lebanon to the satisfaction of the American ruling class, Assad may think that he merits some reward, that perhaps Washington will now put some pressure on Israel to withdraw from the occupied territories. But however much the imperialists may appreciate the servility of the Arab bourgeoisie, they know that Israel remains their firmest and most reliable bulwark against the masses in the Middle East. That fact will continue to guide American policy.

## E. Germany: the forced exile of Wolf Biermann

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

By Gerry Foley

The East German government deprived the poet and singer Wolf Biermann of his citizenship November 16, while he was on a tour of West Germany. The Stalinist bureaucracy announced that it had taken this action in response to the poet's "gross defamation" of the East German state.

Politically, the Stalinist dictatorship will have to pay a heavy price for this arbitrary action. Biermann's consistent dedication to socialism is well-known. He is a hero of the radical youth in West Germany, who face a ferocious reactionary witch-hunt.

Perhaps more than any other figure, Biermann has become a symbol of the revolutionary traditions of the German working class as a whole, East and West. He comes from a Hamburg working-class Communist family that was hard hit by Nazi repression. It

was the Metalworkers union that organized his tour in the West and put pressure on the Stalinist government to allow him to come. In his poetry and music, he has united the themes of the West German youth rebellion against capitalism and imperialism and the revolt of the youth and workers in East Germany against the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Unable to lead an advance toward socialism or to expand human rights, the East German bureaucracy had to build a wall to stop a massive flow of discontented citizens into the capitalist West. Now it wants to put this wall between its increasingly rebellious masses of workers and youth and a poet who dares to speak out against bureaucratic rule in the name of socialism.

Biermann's banishment was a blatant violation of the most fundamental human rights. By a bureaucratic decree, he has been separated from his wife and infant son. He was exiled from his home and family without the least possibility to defend himself.

While he spoke out for socialism and the fundamental gains of the workers state in East Germany, and did this in the face of a virulent campaign against radicals in West Germany, he was deprived of his citizenship simply because he criticized the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Such an arbitrary, indefensible act can only help to deepen the crisis of the bureaucratic regime. It has already provoked public protest, previously a



WOLF BIERMANN

rare event. Thirteen leading literary and artistic figures in East Germany addressed an open letter to the Honecker government condemning the banishment. Signers included the novelist Stefan Heym, a Jewish refugee from the Nazis who was later driven out of the United States by McCarthyism; the sculptor Fritz Cremer, known for having fought the Nazis; and Jurek Becker, a survivor of Hitler's concentration camps. More than seventy other East German actors, authors, and artists have added their names to the protest letter.

The bureaucracy is clearly on the defensive. If it was possible to force the bureaucrats to let Biermann go on a tour of West Germany, there is also a good chance that if the socialist and labor movement comes to his defense, it can force the bureaucrats to let him return to the society whose gains he defends.

Such a victory would be a major blow for the democratic and human rights of the East German masses and for socialism.



## CP offers no alternative

# Portugal: rightward course charted by Social Democrats

By Gerry Foley

In the first two weeks of November, the Portuguese Socialist party, the SP youth, and the Communist party held congresses. In each case, the reformist leaderships reconfirmed their willingness to help run the government for the capitalists.

The CP leaders couched their proposals in more left-sounding language, partly at least because they have been excluded from the cabinet. But Stalinist General Secretary Alvaro Cunhal fundamentally used the familiar argument that the bourgeoisie needs the CP in order to run the government effectively. "Democracy cannot be built in Portugal without the Communist Party and much less against it," he said in his closing speech.

None of these three mass organizations offer leadership to the workers and peasants who face an offensive by the bosses and landlords. Instead, they serve as a transmission belt in the workers movement for the stepped-up pressure from the Portuguese bourgeoisie and the other imperialist powers.

### Confrontation at SP congress

The offensive against the Portuguese workers was clearly reflected in the SP congress. The SP is the largest workers party. It has been encharged with running the government for the bourgeoisie. To do its job, the Soares leadership now has to crush all those elements susceptible to pressure from the workers and poor masses.

The "all inclusive" SP was buried at this congress. On the opening day, Soares was quoted by *Jornal Novo* as saying: "A party gains strength by purging itself of bad elements."

The Soares leadership set out to crush the very sections of the party that played an essential role in building the SP during the revolutionary upsurge and enabled it to compete with the CP, which began with a much larger base of activists and far greater influence in the factories and in the countryside.

Now the SP leadership has to drag the entire party into defending

the Soares government's policy of austerity and "restoration of order" in the factories and the countryside. Such a line conflicts with the immediate interests of SP activists engaged in mass work.

Soares must force SP unionists, youth leaders, and local organizers to pay the price for the party's unpopular policies. And that could not be expected to be easy.

The stage was set for a confrontation at the SP congress over the weekend of October 30-November 1.

Facing an unrelenting attack by the leadership, the left wing was forced to present its own slate (List B) in the elections for the National Committee. It got 210 votes, as against 610 for the leadership's slate (List A).

According to the proportional representation system used, List B got 39 representatives on the National Committee, as opposed to 112 for the Soares slate. However, no representatives of the minority slate were included in the National Secretariat or in the Executive Committee elected on the weekend following the congress. Thus, the left was in fact excluded from the SP leadership.

The comment by *Jornal Novo*, which has become an undisguised representative of the Confederation of Portuguese Industry, was, "from now on Mário Soares will have a strong and cohesive Socialist executive, able to carry forward the party's work of supporting the government's policies."

### Throws SP left to wolves

Within two weeks after the SP congress, the Soares leadership had made it clear that it has no intention of tolerating a minority that will not support the government's attacks on the workers and the rural working people. It opened up a campaign to purge the SP's labor fractions, where the supporters of List B have been concentrated.

In its November 6 issue, *Jornal Novo* reported that the national leadership of the SP's labor commissions had been suspended on Soares's orders.

Soares appointed the minister of labor, Marcelo Curto, to direct the labor commissions. Apparently the discussion in these SP labor groups became heated. In a Lisbon-wide meeting November 10, supporters of List B presented the following resolution:

The members of nuclei and coordinating committees are surprised that meetings called according to standard procedure for Thursday (November 4) and Tuesday (November 9) were prevented from taking place by Comrade Marcelo Curto, who disgracefully called on security forces, who used toxic gas. *Jornal Novo*, November 11.]

The capitalist and right-wing Social Democratic press has done its best to create an atmosphere in which the left wing of the SP can be howled down. The bias in *Jornal Novo's* reports on the SP congress was particularly blatant.

The left-wing speakers were supposed to have delivered "furious at-



Soares plans concessions to landlords at expense of Portuguese peasantry

tacks on the government's economic and political policies, a peroration against the 'big capitalists and landlords, all linked to Salazar and Caetano.'" In their frenzy, they were supposed to have attacked "even Mário Soares."

The leaders of the left wing were portrayed as beady-eyed fanatics, while the article referred to Soares as "smiling and calm."

The opposition was said to include "elements already removed from the

SP minister of education, Sottomayor Cardia.

The fact that the right-wing SP leaders have not defended the left wing against this witch-hunt whipped up by the bourgeois press, the fact that they have connived in it, shows how disloyal they are to the party rank and file. In this way they have shown how ready they are to throw to the rightist wolves the very activists on whose backs they climbed into their ministerial chairs.

### SP unionists pushed

*Jornal Novo* itself said that the SP opposition tried up till the last minute to arrive at a compromise with Soares. "It is known that right up to the eve, there was an attempt to put together a common slate. But the negotiations failed. The reason for the break was the government's economic policy . . . and the draft statutes eliminating the Labor Commission." The law allowing capitalists to fire workers was reportedly one of the main sticking points for the left wing.

The opposition among SP workers to the firings law was apparently so strong that the Soares leadership preferred to avoid debate on this question during the congress.

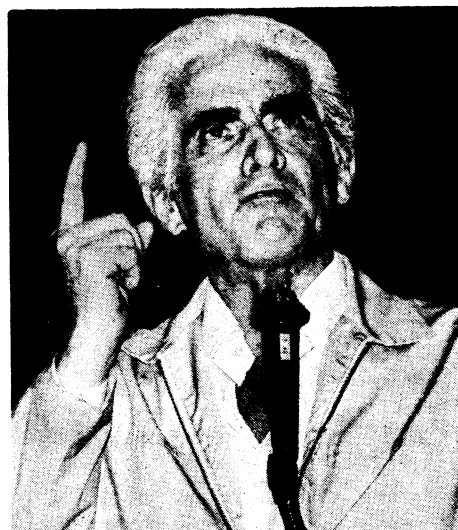
### Wall Street tightens screws

What forced the left to come out openly against Soares is that he intends to press his offensive against the workers and rural poor. If he is to administer a government of the Portuguese bourgeoisie at this time, he has no choice. The country's exchange reserves are exhausted. The world economic crisis and the economic sabotage of the Portuguese capitalists, along with the pressures brought to bear by foreign capitalists, have thrown Portugal's economy into chaos.

But capitalist reconsolidation is inevitably going to mean brutal blows against the working people. The sections of the party closest to the masses cannot defend such a policy.

The SP is set so firmly on a rightward course that even the left face of the Soares leadership, Lopes Cardoso, was forced to resign.

The Lisbon daily *Pagina Um* reported that before leaving office, Lopes



ALVARO CUNHAL

SP local federations." It was supposed to be confined to Lisbon. The article featured a statement from an unnamed northern delegate, who was quoted as saying: "In order for Lisbon to live well, the rest of the country has had to tighten its belt."

Hidden under all this elaborate stage managing, some of the themes stressed by the opposition speakers did emerge. José Luís Mendes reportedly appealed to the party not to yield to the pressures of the Confederation of Portuguese Industry or the Portuguese Farmers Confederation, a right-wing group manipulated by the big landlords. This latter organization has made the SP minister of agriculture, Lopes Cardoso, the special target of a furious red-baiting campaign. A leader of the SP youth in the university town of Coimbra denounced the massive firings of teachers by the right-wing



MARIO SOARES

# World news notes

Cardoso told his journalistic contacts that there were only two possible policies for defeating the CP in the radical farming area of Alentejo, his policy or repression. He allegedly said that Soares would be obliged to follow his policy since the prime minister could not take the repressive option.

It is true that it would be difficult for Soares to turn to repression as the main means of dealing with the peasant movement in Alentejo. But he has clearly opted to make concessions to the landlords at the expense of the rural working people. That means less state support for peasants and laborers who occupy lands and set up cooperatives. It also inevitably means more repression. It is impossible to push back the gains of the workers and rural working people without using force to some degree.

The West European Social Democratic parties sent high-powered delegations to the Portuguese SP congress, including such figures as Willy Brandt; François Mitterrand; Olof Palme; Felipe González, head of the Spanish Social Democrats; and Austrian Prime Minister Bruno Kreisky. Most put their weight behind Soares.

## Lure of big money

Other support for Soares's right-wing course came to light after the conclusion of the congresses of the SP and the SP youth. On November 16, Washington announced that it was extending a \$300 million emergency aid loan to Portugal. The same day, Kissinger said that Washington would contribute 30 percent of a \$1.5 billion aid package to be provided by a consortium of the major Western capitalist countries.

Soares's prospects for continuing to administer the government for the Portuguese capitalists depend on massive aid. The only other way the capitalists can defend their profits is by launching an all-out attack on the workers, and for that an SP government is not the proper instrument.

It is clear that Washington's offers of aid have political conditions attached. For example, correspondent Paul Ellman wrote in the November 18 *Washington Post*:

The Soares government is known to have been seeking financial support abroad for two months, but U.S. agreement to grant the loan is understood to have been kept under wraps until after the Socialist Party convention. . . .

At the convention, Soares defeated a sizable left-wing revolt and secured support for his Cabinet's economic policies. . . .

U.S. officials in Lisbon, while reluctant to discuss the mechanism through which the \$300 million loan will be granted, agreed that it could be termed a reward to the Soares Cabinet for sticking to its policies.

## Stalinists prescribe patience

It is possible that the CP, which is not directly responsible for the government's measures and is the target of red-baiting by the capitalists and landlords, will gain in the elections at the SP's expense. But Washington has little to fear at this point from a larger CP vote. The momentum the party had after the fall of Caetano has been broken. The Stalinists have been effectively isolated.

What is more, the Stalinists have made it clear that they are mainly interested in posts in the government that the SP is running in the interests of the capitalists. The CP's criticisms of the Soares government are only a cover for that objective. This shows up clearly in a November 14 dispatch from Marvin Howe to the *New York Times*:

The [CP] congress condemned the Government for "antilabor" policies and warned that it would fight them. It insisted

that the Government could solve its economic and social problems only with the participation of Communists in the Government and the cooperation of Communist-led workers.

In other words, Soares's "antilabor" government would be transformed by giving the CP a few posts.

The CP leaders made it clear at the party congress November 10-14 that they have no intention of changing the policies that led to defeat. The Stalinist leadership did criticize the rightist policies of the SP government sufficiently to stake out a position to the left of Soares for the elections. But it did not offer any effective alternative for the workers and peasants looking for a way to fight back against the capitalist offensive.

On the land occupations in Alentejo, Cunhal's stated policy did not differ from that of the SP right wing. That is, he called for enforcing the limitations written into the agrarian reform law. In the November 16 *Le Monde*, he was quoted as saying: "We are not impatient. Even though there are still 500,000 hectares to be expropriated, there won't be occupations like last year. Everything will be done in strict accordance with the law."

Moreover, the CP has not abandoned its policy of offering to use its organization in the factories to increase productivity for the capitalists. In the November 12 issue of the French



HENRY KISSINGER

Trotskyist daily, *Rouge*, Charles Michaloux and Charles-André Udry wrote:

"More and more in nationalized industry, workers control is becoming codetermination. The workers commissions dominated by the PCP are intended to be the instrument for this. Against 'capitalist reconsolidation,' the PCP offers the perspective of managing and reorganizing the nationalized sector so as to demonstrate its dynamism by comparison with the private sector."

To what extent the forces in the SP left wing will resist the continued rightward course of the government is hard to predict. But it is clear that Soares is determined to crush them.

Numerically, the SP left is strong. In the youth congress that followed the party one, the wing associated with List B got 147 votes against 152 for the Soares supporters. However, unless they offer a revolutionary political alternative to the government's reformist perspective, the forces that rallied behind List B cannot stand up long against an all-out offensive by the party leadership, backed by the Portuguese bourgeoisie and the big imperialist powers. And to offer such an alternative, they would have to break completely from the program and the organizational practices of Social Democracy.

## Polish workers fight victimization

A statement signed by 889 workers at the Ursus plant outside Warsaw was sent to Polish Communist party head Edward Gierek November 4. It demanded the rehiring of all workers laid off from this factory for participating in the June 25 demonstrations against the government's price increases.

Before the June 25 strike, the total work force at Ursus consisted of 5,000 persons. Since the strike, several hundred were laid off. Therefore, the signers of this statement must have constituted nearly a fourth of all the workers still employed at the plant. Such a formal, public demand on the head of a Stalinized workers state by a substantial part of the workers at a major industrial center is an indication of how massive and open the opposition to bureaucratic dictatorship in Poland has become.

The Committee to Support Worker Victims of the Repression, organized in Warsaw to defend victimized strikers, has continued to function openly despite harassment by the bureaucracy. It has collected and distributed 360,000 zlotys (20 zlotys equal approximately US\$1) to aid the families of fired workers.

## Dr. Morgentaler faces fourth trial

The Canadian government has set December 13 as the date for the fourth trial of Dr. Henry Morgentaler on charges of performing an illegal abortion. Morgentaler has been acquitted of the charges against him by three separate juries, but the Québec government is continuing its vendetta against him. It has eight charges of performing illegal abortions still pending against Morgentaler.

## Italian abortion protest

Three Radical party deputies began a sit-in in Florence's La Murate prison November 4. They got in by using their parliamentary prerogative to talk to prisoners. The deputies demanded the release of Dr. Giorgio Conciari, held in prison since early September awaiting trial on charges related to his work with the abortion clinic in Florence.

Two of the three Radical deputies, Emma Bonino and Adele Faccio, have also been charged for their work with the abortion clinic. Faccio is a leading figure in the struggle for the right of Italian women to control their own bodies. The third deputy was Mauro Mellini.

## Demand freedom for Páez and Apaza

The international campaign to save Argentine Trotskyists José Francisco Páez and Arturo Apaza received new impetus in late October.

Páez is a well-known figure in the auto workers union in the industrial city of Córdoba. In 1973 he was the vice-presidential candidate of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party). He has been held since January on charges of "illegal associations" and possession of "subversive" literature.

Apaza is a leader in the metalworkers union and a member of the PST. He was kidnapped a few days after the March 24 military coup and his whereabouts are still unknown.

Bill Richardson, federal secretary of the Australian Council of Salaried and Professional Associations; Jim Roulston, Victorian state president of the Amalgamated Metal Workers Union; and Queensland Labor Senator George Georges added their names to an already sizable list of labor figures throughout Australia who are working for Páez's release.

Open letters and resolutions have also been recently sent from:

- Twenty-two Greek journalists, attorneys, and professors.
- The student body at Antioquia University in Colombia and officials of five different Colombian public-employees unions.
- The leadership of the Unión Nacional de Educadores (National Union of Educators) in Ecuador.

Protests and publicity on the cases have also been reported in Venezuela, Portugal, Spain, and France.

## Israeli strike wave

Cuts in government subsidies of basic foodstuffs and other commodities have resulted in sharp price increases in Israel. Food prices went up by 20% in the beginning of November, and fuel prices rose 11%. Inflation this year is running at a rate of about 35%.

The austerity moves were part of a series of cutbacks intended to reverse Israel's balance of payments deficit and overcome the stagnation of the economy at the expense of the working class. The Israeli gross national product increased only 1% in 1975, and it is expected to do only slightly better this year. The balance of payments deficit was \$4 billion last year and it is expected to be about \$3.5 billion this year.

The new attacks on the standard of living were answered by strikes involving about 115,000 workers in the public sector. Hospital workers, social workers, civil engineers, aircraft workers, bank employees, city workers, harbor pilots, and others went on strike. Workers at one factory detained their bosses for thirty-six hours to protest threatened layoffs.

Despite foot dragging by Communist party

## France: resistance to Giscard's austerity program

By F.L. Derry

PARIS—A major struggle between the French workers and the government is taking shape. The government struck the first blow September 23 with the announcement of an austerity program that includes limitations on wage increases, higher taxes, and cutbacks in social services.

On October 7, the unions organized a general strike and some of the largest demonstrations since May-June 1968 in protest of the austerity plan.

The French capitalists demonstrated their lack of confidence in the outcome of this test of strength—on October 12, the franc fell sharply and one of the steepest declines in the recent history of the stock exchange took place.

François Renard, writing in the October 14 *Le Monde*, compared the situation to the stock market decline in 1974 preceding the world economic slump: "This time the stockbrokers are much gloomier and are talking about a crisis of confidence at all levels. Their apprehensions about the economy have just been compounded by fears about the political situation."

The general strike and mass demonstrations were called by two major trade-union federations, the CGT (Confédération Générale du Travail—General Confederation of Labor) and the CFDT (Confédération Française et Démocratique du Travail—French Democratic Confederation of Labor), as well as the FEN (Fédération de l'Education Nationale—National Education Federation), the largest union of teachers. The FEN and the CFDT have ties to the Socialist party. The CGT is dominated by the Communist party. The more conservative union, Force Ouvrière (Labor Force), which is also linked to the Socialist party, opposed both the strike and the demonstrations.

### October 7 demonstration

Interpretations of the size and impact of the October 7 actions differed widely. The Communist party daily *l'Humanité* claimed that more than six million went out on strike and two million demonstrated throughout the country, with 500,000 demonstrating in Paris. *Le Monde* called the demonstrations the "most important since 1968."

The Paris police were able to count up only to 70,000 demonstrators, after which, presumably, they ran out of fingers and toes.

It took six and one-half hours for the Paris demonstration to pass this reporter, and it was clearly in the hundreds of thousands. By comparison, the massive May Day demonstration took three and one-half hours to pass a given point.

While some contingents were larger than their May Day counterparts, others were smaller. The delegation of teachers from the FEN, for example, was much larger than in May. Other large contingents included postal workers, subway and bus operators, hospital workers, government employees, and workers in the printing and publishing industries.

Notable by their relatively smaller size were the contingents of the Stalinist-dominated unions in heavy industry. The metalworkers federation, the bastion of the CGT, had a relatively small mobilization. The contingent from the giant Renault plant at Boulogne-Billancourt was only 800 strong, although the plant employs 32,000. The CGT did not call for a full strike in the plant but only a three-hour work stoppage.



October 7 demonstrations and strikes protested new austerity program that is sharpest attack on wages and living standards of French working class in more than a quarter century.

Thus, while there was a large mobilization of public and service workers, it was not matched in the heavy-industry sector. This reflects the fact that the austerity measures will strike especially hard at education, health, and other public and service workers. But it is also the result of the foot-dragging of the CP leadership. None of the union tops, nor the leaderships of the mass reformist workers parties, wanted this strike. The more disciplined CGT, however, was better able to limit the mobilization than the more loosely controlled CFDT and FEN.

### Government crisis

The launching of the austerity program was preceded by a political crisis that resulted in the August 25 resignation of the government headed by Prime Minister Jacques Chirac, and President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing was forced to select a new cabinet.

Two issues were behind this crisis—the austerity program and the impending elections. Jim Hoagland, in the September 30 *International Herald Tribune*, dealt with the latter: "Differences over strategy for confronting the leftist challenge led to the break last month between Mr. Giscard d'Estaing and Gaullist leader Jacques Chirac, who resigned as Prime Minister after Mr. Giscard d'Estaing turned down a proposal to advance the elections by two years to catch the left off guard."

The question of electoral strategy is becoming one of the central questions for all French political groups. This is because the growth in militancy among French workers is being reflected in the rapid growth of support for the two mass workers parties, the Communist and Socialist parties.

The regional elections in March of

this year resulted in the workers parties receiving a majority. The left, not counting the bourgeois Left Radicals, got more than 54% of the vote. Municipal elections are scheduled for March 1977, and the national legislative elections are set for one year later. If current trends hold, the government is likely to lose its majority in the National Assembly at that time.

### CP, SP votes

The regional elections held this year saw a continuation of the growth in the electoral strength of the Socialist party. In the 1969 presidential elections the Socialist party received only 5% of the vote. In the March elections it received 26.5% of the vote, and is now the largest party in terms of electoral support. Recent polls put the SP's support at more than 30%. One year ago, the SP claimed to have 150,000 members, more than double its membership of two years earlier.

The Communist party's vote has not been increasing in the same way the SP's has. In the March elections the CP got 22.8%. In the five legislative elections held since 1958, the CP vote has not changed by more than one or two percentage points. The real growth of the CP has been reflected in the sharp increase in the number of its members.

Annie Kriegel, a former CP leader now disillusioned with their politics and a leading expert on the history of the French CP, estimates the real membership of the party as 491,000 at the end of 1975 (*Le Figaro*, October 8). Official CP figures for 1975 show a recruitment of more than 93,000 persons. Pierre Julien, writing in the September 17 issue of the Trotskyist daily, *Rouge*, noted that "60% of the [Communist] party members have joined since 1972."

Whole layers of the working class, including a new generation of post-1968 youth, are now joining and voting for what they believe to be militant working-class parties.

In face of this trend, it is now known that Chirac had secretly urged that the 1978 elections be moved up. His disagreement with Giscard on this point, however, was only one of the reasons for his downfall.

### Recovery falters

The second point of disagreement concerned economic policy. Mounting economic problems finally forced Giscard to take drastic measures. Chirac preferred not to take the blame for them.

The decline in industrial production in France during the 1974-75 world-

wide economic slump was particularly sharp, dropping 16% in eight months. Production picked up rapidly in the second half of 1975. By February of this year, it was only 5% below its previous peak. However, it has stagnated since then.

Unemployment has continued at a high level, and has once again begun to climb. On a seasonally adjusted basis, it is now higher than during the deepest point of the slump.

The drop in industrial production and continued high unemployment have not solved the problem of inflation. Since the beginning of the year, inflation had been running at an average annual rate of 10%.

It became increasingly clear earlier this year that the government would have to follow in the footsteps of other capitalist powers and launch a direct attack on wages. The problem was, who would carry out this unpopular task?

### The Barre plan

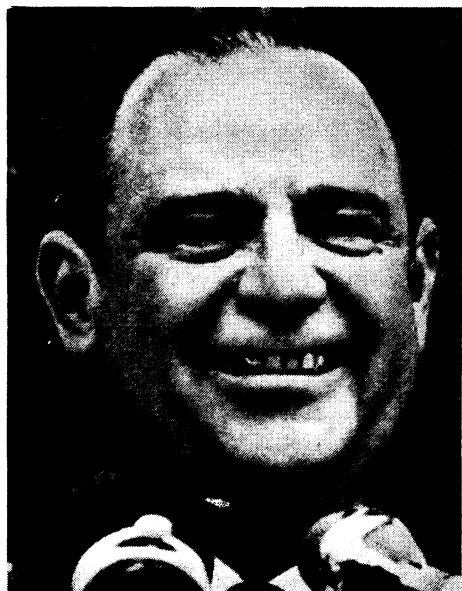
The new government is led by Raymond Barre, a well-known economist. Barre is considered "nonparty," that is, he is not directly tied to the UDR or to Giscard's Independent Republicans, the two main parties of the ruling coalition. It was his job to announce the austerity measures.

The "Barre plan" is the sharpest attack on wages and living standards of the French working class in more than a quarter century. The austerity measures include a 50% increase for automobile licenses; a 15% hike in gasoline prices (a liter of gasoline will now cost 2.50 francs, or about \$2 an American gallon); a 4% increase in most income taxes; and a "voluntary" limit on wage increases, restricting them to 6½% for the coming year, under the presumption that inflation will be brought down to the same rate.

Other aspects of the program include increased charges for social security and cutbacks in medical benefits, the educational system, and other social services.

The French capitalists seem intent on pushing through their program. The day after the general strike, Barre warned that "the government will determine its policies independently of the size of the demonstrations. . . . I have no reason to doubt the [parliamentary] majority or to fear the opposition." On October 16, he added, "No matter what the protests, we will apply our plan."

On the other side, the workers are beginning to demand that their leaders launch a real struggle against the austerity program.



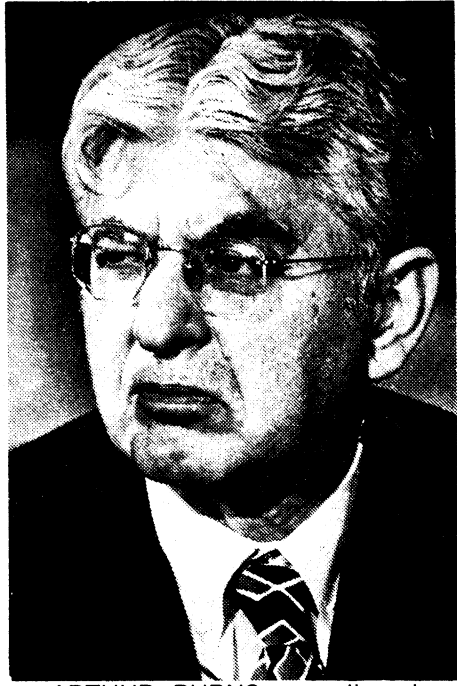
RAYMOND BARRE





JIMMY CARTER: Despite campaign rhetoric about jobs, sees eye-to-eye with...

# Carter's economic policies take shape



...ARTHUR BURNS on ruling-class objectives of high unemployment, low wages.

By Dick Roberts

Jimmy Carter is already embroiled in the central problem that will face the incoming Democratic administration: the economic slowdown here and abroad.

Industrial production is stalled in the United States. Layoffs are taking place in key industries while unemployment remains high. Italy, Britain, France, and Japan also face serious economic difficulties.

Carter campaigned on the stand that unemployment is the number one problem in America. The trade-union bureaucracy poured millions of dollars into persuading voters that Carter meant it.

But the elections are over. Today Carter is going out of his way to assure business that he has their interests at heart. A look at this process helps to clarify what real difference—if any—a Democratic administration will make in American economic policy.

One of Carter's first postelection news conferences was held in Plains, Georgia, November 15. Carter "said unemployment is likely to remain 5% or more of the work force for most of his first four years in office because efforts to create jobs quickly might fuel inflation," the *Wall Street Journal* reported.

"President-elect Jimmy Carter gave a wary business community its first sign of what to expect from his Administration this week, and the message was meant to be conciliatory," *Business Week* magazine said November 29.

"The news out of Plains, Ga., was that Carter plans a regular process of consultation with business on Cabinet appointments—via such groups as the Business Roundtable. He also expects next week's meeting with Federal Reserve Board Chairman Arthur F. Burns to produce a 'substantial degree of compatibility' over Carter's fast-growth economic policies."

At his next news conference, in Washington, D.C., November 23, Carter set a new and higher level of unemployment as his administration's 1977 "target."

Carter said he would try to reduce the present level of unemployment by at least 1.5 percent. This would leave it at 6.4 percent—a far cry from the "full employment" goals Carter mouthed in last spring's primary campaigns.

## Inflation vs. unemployment

The key to understanding Carter's remarks on inflation and unemployment—as well as the rift between Carter and Burns, which was supposed to take place but didn't—lies in basic workings of the capitalist economy.

It is a fact as old as capitalism that when unemployment is low, workers are in a better position to fight for higher wages. Their labor is in demand. At this unusual juncture they can and do mobilize their forces to struggle for pay increases that will catch their incomes up to spiraling prices. Profits are threatened.

The capitalist press and politicians call this a "wage-price spiral." But the reality is that prices are always rising ahead of wages. When they get the chance workers try to catch up. Workers are caught in a *price-wage spiral* where they are inevitably behind.

To keep profits up, capitalist economies *require* a permanent pool of unemployed workers. Workers are pitted against each other—those with jobs

against those who are unemployed, men against women, whites against Blacks and other oppressed minorities. The resulting damper on wages is crucial to a profitably functioning capitalist economy.

Recoveries are founded on massive increases of unemployment and the lowering of wage increases that results. The present recovery is no exception.

Capitalism has now reached a point, however, where a steady infusion of inflationary federal spending is necessary to keep production going even where there are millions of workers out of jobs. In 1974-75, with U.S. unemployment above 9 percent, the government still had to pour the highest sums ever into the economy to help bring about the upturn.

## 'Stagflation'

The result is sometimes dubbed "stagflation." Even with high unemployment inflation continues. And as the economy recovers and more workers get jobs, the point where the inflationary price-wage spiral will get out of control comes at steadily lower levels of employment.

*A long-run aim of the American ruling class is to maintain the highest possible levels of unemployment, even during a recovery.*

But there are risks involved in this strategy. One is that it will abort the recovery. If too many workers are jobless, if wage increases are down and prices continue to rise, where are consumers going to get money to keep on purchasing consumer goods?

The present downturn in U.S. auto sales illustrates the process. The "Big Three" seized on the recovery to jack up auto prices, but they have been unable to sell small cars. Auto workers are being laid off and so are steelworkers, as the auto companies cut their steel orders.

(Layoffs in steel are also due to the low levels of investment in new plant and equipment, a factor that further jeopardizes the present recovery.)

Similar processes are taking place abroad, and the fear is that these so-called pauses in recovery could trigger a chain reaction that would once again capsize the international economy as in 1974-

75. Stock market prices have been falling from New York to Tokyo.

In his Plains news conference, Carter said it is "most likely" that Arthur Burns will stay on as head of the Federal Reserve Board. Since Burns had been carrying out tight-money policies designed to keep the economic recovery at a slow pace—and since Carter was campaigning against this policy—pundits had jumped to the premature conclusion that Carter would ask Burns to step down.

They overlooked the demagogic character of Carter's campaign. There were no differences between the Democrats and Republicans on Federal Reserve policy. A Democratic-controlled Congress endorsed all of the measures taken during the Nixon and Ford administrations to attack the wages and standard of living of American workers.

Moreover, the Federal Reserve has already begun to ease interest rates and credit policies in an initial effort to stem the slide of the American economy into a possible new recession.

Carter's statement about Burns was a way of reassuring those in the know that there would be no changes between his policies and those of the Ford administration. Carter's announcement about Burns sparked a two-week rally of stock prices on Wall Street.

To underline the point, Carter dispatched one of his top economic-policy advisers, Lawrence Klein, to Paris. Klein told foreign executives that U.S. policy makers were considering steps to avert a new international recession, possibly including U.S. tax cuts.

Klein also told them that the Federal Reserve was on an easier money course.

## Shell game

A certain irony cropped up in this. According to the November 23 *New York Times*, Klein described the altered Federal Reserve policy "as being in effect since late September, even as Ford Administration officials were maintaining that the economy was on course."

Thus in the election campaign—including in their

*Continued on page 26*

## A friend of the oil companies

One of the early postelection shuffles in Jimmy Carter's staff was the November 19 resignation of Joseph Browder as Carter's top adviser on natural resources. Browder was a former director of the Environment Policy Center.

Browder's central complaint is that Carter—in return for a \$200,000 contribution from Texas oil executives—excluded proconservationist people from "input" to his energy policy.

Browder charges that in August, Frank Moore, Carter's congressional liaison designee, agreed with the Texas executives to exclude from Carter's energy-policy staff two energy-conservation and consumer-affairs experts.

"When you have to raise \$200,000 you'll do anything," Moore told Browder.

"What really took the roof off," Browder said, "was when the political people wanted to bring in some independent energy experts into the Carter organization, and I pointed out that the candidates they were discussing were a lawyer

for Exxon, a lawyer for American Electric Power, and a couple of former Project Independence public relations men. They were going to name a Washington lawyer to coordinate the energy task force, and I pointed out he happened to be a lobbyist for El Paso Natural Gas."

It took environmentalist Browder long enough to see the light. Carter first talked with the Houston-based oil executives July 1. The *New York Daily News* reported the next day that Carter promised them "he would strive to keep 'unwarranted' government interference in the industry to a minimum."

The *News* also said Carter "deplored attacks by politicians and citizen groups on the industry over high prices and shortages and said that the real culprit was inept government regulation."

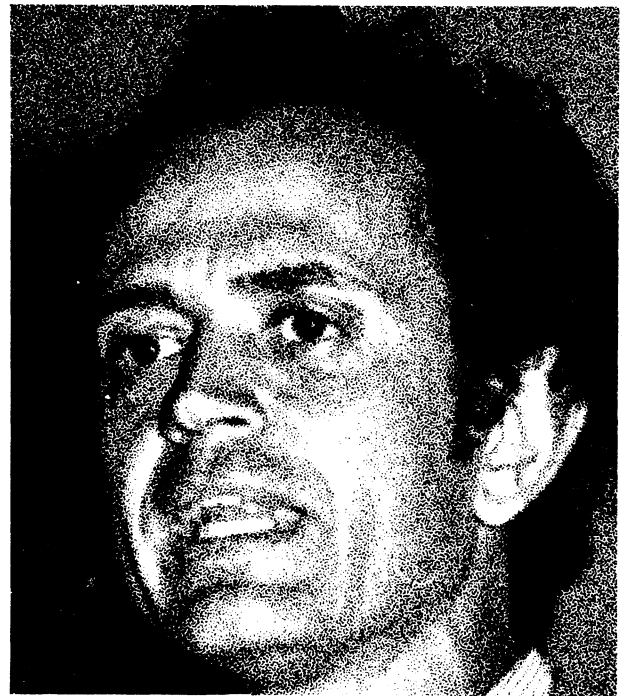
Carter also "told his Houston audience that he was the only Democratic hopeful during the primary season who had opposed legislation that would break up the oil industry." —D.R.



Queens College Phoenix/Kenneth Bizzigotti  
MICHAEL HARRINGTON

# Should socialists have voted for Jimmy Carter?

## A debate between Michael Harrington and Peter Camejo (Part III)



Queens College Phoenix/Kenneth Bizzigotti  
PETER CAMEJO

*[Last week the Militant reprinted the second installment of the November 1 debate between Michael Harrington and Peter Camejo at Queens College in New York City. Harrington, who spoke as a Carter supporter, is national chairperson of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee. Camejo is a member of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers party and was the SWP candidate for president.]*

*[Printed below is the last part of the question-and-answer portion of the debate and concluding summaries by Camejo and Harrington.]*

**Question:** I came into the socialist movement in the 1930s when we were faced with a choice between Roosevelt and the reactionary Republican party. We got Roosevelt and he took money from relief and for other human things and put it into the war budget. Then we went into war.

Under Roosevelt they put eighteen members of the Socialist Workers party in jail for opposing the war. Then we got the witch-hunt under Truman, another Democrat.

Aren't you proposing the same policy that the Communist party preached at that time—a policy of supporting the Democratic party as the "labor coalition," as the "people's party"?

Now you want us to take that same road. No, I say we've got to have a *class-struggle* policy.

Your policy is the same as the Mensheviks used in Russia. But Lenin said, we've got to build an independent class party, a Leninist party.

**Harrington:** Let me defend American Menshevism with just one brief comment. Franklin Roosevelt saved capitalism. I'm a socialist. I'm not terribly enthusiastic about that. However, I do think Franklin Roosevelt should not be accused of having invented World War II.

There was a movement called the Nazi movement. There was a movement called Japanese imperialism, and they had something to do with it. Although I was a conscientious objector during the Korean War and struggled against the war in Vietnam, I happen to think that World War II was a just, moral, and good war. I'm not against World War II. Now if people think it was an imperialist war, that there was no difference between us and the Nazis, okay.

Second, my policy is very much like the Communist policy in the 1930s. You bet your life it is.

I'm an opponent of communist dictatorship and totalitarianism. But while the Socialist party and the Socialist Workers party were getting absolutely nowhere because they counterposed themselves to

the workers who wanted to vote for Roosevelt, the Communist party of the 1930s was building the biggest, largest movement calling itself socialist in the United States since the days of Gene Debs, and winning leadership in a third of the unions of the CIO.

At that time the Socialist party was driving Walter Reuther out because, on the basis of the class struggle in Michigan, he wanted to support Phil Murray for governor.

When the Socialist party, which I belonged to for many years, did something that idiotic, we were counterposing ourselves to the actual political movement of the workers.

There are many things wrong with the Communists, not the least of which is they're agents of Russia politically. But their policy worked.

Now, finally, I'm not in Russia. I'm not a Menshevik. I'm not dealing with Bolsheviks. I'm dealing with America *circa* 1976. In this country,

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**'We will never get socialism by supporting capitalism. You will never win equal rights for women by supporting sexists. You will never win the end of racism by supporting racists, even if there are worse racists and worse sexists.'**—Camejo

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the workers of this country—maybe they're wrong in some aspects of this—see the future of their class in this election, as I've emphasized, with the Democratic party and Jimmy Carter. I'm with the workers. The Socialist Workers party is counterposing itself to the workers in the name of the workers. I find that foolish.

**Camejo:** First of all, I'd like to say on the question of what you can blame Roosevelt for and what you can't blame him for. It is true that there was a war and in this war there was this terrible danger of fascism.

The Socialist Workers party opposed fascism. We were completely for fighting fascism. All we did was point out the United States government was not really fighting fascism. Otherwise, when they liberated Europe from the fascists, they obviously would have liberated Spain. Instead they financed fascism in Spain. So, obviously, they had another goal in mind, which was their markets.

When they put the Japanese-Americans into concentration camps, a little thing Roosevelt did in this country, the Socialist Workers party opposed it. When they bombed Nagasaki and Hiroshima, we

stood up alone. We said that's wrong and we opposed it.

We went to jail for our opposition to those things. We stood up for our ideals. We said, the Japanese are just as much human as us and they cannot be blamed for what their government's doing. Our war was not against the Japanese people or against the German people.

This government was not fighting for the American people, the Germans, or the Japanese. It was fighting for American corporate interests. That's a simple fact.

Now, as far as the Democratic party Supreme Court, I just want to say one thing. [See the portion of this debate in the December 3 *Militant* for the first reference to the Supreme Court.] It's the Democratic party Supreme Court that denied for seventy years the right of Blacks to vote, the Fifteenth Amendment. So, don't come telling me about the Democratic party Supreme Courts. I could

run down a long list of what the Supreme Court has done, whether it's Democrats or Republicans. It's a game. They're the same.

**Question:** What is the Socialist Workers party's platform on the Middle East?

**Camejo:** During the Second World War the Jewish people in Europe suffered an enormous holocaust of attempted genocide by German imperialism. During that war the Nazis offered to let 400,000 Jewish people go—actually up to a million in Hungary. The United States refused.

After the war ended Jewish refugees wanted to come to the United States. The United States refused to let them in. Harrington's party was running the government. Our party established a committee to try and help them to get in.

Instead, the Democrats and all the anti-Semites in the world said, "Well, the Nazis weren't able to kill all the Jews, but we've got a new plan. Let's force them in to the Middle East to be a beachhead for European and American imperialist interests."

What's happening today in Israel is that the Zionist state (by the way, I'm against theocratic

states—states that represent a religion) is oppressing the Palestinian people. I don't think you can justify the oppression of another people because you were once oppressed.

That doesn't mean there isn't anti-Semitism. Right now the army of the United States is run by an anti-Semite. We've got Nixon—did you hear the tapes? Nixon was all for Israel. General Ky, who said we need seven Hitlers in South Vietnam, liked Israel too.

I think the question is quite complex and what I favor is a democratic, secular Palestine in which both Jews and Muslims can live together with both religious points of view represented. But I favor a state that does not belong to any single religious point of view, and I have the same criticism of Arab states that do the same thing.

**Harrington:** Let me take up just one point. I believe that Jews and Palestinians both have the right to national self-determination. I believe that Israel is the expression of the Jewish people's right to their self-determination. I support Israel. But I support the right of Palestinians to a state of their own.

The problem is that it has to be negotiated and you cannot adopt the slogan of a secular, democratic Palestine because that slogan as used by the PLO [Palestine Liberation Organization] has been a cover for, "All Jews not here before 1960, get out. All Jews who are Zionists, get out."

Whatever the sincerity of people who might hold it, it is a cover for a policy of driving the Jews into the sea. I am for defending the right of Israel and the rights of the Palestinians, but in the Yom Kippur war, the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee voted in favor of the American government sending whatever military aid was necessary for Israel to defend itself and I stand by that position.

## Camejo summary

Let me just take first one minute out of my five-minute summary to say that if the United States were really concerned over the protection of the Jewish people's rights we could have had Israel in this country.

We've got a country that's enormous, an entire continent five times the size of Europe. Why didn't we give them part of Virginia—give them all the bombs and planes and everything they want?

The United States doesn't care about the Jewish people. The Democratic and Republican parties and the corporations that run them are anti-Semitic. Don't have illusions about that. Obviously, we can't debate the Middle East here. And I'm sure that Mr. Harrington's position is well intentioned, as I've stated all along. I think that's very important.

But the essence of this debate—the question that just kept getting repeated over and over and over again—is basically this: Is the Democratic party an institution through which working people, women, Blacks, and Chicanos can make gains; or is it an institution that is run in the interests of the ruling class? That is the real basic debate we've had here.

I say all American history proves beyond a question of a doubt that the Democratic and Republican parties have been run by the same basic interests since 1876. Today the Democratic party is an institution run for the interests of the corporations and the rich in this country. The promises and the concessions they give us are not because they're in favor of them, it's only insofar as we put mass pressure on them.

It is true, if we have mass demonstrations like we did in the antiwar movement, they have to bend towards us because they have to make a decision. It's bad enough they have to lose Vietnam. But they don't want to lose this country, too.

But don't tell me the Democratic party cares one bit about the people of Vietnam. Let's not rewrite history. When the first referendums were held in this country on the war in Vietnam, Eugene McCarthy urged people to vote for the war. They used his name in the ads.

He voted for the Gulf of Tonkin resolution. He voted for all the war appropriations. Eugene McCarthy was for the war in Vietnam. Just like Robert Kennedy was for it.

I debated Ted Kennedy when I ran against him in 1970. I said to him, "Mr. Kennedy, why is it you said you were against the war, but every time it comes up in Congress, you vote for it? You vote for special appropriations. You vote for chemical

warfare in Vietnam."

He said, "Well, our troops are there. We have to protect them."

Listen, I'm sick and tired of this double-talk. That's all we get from these politicians. They told us they were for stopping the war, but they couldn't do anything about it. When they want \$200 billion for the war in Vietnam, they had the money. When we asked for education, they said there's no money.

This year we're having the largest gross national product ever, one trillion seven hundred billion. Corporate profits are the highest ever, \$150 billion.

Mr. Harrington's party controls the Congress, the Senate, the city, and the state. You know what would happen if our party controlled the Congress, the Senate, the city, and the state? But we will

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**'The workers of this country—maybe they're wrong in some aspects of this—see the future of their class in this election with the Democratic party and Jimmy Carter. I'm with the workers. The Socialist Workers party is counterposing itself to the workers in the name of the workers. I find that foolish.'**—Harrington

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never have the working people run the city, the state, or the federal government if we continue to follow his policies, because his policy is for us to join *their* party.

I say break with them. Let the workers have an independent movement. I say: I'm a socialist. I vote socialist. I belong to a socialist party. And, therefore, I call myself a socialist.

I think Mr. Harrington, who's a Democrat, who votes Democrat, supports the Democratic party, should call himself what he is: a Democrat.

And that means to defend capitalism. I know he doesn't want to do that. I know that in his ideology he would like to see socialism. We will never get socialism by supporting capitalism. You will never win equal rights for women by supporting sexists. You will never win the end of racism by supporting racists—even if there are worse racists and worse sexists.

We mustn't fall into the trap of the ballot box myth: You pull the curtain, no one can see what you're doing, then you vote for one of them or you vote for another of them. Then they announce they won again, and you think you decided something.

That is a myth. The decisions are made by much broader social forces, and the key to it is that the workers movement must be independent. We must favor that the unions break from the Democratic and Republican parties and form their own party. That's what Mr. Harrington won't do. And I wish he would. I wish we could join together on that, as we have on other things.

I want to just end by thanking Mr. Harrington for this opportunity to debate. I think we need these types of discussions. It's not so much that people are convinced one way or another, but we begin to think through the problems of what our strategy should be and how to get change.

I know that in the long run with the impact of events, maybe we'll come closer in our positions in the future and we'll both be together in a labor party. Because when one is formed, even though he's against it, I think he'll join it. Thank you.

## Harrington summary

First, on the sincerity question, I completely agree that what we're debating's bona fide.

Secondly, if masses of American workers got in motion toward the labor party, I would be with them, just as I am now when they're in motion trying to elect Jimmy Carter. That's my key. Where are the politically conscious and organized workers going?

A couple of points. Number one. A broad point. Peter Camejo's America is an America in which you've got closet racists and out and out shills and pimps for the corporations deceiving the Blacks, the working people, etc. It is an America in which the Blacks and the workers are pretty dumb.

Because if it's as simple, as obvious, as Camejo says, why do all these Black people and working people persist in this error? If one is a Marxist, do you say they're simply befuddled? Or could it be that they might perceive a class interest there, since

it is an error they have persisted in now for a generation? I say it's that.

Second. Camejo gives us choices like, you say to the people of New York: We won't pay the interest on the debt, we'll take the \$2 billion, we'll restore all the services. What would they do? They'd say, "Hooray!"

There's only one problem with that—of course, they'd vote for it. The problem is it's impossible. It is a slogan for socialism in one city. And Camejo, who comes from a movement that knows about socialism in one country, should know it. You don't abrogate your debt to the United States and say, bye-bye. You're part of a nation, you're part of a capitalist system.

I am for taking the profits away from the

profiteers—absolutely. That requires a socialist transformation. And I will tell you something, friends: socialism is not going to come soon enough to settle our problems with CUNY [City University of New York] next fall, believe me.

Camejo says, if we could have a socialist solution in New York, wouldn't it be better? Of course it would be better. How do we get to the political possibility of that solution? By counterposing ourselves to workers and other progressive elements who are fighting for Carter and helping to elect Ford? Not at all.

Third point. My party, the Democratic party. Peter Camejo has got a Leninist concept of the Democratic party. The Democratic party is a mish-mosh, everybody knows it. I belong to the liberal, trade-union, antiwar, Black, feminist, reformist wing of the Democratic party, where I wear "socialism" on my sweatshirt in very red letters.

When I was elected a delegate to the Democratic convention in 1974 from the Seventeenth Congressional District of New York, I ran publicly as a socialist.

We have held socialist meetings at Democratic party conventions. When I testified before the Democratic platform committee, I testified as a socialist and I was talking to real working people, and feminists, and other progressive elements.

I think that is the way—inside of their party in solidarity and fraternity with them to then bring up these ideas as part of the common struggle.

Last point. And again, I'm not talking about sincerity, truly I am not. My last point is this: I am for the lesser evil. But Peter Camejo sincerely, decently, unwittingly is for the greater evil because insofar as you vote for him and don't vote for Carter, you are electing Ford.

In Ohio, an SWP candidate getting 100,000 ballots on an independent line two years ago defeated John Gilligan and elected Governor Rhodes, the man who presided over Kent State. That's the kind of thing you get in America if you play protest politics.

In New York State tomorrow and in the United States as a whole, we need every single vote if we are to get the possibility for this university, this city, this nation to survive.

Then, on the basis of a small victory, we need to build a movement which will transform the society and give it, not small victories, but the radical transformation it needs. Thank you.

### Further reading

Bourgeois politicians and economists boasted of taming the periodic crises of capitalism through manipulation of fiscal and monetary policy, as prescribed by Keynes. But the miracle cure backfired, leading to the rampant inflation and mass unemployment of the 1970s. Dick Roberts explains why Keynesianism could not overcome the contradictions of the profit system.

## Capitalism in Crisis

By Dick Roberts 128 pp., paper \$1.95  
Order from Pathfinder Press,  
410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.



# Calendar

## BALTIMORE

**THE AMERICAN WORKER AND THE ECONOMY.** Speaker: Lynn Henderson, member, SWP National Committee. Fri., Dec. 10, 8 p.m. 2117 N. Charles St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (301) 547-0668.

**THE RISE OF THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT.** Two classes. Teacher: Lynn Henderson. Sat., Dec. 11, 12:00 noon and 2:30 p.m. 2117 N. Charles St. Donation: 50¢ each class. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (301) 547-0668.

## BOSTON

**CHINA AFTER MAO.** Speaker: Les Evans, editor, *Leon Trotsky on China*. Fri., Dec. 10, 7:30 p.m., Boston Univ., 725 Commonwealth Ave., CLA Building, Room 12. Donation: \$1. Ausp: SWP and YSA. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

## BROOKLYN

**THE DEATH PENALTY: LEGALIZED MURDER.** Speakers: Michael Meyers, assistant national executive director, NAACP; and representatives of the Desmond Trotter Defense Committee and the SWP. Fri., Dec. 10, 8 p.m. P.S. 9, Corner of Sterling and Vanderbilt (near Grand Army Plaza). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Brooklyn Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 773-0250.

## EAST LOS ANGELES

**BLACK AND CHICANO RIGHTS UNDER ATTACK: THE BAKKE DECISION.** Speakers: Ann Abrahamson, National Conference of Black Lawyers; Raúl Gonzales. Fri., Dec. 10, 8 p.m. 1237 S. Atlantic Blvd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (213) 265-1375.

## HOUSTON

**WHICH WAY FOR THE LEFT?** Speakers: Stu Singer, SWP; Harry Walsh, Univ. of Houston professor and member of DSOC national board of directors. Weds., Dec. 8, 7:30 p.m. Unitarian Church, 5210 Fannin. Ausp: DSOC and SWP. For more information call (713) 526-1082.

## LONG ISLAND: SUFFOLK COUNTY

**MEET THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY.** An informal meeting with leaders of the SWP—Marcia Gallo, 1976 candidate for U.S. Senate; Catarino Garza, 1976 candidate for U.S. Congress from Manhattan; and Keith Jones, 1976 candidate for U.S. Congress from Queens. Refreshments will be served. Fri., Dec. 10. Place to be announced. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (212) 658-7718.

## MINNEAPOLIS

**RACISM: FROM THE U.S. TO SOUTH AFRICA.** Speakers: August Nimtz, SWP; Mark Davis, SCAR. Fri., Dec. 10, 8 p.m. Sabathani Community Center, 3801 First Ave. S. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 825-6663.

## NEW YORK

**MEETING AGAINST PSYCHIATRIC ABUSE IN THE SOVIET UNION.** Speakers: Andrei Amalrik, exiled Soviet dissident; Daniel Berrigan; Pavel Litvinov; David McReynolds, War Resisters League. Fri., Dec. 10, 7:30 p.m. Washington Square Methodist Church, 133 W. 4th St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners. For more information call (212) 475-5799.

**SOCIOBIOLOGY AND THE POLITICS OF BIOLOGICAL DETERMINISM.** Speaker: Stephen Jay Gould, Harvard professor of biology and history of science. Fri., Dec. 10, 8 p.m. Hotel Diplomat, 108 W. 43rd St., Donation: \$2. Ausp: School for Marxist Education. For more information call (212) 989-6493.

**NIGHT OF SOLIDARITY WITH REVOLUTIONARY WOMEN.** Song, poetry, discussion. With reports on women political prisoners, forced sterilization, women and the South African struggle. Talk by Laura Allende and message from Lureida Torres. Sat., Dec. 11, 7:30 p.m. Washington Sq. Church, 133 W. 4th St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Action for Women in Chile, Marxist Education Collective, PSP Commission on Women, and others. For more information call (212) 989-6493.

**STOP THE ATTACKS ON A WOMAN'S RIGHT TO ABORTION.** Emergency planning meeting to discuss current attempts to restrict access to abortion as well as map out plans for an educational campaign that can fight against any restrictions on abortion rights. Sat., Dec. 11, 10 a.m. to 5 p.m., Riverside Church, 120th St. and Claremont Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Riverside Church Women's Center, Bronx and New York NOW, *Majority Report*, New York University Women's Center, SWP, and others.

**WEEKEND CONFERENCE ON WOMEN'S LIBERATION AND SOCIALISM.** Fri., Dec. 17, 7:30 p.m.: *Women's Liberation: The Past Ten Years*. Speaker: Evelyn Reed, author of *Woman's Evolution*. Sat., Dec. 18, 10 a.m. *Panel Discussion on Issues Facing Black and Puerto Rican Women*. 1 p.m.: *Discussion Groups for Women*. 3 p.m.: *An Eyewitness Report on the Women's Liberation Movement in Spain*. Speaker: Linda Jenness, SWP 1972 presidential candidate, recently returned from speaking tour of Spain. All sessions at: Teachers College, Columbia University, 120th and Broadway. Donation: \$2 for entire weekend. Ausp: SWP and YSA. For more information call (212) 982-8214.

**HOLIDAY BENEFIT CONCERT FOR THE UNITED FARM WORKERS.** Appearing: Ray Barretta

and his Orchestra; the Gil Evans Orchestra; The Unholy Modal Rounders; Otis Blackwell, Johnny Copeland, and Brooklyn Slim. Weds., Dec. 22, 8 p.m., Felt Forum, Madison Square Garden Center. Ticket prices: \$10.50, \$8.50, \$6.50, \$4.50. For tickets send to: UFW, 331 W. 84th St., New York, N.Y. 10024. For more information call (212) 799-5800.

## PHILADELPHIA

**CHINA AFTER MAO.** Speakers: Allyn Rickett, professor of Chinese studies, Univ. of Penna.; Jon Hillson, SWP; Jack Levine, National Lawyers Guild and U.S.-China Peoples Friendship Association. Fri., Dec. 10, 8 p.m. Academy Screening Room, 2021 Sansom St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) EV7-2451.

## PITTSBURGH

**CAPITALIST JUSTICE: LEGALIZED MURDER.** Speakers: Welsh White, ACLU; Dennis Stovall, activist, Gary Tyler Defense Committee; representative from SWP. Fri., Dec. 10, 8 p.m. 5504 Penn Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore. For more information call (412) 441-1419.

## ST. LOUIS

**SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL SERIES: AMERICAN LABOR STRUGGLES.** Sat., Dec. 11, 11:00 a.m. and 2:30 p.m. Sun., Dec. 12, 12 noon: *Teamster Rebellion, A Firsthand Account*. Speaker: Harry DeBoer. Sat., Dec. 18, 11:00 a.m. and 2:30 p.m.: *Steelworkers Fight for Union Democracy*. All sessions at 6223 Delmar. Donation: \$2 per weekend. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (314) 725-1571.

## SAN JOSE

**SPEAK-OUT AGAINST THE DEATH PENALTY.** Speakers: Katherine Bishop, chairperson, Santa Clara Valley ACLU; Ray Gonzales; representative of SWP; others. Weds., Dec. 8, 8 p.m. San Jose State Union, Almadén Room. Ausp: YSA Militant Forum. For more information call (408) 295-8342.

## SEATTLE: NORTH END

**HALT LEGAL LYNCHING: SPEAK-OUT AGAINST THE DEATH PENALTY.** Speakers: Tim Ford, activist in ACLU and NAACP and formally chairperson of Citizens Against Hanging; Elmer Dixon, activist, Seattle Black community; Toby Emmerich, SWP. Fri., Dec. 10, 8 p.m. Univ. of Wash., HUB 309a. Ausp: Militant Forum and YSA. For more information call (206) 522-7800.

# ...NSCAR

*Continued from page 6*

Remember, the Transkei has been “learning” how to govern itself since 1963, and finally achieved its “independence” on October 26, 1976. Thirteen years of learning how to govern oneself!

I saw in the parliament the huge chairs, the plush chairs, the plush carpet, the fine robes of all the Black ministers, including the prime minister.

And behind all these men, the minister of justice, the minister of education, and all the rest, I saw white secretaries! Executive secretaries, who I learned later are approved by the Republic of South Africa and whose pay comes from the Republic of South Africa. And they hold the purse strings for the Black chiefs and the Black ministers.

I asked [Transkei Chief Minister] Mr. Matanzima, “Hey man, what’re you talking about, you got independence? Hey, how come you call this independence when you got that white man sitting behind you?” He says, “Come over here judge. *Don’t talk like that, that’s treasonous!*” And I realized what independence really means. You can’t have independence unless you *take* it. It can’t be given to you at all.

# ...abortion

*Continued from page 9*

women to choose between feminism and Catholicism, “they will choose feminism.”

Another promising sign of the times is an unprecedented new organization called Catholic Alternatives, in New York City. This sex counseling clinic distributes birth control devices and accepts abortion. According to Joan Harriman, its president, “We want to take sex counseling out of the confessional and give it to Catholic laity to whom it belongs. . . . I know of women who are dead today because of the abortion advice they got in the confessional.”

This cleavage within the church itself is a sign of the revulsion of women against the assault on their historic victory in winning the right to abortion. This means that Catholic women must be mobilized along with all their other sisters to declare: “Not the church! Not the state! Women will decide their fate!”

# ...Kaufman

*Continued from page 12*

who was tried with the Rosenbergs. An FBI memo reports that Kaufman “had raised ‘hell’ with Thurgood Marshall [one of the judges] inasmuch as he considered Marshall to be somewhat naive and certainly inexperienced on the bench.”

But having seen this evidence, the three judges rejected it. “What has this got to do with me?!” one indignant judge exclaimed, “—nothing!”

“You’re trying the Rosenberg case but the issue is not the Rosenberg case,” insisted another of the three judges.

In delivering the ruling refusing to transfer the lawsuit, the judges tried to assure the Meeropols that “each member of this court has taken an oath to be fair in the administration of justice.”

Sure, many of us listening thought, just like the oath Kaufman took.

Our hearing over, about thirty of us got up and left the chambers with Michael Meeropol.

Outside, Michael shook his head. “The Rosenberg case still walks the halls of this courthouse,” he said. “And nothing positive in this case will happen in this courthouse while Kaufman presides.”

Do you want to read the evidence? The National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case has collected the pertinent FBI documents in a booklet, available for \$1.50. Order “The Kaufman Papers” from the NCRRC, Room 606, 250 West Fifty-seventh Street, New York, New York 10019.

# ...Maoists

*Continued from page 8*

American Maoists: a campaign to urge the American government to send more arms to Japan and a campaign against U.S. trade with the Soviet Union. Avakian succeeded in convincing his followers that this was not Peking’s real policy.

But Avakian’s “victory” in the debate is an ephemeral one. It rests on a deliberate “misunderstanding.” It will collapse as soon as the members of the RCP begin reading for themselves what China actually has to say on these questions. A major article in the October 14 Peking *People’s Daily*, for example, stated:

“Through their experiences of struggles in many years, the Third World countries and their peoples have come to realize more and more clearly that

Soviet social-imperialism has gone farther than old-line imperialism in its aggression and expansion abroad and is their most dangerous enemy.”

As for what Peking expects American Maoists to do about this, an idea can be gained from a November 12 Hsinhua dispatch reporting favorably the formation in the United States of a “Committee on the Present Danger.” The “establishment of this committee,” Hsinhua said, “was aimed at alerting the American public to the Soviet danger.”

And who heads this committee? It is not the RCP. It is not even the October League. As Hsinhua reported it, “Former high-ranking U.S. government officials who have joined the organization include Eugene V. Ros-tow, former undersecretary of state for political affairs; David Packard, former deputy defense secretary; Paul Nitze, former deputy defense secretary and former U.S. representative at the U.S.-Soviet SALT talks; Andrew J. Goodpaster and Lyman L. Lemnitzer, former NATO supreme allied commanders; Maxwell D. Taylor, former chairman of the joint chiefs of staff; E.R. Zumwalt, former chief of naval operations; Gordon Gray, former secretary of the army; Dean Rusk, former secretary of state; and John Connally, Henry H. Fowler, and C. Douglas Dillon, former treasury secretaries.”

These people, many of them Democrats and presumably advisers to the new Carter administration, were the people who brought us the war in Vietnam. Clark Kissinger is right when he says that Peking maintains party-to-party relations as well as ties with bourgeois governments. But it is relations with anticommunist parties of the imperialist ruling class.

# ...Carter

*Continued from page 23*

“Great Debates”—Carter and Ford preserved the old fable that Republicans favor tight money and fewer jobs while the Democrats favor easy money and more jobs.

Behind the scenes, however, the Republican administration had already shifted toward easier money.

Such policy decisions are not made by the elected politicians of either party, for the most part. They are made by experts like Burns and Klein who officiate in key governmental bodies, “think tanks,” and university posts.

The rulers of this country are agreed that the days of full employment for American workers are over. In order to preserve monopoly profits they are steering an ever harsher course against the labor movement.

Carter’s campaign promise to provide jobs is going to be put to the test—perhaps sooner than he expected. And his refusal to make good on this promise is going to offer workers an important new lesson in the realities of capitalist politics.

# Socialist policy in the trade unions

**Class Struggle Policy in the Rise of the Labor Movement** by Tom Kerry. 24 pp., 75 cents

**Selected Documents on SWP Trade Union Policy.** Resolutions and statements of the Socialist Workers party. 24 pp., 40 cents

**Recent Trends in the Labor Movement** by Farrell Dobbs. 32 pp., 50 cents

Education for Socialists publications, 8 x 11 format. Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

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Co-op members and leaders across North America recognize the need for constant co-op education. That's why many of those most deeply involved in cooperation read **The New Harbinger: A Journal of the Cooperative Movement**.

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# THE MILITANT

## U.S. gov't indicts four immigration counselors

By Betsy McDonald

TUCSON, Ariz.—Four workers from the Manzo Area Council, a neighborhood antipoverty center, go on trial here December 15 for giving aid to "illegal aliens."

"This is a test case," a border patrol official warned the Manzo Council director, "and we are going to stop you if it takes us six years." The government is challenging the right of social service agencies to provide legal counsel to undocumented workers.

The Manzo Area Council is funded by the Committee for Economic Opportunity. It is the only agency in southern Arizona that counsels persons in the United States who want to help relatives legally immigrate here.

Manzo began the immigration counseling program last year in response to community requests.

Soon afterward the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) began its most recent offensive against undocumented workers, blaming them for high unemployment in this country.

INS agents began a series of roun-

dups of "illegal aliens." They deported more than 100 persons employed in Tucson laundries, cafes, and other small businesses.

On April 9 INS agents raided Manzo offices and seized 750 case files. More than fifty Manzo clients were picked up and deported after the raid.

Attorney Clay Diamos voiced the feelings of the community when he called the raid "an extreme action you would expect in a fascist state." Protests against the attacks on Manzo began immediately.

Manzo's board of directors went to court to get back the records and to defend its clients' civil rights. The Ninth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals has ordered some records returned.

The southern Arizona Civil Liberties Union voted unanimously to undertake Manzo's legal appeal for the files. Last October the agency obtained a court hearing to investigate the disappearance of 282 files that the government had impounded.

But at the same time a grand jury began issuing indictments against four Manzo Area Council workers.

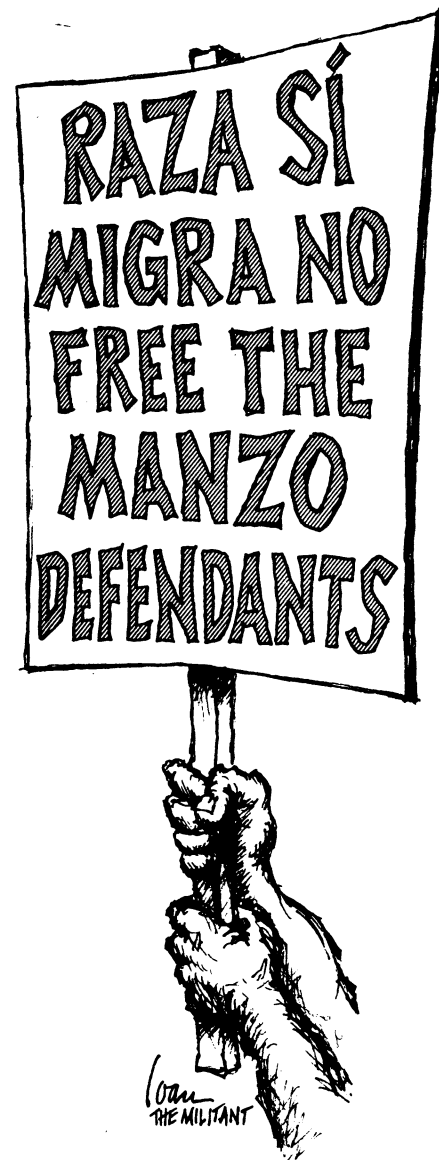
If convicted, Margo Cowan, Catalina Montano, Marguerita Jauregui Ramirez, and Sister Ann Gabriel Marcaicq face prison sentences ranging from ten to ninety-seven years.

The charges against the four women include conspiracy to break immigration laws, transportation of illegal aliens, aiding aliens to elude inspection, knowingly aiding felons, unlawful reproduction of citizenship papers, and making false statements.

If the government succeeds in convicting the Manzo defendants, they may attack similar immigration counseling services in Los Angeles, San Diego, El Paso, San Antonio, and other southwestern cities.

Acquittal for the Manzo workers will be an important victory for the anti-deportation movement.

Telegrams and letters demanding that the government drop all charges should be sent to U.S. Attorney William Smitherman, La Placita Village, Tucson, Arizona 85701, with copies to Manzo Defense Fund, 1025 North Grande Avenue, Tucson, Arizona 85705.



## Jailed Indian activists target of arson

By José G. Pérez

Six Indian activists—jailed in Sisseton, South Dakota, on trumped-up charges of attempted murder and riot—have become victims of what Indian leaders term an attempt at "lynch justice."

On November 13, fires broke out in the jail where the Sisseton Six were being held. Three of the activists were seriously injured, one so severely that his life was in danger. All are now at the state prison in Sioux Falls, South Dakota.

Sisseton authorities have threatened to charge the six with more counts of attempted murder, saying the activists set the fires. But American Indian Movement leader Russell Means charges that members of a vigilante outfit called "Civil Liberties for South Dakota Citizens" set the fires.

The Sisseton Six—Ed, Ted, and Rocky St. John; Stacey and Tom La Blanc; and Donald Hill—are members of AIM and the Sisseton Warrior Society.

Each faces eight counts of attempted murder and one count of rioting while armed, stemming from an incident where they were attacked and defended themselves. If convicted, they could receive up to 160 years in prison.

On October 16, the six activists and two women friends went to the Lakeland Lanes Lounge. According to Means, a bartender insulted one of the Indian women. She responded by throwing beer in his face.

The bartender then attacked the woman, and one of the six came to her defense. The six were then jumped by a group of thirty or more people, including many whites. The activists defended themselves from this attack.

AIM leader Russell Means says Indians have "no chance of fair treatment" in South Dakota courts. "We're six percent of the South Dakota population, but 43 percent of the people in state prisons are Indians."

After the arrest of the six, white racists made threats "to bomb, hang, and castrate" them, according to Means. AIM scheduled a demonstration for November 1 in response to these threats. Two days before the demonstration the six were transferred to other areas.

But they were brought back to Sisseton for a preliminary hearing November 12. At the hearing, the six were bound over for trial. Court officials refused to lower the bail for each defendant from \$10,000.

After the hearing, the six were put back in the county jail in Sisseton. The following day fires broke out.

Indian activists in Sisseton say "Civil Liberties for South Dakota Citizens" has been stepping up vigilante attacks since the incident at the Lakeland Lanes Lounge.

Fern Mathias, a Sisseton resident and legal worker for the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee, told the *Militant* of several incidents.

On November 1, 120 persons took part in the AIM demonstration in Sisseton. "That evening vigilantes surrounded an AIM house," she said. "They had their lights out and they were saying, 'The Indians are on the warpath again, let's teach them a lesson.'" But no attack took place then.

Mathias continued, "On November 4, my dad was beat up by goons."

And, "On November 13, relatives of some defendants were shot at twice." Both her father and the relatives have worked with AIM.

"But no charges have been set against those people because law enforcement is on their side," she added.

Further information on the case of the Sisseton Six can be obtained from: Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee, Post Office Box 291, Sisseton, South Dakota 57262.

### The trials of Russell Means

By José G. Pérez

"I cannot really comprehend the very fact I have no more trials," said a smiling Russell Means November 19.

I had gone to interview Means, a leader of the American Indian Movement, at the offices of the International Indian Treaty Council in New York. But the scheduled subject of our interview—a Senate subcommittee witch-hunt of AIM—wasn't uppermost in Means's mind.

"Can you wait a minute man—I have to notorize some stuff," he told me. "There's ten years of my life in these papers."

Means was holding a sheaf of legal documents. They said Means pleaded guilty to a misdemeanor. In exchange, the state of North Dakota was dropping two felony charges against him. His sentence for the misdemeanor is only \$100

and thirty days suspended.

This brings an important phase of AIM's battle against government frame-ups to a close. Since the occupation of the town of Wounded Knee in 1973, Means has faced thirty-seven felony and three misdemeanor charges in twelve separate cases before federal and state courts. All the trials in those cases are now completed.

Means was convicted of only one serious crime—a rioting charge stemming from a police attack on Indian spectators in a South Dakota courtroom. Means believes the conviction will be reversed on appeal.

In addition to the legal attacks, there have been four attempts to assassinate Means since Wounded Knee. He says cops have been involved in every one.



MEANS: Wins another round against frame-ups

Militant/Skip Ball