

# THE MILITANT

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



ARTIS

CARTER

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## THE MILITANT

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**NEW YORK FARM WORKERS BENEFIT:** Salsa star Ray Barreto and jazz great Gil Evans will headline a program of some of New York City's finest musicians to benefit the embattled United Farm Workers union.

The concert will be Wednesday, December 22 at 8:00 p.m. at the Felt Forum, Eighth Avenue between Thirty-first and Thirty-second streets in Manhattan. Tickets, starting at \$4.50, can be ordered from the Felt Forum box office, Ticketron, or the UFW Boycott House, 331 West Eighty-fourth Street, New York, New York 10024. Telephone: (212) 799-5800.

## Defend press operators!



December 6 protest at opening of 'Washington Post' press operators' trial.

Chanting "The Post owns the media but it doesn't own us," 150 people picketed in front of the Washington, D.C., Superior Court December 6. They braved the bitter cold to show support for fifteen indicted *Washington Post* press operators on the first day of a frame-up trial engineered by the union-busting newspaper.

The previous night 250 people turned out for a rousing rally to support the unionists.

As the *Militant* goes to press, the jury selection process is still under way. Lawyers for the press operators contend that publicity in the *Washington Post* itself leaves few prospective jurors who have not been prejudiced against the press operators. The *Post* has denied the workers a forum to answer its false charges.

**TUITION PROTESTS AT OHIO STATE:** *Militant* Correspondent Greg Wourms reports that 400 Ohio State University students demonstrated November 17 against proposed statewide tuition hikes and education cutbacks. The state is planning \$1 million in cuts at Ohio State alone. This has prompted school officials to propose a \$10 tuition increase per quarter as well as attacks on financing of the Black studies department.

Initiators of the action included the Black student organizations, undergraduate student government, and Young Socialist Alliance.

**FBI SPIED ON 'CHARLESTON GAZETTE':** A March 30, 1975, editorial in the *Charleston Gazette*, a West Virginia paper, blasted FBI surveillance of the Socialist Workers party. "If the nation is fortunate," said the *Gazette*, "an airing of FBI assaults upon civil rights will . . . remind us that when we refuse to extend freedom to our ideological enemies we are ignorant of the meaning of freedom."

The *Gazette* has now discovered that its views have also won it a place on the FBI's enemies list. Documents obtained under the Freedom of Information Act and made public November 27 show that the federal gumshoes have maintained files on the paper since the 1930s. FBI displeasure with *Gazette* editorials during the McCarthyite witch-hunt led J. Edgar Hoover to order that the paper be removed from the FBI's mailing list and that its requests for routine information be ignored.

**UTAH MEETING FOR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS:** More than fifty people attended a University of Utah meeting "In Defense of Democratic Rights" November 23 in Salt Lake City.

Speaking at the meeting were: Morris Starsky, Political Rights Defense Fund; Utah State Representative-elect Jeff Fox; Joe Bird of the Communist party; Dayne Goodwin of the Young Socialist Alliance; Shirley Pedler, executive director of the Utah American Civil Liberties Union; Lalo Delgado, a Chicano poet and activist; and Betty Ortiz, a

former organizer for the United Farm Workers.

The meeting took place almost exactly sixty-one years after the execution of Utah's most prominent death penalty victim, Joe Hill. Hill was a songwriter and organizer for the militant Industrial Workers of the World. He was shot by a firing squad on November 19, 1915. Today Utah is seeking to revive capital punishment with the case of Gary Mark Gilmore.

Goodwin pointed to the Hill execution as an example of the underlying purpose of the death penalty. "Hill was framed up by the bosses and killed for exercising the democratic right to organize working people."

Pedler made a similar point. "The issue of capital punishment," she said, "is a social and political issue. It is up to you and me to change it."

**CONTINENTAL PEACE WALK TRIAL:** U.S. Magistrate Harris Grimsley has not yet handed down his verdict after the three-week-long trial of participants in the Continental Walk for Disarmament and Social Justice. The trial ended November 26. Thirty people still face penalties on charges of failure to obey an official order and blocking entrances. They were among the fifty-five people arrested October 18 at a demonstration of 700 outside the Pentagon at the conclusion of the cross-country peace march.

**GI CONVICTED IN AFRO CASE:** Janis Stewart is a twenty-year-old GI who refused to trim her Afro haircut when ordered to do so by racist brass at Fort Ord, California. Stewart was convicted December 2 at an army court-martial. She was reduced in rank from private first class to private. Stewart's conviction is subject to review.

**PITTSBURGH TRANSIT STRIKERS RETURN TO WORK:** The 2,600 bus drivers and mechanics of Amalgamated Transit Union Division 85 returned to work December 5 after a six-day strike against Pittsburgh's Port Authority Transit (PAT). Union leaders ordered their return after Allegheny County Judge Silvestri Silvestri issued a back-to-work injunction.

*Militant* correspondents Mark McCulloch and John Barbera report that the strike was the target of a vicious antiunion media campaign that was unprecedented in Pittsburgh's history.

From the beginning, PAT totally refused to bargain in good faith. PAT refused to make any offer until the strike began and then maintained that the pitiful 2 percent wage increase it offered would have to be paid for by reducing the drivers' current fringe benefits.

Major union demands included elimination of the split shift system, under which most younger drivers are unpaid for several hours during their daily tours of duty, and modifications in a humiliating PAT performance code.

The drivers are also demanding a 10 percent wage increase and improved cost-of-living benefits.

—Peter Seidman



## Holiday gift idea

Special offer  
Dec. 10-Dec. 30

Give a friend a special gift this holiday season. A card in your name will be sent with the gift subscription.

1 year—\$6 (regularly \$7.50).  
6 months—\$3 (regularly \$4)

Your name \_\_\_\_\_  
Send gift subscription(s) to:  
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Make checks payable to The Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

# Defend YSA's right to free speech!

By Brian Williams

MOUNT PLEASANT, Mich.—“The university has requested the prosecutor to prosecute the case and get a conviction,” said David Kerr, legal counsel for Central Michigan University.

Kerr was referring to the case of three YSA members under attack by the CMU administration.

*Brian Williams, a member of the YSA National Executive Committee, is currently in Mt. Pleasant helping to organize support for the three victimized young socialists.*

Brigid Douglas, Jim Garrison, and Tom Smith were arrested at CMU October 20 while distributing Socialist Workers party campaign literature outside a public lecture by former CBS correspondent Daniel Schorr.

The three YSA members each face six months in jail and \$1,600 fines on charges of trespassing and “illegally occupying a university building by force.”

Unfortunately for the CMU administration, the campus has been getting all stirred up by the arrest of the three socialists.

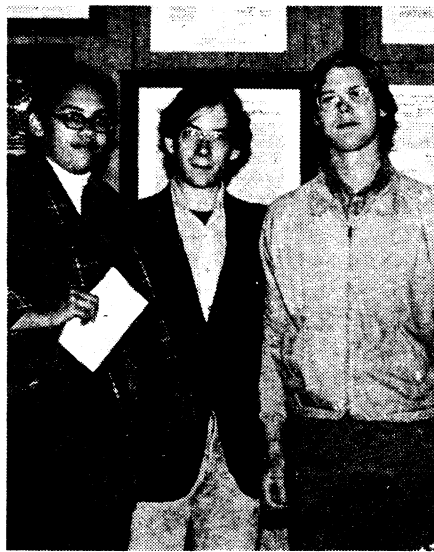
A public statement signed by sixty-nine CMU professors deplored the arrests as “a serious threat to free speech and to the academic freedom of the entire academic community. . . .”

“While various candidates and groups have campaigned unhindered throughout the campus this Fall,” the statement added, “only the YSA found themselves bureaucratically stonewalled and suddenly arrested, handcuffed, fingerprinted and charged with criminal trespass for the distribution of campaign literature. . . .”

The Committee for Free Speech, launched here in Mt. Pleasant, has already collected the signatures of hundreds of CMU students demanding that charges be dropped against the socialists. It has also gathered petitions and telegrams of support from all around Michigan.

For example, David Herreshoff, professor of English at Wayne State University, sent this telegram to CMU's president:

“When the legislature voted your appropriation it surely did not intend that any part of it would be used in an effort to suppress the First Amendment rights of the



(From left): Brigid Douglas, Jim Garrison, Tom Smith

Socialist Workers party. . . . Why not drop this attack on the right to free speech and association and get on with the job you are paid and authorized to perform?”

Others who have protested the arrests include Herb Boyd, Black studies professor at Wayne State University; Leonard Grossman of the Michigan American Civil Liberties Union; Michael Einhauer, student representative to the board of governors, Wayne State University; Rosalee Sullivan of the Detroit Down River National Organization for Women; and civil rights leader Robert F. Williams.

Telegrams demanding that charges against the YSA members be dropped should be sent to CMU President Harold Abel, Warriner Hall, Central Michigan University, Mount Pleasant, Michigan 48858.

Contributions to help cover legal costs and the expense of publicizing the case should be sent to the Committee for Free Speech, Room 143, Anspach Hall, Central Michigan University, Mount Pleasant, Michigan 48858.

## Young Socialists prepare for nat'l convention

By Diane Rupp

“YSA” might just as well have stood for Young Scouts of America, for all Mike Zárate knew three years ago.

But in 1974, while working on United Farm Workers support activities in San Diego, Zárate met a YSA member.

Today Zárate is a leader of the Young Socialist Alliance working in its national office in New York. One of his jobs there is answering letters from people who write in asking about the YSA.

“There are probably more than eighty coupons and letters here,” Zárate said, pointing to a stack of inquiries on his desk.

During the past few months, Zárate has sent these people material about the YSA convention scheduled for Chicago December 31-January 2.

“I don't know if it is something about this particular coupon,” Zárate said about an ad that ran in recent *Militant* issues, “but a lot of people have sent it in. Maybe because it has a banner about South Africa on it.”

“That makes sense,” said Cathy Sedwick. “A lot of people want to know more about that. Support for the Black struggle there is a large part of our work now.”

Sedwick is preparing a report on southern Africa, one of three major reports and discussions planned for the convention.

“The YSA is helping to build March 25-26 anti-apartheid actions,” she told me. The protests were called at the recent National Student Conference Against Racism.

Sedwick was a leader of the Louisville chapter of the National Student Coalition Against Racism before she came to the YSA national office. She had first attended NSCAR meetings in 1974 as president of the Students for Radical Reform at the University of Kentucky. She became active in NSCAR “because I wanted to show that Black students cared about what was happening in Boston's desegregation battle.”

“The report I'm preparing will describe the background of the struggle in southern Africa,” Sedwick said. “These are liberation struggles with a real chance for victory.”

“There are so many factors in favor of the Black struggle in South Africa. And the worldwide revulsion against apartheid is one of the most important,” Sedwick said.

“Our struggle against apartheid really can help the liberation struggle.”

Rick Berman and Chuck Petrin are preparing the other two major reports for the convention—one about the overall political situation in the United States, and the other about building the YSA.

“The YSA has a draft of the political resolution, ‘Socialist Strategy for 1977,’ Berman explained. (Available for forty cents from the YSA national office). “We've already sent nearly 1,000 copies out



YSA LEADERS (clockwise from top left): Mike Zárate, Cathy Sedwick, Betsy Farley, Rick Berman, and Chuck Petrin.

to YSA members. Each chapter is discussing the draft, and we have a discussion bulletin so all members can write suggestions, comments, or other resolutions. At the convention we'll discuss the resolution further before voting on it.”

Berman's political report will initiate that discussion and also take a look at what the recent national elections meant. In addition, his and Petrin's reports will help start the convention

discussion on what various YSA chapters are doing.

“There are so many different kinds of struggle the YSA is involved in,” Petrin said. “It's a major job to give an overview of these activities.”

“In Minneapolis the campus abortion clinic was closed, and the YSA is working with other women's groups to demand abortion as a woman's right. Meanwhile, in Massachusetts the YSA worked to get a state Equal Rights Amendment passed in the November 2 referendum.”

“And in Utah,” Berman added, “the YSA helped organize a picket line against the death penalty. In Atlanta the YSA is part of a coalition against the death penalty too.”

Petrin told me that in Pittsburgh the YSA sponsored a forum about Ed Sadlowski's Steelworkers Fight Back campaign. “Students are interested in the shake-up going on in the trade unions,” he said.

“Plus there's the fight to defend affirmative action and preferential admissions for Black and Chicano students in California.”

“And in New Orleans,” Berman said, “there's defense activity to get Gary Tyler out of prison. And now we're launching an important fight to defend our own rights at Central Michigan University.” (See article above.)

The two could have gone on for quite a while just listing the YSA's many activities. But they had to get back to work on their reports.

Betsy Farley was on the phone to Chicago. Farley joined the YSA along with nine other members of a radical printing collective in 1971. Farley said she had liked what the YSA was doing to help win women's rights.

When she had finished on the phone, Farley told me, “We're trying to arrange cheap housing for people in Chicago—apartments and other places where people can sack out with their sleeping bags.

“Staying at the hotel may be steep for some people. The Sheraton-Chicago will cost \$6.25 to \$14.00 a night.

“But most people will want to stay at the hotel anyway,” Farley added, “since that is where the convention will be. The discussion sessions, the rally, the workshops—about a dozen workshops—will be held there.”

Farley also described the work going on to publicize the convention. “We've already sent out 10,000 posters and used up 10,000 brochures,” she said. “We're trying to decide whether to order a new batch from the printers now.”

There is also a team of three people touring Chicago-area campuses to spread the word about the convention. They've won two new members to the YSA, distributed convention brochures, and sold the *Young Socialist* monthly newspaper.

“By the time the YSA convention is over,” Farley concluded, “a lot more people will know what the YSA is and what we're doing.”

## Join us.

The Young Socialist Alliance national convention will be held at the Sheraton-Chicago Hotel December 31-January 2. To find out more about the convention or to join the YSA, contact the YSA chapter nearest you (listed on page 31) or return this coupon to: YSA, P.O. Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

- ☐ I want to attend the YSA convention.
- ☐ I want to join the YSA.
- ☐ Send me more information.

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_  
Zip \_\_\_\_\_ Phone \_\_\_\_\_



## New government study

# Working women face widening wage gap

By Nancy Cole

WASHINGTON—If more evidence were needed to bolster arguments for the Equal Rights Amendment and stiffer affirmative-action plans, the Labor Department has provided it with its report on "The Earnings Gap Between Women and Men."

During the last twenty years, that gap has significantly widened until in 1974 the average full-time working woman earned only fifty-seven cents for every dollar earned by the average man.

The 1974 median income for men was \$11,835; for women, \$6,772.

The difference between the median earnings of men and women in 1955 was \$1,533. In 1974 it was \$5,063. Taking into account "the deflated purchasing power of the dollar, the disparity is even more evident," the study notes. "The difference increased more than 79 percent—from \$1,911 in 1955 to \$3,433 in 1974."

The Labor Department report shows 1) that women continue to receive less pay for the same work as men, and 2) that women are still channeled into the least-skilled, lowest-paying jobs.

"Despite the recent changes in the

structure of the labor force, and women's increasing attachment to their jobs, historical patterns concerning 'men's jobs' and 'women's jobs' still persist to a large degree," the study found.

Women getting jobs for the first time or reentering the work force after a period without a job "must often accept relatively low-paying jobs which tend to pull down their median earnings."

Even taking this and other training and experience factors into consideration, "much of the male-female earnings differential remains unexplained—representing a maximum measure of discrimination."

In 1974 women comprised 32 percent of all workers with full-time jobs, yet they made up only 5 percent of those making \$15,000 and more. Women made up 46 percent of the full-time, year-round workers making less than \$3,000.

While it would seem logical that the more formal education a woman receives, the better chance she has to catch up with her male counterparts, the government report shows this to be a myth. The average working woman must have five years or more of college

before her earnings exceed those of a man who completed the eighth grade.

The gap between incomes of white women and Black and other minority women narrowed during the last fifteen years. White women in 1974 had a median income of \$7,025; minority women, \$6,611. Minority men made an average of \$9,082, while white men took home \$12,343.

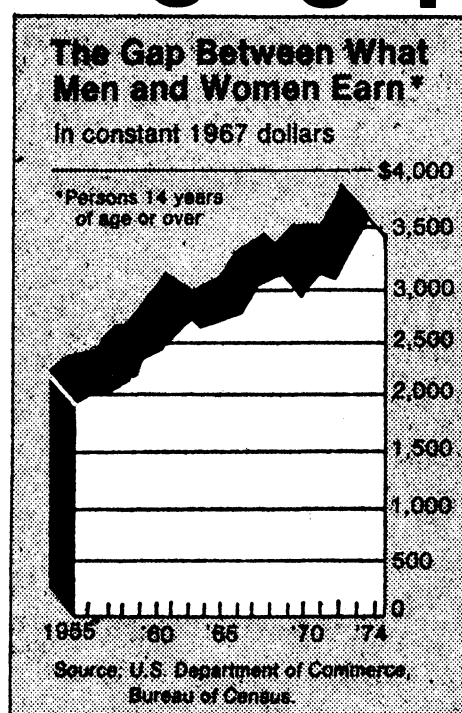
So minority women made 94 percent of that of white women, 73 percent of that of minority men, and 54 percent of that of white men.

The report notes the steady increase in the proportion of women in the work force during the past twenty-five years. But "women are clearly overrepresented among those workers whose earnings are low," it concludes.

It is ironic that the Labor Department's Women's Bureau has issued this report on discrimination while its Office of Federal Contract Compliance is proposing guidelines to gut affirmative-action plans.

The proposed federal guidelines would decrease the number of government contractors required to set up affirmative-action plans and weaken the enforcement procedures for others.

This report on the earnings gap



New York Times/December 5, 1976

reinforces the demand by women's groups that the government—rather than retreating—should be *strengthening* affirmative-action plans to hire, train, and promote women.

## Cyrus Vance: A hawk comes home to roost

By Dick Roberts

For his first major cabinet appointee, Jimmy Carter has selected a man who cannot by any stretch of the imagination be considered a Washington "outsider."

Cyrus Vance has held top government and diplomatic posts both in Washington and abroad for two decades. He was an architect of the U.S. invasion of Vietnam.

Vance has held key posts in the city administration of New York, where he lives. He is a partner in a prestigious New York law firm and is on the board of directors of several of the most powerful U.S. corporations.

It is said that every secretary of state in the twentieth century has in one way or another been a representative of the Rockefeller trusts. To look at the recent past:

- John Foster Dulles and his brother Allen, a former CIA chief, were partners in the law firm of Sullivan and Cromwell, which represents Standard Oil of New Jersey, a Rockefeller property. Dulles headed the State Department under Eisenhower.

- Kennedy and Johnson's secretary of state was Dean Rusk, who served as president of the Rockefeller Foundation from 1952 to 1961.

- Henry Kissinger is a personal protégé of Nelson Rockefeller's.

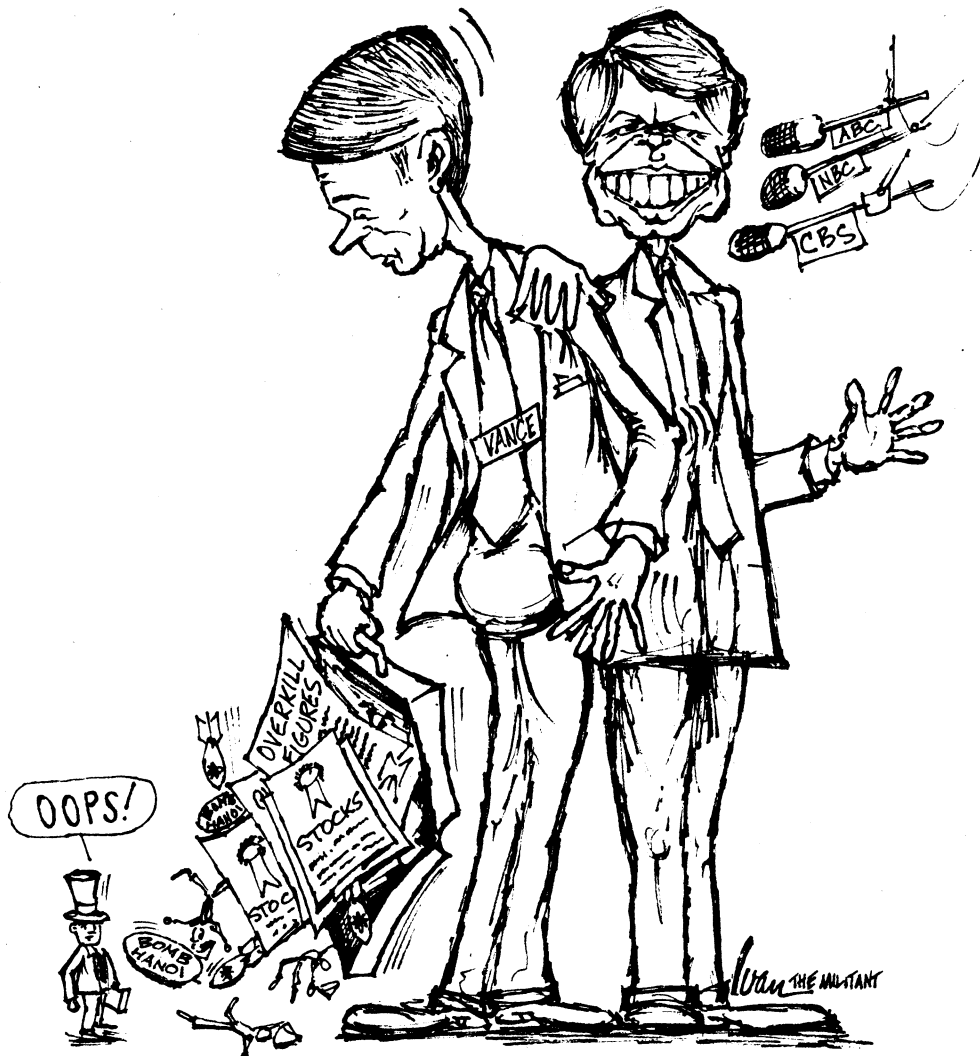
Cyrus Vance was quietly appointed chairman of the board of the Rockefeller Foundation in September 1975—a little over a year ago.

### Ruling-class agent

Vance's career illustrates how top agents of the moneyed American ruling class actually make all key government decisions.

A product of the Eastern "Ivy League" Kent prep school and Yale University, Vance got into the government in 1957 as a lawyer for the Senate military preparedness subcommittee. There he met Sen. Lyndon Johnson, who was later to promote Vance into key posts in the Kennedy administration.

Vance served Kennedy as general counsel for the Department of Defense from 1961 to 1962 and as secretary of the army from 1962 to 1963. Between 1964 and 1967 Vance served under Johnson as deputy secretary of defense, the second highest civilian role in the Pentagon.



A record of distinguished service

These were the years of the Kennedy administration's initial invasion of Vietnam and Johnson's escalation of U.S. involvement. Washington launched full-scale B-52 bombing over both the "South" and the "North."

Vance was in on key Vietnam decision making at every stage. He participated in the high-level secret meetings documented in the Pentagon papers. Along with war secretary Robert McNamara, Vance cosigned many orders that ended in slaughterous attacks on the Vietnamese people.

In *The Permanent War Economy*, Seymour Melman notes that Vance was one of the leading government officials who lied to Congress and the American people in 1964 as Johnson secretly prepared the Gulf of Tonkin fraud to "justify" U.S. escalation.

The Pentagon papers do not reveal that Vance ever had any disagreements with the U.S. escalation. Commenting on Vance's new appointment, *New York Times* correspondent Leslie Gelb, who before joining the *Times* was himself a Pentagon insider, wrote December 4 that Vance was "a man able to get on with the military even when . . . McNamara's relations with the military began to sour."

McNamara—for tactical reasons—began to oppose massive U.S. troop escalation as early as 1966. Vance, it appears, never opposed these policies.

In 1967 Vance resigned from the Pentagon for reasons of health. He received distinguished service medals from the army, navy, and air force. And Johnson declared that Vance had played a "crucial role in bringing our

nation's military forces to their present state of unprecedented strength and readiness."

### 'Riot control'

One of Vance's early "special assignments" abroad may have readied him for later "special assignments" at home. In May 1965 Johnson dispatched Vance to Santo Domingo to help oversee the invasion of the Dominican Republic by 20,000 U.S. Marines. This "mopping up" operation resulted in the bloody liquidation of a popular rebellion against that country's hated dictatorship.

The Paris daily *Le Monde* described this operation: "[Junta troops followed] prudently behind the [U.S.] tanks," as they advanced into the poorest and most heavily populated area of the city. They were "constantly caught in the violent fire of the civilian commandos. Boys fifteen years old are firing away at the side of the workers." Casualties piled into the hundreds. It was a "pitiless and bloody struggle, proceeding street by street, house by house."

July 1967 found Vance in Detroit overseeing the four-day U.S. paratroop and national guard assault aimed at crushing the Black ghetto rebellion there.

And in 1968 Vance headed the 9,000 U.S. troops Johnson sent in to put down the D.C. rebellion that followed the assassination of Martin Luther King.

Continued on page 30

## Debt well paid

The director of the Office of Management and Budget was a likely place for Carter to pay off one of his Atlanta business-supporter debts. It is a secondary cabinet post mainly charged with accounting procedures.

Carter's choice, Bert Lance, is the president of the National Bank of Georgia, a firm to which Carter's peanut company owes \$4.7 million.

Lance isn't one of your hard-working country folk either. He owns about \$3.5 million worth of stock and takes home a salary of about \$125,000 a year.



## Sadlowski tells Cleveland rally:

# Blame bosses, not imports, for layoffs

By Christine Gauvreau

CLEVELAND—Speaking before a rally of more than 300 steelworkers here November 30, Ed Sadlowski hit hard against the steel corporations' attempt to blame layoffs on steel imports.

"Foreign imports do not have the impact the American steel industry says they do," the insurgent candidate for union president maintained.

"You can't attribute a Japanese worker for taking an American worker's job. That's the boss's game. He'd like you to think that."

With thousands of steelworkers being laid off across the country, this emotion-charged issue points up the fundamental difference between Sadlowski's approach and that of the present United Steelworkers of America leadership.

Current President I.W. Abel and his handpicked successor Lloyd McBride are flag-waving partisans of the anti-import drive, absolving the steel profiteers of all responsibility for layoffs.

Abel and McBride call for import quotas and tariffs to protect "our" industry, and for joint labor-management efforts to increase productivity so "our" corporations will be more competitive.

Sadlowski puts the blame for unem-

**MORE STEEL COVERAGE:** Vote fraud and the steel election. Nash Rodriguez fights illegal firing. How not to answer red-baiting. See pages 26-27.

ployment squarely on the bosses. And he rejects union cooperation with productivity drives that eliminate jobs and endanger workers' lives through speedup.

"For every American worker whose job has been lost by foreign importation," Sadlowski told the Cleveland rally, "five American workers' jobs have been lost because of BOF [Basic Oxygen Furnace] shops."

The spirited rally showed the growing support for the Sadlowski cam-



Militant/Glenn Campbell

ED SADLOWSKI: 'You can't attribute a Japanese worker for taking an American worker's job. That's the boss's game.'

paign in District 28, the Cleveland area. Eight out of the nine basic steel locals in the area nominated Sadlowski for USWA president in November voting.

In neighboring District 26, covering Youngstown and northeast Ohio, fifty-three locals representing more than 80 percent of the voting membership nominated the Sadlowski slate. This is the home district of Marvin Weinstock, Steelworkers Fight Back candidate for vice-president for administration.

The Cleveland rally was chaired by Ed Buxton, vice-president of Local 1098 at Republic Steel, which nominated Sadlowski by a four-to-one margin.

Greetings were sent from Al Stanford, former president of Local 3059 in Alliance, Ohio. Local 3059 had just won a victory against an unjust administratorship imposed on them by Abel.

Sadlowski and other Fight Back candidates at the rally invited questions from the audience. When a Black woman steelworker asked their position on the special problems of women

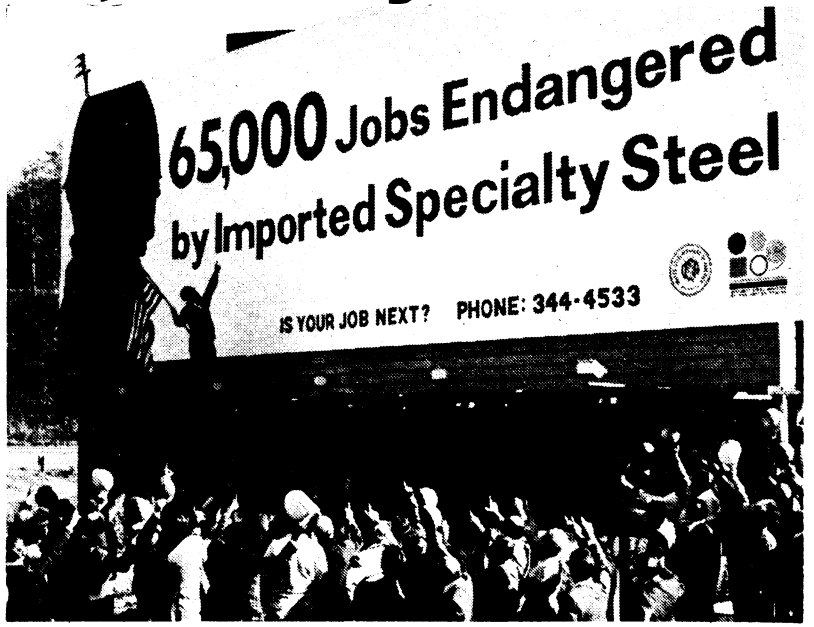
and Black workers, the crowd cheered.

"I cannot effectively relate to a problem affecting a female steelworker as well as a female can," Sadlowski said. "So we've discussed the idea of forming an effective female department—such as the auto workers and the meatcutters unions have—that has input in giving direction in order to resolve those problems."

Asked about McBride's charges that communists and socialists are supporting his campaign, Sadlowski repeated his stand against red-baiting.

"When the first CIO organizer came into this community, he was probably called anything and everything. The first guy on the shop floor that started to wear a CIO pin was called anything and everything by the boss. And now we find ourselves, as trade unionists wanting change, being called those same names that industrial bosses called CIO organizers."

Oliver Montgomery, Fight Back candidate for international vice-president for human affairs and an executive board member of the Coali-



PROPAGANDA: Pittsburgh billboard is part of union bureaucracy's flag-waving campaign to protect 'our' corporations against foreign competition.

tion of Black Trade Unionists, also addressed the rally.

Montgomery's candidacy and the Sadlowski slate's clear opposition to racism in the union movement have convinced the Cleveland chapter of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists to endorse and actively campaign for the Fight Back slate.

Bob Stafford, public relations director of the Cleveland CBTU, explained that they endorse the slate "because we feel Ed Sadlowski's entire slate will do some significant things to change some of the problems that various groups, including Blacks, women, Chicanos, and others have had to suffer as a result of their involvement with the steelworkers."

The Cleveland CBTU is sponsoring a fund-raising rally for Montgomery on Saturday, December 18, at the Gallery Bar in Cleveland. The event will begin at 7:30 p.m.

Cleveland Sadlowski supporters have opened a Steelworkers Fight Back office at 3370 East Fifty-fifth Street. Telephone: (216) 341-3513.

## Steel price hike: monopoly profit drive at work

By Andy Rose

"You wonder if you're at a Mad Hatter's tea party," was one economist's reaction to the steel price hike, according to the *Wall Street Journal*. "We're selling less, so let's increase prices. Ah—let's increase prices again."

At the end of November all major U.S. steel corporations upped the price of flat-rolled steel by 6 percent. This type of steel accounts for about one-third of total steel shipments. It is used in such major consumer products as autos and appliances, so we can look for new price boosts on these items.

Economists professed to be "puzzled" by the move, since steel production had just fallen to its lowest point this year. Demand for steel is weak, plants are running at only about 70 percent of capacity, and thousands of steelworkers have been laid off. "Free market" forces hardly pointed to price increases.

Staff economists at the federal government's Council on Wage and Price Stability delicately suggested that the hike might be a sign of "imperfect competition."

In plain English, the steel industry is monopolized by a handful of corporate giants. The "Big Eight" steel companies controlled 70 percent of American steel production in 1973. U.S. Steel and Bethlehem Steel alone account for nearly 40 percent of U.S. output.

Monopoly control enables the corpo-

rations to raise prices even while production is falling. The name of the game, of course, is *higher profits*.

George Stinson, chairman of the National Steel Corporation, put it bluntly: "We have not been generating funds for our investment program at present levels of profitability."

For all the presidential campaign rhetoric about fighting inflation, neither Ford nor Carter did anything more than "express concern" over the price boosts.

The *New York Times* editors commended Carter for his low-key approach and explained, "The President-elect has been trying to reassure business leaders that, far from being hostile, he is anxious to hear their problems and get their advice. . . ."

One piece of "advice" he is sure to get from the steel barons is that he should maintain current quotas on steel imports and possibly take further action to protect the U.S. steel trust from being undersold by foreign competitors.

With foreign steel available for as much as \$35 a ton below U.S. prices, imports are running 14 percent higher than last year, while U.S. steelmakers are exporting 13 percent less.

The furor over the steel price hikes poses the most basic question in the United Steelworkers election campaign: Does the road ahead for steelworkers lie in cooperation with the corporations or in struggle against them?

USWA President I.W. Abel and his designated heir, Lloyd McBride, were quiet as the grave. They stand for "teamwork" with the companies to fight foreign competition and increase profits and productivity at home.

The high point of this "teamwork" is the 1973 Experimental Negotiating Agreement, which prohibits a national steel strike. Abel promised that the no-strike deal would preserve jobs and encourage steel users to "Buy American."

McBride raises the specter of yellow hordes stealing American jobs. "It got to the point that 20 percent of the steel used in this country was foreign," he indignantly told a *Washington Post* reporter. "And you remember what the Japanese did to our camera and electronics industries, don't you?"

It must be a source of embarrassment to Abel—and to McBride's election efforts—that their collaboration with the bosses has left 20 percent of the union membership unemployed and all working people facing higher prices.

The employers don't always seem properly grateful, either. Like Alan Wood Steel Company in Conshohocken, Pennsylvania, which just demanded that its 2,300 USWA-organized employees take a 15 percent pay cut so the company can "become competitive."

In contrast to Abel's silence, Ed Sadlowski, Steelworkers Fight Back candidate for USWA president, con-

demned the steel price increases as a "major setback for American consumers as well as our union members."

"Organized labor always seems to take the rap for inflation," Sadlowski noted, "but it is the major steel corporations which are driving prices out of reach for working people."

"Our union members know very well the connection between price increases and the new round of layoffs," he said. "As prices go up, orders have gone down."

Sadlowski added that "the American steel industry has no one to blame but itself for the inroads being made by foreign steel."



'It's a crime what those OPEC countries want to do—let's have the watch, please—'

## Subscription drive victory opens new doors

By Nancy Fields  
and Harvey McArthur

This fall's ten-week *Militant* subscription drive netted 20,930 new readers—the biggest increase in circulation since 1972.

Most subscriptions were sold by members of the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance. In the thirty-nine cities on the scoreboard where there are SWP branches, 17,273 subscriptions were sold—82.5 percent of the total. Socialists in thirty of these cities sold 100 percent or more of their goal. In ten cities, socialists raised their goals during the drive.

Door-to-door canvassing for Socialist Workers party candidates was a major

focus for the drive. Campaign teams distributed copies of the party's election platform—the "Bill of Rights for Working People"—talked about the socialist candidates, and sold *Militant* subscriptions.

Subscription sales often increased after Peter Camejo or Willie Mae Reid, the SWP presidential candidates, had toured a city. People were eager to read more about the socialist candidates whom they had heard about on TV or in the newspaper.

The single best response during the subscription drive came when Peter Camejo appeared on the NBC "Tomorrow" show. From that one program alone, 1,028 people wrote in to sub-



Militant/Lou Howort

## Subscription scoreboard

	Goal	Sent in	%			
Kent, Ohio	30	65	226.7	Seattle	475	443 93.3
Salt Lake City	50	69	138.0	Albany, N.Y.	55	50 90.9
Tacoma, Wash.	115	154	133.9	Ithaca, N.Y.	50	45 90.0
Newark, Del.	5	6	120.0	Edinboro, Pa.	30	27 90.0
State College, Pa.	30	35	116.7	Allentown, Pa.	20	18 90.0
Kansas City, Mo.	150	167	111.3	Milwaukee	650	575 88.5
Oakland, Calif.	375	414	110.4	Madison, Wis.	100	88 88.0
Cincinnati	150	165	110.0	Houston	900	756 84.0
Toledo	150	162	108.0	San Diego	400	336 84.0
Phoenix	50	54	108.0	Kingston, R.I.	25	21 84.0
St. Louis	425	455	107.1	Bloomington, Ind.	50	40 80.0
Los Angeles	1,000	1,061	106.1	Denver	600	457 76.2
Indianapolis	100	105	105.0	Minneapolis	775	559 72.1
Portland, Ore.	350	367	104.9	Buffalo, N.Y.	25	18 72.0
San Jose	350	366	104.6	Sarasota, Fla.	25	18 72.0
Detroit	800	833	104.1	St. Paul	175	123 70.1
Washington, D.C., Area	750	780	104.0	Lexington, Ky.	50	35 70.0
				Champaign, Ill.	25	17 68.0
Baltimore	325	337	103.7	Tallahassee, Fla.	25	13 52.0
Louisville	150	155	103.3	Knoxville, Tenn.	10	5 50.0
Richmond, Va.	125	129	103.2	Boulder, Colo.	20	8 40.0
San Antonio	175	180	102.9	Arlington, Tex.	30	10 33.3
Chicago	900	924	102.7			
Philadelphia	650	667	102.6	Campaign teams		
Miami	80	82	102.5	New Mexico	85	85 100.0
New York	2,000	2,048	102.4	California	300	260 86.7
Berkeley	400	408	102.0	Ohio	400	330 82.5
Cleveland	450	458	101.8	Northeast	400	279 69.8
Dallas	150	152	101.3	Rocky Mountain	215	142 66.0
Atlanta	600	606	101.0	Michigan-Indiana	400	158 39.5
Newark, N.J.	400	404	101.0	Southeast	250	88 35.2
Boston	800	806	100.8	Upper-Midwest	165	21 12.7
San Francisco	800	803	100.4	General		1,867
New Orleans	225	226	100.4	Total	20,000	20,930 104.7

scribe to the *Militant*.

Reports in the *Militant* on the freedom struggle in southern Africa were a big selling point in the Black community. Coverage of school desegregation and defense cases like that of Gary Tyler also brought a good response. At the National Student Conference Against Racism last month, for instance, sixty participants bought *Militant* subscriptions. Overall, half of the subscriptions were sold through door-to-door canvassing and other sales in Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican communities.

We also have many feminists among our new readers. Hundreds of subscriptions were sold at meetings of the National Organization for Women and by socialists active in Equal Rights Amendment coalitions and abortion rights protests.

The SWP's lawsuit against government spying helped attract new readers. Many had heard about the case and wanted to know more about the

party that was challenging the FBI and CIA.

Many subscriptions were sold to auto workers, Teamsters, public employees, and other union and unorganized workers. A teacher in Oakland, California, for example, sold fifty subscriptions to his co-workers. And socialists in New York sold forty to co-workers at Beth Israel Hospital.

The SWP's campaign in support of the Steelworkers Fight Back slate in the upcoming United Steelworkers election was the most important focus for union sales. The *Militant* provides week-to-week coverage of Ed Sadlowski's insurgent campaign that cannot be found in other papers.

Socialists in Pittsburgh, Chicago, Baltimore, Oakland, and San Francisco canvassed in steelworkers' neighborhoods. Regular plant-gate sales got off the ground at steel mills in several areas.

More than 4,000 students subscribed  
*Continued on page 30*

## Nine new members launch Salt Lake City SWP

By Ginny Hildebrand

When CBS news covered the November 30 Utah Board of Pardons hearings, it reported that the Socialist Workers party was there. Speaking for the SWP against capital punishment was Harry Baker.

Harry and eight other political activists became provisional party members last month and formed the Salt Lake City SWP organizing committee. Their plan is to become full party members in three months and set up a party branch.

In a phone interview, Harry told me



that the roots of the party organizing committee go back to classes on socialism organized last spring by Dayne Goodwin and Glen Swanson of the Logan, Utah, Young Socialist Alliance.

"By the last two classes," Harry said, "five of us were ready to join the YSA."

Harry got his political feet wet in 1967 while a student at Weber College in Ogden, Utah. "We were fighting the cultural stifling of the Mormon church on campus," Harry said. "I guess you have to live in Utah to know what I

mean about the Mormon church.

"It's culturally repressive. It's racist. It's against women's rights. It's all-round reactionary."

Harry knows. He was raised a Mormon.

During 1970, Harry worked in the national office of Students for a Democratic Society. Later he helped organize a local of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees at the University of Utah.

Once the new Salt Lake City YSA chapter got going, it set its sights on getting the Socialist Workers party presidential and vice-presidential candidates on the ballot. "On May 8, we filed 500 signatures for Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid," Harry recalled. A court battle followed, and the socialists came out on top.

Over the summer, some of the older, nonstudent YSA members began looking forward to setting up a party branch. The YSA is primarily a campus-based organization.

"We wanted to get something started in the community," Harry explained. "So we set up an SWP campaign committee. This became the nucleus of the party organizing committee."

The campaigners knocked on doors in Black, Chicano, and other working-class neighborhoods, leaving behind them a trail of campaign literature and new *Militant* subscribers. In this way, they publicized a meeting for Peter

Camejo, held September 25 at a local high school.

"We had eighty people there, which we thought was excellent," Harry remembered. "Camejo got two standing ovations and we signed up five new YSA members."

During the fall, the socialists initiated a panel discussion on campus to protest deportations of undocumented workers. "One of the panelists, Kandy Romero, a Chicana, has been developing a bilingual-bicultural education program for the public schools. She's a provisional member of the party now."

Harry told me that as soon as Gary Gilmore was sentenced, Preston Truman, a YSA member, "suggested we hold a campus forum on Joe Hill and tie it together with the death penalty. Joe Hill was a victim of capital punishment, killed by the state of Utah." (See page 9.)

Along with building the November 23 forum, the socialists have been working with the American Civil Liberties Union to organize a statewide coalition against the death penalty.

In the course of these activities, Harry explained, "we've continued to grow. By early November, nineteen people had joined either the YSA or the party. And they're an amazing group of people."

Four women, including Kandy Romero, joined the SWP directly this fall when they heard about plans for an SWP branch.

One of these women is a Marxist anthropology professor at the University of Utah.

Another is a community organizer who has been active in large protests against police shootings of Chicano youths.

The fourth is a member of the Coalition of Labor Union Women. She has worked with the United Farm Workers, organizing support among unions of government employees, steelworkers, and the building trades.

I asked Harry what was most attractive about the SWP to all the new members.

"Most of us," he explained, "had already been active in different movements. Some of these struggles were partially successful." But, he added, it was always hard to know what to do next.

"We saw the need for something ongoing, an organization with a clear program" tying things together at each step.

"All of us are very enthusiastic about building the SWP here," Harry said. "I guess you can tell I'm excited."

\* \* \*

If you would like to join the Socialist Workers party or learn more about its program and activities, contact the SWP branch nearest you (see page 31) or write: SWP National Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

## Witnesses change stories

# Fishy developments in Carter-Artis trial

By Baxter Smith

PATERSON, N.J.—Three weeks into the Rubin “Hurricane” Carter and John Artis murder retrial, the prosecution is using scare tactics on the majority-white jury to convince them that the pair acted out of “kill whitey” revenge.

Over strong objections from the defense, Passaic County Prosecutor Burrell Humphreys won the privilege December 2 of introducing a racial motive for the triple slaying, a motive that was barred from the first trial nearly ten years ago.

“Judge, you’re putting a burden on us that was not even put on [the defense] ten years ago,” charged defense attorney Lewis Steel out of earshot of the ten whites and two Blacks on the jury. “You’re doing something to us. You’re turning this into a racial nightmare.”

The prosecution is attempting to link in the jury’s mind the barroom slaying of three whites, for which Carter and Artis stand accused, to the barroom slaying of a Black man by a Paterson white six hours earlier. At the time, Paterson was experiencing a ghetto revolt against racist oppression.

“Why do you want a crowd scene, judge, an emotional crowd scene that has nothing to do with these two men?” Steel asked.

During the debate on the motive issue, Humphreys said he would introduce portions of Carter’s autobiography, *The Sixteenth Round*, to prove that Carter “must fight back, must strike back, must kill.”

The prosecutor argued that the book, which Carter wrote in prison after the first trial, shows him as “angry and resentful of white people,” and capable of murdering them.

Steel took issue with this procedure and countered that the “case should be presented to the jury in a manner in which they are not enflamed” by racist

appeals. But Judge Bruno Leopizzi maintained a deaf ear. He even aimed grouchy comments at the defense.

“I’m not going to hear this nonsense,” he replied to a defense point against allowing a race motive.

“If you’re finished, sit down,” he ordered Steel, who had said the prosecution was “trying to turn the courtroom into a racial battleground.”

“Let me know when you’re finished,” Leopizzi said flippantly. “I’m not even going to respond to you because I would be putting myself on your level.”

In a break after the debate, Steel said the prosecution was trying “to emotionalize the jury” by “appealing to the cesspool of racism with that stuff about an angry Black mob.”

Sure enough, after the three-hour debate ended, the prosecution called Paterson cop Charles Franco to the stand. Franco testified that he and other cops had to fight off “an irate crowd” of Blacks who had gathered outside the Waltz Inn on June 16, 1966, after the Black man was slain. Franco, who did not testify at the first trial, said the crowd was trying to get at the



RUBIN CARTER (LEFT) & JOHN ARTIS: State is playing on racist passions to convict them.



white suspect.

The prosecution contends that the stepson of the slain man then convinced Carter and Artis to gain retribution against whites, prompting the Lafayette Grill shootings.

The defense says the pair were nowhere near the scene and are being

framed. Evidence of this, they say, can be seen in the double-talk and half-truths of cops and witnesses who have testified. The state’s key witness in the first trial, whose recantation led to this retrial, reversed himself on the stand and testified he saw Carter and Artis leaving the crime area.

## New Jersey legislators vote for death

By Andy Farrand

NEWARK—The New Jersey legislature seems to have discovered a novel way to celebrate this season’s holidays. On November 22, just in time for Thanksgiving, the state assembly passed a death penalty bill. And if the state senate hurries, it may be able to pass its version in time for Christmas.

The legislature’s action has generated the beginnings of a movement to block this attempt to charge up the electric chair. The American Civil Liberties Union and the Na-

tional Conference of Black Lawyers have argued against the bill.

The ACLU has provided documentation disproving the deterrent effect of the death penalty. The Black lawyers’ group has pointed to the death penalty as a racist weapon in the legal arsenal.

The Student Coalition Against Racism in this area is organizing a news conference of death penalty opponents to coincide with the reconvening of the state senate on December 13.

If the senate passes the bill, Gov.

Brendan Byrne has indicated he will sign it after a little horse trading. In exchange for the passage of a tough penal reform bill he favors, Byrne has said he will okay the measure.

But the process of legislative compromising and horse trading may take a while. The state may not get its chance to drag the electric chair out of the closet at Trenton State Prison in time to give it as a Christmas present to New Jersey residents. But we know it’s the thought that counts.

## Lawyer says ‘self-defense’

# Another Black youth is killed by NY cops

By Jane Roland

NEW YORK—Randolph Evans never returned home Thanksgiving night.

He had just walked his grandmother to the bus stop after dinner. Returning, he passed a cop who, for no reason, shot him in the head and killed him.

Evans was a fifteen-year-old Black high school student from Brooklyn. The cop, Robert Torsney, is white.

Evans is the latest in a series of Black youth gunned down by New

York City police.

In 1974, for example, fourteen-year-old Claude Reese was shot by a cop who accused him of holding a gun. Reese was actually holding a saw. He’d been working in the basement of a building.

In 1973, ten-year-old Clifford Glover was killed in Queens as he walked with his stepfather.

Response to the Evans murder was immediate and angry. His family was

swamped with condolences and messages of support, including one from Pat Wright, the Brooklyn Socialist Workers party congressional candidate in the recent elections.

Several demonstrations took place outside the Seventy-fifth Precinct police station after Torsney was released on bail.

Even an assistant district attorney, sensing the growing public outrage, had argued against bail.

“The facts of this case,” he said, “indicate that a man—a police officer and a human being—pulls a gun and fires into the head of another human being and then walks away without breaking stride.”

Evans’ funeral was turned into a protest gathering. Close to 2,000 friends, relatives, neighbors, and people who didn’t know the youth turned out.

Among the mourners were fellow students who spoke briefly and clenched their fists in salute to Randolph Evans.

Rev. Timothy Mitchell, a Black leader here, likened the racism behind the Evans murder to the murder of young Blacks in the streets of South Africa.

Rev. Clarence Norman, pastor of the First Baptist Church of Brooklyn, where the funeral was held, asked, “How many more Black boys and girls will be sacrificed on the altar of lawlessness?”

Initially, it seemed that Torsney’s lawyers would try to prove he had suffered a mental breakdown. Newspapers played this up, running accounts of Torsney as “unresponsive and not necessarily lucid.”

But the events that took place are indisputable.

Evans, who was with several friends, passed a group of cops in front of his house. The cops were in the area responding to reports of a man with a gun. They had just broken up a family argument.

As they were leaving, Evans turned to Torsney and asked, “Did you go into apartment 7D?” Torsney replied, “Damn right.” Then he drew his gun and fired point-blank.

Torsney’s lawyers are now saying he acted in self-defense. They are describing the incident as an “encounter” in a “dimly lit area.” The head of the Patrolmen’s Benevolent Association, which posted Torsney’s bond, said:

“In the dark shadows of a high-crime area, he did what he had to do to protect himself.”

Over the next days and weeks, individuals and groups will form a coalition to try to prevent future murders. The NAACP has called for an investigation into the Evans murder and the police handling of it. The dying youth was dragged away from the scene by his collar by a cop. And police kept the murder hushed up until late the next morning.



Pallbearers carry body of Randolph Evans, latest murder victim of ‘Fun City’ cops



## Board of pardons hearing

# 'Issue is legalized murder, not Gilmore'

By Bill Hoyle

SALT LAKE CITY—Foes of capital punishment here mounted strong opposition to the execution of Gary Mark Gilmore at the November 30 Utah Board of Pardons hearing on Gilmore's case.

Almost all those who testified urged either a postponement or revocation of the order to execute Gilmore.

Board Chairperson George Latimer went out of his way to create a roman holiday carnival atmosphere, hoping to prevent serious discussion of the issues involved in the case.

Latimer gained national notoriety as the attorney who helped organize a campaign to support Lt. William Calley, the chief executioner in the My Lai massacre during the Vietnam War.

During the hearing, Latimer repeatedly interrupted people who spoke against capital punishment. "That's irrelevant!" "Out of order!" "That is not the concern of the board!" He cracked jokes and often subjected the audience to samples of his homespun philosophizing.

He had the first person who testified physically thrown out of the hearing room because he considered the comments irrelevant.

Nonetheless, opponents of legalized murder succeeded in making their voices heard.

"The death penalty is cruel and unusual punishment," charged Mike Putnam, a member of Students Against the Death Penalty, a group recently formed at the University of Utah.

"Is the death penalty ever appropriate?" Putnam asked the board.

Latimer retorted, "If you want my opinion, it is! Certainly it's appropriate, of course it's appropriate."

Latimer also tried to answer the argument that capital punishment is racist. "I have never known a board of pardons to be motivated by race, color,

or creed," Latimer said.

Harry Baker, representing the Salt Lake City Socialist Workers party, demanded that "the board of pardons commute the sentence of Gary Mark Gilmore."

"The issue is not whether Gilmore has 'the right to die,'" said Baker. "The issue is whether the state should have the right to kill."

"The execution of Gary Gilmore would serve no purpose except to open the floodgates of legal murder. . . .

"The record clearly shows that the victims of legal murder are the poor and the nonwhite," Baker explained.

"The Socialist Workers party does not think that murder should be one of the options available to the judicial system. We must call attention to the fact that capital punishment has been used against the labor movement and against advocates of social change," he added.

"The state of Utah would have us believe that if we can just kill enough Gary Mark Gilmores we will live in a better society. . . .

"But to end violent crime will require an end to the social injustice, economic insecurity, and psychological alienation of the violent social order, the capitalist society in which we live," the socialist said.

Latimer repeatedly interrupted Baker, telling him to sit down. But Baker refused to be cowed.

Jack Dabny, an attorney representing the Utah affiliate of the American Civil Liberties Union, urged the board to stay the execution until the "very serious questions of the constitutionality of Utah's law had been settled."

In a statement prepared for the hearing, the ACLU said capital punishment "is a relic of early penology and has no place in a modern, civilized society."

Two lawyers who had represented Gilmore in the past pointed to irregu-



Gary Gilmore (left) and attorney at November 30 Utah Board of Pardons hearing

larities in the way his case had been handled. But to no avail. Latimer decreed the board would ignore this question.

Lawyers representing other Utah death row inmates also spoke, saying Gilmore's execution would prejudice the case of their clients.

Also appearing before the board were Rev. Richard Giuague, representing a group of ministers who petitioned the board for stay of execution, and Janet Carrol of the anti-abortion Utah Right to Life Committee.

The "right to life" representative said her group is not opposed to capital punishment. But, she added, Gilmore shouldn't be executed until the courts have settled whether Utah's law is constitutional.

After deliberating close to one hour, the board returned its two-to-one decision to execute Gilmore.

To underscore the mockery of justice at the hearing, Latimer offered as the official explanation of the decision arguments about the constitutionality of Utah's death penalty—the very subject he had ruled out of order time and time again.

The hearing was broadcast live over Utah radio and TV stations, and rebroadcast that evening in its entirety.

National news coverage, however, slighted the serious issues raised at the hearing, sensationalistically emphasizing Gilmore's pleas for execution and his demands that opponents of capital punishment "butt out."

Nevertheless, two national network news shows and the Associated Press story on the hearing noted the opposition to capital punishment, mentioning statements by the Socialist Workers party and ACLU representatives.

## Stays Texas, Utah dates

# Top court makes new rulings on death penalty

By José G. Pérez

Several Supreme Court actions in recent weeks have created confusion over the legal standing of some state death penalty laws. The court has also removed—for a few weeks at least—the grim specter of immediate executions.

In a December 3 decision, the justices indefinitely stayed the execution of Gary Gilmore. He was to have been shot by a firing squad less than seventy-two hours later.

On December 6, the court postponed the December 10 execution of Robert Excel White, a Texas convict who, like Gilmore, says he wants to die.

What has created the confusion, however, are some other recent court actions that seem to contradict its ruling last July that upheld several state capital punishment laws.

At that time, the court struck down state laws that automatically imposed the death penalty for a particular crime. This voided death sentences in Louisiana and North Carolina.

At the same time, the court upheld so-called guided discretion laws in Florida, Texas, and Georgia. These laws set out specific aggravating and mitigating circumstances that supposedly help judges and juries determine who should die.

Now, however, the court has asked for arguments on whether Louisiana can automatically impose the death sentence for killing police officers, something even state authorities had conceded was no longer allowed.

And during a November 29 hearing,

Justice Potter Stewart implied the decision upholding Florida's law could be overturned. He charged that the state had lied about how it applies its law. "Perhaps as many as three members of this court" might "change their minds" he said. A three-vote swing would upset the July ruling.

In a Georgia case, the court opened possible new grounds for appeal of death sentences. The justices said that if a court excludes even one person from a jury only because that potential juror expressed general opposition to capital punishment, then a death sentence in that trial is unconstitutional. Only if persons are "irrevocably committed" to voting against death can they be excluded, the court said.

What the court means by all this is anyone's guess. But one legal expert noted, "It does look as if they're uneasy with the bizarre compromise they came up with last time."

Despite all the legal jockeying, it's clear that the controversy surrounding Gary Gilmore's execution helped prompt the justices to go slow on executions.

Even some influential big-business-owned dailies have spoken out against shooting Gilmore.

The *New York Times*, for example, said in an editorial: "We believe that neither Mr. Gilmore nor any other person . . . ought to become the first prisoner to be executed in America since 1967."

The editors added, "The fact that Mr. Gilmore has asked to be put to death

seems to us irrelevant; if it is wrong for the state to take a human life, then it remains wrong to do so on request."

And an editorial in the *Washington Post* suggested, "The fact the Supreme Court has said death sentences are constitutional does not make them morally right."

Willie Mae Reid, a member of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers party and its vice-presidential candidate in the recent election, said, "The Supreme Court decisions give opponents of legalized murder a little more time and some new legal tools to fight the executions."

"But we shouldn't be lulled into a false sense of security," Reid warned. "The states of Texas and Ohio have executions scheduled for mid-January, and more death dates could be set at any time."

Reid said "each and every" legal recourse to void or postpone a death sentence should be used, "but what will stop the executions is a massive movement of the American people against legalized murder."

"The brief respite that's been won must be used to educate the American people about capital punishment and mobilize them in protest actions."

## Minneapolis protest

By Peter Lazare

MINNEAPOLIS—Twenty-five people braved near-zero-degree weather here December 4 to picket the Minneapolis Federal Building to protest restoration of the death penalty.

Representatives of organizations opposed to capital punishment addressed the picketers. Art Cunningham, president of the Minneapolis branch of the NAACP, urged people to apply pressure on all levels of government to prevent executions.

Anne Doyle and Tom Smitz, from the Stop the Executions Ad Hoc Committee, spoke on the case of Noel and Marie Murray, who face hanging in the Irish Republic.

The Murrys were convicted on trumped-up charges of bank robbery and killing a police officer on the basis of a "confession" extracted from Marie Murray under torture. She has now repudiated the "confession." They say they are innocent of the charges against them.

The demonstration was sponsored by the Minnesota Stop the Executions Committee. The committee was founded as the Murray Defense Committee, but has since broadened its scope in view of the growing threat of executions within the United States.

The Student Coalition Against Racism cosponsored the picket line.

# Utah's most famous victim

By José G. Pérez

Not much is remembered of Utah's most famous execution save the name of the victim, Joe Hill.

Hill was a Swedish immigrant, itinerant worker, rebel songwriter, labor agitator, and—as he put it—“citizen of the world.”

The brief facts on the case: On January 10, 1914, two men were murdered in a Utah grocery store. Joe Hill was charged with the murder. After a suitable trial in the capitalist press, he was found guilty in court and sentenced to death.

No witness identified Hill as the murderer.

No weapon linking Hill to the crime was produced.

No motive for the murder was advanced.

But Joe Hill was a “Wobbly,” a member of the Industrial Workers of the World. In the eyes of the capitalists and their stooges in the government, this was more than enough proof.

The Wobblies organized a worldwide movement to save Hill's life. The case became such a scandal that both the Swedish ambassador and the U.S. president intervened, urging a reconsideration of the sentence. But to no avail. On November 19, 1915, a five-man firing squad shot Hill.

Not much is known about the man they killed. Joe Hill was just another working stiff. One of millions who built the labor movement in this country. One of many who gave their lives for the cause.

We only know what he lived for, fought for, and died for: the rights of working people. That fact, his way with words, and the viciousness of Utah authorities in murdering him have made him labor's best known martyr.

Many of Hill's songs, like “The Preacher and the Slave” and “It's a Long Way Down to the Soupline,” express his confidence in the ability of the working class to abolish capitalism. Hill frequently made his point through humor.

Joe Hill maintained that confidence and sense of humor to the end. The night before the execution, he sent two telegrams to IWW leader Bill Haywood.

The first said, “Goodbye Bill. I die like a true blue rebel. Don't waste any time in mourning. *Organize.*”

And the second, “It is only a hundred miles from here to Wyoming. Could you arrange to have my body hauled to the state line to be buried? I don't want to be found dead in Utah.”



JOE HILL

# Calif. farm labor board hits UFW in wake of Proposition 14 defeat

By Arnold Weissberg and Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—California's Agricultural Labor Relations Board has begun to slice away at farm workers' rights.

Acting only three weeks after the defeat of Proposition 14, a United Farm Workers-backed ballot initiative, the ALRB voted November 24 to restrict union organizers' access to farms and ranches.

The right of access has been bitterly opposed by agribusiness. It is crucial to a union's ability to meet the workers and organize them.

By a four-to-one vote, the ALRB:

- Decided that a union violating the access rules can be denied access to all property of every grower in the state. This would invite trumped-up charges of “violations” by the growers and could, if successful, cripple UFW organizing efforts.

- Cut the number of days organizers will be permitted on a ranch to 120 a year. There had been no restriction previously.

- Require unions to notify growers in writing of their intention to use the access rule.

- Cut off access five days after a union representation election unless there is a formal challenge of the election, in which case access is permitted for ten days. Under the old rules, access was allowed until the election was certified by the ALRB. Certification can take months.

- Gave dairies, poultry farms, and nurseries special exemptions barring organizers from enclosed buildings such as milk barns, hatcheries, and greenhouses.

As a token of its “impartiality,” the board also ruled that growers must give a union a list of workers' names and addresses if the union gets 10 percent of the workers to ask for a representation election. The previous requirement was 50 percent.

In addition, the ALRB granted union organizers the right of access to farm labor buses, used to transport workers to and from the fields.

None of the attacks on the access rule would have been possible if Proposition 14 had passed. The right to access would have been written into law instead of being merely an ALRB ruling.

But the measure was defeated by a massive campaign of lying agribusiness propaganda.

The ALRB vote shows that there are no friends of the farm workers on the board.

The one grower member who voted



Bumper stickers

against the new rules demagogically asserted the changes weren't sweeping enough.

The changes in the access rule were denounced by UFW general counsel Jerry Cohen as the “first major step toward gutting the farm labor law itself.”

A further threat to farm workers' rights is posed by the proposal of ALRB chairperson Gerald Brown. He wants to exempt “small farmers” from the access rule entirely.

Although figures show that 13 percent of the state's wealthiest growers employ 73 percent of all farm workers, exempting smaller farms would nonetheless eliminate about 100,000 farm workers from coverage under the agricultural labor law.

The ALRB's reactionary vote on the access rule makes clear that the union cannot look to that body to defend its interests against the grower offensive.

Consider some facts.

The ALRB ran out of money last February. It was not refunded until July—shortly after the UFW qualified Proposition 14 for the ballot.

It is now more than four months since the board was revived. Yet during this entire period it has not conducted a single election!

Throughout, Gov. Edmund (Jerry) Brown has cynically presented himself as a partisan of the rights of the UFW.

As originally constituted, the Brown-appointed ALRB included two grower representatives, two UFW representatives, and a “neutral” chairperson.

The two UFW supporters later resigned from the board—one to take a job with Governor Brown.

Two other board members also resigned after the ALRB's funding was cut off by the legislature.

Governor Brown used the resigna-

# INS raids D.C. soccer game

By Nancy Cole

WASHINGTON—“They're not criminals. They just came over here to work,” said Maurice Pirez.

He was talking about his nephew and twenty-three other undocumented residents as they faced interrogation in the Immigration and Naturalization Service office here November 28.

That day six INS agents, aided by twenty cops (some on horseback), had swept through the 350 spectators at a Sunday soccer game between teams from El Salvador and Peru. Twenty-six spectators were arrested.

Two were later released when their “legality” was proven.

INS official Edward Burns says the agents were circulating through the crowd asking “some people who looked in the judgment of the officers to be aliens” to produce “green cards” proving their legal status.

Burns said the crowd “broke and

scattered. Some jumped in the Tidal Basin pool.”

That's when the INS called on park police to help “control” things. Even so, the INS regrettably reports, an estimated fifty “illegals” escaped.

The twenty-four facing immediate deportation are mostly from El Salvador, with several from Colombia and Guatemala.

The raid provoked an angry response in the Spanish-speaking community here, where no one who looks Latino is immune to the indiscriminate “cardings” by INS agents.

Only a week before the soccer game swoop, another raid resulted in the arrests of twenty-seven undocumented Central Americans.

At a news conference December 1, representatives of nine Latino agencies protested constant harassment by the INS.

Earlier this year an INS agent entered a Spanish theater in the

tions to scrap the original concept of the board. In nominating replacements, he made no provision for UFW representation. Instead, he named four Democratic machine politicians okayed by grower representatives in the state legislature.

Earlier, when the legislature had cut off funding for the ALRB last spring, Governor Brown went on record for a new allocation.

But his powerful political ally, assembly Speaker Leo McCarthy, helped keep a funding bill bottled up in committee.

When the UFW got Proposition 14 on the ballot, Brown endorsed it.

Leo McCarthy opposed it.

Along with Brown, President-elect Jimmy Carter and California Sen. John Tunney endorsed the initiative. In return, the UFW endorsed Carter and Tunney.

The UFW allocated precious, limited resources to work for Carter and Tunney in the elections.

After formally endorsing Proposition 14, however, neither candidate lifted a finger to help win its passage.

The UFW faces a difficult situation. The union enjoys wide support among field workers. And—despite the Proposition 14 defeat—it also has broad support within the general population. But in relying on promised support from the Democratic party, the UFW leadership has fallen victim to the machinations of these antilabor politicians.

The union's real source of strength remains the exploited field workers and the significant section of the population that can be mobilized in their support.

## Chicano Liberation and Socialism

By Miguel Pendás

16 pages 25 cents

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

Adams-Morgan section of Washington, stopped the movie, turned on the lights, and inspected every Latino present.

The immigration service says they were tipped off by park police that there were likely to be “illegal aliens” at the November 28 soccer game. But the National Park Service, obviously under fire for its complicity in the raid, now says it will no longer permit such “mass arrests” in its parks.

“Our main concern is the safety of the public, of tourists and spectators at events in our parks,” said a spokesperson.

Unfortunately, very little concern has been shown for the twenty-four victims and the countless other undocumented workers who face daily intimidation and harassment.

“We're looking for the best life,” said the uncle of one of those arrested. “All people say the United States is grand.”

## Carter's job pledge

"Unemployment," Jimmy Carter said in his primary campaigns, "is the number one problem." And the trade-union officials told their members to vote for Carter because he would provide jobs.

Michael Harrington, chairperson of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, made the same argument in a debate last month with Socialist Workers party presidential candidate Peter Camejo. Harrington called for a vote for Carter because "Carter is better for full employment" than Ford.

"Jobs," Harrington insisted, "has been one of the few issues Carter has raised."

Within a few weeks of the Harrington-Camejo debate, however, Carter was backing off from his verbal commitments to full employment.

First Carter set a "target" of cutting the unemployment rate 1.5 percentage points in one year. That would leave most of the jobless still out of work.

Then Bert Lance, the Atlanta banker Carter appointed to head the Office of Management and Budget, declared, "I rather doubt . . . we're going to be able to reduce unemployment by 1.5 percent next year."

The economic situation is worsening steadily for workers. Layoffs rose in October, while new hiring declined in manufacturing industries. The official unemployment rate in November was 8.1 percent, the highest in a year. For Blacks the November unemployment rate was 13.6 percent and for teen-agers, 19 percent.

This means that 7.8 million people who actively looked for jobs could not find them. People so discouraged that they have given up looking for jobs are not even counted.

What is becoming clearer with each passing week is that the new administration will be no different from the old ones. The Democrats and Republicans have no intentions of altering a system that inexorably rewards businesses and punishes workers.

Government agencies like the Federal Reserve Board do intervene in the economy in an attempt to manipulate interest rates and tax structures. But these decisions are made by unelected bureaucrats whose procapitalist policies do not change from one administration to the next. William McChesney Martin, the previous Federal Reserve chairman, served eighteen years under every president from Truman to Nixon. Arthur Burns, the present one, was appointed by Nixon and is being kept on by Carter.

Workers can protect themselves against inflation and unemployment only through their own organizations and forces. An effective fight can be waged only when the unions break from the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties and form an independent party of workers. Each new betrayal by the Carter administration should be closely watched with this end in view.

## Pregnancy ruling

"Keep 'em barefoot and pregnant . . . keep 'em in the kitchen." Those old woman-hater slogans could be banners leading the charge against women's rights these days.

Recent blows against the Equal Rights Amendment, abortion rights, and affirmative action are serious attempts to put women "in their place."

The latest setback was a December 7 Supreme Court ruling that said bosses can refuse to pay women employees disability compensation for pregnancy.

Forcing the burden of the current economic crisis onto working-class families is a key part of the ruling class's strategy. Things are tight? Cut back on child care and other services for women. Unemployment? Drive women out of the job market back to "where they belong."

What's next: More attacks on women's right to abortion? Court decisions that bosses don't have to hire pregnant women? Or maybe that they don't have to hire women at all? Justifications for paying women less than men? Defeat of the Equal Rights Amendment?

All this can happen unless we fight back.

Karen DeCrow, president of the National Organization for Women, described her reaction to the December 7 court ruling as "shock, anger, outrage, amazement."

Women's groups and trade unions should join in picket lines, public protests, and speak-outs against this attack. Women should take their outrage into the streets and onto public platforms.

# Letters

### Quote . . . misquote

Many Irish readers pointed out that in my article on the Bernadette Devlin McAliskey tour (*Militant*, December 3) I incorrectly attributed the famous quote, "Ireland, unfree, will never be at peace," to James Connolly. It was actually Pádraig Mac Piarais who said the famous words at the grave of O'Donovan Rossa.

Many apologies from this Italian supporter of the Irish struggle.

Michael Maggi

New York, New York

### Only flaw—abortion

I heard Peter Camejo, the Socialist Workers candidate for president, on the "Tomorrow" show, and I voted for him because I like what I heard. I even got some socialist literature from the Young Socialist Alliance here at the University of New Mexico.

The only flaw in the Socialist Workers program is the attitude toward abortion. Here are two rights in conflict—the right to life of the unborn and the right to control one's own body. I think that the right to life is a more important right than the right of control over one's own body.

Juliet Balch

Albuquerque, New Mexico

## A message to new readers (and old ones, too!)

Are you one one of the 20,000 readers who joined us this fall?

We are anxious to hear from you. Your criticisms and suggestions are important to us. Tell us what you like or don't like about the *Militant*. We'd also like to hear your views on the issues.

Jot down your comments and mail them to: the *Militant*, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014. Let us know if you'd like your letter to appear in the letters column. We'll print as many as possible.

### Gary Gilmore—1

I agree with most of your more-or-less purely political positions, but I believe you are off base about Gary Gilmore. He obviously is, and understands himself to be, a suicidal killer who kills because he deeply wants to die.

Brutal, as it may seem, the best way for the state of Utah to resolve its problem with Gilmore and his problems would be to confine him in a cell with two items: a twenty-foot length of rope and a hook fastened securely to the ceiling.

Suicide, not murder, is the deadliest form of homicide. I would rather not be around a man who would kill me for exercise, while learning to kill himself.

Michael Heffernan

Pittsburg, Kansas

### Gary Gilmore—2

I read your article on Gary Gilmore (*Militant*, November 26). I would like to give you some information. As you may know, there is a drive to have

prison long-term control units closed down. One argument against this kind of imprisonment is that brain damage can result from being confined in isolation for too long.

Gary Gilmore is a graduate of these units in the federal prison at Marion, Illinois. Another man from this same prison, who had also been confined to a long-term control unit, committed two vicious murders soon after his release.

The bureau of prisons tries to keep this information from the public.

A prisoner

Illinois

### Opportunistic?

Recently I heard Peter Camejo speak here at the University of California. As a result I got a trial subscription to the *Militant*. My interest in building a viable American socialist movement prompts me to write these comments. They are not intended as an attack.

To my observance the Socialist Workers party criticized the Communist party's election campaign on several points (see Cindy Jaquith's column, *Militant*, November 19). In the case of two of these criticisms your approach seems opportunistic.

When challenging the CP's stand on the Equal Rights Amendment, the reasons for their opposition are never mentioned. Instead they are labeled "antiwomen" and put down in indignation. Is this a principled criticism?

The same tendency exists on the question of democratic rights within the Soviet Union. Again the complex issues over bourgeois-democratic rights and socialism are ignored in another "label and dismiss" vein.

The bitter history of factionalism on the American left is not improved by these methods. Is one to believe that the SWP is only interested in capitalizing on popular causes without taking a more thorough search for principled politics?

B.D.

Berkeley, California

### It's about time

I have thoroughly enjoyed the three complimentary issues of the *Militant* that you have sent me. Enclosed is \$1 for ten weeks. It's about time we had a newsweekly with a socialist viewpoint.

C.G.

Winston-Salem, North Carolina

### Change the name

I am a new subscriber to the *Militant*. The other night I was reading a few articles from the paper with a friend. I commented that I did not like the name, the *Militant*. It is a shame that such a good newspaper should turn most people off by using this frightening headline. My friend said he would never subscribe because of the name, although he too enjoyed the articles in it.

I think a more appealing headline would attract more people to open the pages of the paper and read the wonderfully relevant material inside.

William Patterson

Miami Springs, Florida

### Partners in racism

A few points on Peter Seidman's article "Israel & South Africa: partners in racism" (*Militant*, November 19).

No defense can be made for direct or voluntary racism on the part of



# Capitalism in Crisis

Andy Rose



## On winning 'Option C'

Zionists as individuals or as a movement. Yet the *Jerusalem Post* (March 26, 1976) can casually let drop that "the current Information Minister in the Smith Government [Rhodesia] is a practicing Jew and an active Zionist, Eli Broomberg."

Cooperation with racists is the *soul* of Zionism. Here is a memorandum written by the Zionist Federation of Germany to the Nazis, dated June 21, 1933:

"Zionism believes that a rebirth of national life, such as is occurring in German life . . . must also take place in the Jewish national group. . . .

"On the foundation of the new state, which has established the principle of race, we wish also to fit our community into the total structure so that for us too, in the sphere assigned to us, fruitful activities for the fatherland are possible. . . .

"Precisely because we, too, are against mixed marriage and are for maintaining the purity of the Jewish group . . . a self-conscious Jewry here described, in whose name we speak, can find a place in the structure of the German state. . . .

"We believe in the possibility of an honest relationship of loyalty between a group conscious Jewry and the German state. . . . For its practical aims Zionism hopes to be able to win the collaboration even of a government fundamentally hostile to Jews. . . ."

Your readers may read the complete text of this horrid slop in *A Holocaust Reader*, edited by the noted Jewish historian Lucy Dawidowicz.

Lenny Glaser  
Berkeley, California

### Carter no better

The *Militant* has caused great controversy among the women in my cottage. I have used your articles many times to prove the point of the similarities between the Democrats and Republicans.

During the past election, the popular opinion here was that Carter was the lesser of the two evils and that he would "work for the poor." However, after discussion and analysis of your articles, several women are beginning to realize that a capitalist is a capitalist.

A prisoner  
Illinois

### Became convinced

I arrived at college this past fall very confused politically. Upon my arrival I became aware of a group of activists called the Young Socialist Alliance. After attending a couple of meetings, I found out (to my surprise) that they held the same basic ideas that I did. After meeting Willie Mae Reid, the Socialist Workers party vice-presidential candidate, and reading various pamphlets, I became convinced.

As a new member of the YSA, I now feel that I am doing something worthwhile. My life has much more meaning.

Tony Carroll  
Lexington, Kentucky

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.

Back during the presidential campaign, a group calling itself the Public Agenda Foundation issued a study on "Inflation and Unemployment" for the edification of the candidates and the electorate.

The foundation describes itself as nonpartisan, meaning it includes advisers and servitors of both big-business parties. Among its board members are Cyrus Vance, Carter's newly designated secretary of state; United Auto Workers President Leonard Woodcock; pollster Daniel Yankelovich; and various other figures of political or academic notoriety.

The foundation examined attitudes toward economic policy among professional economists and the general public. It didn't like what it found.

There are three basic options for government economic policy, the foundation asserted:

**Option A** gives top priority to curbing inflation, even at the cost of high unemployment.

**Option B** gives top priority to providing jobs, even at the cost of greater inflation.

**Option C** calls for combating inflation and unemployment at the same time.

Most all the economists chose either Option A or Option B, depending on their political outlook. But a big majority of the public at large wants Option C. The voters instinctively reject the idea, the study found, "that the only way to hold prices down is to keep large numbers of our citizens out of work, or the idea that if job opportunities are made plentiful for all Americans who want to work, prices have to go berserk."

Why is this so disturbing? *New York Times* financial analyst Leonard Silk explains: "The main criticism that many professional economists raise about the preference of ordinary voters for Option C . . . is that nobody knows how to deliver it."

Well, that's not quite true. It is true, as the more candid economists admit, that in this crisis-racked capitalist system the inflation-unemployment dilemma cannot be solved. In fact, today unemployment is rising and inflation is accelerating at the same time. And despite the campaign promises of both the Democrats and Republicans, the real program of both parties is sacrifices by the workers and higher profits for the corporations as the only way to spur economic

growth.

But there is a way to defend our standard of living against both inflation and unemployment. It was spelled out in the 1976 election platform of the Socialist Workers party:

- To provide jobs, the legal workweek should be reduced to thirty hours or less, with no reduction in weekly take-home pay. This would spread the available jobs to all who need work.

- To protect wages against inflation, all contracts (also welfare, pensions, and other social benefits) should include cost-of-living escalator clauses that raise wages as often and as much as necessary to keep up with the real increase in prices.

These two measures would infringe on corporate profits. That is why they are vehemently opposed by the employers and both capitalist parties. Nevertheless they are—as the exiled Russian revolutionist Leon Trotsky pointed out in the 1930s—"the natural, the necessary, the unpostponable demand of the trade unions" for defense of the workers' standard of living.

When Trotsky discussed this proposal with a CIO organizer who visited him in Mexico in 1938, the CIO organizer asked, "Is this program realizable? It means the certain ruin of the capitalists."

Trotsky replied: "Of course this program means struggle and not prostration. The trade unions have two possibilities: either to maneuver, tack back and forth, retreat, close their eyes and capitulate bit by bit in order not to 'anger' the owners or 'provoke' reaction. . . . The other road is to understand the inexorable character of the present social crisis and to lead the masses to the offensive."

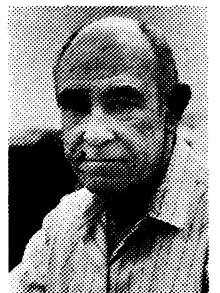
Trotsky added that to carry out this fight the unions would have to break with the Democratic party and form an independent political party of labor.

The choices today are the same. The union officialdom is still tacking back and forth, retreating, capitulating bit by bit—and vainly putting its hopes in the promises of capitalist politicians.

But *labor action* for a shorter workweek and for effective escalator clauses is gaining popularity in the union ranks. It will gain more. It happens to be the only way to win Option C.

## National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



## 'Nurses Get Sick Too'

The following guest column was written by an employee of Cook County Hospital in Chicago.

CHICAGO—One thousand registered nurses have been on strike against Cook County and Oak Forest hospitals here since November 3. Cook County is the only municipal hospital in the city. The nurses, members of the Illinois Nurses' Association, walked out to protest hospital administration attempts to cut their sick-leave benefits. The nurses' contract expired last June 30.

Dr. James Haughton, director of Cook County Hospital, charges that nurses "abuse" sick leave, costing the hospital \$1.5 million a year. Haughton and the Cook County Health and Hospital Commission have made it clear that their top concern is saving money, not lives.

"My primary job," Haughton told a Chicago newspaper recently, "is to protect the public purse." To that end, hospital wards have been closed and more than 200 hospital workers fired in the past month.

The nurses are also striking to end arbitrary transfers in the hospitals to areas that require specialty training. It is not unusual at Cook County Hospital, for example, for a psychiatric nurse to be transferred to the intensive-care unit.

The Illinois Nurses' Association withdrew support for the strike during the first week when it was slapped with a court order to halt the walkout and a \$10,000-a-day fine for each day it continued. Illinois state law prohibits public employees from striking.

Ninety-eight percent of the nurses, however, voted to ignore the court order and continue the strike. Spirited picketing continues at various times each day despite a "no picketing" clause in the court order.

Placards reading "Nurses Get Sick To" and "Sick

Nurses Can't Take Care of the Sick," carried by strikers in the freezing cold, reflect the determined mood of the nurses.

Who are these nurses who the administration portrays as "ruthless" and "uncaring"? They are a diverse group of Black, white, and Filipino women, many with children to support. In the nurses' first strike against Cook County Hospital in 1972, Haughton tried to isolate the union by claiming it was all-white. This year, with the union's president and many of the strike leaders Black women, this tactic will not work.

"The women's liberation movement in the past few years has had a great effect on the nurses and their willingness to fight," a spokeswoman for the strikers told the *Militant*. "And we are not only women, we are workers too." She pointed to the importance of support from the Chicago chapter of the National Organization for Women.

The strike is gaining wide support from Chicago women's organizations, Black community groups, and unions. The Illinois Education Association recently sent a telegram of support. The House Staff Association, the doctors union that struck Cook County Hospital last year, has organized support actions and joined picket lines.

Key to winning the strike now will be gaining the active support of powerful unions such as the auto workers, steelworkers, Teamsters, and others. Neil Bratcher, leader of District Council 19 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, emphasized this in a speech at a strike support rally three weeks ago.

"All the unions must band together as one," Bratcher said. "This is a labor fight and we can win . . . if we stick together."

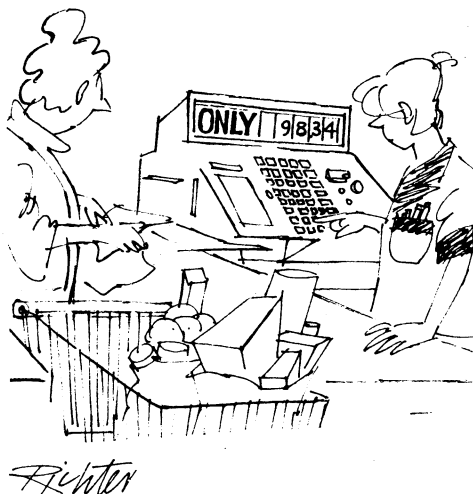
# The Great Society

Harry Ring



**The good fathers**—The *Baltimore Sun* obtained a copy of the audit of our favorite charity, the Pallottine Fathers. Of \$56 million raised over a five-year period to feed the hungry abroad, a shade over 2 percent was actually sent. The balance went back into fund raising, plus real estate ventures and business loans. The fathers had declined to make the audit public on grounds it wasn't "pertinent."

**Police plant unearthed**—Morehead, Kentucky, Police Chief James Pelfry admits he had a four-foot cannabis plant in his back yard, but assures he never touched the stuff. He picked up the seeds in a raid and "was



just curious. I just wanted to see how big it would grow. . . ."

**Like cool**—"This is the one I've been looking for. . . . I thought Peanut I had been nicely fixed up until I saw this one. . . . I'm surprised how beautiful it is, how fancy it is. . . . I feel impressed with it, but I'm at ease with it."—President-elect Carter on boarding an air force presidential plane.

**Back to chewing tobacco?**—University of Maryland researchers claim to have extracted a protein from tobacco leaf "as good for you as milk." However, they hasten to add, it's hazardous when smoked.

**Outside agitators**—The Tobacco Institute vigorously assailed a proposal to ban smoking on commercial airliners, stating smoking was at worst "a minor annoyance" that may bother "a few very sensitive or vocal persons."

**He'll have time to travel**—Sen. William Scott (R-Va.) will not seek reelection in 1978 because of criticism by the "liberal press." He cited a report that he and Strom Thurmond and their wives went on a shopping spree while touring the Far East on the taxpayers. He also took umbrage at a report that he had enjoyed more tax-financed overseas trips than any other senator.

## Women in Revolt

Cindy Jaquith



### 'Practical politics'

PITTSBURGH—The hallways and workshops buzzed with talk of the elections when 400 women gathered here November 12-14 for the state conference of the Pennsylvania National Organization for Women.

Many women passed by the Socialist Workers party literature table at one time or another during the conference. Frequently they said: "You people did a great job with the Camejo-Reid campaign." Pittsburgh residents asked: "How many votes did Carla Hoag get?" Hoag, a socialist and NOW activist in Pittsburgh, ran on the SWP's ticket for U.S. Congress from the Fourteenth District.

Quite a few women also told us: "I was going to vote for you right up until the day of the election. But then when I thought about Ford getting in, I just had to vote for Carter."

Where does the women's movement stand now that the elections are over? Where do we go from here? These were popular topics at the Pennsylvania conference.

On Saturday night, Ms. editor Gloria Steinem was a guest speaker. She got one of her loudest rounds of applause when she told the crowd: "I do not believe the oppression of women can be ended without the elimination of the class system as we now know it."

In the question period that followed, one woman asked Steinem why she had campaigned so hard for Carter if she was for ending "the class system as we now know it."

Steinem justified her actions by arguing that it was more "practical" to work for Carter. She then cynically added that she feels "sentimental toward Marx," but after all, Marx and Engels were just "two old, white males."

Instead, Steinem would have us support the old, "ethnically pure" male from Plains, Georgia, who opposes our right to abortion—because he's "better" than Ford.

This concept of "practical politics" reappeared in a workshop on "Building a Feminist Political Machine," led by Eleanor Smeal, chair of the NOW National Board. Smeal proposed that NOW chapters begin organizing "political action committees" that would screen candidates and perhaps even field some candidates of their own. Although the words "Democratic" and "Republican" were never spoken, it was understood that the candidates would come from these parties.

This strategy, she predicted, would advance NOW from a "pressure group" to a "power group."

In the discussion, however, several NOW members said they felt NOW's real power lies in the

millions of Black women, trade unionists, students, and others who are outraged at the assaults on our rights and who are looking for a way to fight back.

These women got a positive lesson in practical politics when more than 8,000 women marched for the Equal Rights Amendment last May 16 and when we returned to the streets this fall to blast the anti-abortion stands of both Carter and Ford.

The next discussion on the agenda ought to be, how can we widen the fight for abortion rights and keep up the momentum for the ERA?

There were some danger signals at the NOW conference. One rumor floating around was that Carter has "promised" to get the ERA ratified in three states this year, if NOW can win the fourth. My question is, if he's in such a generous mood, why can't Mr. Jimmy give us all four? Does he expect something in return from the women's movement—a promise from us not to speak out against the attacks on abortion and affirmative action, or promises to stop demonstrating for the ERA?

The only promise we owe the new administration is this: until the attacks stop on Medicaid-funded abortion, on affirmative action, on child care, on the ERA—we will be picketing, leafleting, demonstrating, and rallying for our rights.

## By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



### Race and class injustice

PATERSON, N.J.—Not railroad tracks but the Passaic River, twisting its way to the Newark Bay sewage bucket, acts as the divider. Middle-to-upper class, mostly white, and redlined-tight Bergen County lies on one side. On the other side lies largely Black and Puerto Rican Paterson in Passaic County. It's been that way for years.

Just 150,000 small, Paterson is New York big. Anything goes. Nine-year-old girls sell themselves on the streets to grown men for lollipops called federal reserve notes. Old women get pushed down stairs for the pennies in their pocketbooks. Dope flows like beer in the honky-tonk bars.

Paterson is also a city of workers. Workers who're up at five to get to the plants owned by those who live in Bergen County. Workers who get off and come home to argue. Or maybe to fight. Like ten years ago when a white worker got mad in a bar and blew off a Black guy's head. Two Black dudes, police say, retaliated and wasted three whites. Paterson is a city of race and class violence, and injustice.

In a mahogany-paneled courtroom in Passaic County Courthouse here, two mahogany figures are getting race and class injustice dealt to them. They are Rubin "Hurricane" Carter and John Artis. Police say they are the two Black dudes who offed the three whites ten years ago. Carter and Artis say they aren't.

It is the second time around for the two. They were convicted in a trial in 1967 and sentenced to life. Then, in 1974, the star witness against them recanted and said he had lied at the earlier trial, that he never saw the two leaving the scene of the crime.

And so Carter and Artis are back on the judicial merry-go-round, reaching out for the ring that will end the injustice against them.

Carter, a former middleweight boxing contender, is the luminary in the case. He is the capital C-A-S-E. Everybody has heard of him. People sometimes forget about Artis and call it the Carter trial.

Newspapers contribute to this. Often they run pictures just of Carter—leaving the courtroom or

conversing with reporters. Headlines read, Carter trial did this. Or, judge in Carter trial says such and such.

In the courtroom the mind can drift and see Carter in the ring again. . . The number one contender again. . . Artis is his second. . . Burrell Humphreys, the prosecutor, is his opponent. . . Judge Bruno Leopizzi is the referee. . . At the bell Carter moves out quickly and bobs under Humphreys's jabs. . . He counterpunches. . . Humphreys unloads a combination that bounces off Carter's chest like a sponge off a wall.

That would be easy to imagine, but it would not be accurate. Leopizzi is not an impartial referee. He is part of the judicial system that is dealing out class and race injustice.

And it would not be accurate because it imagines Carter as alone in this fight. It overlooks the thousands of supporters who are outside Passaic County Courthouse, and who are outside Paterson. But who are in Carter's corner. And in Artis's too.

# Judge rules against Phila. racists, orders desegregated housing built

By Jon Hillson

PHILADELPHIA—A recent federal court order here requiring desegregation of public housing could have a sweeping effect on Black housing rights.

The November 8 decision by U.S. District Judge Raymond Broderick termed Philadelphia a "racially segregated city" and found all public housing discriminatory as a result of city government policy.

Broderick ordered immediate steps toward construction of the Whitman Park Townhouse Project, a 120-unit low-income housing development in a predominantly white section of South Philadelphia. Construction of the complex was to have gone ahead in 1971 but was blocked by racist mobilizations.

Broderick's eighty-nine-page decision charged that the Philadelphia Housing Authority adopted a "policy which resulted in the segregation of its public housing projects according to the racial composition of the neighborhood in which they were located."

Forty of the city's fifty projects are at least 75 percent Black. Six are more than 90 percent white. Broderick's order requires the city to submit a plan to desegregate them.

In 1956 the Philadelphia Housing Authority decided to build a multi-unit dwelling in the Whitman Park area. But construction was held up until 1971.

Construction had hardly gotten under way when bigots launched demonstrations and an occupation of the site. Parents, many of them mothers with children, sat on bulldozers.

Democratic Mayor James Tate sided with the racists and denied police protection to the harassed construction workers. His successor, former Chief of Police Frank Rizzo, broke the city contract with the construction company in 1972.

But Blacks fought back in court.

Broderick's order rebuked Rizzo for refusing to implement civil rights codes in housing and declared illegal his breaking of the construction contract.

Broderick also criticized the federal Department of Housing and Urban Development for allowing such violations to take place. HUD had subsid-



Racist protests in 1971 (above) halted construction of low-income housing at Whitman Park in Philadelphia.

ized the project.

Mayor Rizzo has vowed defiance of Broderick's ruling, starting with a court appeal. His racist followers, not unlike antibusing bigots in Boston, promised a different kind of resistance.

"We're going back on the streets," Gert Hogan, a Republican committee-woman, promised. "As soon as I see a bulldozer, I'm calling out the pickets. I can have 500 people down here in an hour. We'll fight this to the end. The first truck they take on that lot, you'll have trouble."

Indeed, twenty-four hours after the decision was announced, 500 angry bigots packed a South Philadelphia church to oppose the order. A Rizzo spokesperson claimed the mayor had told him, "Don't worry about a thing. When it comes time to picket, I'll be down there with you."

While the raucous rally avoided overtly racist terminology, its mood was clear.

"I'd rather have rats and weeds there than projects," Hogan said.

Broderick's decision is a long-overdue victory for the Black community. But the actual construction of the Whitman Park project and desegregation of other projects will require the backing of all supporters of Black rights. Rizzo's powerful Democratic apparatus is based on the city's all-white enclaves, where resistance to equal housing runs high.

Thousands of Blacks and Puerto Ricans remain trapped in deteriorated housing, while they comprise 95 percent of the waiting list for admission into existing and planned housing projects.

Meanwhile, as the housing fuse burns anew here, it may ignite yet another issue.

The city government has also refused to implement a modest school desegregation plan, despite an order from the state Human Relations Commission to do so. On November 8, the Philadelphia school board tabled a Pennsylvania Commonwealth Court order to approve the plan.

# Socialists challenge Oregon disclosure law

By Stacey Seigle

PORTLAND, Ore.—Should Socialist Workers campaign committees be exempt from laws requiring disclosure of financial contributors' names?

This question was argued before a three-judge federal court here November 18.

When Oregon socialists first sought exemption from state disclosure laws in 1974, some people were skeptical of the party's contention that the FBI and other government agencies were guilty of harassing Socialist Workers party members and campaign supporters.

No one is skeptical any more. Revelations during the past year have proved that the FBI has conducted a forty-year campaign to destroy the SWP and stifle dissent in this country.

These revelations have come as a result of a lawsuit filed by the SWP in 1973.

Last September, Attorney General Edward Levi issued an order allegedly halting the FBI campaign against the socialists.

At the November 18 hearing here, lawyers for the state of Oregon argued that because of Levi's order, the Socialist Workers Campaign should not be exempted from disclosure laws. But District Judge Gus Solomon responded indignantly:

"Do you mean to tell me that after forty years of the FBI raiding the headquarters of the SWP, wasting millions of dollars on their spying, having hundreds of informers in the party—you mean to tell me that as soon as the FBI says it won't do it anymore that all the damage has been wiped out?"

The campaign financing laws—which exist in most states as well as on a national level—have been lauded by the self-styled people's lobby Common Cause as the method of curbing big-business influence in politics.

In reality, these laws were passed to try to bolster public confidence in the two-party system following widespread public disillusionment caused by Watergate and the Vietnam War.

The constitutionality of many aspects of these laws has been challenged in a number of court actions. Presidential candidate Eugene McCarthy, for example, joined with New York Sen. James Buckley and others to challenge the federal law. While the U.S. Supreme Court upheld most sections of the law, the justices did agree that in clear cases of government harassment exemptions should be granted to the disclosure provision.

The Socialist Workers National Campaign Committee is also challenging the federal law.

# Chicanos, feminists sign appeal against violence in the movement

By Miguel Pendás

DENVER—The "Declaration Against Violence in the Movement" is continuing to gather support from movement leaders and activists.

The declaration is an appeal addressed to Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, a leader of the Crusade for Justice. It asks him to renounce the use of violence as a means of settling differences of opinion in the movement.

The statement reads, in part, "We hope you will take a stand in favor of the simple democratic right to express a point of view without fear of physical reprisal from anyone, including those who may disagree within the movement. . . .

"Differences among those fighting for social justice cannot be resolved by fists or other weapons. Any attempt to do so simply provides openings for police and other enemies of the movement to tear us apart."

The declaration was prompted by a physical assault by members of the Crusade upon two Socialist Workers party leaders, Fred Halstead and Steve Chainey, October 1.

The list of signers has now grown to

seventy-five. In addition to the many Chicano signers previously reported in the *Militant*, a number of other Chicano leaders and activists have recently endorsed the declaration.

These include Ignacio González and Poncho Ruiz of the Harris County Raza Unida party in Houston; Manuel Martínez, Chicano artist, Denver; Tony Valdes, president, MEChA, Utah State University, Logan; and three students at Metro State College in Denver, Daniel Valdez, Ike Bugarín, and Teresa Trujillo.

In Salt Lake City, Betty Ortiz, a former organizer for the United Farm Workers in California, has signed, as well as Lynette Ramirez of the Utah UFW Support Committee.

Others include Jesús Luna, Texas Farm Workers Union, Houston; Manuel de la Garza, Houston; Tony Baez, Milwaukee Bilingual Parents Committee; and Peter Núñez, member, Communications Workers of America, Local 8050, Denver.

A number of feminists have signed the declaration, including Cheryl Peake and Kathy Riley of the feminist

newspaper *Big Mama Rag*, Denver; Phyllis Crawford and Patricia Candy Sweet, National Organization for Women, Denver; Sherry Carter, board member, Twin Cities NOW; Pam Keeley, Denver; Barbara Goodman, coordinator, University Community Feminists, Minneapolis; Helen Lindgren, member, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Denver; and Donna Gold, Jana Everett, and Julie Robinson, Colorado Feminist Federal Credit Union, Denver.

Other signers include: Mahmoud El-Kati, coordinator, Minnesota Committee on South Africa; Joe Eddie Roy, president, Colorado-Wyoming NAACP; Shirley Pedler, executive director, American Civil Liberties Union in Utah; Karen M. Olsen, student body president, University of Minnesota; and Naima Washington, KPOO radio, San Francisco.

To add your name to the "Declaration Against Violence in the Movement," write to: Socialist Workers party, 916 Broadway, Denver, Colorado 80203. Telephone: (303) 837-1018.

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# Spain: Women in revolt

## Socialist Workers party leader Linda Jenness tours six cities



Linda Jenness speaks to more than 2,000 at University of Barcelona



Militant/Joanna Rossi

### By Larry Seigle

BARCELONA—Linda Jenness, a leader of the Socialist Workers party and a well-known American feminist, began a speaking tour of Spain November 24 with a meeting before some 2,000 people at the University of Barcelona. Jenness is speaking on "Feminism and Socialism."

The tour, which will take Jenness to six cities, comes in the midst of a powerful upsurge in the women's liberation movement.

Because of this growing ferment, there naturally is wide interest in what a socialist and feminist from abroad has to say. "'Governments fear us,'" the Barcelona daily *Mundo Diario* headlined its account of a news conference Jenness held at the Barcelona Press Club.

"I believe governments throughout the world fear the feminist movement,

because the questions we are raising challenge the basic institutions of societies based on oppression," Jenness told the news conference, which was attended by more than a dozen reporters, most of them women.

Jenness also spoke out in opposition to the arrests of members of the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria (LCR—Revolutionary Communist League), which had occurred just a few days before the news conference. "My party in the United States is pledged to participate in a worldwide campaign to demand and win the release of these prisoners, and the dropping of all charges against them," she said.

The news conference was widely covered. A number of major dailies also arranged separate interviews with Jenness.

Following the news conference, Jenness held discussions with members of

the Union General de Trabajadores de España (UGT—General Workers Union of Spain), the union organization led by the Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE—Spanish Socialist Workers party), a social-democratic organization. The UGT, like all other union organizations, is still banned by the government of King Juan Carlos. The meeting took place in the union's Barcelona headquarters.

Luis Fuertes, the general secretary of the UGT of Catalonia, introduced Jenness to the meeting of forty trade-union men and women. Fuertes stressed the importance of the women's liberation movement for the working class and the entire labor movement. He added that he hoped Jenness's visit would be the first of many opportunities to exchange experiences and opinions with socialists from the United States.

The union activists wanted to know, What effect has the women's struggle had on the unions in the United States? What did Jenness think about the argument that women constituted a separate class whose struggle should be aimed against all men rather than against society's rulers? How did she explain the Stalinist betrayal of the revolutionary advances made by Soviet women after the 1917 revolution?

The women were especially interested in Jenness's description of the Coalition of Labor Union Women and other organizations reflecting the impact of women's struggles on the American labor movement.

"Women's liberation," she said, "is shaking up the union bureaucracy and fighting to transform the unions into what they ought to be and must become if they are to survive—social movements that fight for the rights of the working class and particularly the most oppressed layers of the class: Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and women."

### Divorce & adultery laws

One of the most widely publicized issues in Spain has been the battle to overturn the country's barbaric laws prohibiting divorce and giving men the power to victimize women on charges of adultery.

In Barcelona, the center of attention has focused on the case of Maria Angeles Muñoz, a twenty-eight-year-old woman who is facing prosecution for adultery. Her husband left her, but because there is no right to divorce, he retains his legal power over her. He accused her of the crime of sleeping with another man.

Although she hasn't yet been tried, a judge is threatening to throw Maria Angeles in jail unless she gives up her daughter to the custody of her husband's parents.

This case has triggered protests demanding an end to laws that discriminate against women. On the afternoon of November 18, more than 5,000 people held a march through Barcelona. The demonstration was allowed to proceed for about an hour and a half, but it was finally broken up without warning by cops using truncheons and rubber bullets.

Two days later, about 50 women began a sit-in in a church in a workers neighborhood. The sit-in was held in a church basement because the cops generally don't break up meetings in churches. The twenty-four-hour protest, which grew to include some 200 women, received widespread publicity.

Jenness joined the women in the church, and presented greetings to their struggle on behalf of the women's liberation movement in the United States.

The women participating in the sit-in were taking the opportunity of their protest to discuss issues facing them. The session turned into a combination consciousness-raising group, legal counseling service, and free-for-all discussion on strategy and tactics.

One woman, whose husband regularly beat her and her children, spoke of her desperate efforts to obtain a separation. This is a matter for the church to decide, since in Spain there is no civil marriage.

The woman's voice was full of bitterness as she told how she had been informed that she could get her separation in one day if she could make a "contribution" to the church of \$8,000! Other women spoke up in agreement that the rich find their ways around the laws without difficulty, while it is the poor who suffer the most.

While the sit-in was going on inside, cop cars would periodically circle the church. Many neighborhood residents gathered outside. Banners were strung up across the street. Among their demands were: "Amnesty for women" (referring to those who have been convicted for "women's" crimes such as adultery and abortion) and "Abolition of sexist and discriminatory laws."

The cops eventually got out of their squad car, tore down these banners, and hauled them away. As soon as the car had turned the corner, however, some men who had been watching produced cans of spray paint and

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# WOMEN'S LIBERATION AND SOCIALISM

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### WOMEN'S LIBERATION: THE PAST TEN YEARS

- Evelyn Reed, author, *Woman's Evolution*

Saturday

10:00 a.m. PANEL: ISSUES FACING BLACK AND PUERTO RICAN WOMEN. Speakers: Dr. Helen Rodríguez, Committee to End Sterilization Abuse; Cathy Sedwick, Young Socialist Alliance; others.

1:00 p.m. DISCUSSION GROUPS FOR WOMEN.

WOMEN AND THE FBI. Speakers: Nancy Borman, *Majority Report*; Kipp Dawson, Political Rights Defense Fund.

WOMEN IN PREHISTORY. Speaker: Evelyn Reed.

WOMEN IN CHINA. Speaker: Dianne Feeley.

PANEL ON INTERNATIONAL WOMEN POLITICAL PRISONERS.

FEMINISM AND SOCIALISM. Speaker: Ruthann Miller.

3:00 p.m.

### AN EYEWITNESS REPORT: WOMEN'S LIBERATION IN SPAIN

- Linda Jenness, 1972 Socialist Workers party candidate.

Columbia University Teachers College, 147 Horace Mann Building (120th Street and Broadway). For more information call Socialist Workers party (212) 982-8214.

began painting the slogans on the wall of their neighborhood church.

The huge, high-ceilinged hall at the University of Barcelona was packed full for Jenness's speech on November 24. People sat on the stage and filled the aisles. Many stood in the hallway outside, unable to get in.

Banners in the Catalan language decorated the walls, and posters and literature were being hawked outside. One of the pamphlets on sale was a Spanish translation of Jenness's pamphlet *Socialism and the Fight for Women's Rights*.

Jenness, who was speaking at the invitation of the philosophy department, was joined on the platform by leaders of the two Trotskyist groups in Spain, the Liga Comunista (LC—Communist League) and the LCR, both sympathizing organizations of the Fourth International.

The audience was divided about equally between women and men. They responded enthusiastically to Jenness's talk, which was delivered in what one paper the next day described as "perfect Spanish."

Jenness began by discussing the origins of the American women's liberation movement. "Women in the United States began to see the discrepancy between what was possible and what was actually being done. Women looked around them and saw that in the United States—the richest country in the world, a country that could send men to the moon—there were few day-care centers for the children of working mothers.

"They began to challenge the attitude that the highest accomplishment a woman could achieve was to be a mother and a wife and serve her husband well. They began to challenge the idea that women were genetically unsuited for certain jobs. They began

to question and challenge the whole complex structure of attitudes, stereotypes, religious myths, and moral hypocrisy that form—as surely as steel bars do—the prison in which half the world's population lives."

### Abortion fight

Jenness described how the American women's liberation movement had responded to a challenge from the right wing, which launched a campaign to overturn reforms that had been made in the abortion laws in the late 1960s. "We went on a campaign to educate the American people about abortion," she said.

"We explained that abortion is a democratic right." This statement was greeted with applause.

"We explained that women—and only women, not the church and not the state—had the right to decide about abortion." (Stronger applause.)

"The Catholic church spent millions and millions of dollars trying to whip up hysteria against the abortion rights struggle. Abortion is murder, they cried, and the women's liberationists are murderers.

"The Catholic church, we said, is hypocritical. They cry about the lives of the unborn, but they do not care about the living. The foundation of the Catholic church, we said, is ignorance. It is an institution built upon the oppression of women." (Prolonged applause.)

### Socialism & feminism

"Revolutionary socialists in the United States," she went on, "have not only been the best builders of the women's liberation movement, but have provided theoretical answers for the oppression of women and how to end it. And because of our work, the Socialist Workers party has developed an unprecedented number of revolutionary socialist women fighters who are leaders in the party."

"Today in the United States," Jenness told the crowd, "there is a new phenomenon, the growing number of women who are beginning to connect socialism and feminism. In struggling for their own rights, women are learning that their complete freedom and equality cannot be won by reforming the system. They are learning that they will have to challenge every institution in society, including the church and the state. They will have to make a socialist revolution." This, too, was greeted with applause.

"In my opinion," she concluded, "we can win only by building a mass women's liberation movement, a movement that can reach out to the millions of exploited and oppressed women and involve them in struggles around issues of particular concern to women."

"And, at the same time, we must build a revolutionary socialist party—a party composed of women and men, of Blacks and whites—a party whose reason for existence is to make that socialist revolution that will lay the economic and material basis for the freedom of all."

The question period was a lively exchange of a number of points of view. One man from a Maoist group took the floor to argue that it was wrong to fight against the laws on divorce and adultery because the real problem was the family. Instead of fighting against the laws on divorce, he said, "we should fight against marriage."

Several women spoke from the Feminist Collective, the group led by Lydia Falcón, which argues that women are a class and that it is wrong for women to join parties with men in them. Speakers from the LC and the LCR also took part in the discussion.

Two statements were approved by the meeting. One was a statement of solidarity with Maria Angeles Muñoz, and the other was a declaration of protest against the arrests of the members of the LCR.

After leaving Barcelona, Jenness flew to Madrid, where she will continue her tour.

# Feminist paper blasts FBI spying operation

This fall the Political Rights Defense Fund released a secret FBI document called "Exploitation of Women's Movement by Socialist Workers Party." The document was obtained by the SWP through its \$40 million lawsuit against government harassment.

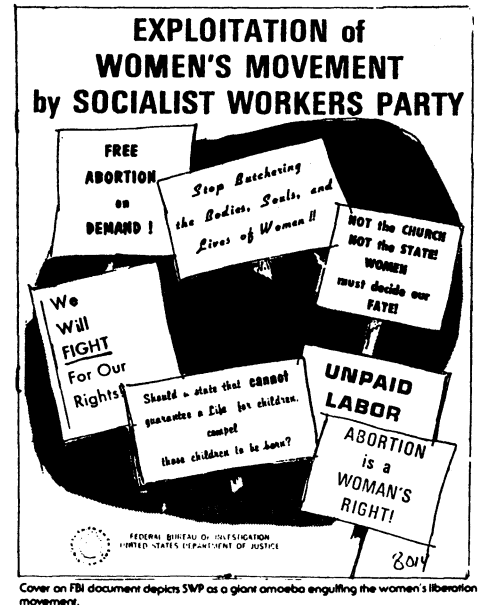
The document has provoked discussion among feminists around the country. The Militant has been running a series of articles explaining how this material was used by the government to slander and red-bait the struggle to legalize abortion.

The document shows how the FBI seeks to promote divisions within the women's movement in hopes of disrupting the kind of united fight needed to win women's goals.

Below is an editorial about this slander sheet that appeared in the November 27-December 10 issue of *Majority Report*, one of the most widely circulated feminist newspapers in the country. *Majority Report* also published the entire FBI document, with annotations written by the paper's co-publishers, Nancy Borman and Joanne Steel.

The "secret" FBI document featured in this issue has never been published before. It has existed only for the eyes of those officials of agencies also spying on the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the women's movement. We obtained it from the SWP after they received it among documents they received from the U.S. Postal Service as part of the SWP's heralded Political Rights Defense Fund suit against the FBI. The SWP doesn't know why the document was included. Our first thought was to publish it fast, but [we] realized that to do it without qualification could damage the SWP. We are, after all, the supposedly anti-SWP faction mentioned in the FBI [document]. So, we called up two "dangerous revolutionaries" to discuss how best to handle publication of the document. Kipp Dawson, an SWP member who also participated in the events covered in the document, and Cindy Jaquith, a columnist for *The Militant*, visited our offices on Oct. 28 and helped us interpret the material.

Since both publishers of this newspaper were, in 1970-1972, involved in the struggles described in the document, we have published our annotations alongside. Those of you who have paid taxes have paid for the information contained in this FBI document. It omits facts. It contains inaccurate information. It, in general, is motivated from the point of view that we women were too stupid to lead ourselves, a kind of the devil made 'em do it, only, casting the SWP as the devil. In the document, devious tactics are



Cover on FBI document depicts SWP as a giant amoeba engulfing the women's liberation movement.

The "secret" FBI document featured in this issue has never been published before. It has existed only for the eyes of those officials of agencies also spying on the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the women's movement. We obtained it from the SWP after they received it among documents they received from the U.S. Postal Service as part of the SWP's heralded Political Rights Defense Fund suit against the FBI.

Portion of 'Majority Report' editorial picturing front cover of FBI document.

attributed to the Left. Such tactics are, in fact, rarely used by the Left, but are daily routine for the FBI.

Ponder the irony of the FBI pretending to be a friend of the women's movement at a time when Richard Nixon was writing letters of support to Cardinal Cooke on abortion and vetoing day care funds. At a time when—

*Continued on page 30*

## Franco's adultery law

A suspicious husband rounds up some police inspectors and stages a raid on the apartment of the woman who is his legal wife. The couple lives apart, but there is no right to divorce in Spain.

Just as they hoped, the raiding party finds the woman in bed with another man.

Under Spanish law, it is the husband—not the surprised couple—who is the victim in this situation. As one whose "honor" has been violated, he is entitled to bring criminal charges and demand a prison sentence of as long as twenty years. The wife is guilty, according to Article 449 of the Penal Code, if she "copulates with a man who is not her husband."

Her male partner in crime, however, is not so vulnerable. For the man to be held liable, it must be proved in court that he knew at the time that the woman was married. Not so easy.

In a case ruled on by a Madrid court on November 24, both the wife and her partner were found guilty. It turned out that he was the personnel director at the hotel where the woman worked, and, arguably, knew her marital status.

The aggrieved husband, in addition to demanding that the two adulterers be sent to jail for six years each, had demanded payment from them of \$73,000 for the abuse of his "property"—that is, his wife.

The judges ruled that the plaintiff's demands were excessive. They reduced the sentence to seven months in prison each, and ordered the couple to pay the husband \$730.

Incidentally, if the tables had been reversed, it would have been impossible for the wife to bring charges against her husband.

# Abortion clinic debated at Louisville hearing

By Ruth Shumate

LOUISVILLE—A woman's right to abortion was debated here November 30 at public hearings in the aldermanic chambers. The Louisville Board of Aldermen is threatening to cut off funds to Louisville General Hospital if the hospital proceeds with plans to set up a clinic for second-trimester abortions.

Not one Louisville hospital provides abortions for women in their twelfth to twenty-fourth week of pregnancy, even though the Supreme Court's 1973 ruling recognized women's right to abortion during this stage of pregnancy. General Hospital turns away an average of six pregnant women each week.

Before the hearing began, thirty supporters of the clinic picketed outside in subfreezing weather. The protest was organized by the National Organization for Women.

When the hearings got under way, more than a dozen speakers—feminists, doctors and nurses, Catholics, ministers, and lawyers—testified in favor of establishing the clinic.

A speaker for the Kentucky Coalition on Abortion Rights pointed out that

stopping the proposed clinic will not stop abortions. It is just a question, she said, of whether second-trimester abortions will be done safely and legally by trained professionals, or dangerously and illegally by back-alley butchers.

The speaker emphasized that poor, Black, and young women will suffer the most, because they do not have the money to travel to distant hospitals where second-trimester abortions are performed.

Also testifying in support of the clinic were Dr. Martin Perley of the Human Relations Commission, attorney Tom Hogdn, and Kate Cunningham of Catholics for a Free Choice.

Members of the "Kentucky Right-to-Life" testified against abortion.

A representative of the American National Socialist White People's [Nazi] party also attended the hearing. Removing his coat, the Nazi walked to the podium sporting a khaki shirt, brown tie, and red swastika arm band. Abortion, he declared, is a "Jewish communist conspiracy" to exterminate the white race. He concluded his tirade with the "heil Hitler" salute, exclaiming, "White power!"

# Informers inside the movement

## What can be done to fight 'dirty tricks' by government spies?

By Steve Clark

"No one has ever challenged the FBI's use of informers in political organizations," said attorney Leonard Boudin last summer in a written message to a Socialist Workers party rally.

But right now Boudin is working with the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance to change that.

The well-known civil liberties attorney heads the legal team representing the two groups in their \$40 million lawsuit against government spying and harassment. The suit demands, among other things, a permanent injunction against Washington's use of informers.

The SWP and YSA have helped shine the public spotlight on how the FBI and other agencies victimize dissenters. Their campaign in defense of democratic rights has exposed the methods and dirty tricks that make up the arsenal employed by government informers.

"Through our joint efforts," Boudin's message said, "we are posing this question [of informers] to the courts and to the public—and there are some aspects of this issue that we may very well be able to win."

Boudin's optimism was not long in being vindicated.

On November 1 FBI Director Clarence Kelley ordered all agency field offices to tell their informers to "remove yourself from the SWP or YSA."

"You are not to report to the FBI information concerning the SWP, YSA, their chapters, leaders or members," the field offices were ordered to tell their informers, "nor are you to obtain any documents, copies of documents, any things, or other materials from the SWP, YSA, their leaders or members and furnish these to the FBI."

This retreat by Washington's political police is a victory for all movements for social justice.

### Still fighting

But the SWP and YSA know that one advance doesn't necessarily win a war. They are pressing ahead with their campaign to lift the curtain on the undemocratic practices of the capitalist government and its two ruling parties, the Democrats and Republicans.

The socialists are still demanding a *permanent injunction* against the use of government informers—from the FBI, CIA, or any other agency. They also want complete files on all 1,300 informers the FBI admits it has used against them at one time or another during the past sixteen years. Of these, about one-fifth actually joined one of the two groups.

The socialists are initially demanding full files on nineteen informers.

### United effort

Trade unions, Black and Chicano organizations, feminist groups, and political organizations all have a stake in rallying behind the socialists' efforts, and in supporting others who are waging similar battles against government harassment.

The government's use of informers is clearly in violation of everyone's First Amendment rights of free speech, assembly, and political association. As the American Civil Liberties Union has pointed out:

"The use of police spies offends the fundamental notion that citizens have the right to associate among themselves to achieve social or political objectives in which they believe without interference by the government."

A united campaign to halt government spying can strike a powerful blow against Washington's repressive policies.

Many prominent individuals and organizations have already endorsed the Political Rights Defense Fund, which is organizing support and publicity for the socialists' lawsuit. And similar efforts are either under way or being considered by the Texas Raza Unida party, the Institute for Policy Studies, activist Jane Fonda, the Black Panther party, the Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case, and others.

Unfortunately, however, *El Gallo*, newspaper of the Denver-based Crusade for Justice, has recently tried to twist the revelations unearthed by the socialists' lawsuit to slander the two groups.

"Are the Y.S.A. pig apparatus organizations?" said a half-page unsigned "letter" on page 2 of the September issue (actually published in late October). "... Why are both organizations so infiltrated with provocateurs and informers?"

Accompanying the "letter" was a cartoon depicting four shady-looking characters in dark overcoats, collars up, hat brims pulled down over their shifty eyes. These James Bond figures were labeled, "Mafia," "F.B.I.," "C.I.A.," and "Y.S.A."

Caption: "Birds of a feather. . ."

These and other slanders against the SWP and YSA appeared in *El Gallo* following an unprovoked physical attack by two Crusade members on two SWP members in early October. I will return to this incident later in this article.

### Communist party

Similar slanders were leveled this summer by Communist party leader Gus Hall. "And you know from the exposés it's obvious that the Socialist Workers party has become the *main* staging area for the FBI in the left movement in general," Hall told reporters at a San Francisco news conference. Hall's charge was broadcast over radio station KYA.

These slurs by Hall and *El Gallo* are groundless and irresponsible. Their twisted logic goes something like this:

More information has come out about FBI informers and dirty tricks in the SWP and YSA than in any other group. (They fail to mention that this is true because of the socialists' lawsuit.)

Therefore—Hall and *El Gallo* would have us conclude—the SWP and YSA must be particularly riddled with informers.

This is nonsense, of course.

Government documents—and simple common sense—tell us that America's rulers target *every* dissenting group and social movement. Informers have been used against Martin Luther King's movement, many trade unions, the NAACP, Communist party, Black Panther party, the Chicano movement, women's groups—you name it.

The FBI itself admits that it is currently using 600-700 informers for political spying—down from its previous claim of 1,500.

Even taking the FBI at its word (which is not advisable), its 600-700 informers are merely one brigade in an army of spies on the payroll of other federal agencies, state police, and city red squads.

So, the important question to answer is not: Are there informers operating against, and inside, our

organizations? We should assume there are.

The real questions are: How can we best foil the informers' attempts to disrupt and divide the movement? How can we help expose their practices, which pose a threat to the rights of all Americans?

### A big mistake

One big mistake sometimes made by movement groups is to believe that by implementing certain rigorous "security" measures they can escape police infiltration. So they grill prospective members, adopt supersecret internal procedures, or even—in a few cases—go underground.

The problem with this is simple. These groups end up keeping their own members and potential supporters poorly informed—but the cops find ways of getting what they want to know anyhow.

Such measures simply make it harder for these groups to spread their ideas to the largest possible audience. And—to that extent—the government's disruption job becomes that much easier.

Nonetheless, it is both possible and necessary to take steps to minimize the havoc that informers can create.

How?

The answer is quite easy if we keep in mind how informers operate and what they hope to accomplish.

The government has found no better weapon against dissenters than the old gambit of divide and rule. Informers play every angle to set person against person and group against group.

One of their favorite tactics goes by the name—in FBI lingo—of "putting a snitch jacket on." That is, planting false information that a member of a political organization is an informer.

By doing so, the *real* informers hope to whip up a witch-hunt atmosphere inside the movement. They know that nothing can tear apart a group so quickly as suspicions, false accusations, rumors, and purges.

Unfortunately, the government has scored some successes using this tactic. One case was reported by Frank Donner this year in the April-May issue of *Civil Liberties Review*.

William Albertson was a longtime member of the American Communist party and of its central committee. In 1964 he was summarily expelled.

The FBI had forged Albertson's signature on a document made to look like an informer's report. Albertson insisted that he was innocent.

But on the basis of the "evidence"—and without giving Albertson a chance to back up his claims—the CP expelled him, his wife, and his mother. He died in 1972 with his name still under a cloud.

In 1975, three years after Albertson's death, a file on the "snitch jacket" operation against him was accidentally released to the public in a stack of other unrelated Cointelpro files.

The FBI document boasted, "The most active and efficient functionary of the New York District of the Communist Party USA and leading national officer of the party, through our counterintelligence efforts has been expelled. . ."

Donner didn't report whether any members of the CP committee that ordered Albertson's expulsion had harbored any nagging doubts. But one thing

THE NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, AUGUST 2, 1976

### Files Disclose Sort of Data And Informant F.B.I. Uses

By JOHN M. CREWSDON  
Special to The New York Times

DENVER, Aug. 1—Nearly 2,000 pages of confidential files made public here last week have provided the first comprehensive look at the sort of information collected by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Trivial Tales  
Much of Mr. Redfern's reporting, for which he was paid several hundred dollars a month, was trivia, recounting what party members ate for dinner.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1976

### F.B.I. Reports Losing 20 Informers Over Fear of Disclosures of Names

By JOHN M. CREWSDON  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 24—The Federal Bureau of Investigation has asserted that more than 20 of its undercover informers, concerned that their identities may become public through various inquiries into the bureau's activities, have broken off contact with the bureau over the last three months.

In addition, according to James B. Adams, one of three top aides to Clarence M. Kelley, the F.B.I. Director, the bureau has lost 20 informers.

Ros Angeles Times, Sun., Sept. 5, 1976

### FBI Papers Give Glimpse Into Lives of Informants

By RONALD J. OSTROW  
Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON—Informant No. 33, who has been helping the FBI keep track of the Socialist Workers Party for 15 years, must be a master at maintaining a low profile.

Though Informant 33 is not a member of the radical political party, he or she has obtained from inside party offices 98 documents, including personal letters, bank records and a

shadowy world of the professional informant have come to light from files on 19 informants, identified by number only, that were among those the FBI turned over to the Socialist Workers Party in connection with the party's \$40 million damage suit against the FBI and other government informants.

The records, made public by a

The Christian Science Monitor, Monday, August 2, 1976

### Heat on FBI to name informants

By Lucia Mousat  
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Washington  
A reversal of its traditional role, the FBI eling the heat of Socialist Workers Party demands—and the bureau, well aware there might be reprisals, must now decide her to identify and remove 66 FBI informers from the ranks of the party.

Los Angeles Times, Fri., Nov. 5, 1976

### 316 USED BY F.B.I. IN INFORMER ROLE

Records Show That Number Reported on Socialist Party and Affiliate Since '60

By ARNOLD E. LUBASCH  
Documents obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation show that the bureau has used 316 informers against the Socialist Workers Party and an affiliated youth group since 1960.

The documents were released yesterday by the Socialist Party.

### Arrest Into FBI

DENVER—Tim Re 12 days past his 19th he volunteered to be informant to help the FBI with violence-prone far-left Students for a Democratic Society and the far-right

The son of a Methodist minister was a pacifist who had a co-jector draft status as before him. He never rested.

That was Aug. 25, 1960, when the FBI charged in two burglary theft of records from the Socialists and a June theft of the basement storage apartment house.

### A 38-1 Group

Agency Is Aiming Its Dirty Law

By Warren Brown  
Washington Post Staff Writer

The FBI has spent the last investigating the Socialist Party, a Marxist group, and government officials are wonder Largely as a result of that FBI itself is under investigation.

The turnabout is the pro \$37 million civil damage suit by the SWP and its youth the Young Socialist Alliance the FBI Central Intelligence

### FBI May Have to Surrender Files on Informants in Suit

Judge Calls Data 'Absolutely Crucial' to Socialist Workers Case; Agency Sees Release as Devastating

By RONALD J. OSTROW  
Times Staff Writer

NEW YORK—A federal judge said Thursday that the FBI might have to surrender files on 1,600 persons who informed the government about activities of the Trotskyite Socialist

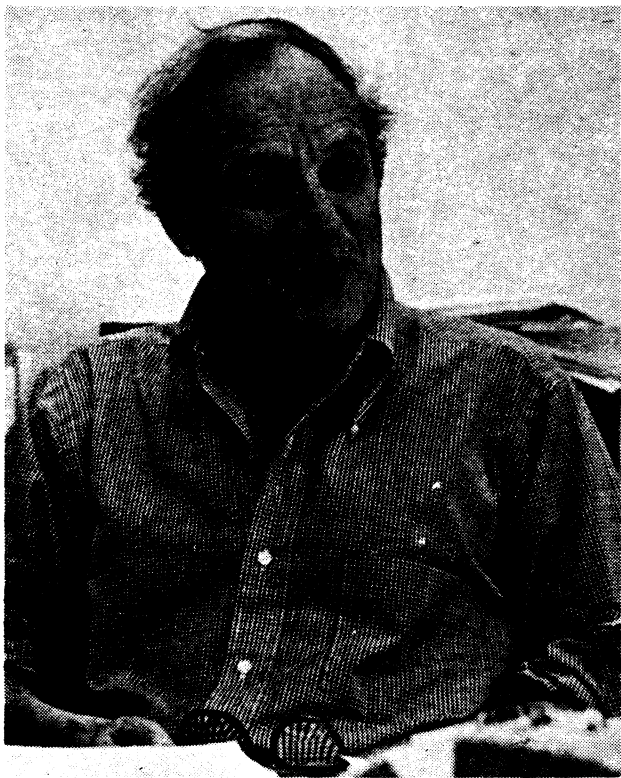
The judge rejected government arguments that the informant files are irrelevant or of small necessity in the suit. But he said he was greatly troubled by the government's argument

### FBI deploys 66 spies inside socialist party

The 66 current informers are "skulking around, stealing from, spying on, and spreading malicious gossip about citizens engaged in legal political activities," he continued. Party lawyers have asked the court to force the FBI to identify 19 of the informers and turn over full details of their activities. If the initial request succeeds, the party may seek further information on other informants.

The SWP and YSA's campaign in defense of democratic rights has exposed the methods and dirty tricks that make up





Militant/Cindy Jaquith

LEONARD BOUDIN: 'Through our joint efforts, we are posing this question [of informers] to the courts and to the public—and there are some aspects of this issue that we may very well be able to win.'

can be said for sure. If any real informers were on that committee, they were the most zealous in demanding the purge.

Another Cointelpro document that has come to light suggested to an FBI agent in San Francisco that "documents could be prepared pinpointing [Black] Panthers as police or FBI informants. . . ."

### Don't take bait

The FBI tried—unsuccessfully—to use the "snitch jacket" ploy against the SWP as well.

In 1962 the New York FBI office somehow got hold of a packet of material belonging to a YSA member. The packet contained material from a recent YSA convention.

According to an FBI memorandum, "The New York Office requested authority to anonymously call Socialist Workers Party (SWP) headquarters to initiate a Disruption Program operation designed to cast suspicion" on the YSA member.

The call would charge that the member "had turned over to the Bureau material pertaining to the YSA Convention. . . ."

Washington gave the nod and the anonymous phone call was made.

But a month later a disappointed FBI agent reported, "To date no positive results have become evident as the result of the disruptive tactic. . . ."

The reason that "no positive results" had "become evident" was simple. The SWP, through long years of experience, knows how the FBI operates against the union movement, organizations of the oppressed nationalities, women's groups, and other dissenters.

So it didn't fall for the bait.

As a democratic organization, the SWP has too much respect for its members and supporters to humiliate and slander them on the basis of anonymous phone calls or other such "evidence." Democratic functioning is an absolute necessity in foiling such government disruption schemes.

The "snitch jacket" operation can be used effectively against a bureaucratic organization that guarantees no rights to its members.

But the FBI's methods are stymied when their target is a democratic organization that refuses to conduct a witch-hunt of its own ranks. As we've seen in the Albertson case, even so-called evidence must be weighed very carefully against a person's claims of innocence.

As James P. Cannon, a founder of the Socialist Workers party, once explained, "A 'spy scare' caused by planted 'disinformation' can do a hundred times more damage than any spies by undermining the confidence of comrades in each other and disrupting the comradely collaboration which is necessary for fruitful work."

### Fostering divisions

Informers do their best to foster splits inside organizations and to block unity in action among movement groups. They thrive on unbridled factionalism and backroom gossip-mongering.

The situations ripest for government disruption are those where groups try to impose their views or settle differences by means of physical violence.

Government documents released a few years ago show that the government exploited one such situation with devastating effectiveness against the Black Panther party and US, a California-based Black nationalist group.

In 1968 the FBI launched an operation "to fully capitalize upon BPP and US differences. . . ."

After a member of the Black Panthers was killed, the FBI filed a memo headed "Tangible Results," pointing to the success of its operation.

"Shootings, beatings, and a high degree of unrest continues to prevail in the ghetto area of southeast San Diego," the memo said. "Although no specific counterintelligence action can be credited with contributing to this over-all situation, it is felt that a substantial amount of the unrest is directly attributable to this program."

### No violence in movement

These dangers of police exploitation make it extremely important that differences of opinion in the movement be settled in the arena of debate and ideas, not brawls and ambushes.

Unfortunately, the Denver-based Crusade for Justice has recently resorted to violence and threats of violence against those it disagrees with.

In early October, two SWP leaders—Fred Halstead and Steve Chainey—went to Crusade headquarters in Denver to discuss threats made by a Crusade leader against a member of the YSA. They hoped that the problem could be settled and the tensions relieved by their visit and discussion.

As Halstead and Chainey were leaving Crusade headquarters, however, two leaders of that group jumped and beat them. Both Halstead and Chainey suffered facial cuts; Halstead, a broken nose.

Since this incident seventy-five Chicano and other activists in Denver and around the country have signed a "Declaration Against Violence in the Movement," addressed to Crusade leader Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales. The declaration asked Gonzales to publicly join the signers in repudiating the use of violence to settle political disputes.

Unfortunately, up to this point Gonzales has refused. In fact, the issue of *El Gallo* mentioned earlier broadened the threats to include signers of the declaration.

The declaration states, "Recent public revelations about the FBI have shown that fomenting violent conflicts within the movement is one of the government's favorite disruptive tactics. This is all the more reason for us to work to bring such incidents to an end."

The use of violence among movement groups, the declaration said, "simply provides openings for police and other enemies of the movement to tear us apart."

"Further, it certainly does not help us to oppose the government's use of violence against us if some of us use it against people who may not agree with our point of view."

### Lessons from history

These concepts about how to repel government disruption attempts are not new. They have been principles of the working-class movement observed by Marx, Engels, and Lenin.

Let's look at an example from history.

During the years when the Russian Bolshevik party was forced by tsarist repression to operate as an illegal organization, a police informer named Malinovsky managed to rise into the highest

leadership bodies of that party. He became a member of its political bureau.

At various times suspicions about Malinovsky began to circulate inside the party. But there was never any evidence. Leon Trotsky, one of the central leaders of the Russian revolution, explained how Lenin handled these rumors.

"Lenin's opponents subjected him to a prolonged and cruel barrage for 'sheltering' Malinovsky," Trotsky wrote in his unfinished biography of Stalin.

"... But in those days," Trotsky continued, "suspicions, complicated at times by factional hostility, poisoned the atmosphere of the underground. No one presented any direct evidence against Malinovsky. . . ."

"And since Malinovsky occupied a responsible position and the reputation of the Party depended to a certain extent on his reputation, Lenin deemed it his duty to defend Malinovsky with the energy which always distinguished him."

After the February 1917 revolution, evidence in the tsar's archives proved that Malinovsky was an informer. In 1918 he was put on trial and convicted for his crimes.

In Lenin's testimony before an investigating commission, he defended his earlier rejection of vague rumors and suspicions. A summary of his testimony at the hearing makes his views quite clear:

"It happened that Malinovsky was transformed into one of the links of the long and solid chain connecting our illegal base with the two chief legal organs by which our Party influenced the masses: *Pravda* [the Bolsheviks' newspaper] and the Duma Fraction. [The Duma was a largely powerless parliament set up by the tsar as a concession following revolutionary outbreaks in Russia in the early years of this century.]

"The *agent provocateur*," Lenin concluded, "had to serve both these organs in order to justify his vocation."

Of course, Lenin did not mean that Malinovsky had done no harm in the party. Through the activity of Malinovsky and numerous other tsarist agents inside the party, thousands of revolutionists had been sent to prison, exile, and even death. But through Lenin's handling of the Malinovsky rumors, far greater harm to the party was avoided—and the police informer was even forced to help popularize socialist ideas.

### End government spying

The campaign against government spying and harassment being waged by the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance has contributed greatly to understanding how Washington's political police operate. It has helped expose the government's favorite methods: red-baiting, "snitch jackets," provocations, rumors, and violence.

Masses of people in this country have seen just how American "democracy" goes about helping the ruling rich protect their monopoly of political and economic power.

As an editorial in the *Nation* magazine put it recently, "For the FBI a vital principle is at stake in the SWP suit, but the rest of us can only be pleased that fearful informers are dropping out of circulation, thus hampering the bureau's repellent work as a political police force."



JAMES P. CANNON: 'A "spy scare" caused by planted "disinformation" can do a hundred times more damage than any spies by undermining the confidence of comrades in each other and disrupting the comradely collaboration which is necessary for fruitful work.'

## ides Glimpse ormer's World

MAN KEMPSTER

es Staff Writer

just 1975, for burglary, and in September 1973, for extortion. He was prosecuted on the malicious or extortion charges and was probation on the burglary charge.

In February, 1975, Redfearn contact agent reported that he had admitted committing "a burglary because he was in need for money."

The bureau was offended and cut Redfearn off the pay seven months. The burglar Redfearn admitted had no contact with his FBI informant role.

But Redfearn served his tushship as a thief more than earlier when he stole political funds, personal bank statements, other documents from the files of the Socialist Workers and from a house where this

### F. B. I. MUST GIVE DATA ON INFORMER

Ordered by Federal Judge  
to Turn Over File to  
Socialist Workers

By ARNOLD H. LUBASCH

A judge has ordered the Federal Bureau of Investigation to turn over its file concerning an F.B.I. informant who reportedly carried out a burglary on July 7 at the offices of the Socialist Workers Party in Denver.

Judge Thomas P. Griesa, who issued the order yesterday in

If the C.I.A. declines to give him unexpurgated documents, the judge said, then he wants "someone knowledgeable from the C.I.A." to explain to him in private why the Government contends that the specific documents are privileged material that should be kept secret.

John S. Siffert and William S. Brandt, assistant United States attorneys representing the Government, told the judge that they would give him an answer from the C.I.A. as soon as possible.

The immediate issue in the C.I.A. aspect of the case concerns two affidavits that George Bush, the agency's chief, submitted this month in response to the suit's request for information about surveillance of the Socialist Workers Party.

In one of the sworn statements, Mr. Bush disclosed that C.I.A. files contained information

## r Probe Of Marxist ckfires on FBI

are unconstitutional the government's use of informers in political groups.

In addition to the Justice Department probe, the suit has resulted in:

- A federal court ruling ordering the FBI to surrender some of its closely guarded informers' files.
- Disclosures that at least one FBI informant, Timothy J. Redfearn of Denver, who spied on the SWP there, was kept on the bureau's payroll and given good ratings even though he had a criminal record.

• Use by a New York FBI agent, Joseph Furrer, of his Fifth Amendment privilege against self-incrimination, the first such action by an agent in memory. The SWP said Furrer knew about burglaries of its new offices.

• An unprecedented admission by an FBI agent, George P. Baxtrum Jr., that, before 1965, he partici-



arsenal employed by government informers

## Interview with exiled freedom fighter

# Bernal: 'We want the U.S. out of Panama!'

From Intercontinental Press

[Miguel Antonio Bernal is an exiled opponent of the Torrijos regime in Panama. He recently conducted a speaking tour on political repression in Panama, under the auspices of the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners. The following excerpts are from an interview obtained in New York October 28.]

\* \* \*

**Question.** What can you tell us about the latest demonstrations in Panama and the repression that accompanied them?

**Answer.** The demonstrations in Panama City from September 10 to 20 were a protest by the Panamanian masses against the high cost of living our country has been experiencing, above all during the last two years.

Without any warning, the Panamanian government decided to raise the prices of two basic food items—rice and milk—as well as of other basic goods.

The demonstrations began in the secondary schools but quickly gained the support and participation of the people as a whole.

The military regime headed by General Omar Torrijos presented the demonstrations as a campaign to "destabilize" the regime. They accused the American intelligence agency—the CIA—of promoting this campaign.

Of course, no one in Panama ever believed that the demonstrations had really been organized or carried out by CIA agents. Everyone was aware that they were fundamentally led by the Frente Estudiantil Revolucionario [FER—Revolutionary Student Front], the Guaykucho organization, and the Liga Socialista Revolucionaria [LSR—Revolutionary Socialist League, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International]—the three main organizations of the Panamanian revolutionary left.

The regime also used antiriot troops to physically repress all demonstrations that were held. Dozens of persons were wounded, not to speak of those arrested and then mistreated in prison—above all the young students arrested on September 20. Many of them reached prison after having been badly beaten with clubs and suffering the effects of the massive amounts of tear gas and the antiriot dogs used by the police.

The repression was selective. Only certain persons were arrested, and student leaders were singled out for threats. The university was closed. All types of public meetings were banned.

This opened the eyes of the Panamanian masses to the true character of the regime. Although it has always presented itself as "populist," it has now shown that after offering the



Panamanian students demonstrating for U.S. withdrawal were brutally attacked by Torrijos government.

carrot, it moves in with the stick.

The regime took advantage of the incidents to send an exile back to Chile. Compañero Edmundo Arenas was arrested September 20 and deported the following day. When he reached Chile he once again fell into the hands of the notorious Chilean DINA [Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional—National Intelligence Bureau, the political police], which is holding him in prison.

**Q.** The press here made a big point that the demonstrations did not raise the question of the canal or the role of the United States in Panama. How accurate is this?

**A.** It should be pointed out that in fact the demonstrations in Panama, particularly in the last two years, have always raised the demand for the immediate withdrawal of the American military from our territory.

This time, because of the immediate situation, it was urgent to attack the price increases. That does not mean, however, that the problem of the military bases or the American presence on our soil has stopped being an urgent problem.

**Q.** Can you briefly summarize the facts of your deportation?

**A.** I was expelled from Panama when I returned from a trip to Europe last February 18. I was deported to the city of Guayaquil, Ecuador, after being held more than twenty-four hours in a barracks at the Panama airport, without any explanation. The government still has not formally accused me of anything related to my deportation.

Fundamentally I attribute my expulsion to the fact that I have always totally opposed—and will continue to oppose—the American military presence on my soil, as well as the regime's policy on the negotiations with Washington.

**Q.** Concretely, how does the U.S. military apparatus function in Panama?

**A.** Washington established its presence in Panama in 1903 with the so-called Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty. That treaty stipulated that Panama would cede to the United States in perpetuity a territory of 553 square miles for the construction, maintenance, functioning, and protection of the Panama Canal.

Washington has managed to make the Canal Zone one of its most important military centers on the entire Latin American continent, if not the most important. Of the land included in the so-called Canal Zone, 68 percent is used for military installations and not for matters related to the canal.

Today in the Canal Zone there are between 10,000 and 20,000 American troops. That is where, for example, the invasion of Santo Domingo was launched. That is where the people who assassinated Che Guevara in Bolivia were trained. The forces that went to help in one way or another in the 1973 Chile coup departed from the Canal Zone.

Washington built several towns in the Zone to resemble Vietnamese villages, and it was there that they trained the Green Berets before sending them to Vietnam.

**Q.** What is the relationship between the Torrijos regime and Washington?

**A.** They both want to work out a treaty that safeguards American interests and permits Torrijos to stay in power.

To do this they have developed a policy that can be explained in the following way: The State Department tolerates Torrijos's radical-sounding speeches because they feel that his regime can assure a new treaty in which American interests will continue to prevail in Panama.

The Torrijos regime has managed to stay in power thanks to the important economic aid provided by Washington and by the different international bodies Washington has decisive weight in, such as the Inter-American Development Bank, the Agency for International Development (AID), and the International Monetary Fund.

The United States totally controls the economy of the country. Panama has no currency of its own. The national currency is the dollar. The 1972 constitution, drafted by the Torrijos regime, forbids the issuing of currency.

Torrijos's type of cheap populist demagoguery tries to take advantage of the aspirations of the Panamanian masses to immediately regain their land so as to negotiate bigger concessions from the United States, above all in financial aid, which is what he needs the most to enable him and his incredibly corrupt, despotic regime to stay in power.

We can review the entire policy of the regime in its eight years in office and see that neither in the social arena nor in the economic arena has it carried out a single step that has really benefited the Panamanian masses. For example, there has not been a single expropriation of any company in Panama. They did not even dare to expropriate United Fruit Company or the electric company. They bought the stock of these companies from their American owners.

At the same time, the Panamanian masses have been suffering more and more blows. There is a lack of democratic rights, a high cost of living, and almost 80,000 persons unemployed now. The government's control over the trade unions is supported by the pro-Moscow Communist party. To carry out the repression, Panamanian military forces have grown from 3,000 troops in 1968 to almost 12,000 today.

**Q.** What do you hope to accomplish in your American speaking tour?

**A.** We feel that the American people are called upon to play a very important, decisive role in our regaining the Panama Canal and the so-called Canal Zone, and securing the immediate withdrawal of military troops.

We are not fighting against the American people. We see the American working class as an ally in our struggle against the capitalist system and its expression in American imperialism. That is why there is such a big need to create closer ties between the Panamanian and American peoples.

## Bernal tours 11 U.S. cities

Exiled Panamanian freedom fighter Miguel Antonio Bernal completed a three-week speaking tour of the United States November 24.

During the tour, which was sponsored by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), he visited eleven cities from San Francisco to Miami. He spoke at more than twenty meetings on university campuses and in Latino communities. The largest meeting was one of 150 persons at California State University in Northridge.

Among the groups Bernal addressed were a statewide meeting of Chicano law students in Texas and a meeting of Chilean refugees in California.

Bernal's tour received extensive coverage in most cities. In California, he was interviewed by two television and three radio stations. In Houston, he appeared on three television programs and spoke on one radio show.

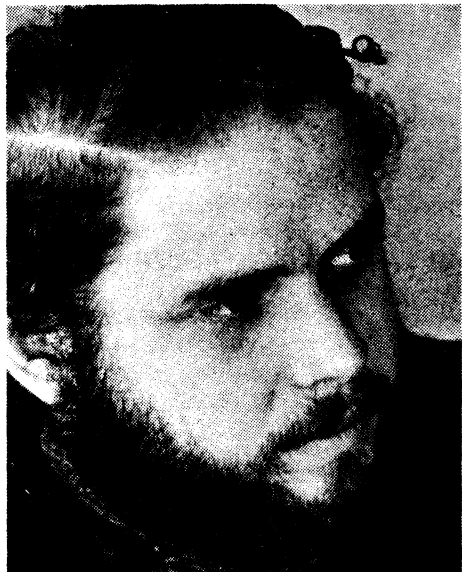
Articles on his meetings appeared in a number of campus newspapers and in the Hartford, Connecticut, *Courant*, one of the city's daily

papers.

A prominent news article in the November 16 issue of *The Daily Cougar* reported Bernal's meeting at the University of Houston. Control of the canal is equivalent to control of Panama, *The Cougar* quoted him as saying. "There are 700,000 people in the capital city who have to walk across the Canal Zone to get to the other side of their own country." At times, American troops have closed off the Zone to Panamanians, cutting the country in half, and have shut off the water supply to Panama City.

Many persons at the meetings signed an open letter to Torrijos demanding that Bernal and other exiles be allowed to return to Panama.

"Bernal told us that people who attended his meetings are hungry for the basic facts of Washington's domination of Panama," USLA tour organizer Mike Kelly said. "These facts are an essential prerequisite for informing public opinion here on the need to protest the repression of Torrijos's critics and Washington's collaboration in the repression."



Militant/Susan Ellis

MIGUEL ANTONIO BERNAL



# World Outlook

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

DECEMBER 17, 1976

## Protest austerity measures

# Two million join Nov. 12 general strike in Spain

By Marcos Urrutia

Recently the government of the Spanish monarchy decided to meet the deep economic crisis in Spain with a series of measures that go directly against the workers' interests:

1. Wages below 25,000 pesetas [US\$367.50] will not be allowed to rise more than two "points" (2,000 pesetas) above the rise of the cost of living as reported in the official index. Wages above 25,000 pesetas will only be allowed to increase the equivalent of this official inflation index.

The official index is established by the National Institute of Statistics. One year ago, the very technicians of this state body publicly admitted that their indices were far below the real increases in prices.

2. Article 35 of the Labor Relations Law has been quashed. This means that if a worker is illegally laid off, the courts can force the company to reimburse him for the equivalent of two months' wages, but they cannot force the bosses to reinstate the illegally-laid-off worker. This measure will facilitate the laying off of leaders whom the bourgeoisie feels uncomfortable with.

According to the magazine *Cambio 16*, the measure will mean an increase in the number of unemployed—which is close to one million at present—by not less than 100,000.

Of course, strikes continue to be illegal under the dictatorship. Participation in them is cause for immediate layoff at the work place, with no possibility of any protest.

3. The law now being decreed establishes that if within ten days of negotiations to renew contracts there

is no agreement reached between the workers and the bosses, the labor ministry will set the new wages, which in no case can exceed the ceilings derived from the official index for the cost of living. The companies—especially the big ones that can easily plan to have a sufficient level of stock on hand—will only have to block the negotiations with any excuse for the decision on the contract to pass immediately into the hands of the authorities.

All the political and trade-union organizations of the workers movement are still illegal. There are still laws against holding meetings, "illegal" propaganda, "illicit" association, and so forth. It has only been the important advances of the mass movement throughout Spain, especially following the death of the dictator Franco, that have made it increasingly possible for leaders to appear publicly as members of one or another current in the workers movement.

In face of this state of affairs, the Coordinadora de Organizaciones Sindicales [COS—Coordinating Committee of Trade-Union Organizations]—whose members are the Workers Commissions, Unión General de Trabajadores [UGT—General



Informations Ouvrière

November 12 strike was part of a growing wave of working-class militancy in Spain. Photo above shows massive demonstration in Madrid last September.

Workers Union], and Unión Sindical Obrera [USO—Workers Trade Union]—called a national twenty-four-hour work stoppage for all sectors of production on November 12. The call was based on the following demands:

- Against the wage freeze. For a 6,000 peseta a month raise for all.
  - Against unemployment. For the creation of jobs and adequate unemployment compensation.
  - Against unrestricted layoffs. For guaranteed jobs and a labor amnesty.
  - Against the trade-union "reform."
- For an end to the fascist trade unions. For trade-union democracy.

Two million workers responded to the call, according to reports from COS published in the Madrid daily *El País*. The highest percentage of strikers was

in the Basque country (Euzkadi), followed by Catalonia and Madrid.

The police reported having detained 247 workers who were picketing during the strike and announced harsh fines for all of them.

The leadership placed a series of limitations on the strike. In the first place, the COS did not include any directly political demands in its platform, nothing expressing the desire of the masses to get rid of the dictatorship and to win freedom. The political aims that broad sectors of the population have been fighting for in recent months should have been included in the mobilization:

- For a total amnesty.
- For the legalization of all parties

*Continued on page 21*

## Spanish Trotskyists released

More than thirty members of the Spanish Liga Comunista Revolucionaria (LCR—Revolutionary Communist League, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International) were released on bail from the Martutene prison in San Sebastián November 25. They were among the 154 participants at a conference of the LCR arrested five days earlier. The other persons detained had been released without charges after being held for seventy-two hours.

Among those charged and released on bail ranging from 10,000 to 40,000 pesetas (US\$1=P68.03) were seven top leaders of the LCR—José Francisco Barriola, Begoña Arrien, Francisco Rafael Ayestarán, José Ignacio Uribarri, Jorge Jaumandreu, and José Daniel Garay—who were presiding at the session when the LCR conference was raided, and Jaime Pastor, representing the LCR Central Committee at the meeting.

It is not known what the LCR members are charged with, but the organization is still legally banned, despite the so-called liberalization being carried out by the Juan Carlos regime. Penalties for belonging to a banned organization or for attending one of its meetings can be stiff.

Even more threatening was a November 23 police claim that twenty-two Molotov cocktails had been found in the Paseo de los Fueros in San Sebastián. According to the November 24 issue of *La Vanguardia Española*, the police say they "could" have been left there by some member of ETA-VI Assembly (Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna-VI—Basque Nation and Freedom-VI)—up until recently, the name of the Basque wing of the LCR. The police report speculated that an ETA-VI member dumped the firebombs there when he found out about the arrests at the LCR conference, to get rid of them before house-to-house searches took place.

The arrests were met by immediate protests from various sectors of the left.

Within twenty-four hours, posters in Basque demanding "Freedom for the 100 from Euzkadi" were pasted up by the LCR in major Basque cities.

On November 23, a district-wide university assembly in Bilbao issued a press release protesting the arrests and calling a demonstration.

The Communist party in Euzkadi issued a statement in which they said, "Once again freedom and

democracy have been ignored by the reform government."

The Workers Commissions of the Barcelona bank workers issued a press release condemning the selective repression used against "the parties and trade-union organizations that most consistently have fought and continue to fight for freedom and democracy."

The National Committee of the LCR in Catalonia issued an appeal for international protest:

"[The arrest of 150 LCR members] is an extremely serious blow against our organization. Not only because of the number of arrests, but also because the monarchy will view the response the vanguard and the movement are capable of making in solidarity with us as a test. If this response is not broad and forceful enough, the government will try to hold a significant number of comrades in jail and force us underground. That is why the response we are capable of mounting nationally and internationally will be of fundamental importance in the fight to win legality for our organization and consequently, for other organizations of the revolutionary left."



KING JUAN CARLOS: trying to solve Spain's economic crisis by attacking workers' standard of living.



## Biermann uses tour to blast repression on both sides of Berlin wall

By Ulrich Ahrens

BOCHUM—The East German poet and singer Wolf Biermann was deprived of his citizenship November 16, two hours before he was scheduled to give his second concert. The bureaucracy claimed that in his first appearance, in Cologne three days before, he had "defamed" the state.

The campaign that led to this tour began here in Bochum, an industrial town in the Ruhr area, at the Ruhr University. Early this year, there was a big rally at the local university against the "Berufsverbot," the blacklisting of radicals from state jobs. The featured entertainer was the well-known songwriter Franz-Josef Degenhardt, who performed some of his songs. Although the purpose of the rally was to protest the blacklisting of persons for their political beliefs, Degenhardt refused to oppose the "Berufsverbot" applied against his East German colleague, Wolf Biermann, who has been prevented from performing in public for many years by the bureaucracy.

The student group of the West German Communist party, which sponsored the rally, prevented any discussion of such practices in the German "Democratic Republic."

In response to this hypocrisy, an Initiative Group for "Free Travel and Free Speech for Wolf Biermann, for Wolf Biermann to Perform in Bochum," was formed by students, professors, and trade unionists. The participants knew that he would attack political repression in both parts of Germany.

The demands raised by this group found immediate support within the

German workers and trade-union movement. The appeal it issued was signed by many trade unionists and representatives of the SPD [Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands—Social Democratic party of Germany], including prominent members of the coalition government and even the mayor of West Berlin, Klaus Schütz.

A number of political groups supported the campaign, among them the GIM [Gruppe Internationale Marxisten—International Marxist Group, German section of the Fourth International], as well as trade-union organizations, factory councils, and student bodies. Prominent artists and writers gave their endorsement. The Initiative Group was able to collect about 7,000 signatures in support of its demands.

It was a big victory for the Initiative Group when the East German bureaucracy granted Biermann a visa in October. His opening performance in Cologne was sponsored by IG Metall, the metalworkers union. In a four-hour program, he alternated songs and poems with discussion of political repression in the GDR and the Federal Republic.

### Rosa's red democracy

Biermann made it absolutely clear that he considers himself a communist and is not going to give an inch to the pressure of the reactionary bourgeois forces in West Germany. He stressed: "German unity is too precious to entrust to the Black Rabble." He was referring to the Christian Democrats, the Catholic party that is the main political representative of the bourgeoisie. Clericalist parties are called



WOLF BIERMANN: Exiled German poet fights to return home

Rouge

"black" in Germany from the color of the priests' cassocks.

At the same time, Biermann defended the GDR against the Maoist groups in West Germany. They denounce the East German deformed workers state as "fascist." He said he wanted a workers state with proletarian democracy, such as Rosa Luxemburg called for. What East Germany needs to become a workers state in the full sense, he said, is "Rosa's red democracy."

Of course, since Biermann has developed his political views in isolation and in a society in which information does not circulate freely, it is not surprising that there are many contradictions in his attitudes. He revealed these on his tour. He suggests that the Stalinist bureaucracy can be reformed so that it will take a revolutionary course.

However, the East German bureaucracy was infuriated by Biermann's criticism of their rule over the workers, which he scored again and again in his songs. The bureaucrats took advantage of his trip to the West to deprive him of his citizenship. But this measure could easily backfire. Biermann has said that he does not want to live in the capitalist West, and that he will strive to reenter East Berlin.

The demand to "Let him in again" will be a powerful one in the coming weeks. The slogan of "Free travel and free speech for Wolf Biermann," which was raised by the Bochum Initiative Group, retains its full force. Thus, the Stalinist bureaucracy in the GDR may again come under heavy pressure.

An indication of the possibilities for such a campaign are the protests against the measure that have come not only from the French and Italian CPs but even from sections of the West German DKP [Deutsche Kommunistische Partei—German Communist party], which up till now has been the most subservient of the West European CPs, endorsing any action by the Kremlin or East Berlin.

In the meantime, Biermann is continuing his tour. He finally appeared in Bochum on November 19 in the Ruhrlandhalle. Before a hall packed with 4,000 people, he presented both old and new songs and engaged in a vivid dialogue with the audience. He reprimanded some stewards for trying to prevent the Maoists from speaking. He wanted a completely free and democratic discussion, and he got it.

### Rudi Dutschke

As at previous meetings, the discussion focused on the question of political repression in both parts of Germany and how best to fight it. A speech by Rudi Dutschke, formerly the most prominent student leader in the coun-

try and still an authoritative figure, was of special interest.

Dutschke called for unity in the struggle against all kinds of political repression and for the defense of the democratic freedoms that have been won by the working class. He scored sectarians who stayed away from the Biermann campaign, or even opposed it, because of the participation of Social Democrats.

At the same time, the former student leader criticized the opportunism of the "left" Social Democrats involved, who were outspoken enough in protesting the violation of democratic rights in Biermann's case, but remained silent about other instances of repression or infringement of these rights in West Germany.

Dutschke argued strongly that freedom and democratic rights are indivisible—that you cannot fight political repression in the GDR and turn a blind eye on the erosion of democratic rights in West Germany, and expect to have any credibility. This maxim, he said, is equally true the other way around. And both Stalinists and Social Democrats, each in their own way, have been guilty of hypocrisy.

### 'Unholy alliance'

The problem that Biermann represents for the West German authorities is shown by the way they handled the television broadcast of his concert in Cologne.

Broadcasting this concert was an excellent opportunity to expose the violation of democratic rights in the GDR. Some 80 percent of the population there could pick up the broadcast and see that Biermann is not an opponent of socialism, as the bureaucracy represents him. What figure could make a more stirring defense of freedom or a more biting denunciation of bureaucratic dictatorship than Biermann?

But the West German authorities shifted the broadcast to the night program between 10:00 p.m. and 2:00 a.m., when many fewer people could watch. The Christian Democrats said this was necessary "in order not to submit our citizens to hours of political indoctrination."

This move by the Christian Democrats shows how the West German bourgeoisie and the East German Stalinist bureaucracy work together to stifle the democratic rights of the working people in both parts of Germany. The campaign to support Biermann's right to return to the GDR can point out the way to smash this unholy alliance and show that full democratic rights can be won only in the framework of a socialist society run by the workers.

## E. Germany cracks down on dissent

The brutality of the East German regime's deportation of Wolf Biermann was as glaring as its arbitrariness. In its November 18 issue, the liberal West German daily *Frankfurter Rundschau* reported: "[The East German dissident] Havemann says that Biermann's wife is 'desperate.' Government agents have already visited her to mark the furniture for removal." The Biermanns have a six-month-old son.

The East German state had already interfered in Biermann's personal life. The Essen daily, *Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, reported:

"They tried by every means to separate Christine, the daughter of a state functionary, from Biermann. She was threatened with the loss of her scholarship. They threatened that her father would lose his job. . . . The official decree depriving Biermann of his citizenship also took away his personal property. It did not mention his wife and son."

Biermann came into open disfavor with the bureaucracy in 1962, when his play *Berliner Brautgang* ("Berlin Wedding") was banned. It was about the impact of the division of the city on the lives of individuals. He was allowed to perform four years more, although tensions kept increasing.

In 1966, Horst Sindermann, a member of the Central Committee of the East German CP, publicly threatened him:

"Mr. Biermann should not be surprised if one day he finds other people outside his door besides the milkman." After this his home was continually watched by secret police who did not bother to hide their presence.

Biermann's banishment was followed by a wave of police terror and intimidation. At 3:00 p.m. on November 20, Christine Biermann's phone was cut off, the West German weekly *Der Spiegel* reported in its November 22 issue. An hour and a half later Robert Havemann's phone went dead. The physicist Havemann is a friend of the Biermann family. The day before, Jürgen Fuchs, a dissident writer living in the Havemann home, was arrested. On November 26, the physicist himself was jailed.

The art restorer Peter Schwarzbach hung a sign in East Berlin's Märkische Museum immediately after the banishment was announced, protesting the measure. He disappeared the next morning on his way to work. His arrest was announced only days later, on November 21.

## Challenge to 'social contract'

# 80,000 march against cutbacks in Britain

By John Blackburn

LONDON—On November 17, approximately 80,000 trade unionists, students, and socialists marched through London to demand an end to the Labour government's cuts in social service spending and to protest the massive unemployment (now about 1.5 million). It was the largest demonstration held since the Trades Union Congress (TUC) organised a mass campaign against the Tory government's antiunion Industrial Relations Bill in 1971.

Earlier this year, Chancellor of the Exchequer Denis Healey announced a series of cuts in social service spending totalling £3000 million. The public-sector union, the National Union of Public Employees (NUPE), responded in May by initiating plans for the demonstration.

Behind a banner proclaiming, "Stop the Cuts—Save Jobs," the NUPE massed large contingents from thirteen national unions. The National Executive Committee of the Labour party and 113 Labour members of Parliament supported the demonstration, against the wishes of the Labour government. Numerous Constituency Labour parties joined the action.

The growing opposition in the labour movement to the Callaghan-Healey leadership's policies is adding to the government's problems at a time when its economic strategy is heading for disaster and the pound is sliding on the international money markets. The November 17 demonstration was an implicit challenge to the social contract, a deal between the government and the trade union bureaucracy designed to reduce workers' living standards on order to boost the fortunes of British capitalism.

An opinion poll, published in the November 18 *Daily Telegraph*, claimed that Labour had only 30 percent of the electorate's support, while the Tories had 55 percent, indicating a crushing defeat for Labour if a general election were to be held in the near future. This confirms the trend seen in three recent by-elections in former Labour strongholds, two of which were lost to the

Tories. These results reflect a growing disillusionment with the present Labour party leadership and even a drift by sections of the working class into the ranks of Tory voters.

In addition, the Tories, who advocate even more savage cuts than Labour has yet proposed, have sought to take advantage of divisions in the Labour party by whipping up a witch-hunt. On November 15, Tory MP Ian Sproat attacked the Labour party for being infiltrated by a "fifth column of Communists."

A right-wing grouping within the Labour party, the Social Democratic Alliance, which has no MPs, joined the Tory witch-hunt by publishing November 16 a list of thirty-five "left-wing" Labour MPs, whom they claimed had "communist allegiances" and were dedicated to "Marxist totalitarianism." These attacks are part of a carefully calculated campaign designed to confuse and demoralise those Labour supporters who are moving to seek a left-wing alternative to the present leadership's policies.

The grim consequences of increasing unemployment, spiralling prices, and the rapid deterioration of health and social services have prompted the growth within the labour movement, as the November 17 demonstration indicated, of a large current that is now challenging the right-wing policies of the Labour leadership.

Women accounted for more than 50

percent of those taking part in the action, while significant numbers of Black and immigrant workers were also present. These groups have traditionally suffered the poorest working conditions and lowest pay in the health and public services, but to some extent had secure employment. The loss of that security has created a new wave of militancy among these workers.

The NUPE, whose membership is drawn mostly from such workers, had by far the largest contingent on the march. Thousands in the NUPE contingent carried placards demanding, "Cut Arms, Not Hospitals." The effect of the cuts on the National Health Service (NHS) was reflected in the sizable contingents from other unions with large memberships in the NHS. London will be particularly affected by the NHS cuts, with 130 of the present 150 hospitals set to close.

In addition to the NHS workers, there were big contingents of teachers. It is estimated that there are around 20,000 teachers unemployed at present. Many new school building projects have been scrapped and recently the government announced plans to close thirty teacher training colleges next year.

Another new feature of this demonstration was a good-sized contingent of several thousand civil servants—workers who traditionally have had a

conservative outlook, but who over recent months have shown a growing militancy and willingness to struggle.

Thousands of students from all over Britain came to the demonstration in response to the call from the leadership of the National Union of Students. On the morning of the march, *Sennet*, London's student newspaper, carried a headline appealing: "Demonstrate. Join the long march against the cuts." The response in London was immense, with dozens of colleges closed for the day.

The march finished at the houses of Parliament, where many demonstrators went to lobby MPs, while thousands of others went to a meeting nearby, at which dozens of Labour MPs and representatives of unions supporting the demonstration gave speeches.

A great polarisation is taking place in British society. Despite the abject procapitalist course of the trade union and Labour party bureaucracies, the ruling class has embarked on a campaign aimed at further dividing the labour movement through its attacks on the unemployed and the witch-hunt aimed at the "left" of the Labour party. This is designed to ensure a Tory victory in a general election and to cripple the workers movement, thus preventing an adequate defence against their planned attacks.

The November 17 demonstration, on the other hand, shows the resilience of the working class, sections of which are beginning to move into action after months of quiescence, having been duped by the social contract. They acted despite the refusal of the TUC and Britain's largest industrial unions to end their slavish support for the government and endorse the demonstration.

Within this growing militant movement, there is developing a new generation of leaders, which is willing to organise the struggle of the masses of working people around a programme for their own interests. This can challenge the decay and confusion bred by the social contract and prepare the workers to put up an effective fight against the ruling class's offensive.



Part of November 17 demonstration

Red Weekly

## ...Africa

*Continued from page 22*

the Smith regime can gain a respite is by dividing the liberation struggle. The endeavours of Kissinger, Callaghan, Vorster, Smith, and company are designed to do just that. The front-line presidents and petty-bourgeois nationalist leaders go along with this. They concede in advance the right of the imperialists to intervene in Zimbabwe

by their demand that "Britain assume its responsibilities" for a constitutional transfer of power.

The Fourth International states its unconditional solidarity with the freedom struggle in Zimbabwe. It supports those in the national liberation movement who have rejected Smith's arrogant demands. It calls upon the workers movement to give all possible aid to the Zimbabwean freedom struggle. From the workers states (in the first place the Soviet Union and China) it demands that they give

unconditional solidarity and all necessary material support to those fighting imperialism and racism in southern Africa. It calls upon the organizations of the working class everywhere to unite in an international campaign of solidarity with the Zimbabwean liberation struggle and to back this up by a campaign of demonstrations, propaganda, and political education.

To the imperialist project of a two-year transitional government, we counterpose:

*Immediate majority rule now!*

*Self-determination for Zimbabwe!*

To the various constitutional plans of Kissinger, Callaghan, Vorster, and Smith—which all seek to limit self-determination—we counterpose:

*One person, one vote!*

*Release all political prisoners in Zimbabwe!*

*End the state of emergency!*

To their neocolonialist plots and to imperialist intervention in southern Africa, we counterpose:

*U.S. and British imperialism out of southern Africa now!*

Place the blame for the dictatorship's crimes where it belongs. Punish the perpetrators of fascist crimes.

• Self-determination for the oppressed nations (Euzkadi, Catalonia, Valencia, the Balears and Canaries).

In the second place, the COS clearly showed its intention to strictly control the mobilization. The COS leadership wanted to support a day of work stoppages, but without mass meetings, without demonstrations and protest rallies against the government, without political aims of any sort.

Why did the COS place these limita-

tions on the November 12 action?

The only explanation is that now the leaders of the Workers Commissions, the UGT, and the USO have made heavy commitments to some sectors of the capitalists, like the Christian Democracy and the Independent Group. These commitments force them to limit their goals.

Under such conditions, with such an obstacle to an independent mobilization, it is very difficult to gather sufficient forces for a defense against the bourgeoisie and its government. The alliance with the "democratic"

capitalists not only does not offer us effective solutions for the future, it also harms our struggle right now. They say that we workers should reach a truce with the government, at least "until the elections." We know that those "elections" are going to be a sham since the workers and people's parties and organizations have not been granted legal status. Furthermore, there can be no truce as long as the government freezes wages, prevents negotiations, recognizes unrestricted layoffs, and punishes strikers.

## ...Spain

*Continued from page 19*

and organizations of the workers and people's movement.

• For unrestricted democratic rights.

• For immediate elections to a constituent assembly.

• Dissolve the repressive bodies.



## South African police hunt down students in Soweto

By Ernest Harsch

After arresting virtually every Black leader in South Africa known to them, the white supremacist regime has now shifted the focus of its witch-hunt against the student movement as a whole.

On the morning of October 22, police, arriving in twenty vehicles, surrounded Morris Isaacson High School in the Black township of Soweto, which has been the center of the massive antigovernment protests that began in mid-June. All teachers and students found in the school were seized. Gen. Mike Geldenhuys, the chief of the security police, announced November 2 that sixteen of the teachers had been released, although most of the students, believed to number about sixty, were still in custody.

In the weeks that followed, the police began house-to-house searches in the Black townships near Johannesburg in an effort to track down students who were boycotting final examinations to protest the regime's racist education policy and the detention of thousands of political prisoners. According to a school official in Soweto, police had seized school registers to obtain the addresses of students on a "wanted" list.

In a dispatch from Soweto published in the November 12 *Washington Post*, correspondent Jim Hoagland reported, "This week police switched to raiding houses and picking up school-age youngsters off the streets in their efforts to break the student movement."

"Soweto residents report, however, that what they see as the indiscriminate arrests of hundreds of Soweto youths in recent days is fostering new sympathy for the students among previously uncommitted adults and creating dangerous new resentment of the police."

Some of the students seized on the streets were as young as 8 to 10 years old. According to a teacher quoted by Hoagland, "None of the students sleep at home now. They go to stay in other townships and hundreds of them have slipped out of the country to save their skins."

### Botswana exiles

An official in neighboring Botswana has reported that more than 500 Soweto students have crossed the border into that country since June. A United Nations report stated that 130 more had sought refuge in Swaziland. Not all of those trying to flee the country made it, however. The No-



STEVE BIKO

vember 13 weekly edition of the Johannesburg *Star* reported that, according to Gen. Geldenhuys, a carload of eight Soweto students headed for Botswana was intercepted and the students were arrested by the security police.

The hunting down of student activists is only the most recent phase of the Vorster regime's massive crackdown against the Black freedom struggle. Between June 16—the day of the first mass Black protests in Soweto—and October 31, nearly 4,200 persons were arrested and charged in court, according to the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR).

### Lashings

Of that number, more than 1,200 have already been convicted; 926 were "juveniles" and 355 were adults. Fines or suspended sentences were given to 431 of them. One "juvenile" and 182 adults were sentenced to prison terms. The remainder—528 "juveniles" and 139 adults—were sentenced to lashings.

The barbaric practice of lashing prisoners has been described by Allen Cook in his account of the South African prison system.\* "A black is tied to a wooden frame," he writes, "his clothing is pulled down and he is hit with a cane. The flesh of the buttocks is torn. . . . Lashes have led to death, as in the case of Phillip Lekale, a 16-year-old juvenile whose death a few hours after being lashed was certified as due to 'natural causes.'"

In addition to those who have been

\*South Africa: *The Imprisoned Society* (London: International Defence and Aid Fund, 1974), p. 10.

convicted or who are still facing trial, the SAIRR reported that it knew of 423 persons held without charges under the country's various security laws. Forty-four of them were in the Transkei, one of ten African reserves. Since the apartheid regime does not publish the names of those arrested under these laws, the total figure could be much higher. In October, Minister of Justice, Police, and Prisons James T. Kruger revealed that 697 persons were being detained for "security reasons."

The witch-hunt has struck every sector of the Black community. In addition to student leaders and activists, the police have seized Black trade unionists, doctors, religious figures, women's leaders, journalists, teachers, playwrights, and poets.

### Black consciousness

The central target of the repression is the nationalist current known as the Black Consciousness movement, and the groups identified with it, such as the South African Students Organisation (SASO), the Black People's Convention (BPC), and the South African Student Movement (SASM).

Two of the key leaders of the Black Consciousness movement now held in Vorster's jails are Steve Biko and Barney Pitso. Other leaders known to have been seized include BPC General Secretary Thandisizwe Mazibuko and Acting Publicity Secretary Lentse Mokgatle, and SASM Organising Secretary Zweli Sizani. In addition, SASO General Secretary Thamazana Zani has not been heard of since his arrest in October 1975.

At least seven leaders of the Black Women's Federation (BWF), which was formed less than a year ago, have also been detained. They are: Winnie Mandela, an executive member of the BWF and of the Black Parents Association (BPA) in Soweto, and wife of imprisoned African nationalist leader Nelson Mandela; Fatima Meer, the president of the BWF at the time of her arrest in August and a well-known author and sociologist; Sally Motlana, a BWF executive member and the president of the African Housewives League; Jeannie Noel, assistant secretary of the BWF; Jane Oshadi Phakathi, the Transvaal regional director of the Christian Institute of Southern Africa; Vesta Smith, an executive member of CORD (Charge or Release Detainees) and of the BPA; and Joyce Seroke, an executive member of the Young Women's Christian Association for Southern Africa.

Among the arrested trade unionists are June Rose Nala of the National

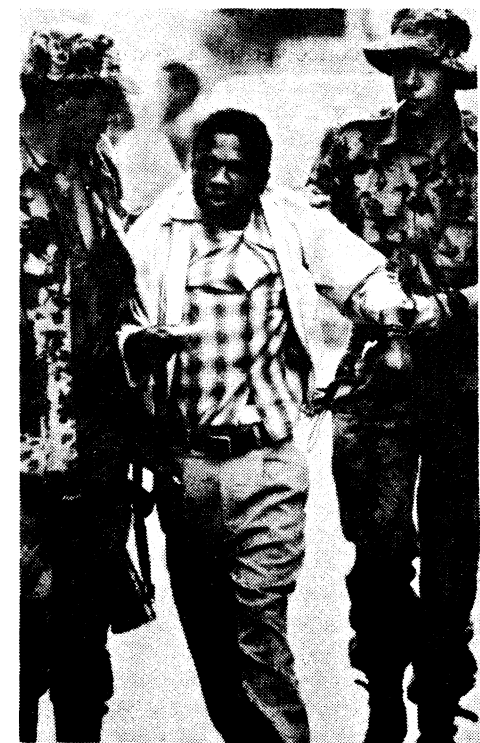
Union of Textile Workers in Durban and Pendile Mfeti of the Industrial Aid Society in Johannesburg. Harold Bekisisa Nxasana of the Institute for Industrial Education and Judy Mayat and Joseph Thlooe of the Union of Black Journalists have been detained as well.

In mid-November, eleven whites and two Blacks involved in organizing Black unions were given banning orders, which prohibits them from attending gatherings, preparing anything for publication, or leaving their home locality.

In order to hinder the publication of accurate news about the Black protests, the government has arrested at least fifteen Black journalists since July under the various security laws. Five of them were reporters for the Johannesburg *World*, the country's only Black daily paper.

Among other Black writers swept up in Vorster's dragnet are Gibson Kente, a playwright, and James Matthews, a poet.

As a result of the brutal treatment meted out to Black political prisoners, at least six Blacks have died in jail since June. One, whose name is not known, died in police custody in Carletonville October 1. The others were Mapetla Mohapi and Luke Mazwema of SASO; Isaac Mbatha and Fenuel Mogatusi, both Soweto students; and Zungwane Jacob Mashabane, a student from the University of Zululand, who died in Johannesburg Fort prison.



South African cops in action

## 4th International: 'Majority rule in Zimbabwe now!'

[The following resolution was issued November 14 by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.]

\* \* \*

Once more world imperialism is united in an attempt to block the advance of the Zimbabwean people toward self-determination. The Callaghan-Kissinger proposals and the Geneva conference are a cynical attempt to head off, divide, and blunt the growing struggle of the Zimbabwean masses against the racist Smith regime. The economic, military, and political situation of the Smith regime is serious. It has virtually no foreign currency reserves; its armed forces are quite unable to suppress the guerrilla struggle now encompassing every region; and white Rhodesians—mainly

young men avoiding military service—are leaving the country at a growing rate.

Van der Byl, a former military commander of the Smith regime's forces, has spoken of a Vietnam-type situation emerging during the rainy season. The "acceptance" by Smith of Black majority rule is merely the recognition that his regime has been unable to defeat the liberation forces and needs to play for time. The true aim of the white-settler regime is demonstrated by its vicious attacks against Mozambique.

U.S. and British imperialism and the Vorster apartheid regime require more flexibility from the Smith regime to enable them to remove the Rhodesian question as a source of instability and radicalization in the whole southern African subcontinent. They are united

in wanting a negotiated settlement to ease the transition to a neocolonialist setup in Zimbabwe. This is also essential for Vorster's policy of détente and his plans for consolidating the inhuman apartheid system.

The so-called front-line presidents (Nyerere, Machel, Khama, Kaunda, and Neto) and most of the petty-bourgeois Black nationalist leaders in Zimbabwe are complicit in this endeavor. The lure of office in the transitional government, the promise of economic aid from imperialist powers, and fear of the self-activity of the masses escaping their control, unite them in an attempt to contain the militant struggle against the Smith regime. But the front-line presidents and Black nationalist leaders also feel strongly the pressure of the expectations of the Black masses; thus, they are obliged to

combine talks with Kissinger, attendance at the Geneva conference, and collaboration with British imperialism, with militant talk of continuing the struggle. However, it will be extremely difficult to persuade the masses to call off their struggle against the Smith racist regime.

The successful military struggle against Portuguese imperialism, the humiliating defeat of the U.S.-backed South African invasion of Angola, the blows dealt to U.S. aims in the Angolan civil war, the rising freedom struggle in Zimbabwe, and—the most powerful of all in potential—the emerging struggle of the urban Black masses of South Africa, show that time is running out for the imperialists in southern Africa.

The only way that imperialism and

Continued on page 21



The following is the text, slightly abridged for space reasons, of Ralph Schoenman's presentation to a panel on China's foreign policy at the Maoist-sponsored conference on the international situation held in New York City November 20. The panel was attended by some 400 persons. Ralph Schoenman is the former secretary-general of the International War Crimes Tribunal organized by Bertrand Russell to expose U.S. crimes in Vietnam. The other panelists were William Hinton, former chairman of the U.S.-China Peoples Friendship Association, and Clark Kissinger, former leader of Students for a Democratic Society.

Comrades and friends. First I want to congratulate the organizers of the conference for its tone and for the comradely spirit in which issues of considerable importance and difference have been discussed up to now.

Policies of state can't be fortuitous, mere accidents, mistakes, random choices, when they are pursued not in one area but in all areas, and not in one time frame but consistently.

I suggest that the consistent thread running through all of the seemingly arbitrary and wild swings in China's foreign policy is that of peaceful coexistence. In 1949, upon assumption of state power, China persistently made overtures to the Truman administration offering cooperation and seeking recognition.

This was not perceived as inconsistent with Joseph Stalin's foreign policy of the day. On the contrary. Peaceful coexistence was the common denominator. If we pursue this to the Geneva conference on Vietnam in 1954, we find that Chou En-lai authored the proposal—the formula of “two Vietnams” after the victory at Dienbienphu. That is to say, the formula which became the legal pretext for United States intervention.

It was conceived as a gesture to the United States and France in pursuit of recognition of the People's Republic of China. The consequences, as we know, to the people of Vietnam were horrendous. In effect in entailed trading away half of Vietnam, and the sacrifice of the revolutionary victory which had been won by arms.

In 1955 at the Bandung conference, under the rubric of the “five principles of peaceful coexistence,” this foreign policy was laid out as a general rule.

### Break with Soviet Union

When the break with the Soviet Union occurred in 1960, it concerned the fact that the Soviet leadership at that point were pursuing an identical policy for their state interests. Namely, an accommodation with the United States which excluded China. That break was expressed, as you know, in the denial of fissionable nuclear materials to the People's Republic and the abrupt, brutal cessation of foreign aid.

This brought about the new turn in China's foreign policy: the denunciation of peaceful coexistence, at least in

# China's foreign policy: 'peaceful coexistence'



Princess Ashraf and Empress Farah Pahlavi of Iran have been among those regaled by Chinese bureaucracy. Above, late Premier Chou En-Lai welcomes Empress Farah to Peking. Although the shah's capitalist dictatorship tortures and murders socialists, including Maoists, it gets high praise from Chinese leaders.

verbiage. But we find that during the very period of the assault upon the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, in fact and in practice the Chinese foreign policy was parallel to the Soviet Union's.

I give you an example—in 1965—of the policy of the People's Republic toward Indonesia. At a moment when the largest Communist party outside the workers states, the PKI [Communist party of Indonesia], had some three million members and fifteen million supporters; when the United States was preparing its coup; when the council of generals was set up in August; Chairman Mao and the People's Republic urged the leadership of the PKI, headed by D.N. Aidit, to follow a policy of support for Sukarno.

This was a line of subordinating the PKI to the nationalist, Communist, and religious coalition. The consequence was a decimation, not only of the Communist party, but of the left in general and the murder of between half a million and a million people.

In Sri Lanka in 1971, the Chinese government supported the Bandaranaike government in the suppression of the student and peasant insurrection, even providing military advice for crushing that revolt.

We find this pattern again in Bangladesh with respect to the Mukti Bahini [Bengali resistance forces] when Chinese military officers were on hand to advise and assist the Pakistani army in the bloody suppression of a popular and mass uprising.

We find it in country after country, a policy of peaceful coexistence which conceives of the revolutionary struggle as a bargaining counter to deploy in exchange for concessions to the benefit of the state.

### Underlying premises

Now, what are the underlying premises of such a foreign policy? How is it that Nixon, visiting China during the bombing of Vietnam, is served “eight jeweled pigeon” while the implosion weapons are falling on the areas north of Hanoi and the surrounds of Haiphong?

It wasn't only Brezhnev who was clinking glasses with Nixon as the bombs were falling. It essentially is the same foreign policy that we find in both the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. And now we are told that the Soviet Union is the main enemy. I think that what we heard this morning from William Hinton was both eloquent and accurate in its reflection of the foreign policy of the People's Republic of China. But I believe that what it states is that the People's Republic is prepared to bloc with anyone—particularly the United States—in opposition to the Soviet Union. This is a position slightly to the right of Joseph McCarthy.

Consider what it entails. It entails advocating increasing the arms of NATO. It entails support for [right-winger Franz Josef] Strauss in West Germany. It entails an advocacy of intensification of the armaments in Japan.

It entails an embrace of the regime in Iran. Princess Ashraf was given an effusive welcome in Peking—the sister of the shah, a spokesperson for the regime, the woman who with her brother went into the Comité, the dreaded torture chambers of the Iranian regime, where she and her princely brother poured gasoline over one of the leading writers in Iran and set him alight. This person is received by a “revolutionary” government as an ally of the People's Republic of China!

### Friend of Chile junta

With the Chilean junta: refugees were refused entrance into the Chinese embassy right after the coup. Doesn't it strike you as strange that upon the death of Mao Tsetung the fascist government of Chile declared official state mourning—for three days, with flags lowered to half-mast?

[Shouts from the audience: “That's a lie! You're a liar!”]

It was reported in Hsinhua.\* And reported without any criticism or comment on the nature of the regime which had made this declaration.

And consider, for two years this foreign policy turn of the People's

Republic has led to the denunciation of Cuba as a Soviet military base, an aggressive threat to the dictatorships of Latin America.

That is the significance, that is the meaning of this line of an alliance with the chief imperialist power in the world, the United States, against the Soviet Union.

Everyone here, every Marxist, every revolutionary knows that American imperialism is the principle enemy of the world's people. Wherever there is hunger, or epidemic disease, or a life expectancy of twenty-six, systematic torture, the source of that class oppression stems from Washington.

### No socialist democracy

Is this a socialist foreign policy, then? If not, then how can a socialist society carry out a counterrevolutionary foreign policy? I will argue that the root flows from the fact that there is not socialist democracy in the People's Republic. That there are not workers councils. . . .

[A commotion in the hall. Shouts of disbelief and jeers.]

Comrades! Are we to believe that after forty years as the trusted companion of Chairman Mao, Chiang Ch'ing was a capitalist restorationist? And, as the Chinese press has called her, a “maggot”? A “gangster”?

Was Lin Piao, who was the chief supporter of the chairman, a “wild beast” and a “Hitlerite plotter”? Was Liu Shao-ch'i a capitalist?

[Tumult in the hall. Shouts of “Yes, and so are you!” Others shout: “Let him speak!”]

Comrades! We are discussing the principal leaders of the People's Republic. Have you heard Lin Piao, or Chiang Ch'ing, or Liu Shao-ch'i answer these charges? Have they had the opportunity to speak to the charges leveled against them? To address the Chinese people? To articulate their line? To open up this discussion to the masses in China?

Where have you heard of their crimes? From their opponents!

I don't believe that we can tell the workers and the peasants of Iran and the Philippines to cease their struggle and embrace their tormenters so that Washington will recognize Peking. I don't believe that this is a Leninist policy. I don't believe that it is an internationalist policy. I consider it to be a narrow national chauvinism, neither proletarian nor revolutionary.

### Bureaucracy

It is the policy of a labor aristocracy with privilege and state power to protect. And it does so through suppression of its own working class, the denial to its own masses of the full opportunity not merely to participate in the political process but to control it. To have the institutional means of determining policy. To have the right to strike. To have the right to trade unions. To have the right to mass rallies independently organized.

In the absence of that, we do not have a proletarian or socialist democracy. And it is from this that such a foreign policy inexorably flows.

I believe that we must recover the language of Lenin's international. The morality of support to the working class and a commitment to revolutionary politics in every single country on this planet, whether its class oppressor seeks to deal with the workers state or attacks it. That is the only way to defend the Chinese revolution and the Chinese masses, and the only way to struggle against the central, principal enemy of the peoples of the world—American imperialism. Thank you.



Militant/Brian Shannon  
RALPH SCHOENMAN

\* The September 17, 1976, *Daily News Release* of the Hsinhua News Agency, the official press service of the People's Republic of China, reported in its English edition: “According to the ‘National Radio’ of Chile, Chilean Deputy Interior Minister Enrique Montero on September 10 declared September 12, 13 and 14 as days of official national mourning for Chairman Mao Tsetung with flags on public buildings to be flown at half-mast.”

# Why Shanker proposes end to union bargaining in New York



ALBERT SHANKER: Finds bargaining 'a form of torture' when his Democratic party allies are rolling back union gains.

By Lynn Henderson

NEW YORK—Teachers and public employees across the country were stunned recently when Albert Shanker, president of the United Federation of Teachers, proposed that New York City municipal workers give up their collective bargaining rights for the duration of the city's fiscal crisis.

In place of collective bargaining, Shanker suggested creation of a tripartite board "to take care of inequities." It would be patterned after the War Labor Board during World War II, with representatives from labor, management (in this case, the city government), and "neutrals."

Suspension of collective bargaining, Shanker says, "would leave unions, the city, the agencies free to devote all of their time and energies to the one thing that matters most: getting help to save New York City, a city under siege, a city engaged in a war for survival."

Workers have fought long and hard for the right of collective bargaining. Even today many workers—especially public employees—have yet to win that struggle. Rank-and-file union members are understandably shocked and confused by Shanker's offer to surrender this right.

But Shanker's proposal is not an aberration or a sign of mental instability. It is, in fact, the logical culmination of the policy he and other municipal labor officials have pushed throughout the city's so-called war for survival.

## 'War and bankruptcy'

Shanker says that "maintaining bargaining-as-usual posture in a period of a combination of war and bankruptcy is ridiculous."

The war analogy is an apt one. But Shanker has little to say about the nature of this war.

Who are the combatants?

Who is the aggressor and who is under attack?

Who is on the side of teachers, and who is against them?

On all of this, Shanker remains uncharacteristically mute.

Yes, there is a war in New York City. The Wall Street banks, the big realtors, the corporations—those who own and rule the city—are waging war against the vast majority of people who live and work here.

The aim of this war is to maintain profits by cutting wages and reducing social services. The prime target is the city's trade-union movement.

Put most simply and directly, this is a class war. The kind of war Albert Shanker has no experience in, no appreciation of, and no stomach for.

## Democratic party

The general staff of the employers in this war is the Democratic party. Democratic politicians set up the Emergency Financial Control Board,

imposed a wage freeze on city employees, cut services, and pushed through massive layoffs.

But Shanker's entire career as a trade-union official has been based on political and financial support to the Democrats (and some Republicans), soliciting in return a few concessions for members of his union. The new turn of events leaves Shanker and others like him helpless and frustrated.

In this period of heightened class warfare, the role of capitalist-party politicians is no longer to channel a few crumbs through the labor bureaucracy. On the contrary, earlier union gains are being rolled back.

No wonder collective bargaining becomes, in Shanker's words, "a form of torture." If you engage in collective bargaining under present conditions, Shanker says, "you are just going to create a lot of internal dissension within a union."

Shanker assured his membership that the election of Jimmy Carter would go a long way toward solving their problems. But Shanker correctly suspects and fears that teachers will get little from the "friends of labor" they helped elect. This is why—even after the overwhelming Democratic victory at the polls—Shanker wants the responsibility for collective bargaining taken off his back.

## War Labor Board

Shanker implies that during World II labor got a "fair shake" from the War Labor Board. What was the real record of this tripartite board?

With the outbreak of World War II, the AFL and CIO leaders voluntarily surrendered labor's basic weapon of self-defense: the right to strike. Wages and grievances were entrusted to the War Labor Board, made up of equal representation from the unions, the employers, and "neutral" members of "the public."

The gimmick was that the "public" members—as is true in all such boards—lined up with the employers on all major issues. These "neutral" members were drawn not from the public of workers, the poor, or ordinary people, but from the public of bankers, business executives, and university presidents.

The War Labor Board quickly clamped down on wages. It eliminated premium pay for overtime, canceled cost-of-living escalator clauses, and in July 1942 essentially froze wages through the infamous "Little Steel Formula."

From January 1941 to January 1944, the top wage increase legally allowed was 15 percent. In that period, the government's Consumer Price Index rose 23.5 percent. And union price surveys found that the cost of living had actually risen *twice as much* as the government index. Corporate profits reached the highest levels ever.

So "equality of sacrifice" during the

war wasn't much different from "equality of sacrifice" in New York today: sacrifices by the workers, profits for the rich.

In return for their collaboration, the union bureaucrats did not go empty-handed. Their reward was government intervention to strengthen their hand against the ranks. Compliant unions, for example, were granted "maintenance of membership" by the War Labor Board.

"Maintenance of membership" was not a union-shop clause, requiring those hired to join the union. Rather, it required all those belonging to a union when a contract was signed to keep paying dues for the life of the contract. This measure was designed to help the bureaucrats put over unpopular policies without fear of losing members and dues income.

Shanker no doubt hopes for similar rewards. In particular he would like to see the return of automatic dues checkoff for the UFT, which was revoked in October as punishment for the union's brief strike in September 1975.

Shanker does not relish trying to collect some \$200 a year in dues from members who increasingly feel that when the chips are down the union does little to protect them.

Other municipal union officials were quick to dissociate themselves from Shanker's proposal.

"I couldn't disagree with him more," said Victor Gotbaum, head of District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

"You don't just bargain for wages," Gotbaum said, "you bargain for dignity."

It's not that Gotbaum disagrees with Shanker that union members must sacrifice. By "dignity" Gotbaum simply means that he thinks maintaining the appearance of collective bargaining is a superior method of selling the cutbacks and layoffs to his membership.

## 'Historic twist'

Gotbaum's bargaining for "dignity" is reflected in the new AFSCME contract. Last May Gotbaum agreed to \$24 million in budget cuts affecting AFSCME members, a wage freeze, and more layoffs. A meager cost-of-living allowance (COLA) was to be paid from "productivity savings" that the union would help find and implement.

This has produced what the *New York Post* describes as a "historic twist in labor relations—with the union instead of the city prodding municipal employees to increase productivity."

On November 9 Alan Viani, AFSCME research and negotiations director, exhorted union members that to receive future COLAs, "the union must come up with many more savings."

"Productivity savings" for municipal

employees—for typists, clerks, sanitation workers, teachers, hospital workers, fire fighters—can only mean speedup and layoffs.

Shanker and Gotbaum may imagine that they are charting bold new pathways in labor statesmanship. In fact, they are blindly and unwittingly following the necessary development—or rather, degeneration—of trade unions committed to upholding the capitalist system in a time of capitalist crisis and decline.

This historical trend was brilliantly and prophetically analyzed by Leon Trotsky in the 1930s. "Capitalism can continue to maintain itself only by lowering the standard of living of the working class," the exiled leader of the Russian revolution wrote in an article published in the *Militant*, September 30, 1933.

"Under these conditions trade unions can either transform themselves into revolutionary organizations or become lieutenants of capital in the intensified exploitation of the workers."

In an essay unfinished at the time of his assassination in August 1940, Trotsky declared that "the whole task of the bourgeoisie consists in liquidating the trade unions as organs of the class struggle and substituting in their place the trade union bureaucracy as the organ of the leadership over the workers by the bourgeois state."

He pointed to the suppression of internal democracy within the unions and the closer and closer alliance of the union bureaucrats with the capitalist government as two necessary aspects of this degeneration.

"Lieutenants of capital in the intensified exploitation of the workers"—nothing could better describe the role voluntarily assumed by Gotbaum and Shanker.

If the teachers and other workers of New York are to defend their rights and standard of living, they will have to adopt the opposite course: the fight for trade-union democracy, for trade-union independence from the capitalist parties and government.

In Trotsky's words, "This means a struggle to turn the trade unions into the organs of the broad exploited masses and not the organs of a labor aristocracy."

## Leon Trotsky on the Trade Unions

By Leon Trotsky  
80 pp., \$1.45  
Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.



# Milwaukee school board stonewalls union

By Tony Prince

MILWAUKEE—Teachers and the city school board here appear to be on a collision course.

The Milwaukee Teachers Education Association (MTEA) is seeking a new contract that will include a cost-of-living clause and smaller classes. Substitute teachers want a seniority system, which teachers and aides already have.

The school board is determined to roll back the

## AS I SEE IT

union's past contract gains and weaken the MTEA. The board proposes to freeze salaries, lengthen the workday, make teachers pay for increases in health insurance costs, and eliminate the non-recrimination clause, which forbids reprisals against MTEA members for strike activity.

The school board is demagogically using the issue of school desegregation to try to weaken or eliminate seniority by transferring teachers when and where it pleases. This is the same school board that has fought desegregation for ten years and is even now appealing it to the Supreme Court.

Unfortunately, the MTEA is not in the strongest position to counter the board's manipulation of this issue. The union's faculty desegregation proposal relies on transfers based on strict seniority. This plan would take an estimated four

*Tony Prince is a member of the Milwaukee Teachers Education Association.*

years to desegregate teaching staffs. Desegregation of faculty could be speeded up if the union adopted separate seniority lists for Black and white teachers.

The school board came into the negotiations demanding that they be open to the public. After some hesitation, the MTEA agreed.

This took the board by surprise. It had secretly prepared a negotiating committee heavily weighted with business executives. The board had hoped to bury negotiations in this committee while at the same time getting mileage in the media with the claim that the MTEA had prevented open talks because it had something to hide.

In fact, open negotiations are good for the union. They are a means for putting added public pressure on the board.

Fearing the board's antiunion drive, MTEA leaders have bent over backwards to avert a conflict. They proposed binding arbitration of major issues, a weak stand for any union.

After this was rejected, the MTEA proposed to extend the current contract one year and only negotiate a salary increase to reflect the rise in the cost of living. Gordon Harrison, the board's chief negotiator, rejected this proposal.

Harrison's next move was to call for cutting the number of contract proposals from the current 600 to about 20. When the MTEA team rejected this, Harrison stormed out of the room and demanded that the union negotiators take his proposal to the entire MTEA membership. His aim was to divide the MTEA and challenge the authority of the negotiating team.

The MTEA took up the challenge. On November 15, 560 elected representatives voted unanimously to support their bargaining team. Two days later, 4,000 teachers, aides, substitutes, and school accountants voted *unanimously* to do the same. The next evening 100 teachers came to the bargaining session to back up the MTEA team.

So far, not one proposal has been negotiated and a strike seems more and more likely. The 1975 teachers' strike was 93 percent effective. This record of solid support is the union's strongest card.

However, the MTEA has some dangerous weaknesses. Since it broke from the National Education Association in 1975, the MTEA has been an independent union. In the event of a strike, this can make the job of winning solidarity from other unions more difficult.

Also, the MTEA leadership seems to think the union can rely on local Democratic politicians. But the primary allegiance of these politicians is to the big-business system they serve. The union can best defend itself by mobilizing the union membership and looking for allies in the Black community, rather than seeking friends in "high places."

In fact, the MTEA can do more than this. Five school board seats are up for election in February. The MTEA could win broad public support for teachers by running union members for these posts, independent of the Democrats and Republicans, on a program to defend education and the right of all students to attend desegregated schools.

# Jefferson County teachers shut down schools

By Mark McCauley

LOUISVILLE—Teachers in Jefferson County walked off their jobs November 30, shutting down classes for 110,000 students. Negotiations had failed to produce a satisfactory contract for the district's 5,600 teachers.

June Lee, president of the 4,500-member Jefferson County Teachers Association (JCTA) told the school

busing began here in 1975 to dismantle a wall of discrimination that had fenced Black students into the city school system, while whites attended the better county schools.

The board is playing a racist game when it uses the Black community's fight for equal education as an excuse for denying teachers' just demands.

While the board was crying poverty, the JCTA and two major newspapers uncovered massive mismanagement and discrepancies in the school budget. This led to a special grand jury investigation and the indictment of one administrator. The JCTA has called on the board to open its financial records for public inspection.

Along with regular picketing, the union has organized the largest mass meetings of teachers in Kentucky history. On November 22, 4,500 teachers rallied and voted to strike. John Ryor, national president of the National Education Association, ad-



JCTA President June Lee speaks to teachers' mass meeting

board and a federal mediator that teachers want a salary increase, smaller classes, a new teacher evaluation system, class preparation periods and a lunch break, and binding arbitration of grievances.

For months the board has stalled negotiations with claims that desegregation has drained away funds now demanded by teachers. Court-ordered

dressed a mass strike meeting December 5.

Teachers are distributing leaflets explaining strike issues at shopping centers and in their neighborhoods. Union and community groups are

stepping forward to back the strike. These include International Union of Electrical Workers Local 761; Louisville Public Employees Union; Teamsters; the PTA; and Progress In Education, a probusing group.

# Louisiana ferry disaster: a case of negligence

By Zack Carter and Joel Aber

NEW ORLEANS—Seventy-eight people were killed when the Destrehan-Luling ferry collided with the Norwegian tanker *Frosta* and sank in the Mississippi River.

In St. Rose, Destrehan, and other river towns of St. Charles Parish, nearly everyone lost a friend or relative in the October 20 ferry disaster.

The people are bitter. They know that no one had to die.

All the evidence points to criminal negligence by the Louisiana Highway Department, operator of the ferry.

Jerry Randle, twenty-two, is one of the dead. His first cousin is Gary Tyler, the eighteen-year-old Black youth who was sentenced to death by an all-white jury for a murder he did not commit. Now the Tyler family has one more burden to bear.

On the night of October 26, Juanita Tyler, Jerry's aunt, was at Jerry Randle's wake. Early the next morning she was once again busy fighting for

her own son Gary's life. She left for Dallas and the first leg of a national tour for the Gary Tyler Defense Fund.

Lavern and James Randle told the *Militant* they had always been uneasy about their son working on such a dangerous job. On several occasions, James Randle reported, the ferry came so close to barges and tankers that the waves washed up to cars on the deck.

Lavern Randle said, "Once when I rode the ferry, the fog was so bad that the ferry ended up in some trees that hang over the river bank instead of the dock."

Gary's brother Steven Tyler worked another shift on the ferry. He told the *Militant* the crossing is especially dangerous because the ships docked at the St. Charles Grain Elevator obscure the view down the river. "The ferry has to pull out a certain distance to see if there's any traffic."

For many years, state officials have talked of building a bridge at the dangerous crossing. Their talk has not been translated into action.

Meanwhile, *Militant* interviews indi-

cate, state authorities operate the ferry so negligently that they bear direct responsibility for the disaster. Testimony at a U.S. Coast Guard inquiry confirms this view.

Steven Tyler charges that the ferry captain always took unnecessary chances and tried to outrace ships on the river. At the Coast Guard hearings, Orleans Parish Coroner Dr. Frank Minyard testified that an autopsy on the captain showed he was nearly drunk at the time of the collision.

The state never bothered to ask the Coast Guard to inspect the Destrehan-Luling ferry.

Even after the collision, the state's negligence continued. Two hours passed before the authorities called in the first commercial divers. Testifying at the Coast Guard hearing, two divers said some lives might have been saved if they had been on the scene earlier; there may have been air pockets under the capsized ferry.

Families of the seventy-eight victims have brought suits against the state of

Louisiana totaling more than \$20 million.

A cynical assistant state attorney general said he is not worried about the lawsuits because it will be "at least five years" before the state has to shell out any money. He implied the state would stall for small out-of-court settlements.

Jerry Randle's young widow, Elwin Fay Randle, is one of the people bringing suit. Now it will not be easy for her to raise their two baby girls.

Dozens of families are mourning in St. Rose and New Sarpy, in Destrehan and Norco. But the industries across the river don't have to mourn for long.

Brown and Root, the giant Texas-based construction company, lost forty-five of its workers. The forty-five had just finished the graveyard shift and were headed home to the river's East Bank when the tragedy struck at 6:00 a.m., October 20.

On October 21, Brown and Root announced they had flown in forty-five workers from Houston to replace those who drowned.



## Preparing the cover-up

# Vote fraud and the steelworkers election

By Frank Lovell

Steelworkers President I.W. Abel asked the U.S. Labor Department last month to give "technical assistance" in the union election to be held next February. This is one of the latest moves in a fake cleanup campaign. The purpose is to give the impression that everything possible will be done to ensure an honest election.

Top officials of the United Steelworkers of America are anxious to remove the stain and stink of election fraud that sticks to them as a result of their crooked count in 1973.

That's when Ed Sadlowski, a thirty-five-year-old steel union activist at the time, first ran for director in USWA District 31 against Sam Evett, the candidate Abel picked to win. According to "official" returns, Evett won, but an investigation revealed that the ballot boxes were stuffed.

Some longtime union officials were so in the habit of stealing elections that they assumed it was proper. Many were tied in with Mayor Richard "Boss" Daley's Chicago machine and simply copied the election methods of Democratic party ward heelers. This practice wasn't invented by Daley, of course. And the USWA is not the only union plagued by it.

The USWA, however, is one union where vote fraud was exposed. A 1974 court-ordered rerun of the District 31 election, supervised by the Labor Department, gave Sadlowski a two-to-one majority.

In the coming election Sadlowski, a few years older and wiser now, is running for the top job, being vacated by Abel on account of age. Abel's chosen successor is sixty-year-old Lloyd McBride, a loyal wheelhorse of the officialdom. The union bureaucracy has picked him to win, and this time precautions are being taken to forestall embarrassing investigations.

### Tribute from Humphrey

Anyway, who would suspect that President Abel or any of his associates would rig an election after reading the tribute by the Honorable Sen. Hubert Humphrey in the September 9 *Congressional Record*?

"At this time," said Humphrey, "I want to publicly express my gratitude and that of many Americans, for the tireless, wise, and courageous leadership within the American labor movement provided by Mr. Abel for the past 25 years."

The trouble with this is that Humphrey is hardly one to bear witness to



Militant/Stu Singer

Leafleting in Houston. If Abel is interested in honest election, he could start by pressing for investigation into attempted murder of Sadlowski campaigner at Hughes Tool last summer.

honesty, wisdom, and integrity after his record as the junior partner in the Johnson administration. Nixon is more recent and seems more monstrous, but there are still many steelworkers and others who remember Johnson/Humphrey—the perpetrators of the illegal and immoral war in Vietnam—as not much different and no more trustworthy than the Nixon gang.

Humphrey's endorsement of Abel's record is nothing to inspire confidence in the administration of the outgoing steelworkers president. It might, however, influence government bureaucrats in the Labor Department, especially now with the Democrats back in power.

That may be why Humphrey's praise and the text of Abel's departing speech—a smear attack on the movement for union democracy—were reproduced from the *Congressional Record* in the October issue of *Steel Labor*, official USWA publication.

### 'I know how to run elections'

Most union officials habitually copy the ways of plant managers and government bureaucrats, and depend

upon their friendly working relations with employers and politicians to hang on to their well-paid posts. Officials of the steelworkers are no exception.

Former President David McDonald recently boasted to a *New York Times* reporter: "I know how to run elections. I stole four elections for Joe Germano as director of District 31."

Back in 1957 Donald Rarick ran for president against McDonald. It was officially reported that McDonald got 404,172 votes to 223,516 for Rarick. I.W. Abel ran for reelection as secretary-treasurer in the same election, defeating his opponent by more than two-to-one.

Abel served as secretary-treasurer under McDonald from 1952 until he won the presidency in 1965. During all those years Abel was responsible for counting the votes.

He challenged McDonald for the presidency in 1965 and won. There was a split among the top officials in that race and the majority of vote-counters backed Abel.

Abel promised more union democracy in his campaign against McDonald, but no revision of election rules and practices was made until this year. Last summer a new International Union Elections Manual was prepared. *Steel Labor* reported it is "the result of discussions with the Labor Department in an attempt by the union to improve the election process and avoid litigation."

### One skate to another

In his recent letter to Labor Secretary W. J. Usery, a one time official of the machinists union, Abel suggests that the government should guide the union election campaign by rendering written opinions on "unlawful contributions" and other such matters.

This is an appeal for assistance from one old-line labor skate to another, based on their common knowledge of how elections are manipulated.

Usery climbed the bureaucratic ladder in the machinists before moving over into the government bureaucracy and eventually becoming a top adviser to Nixon, just like Abel pushed his way to the top in the steelworkers. They have mutual friends, share a similar background, and speak the same language.

What Abel is up to will help the chances of McBride against Sadlowski—providing both sides agree to put their trust in Usery and Labor Department supervision.

Sadlowski is confident that he can get a majority of votes. His problem is

making sure that they are counted. He won in District 31 when the courts ordered a new election supervised by the Labor Department, and he thinks he can win the race for union president under the same circumstances.

"Unlike the complete supervision I consistently have called for," Sadlowski said in a telegram to Usery two days after Abel's, "the marginal Labor Department role sought by Abel would be a sham."

According to a report in the December 13 *Business Week*, the Labor Department "has decided against assuming a major role" in the steel election.

Department solicitor William Kilberg says there will be "technical advice," as Abel requested. But, he said, "there's a limit to how much we can intervene in the internal affairs of a union." Especially, he could have added but didn't, when it comes to safeguarding the rights of the members.

### 20,000 poll watchers

Sadlowski is urging his supporters in the union to mobilize 20,000 poll watchers to count votes in each and every one of the 5,360 USWA locals. This must seem like a brand new idea to old-line union officials, and dangerous too.

It is, in fact, the old idea that the membership ought to control the union. And that is the only guarantee of an honest election—when an aroused membership moves in to protect its democratic right to elect its own officials.

One of the tested ways to discourage this is to shoot members when they begin to show an interest in the way their union is run. Anyone with experience in union politics can recount incidents of this kind. It is an extension into the union movement of terrorist methods used around the world by the corporate rulers of this country.

Last summer at the gates of Hughes Tool Company in Houston, a steelworker who was distributing leaflets in support of Sadlowski was shot and nearly killed.

This attempted murder is still unsolved. And the international president of the steelworkers, for all his pretended interest in a fair election, has yet to press for a thorough investigation. Surely this shooting is of legitimate concern to some government agency, maybe both the Labor and the Justice departments.

## USWA says it won't block Rodriguez candidacy

By Chris Hildebrand

LOS ANGELES—Attorney for Ignacio "Nash" Rodríguez, candidate for international secretary of the United Steelworkers of America, went to court here November 30 to argue that union President I.W. Abel has illegally dissolved USWA Local 1549.

A federal district court judge heard charges that dissolving Local 1549 at American Can Company in Los Angeles violated the union's constitution and was a political reprisal against Rodríguez for running for office on the insurgent slate of Ed Sadlowski and Steelworkers Fight Back.

Rodríguez's attorneys asked for an injunction against Abel's action, which if allowed to stand could disqualify Rodríguez as a candidate.

In addition, the liquidation of Local 1549 will have a detrimental effect on several pending arbitration and third-

level grievance cases brought against American Can Company. These cases primarily involve pension appeals by employees of the plant, which American Can closed last July.

Traditionally when a plant closes permanently the president of the local remains on staff until all union business is settled.

This tradition was followed in the case of Local 1549 from the time of the July closing until October 14, three days after the announcement of the Rodríguez candidacy on the Fight Back slate. On that day Abel dissolved Local 1549 and Rodríguez was removed as president.

Both the *Los Angeles Times* and *Wall Street Journal* reported December 1 that a settlement in the suit had been reached and the request for the injunction withdrawn. These reports are false.



'NASH' RODRIGUEZ: 'My members deserve representation and I will represent them as best I can.'

Abel's lawyers did state in court that there would be no attempt to disqualify Rodríguez from running for office.

However, this verbal concession did not resolve the main issue—that the local has been illegally "cancelled" by Abel.

Commenting on this, Nash Rodríguez said, "They will never get me to sell out my membership for a deal like this. My members deserve representation and I will represent them as best I can."

The attempt by the Abel forces to bureaucratically remove Rodríguez is an election-time "dirty trick" that could prove costly to the workers Rodríguez is representing in the arbitration procedures.

It is one more proof that the Abel machine has no interest in the welfare of the rank and file.

# HOW NOT TO ANSWER RED-BAITING

## The Communist party and the movement for union democracy



Cartoon from Communist party's 'Daily World' slanders those who disagree with CP as fascists and agents of the bosses.

By Ed Heisler

Lloyd McBride is running for president of the United Steelworkers of America. He's also running scared. In their drive to defeat insurgent candidate Ed Sadlowski, McBride and the U.S.W.A. officialdom are relying heavily on red-baiting.

McBride charges that Sadlowski's campaign for a militant and democratic steelworkers union is backed by both "communists" and "limousine millionaires."

And McBride has an unofficial campaign committee that calls itself SMART—Steelworker Members Against Radical Takeover. SMART circulates leaflets claiming that Steelworkers Fight Back, the Sadlowski campaign organization, "is run by outside radical organizers who never worked a day of their lives in a steel mill!"

(Since SMART can't figure out why Sadlowski is winning the support of

Ed Heisler is a member of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers party. He was a leader of a struggle in the United Transportation Union from 1969 to 1972 for the right of the membership to vote on contracts.

tens of thousands of rank-and-file steelworkers, I personally think they ought to be called DUMB—Dangerous Unleashed McBride Backers.)

"If you let red-baiting break you up," Sadlowski told a recent campaign rally, "that's the bosses' game. . . . There's no place in the American labor movement for that kind of conduct."

The *Militant* and the Socialist Workers party agree. As I wrote in the October 22 *Militant*, "Any movement for union democracy, if it is to be successful and true to its own principles, must unequivocally reject red-baiting in all its forms. . . ."

"I believe that the movement for union democracy should welcome the participation of all union members—be they socialists, Republicans, communists, Democrats, or whatever—who support its goals."

The Communist party USA claims to take the same position. In a "news analysis" in the CP's *Daily World* newspaper November 11, writer Rick Nagin denounces red-baiting in the strongest terms. He calls for "confronting the red-baiting, vigorously exposing it, putting it on the defensive, and giving it no quarter."

### Preaching vs. practice

That sounds pretty good. But what the CP preaches and what it practices are two different stories. A dramatic example of the difference is how the CP reported on the recent convention of the United Mine Workers.

Red-baiting was a big problem at the UMW convention. Right-wing forces in the union launched a witch-hunt against alleged "communists" among the delegates, union staff members, and the press. The real target of the right-wingers was the union's reform leadership, headed by President Arnold Miller, and the democratic gains won by miners since Miller defeated former President Tony Boyle in the union's 1972 election.

The first casualty of this right-wing attack was a reporter for the *Call*, newspaper of the October League, a Maoist group. A motion was passed to throw him out of the convention.

Who did the Communist party blame for this witch-hunting move? The Maoists!

Art Shields wrote in the October 7 *Daily World*, "The stage for this . . . disruption had been set by pseudo-leftist provocateurs—the so-called National Caucus of Labor Committees, and two Maoist sects, the October League and the so-called 'Revolutionary Communist Party.'"

And how did the victims of the red-baiting attack provoke it? They "distributed literature against President Miller in front of the convention hall in the name of imaginary 'Communist' movements," Shields explains. What an unspeakable crime!

In an earlier report (September 30 *Daily World*), Shields half-justified the expulsion of the *Call* reporter, since "The *Call* played a disruptive anti-Miller rôle in the recent mass rank and file strike."

Not once—in any news article, editorial, or statement—did the Communist party come out squarely for freedom of the press or the right of all reporters to cover the UMW convention.

### Guilt by association

Instead, an editorial in the October 1 *Daily World* asserted that "company-paid provocateurs teamed up with possibly confused pseudo-'left' group-lets in building up an anti-Communist hysteria" at the convention.

And in case that wasn't perfectly clear, the same *Daily World* ran an editorial cartoon lumping together the "phony 'left' sects," meaning the Maoists, with the Boyle forces, the right-wing National Caucus of Labor Committees, and the coal operators.

There's an old dirty trick involved here, known as guilt by association. The National Caucus of Labor Committees is a fascistlike outfit, racist and antiunion to the core, that sometimes masquerades as being "socialist" or "communist." Just like Hitler called his movement "national socialist."

The CP takes advantage of the confusion this causes to brand any radical group the CP happens to

disagree with as the same as the NCLC: fascists, right-wing disrupters, company-paid provocateurs, and so on.

Far from standing up against red-baiting, the CP's slanders give credence to it. But that's not the worst. Some of the strongest red-baiting at the UMW convention was actually carried out by Communist party supporters.

### 'Miner's Report'

During the first two days of the convention a newsletter called *Miner's Report* was passed out to all convention delegates. It warned of the "danger to the UMW . . . from the extreme Left." It advised the delegates to be on the lookout for "all kinds of phoney 'radicals' and so-called 'revolutionaries' [who] began moving into the West Virginia coal fields."

"These phoney need to be watched very carefully, especially those in the so-called 'Revolutionary Union' or 'Revolutionary Communist Party,'" *Miner's Report* said.

It insinuated that the RCP members, another group of Maoists, are company agents, since "at a time when jobs in the mines are hard to get, they seem to have had no problems at all in getting employed." At any rate they are "anti-UMW individuals and groups."

Another unsigned article in *Miner's Report* warned: "But what about these agitators in the coal fields disrupting production? . . . We are all too familiar with these agitators employing tactics of chaos and confusion. If they had their way, the whole country would strike."

The amazing thing is that *Miner's Report* is a publication promoted by the Communist party!

In fact, the editor of *Miner's Report*, Paul Nyden, was himself physically attacked and thrown out of the press room during the anticommunist hysteria at the UMW convention.

Now, I don't agree with the political positions of the Maoists any more than I do with those of the Communist party.

But I believe that everybody has a right to express their opinions, be active in their union, pass out literature, and try to convince others of their ideas. That's a basic principle of union democracy.

Unfortunately, the Communist party doesn't hold that position. It will go along with—even take part in—red-baiting, slanders, and exclusion, so long as the victims are political opponents of the CP. This antidemocratic stand is not a new one, either.

During World War II, because the Roosevelt government had made a military alliance with the Soviet Union, the Communist party denounced all struggles by unions or Blacks as "disruption of the war effort."

When coal miners led by John L. Lewis struck in 1943 to defend their standard of living against the wartime inflation, the CP went into a frenzy. It joined in the big-business denunciations of Lewis as a "traitor" and "a Hitler."

CP leaders went on radio to tell the miners "not to follow Lewis into a treasonable strike."

Whether they brand their opponents "traitors," "agitators," or "phony 'left' sects," the purpose of the CP's slanders is the same. It is to avoid discussion of political disagreements and block workers from seriously weighing other points of view in the labor movement.

### A new twist

The CP recently added a new twist to their way of "fighting red-baiting" in the steelworkers union.

McBride's backers charge that the *Daily World* and the *Militant* support Sadlowski in the upcoming union election.

It is true that the *Militant* and the Socialist Workers party support Sadlowski's campaign. So what?

As Sadlowski put it at a steelworkers rally in Houston, "I don't ask people how they vote or what their political affiliations are, as long as they pay dues into this organization."

How is the CP responding to the red-baiters? They're running for the hills!

An editorial in the November 18 *Daily World* denounced "erroneous statements, peddled by the New York Times and others, that the *Daily World* has given its endorsement to Ed Sadlowski."

Well, if the *Daily World* doesn't support Sadlowski, then who are they backing in the election—Lloyd McBride? Or are they telling steelworkers to boycott the February 8 election?

The fact is, of course, that the *Daily World* has been attacking McBride and running favorable articles on Sadlowski's campaign.

Perhaps they think they are helping to curb the red-baiting by denying that they endorse Sadlowski. But that line of reasoning is really capitulation to the red-baiters. It accepts their basic argument: that participation by socialists or communists is a liability for the union movement.

I couldn't disagree more. The nonexclusionary policy of Steelworkers Fight Back is one of its great strengths, not a weakness.

The real danger to Fight Back would come from yielding an inch to the CP's approach to red-baiting: that union democracy means democracy *only for those who agree with you*.

Socialists have nothing to hide about where we stand on the steelworkers campaign. We say what we think openly and honestly—and we think others have the right to do the same.

# In Review

## 'THE FRONT'

The Front. Screenplay by Walter Bernstein. Directed and produced by Martin Ritt. Starring Woody Allen, Zero Mostel, and Herschel Bernardi.

A long line of people was waiting to see Woody Allen's new movie, *The Front*, when I went to it. Radicals, petitioning, were getting a friendly response.

Standing there, I was struck by a memory that carried me back to 1954. I had come home from school one day

## Film

and found my mother doing her ironing in front of the TV. She was watching the Army-McCarthy hearings. She usually liked to hear stories I would tell her about school. But not that day. The anticommunist witch-hunt—which had cost some of her friends their jobs—had her scared. The tube beamed rays of terror into our house.

But today the tables have turned. During *The Front*, the audience ap-

plauds as the "solid citizens," the good guys of the 1950s, become the objects of scorn.

All this is done with humor—but a humor made more human by its moving portrayal of the suffering brought on by the witch-hunt. . . The actors who couldn't perform. . . The writers who couldn't take credit for their work. . . Who got ulcers. . . Who committed suicide. . . Who had to hire a nobody—Woody Allen as Howard Prince—to "front" their writings to the networks (for a percentage) in order to earn a living.

These victims of the witch-hunt, the outcasts, become the heroes and heroines.

*The Front* does more than just take on McCarthyism. It bares the nature of the economic and political system that fostered the witch-hunt. It exposes the connection between money and art under capitalism. The networks love the TV scripts of Howard Prince's communist clients. But they won't buy from those who have been blacklisted by the House Un-American Activities Committee.

The TV scripts might as well be garbage. The authors might as well not exist. Because they can't connect

with money or with the production crews and broadcasting facilities that are necessary to make their work real.

In this situation, Prince—a loser, a poorly paid cashier up to his eyeballs in debt because he's a hopelessly inept gambler—becomes a "major" writer. Actually, he can't even roll a piece of paper into a typewriter.

What transforms him so magically? Prince's very lack of character allows him to parlay the scripts of his blacklisted friends into money.

In *The Front*, the lengths to which money can pervert art and dictate cultural norms—even in the best of times—are underscored by the grotesque consequences this had during the witch-hunt.

*The Front* does this honestly. Prince's clients make it clear to him they really are communists. The film doesn't shy away from defending the democratic rights of members of the Communist party, as some liberal criticisms of McCarthyism have done.

*The Front* helps expose the seamy connection between the entertainment bosses and the witch-hunters. It shows how cynically and ruthlessly the wealthy show biz entrepreneurs exploited those who had no choice but to sell them their talent. Hecky Brown, a fun-loving comic wonderfully played by Zero Mostel, is driven to suicide because—blacklisted and desperate for work—he is forced to degrade himself before producers and witch-hunters in a vain attempt to beg their favors.

*The Front* offers an honest look at the contemptible face of the FBI and its red-baiting stooges. How they twist people to rat on their friends. How they take pictures of the mourners at

Hecky's funeral.

Howard Prince is transformed twice in this film. First, he becomes the front for money. He is not concerned with anything more than what this "service" can buy him. He is dazzled by the plastic world of TV and high living.

But as the film progresses, Prince reluctantly and painfully comes to see reality as it is, not as it is turned upside down by TV's magic screen. And as advertisements for *The Front* say, we meet the world's most unlikely hero.

In thinking about *The Front*, I realized that Prince's personal heroism is only part of what the film is about. *The Front* is also a measure of how much has changed since the witch-hunt twenty-odd years ago. The decency and readiness to fight for democratic rights that made Harold Prince such an unlikely hero during the witch-hunt are now feelings deeply held by millions.

The night I saw the film, the audience cheered when Prince finally told the Committee where to get off. And at the very end of the film—when the credits reveal that many who helped make the film were themselves blacklisted and proudly caption their names with the year of their "disgrace" like medals of honor—the audience responded with approval.

Through the considerable talent of its writers and performers, *The Front* gives confidence and expression to these democratic sentiments. It says that when all the apolitical and unaware Howard Princes of the world stand up, we can get rid of the red-baiters and corporate creeps forever.

—Peter Seidman

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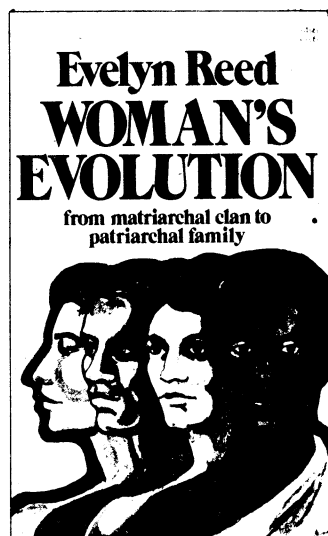
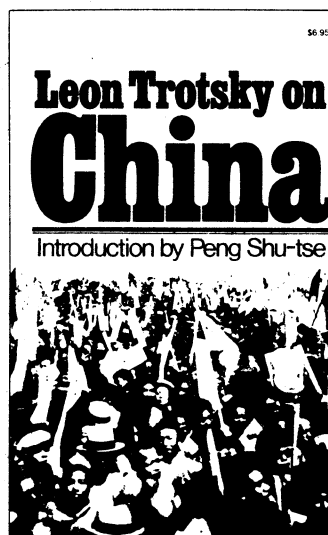
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# Gov't forcibly sterilizes Indian women

By Nancy Cole

WASHINGTON—More than 3,400 Native American women had sterilization operations between 1973 and 1976. Most were forced to do so by the federal Indian Health Service.

This was revealed November 23 in a report by the General Accounting Office released by Sen. James Abourezk (D-S.D.). The GAO investigated sterilizations in Albuquerque, Phoenix, Oklahoma City, and Aberdeen, South Dakota.

"Since [it] covers only four of the twelve IHS service areas in the U.S., we do not know how many sterilizations were performed on Indian people throughout the whole country," said Abourezk.

"Given the small American Indian population, the 3,400 Indian sterilization figure would be comparable to sterilizing 452,000 non-Indian women in the U.S.," the senator added.

Abourezk requested the inquiry after receiving "numerous complaints that Indian women of child-bearing age were being sterilized as birth-control procedure without their consent or knowledge."

Under a 1974 court order, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare is required to obtain "informed consent" for all federally funded sterilizations.

The consent must include a full explanation of sterilization and its effects, such as its irreversibility. Women are to be informed that they can withdraw their consent at any time.

The court order also required that women be told from the beginning that no federal benefits can be withdrawn if they refuse sterilization.

The GAO reviewed 113 of the "consent" forms for voluntary sterilizations. *In not one case did they comply with HEW regulations.*

The most common consent form used was the one for medically necessary sterilizations. This form doesn't require any of the verbal explanations. Some of the forms used were merely the standard anesthesia requests required for any operation.

There were also thirty-six sterilizations recorded for women under twenty-one years old. This is prohibited by the 1974 court order. IHS officials claim the doctors involved were unaware of the moratorium or were confused about it.

What is missing from the GAO report is any testimony from the victims of these racist sterilizations. Despite the "numerous complaints" received by Abourezk—presumably from women who were forcibly sterilized—the GAO did not interview any Indian women.

"We believe such an effort would not be productive because recently published research noted the high level of inaccuracy in the recollection of patients 4 to 6 months after giving informed consent," the report states.

Perhaps the government investigators were afraid that if they looked into both sides, they'd find more than confused doctors and incorrect forms. They might expose what Native Americans already know: that the U.S. government's unstated policy is that Indians are not worth reproducing.

## Crusade for Justice, AIM sue gov't

By José G. Pérez

Charging they were falsely accused of conspiring to "kill a cop a day in each state," the American Indian Movement and Crusade for Justice (a Chicano organization based in Denver) are suing government officials for \$3 million in damages.

The civil suit was filed at the beginning of September in U.S. District Court in Bridgeport, Connecticut. Defendants are the head of the Connecticut state police; the head of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) of the Department of Justice; and the head of INS investigations in Hartford, Connecticut.

The suit charges that on June 18 Connecticut state police sent a telex message to cops across the country. In it they said Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, AIM, and the Students for a Democratic Society were conspiring to create "disturbance and terrorism" for the bicentennial.

Gonzales, the central leader of the Crusade, was wrongly identified as a leader of the Brown Berets. He was falsely accused of having "a rocket launcher either in his possession or available to him, along with explosives, hand grenades, and 10 to 15 M-16 rifles."

The aim of the purported plot was to lure cops into ambushes with false reports of family disturbances and traffic violations.

After the message was sent, some

police forces were put on alert. "It was just a hit order," said an AIM leader. "It was a provocation to violence."

In the months preceding the July 4 bicentennial activities, numerous press reports said the government expected widespread terrorism that day.

The FBI apparently played a central role in disseminating the rumors. FBI chief Clarence Kelley admitted under questioning July 7 that he had "not one shred of proof" to substantiate them.

The Connecticut state cops themselves sent a second telex message to police agencies in the state also admitting there was no foundation for their report.

Corky Gonzales says he hopes discovery procedures in the lawsuit will expose the source of the report. The telex attributed the information to the Bureau of Indian Affairs, but the BIA denies this. Immigration cops concede the source was in their agency.

"This lawsuit might well reveal much more than has been disclosed about the Cointelpro operations of the FBI," Gonzales says.

Most of what is known about Cointelpro—FBI code name for its "disruption programs"—has been learned through the Socialist Workers party's \$40 million civil suit against government spying and harassment.

"We are pleased to hear that the Crusade and AIM have filed this suit against the government," said Olga



Militant/David Warren

RODOLFO 'CORKY' GONZALES: 'Lawsuit might reveal much about FBI Cointelpro operations.'

Rodríguez, a member of the SWP National Committee.

"We socialists have maintained all along that the revelations from our case were just the tip of the iceberg of government attacks on the democratic rights of all Americans.

"AIM and the Crusade have both been major targets of government frame-ups and violence," she added, "and their suit can be another important step toward uncovering the truth about government criminality."

## ...Senate panel smears Indian group

Continued from back page

The purpose of Eastland's latest book of lies is to cut across growing support for AIM and the rights of Native Americans.

One obvious aim is to torpedo church and foundation grants that have helped AIM activists defend themselves from government frame-ups or helped fund social service programs.

For example, Rev. John Adams of the United Methodist Church in Washington, D.C., who "figures quite prominently in . . . leftist, or revolutionary movements," is castigated for helping Dennis Banks secure funds for bail.

The report also tries to pit AIM against others fighting for social change. At one point Eastland's "senior investigator" asks Durham, "What other groups that have advocated terrorism or violence for the Bicentennial have shown support for the American Indian Movement?"

Durham answers: "The Weather Underground. . . Irish Republican Army. . . Palestine Liberation Organization. . . Iranian Student Association. . . Revolutionary Student Brigade. . . Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee. . . The Militant. . . The New World Liberation Front. . . Symbionese Liberation Army. . . National Lawyers Guild. . ."

This is a frame-up in at least three ways. First, because AIM can hardly be considered responsible for groups that have spoken out in support of Indian rights. Second, because groups ranging from this newspaper to the Symbionese Liberation Army are lumped together. And third, because Durham provides no convincing proof that all these groups have, in fact, had ties with AIM.

The point of all this is to try to scare Indian militants from associating with or welcoming support from anyone Eastland considers "revolutionary" or "terrorist." It is an attempt to weaken the Indian struggle.

Eastland and company are a notorious pack of scoundrels and liars. But his report cannot just be brushed aside. He speaks for powerful forces, and his report on AIM is no accident.

Since the 1973 Wounded Knee occu-

pation, the government at the federal, state, and local levels has waged unmitigated war on AIM. Literally hundreds of Indian activists have been framed-up. Some activists have been gunned down by cops or vigilantes.

Others have died under suspicious circumstances, such as car "accidents."

Eastland's report is a clear signal that the government intends to continue this war.

## Who is Douglass Durham?

Who is Douglass Durham?

The Eastland committee neglected to provide his background, so here it is. The following information was gathered by the American Indian Movement and by *Akwesasne Notes*, a respected Indian newspaper. *Notes* and AIM both cite a grand jury report and other public records to back up their charges.

From 1962 through 1964 Durham was a Des Moines cop. He was pressured to resign. The reasons? Durham was being investigated for bribe-taking and involvement in prostitution. He and his wife quarreled about it, and he beat her. She died.

Authorities considered bringing manslaughter charges against him, and he was examined by a police psychiatrist. The psychiatrist pronounced Durham a "paranoid schizoid personality" with "uncontrollable outbursts of violence" who was

"unable to tell right from wrong" and was "unfit for employment involving public trust."

For the following eight years, Durham is alleged to have lived a life of crime, involved in gambling, drugs, burglary, and trafficking in stolen goods.

After his accidental exposure as an FBI spy in March 1975, Durham willingly talked with AIM. AIM says Durham told them that Iowa cops viewed Durham "as somebody who headed one of the largest criminal organizations in the state—even though I was reporting to the Government at times. . . ."

In 1972, Durham was the major figure in a police corruption scandal in Des Moines. The grand jury noted that Durham was involved in crime "during the same period Durham was acting in an undercover capacity for the Des Moines Police Department."

In March 1973 Durham infiltrated AIM—pretending to be part Indian—at the behest of the FBI.

By accident, the government turned over to AIM evidence revealing Durham's FBI connection two years later.

AIM leaders confronted Durham with the evidence, and he confessed, trying to give the impression that he had already decided what he was doing was wrong. He gave AIM descriptions of his background and FBI activities, held a news conference blasting government repression of AIM, and disappeared from sight.

A few months later he came into public view again in a new role—a lecturer for the John Birch Society.



DOUGLASS DURHAM, 1971

# 3,500 attend teach-in on Latin America terror

By Celia Stodola

ANN ARBOR, Mich.—About 3,500 people participated in a "Teach-in on Terror in Latin America" here November 15-18. The event, one of the largest of its kind ever held in the United States, was sponsored by a dozen University of Michigan departments, programs, and student groups under the auspices of the Ann Arbor Committee for Human Rights in Latin America.

The teach-in began with an evening in honor of Raymundo Gleyzer. Gleyzer, a prominent documentary filmmaker, has been imprisoned in Argentina for more than eighteen months. He is reportedly near death as a result of torture.

A program featuring a talk by Dr. Lawrence Birns, director of the Council on Hemispheric Affairs, and the screening of *Mexico: the Frozen Revolution*, a film by Gleyzer, was attended by 450 people.

Tuesday evening, 585 people attended film showings of *Brazil: A Report on Torture* and *Interview with Allende*. Isabel Letelier, widow of Orlando Letelier, who was ambassador from Allende's government to the United States, spoke about the coup in Chile and the assassination of her husband in Washington, D.C., last September.

On Wednesday, a panel was held on the "Status of Labor Unions in Latin America." More than 100 signatures were gathered there on a petition calling for the release of imprisoned Argentine auto worker militant José Francisco Páez.

Workshops were held on: The United States and Repression in Central America; The Role of the United States in Latin American Totalitarianism; Puerto Rico; Amnesty International; Anti-Semitism in Latin America; The Arts and Repression; and Women Political Prisoners.

Petitions were circulated demanding the release of women political prisoners incarcerated in Chile.

Two hundred people attended a Wednesday evening session centering on the coup in Chile and its aftermath. Among the speakers were: Amy Congers, a former Chilean political prisoner; Abe Feinglass, vice-president of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America; Enrique Kirberg, former rector of the Technical University of Chile; Frank Newman, United Nations Subcommittee on Human Rights; and David Weisbrodt, secretary of Amnesty International Committee for Human Rights.

A moving call for solidarity with the Chilean people was made at a Thursday evening closing session by Isabel Allende, daughter of the deposed Chilean president. Allende reviewed the current economic and social situation in Chile and denounced U.S. complicity with the crimes of the Pinochet dictatorship.

Also addressing the 2,000 people present were Victor Mirelman of Rutgers University; Frieda Silvert of the City College of New York; and poet Louise Bernikow, a member of the international writers' organization P.E.N.

## DC protesters demand: End FBI war on AIM!



More than 100 people marched to FBI headquarters

By Mitchel Rosenberg

WASHINGTON—More than one hundred people marched to the J. Edgar Hoover FBI headquarters December 4 to demand an end to FBI attacks on Native Americans and asylum for American Indian Movement activist Leonard Peltier in Canada.

Peltier is a veteran of the AIM occupation of Wounded Knee in 1973. He is fighting extradition from Canada. If returned to the United States, Peltier faces five frame-up charges, including murder charges for the death of two FBI agents.

At a rally in front of the J. Edgar Hoover Building, protesters heard Denise Oliver, a former central committee member of the Young Lords party, and greetings from imprisoned feminist Susan Saxe.

Sara Ryan, an activist in the Young Socialist Alliance, joined other speakers in demanding an end to FBI harassment of AIM.

Flint Taylor, part of the legal team for the suit exposing the truth about the murder of Black Panthers Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, also spoke. He pointed to the murder of Hampton and Clark on December 4 seven years ago as evidence of the FBI's harassment of Blacks, Native Americans, and all oppressed minorities.

John Trudell, national chairperson of AIM, declared that "only the faces and technology have changed" in the centuries of genocide against Native Americans.

The rally concluded with a tape-recorded message from Leonard Peltier.

Sponsors of the rally included the Native American Solidarity Committee, July 4 Coalition, National Organization for Women, Socialist Workers party, Young Socialist Alliance, supporters of the Karen Silkwood case, the Baltimore Two Defense Committee, June 16 Coalition, and Youth Against War and Fascism.

## Calendar

EAST LOS ANGELES

**DEFENSE OF JOSE MEDINA.** Speaker: José Medina. Fri., Dec. 17, 8 p.m.: 1237 S. Atlantic. Donation: \$1. Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (213) 265-1375.

LOS ANGELES: CRENSHAW

**FBI DISRUPTION OF THE BLACK MOVEMENT: ATTACKS ON DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, BLACK PANTHER PARTY, SWP, STOKELY CARMICHAEL.** Speakers: Rev. C. Garnett Henning, Ward AME Church; Bobby Johnson, Committee for Justice for Huey P. Newton and Black Panther party; Sam Manuel, SWP; representative of the All-African Peoples Revolutionary party. Fri., Dec. 17, 8 p.m.: 4040 W. Washington Blvd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 732-8196.

NEW YORK

**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 Barreto 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.

## ...FBI

Continued from page 15

Congress was tacking anti-abortion amendments to appropriation bills!

Think about the inaccuracies which we note. Then refer to the May 1, 1976, issue of *Majority Report* where we printed from the Church Committee files the part of the transcripts where the FBI agent admits that the FBI is still spying on the women's movement.

Based on the new document, we advocate the following: (1) Women's movement groups interested in joining a class-action lawsuit against government spy agencies should contact us, (2) Citizens! SPY BACK! and contact us, (3) The FBI should stop spying on women's groups and go into the business of publishing thriller comics.

## ...Vance

Continued from page 4

In the 1970s Vance's police expertise drew him onto New York City's Knapp Commission, which sought to avoid future French Connection-type police exposés and to otherwise prettify New York cops.

More recently Vance joined a committee of "prominent citizens" (along with David Rockefeller) that is supposed to oversee the budget slashes, wage freezes, and firings during New York's financial crisis.

In 1968 and 1969 Vance was second-in-command under Averell Harriman at the Paris Vietnam negotiations. It is enough to recall that it took two months to agree on the shape of the negotiating table to know what was involved in these "peace talks": The United States pretended to talk peace while heavily escalating the bombing throughout Vietnam in hopes of getting Hanoi to agree to the preservation of the Thieu dictatorship.

These were days when Vance could still speak of "North Vietnamese infiltration into the South" as a "justification" for U.S. bombing attacks on North Vietnamese cities.

With Nixon's election, Vance left the

official government to continue serving on such key ruling-class advisory bodies as the United Nations Association and the Council on Foreign Relations.

He became a member of the board of directors of the One William Street Fund, Inc.; Standard Fire Insurance; Aetna Life Insurance; Pan American World Airways; International Business Machines; and recently, the *New York Times*.

It is hard to think of a man more symbolic of the aggressive and repressive character of the capitalist system. Vance is a nuclear weapons expert, a perpetrator of the U.S. attack on Vietnam, a police "pacification" expert, not to speak of being a corporate lawyer and director of several gigantic U.S. trusts.

These are the types who really rule the United States. The Jimmy Carters, who insult us for months with lies about bringing "outsiders" into Washington, are their bagmen.

## ...Militant

Continued from page 6

to the *Militant*—mostly through the efforts of Young Socialist Alliance chapters. Many YSA chapters set up weekly or daily literature tables and found many other ways to sell subscriptions. Political meetings on campus were important sales spots. Socialists at the University of California at Berkeley sold sixty-eight subscriptions when Peter Camejo spoke there this fall.

Nine YSA chapters and locals sold more than fifty subscriptions each. Five sold more than 100. In Chicago, Detroit, New York, and several other cities, sales were especially good on community college campuses.

The eight traveling campaign teams that visited campuses across the country sold 1,363 subscriptions altogether. The fall *Militant* subscription drive helped the SWP and YSA introduce tens of thousands of new people to socialist ideas and political activity.

This was especially important for the many new SWP branches—including the fourteen in cities where there had previously been no SWP branch. In Tacoma, Toledo, Kansas City, Louisville, and other places, campaigning and selling subscriptions was how the socialists began to learn about political life in their new cities.

The 10,000 subscriptions sold through door-to-door canvassing are an especially important gain for the entire party.

If you are one of our 20,930 new readers, we would like to know what you think of the *Militant* and the issues we cover and analyze.

And if you want to find out more about the SWP or YSA, get in touch with the chapter nearest you (see directory on page 31), or write to: SWP, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

## Corrections

A typographical error appeared in the article by Evelyn Reed, "Catholic church vs. abortion rights," in the December 10 *Militant*. The sentence reading "They should know that these male supremacists are now as powerful as they seem" should have read: "They should know that these male supremacists are not as powerful as they seem."

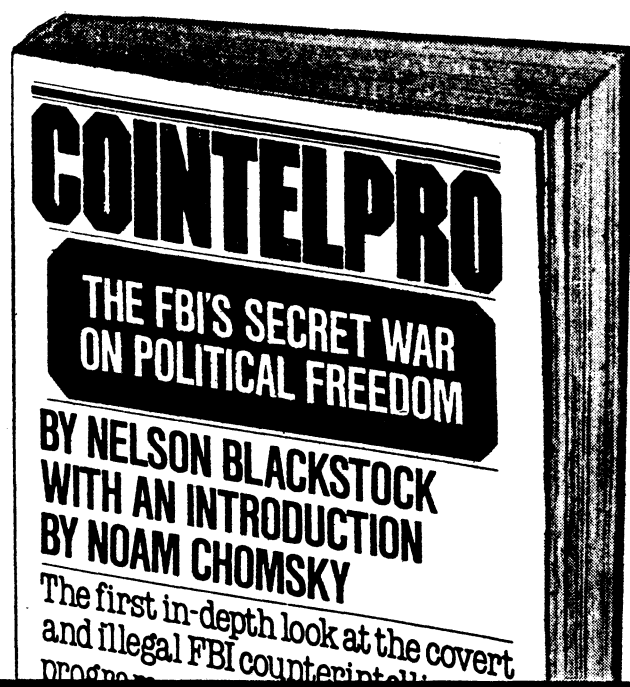
The article "Texas meetings protest repression in Iran" in the same issue reported that 125 Iranian students were arrested at a demonstration in Houston November 9. Actually, 92 were arrested. Of these, about 60 face serious charges of violating their visa requirements, for which they may be deported.

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**Tucson:** YSA, SUPO 20965, Tucson, Ariz. 85720. Tel: (602) 795-2053.

**CALIFORNIA:** Berkeley: SWP, YSA, Granma Bookstore, 3264 Adeline St., Berkeley, Calif. 94703. Tel: (415) 653-7156.

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0737; YSA—(312) 427-0280.

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**Indianapolis:** YSA, c/o Student Activity Office, IUPUI, 925 W. Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind. 46202. Tel: (317) 631-3441.

**Muncie:** YSA, Box 387 Student Center, Ball State University, Muncie, Ind. 47306.

**KENTUCKY:** Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952 University Station, Lexington, Ky. 40506. Tel: (606) 266-0536.

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**WISCONSIN:** Eau Claire: YSA, c/o Chip Johnson, 221 1/2 Ninth Ave., Eau Claire, Wis. 54701. Tel: (715) 835-1474.

**La Crosse:** YSA, c/o UW La Crosse, Cartwright Center, 1725 State St., La Crosse, Wis. 54601.

**Madison:** YSA, P.O. Box 1442, Madison, Wis. 53701. Tel: (608) 251-1591.

**Milwaukee:** SWP, YSA, 3901 N. 27th St., Milwaukee, Wis. 53216. Tel: (414) 442-8170.



# THE MILITANT

## BLACK PANTHERS SUE GOVERNMENT Demand halt to disruption plots

By Nancy Cole

WASHINGTON—Charging disruption operations that extended to assassinations, the Black Panther party filed a \$100 million class-action suit against government harassment here December 1.

"Through this lawsuit, we intend to bring an end to a long, national nightmare, exposing that the most extreme and violent actions were employed by high government officials against citizens of this nation," Elaine Brown, BPP national chairperson, told reporters at a news conference here.

The legal action seeks a permanent court injunction to halt the spying, harassment, and injury of Panther members and supporters.

Named as defendants in the suit are officials of the FBI, CIA, Treasury Department, Internal Revenue Service, U.S. Army, and other agencies.

The government began its drive to disrupt the BPP's political activities soon after the party's formation. In 1968 the FBI sent a memo to some of its field offices asking for "imaginative and hard-hitting counterintelligence measures aimed at crippling the BPP."



### LOS ANGELES:

**FBI Disruption of the Black Movement** will be discussed at a forum Friday, December 17, 8 p.m., at 4040 W. Washington Blvd. in Los Angeles. Speakers include Rev. C. Garnett Henning, Ward AME Church; Bobby Johnson, Committee for Justice for Huey P. Newton and Black Panther party; Sam Manuel, Socialist Workers party; and a representative of the All-African Peoples Revolutionary party. Donation, \$1.

Altogether, of the 295 Cointelpro operations aimed at Black groups, 233—or 79 percent—were directed at the Panthers, according to the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence.

Those operations continue right up to the present time, the Panthers charge.

The full extent of the government drive cannot be known until the FBI and other agencies are forced to disclose all the evidence for the BPP lawsuit.

Nevertheless, Cointelpro documents already made public have revealed some of the government's criminal operations.

- Government agents instigated armed raids by local police departments against the Panthers in Los Angeles, Chicago, New Orleans, and Kansas City, Missouri.

- On December 4, 1969, Black Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark were murdered in their beds by Chicago cops. An FBI informer in the BPP, William O'Neal, had previously provided a floor plan of the targeted apartment, complete with an X over Hampton's bed.

- The FBI promoted distrust and violence between other Black groups and the Panthers. In Los Angeles, for example, FBI agents boasted that "internecine struggle" might be triggered through skillful use of informers in Black groups.

- The government sought to sabotage the Panthers' hot breakfast program by harassing churches that assisted it. In one case the FBI sent a letter to a bishop protesting the Panthers' use of a church. The imaginative G-men signed that poison-pen note "A Concerned Christian."

- The government used anonymous letters, rumors, and newspaper gossip columnists in its efforts to drive white supporters away from the Panthers.

The newly filed lawsuit charges the FBI with

## Elaine Brown: 'Open FBI files!'

By Carl Finamore

OAKLAND, Calif.—In a telephone interview with the *Militant*, Black Panther party Chairperson Elaine Brown said that the \$100 million sought by the BPP lawsuit "would not pay for the violence and murders committed against the party."

"But our lawsuit will give poor people, Black people, Chicano people a chance to lift the cover and see the lengths to which the government will go to stop progressive movements."

Brown said the Panthers were "encouraged" by the Socialist Workers party's \$40 million lawsuit against government harassment.

FBI crimes revealed through the socialists' suit and during the Senate's hearings on government spying were "concrete things that people could see," according to Brown. "They weren't fantasies of the Black Panther party."

These disclosures, along with the forced exile of BPP leader Huey Newton, led the Panthers to conclude that "it was time to file the suit to expose what is happening now and what will continue to happen in the future unless a movement is built to stop it."

Brown says the BPP is calling on President-elect Carter to live up to his promises.

A beginning could be made by shedding light on the FBI files, Brown suggested. "He should open them up for public inspection."

The Panthers urge people to endorse and support their lawsuit. "Our organization was singled out for some of the most brutal violence, but the issues of our suit are bigger than any one organization," Brown said.

For information about the legal effort, contact the BPP at 8501 East Fourteenth Street, Oakland, California 94602.



planting agents provocateurs in the BPP "to commit violence and incite others within the Party to violence for the purpose, and with the effect, of weakening the Party internally and losing its public support."

The legal action also points to government efforts to suppress the party's newspaper, the *Black Panther*, by "sabotaging its offices, destroying numerous shipments of the paper, vandalizing racks carrying the paper, instigating arrests of street vendors of the newspaper, and pressuring commercial airlines that transport the paper nationally to charge a higher rate than that normally charged."

The lawsuit charges government burglaries in which agents stole files and lists of BPP members, supporters, and contributors. The Panthers also point to the harassment of members and supporters, such as FBI visits to individuals, their employers, landlords, and families.

Disclosures that the FBI has been forced to make in the Socialist Workers party's lawsuit against government disruption of political activity have already highlighted how the government operates to stifle dissent.

The Panther lawsuit will focus a new spotlight on those crimes.

## Panel smears American Indian Movement

By José G. Pérez

Earlier this fall newspapers across the country carried sensational headlines slandering the American Indian Movement.

"American Indian Movement 'Committed to Violence,' Senate Panel Concludes," said the *Los Angeles Times*.

"Senate Panel Calls Indians Group A Minority Dedicated to Violence," said the *Washington Post*.

The "panel" was the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. In fact, the only senator who participated was Sen. James Eastland, Democrat of Mississippi.

Right-wing commentator Paul Harvey summarized Eastland's claims, saying "an exhaustive investigation" established that "AIM is a revolutionary organization committed to violence."

In reality, the investigation consisted entirely of a one-day hearing before Eastland. The only witness was Douglass Durham, an FBI informer who infiltrated AIM between March 1973

and March 1975.

Vernon Bellecourt, AIM national field director, calls Durham "a pathological liar," adding that the hearing and subsequent committee report is "a last-ditch effort to discredit the American Indian Movement."

He and other AIM leaders categorically deny that AIM is either a terrorist or violent organization. "I can describe AIM very simply," Russell Means told me. "First, we are a spiritual movement. Second, we are a liberation movement."

Means says AIM wants "Indian sovereignty"—the right of Native Americans to control their own affairs. AIM organizes protests against racist practices, fights government frame-ups and victimizations, and helps initiate services for Indians.

One recent AIM project, for example,

has been to start schools where Indian students can learn their true history and culture.

The Eastland committee is notorious for producing tendentious, biased, slanderous, and outrageously false material against a broad range of groups fighting for social change.

Two recent reports, for example, are the "Trotskyite Terrorist International" (on the Socialist Workers party), and "The Attempt to Steal the Bicentennial: The Peoples Bicentennial Commission."

The targets of these "investigations" are given no chance to present evidence, question witnesses, or answer the charges. This whole mud-slinging operation is conducted in secret until reports are ready, and it is protected from libel suits by congressional immunity.

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