

THE MILITANT

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

**COME TO THE
YOUNG
SOCIALIST
CONVENTION**

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

JOANNE LITTLE DENIED PAROLE: Despite her status as an "honor grade" prisoner, the North Carolina Paroles Commission denied parole to Joanne Little on December 18. As grounds for the decision, Jack Scism, the commission chairperson, pointed to what Little's attorney Jerry Paul described as two "minor infractions" of prison rules last July.

Little has served slightly more than one-quarter of a seven-year sentence on a burglary conviction. It was while in prison on these charges that the young Black woman was charged with murder for defending herself against a sexual assault by a racist white jailer. Little was acquitted on this murder charge following national protests. She will be eligible for parole again in nine months.

A holiday message

It's that time of year. The season of good will to all. And as usual, the Democratic and Republican politicians have been throwing the switch to light their ceremonial Christmas trees.

But this year they're rushing to throw another switch. The switch on the electric chair.

Their holiday sentiments will not be much appreciated on death row—where nearly 600 people are waiting to be electrocuted, shot, hanged, or gassed.

Thousands more are penned up behind bars. They are this society's victims. Victims of racist oppression. Victims of desperate poverty. And victims of outright political frame-ups.

As we have done in the past at this time of year, the Militant urges its readers fortunate enough to be on the outside to rededicate themselves to fighting to free victims of capitalist injustice still behind bars: the Wilmington Ten, Gary Tyler, Stanton Story, Joanne Little, J.B. Johnson, the Five Puerto Rican Nationalists, Delbert Tibbs, and Antonio Smith. And, now, Hurricane Carter and John Artis—who've just had the prison door closed behind them once again.

And there are more—both here and around the world—we haven't named.

It's also a good time of year to rededicate oneself to the struggle for a socialist society—where racism, electric chairs, and prisons will only be a bad memory.

WILMINGTON TEN CASE EVIDENCE 'MISSING': Official North Carolina files, described by Wilmington Ten Defense Committee leader Imani Kazana as "possibly very helpful," have mysteriously disappeared. The files contain reports on the activities of Rev. Ben Chavis during a period in 1971 when night-riding racists terrorized Wilmington's Black community.

Framed up for their civil rights activities at that time, Chavis along with eight other Black activists and one white antipoverty worker, were sentenced to a total of 282 years on arson and conspiracy charges. They were convicted largely on the basis of testimony from an informer, Allen Hall. Hall has since recanted his testimony, saying he lied under police and prosecution pressure.

The missing files, according to Ron Ingle, director of the Human Relations Council that compiled them, show a

This is the last issue of the Militant before our holiday break. We will resume publishing with the issue dated January 14, 1977.

different picture of Chavis's role than the one presented by the prosecution.

The North Carolina attorney general now says his office has found the missing files and turned them over to the state's Special Bureau of Investigation. According to Kazana, however, none of the Human Relations Council employees—who could establish whether or not the files have been altered—have been allowed to see them.

Kazana also reported another new development in the case. Allen Hall has been committed to a Raleigh, North Carolina, mental institution. Kazana believes this move may be an effort to discredit his recantation.

CHICAGO PUERTO RICAN ACTIVISTS HARASSED: Three Puerto Rican activists in Chicago have been caught up in a grand jury fishing expedition into alleged "terrorist activities." The three are José López, a

professor at Northeastern Illinois University; Myrna López, coordinator of the Raphael Cancel Miranda School; and Juan López, a clerk at the civic center.

The three have refused to testify before a grand jury. They face prosecution under a December 15 ruling by a U.S. district judge ordering them to submit to grand jury questions.

The Chicago Coalition to Stop the Grand Jury has been formed to organize support for these victims of grand jury harassment.

DEMAND DESEGREGATION OF PHILA. HOUSING: Militant correspondent Jeanne Stevens reports that seventy-five supporters of Black rights in Philadelphia met December 12 to demand immediate implementation of a court-ordered housing desegregation plan.

The November 8 court order focuses on the construction of a 120-unit public housing project in the all-white Whitman Park section of South Philadelphia. The order, by Federal District Judge Raymond Broderick, has drawn the fire of racist organizations. Backed by a succession of city administrations, including that of Mayor Frank Rizzo, these anti-Black bigots have succeeded in blocking construction of the project since it was planned in 1956.

Among those attending the December 12 meeting were representatives of four local NAACP chapters, NAACP national office, Urban League, World Community of Islam in the West, Operation PUSH, Welfare Rights Organization, Delaware Valley Housing Coalition, several local Black elected officials, and Socialist Workers party.

CHALLENGE U.S. ARMY RACISM: NAACP leader Gloster Current scored the army's lack of "fundamental fairness" after racist brass punished Janis Stewart, a Black woman GI, for refusing to cut her Afro hair style. Stewart is now appealing her conviction.

A defense committee has been established to publicize and raise funds for her appeal. For more information contact: Janis Stewart Defense Fund, c/o Community Action party, 1897 Napa Street, Seaside, California 93955.

The December 24 Militant's coverage of the victimization of fourteen Black marines at Camp Pendleton in Oceanside, California, met a good response outside the base. San Diego socialists sold eighty copies of that issue to marines there.

PELTIER ORDERED TO RETURN TO U.S.: On December 17 American Indian Movement leader Leonard Peltier was ordered by a Canadian court to be extradited to the United States. Peltier, who has been seeking asylum in Canada, was framed up on charges of slaying two FBI agents. Washington requested his extradition on five criminal charges as part of its ongoing campaign of harassment and frame-ups of Indian leaders.

—Peter Seidman



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Round 2 of a racist frame-up

Carter & Artis convicted in N.J. retrial

By Baxter Smith

PATERSON, N.J., Dec. 21—Gravity, in the end, prevailed.

Its pull began June 17, 1966, when Rubin "Hurricane" Carter and John Artis—a pair of Black men who bore no resemblance to descriptions given by witnesses—were detained by police as suspects in the shooting of white patrons at the Lafayette Grill here.

And its pull ended tonight when a jury returned guilty verdicts against the pair for three counts of first-degree murder.

It was the gravity of racism.

"Once the prosecution was allowed to introduce the claim of racial revenge, the whole criminal process was perverted," Lewis Steel, attorney for Artis, said after the verdict.

The state's case, presented by Prosecutor Burrell Humphreys, contended that the slayings were revenge for the shooting death of a Black bartender by a white man a few hours prior.

This was the second trial for Carter and Artis. The first one in 1967 ended in conviction. The pair did nine years on a life term before being granted a retrial after recantations by the state's

two chief witnesses, Alfred Bello and Arthur Bradley.

The state made no case for a motive at the first trial. It didn't have to; its case was stronger then.

Bello and Bradley were burglarizing a factory near the bar where the 1966 shooting occurred. Bello swore he saw Carter and Artis leaving the scene; Bradley that he saw Carter. At the time of their testimony, both Bradley and Bello faced trial for armed robbery.

In 1974, after the statute of limitations on perjury passed, both Bello and Bradley recanted. They claimed the prosecution pressured them to present their original testimony.

At the retrial, Bello took back his recantation. Bradley, who was not called to testify at the retrial, stands by his recantation.

All this prompted the prosecution to take another route at the retrial. A motive had to be presented this time around, and "white hatred" became that motive. An unashamed appeal to the racism of the white jurors became the route to prove it.

"Ladies and gentlemen, we don't live

in that world yet," Prosecutor Humphreys said in his summation, cynically referring to Martin Luther King's 1963 speech envisioning a nation free of racism. "And we certainly didn't live in it in 1966.

"As much as you may want to look away, to say it didn't happen for that reason, it did happen for that reason," he told the jury.

"Call upon your own backgrounds and spirits," he pleaded. "Evaluate these people in a real-life setting."

Then, turning his jowly white face toward the two Black defendants, he asked:

"Help bring these two killers to justice."

Defense attorneys Steel and Myron Beldock, whose summations preceded Humphreys's, anticipated and urged the jurors to reject the "racial horror concept."

They put their best adversary skills on parade. To make points, they pumped their arms in the manner of a symphony conductor. They whispered or raised their voices. They had the courtroom rocking with laughter, or deafly, somberly quiet.

Beldock said there are "many reasonable doubts" in the state's case and that the jury should not convict on such doubts.

He emphasized the discrepancy in the description of the clothes the gunmen wore and those Carter and Artis wore when picked up.

Beldock pointed out that even then-Lieutenant Vincent DiSimone, who was in charge of the shooting investigation, stated in his grand jury testimony that it was "impossible" for the defendants to have changed clothes between the time of the shooting and the time they were stopped.

DiSimone's testimony, Beldock said, "makes a fair summation for the defense."

Beldock underscored Hazel Tanis's deathbed description of the gunmen. Tanis, who was wounded in the shooting and later died, said the taller of the two men had dark skin. The shorter had light skin. She didn't indicate that the men had beards or that one had a bald head.

Carter keeps his head clean-shaven and wears a goatee. He is darker and

shorter than Artis.

William Marins, another bar patron, said in testimony at the first trial that he had been unable to identify Carter and Artis as his attackers when they were taken to the hospital room about an hour after the shooting.

It was a convincing defense. The prosecution's case was full of contradictions.

But in the end the jury said "guilty" and Judge Bruno Leopizzi set February 2 for sentencing.

And Carter and Artis were led, no, pulled away by gravity, to the Passaic County Jail.

'A mockery'

The following statement was released December 22 by Willie Mae Reid, a member of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers party and its vice-presidential candidate in the November 2 election.

The conviction of Rubin "Hurricane" Carter and John Artis is the culmination of a ten-year effort by racist New Jersey authorities to frame and jail two innocent Black men.

It is a conviction that has shocked all opponents of racist injustice. It is especially despicable at this supposed time of holiday friendship and human understanding.

Carter and Artis will now spend Christmas and New Year's behind bars, because the judge—in one more turn of the screw—denied them freedom pending their February sentencing.

From start to finish the state's case was built on racism. Prosecution witnesses lied on the stand time and again.

Opponents of this verdict must redouble our efforts to win freedom for Carter and Artis. Let's put an end to this ten-year-old mockery of justice now.

Free Hurricane Carter and John Artis!



John Artis (left) and Rubin Carter outside courthouse before verdict

Christmas on Arch Street

By Jon Hillson

PHILADELPHIA—In between the peep shows and dives and fast food joints on the sadder side of downtown Philadelphia there is very little holiday cheer.

Arch Street is grey when the sun shines.

The promise of the new year is more of the same. There may be a smile in the White House, but its gleam doesn't reach this far.

Unemployed men line up to read the chalkboard on the front of the temporary-work agency. For ninety-two dollars a week, if you're lucky, you can hire on as a stitcher. And, if you're not so lucky, there is dishwashing and busing trays at \$2.20 an hour.

Unemployment has reached 9 percent in Philadelphia. The way they say "officially" indicates it's worse.

Most of the men who hang around panhandling and waiting for cheap day-labor aren't getting benefits.

There are layoffs of city workers and plant closings in steel. The city tax is supposed to go up. And the sidewalk Santas, who hired on because that was ready work shake Christmas bells without much spirit.

On Arch Street the adult arcades and sixteen-millimeter sex films draw small crowds. The neon is flat and ugly. The noise of passersby is almost frantic. Last-minute shopping at bargain basements. Trying to squeeze an extra present out of thin budgets. Hustling to subways that are

falling apart on the tracks. You hear talk about fare hikes and cutbacks in repair and service.

It is frenzied and dirty and desperate, this mixture of wandering men, faceless double knit suits skulking into skin flicks, harried shoppers, and bleary-eyed panhandlers.

This appears to be a man's no-man's-land, with women—other than those passing through—visibly absent.

There is a sign that juts out over one of the storefronts. It says "Blood Donors. Fee Paid." A cash fee. And the men inside—Black and white, young and old—sit in rows waiting to be called.

They will show identification. The women wearing uniforms are supposed to make sure they are clean and free of disease. They will go in the back and roll up a shirt-sleeve. A blue vein will be pumped up, and a pint of blood will be siphoned out. They will get twenty dollars or so and walk outside and blend in the crowd.

It means a little food on the table for the forty-four-year-old Black man with salt and pepper hair and calloused hands and a cap pulled over his eyes.

It means a present for the child of the younger white guy leaning against the wall. His shoes are scuffed and his nails are chipped.

Money for blood. Part of an electrical bill. A Christmas turkey. A cheap but important bottle of brandy to toast in the new year. A night out with a friend.

And if you're strong you can come back in awhile and have the needle stuck in your arm again and watch the blood seep out, and there is more money.

The men inside waiting do not look at each other, do not talk, do not smile. Outside once in a while someone will look in and catch a stare—a hard, angry, bitter stare.

The window that separates is transparent as something more understood. The hurried walkers look in and speed up: it could be them inside. Giving blood for money. Because there is no job. No unemployment check. Because there is not enough.

Just blocks away, in the elite stores, those who own and invest and are warm in their bankbooks can buy \$300 sterling silver greeting cards with their names engraved.

They do not walk on Arch Street.

On Arch Street there is no hope this Christmas. Not for the lanky Black youth who just got turned down for a minimum-wage job sweeping up a cockroach warehouse because he couldn't fill out the application. Not for the greying man whose glassy eyes said he had just sold his blood for the third time in two months.

Not for the millions who walk every day of their lives on Arch Streets in cities that have every name you could think of.

On streets where men give blood for money, every day is the same.

Young Socialist Alliance convention Chicago, Dec. 31-Jan. 2

REGISTRATION AND HOUSING

Registration for the Young Socialist Alliance convention begins Thursday evening, December 30, in the Crystal Foyer on the seventh floor of the Sheraton-Chicago Hotel, Chicago, Illinois.

Registration fee for the entire convention is \$5.00, or \$2.50 for high school students. For people attending only part of the convention, registration is \$2.00 per day.

Housing is available at the Sheraton-Chicago Hotel for \$6.25 to \$14.00 per person each night. Some inexpensive housing at homes of YSA members and friends is also available.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 30

- Registration begins
- "China After Mao"—talk by Les Evans

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 31

- Report: "Socialist Strategy for 1977"
- Presentation: "Chicano Student Movement"
- Workshops: Puerto Rico, international political prisoners, student support to labor struggles, high school activists, student government, the right to organize on campus

- Feature: Linda Jenness, feminist author and socialist leader, describes her recent speaking tour of Spain
- New Year's Eve party

SATURDAY, JANUARY 1

- Report: "Women's Rights Under Attack—How to Fight Back"
- Report: "The Fight Against Racism in Southern Africa and the United States"

• Report: "Building the YSA"

- Rally featuring Willie Mae Reid, 1976 Socialist Workers party candidate for U.S. vice-president, and Maceo Dixon, Black leader in Boston desegregation fight

SUNDAY, JANUARY 2

- Class on recent labor and student upsurge in Québec
- Workshops: Fight against racism, women's liberation, building the YSA, YSA lawsuit against the FBI and CIA

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Contact the YSA chapter nearest you, listed on page 27. Or write the YSA national office, Post Office Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

'The people doing things are in the YSA'

By Diane Rupp

For the Young Socialist Alliance the gathering in Chicago December 31-January 2 will be its sixteenth national convention. But for many new members it will be their first.

The YSA set up chapters in twelve new cities this year. That means the YSA has seventy-five chapters in sixty cities, as well as at-large members in about seventy other areas around the country.

"A lot of people chose socialism during this year's elections," explained Rick Berman, national organizational secretary of the YSA. "Campus meetings for the Socialist Workers party candidates, Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, were large. And after those meetings many decided to join the YSA."

Colleen Strohm, organizer of the new Albuquerque, New Mexico, chapter, is one who joined the YSA after hearing Camejo speak on her campus.

"I had gone to some meetings of the YSA before when I was in Champaign, Illinois," Strohm explained. "And I went to the march for the Equal Rights Amendment in Springfield. I was pretty impressed."

"I had been pretty disillusioned with politics altogether. But then I started seeing that there still are people interested in changing the system. The people I saw who are doing things and fighting against things that are wrong are the YSAers."

"So after Camejo spoke here in Albuquerque and they said they

needed someone to help start a YSA I was really excited about joining," Strohm said.

What kind of work is the chapter doing? Right now the YSA in Albuquerque is helping prepare a forum to explain the need for Chicano studies and other special programs on campus. In Albuquerque, as on campuses around the country, these programs are under attack.

Another new YSA chapter is at Cass Technical High School in Detroit. Asah Miah, a new member, told *Militant* correspondent Marty Pettit that she joined the YSA because it is "against racism and is anticapitalist."

Miah recently attended the National Student Conference Against Racism. "I learned what apartheid in South Africa actually meant," Miah said. "I liked the speakers, especially [Tsiet] Mashinini. What he had to say really got to me, that the racists would kill Black children just for struggling to control their own lives."

Miah is "definitely" going to the YSA convention. "I'm going to be involved, so I need to know more," especially about the Black struggle, she said.

Sherry Benton joined the Cass YSA chapter two weeks ago. She bought a copy of the monthly *Young Socialist* from Miah, read it cover to cover, and decided to join the YSA the next day.

"I really like the *Young Socialist*," Benton said, "all the articles, really. But especially the one on abortion. A

woman should have the right to choose abortion."

Women's rights, antiracist struggles, fighting education cutbacks, revolution in southern Africa—those are just a few of the topics that will be discussed at the convention. See the agenda on this page for a more complete listing of

the reports, workshops, panels, and rallies that are planned for the three days.

If you would like to attend, contact the YSA chapter nearest you (see Socialist Directory on page 27). Or write to the YSA National Office, P.O. Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

Defend free speech!

One important topic at the Young Socialist Alliance convention will be defense of three YSA members arrested for distributing socialist literature at Central Michigan University.

The facts

- On October 20, Brigid Douglas, Jim Garrison, and Tom Smith were arrested at Central Michigan University while distributing literature for the Socialist Workers party election campaign outside a public lecture.
- The three socialists are charged with criminal trespass and occupying a university building by force.
- If convicted, the three YSA members each face six months in jail and a \$1,650 fine.

At stake

- Universities across the country have imposed strict restrictions on free speech and political activity on campus. The prosecution of YSA members at CMU poses a national test to civil liberties.

What to do

- Endorse the Committee for Free Speech, launched at CMU to defend the three socialists.
- Order copies of the committee's new brochure on the case from Committee for Free Speech, Post Office Box 626, Mount Pleasant, Michigan 48858.
- Send telegrams demanding that all charges be dropped against the YSA members to CMU President Harold Abel, Warriner Hall, Central Michigan University, Mount Pleasant, Michigan 48859.
- Send copies of the telegrams to the CMU Board of Trustees, 103 North Hall, Central Michigan University, Mount Pleasant, Michigan 48859.
- Send copies of the protests and contributions to the Committee for Free Speech.

Black doctor speaks out for Medicaid abortions

By Laura Moorhead

WASHINGTON—The Department of Human Resources here has announced that 85 percent of abortions in this majority-Black city are paid for by the government through the Medicaid program at D.C. General—a free public hospital.

These figures highlight the disastrous effects that the proposed Hyde amendment to cut off Medicaid funds for abortion would have on Black and other poor women.

The Hyde amendment, passed by Congress in September, is currently tied up in the courts.

In a recent interview with the *Militant*, Dr. Cleveland Smith, a Black gynecologist and obstetrician in Washington, declared: "If they are going to cut off funds for abortion, then they might as well cut off funds for pregnancy."

In the wake of a class-action suit

that successfully liberalized the District's abortion law in 1971, Dr. Smith became head of the first abortion clinic at D.C. General.

"It was my first good exposure to the problem," he said. "The poor Black woman, at the time that [abortion] became available, did not even know that there was such a thing as legal abortion . . . I ended up doing over 500 second-trimester or saline abortions [where there is higher risk] because most of these people [only] found out at a late hour that they could get their pregnancies interrupted. In spite of the sparsity of literature on the hazards or nonhazards of the saline abortion technique, I went ahead and did the best I could, developed a good technique and never lost a patient—not even a close miss. As a result, I became more and more sensitive to what was really going on in the inner

city with these people. These were people who didn't even have Medicaid . . . at that time."

What was it like for Black women in this city before abortion was legalized? "When I was teaching at Freedman's Hospital [at Howard University], I saw an awful lot of 'criminal abortions,' that is, the aftereffects of illegal abortions on Black women—coat hangers, perforated uteri, gut hanging out. . . . I've seen patients that come in and just go steadily downhill and die—gram-negative shock. They just go into low blood pressure and never come out of it. . . .

"It was really a big step in the right direction when they finally realized that regardless of what they legislated," Smith continued, "it was not going to stop a woman from trying to do what she could if she's desperate about her pregnancy and sees it in

terms of her entire future life. I've had many patients who say, 'I'd rather die than carry a pregnancy.' . . .

"[Abortion] still wasn't accessible to the poor Black woman until Medicaid got into the act," Smith said. "This program enabled you to choose your private doctor, because the hospitals just didn't have the facilities to handle these people."

What changes has the Medicaid program made?

"From fifty second-trimester abortions in August 1974 [we've gone] to only six to eight a month now. And this is really a big advance," he said.

In this community there should be more Black doctors speaking out against this impending Medicaid cut," said Smith.

Black doctors should "go to bat," he believes, for the women threatened by this new attack on abortion rights.

World protests free Corvalan & Bukovsky

By Marilyn Vogt

Two prominent prisoners, Vladimir Bukovsky in the Soviet Union and Luis Corvalán Lepe in Chile, have been freed.

Corvalán, a top leader of the Chilean Communist party, was arrested after the CIA-engineered coup there in 1973. Like thousands of other Chileans, he has been held without trial since that time.

Bukovsky received a twelve-year sentence in 1972 for "anti-Soviet activity." He had made documents available to psychiatrists outside the USSR showing that Soviet dissidents are imprisoned in mental hospitals.

On December 18, both Bukovsky and Corvalán arrived by plane in Zurich, Switzerland. Their release is being credited to an "exchange" between Chile and the Soviet Union, with Washington as the "humanitarian" intermediary.

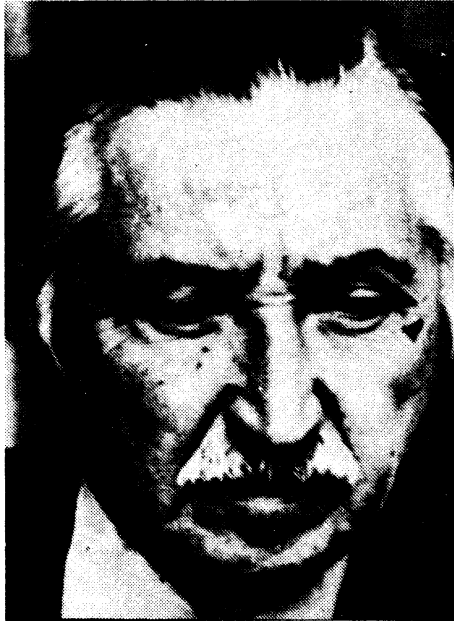
Why did Chile's bloody dictators agree to release Corvalán? Why are they hypocritically posing as champions of democracy in the USSR?

Because international protests have focused a spotlight on the junta's prison camps, torture, and murders. This has left Chile increasingly isolated in the world. Even Washington, which created and props up that brutal regime, has advised Pinochet to make a few concessions to world opinion.

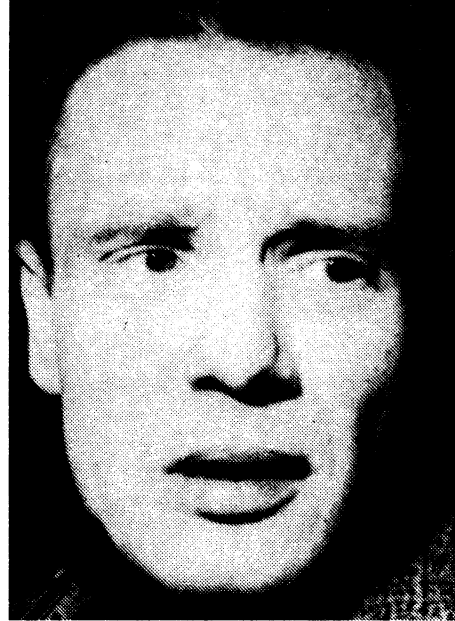
According to the *New York Times*, Chile had first proposed such an exchange to the Soviet Union a year and a half ago, but got no response.

About six weeks before the exchange in Zurich, however, the Soviet Union apparently agreed to discuss the junta's proposal. The *Times* gave no clue of why the Kremlin had such a sudden change of heart.

The *Times* might have been able to answer that question had it reported on a mass rally in Paris October 21



CORVALAN after arrest in 1974



BUKOVSKY in Zurich this month

that called for the release of six political prisoners: three victims of rightist Latin American dictatorships and three from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, including Bukovsky.

The meeting, sponsored by the International Committee of Mathematicians, was endorsed by a broad spectrum of defense groups, student organizations, trade unions, and prominent individuals. A similar meeting a year earlier had been instrumental in winning the release of Marxist Soviet dissident Leonid Plyushch.

The impact of that earlier meeting inside France forced the French Communist party to demand Plyushch's freedom. Seventy-nine days after the meeting, the Kremlin bureaucrats released him.

This year, Pierre Juquin, a member of the French CP's Central Committee, spoke from the platform at the defense

rally, along with Plyushch and others. This reflects the pressure on the French Stalinists from the radicalizing young workers and students who are either inside the party or who it hopes to recruit. These young militants are repelled by the repressive caricature of socialism in the Soviet Union.

This year the French CP could more easily explain participation in the rally, since among the Latin American prisoners being defended was a well-known leader of the Uruguayan Communist party, José Luis Massera.

Two days after the rally, the newspaper of the French CP announced plans to distribute six million copies of Juquin's speech, which called for the release of all six prisoners, including Bukovsky.

The Soviet Union evidently felt that it could not simply ignore Juquin's speech. On October 23 the Soviet news

agency TASS issued a denunciation of the meeting for foreign consumption.

Four days later, evidently knowing that news of Juquin's speech would spread inside the USSR, the Kremlin bureaucrats launched another broadside at the "noisy anti-Soviet demonstration" for Soviet readers.

Nonetheless, within two weeks after the Paris rally, Moscow had changed its mind about the exchange and accepted the Chilean dictatorship's hypocritical proposal. And only fifty-eight days after the rally, Bukovsky stepped off a plane in Zurich.

So in each case—Corvalán's and Bukovsky's—it was an international defense effort, not behind-the-scenes diplomacy, that led to success.

But the "exchange" provided a useful camouflage for all the governments involved.

The Soviet Union wanted to make Bukovsky—and by extension other dissidents—appear to be allies of the Chilean butchers.

Chile wanted to look as if it is becoming more "democratic" and at the same time take credit for Bukovsky's release.

And Washington—the "mediator"—hoped to cover up its bloody role in Chile, while shoring up its propaganda equating socialism with Stalinist repression.

According to the *New York Times*, Bukovsky did not know that his release was part of an exchange until he arrived in Zurich.

"I am happy for Corvalan as well," the London *Sunday Times* quoted him as saying.

According to the *New York Times*, Bukovsky also said "he intended to dedicate all his energy to the cause of political prisoners in the Soviet Union and throughout the world."

If he sticks by it, that's a worthy aspiration.

Behind OPEC's split on oil price increase

By Dick Roberts

The inability of the members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) to maintain a common price front for their sale of oil on world markets once again underlines the fraudulence of the claim that the "Arab oil sheiks" have some kind of demonic power in the world economy.

The Middle Eastern semicolonial nations that produce oil are poor and economically underdeveloped or more accurately, over exploited. They do not have anything approaching the global political clout of the imperialist powers, especially the United States. Despite all propaganda to the contrary, the Arab nations and Iran do not, and cannot call the shots in the production and sale of world petroleum.

At the OPEC meeting in Qatar the decision was reached December 17 that beginning in January there will be two levels of price increase for OPEC petroleum.

Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates will hold their increases to 5

percent. The other eleven OPEC nations will raise prices 10 percent in January and another 5 percent in July.

But Saudi Arabia produces roughly one-third of OPEC oil. If it expands this production, which it threatens to do, this will flood the market with cheaper oil and force the other OPEC nations to cut prices down toward the Saudi Arabian price level. The Saudi policies are aimed at appeasing Washington. It is primarily this political strategy that accounts for the current split in OPEC.

Central to Saudi foreign policy is the attempt to quell the Palestinian liberation struggle. The rulers of Saudi Arabia fear the revolutionary implications of this struggle in their own country. They seek Washington's support in pressuring Israel to accept some Middle East settlement that will defuse this explosive issue.

"We expect the West to appreciate what we did," said Sheik Yamani, Saudi Arabia's oil minister. "This has to be shown on two different fronts—the North-South dialog and an Arab-Israeli settlement."

The North-South dialog refers to talks in Paris between the major industrial powers and semicolonial nations. They are supposed to lead toward some kind of development plan that would be financed by the imperialist powers. The imperialists recently walked out of these talks in order to underline that they would make no concessions prior to the OPEC price decision. Yamani's appeal rings rather hollow in the light of these earlier events.

The Saudis also want increased military support. They "need a strong protector to maintain their preeminence in the Middle East. Iran, a big

purchaser of arms from the U.S., Britain and France, is always a tacit threat," the *Wall Street Journal* said December 20.

Thus the imperialists arm rival semicolonial nations, pursuing the "divide and rule" strategy that is as old as imperialism itself.

The OPEC split has economic roots as well.

The ruling circles of Saudi Arabia have no program for providing jobs and raising the standard of living of all the people. They find themselves unable to invest the profits from oil at home, even when the wells are pumping at less than full capacity.

Today Saudi harbors are clogged with ships because so many more products have been purchased than could be speedily put to use—or even unloaded at the docks; and this is when a considerable portion of Saudi oil money was invested abroad or otherwise held in reserve.

Iran and the other OPEC nations are producing oil at near maximum capacity and are in economic crisis despite it. Iran has been hit by spiraling inflation and has had to go abroad for loans. At the same time, since Iran is ruled by a non-Arab majority, it does not have the pressing need for a Middle East settlement. The shah has become the leader within OPEC for maximum price rises.

There are, furthermore, upper limits on oil prices that the world capitalist market can tolerate, especially now when there is a renewed threat of international crisis. All of the OPEC nations, but particularly Saudi Arabia and Iran, are increasingly investing in the imperialist nations. From a purely financial standpoint, leaving aside the more weighty political considerations,

it is not in their interests to precipitate a world collapse through drastic oil-price increases.

One way of putting the OPEC move into perspective is to place it alongside price increases in the United States.

In the first place the oil trusts themselves will raise prices. Exxon, Texaco, and other "majors" are already purchasing huge quantities of the lower-priced OPEC oil. They will raise domestic prices in January and sell the oil they stored up, reaping a windfall profit.

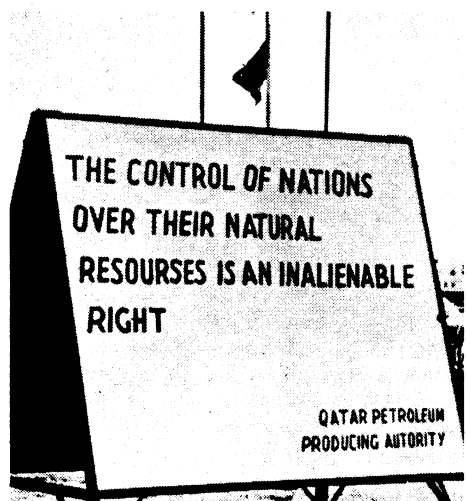
In the second place there has just been a round of sharp price increases here. The steel industry increased its prices by 6 percent; aluminum prices were increased 11 percent; and basic chemical prices for fibers, 10 percent. These commodities are all of world importance. The OPEC nations themselves will be forced to purchase these U.S. products at higher prices.

Yet the propaganda surrounding the OPEC moves drowned out the price increases of the U.S. trusts. The one is supposed to threaten the very jugular vein of the capitalist world; the other is, well, everyday business.

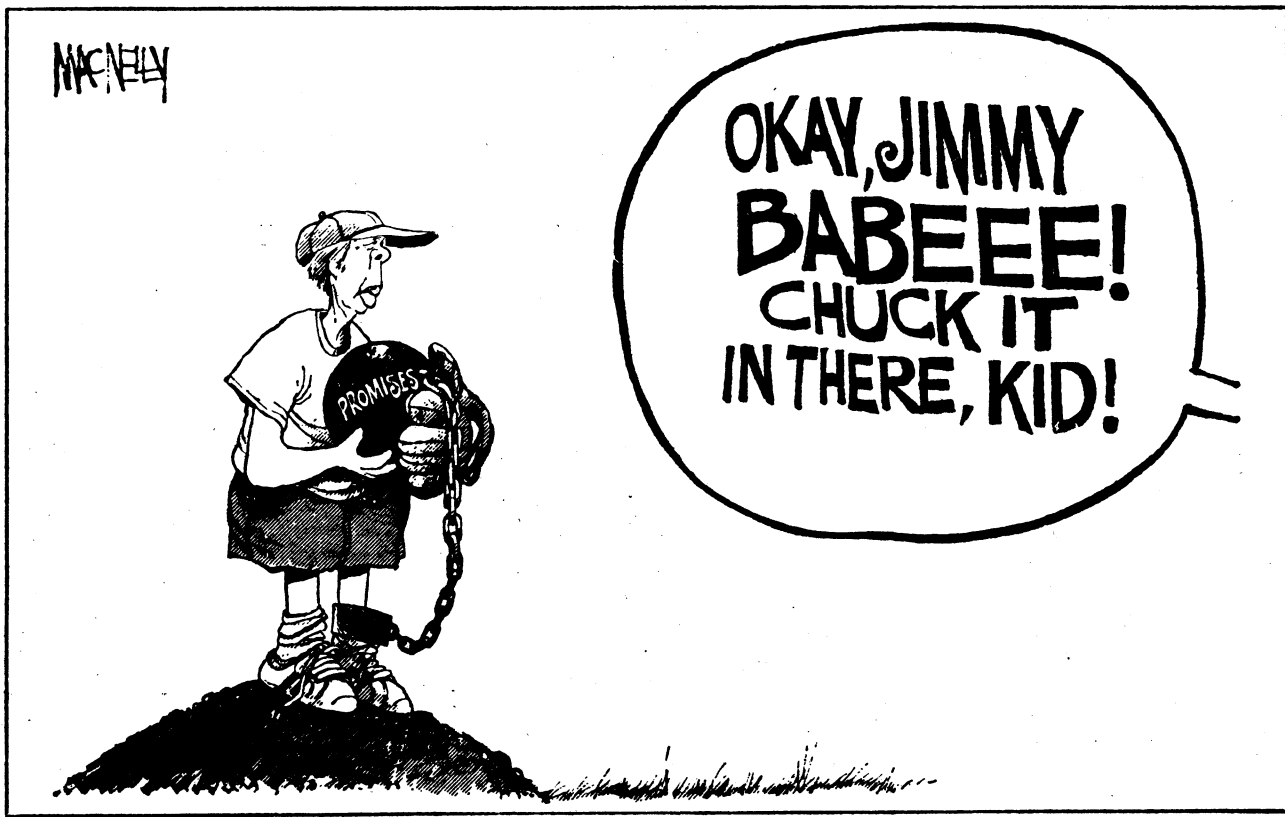
Supporters of working people everywhere must pay close attention.

We believe that the peoples of the semicolonial world, who have been oppressed by imperialism for decades, have every right to take over their own resources and sell them as profitably as possible to the imperialist powers.

It is a different story with the imperialists themselves. Their day-in and day-out drive for maximum profits is the fundamental source of world inflation. Workers everywhere, including within the semicolonial nations, are victims of this inflationary profit drive.



Sign outside OPEC conference in Qatar



Carter's Cabinet-- more D.C. insiders

By Dick Roberts

Jimmy Carter added five new names to the incoming administration this week.

- W. Michael Blumenthal, chairman of the board of Bendix Corporation, was selected as secretary of the treasury.
- Brockman Adams, chairman of the budget committee of the U.S. House of Representatives, was named secretary of transportation.
- Former civil rights leader Andrew Young was designated as ambassador to the United Nations.
- Charles Schultze, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution "think tank," was named chairman of the president's Council of Economic Advisers.
- And Zbigniew Brzezinski, former chairman of the Trilateral Commission, another ruling-class think tank, was named as special assistant to the president for national security affairs.

These appointments repeated the pattern set by "Vance and Lance," Carter's choices two weeks ago for secretary of state (Cyrus Vance) and head of the budget office (Bert Lance). Carter chose leading

Jimmy Carter's most controversial appointment, Griffin Bell as attorney general, was made after this article was written. An editorial on the implications of the Bell furor appears on page 10.

representatives of banking and industry for the important posts. He paid off a political debt by giving a lesser post, that of UN representative, to one of his most prominent Black supporters.

And Wall Street continued to respond favorably to the selection of trusted Washington "insiders" to Carter's administration. Stock prices have risen steadily. "One more week like this and every [stock] specialist will be whistling Dixie on his way to work," Louis Rukeyser remarked on the PBS-TV show "Wall Street Week."

Democrats dissatisfied

Things were different among circles of Black, union, women, and other liberal Democrats who played the key role in getting Carter elected. Carter supporter Ralph Nader publicly attacked the new appointments. Nader disclosed that he had not been consulted by Carter on the selections as had been promised.

"Blacks and women have complained, some bitterly, that they were not being given a fair shake in the selection process," the *New York Times* reported. "The question of whether Representative Andrew Young, named . . . to be United States representative to the United Nations, should have taken the job has been the subject of enormous controversy among black politicians," the *Times* said.

It was known that Barbara Jordan, the Black Democratic congresswoman from Texas, had turned down the UN post when she was initially offered it

by Carter. "The job offer did not conform to Miss Jordan's expectations or ambitions," the *New York Post* said.

"Many of the decisions upon which the United Nations delegate acts are made at a level well below that of the Secretary of State," *New York Times* UN correspondent Peter Grose wrote December 17.

Blacks have apparently also turned down lower-level cabinet positions. "People close to several blacks who have been mentioned for Government positions have said in recent days that their friends would take top economic or foreign policy jobs but that they saw no future for themselves in the giant agencies that deal with social problems," Grose continued.

These same Black Democrats have built careers on the promise that the Democratic party and its government can help working people. But they refuse to take posts in the agencies that are supposed to carry out the social welfare programs they advertise—because they know these agencies don't deliver what is promised. They don't want to be caught in the crossfire.

Key posts

As had long been expected (see October 15 *Militant*, page 25) Charles Schultze of the Brookings Institution and Zbigniew Brzezinski of the Trilateral Commission were appointed to two of the most important governmental posts.

Brzezinski, whose career closely parallels Henry Kissinger's, is taking the same job that Kissinger initially had in the Nixon administration. Brzezinski epitomizes the bureaucratic experts who actually determine U.S. foreign policy.

He emerged to prominence as an anti-Soviet cold warrior in the Russian Research Center at Harvard University. He later joined Harvard's Center for International affairs. Then Brzezinski went to Columbia University to head up the Russian Institute, where he subsequently became director of the newly formed Institute on Communist Affairs.

During the Johnson administration, Brzezinski was part of the team responsible for the war in Vietnam. From 1966 to 1968 he served on the high-echelon secret policy planning council of the State Department.

In 1973 David Rockefeller, president of the Chase Manhattan Bank, appointed Brzezinski to head the Trilateral Commission, a think tank Rockefeller funded in order to help formulate intergovernmental policies between the United States, Western Europe, and Japan. It was in this think tank that Carter himself received training in international capitalist policy. So did Michael Blumenthal, Carter's appointee as treasury secretary.

'Setting Priorities'

Charles Schultze has worked in a number of government agencies, including the Army Security Agency, the Office of Price Stabilization (during the

imperialist attack on Korea), and on the staff of the Council of Economic Advisers, which he will now head.

Schultze was Johnson's budget director. The *New York Times* notes that he was "one of the key participants in a cover-up of the rapidly rising costs of the war in Vietnam, a deception engineered by President Johnson and Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara (who has since conceded such a role), which involved a \$10 billion underestimate of the defense budget for the fiscal year 1967."

During the Nixon and Ford administrations Schultze was in the Brookings Institution formulating economic policy. A book published this fall by Brookings, under Schultze's coeditorship (with Henry Owen), suggests the economic policies Carter will pursue.

Entitled *Setting National Priorities*, the Brookings report favors cutting federal spending while maintaining a huge international military capability. It urges wage controls, if necessary, to guard profits.

The November 1976 issue of the AFL-CIO magazine *Federationist* declares that "in a book aimed at setting the nation's priorities . . . there is no chapter explicitly devoted to the No. 1 priority, full employment, and how to achieve it. Instead, the discussion of domestic policy starts with inflation, in too many minds the excuse for not seeking full employment."

The *Federationist* attacks one of the chapters written by Brookings expert George L. Perry because Perry "argues against increasing wages at a faster rate than prices—thereby ruling out any improved living standards for U.S. workers. And he seems to think that low unemployment is responsible for wages he considers too high."

It will be recalled that the AFL-CIO, including its mouthpiece the *Federationist*, played a big role in bringing the Carter administration to office.

Treasury secretary

The Treasury Department, along with the State Department and the Pentagon, is central in the determination of capitalist policy. It is traditionally headed by a corporation executive. Carter's choice follows this pattern.

W. Michael Blumenthal heads the Bendix Corporation. Contrary to popular belief, this company does not make washing machines. It makes auto parts, aviation parts, and space and missile products, among other things. It is consequently a supplier of the Pentagon, with which it does about 65 percent of its aviation business.

Blumenthal is described as holding liberal views on employment and racism. Such views are not uncommon among executives, especially in boom times. In 1972, however, Blumenthal closed down an auto-parts plant in Long Island City, New York, dismissing about 300 workers, most of whom were Spanish-speaking women.

Blumenthal is another specialist in capitalist foreign policy. He has served on the Inter-American Economic and Social Council, the UN Coffee Conference, the Council on Foreign Relations, and the Atlantic Council.

Lesser posts

Perhaps we will hear more from Brockman Adams, the designated head of the Department of Transportation, than is normal for this lower-echelon cabinet post. This Seattle lawyer has served in important congressional committees, including the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee and the House Budget Committee, of which Adams is chairman.

He has groomed himself as a liberal with high ratings from Americans for Democratic Action. This provides a useful cover for his central preoccupation, the transportation industry. Adams pushed Seattle-based Boeing's supersonic transport program as well as backing federal funds to bail out Lockheed. He is an architect of the government "Conrail" program, which is designed to rescue the profits of the railroad industry.

Andrew Young, it can only be said, will either quit the post he just accepted or soon come into international prominence as a betrayer of the Black liberation struggle. Young holds out the banner for Black majority rule in South Africa. But this is not the policy of the imperialists who rule this country and it is not the policy their appointees carry out in the UN.

Quite the opposite. Washington uses its influence in the UN to oppose the world struggle for colonial independence. Besides the struggle in southern Africa, this notably includes the Puerto Rican struggle for independence from the United States and the Palestinian struggle against U.S.-supported Israel. Further, Washington undermines the work of various UN agencies to bring out the facts about, and to otherwise bring token aid and relief to, the world's oppressed peoples.

ALRB upholds 'sweetheart' contracts

Calif. ruling attacks farm workers' rights

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—In a new blow at the United Farm Workers, the general counsel to the state Agricultural Labor Relations Board arbitrarily dismissed 110 charges filed by the UFW against various growers in the Salinas and Fresno areas.

The UFW had charged that California's farm labor law precluded the enforcement of union security clauses in contracts executed between various growers and the Teamsters union. Such clauses require that workers join and pay dues to the union holding the contract.

The UFW argued that these clauses in the specified Teamster contracts should be voided on the basis that the Teamsters had not been certified by the ALRB as a legitimate bargaining unit for the workers involved.

The charges were filed with the ALRB back in September of 1975, several months before the board became dormant for lack of operating funds.

When the charges were filed, Walter Kintz, then general counsel to the ALRB, indicated he would take one of the cases and make it a test case for all 110.

Harry Delizonna, who was appointed by Gov. Edmund Brown in June as the new counsel, declared December 6, "I have reviewed the entire matter and despite my predecessor's indication of a 'test case,' I feel that the UFW's charges, as a matter of law, should be dismissed without further expenditure of this agency's time or money The Teamsters union was entitled to the membership of all those employees."

The ALRB says Delizonna's action is not subject to review.

This outrageous ruling flies in the face of the spirit of what the farm



UFW picket line outside ALRB office last year. ALRB chief appointed by Governor Brown made anti-UFW ruling.

labor law is—at least theoretically—supposed to be.

The very purpose of the law was to ensure that workers would be represented by a union of their choice, as determined by secret ballot.

The challenged Teamster contract did not stem from agreements negotiated after elections were held in 1975.

They were illegal contracts signed by growers and Teamsters, behind the backs of the workers, to prevent the workers from being represented by the real union of their choice—the UFW.

When elections were finally held in the fields, the UFW consistently outpolled the Teamsters by a better than two-to-one margin despite continuing grower-Teamster collusion.

The previous illegal collusion between the growers and the Teamsters was so flagrant that it was even recognized by the California Supreme Court.

In the winter of 1970, lettuce growers in the Salinas areas signed a "sweetheart" contract with the Teamsters. The field workers struck, shutting

down the harvest. They demanded to be represented by the UFW, not the Teamsters.

The Salinas Valley Growers Association sought an injunction on the basis that it was a "jurisdictional" strike.

The case went to the state supreme court. On December 29, 1972, the court ruled—six-to-one—against the growers. It declared:

"According to the uncontradicted affidavit of Cal Watkins, the personnel manager of InterHarvest, Inc., (a grower member of the Association) who attended the July 23, 1970, meetings, the Association members . . . discussed the question of Teamster representation of their field workers.

"The members decided to appoint a committee which was to approach the Teamsters to 'feel out' that union on the prospects of negotiating an agreement recognizing the Teamsters as the exclusive bargaining agent of the growers' field workers.

"There is no suggestion in the record that the growers, before taking such a step, attempted to ascertain whether their respective field workers desired to be represented by the Teamsters, or indeed, that the question of their field workers' preference was even raised as a relevant consideration."

Delizonna's ruling comes on the heels of an ALRB decision to put curbs on the "access" procedure that is supposed to provide union organizers an opportunity to talk with the workers they seek to represent.

It makes more clear that despite Governor Brown's protestations of friendship for the UFW, his current appointees to the ALRB are out to do a hatchet job on it—and on the thousands of field hands who have made clear in countless ways that they want the UFW to represent them.

Kentuckians protest death penalty law

By Debby Tarnopol

LOUISVILLE—The Kentucky state legislature has gone into special session. One of the points it is considering is how to rewrite the state's death penalty law so that it will be legal under recent U.S. Supreme Court guidelines.

But efforts to put the state's electric chair back into use for the first time since 1962 have prompted growing opposition.

On December 9 opponents of the death penalty testified before a hearing called by the legislature's committee on the death penalty in Frankfort.

Four of the death penalty foes allowed to testify were part of a twenty-five person contingent, nearly half-Black, brought to Frankfort by the Kentucky Council to Abolish the Death Penalty.

One of the four who testified for the

council was Robert Jones. Jones is a coordinator of the "Feed the People" program at King Solomon Baptist Church in Louisville's Black community.

Jones had done time on Kentucky's death row in Eddyville prison. He was released because of pressure organized around his case. Jones said that the people on death row all have one thing in common. They are poor.

When he was on death row, Jones said, the ten prisoners there all had court-appointed attorneys. One prisoner told him that he had been informed by a lawyer that if he could come up with \$1,000, he could get a lighter sentence. But the prisoner could not get the money.

Only one person testified for the death penalty during the hearing. He was a detective from Bullitt County who said that those sentenced to death

should be returned to their home county and publicly hanged.

The next day nearly forty people assembled for a news conference in front of the new Hall of Justice here in Louisville.

Representatives from more than twenty legal, civil liberties, and religious organizations, including the Legal Aid Society, the National Bar Association, and the Lawyers Guild, protested plans to reinstitute capital punishment here.

The Kentucky Council to Abolish the Death Penalty organized a statewide conference on December 4.

Activists from the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Friends Meetings of Berea and Louisville, the Kentucky Alliance Against Racism and Repression, the Kentucky Civil Liberties Union, and the Socialist Workers party discussed what could be done to mobilize opposition to capital punishment.

Also participating were representatives from the NAACP Ministerial Association, the Student Coalition Against Racism, and a number of other religious, prisoner, and community organizations.

The keynote speaker at the conference was Irv Joyner. Joyner is the coordinator of the Commission for Racial Justice of the United Church of Christ. He called for the creation of "the broadest-based coalition possible" against "legalized murder."

Joe Ingle, coordinator for the Southern Coalition on Prisons and Jails, also spoke. Ingle explained that "right now there is tremendous pressure for no state to be first. But after the first execution, they will snowball and we could have 200 people executed one



Militant/Harris Freeman

JOE INGLE: Urges support to April 8 Atlanta protest against death penalty.

Va. rally hits death penalty

By Jim Gotesky

RICHMOND, Va.—Many Virginia legislators are clamoring for a new death penalty law that would conform with the Supreme Court's guidelines. Some have even called for public hangings.

On December 15, a "Speak-Out Against the Death Penalty" was held here aimed at mobilizing public opposition to the legislators' drive to switch on Virginia's electric chair.

Nearly 100 people attended the speak-out. It was sponsored by the Virginians Against the Death Penalty.

Among the speakers were Deborah

Leavy of the American Civil Liberties Union Capital Punishment Project; Mikal Huda Ba'th of the World Community of Islam in the West; William Howell, president of the Richmond NAACP; and William Vesey, the associate director of the Catholic Diocese of Richmond. The speak-out was chaired by the Rev. Emmett Cocke of Pace Memorial Methodist Church.

Supporters of Michael Pennock, Socialist Workers party candidate for Richmond City Council from District Five, distributed a statement in support of the speak-out.

Execs 'dismayed' by attack on no-strike deal

What USSteel wants out of union election

By Andy Rose

J. Bruce Johnston knows what top union officials get paid for and lately, he complains, the steel corporations haven't been getting their money's worth.

J. Bruce Johnston is vice-president in charge of labor relations for the United States Steel Corporation and chief negotiator for the entire basic steel industry.

He expects responsible labor leaders to educate their members about the harmony of interests between worker and boss, the futility of strikes, the virtues of the free-enterprise system, and the importance of helping the employer reap a healthy profit.

That's what United Steelworkers President I.W. Abel gets paid \$75,000 a year for—even if it is union members who pick up the tab and not Johnston. From the steel corporations Abel receives recognition for a job well done, and he's probably satisfied with that.

But Johnston is unhappy with the current race over who will succeed Abel as international union president. He says he is "frankly dismayed" by the "superficial" level of debate in the steelworkers election.

The campaign pits Abel's boy Lloyd McBride against challenger Ed Sadlowski, who has said some harsh things about Abel's \$75,000 salary and the procompany philosophy that goes



MCBRIDE: Promises steel bosses he will be loyal team player.



SADLOWSKI: 'The steel industry is worried that our slate is going to win.'

with it. ("He starts thinking like a guy who earns \$75,000 a year.")

According to the *Wall Street Journal*, Johnston in a Pittsburgh speech December 16 "admonished both candidates for what he termed a 'dismal' failure to address key issues affecting the industry, including the no-strike experimental negotiating agreement, or ENA."

Johnston says the no-strike deal is a "great thing" and "essential to steelworkers" for protecting their jobs. He expects the union candidates to say the

same.

After all, if everybody doesn't keep up the chorus of hallelujahs to ENA, steelworkers might start asking why a couple of hundred thousand of their ranks are on the streets and out of work three years after the "great thing" was signed.

Without naming names, Johnston said that "one major candidate attacks the experimental negotiating agreement as a sellout to management—a stripping of negotiating muscle."

That's Sadlowski.

Johnston said that "the other candidate, who was against it when it was first presented, now lamely acknowledges that it has solved some problems, but promises that if the risks are too high, he will discard it quickly."

That's McBride, who issued a quick plea of not guilty. He denied ever opposing the no-strike deal, insisting that he "voted for it originally" and has "defended it to this very minute."

But McBride has a campaign to run. That brings him hard up against the biblical injunction: "No man can serve two masters." He wants the steel bosses to know he will be a loyal team player just like Abel. But first he has to get elected, and the union constitution says only USWA members can vote.

So, as Johnston charges, McBride has in fact low-keyed his defense of ENA. "I'm not agreeing it's a forever thing. . . . The decision as to whether it should be continued should be made after the next contract negotiations."

McBride's waffling testifies to the pressure he feels from Sadlowski's militant denunciations of ENA, and the response the issue has generated in the ranks of the union.

That's what Johnston doesn't like. And that's why he's calling McBride on the carpet for giving any credence to the idea that ENA should be judged on the basis of what it does for steelworkers. Let's have more talk

about "the industry's problems," McBride!

Of course, Johnston has brains enough not to come right out and endorse McBride. "I absolutely am not picking a candidate," he declared. "I have criticized both candidates with fine impartiality for their failure to explain the industry's problems."

But who does Johnston expect to campaign in support of ENA? Ed Sadlowski? You don't get to be vice-president of U.S. Steel with that kind of judgment.

As Sadlowski said in response to the whole flap: "It is clear the steel industry is worried that our slate is going to win and that we will have a strong and democratic union again which looks out for the membership first."

"Johnston and the steel industry know that if we get in, our business will be handled differently. We will put an end to secret under-the-table negotiations and submit all contracts to the membership for ratification."

Maybe J. Bruce Johnston deserves a vote of thanks from steelworkers. He's helped to clarify—even if unintentionally—the issues in their union election.

If you want union leaders who jump into line when the profiteers order them to "explain the industry's problems," Lloyd McBride is your man.

If you want a union that is run by the workers and stands up for the workers, vote Ed Sadlowski and the entire Steelworkers Fight Back slate.

500 locals vote Sadlowski

Insurgent Ed Sadlowski has made an impressive showing in local union voting for officers of the United Steelworkers of America.

According to unofficial results, Sadlowski was nominated for USWA president by more than 500 locals during the November 8-December 7 nominations period.

Administration-backed candidate Lloyd McBride received about 2,900 nominations.

Both candidates and their full slates for the five international union posts should appear on the February 8 ballot, since about 140 local nominations are required.

It was a foregone conclusion that McBride, with the international union apparatus acting as his unofficial campaign committee, would secure the big majority of local nominations.

Nomination votes are conducted at local union meetings, which are usually sparsely attended and where the weight of staff representatives and union officials is most heavily felt.

Sadlowski launched his drive for the presidency last September with

virtually no campaign organization outside the Chicago district. His goal in the nominations voting, he said in a December 9 statement, was "to get on the ballot and to demonstrate strength in all key areas of our union."

"We've done both," Sadlowski said. The Steelworkers Fight Back slate won nominations from all of the union's twenty-six geographical districts and from each of the sixteen major industry conferences represented by the USWA.

Nominations results offer only a distorted guide to membership sentiment because each local's nomination counts as one, regardless of the local's size.

Sadlowski carried the biggest locals in a number of districts. In District 15 (Pittsburgh), District 20 (Pittsburgh), and District 26 (Youngstown, Ohio), the locals nominating Sadlowski represent a majority of the district membership.

Future issues of the *Militant* will analyze the local nominations results as more complete figures become available.

Abel makes it official

I.W. Abel, whose term as president of the United Steelworkers expires next June, says he will resign early if Ed Sadlowski is elected to succeed him in the union's February 8 election.

In a United Press International interview December 12, Abel publicly endorsed Sadlowski's opponent, Lloyd McBride, for the first time. The full resources of the union bureaucracy have in fact been behind McBride ever since the USWA convention last September.

Abel attacked Sadlowski as an "irresponsible candidate" and said a Sadlowski victory would be a "vote of no confidence" in Abel's administration and policies.

Sadlowski responded to the resignation announcement by saying, "The truth is I.W. Abel quit on the members of this union a long time ago."

Fight Back campaign grows in Milwaukee

By Bill Breihan

MILWAUKEE—Ed Sadlowski arrived here December 9 for his first campaigning in District 32 since he launched his drive for president of the United Steelworkers of America last September.

After a news conference attended by all the major newspapers and television stations in Milwaukee, Sadlowski spoke to an enthusiastic meeting of nearly 150 steelworkers and other unionists at the Meatcutters hall.

The local leaders of the Meatcutters union had offered free use of their facilities for the rally, calling Steelworkers Fight Back "a model for the whole labor movement."

Most of the steelworkers at the rally were young militants from the many fabricating shops, foundries, and can plants in the area. Also present were a

number of USWA local union officials who have come out in support of the Fight Back slate.

The Sadlowski campaign has developed rapidly in Milwaukee. Six weeks before the rally no Fight Back organization even existed in the district.

District 32 had been considered "safe" by the union bureaucracy. One USWA local president bragged to his membership that Lloyd McBride would win the nomination of every local in the district. The McBride supporters were so cocky that they felt no need to campaign during the nomination period.

Their confidence was shattered, however, when the Sadlowski slate won seven out of thirty-seven local nominations in the area.

This accomplishment was the result

of several weeks of hard work by the Fight Back activists. They leafleted plant gates in the snow and in subzero temperatures every day. The results were impressive considering that every USWA staff representative in the district backs McBride.

At the rally, Sadlowski touched upon the main issues he has raised throughout his campaign: the right to strike for all steelworkers, membership ratification of every USWA contract, open and democratic union conventions, a leadership close to the ranks, and a tough approach to the steel corporations in bargaining.

He received an especially good response from the audience when he called for regional and coordinated bargaining for the many USWA locals outside the basic steel contract.

With common expiration dates of

contracts and more strength in combined numbers, steelworkers in small and medium-sized shops would be able to bring their contracts up to basic steel standards.

In a city of scattered steel shops like Milwaukee, such a change in the union's collective bargaining structure could mean big gains for USWA members.

Sadlowski has accused the Abel regime of treating union members in the fabricating industry as "second-class citizens." McBride projects no change in this sphere.

Since a majority of the USWA's 1.4 million members are outside of basic steel, Sadlowski's championing of their rights could win Steelworkers Fight Back much additional support as the February 8 election date approaches.

Chicano steelworkers organize district race

By Chris Hildebrand and Mariana Hernández

ONTARIO, Calif.—Chicano steelworkers in District 38 are organizing to elect the first Chicano district director in the United Steelworkers of America.

Roy Santa Cruz of Phoenix, Arizona, has won sufficient nominations from USWA locals to gain a ballot spot for director of this sprawling district covering nine Western states.

The only other district director candidate to achieve ballot status for the February 8 election is Bob Petris, who is backed by outgoing District 38 Director Frank McKee. McKee is running for international treasurer on the Lloyd McBride "official family" slate.

Santa Cruz was officially endorsed by the National Mexican-American Caucus of the USWA at the steelworkers convention in Las Vegas last September. Chicano steelworkers have been the backbone of his campaign in District 38.

Here in Southern California, Santa Cruz supporters have also been the most active supporters of insurgent presidential candidate Ed Sadlowski and the national Steelworkers Fight Back slate. Santa Cruz was one of the first steelworkers in District 38 to identify with the campaign of Steelworkers Fight Back.

District 38 includes 235 locals with some 76,000 members. The southern portion of the district—California, Nevada, Arizona, and Colorado—has more than 20,000 Spanish-surnamed members, comprising 46 percent of the area's steelworkers.

While stating that he is not running an "ethnic" campaign—in that he

intends to represent the entire membership—Santa Cruz notes that there is now no Chicano in any top-level office within the USWA.

He further states that he was "drafted partially because Chicanos felt that there has not been sufficient representation or recognition of Chicanos within the union."

Speaking here December 18 to forty union activists, nearly all of them Chicano steelworkers, Santa Cruz outlined his program and fielded questions. Among the issues he stressed were membership ratification of contracts, the right to strike, and safety on the job.

Santa Cruz is safety coordinator for Subdistrict 8. He said there are continual violations of safety procedures by the companies.

He further stated that he opposed labor-management productivity committees. The union should not be working with management to push people to work faster, he says.

Santa Cruz denounced forced overtime in a period when so many steelworkers are out of work.

He attacked the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement in basic steel and stated that the right to strike is an essential weapon of the union and should never be abandoned.

Also addressing the meeting were Nash Rodriguez, Steelworkers Fight Back candidate for international union secretary, and John Chico, president of Local 65 in South Chicago, Ed Sadlowski's home local. Both brought reports from the national campaign of Steelworkers Fight Back.

300 rally to free Camp Pendleton 14

By Mark Schneider

OCEANSIDE, Calif.—Three hundred people jammed into the Belderrama Community Center here December 14 to demand the release of fourteen imprisoned Black marines at Camp Pendleton.

The marine base, the largest on the West Coast, is located in this small city, thirty miles north of San Diego.

The crowd, mainly from Oceanside's Black community, heard speeches by local Black leaders and by Rev. Jesse Jackson, head of the Chicago-based civil rights group Operation PUSH.

The Pendleton Fourteen, as the jailed marines are now called, are accused of conspiracy to commit murder. After a series of racist provocations by the Ku Klux Klan on the base, the fourteen Black soldiers—the marine brass allege—attacked what they believed to be a Ku Klux Klan party.

"When the Klan threatens us in Oceanside, we should get excited not just in Oceanside, but everywhere," Jackson said. He introduced national PUSH staff members who had come to Oceanside, as well as ten members of the Montfort Point Marines. The Montfort Point Marines were the first Blacks to break through the marine color bar. They are World War II veterans.

"We must mobilize . . . to keep these fourteen men from being railroaded," Jackson said. "The military has the responsibility to exonerate these men."

Jackson charged that marine officials are trying to keep the issue of the Klan's racist provocations out of the military trial of the Pendleton Fourteen.

A marine told the *Militant* earlier this month that "this whole thing started when a group of whites yelling 'KKK' busted into a Black party and stabbed a brother."

Camp Pendleton authorities reported finding a cache of weapons in a room where the Klansmen met on base. The weapons included a .357 magnum revolver, clubs, and knives.

Jackson charged that the Black marines are being denied a fair trial. They are being tried individually, rather than as a group. Each marine has been assigned a junior-grade military lawyer, rather than being given the right to civilian counsel of his own choosing.

Jackson said he plans to meet with Benjamin Hooks, executive director of the NAACP, and Vernon Jordan, head of the Urban League, to plan future defense efforts. In addition, Jackson has scheduled a meeting with Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld to protest the U.S. Marine Corps's handling of the case.

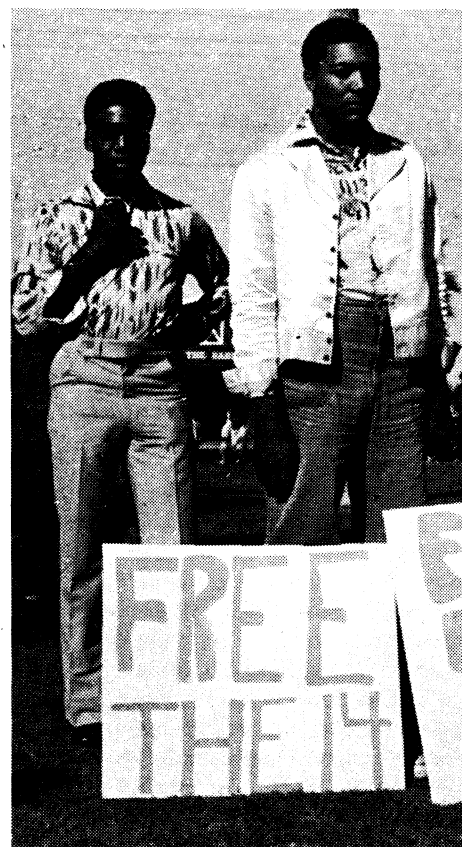
Jackson also called on marine brass to expel Klan members.

After the rally I spoke with Don Sorsa, a leader of the Socialist Workers party in San Diego, about the case of the Pendleton Fourteen. Sorsa was the party's candidate for U.S. Congress in California's Forty-second C.D. this fall.

"I think Jesse Jackson's show of solidarity with the Pendleton Fourteen is an example that should be followed by other civil rights leaders," Sorsa told me, "as well as by leaders of the trade-union movement, women's groups, campus organizations, and other prominent individuals."

"Jackson said that PUSH is ready to lead demonstrations. He said he plans to meet with leaders of the NAACP and Urban League. All this can set in motion the kind of broadly supported, action-oriented defense effort needed to win the release of the Pendleton Fourteen."

Sorsa, however, disagreed with Jackson's demand that the marines expel Klan members. "That is placing too much reliance on the Pentagon to



Militant/Joseph Ryan

clean its own house," he said.

"The marine brass aren't neutral in this affair," Sorsa added. "They tried to cover up for those racist scum as long as they could."

When the fourteen Black marines were first arrested, Pendleton authorities portrayed the attack on the white soldiers as totally unprovoked. The San Diego Urban League later looked into the arrests and uncovered information about the Klan's anti-Black harassment on base.

"Unfortunately," Sorsa told me, "the Urban League is now calling on marine authorities to investigate all 'extremist' groups on base. And it specifies, 'Both Black and white.'"

Sorsa said that the marine brass and local racists are already trying to turn demands for the Klan's expulsion to their own advantage. "A witch-hunt atmosphere is being whipped up about the supposed existence of a chapter of the Black Panther party on base," he said.

The main banner headline on the north San Diego County *Blade Tribune* December 10 announced, "Black Panther Unit Reported at Camp Pen."

"Now," Sorsa said, "the brass hope to take back some of the democratic rights won by GIs during the Vietnam War that allowed them at least some room to organize against racist conditions, against the war, or around other issues that concern them."

"The brass will pretend they are being fair and evenhanded," he said. "They've already started, in fact."

Sorsa was referring to a message sent out this month by U.S. Marine Corps Commandant Louis Wilson to all bases and units. "I simply am not going to accept conditions in our Corps which prompt any individual, white or black, to provoke disharmony by inflammatory words or actions," Wilson said.

But, Sorsa told me, the marine brass are neither fair nor evenhanded. He pointed to the racist double standard already exhibited by Camp Pendleton authorities. "First they tried to cover up for the Klan," Sorsa said. "When that failed, they started a so-called investigation that will end up targeting mainly Blacks."

A Black marine at the base told the *Militant* earlier this month that Pendleton authorities have been "searching people's lockers" supposedly looking for weapons.

"Well, I keep a personal diary," the marine said. "It included my reaction to the racial clash. On the basis of that they started asking me if I was a

Continued on page 26



'Militant' steel sales

By Nancy Fields

Reports continue to come in to the Militant Business Office on sales of the December 10 special steelworkers campaign issue of the *Militant*.

The East Los Angeles branch of the Socialist Workers party sold 122 copies at plant gates. "We sold out every paper we could get our hands on to steelworkers," reports Chris Hildebrand. "We still had more teams scheduled to go out but we didn't have any more papers."

Hildebrand said they had found the best sales time was "from 2:30 to 4:00 in the afternoon. That way you get the second shift going in and the morning shift coming out. It is much easier to sell to people as they go in because they aren't in such a big rush."

"We sent teams of two or three people and hit six plants twice. The first day we concentrated on leaflet distribution and the second day on sales."

In Houston, sixty-four copies of the

December 10 *Militant* were sold at plant gates. More than thirty of these were at Hughes Tool Company the week before a local union election that developed into a contest between pro-Sadlowski and pro-McBride forces.

The response to the pamphlet *The Fight for Union Democracy in Steel*, by *Militant* staff writer Andy Rose, was also good. More than thirty copies were sold in Houston during the special campaign week.

Despite subzero temperatures and snow, the Milwaukee Socialist Workers party sold forty-two *Militants* to steelworkers at plant gates and a Sadlowski rally.

In Cleveland, the newly established Buckeye-Woodland SWP branch sold twenty-four *Militants* and five pamphlets at plant gates that week. All three SWP branches in the city have taken responsibility for getting regular weekly sales under way at specific steel plants.

Carter's cabinet: ringing in the old

Most people had never heard of Griffin Bell until Jimmy Carter picked him to be the next attorney general.

How would we know him? His social clubs in Atlanta do not allow Blacks, Jews, or women to be members.

At first Bell tried to shrug off criticism of his segregated clubs. "Everything was segregated in those days," he explained, "but now that I might be attorney general I'm concerned, and I will do something as soon as I can figure it out."

Bell finally figured out that to quiet the nationwide protest he should quit his racist clubs, at least temporarily.

Carter defended his choice by praising Bell's "superb" record as a federal judge in Atlanta. Bell himself has bragged about his record on desegregation. As a champion of Black rights? Hardly. His court "never went too far," Bell said. "It has never ordered a racial balance in the schools." Bell's "superb" record also includes a 1966 ruling against seating Julian Bond as the first Black in the Georgia legislature in this century. Bell declared that Bond was "at war with the national policy of this country" because he had taken part in anti-Vietnam War protests.

NAACP national board chairperson Margaret Bush Wilson said Bell's appointment "would be keenly resented by those of us deeply involved in the civil rights movement."

Karen DeCrow, president of the National Organization for Women, pointed out that "if he's not good on civil rights, he won't be good on women's rights."

Harold Brown, Carter's choice for secretary of defense, may be better known, if no better liked. He was secretary of the air force during the escalation of the Vietnam War.

During his campaign, you may remember, Carter promised "to go to a new generation . . . of leaders." But six of the eleven cabinet members Carter has chosen are veterans of the Johnson administration or Congress. Carter's choices are typical graduates of the ruling class think tanks: warhawks, bankers, and corporate executives.

Carter has also dressed up his cabinet with a few token Blacks and women. But these are a far cry from his promises. And Carter justifies his choices with the bigot's standard argument: "I don't think it would be fair to either minority citizens or women to lower the standards just to increase the number who would serve in the cabinet."

It is no wonder that many who put Carter into office are now shaking their heads in dismay. The Congressional Black Caucus sent a telegram warning Carter there is a "growing feeling of uneasiness and concern across the nation . . . and the development of some frustration."

Not everyone shares that frustration, though. The *New York Times* noted that "Mr. Carter's actions, commentary and, particularly, his Cabinet appointments have been highly reassuring to the business community." One "prominent Eastern banker" voiced Wall Street's approval: "I don't think Mr. Carter has made a false move since he was elected."

Boss Daley

Mayor Richard Daley "led his city of Chicago, always with the best interest of his people at heart." The words may curdle in your mouth. But, they come easy to Jimmy Carter, the man who has made lying through his teeth a national trademark.

After all, Daley had embraced Carter as one of "his people." At the Democratic party convention, the "kingmaker" had helped to crown Carter with the presidential nomination.

But millions of working people have a different memory of Boss Daley.

- Anti-Vietnam War activists remember Daley's boys in blue bludgeoning protesters during the 1968 convention;

- Supporters of independent candidates recall how Daley kept challengers off the ballot. As his man heading the board of elections once explained, "We throw their [nominating] petitions up to the ceiling, and those that stick are good."

Daley has bequeathed an unforgettable legacy to the Black community. Blacks remember:

- Daley's silence while cops and a white mob evicted two Blacks who dared to move into the mayor's segregated neighborhood;

- His "shoot to kill" order during the 1968 ghetto uprising;

- His role in keeping Chicago's schools the most segregated in the country;

- The 1969 murder of Black Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, engineered by the Daley machine-controlled state's attorneys office.

Yes, many people will remember Daley long after he is six feet under. But unlike Jimmy Carter, few of our class have reason to be "deeply saddened" by his final departure from the windy city.

New 'rights'

Using Gary Mark Gilmore the government is trying to establish a new "right"—the right to die. He wants to die, and they're going to give it to him. Of course, they have been working up to this. It's part of their program to reverse the enlightenment.

Maybe they'll establish the right to not have an abortion, that is, "the right to life." Already they have granted 10 percent of us the right not to have a job, which is related to the right not to have to join a union, that is, "the right to work."

Our dignity is protected from birth through childhood. Bashing Black schoolchildren in Boston is called "the right to a quality education." And the banks' practice of redlining ensures their parents of the right not to move to anywhere they want.

The government is particularly solicitous of the aged. In New York they affirmed the right to social security by allowing Bernard Bergman, the nursing home magnate, to feed old people cream of wheat for dinner so often at the "gulag" he ran that many died from malnutrition.

How do you like our government, Messrs. Swift and Orwell?

Michael Smith

New York, New York

Tots registered independent

A recent TV news show revealed that Washington, D.C., has become the first city in the nation to have more than 50 percent of the children born there last year be "illegitimate."

Considering this is the year Peter Camejo [Socialist Workers party 1976 presidential candidate] was able to highlight the fact that a majority of the electorate is registered outside the two capitalist parties, it is interesting and somehow satisfying that the same year should see a majority of the children in the nation's capital "registered" independent of the bourgeois family. The women interviewed were not apologetic or defensive about themselves or their children.

It is certainly a sign of the times that these women were on TV and displayed the attitudes they did. But one is reminded that even the meager "care" provided by this society's institution of providence, the family, will not be available to these children. The other side to the phenomenon of the decay of an oppressive institution is that until there is something to replace its function, the road may be even rockier.

S.S.

Washington, D.C.

Bronx steel sales

The Bronx is known for a number of things: Yankee Stadium, the fight to save bilingual Hostos Community College, and Co-op City's rent strike, among others. But it's not usually thought of as a steel center, since there are no large basic steel mills here.

There are, however, dozens of smaller steel fabricating plants in the Bronx, employing anywhere from 15 to 1,000 workers. Many of them are organized by the United Steelworkers of America.

When the *Militant* published a special issue on Ed Sadlowski's campaign in the USWA, Bronx socialists took the opportunity to start regular plant-gate sales.

We went to Eastern Rolling Mills, which employs up to 110 workers. We found, however, that most of the workers had been laid off. Only 20 were left in the plant.

The workers, most of them Blacks or Puerto Ricans, had not heard about the Sadlowski campaign or Steelworkers Fight Back before. They were eager for more information and glad that we were able to discuss the issues with them.

"My committeeman should see this!" one worker commented.

Seven of the twenty workers bought the *Militant*, and two bought copies of the pamphlet *The Fight for Union Democracy in Steel*.

We plan to return to Eastern Rolling Mills and also hit some of the larger plants every week.

Sally Whicker

Bronx, New York

Lesson from Mao

I've only been reading the *Militant* for a short time, but it already seems evident that the newspaper backs no one except for people who agree completely with its line of thought. I have learned a great lesson from Mao—that one must be willing to side with the enemy to keep one's own strength. Mao did this when he worked with the Kuomintang. He knew at that point opposition would have been futile.

I'm not stating that I think the *Militant* should support the present government, but I do think that it should be careful about being negative before the fact. The article on Carter's economic policies in the December 10 issue attacks Carter's policies before they have been put into action.

It angers me to see people turned away from the newspaper because of unwarranted accusations. They are unnecessary and are not helpful to the people or the paper.

S.A.F.

Buffalo, New York

Defend Antonio Smith

I am writing about the Antonio Smith story in the December 3 *Militant*. I believe that this case is very similar to the Gary Tyler case in Louisiana. Another great injustice is being done—along with how many others in this country that we don't even know about?

I hope you will give further attention to the Antonio Smith case and let readers know what we can do to help free him.

M.G.

Salt Lake City, Utah

Attica scapegoat

"With the exception of Indian massacres in the late nineteenth century, the state police assault which ended the four-day prison uprising was the bloodiest one-day encounter between Americans since the Civil War."

This was the Rockefeller-appointed McKay Commission's assessment of the Attica rebellion of 1971. After a half dozen more grand jury investigations, special studies, and reports, that original assessment more correctly placed the Attica uprising in the context than anything else.

The massive assault on unarmed prisoners by state police was part of a genocidal attack on national minorities that began with this nation's brutal massacres of the continent's native people and continues today around the globe.

It is no surprise that the scapegoat for the Attica uprising would be a Native American—a young man known as Dacajeweah (or John Hill). After five years of mass protest and

Women in Revolt

Cindy Jaquith



Irish 'peace movement'

The following guest column is by Claire Moriarty.

The December issue of *Ms.* magazine features an interview with Mairead Corrigan and Betty Williams, leaders of what has become known as the "women's peace movement" in Ireland. Claude Servan-Schreiber, a Parisian feminist and contributing editor to *Ms.*, opens the interview with a tribute to the women as "torchbearers of hope."

But Bernadette Devlin McAliskey, the Irish militant and feminist, calls them "the greatest indictment of the failure to politicize women."

Who's right? First, the facts. Servan-Schreiber describes what triggered the "peace movement": "Last August 10, an accident that was just one out of many others caused by the war, suddenly shook the country. As Anne Maguire [Mairead Corrigan's sister] was out doing her grocery shopping with her four children, shots rang out in the street. A [British] patrol squadron was attacked, and it retaliated by shooting at a suspected vehicle. The driver, an IRA soldier, was struck in the heart by a bullet, and collapsed at the wheel. His car veered out of control and crashed into the Maguire family. Two of the children were killed instantly; the six-week-old baby was mortally wounded; and their mother was seriously injured." Four days later the first "peace march" took place in Belfast.

But something important is left out of *Ms.*'s account. According to the August 20 *An Phoblacht* (the Dublin weekly that reflects the views of the Provisional IRA), eyewitnesses report that the British patrol opened fire on the car without warning. The driver of the car was Danny Lennon, a known Provisional activist who had already been interned by the British in one of Northern Ireland's prison camps. It wasn't until later, after many conflicting reports, that the British authorities admitted that no shots had been fired from Lennon's car.

In other words, the first "accident of war" *Ms.* ought to have noted was that Danny Lennon was gunned down for no reason at all.

* * *

Everyone in Ireland wants peace. The question is how to get it. The "peace women" call for a consensus

against violence. And at first even some of the war-weary Catholics in the North were beguiled by the promise of a movement against violence.

Then in October a thirteen-year-old boy was killed when British troops fired plastic bullets into a group of young "rioters" in Belfast's Catholic ghetto.

The "peace women" responded with a policy statement. They gave unequivocal support to the British army and police as the only legitimate law enforcers. "We do not equate the vicious and determined terrorism of the republican [IRA] and loyalist [Protestant defenders of British rule] paramilitary organizations with those occasional instances where members of the security forces may have stepped beyond the rule of law."

This position is just plain wrong. The British army is no more an impartial referee in Ireland than American forces were in Vietnam. And the British occupation of Ireland is enforced the same way the American intervention was in Vietnam. With guns.

If you want peace, you have to recognize the source of the violence. The "peace movement" offers no solution to the cause of the conflict: the British occupation of Ireland.

Ms. does the women's movement a disservice by suggesting that feminists should support a campaign whose sole purpose is to restore British law and order in Ireland.

A movement does not assume a feminist character just because it is nominally led by women. In the United States, for example, opponents of abortion and the Equal Rights Amendment frequently try to promote women as spokespeople to obscure the real political forces behind the opposition. It's a maneuver to draw the focus away from the issue of women's rights.

In the same way the "women's peace movement" is a maneuver to deflect the focus from the real source of violence in Ireland: the British army.

The feminist biweekly *Majority Report* put it well in their December 11-20 editorial: "It is the oppressed, not the oppressor, whom these women are asking to surrender."

Women's liberationists belong on the side of the oppressed, not behind the banner of an occupying army.

unrelenting political pressure, the state was forced to drop the indictments against the Attica Brothers.

Dacajeweah was convicted before the indictments were finally dropped by the state. He remains as the state's scapegoat, and is held in Greenhaven Prison for twenty years to life for a crime he did not commit.

Dacajeweah is like those thousands of young people victimized by Vietnams, school push-outs, racist attacks, unemployment. He is demanding his rights and dignity.

Now is the time for us to join in protest of the state's actions at Attica and its illegal prosecution of Dacajeweah. We must—like the thousands in the past five years who demanded that the indictments against the Attica Brothers be dropped—demand that Dacajeweah be free.

Kate Livingston
Ithaca, New York

Eye-opener

I'm writing this letter here from prison. I've served approximately three years and have a year-and-a-half left to go.

Beginning in December 1975, I've been reading the *Militant*, and I must confess the *Militant* has been a great eye-opener for me, as well as the rest of the prisoners who are confined here at this "concentration camp."

I agree 100 percent that the only change America is going to experience is a socialist change, as presented by the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance.

A prisoner
Ohio

Greetings from Finland

The Autumn Assembly of the District Organization of the Social Democratic Youth in Vantaa wishes Merry Christmas and progressive and successful New Year to the Socialist Workers party.

We express our solidarity to you in your struggle for socialism and the rights of working people.

We hope that you will win the court case against the FBI, which by means characteristic of a police state has violated your democratic struggle.

Merry Christmas and a Red New Year!

Pauli A. Piri, chairperson
Olavi Huovinen, secretary
Vantaa, Finland

Death penalty

I have just heard that, in the name of all U.S. citizens, the Supreme Court has decided to execute Gary Mark Gilmore, and I am saddened beyond words.

The year 1976 will close its doors while opening the bloody gates of 1977.

Merry Xmas, America!
C. Saral
Hollywood, California

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

Their Government

Nancy Cole



Carter's 'transition'

WASHINGTON—The "transition" is all there is here. This, after all, is no routine changing of the guard. This is the replacement of old-line politician Gerald Ford with fresh, untainted Jimmy Carter.

Here's a man who insists on carrying his own suit bag and sends his daughter to public school.

And it's all to culminate in an informal "people's inaugural" January 20.

"We're planning an inauguration which is traditional but modest in one, not extravagant," explains Bardyl Tirana, cochair of the inaugural committee.

Tirana says Carter's greatest concern is that "we reach the maximum number of people possible and involve the whole country in the inauguration. He wants to receive anyone who comes to Washington for the inauguration."

Some 300,000 Carter supporters received general invitations to come to Washington during inaugural week.

Standing room for the January 20 event will accommodate 100,000. That's by ticket only, distributed by the offices of Carter, the vice-president-elect, and members of Congress.

The president-elect may just don a business suit, and Rosalynn Carter has shocked the fashion world by threatening to wear an old rag she wore to the Georgia gubernatorial inauguration five years ago.

But what's supposed to make this a genuine people's affair is that there will be "lots of parties"—providing you are one of the few lucky enough to receive an invitation and that you are willing to pay \$25. Drinks and food extra.

In keeping with the spirit of things, the hotels where the inaugural parties will be held are not upping their

prices. They're just requiring a minimum four-day stay, at an average of \$260.

Of course, the real invitations—the ones that are more than just mementos—were sent to "congressmen, diplomats, governors, mayors, people of high position in American society, supporters and campaign workers," according to Tirana.

The idea that this will be a "people's inaugural" is as phony as Carter's pledge to bring "fresh new faces" to Washington. Carter's campaign manager, Hamilton Jordan, learned that the hard way. During the heat of the campaign, Jordan proclaimed that "if after the inauguration, you find a Cy Vance as secretary of state and Zbigniew Brzezinski as head of national security, I would say we failed. And I'd quit."

Carter's newly appointed secretary of state is, of course, Cyrus Vance, a two-decade veteran of past administrations. And his appointee for head of national security? None other than Zbigniew Brzezinski. Jordan had to eat his words.

Carter's "talent hunt" has also turned up an economist from the capitalist think tank Brookings Institution to head the Council of Economic Advisors. And a corporation executive is going to be the secretary of treasury.

And he may stick John Dunlop, secretary of labor for a while under Ford, back into that post.

"It seems highly likely, if not certain," writes *Washington Star* reporter Jack Germond, "that seven or eight of the 10 [Cabinet posts] will be conventional choices—old Washington hands, prominent business executives, choices of important political blocs."

Carter the "outsider" has made the transition.



Can't win 'em all—Vietnamese liberation forces captured an estimated \$5 billion of U.S. military equipment when the Saigon dictatorship collapsed, the Pentagon reports. Included were such items as 1.5 million rifles, 90,000 pistols, and 15,000 machine guns. Plus 500 helicopters and 200 assorted planes. They also inherited 130,000 tons of ammunition and 42,000 trucks to move it.

Tough situation—Detroit slumlords have bitterly protested that cops no longer accompany bailiffs who evict people behind on their rent. The result, they say, is that evictions have ground to a halt. One bailiff explained why he won't work without a police backup.



"Thanks a million, Sam! Hey, what the heck . . . make it a billion!"

"I've had to drag some of them bodily out into the street," he said.

Car dealer—Wylie Carhartt of West Palm Beach was into old Thunderbirds—other people's. Over a three-year period he collected twenty-two of them and sold them for \$3,000 each. An understanding state judge gave him probation. "I felt the man deserved another chance," he said.

The ties that bind—Food dyes have been under increasing attack as a health hazard. One staunch defender of food coloring, says the Center for Science in the Public Interest, is Dr. E.M. Foster of the University of Wisconsin Food Research Institute. Dr.

Foster, strangely, is on the board of the Strange Company, which makes food colorings.

Pretty shrewd—John Dean told an interviewer he doesn't smoke in public situations and refrained from smoking during the Watergate hearings because he thought it wouldn't look good.

Class relations—A San Francisco "transactional analysis institute" held a seminar for executives on how to deal more effectively with those under you and, equally important, get along with those above you. The transactional analysis folk seem to know how to get along. Fee for the two-day session, including lunch, was \$225.

National Picket Line

Talk in the shipyards

The following is a guest column by a shipyard worker and member of the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers and Blacksmiths in Seattle.

SEATTLE—With two nuclear submarine tenders under construction, Lockheed Shipbuilding and Construction Company is the busiest shipyard in Seattle. About half of its 1,500 employees belong to the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers and Blacksmiths union.

Discussions in the shipyard on the 1976 elections were very interesting. I would be surprised if more than a third of the workers even voted. Enthusiasm for Jimmy Carter was nowhere to be found. Over and over again I heard people say that there was no real choice, no real difference between Carter and Ford. In fact, some workers were so suspicious of Carter that they decided to vote for Ford with the idea that the "known evil" is better than the "unknown evil."

There was a lot of awareness of Carter's antilabor record even though the union officials tried to cover it up. I heard one worker ask: "Why are the unions for Carter? Why do they always back the Democrats? What's in it for them? They [the union tops] must be getting paid off." I heard this same general question asked a number of times by co-workers.

Often the discussion would lead from the election to problems in our union. Many workers are turned off by the union because they feel it doesn't represent them.

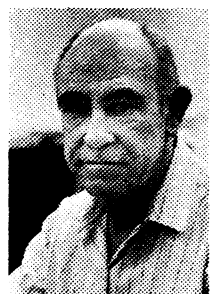
The local union officers campaigned for Carter without much spirit or conviction. The president of my local qualified his support by frankly admitting that workers have nothing to say about who the Democrats or Republicans run for office. But he said this was better than the election setup in Russia. Over there they only run one bastard for office while over here you can vote for one of two bastards. At least you have a choice!

He also hoped that workers *might* get a little more and be a bit better off under the Democrats.

So, as we've all read in the newspapers, the dissatisfaction is very deep—with the government, the two major political parties, the present union leadership, and the economic situation.

But most workers don't yet understand the causes or solutions to these problems. The thinking of shipyard workers is confused and contradictory. It includes some ideas or half ideas from both the right and the left. Most cannot yet see clear of the private profit system. They are strongly swayed by big business propaganda on the jobs question and others.

Frank Lovell



For example, we had a nuclear safeguards initiative on the ballot this fall in Washington. The proposal would have placed restrictions on building nuclear power plants by requiring companies to carry full liability insurance and banning the construction of unsafe plants.

Well, the companies spent a million bucks on a huge scare campaign to defeat the measure. On radio and TV commercials their line went something like this: "Without nuclear power we will run out of energy. If that happens everybody will be out of work." Most workers, following the lead of their unions, bought it. They didn't see any alternative.

Likewise last year an initiative that would have created a state corporate profits tax was defeated.

While the union leaders half-heartedly supported the measure, they didn't spend much time, money, or effort to reach the working-class public. Little was done to counter and expose big-business propaganda against it. The measure lost.

We socialists have to learn to address ourselves to these questions in a clear, understandable way. We have to explain what causes inflation, why there are layoffs, how the unions got to be the way they are. And—most important—why workers have to find *our own* solutions to these problems instead of going along with the big-business interests.

By Any Means Necessary

On those appointments

Some Black leaders thought the election of Jimmy Carter meant that Black people, that garage doormat that everybody wipes their grimy shoes on, would get brought into the house as a bright, flowery dinner-table place mat. Maybe not as valued as the silver flatware or the lead crystal, but at the main table anyway. Where the big decisions are made. As a permanent fixture, they thought.

"Half the Blacks in Atlanta already got their bags packed to come to Washington," one Black Democratic official remarked just after election day.

"Blacks won't be looking to get all the jobs, but they are looking for full recognition of the realities of politics," said Black Democrat Basil Paterson.

All this was fine just after the election. Because there was excitement in the air. There was jubilation. People kicked up their heels.

But now November is over; December is drawing to an end. And people are back to the gray monotony of winter.

In a recent nationally circulated newspaper column headlined "Time for a new realism," Urban

League chief Vernon Jordan wrote:

"As I travel around the country and talk to people, especially in the Black community, about the coming Carter Administration, I'm increasingly disturbed by what appears to be a lack of realism.

"Conscious of the debt owed to the Black vote by President-elect Carter, too many people expect miracles to come to pass after January 20. Some seriously believe their local councilman, who's a nice fellow, will be named Secretary of State. Others think they just have to sit back and wait until a golden horn of plenty is emptied by Washington, full of money and programs that will end poverty and discrimination overnight.

"It's not going to happen."

Jordan's chiding of overoptimism is characteristic of the growing impatience and doubts among some Blacks. The Christmas bangle doesn't have the luster on the tree that it had in the store before it was bought, some Black leaders now feel. Others see the Ghost of Disappointments Past sneering at the Black community.

Baxter Smith



Four prominent Blacks have even turned down certain Carter cabinet post offers. Thanks, but no thanks, said Detroit Mayor Coleman Young, Los Angeles Mayor Thomas Bradley, Texas's Barbara Jordan, and Vernon Jordan.

It is believed they were offered the job of secretary of health, education and welfare, or of housing and urban development.

They declined the offer because—given department cutbacks and underfunding—they could not see themselves taking the bull by the horns in those jobs.

There was also resentment that Blacks were only considered for these "poverty" posts and not "money" posts, such as treasury secretary or the Office of Management and Budget. This reflected racism, some felt.

The distress flag was again hoisted when John Dunlop was mentioned as Carter's possible labor secretary. Blacks note that he is pro-white job trust in relation to construction union hiring policy.

Yipes, so many gripes.

Socialist prof fights to get back job in Ariz.

By Geoff Mirelowitz

PHOENIX—Prof. Morris Starsky was in court here December 13, continuing his legal battle against the Arizona State University Board of Regents. Starsky is a socialist professor who was victimized by the FBI and fired from his job at ASU in 1970.

For more than six years Starsky has been trying to get his job back. In the course of that fight, evidence of FBI dirty tricks has come to light. In 1970, FBI records show, agents wrote poison-pen letters about Starsky to members of a faculty committee reviewing his work.

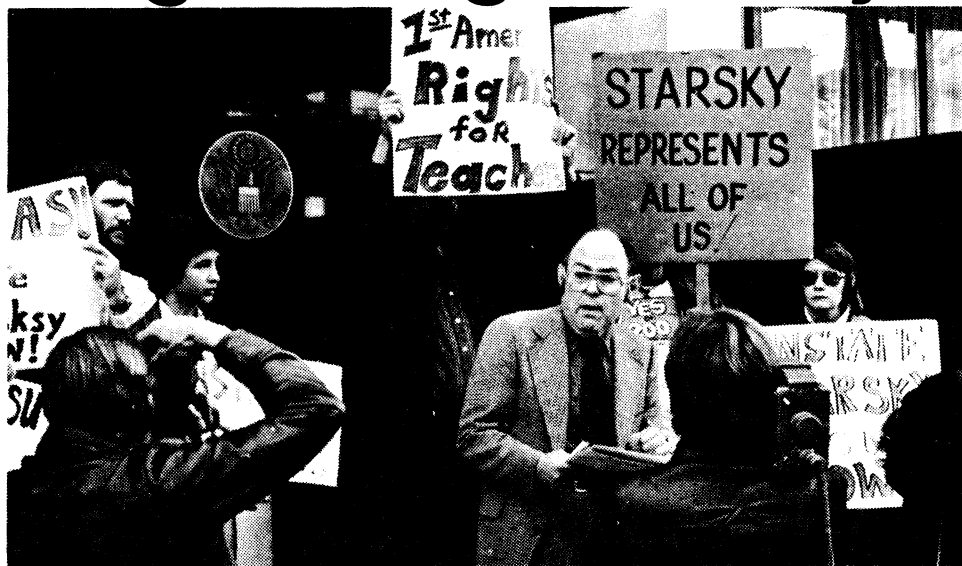
Two federal courts have already ruled that ousting Starsky from ASU violated his constitutional rights, that he was fired because of his political beliefs and activities.

However, the court of appeals sent the case back to U.S. district court on the basis of a technicality. Another trial was required to decide whether Starsky gave up his right to his job when he accepted a sabbatical.

The December 13 hearing was to decide whether the regents must reinstate Starsky. "The regents claim that because I accepted a sabbatical leave in July of 1970 I agreed to their decision that I could no longer teach at ASU," Starsky explained to the *Militant*.

"But I had applied for that sabbatical before the entire controversy started, as a tenured professor with six years' experience," Starsky said. "I believe I had a right to a normal sabbatical. But the regents call mine a 'terminal sabbatical.'"

At the hearing the regents' lawyers presented a copy of the sabbatical application that Starsky signed. It



Prof. Morris Starsky speaks to reporters outside courthouse before December 13 hearing. Militant/Glenn Campbell

included a clause added by the university that said that by signing the form Starsky accepted the regents' decision not to renew his contract.

Starsky testified that the signature on the application was his, but suggested that the clause had been added after he signed.

Two ASU faculty members testified on Starsky's behalf. Both Prof. Doug Arner, former head of the philosophy department, and Prof. George Peek, former dean of the college of liberal arts, had to sign Starsky's application for the sabbatical before it was approved.

Arner testified that he had not personally signed the form, but had given his agreement to the application over the telephone. Had he been told that there was additional wording on

the form? "Certainly not," Arner replied.

Peek also did not recall the special clause in the application he signed. "Had the language been there I'm sure I would have noticed," Peek testified. "... had it been there it was so unusual I would have brought it to Professor Starsky's attention."

Prof. George Keast, a member of the executive committee of the American Association of University Professors, also took the stand as an expert witness on the issue of sabbaticals.

Keast explained that there is no such thing as a "terminal sabbatical." The very concept of a sabbatical implies that the professor will return to the university, he said.

Starsky insists that he has the right to return to his job at ASU. "By

accepting the sabbatical, in no way did I give up my claim to my teaching position. Why else would I have pursued this lawsuit for the past six years?"

A ruling on the issue is expected in a few weeks.

Starsky's battle with ASU began in January 1970 when he canceled a class in order to speak at a student rally. This was a common enough practice when professors had outside speaking commitments. But the regents used Starsky's action as grounds to fire the professor.

When the regents ousted Starsky in 1970 they ignored a recommendation by an ASU faculty committee that described Starsky as a superior scholar and teacher.

The real reason for Starsky's dismissal can be seen in his record. Starsky had been active in the anti-Vietnam War movement and in defense of Black and Chicano rights. He had served as an elector for the 1968 Socialist Workers party presidential ticket and had been faculty sponsor for the campus Young Socialist Alliance.

In addition to the two federal court rulings in his favor, Starsky has won support from the academic community. The American Association of University Professors, for example, voted support for his case last spring.

The December 13 trial attracted attention in Phoenix. Starsky spoke to reporters from three television stations and two daily papers on the steps of the federal building before the hearing began.

Starsky also addressed a group of about one hundred supporters at the ASU campus the following evening.

Halperin wins wiretap suit against Nixon

By Nancy Cole

WASHINGTON—Richard Nixon and two members of his administration were found guilty December 16 of violating the constitutional rights of Morton Halperin, a former National Security Council aide.

Federal District Judge John Smith, Jr., ruled here that a twenty-one-month tap on Halperin's phone, begun in 1969, "constituted an invasion of plaintiffs' privacy and freedom of expression."

Smith ordered Nixon, former Attorney General John Mitchell, and former White House chief of staff H.R. Haldeman to pay damages to Halperin and his family. The amount will be set by Smith later.

"The basic constitutional question in this ruling," Halperin told the *Militant*, "is that a president is liable. This is the first time a private citizen has successfully sued a president for his acts while in office. Nixon's pardon applies to criminal actions, but this was a civil case."

"This is also the first case in which anybody has gotten an order for judgment holding people

liable for damages in a wiretap case," Halperin said.

Charges against Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, other government officials, and the phone company were dismissed by the judge.

The tap on Halperin's phone began May 9, 1969, the day the *New York Times* ran a story on the secret U.S. bombing of Cambodia. It remained on even after Halperin, disillusioned with Nixon's war policies, left the government.

The wiretapping operation, which the judge said developed into a "dragnet," eventually included twelve other officials and four newspeople.

Kissinger claimed in sworn testimony last May that he had provided Halperin's name to the FBI for an investigation into who was leaking information to the news media.

He maintained, however, that his relationship to the spying operation was "as a consumer, or as a passive one." Nixon, Mitchell, and others disputed Kissinger's "passive" story.

Nevertheless, Smith decided the secretary of state had an "inactive" role with a "lack of oversight authority." Halperin still contends that this "is not supported by the facts."

Smith also dismissed charges against former White House chief of staff Alexander Haig, former FBI official William C. Sullivan, former Assistant Attorney General Robert Mardian, and former White House aide John Ehrlichman.

The judge refused to find any of the defendants guilty of violating the 1968 wiretapping law because of the "confused state of the law and the thirty-year history of similar executive actions."

Although the defendants and their lawyers were generally unavailable for comment, one Justice Department source told the *New York Times* that the ruling was a "victory" because of the wiretap law decision.

"The ruling thus solidifies to some extent the Government's right to conduct electronic surveillance in national security cases," concluded the *Times*.

Protest demands: 'Free Kenny Johnson!'

By Ed Powell

BUFFALO, N.Y.—At 8:30 in the morning a year ago this month—December 3, to be exact—cops disguised as hippies stormed a community mental health center here. Waving their guns, they arrested a young Black counselor and two co-workers and whisked them off to jail.

The local media had been tipped off. So they were on hand with cameras rolling.

Today that young counselor—Kenneth Johnson—faces 126 years in prison on a trumped-up rape charge. Charges against his two co-workers—Ray Whitacre and Lumen Ross—have been dropped. Ross and Whitacre, like a growing number of people here in Buffalo, are now active in the Commit-

tee to Clear Kenneth Johnson.

After Johnson was arrested last December, he was confined for two weeks in jail. He was finally released on \$30,000 bail.

So far, three judges here in Buffalo have refused even to read sworn affidavits that establish Johnson's whereabouts at the time of the rape. In fact, not a shred of credible evidence has yet been produced to link Johnson to the crime.

On December 11, a year and eight days after Johnson's arrest, 250 of his supporters paraded down Buffalo's main street—in subfreezing weather—to demand a fair trial.

At a rally in Cathedral Square, speakers recalled the police rampage in Buffalo last December, when scores of

Black men were stopped, searched, and harassed by cops.

The cops said they were looking for a "tall, light-skinned Negro" who had raped six women in downtown parking lots.

Greg Brown, picked up and later released in that dragnet, described his own arrest. It was a chilling reminder that every Black person is a potential victim of such random cop harassment.

In 1968 Kenneth Johnson was president of his high school class. Nominated to West Point, he chose instead to attend Canisius College here in Buffalo. He was an honor student and in 1971 he was listed in *Who's Who on College Campuses in America*.

Continued on page 26



December 11 protest in Buffalo

A reply to some 'Militant' readers

Death penalty: deterrence, vengeance

The Militant's campaign against the death penalty and Utah's planned execution of Gary Mark Gilmore has provoked a stream of letters, pro and con.

Below we are printing excerpts from some of the letters opposing the Militant's stand, followed by a response by staff writer José G. Pérez.

How about the other side of the coin for a change? How about the view not in line with your paper's thinking?

I am, along with the vast majority of people and the Supreme Court, 100 percent in favor of capital punishment. I think that it is long overdue and needs to be carried out on a wholesale basis.

The lack of the death penalty shows. People used to rob their victims and take their money. Now they take their money and kill them with less feeling than shooting a dog.

As for your argument that "Blacks and poor whites" are the only people executed, you do not seem to see the hard fact that only people who commit cold-blooded murder will be executed. Only mad "dog" animal killers will [be executed].

I know you will not print this letter because the truth is in it. That's OK though because by this time next year there will have been so many executions that they are not even news anymore. I, along with the majority of people, will cheer when the dog animals that do these murders die and will kill no more.

J.B.J.

Jefferson City, Missouri

After having read a series of articles on capital punishment in the *Militant*, I feel a bit more clarification is required. You have supported your position with two main arguments, namely that the death penalty does not serve to reduce violent crimes, and that the death penalty will be carried out primarily on Blacks and poor whites.

I am unaware of any studies which prove that the death penalty is not a deterrent of violent crimes, although you state this as a fact. Perhaps you can enlighten me.

That the death penalty is carried out primarily

on minorities in the U.S. is undeniable, just as it's true for any less influential group in any country, regardless of that country's political philosophy. However, it is, I think, important to note that as the population of individuals is skewed toward the deprived, so will be the population of individuals on death row.

Although it is regrettable that groups in our society are deprived, I believe the courts should pass sentence on criminals according to the circumstances and nature of the crime, rather than making one's position in society of primary importance in the deliberation.

J.D.B.

Boston, Massachusetts

I like what I read in your paper. You put the hard facts right on the line, and you don't soften the blow in a maze of meaningless words.

But I can't go along with calling the death penalty legalized murder. If you don't kill them, they may end up killing you. And by executing some of these fiends and savages, other would-be killers are not as anxious to put their body in front of the firing squad or their neck in the noose.

All you people, especially Joseph Hansen, together with the ACLU [American Civil Liberties Union] are only adding to the miseries of the world. You must be wearing your hearts at half-mast and your brains on backwards.

E.M.B.

Encino, California

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, like some of those terrible figures in Poe, 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 problem would be to confine him in a cell with two items in it: a twenty-foot length of rope neatly arranged on the bench—and a hook fastened securely to the ceiling.

M.H.

Pittsburg, Kansas

immediately before or after a well-publicized execution.

In fact, every study that has tried to show a difference in murder rates among different areas by singling out whether they have capital punishment has failed to show deterrence.

In contrast, only one study has been used to support the deterrence theory. It was done by University of Chicago economist Isaac Ehrlich.

What Ehrlich did was assume that eight (and only eight) factors influenced the murder rate from 1935 until 1969; assume that they did so in a precise mathematical relationship; and assume this precise mathematical relationship was just as true for Mississippi in 1935 as for Berkeley, California, in 1969.

Given these assumptions, Ehrlich concluded that "an additional execution per year . . . may have resulted on the average in seven or eight fewer murders."

Ehrlich's study false

Ehrlich's study has been sharply attacked in academic and scientific circles. Other respected scholars, using Ehrlich's own mathematical formula, were unable to duplicate Ehrlich's results. *In fact, their results showed that executions encouraged murder between 1935 and 1962.*

Other of Ehrlich's critics point out that it is impossible to identify the many varied factors that contribute to murders and their mathematical interrelationships.

Nevertheless, both newspapers and Democratic and Republican politicians continue to trumpet Ehrlich's study as "proof" that capital punishment is a deterrent.

Other advocates of the deterrence theory point out that the murder rate has shot up since executions ceased in 1967. There are two fallacies in this argument.

First, it fails to take account of the worsening social and economic situation in this country during

those years. A recent study for the congressional Joint Economic Committee attributed 1,740 homicides during 1970-1975 to a 1.4 percent jump in the jobless rate in 1970. And since 1970 the jobless rate has jumped from about 5 percent to a stubborn 7-9 percent in recent years.

Secondly, the rate of increase in murders since 1967, high as it is, is the lowest jump for any of the crimes listed on the FBI's crime index.

Crime is clearly on the rise because poverty and desperation are on the rise.

Invitation to murder

There is evidence, on the other hand, that capital punishment may actually cause some self-destructive individuals to commit murders in order to be sentenced to death.

New York Times reporter Boyce Rensberger wrote December 18 that "the annals of psychiatry contain many cases in which persons who led tormented, and often demented, lives murdered others with the intention of invoking a death penalty. . . . Many are clearly suicidal and believe that they deserve to die but admit they lack the nerve to kill themselves."

Rensberger cites case studies and opinions of several psychiatrists who have studied this phenomenon. Most psychiatrists, according to Rensberger, oppose the death penalty for this reason.

"The death penalty breeds murder," Rensberger quotes one psychiatrist as saying. "It becomes a promise, a contract, a covenant between society and certain—by no means rare—warped mentalities who are moved to kill as part of a self-destructive urge."

Exhibit One may well be Gary Gilmore. He murdered two people just days after the Supreme Court ruling restoring the death penalty. Some of his prison psychiatrists believe that ruling may have invited Gilmore to kill in order to destroy himself, whether he was conscious of it or not.

His behavior since then—constant pleas for immediate execution and two suicide attempts—is certainly consistent with such an interpretation.

Overall, the case against the deterrence theory is so overwhelming that even the Supreme Court was forced to abandon it this summer in defending restoration of the death penalty.

Instead, one of the chief excuses the Supreme Court used was retribution—in plain English, vengeance. This argument is also used by reader J.B.J. of Jefferson City.

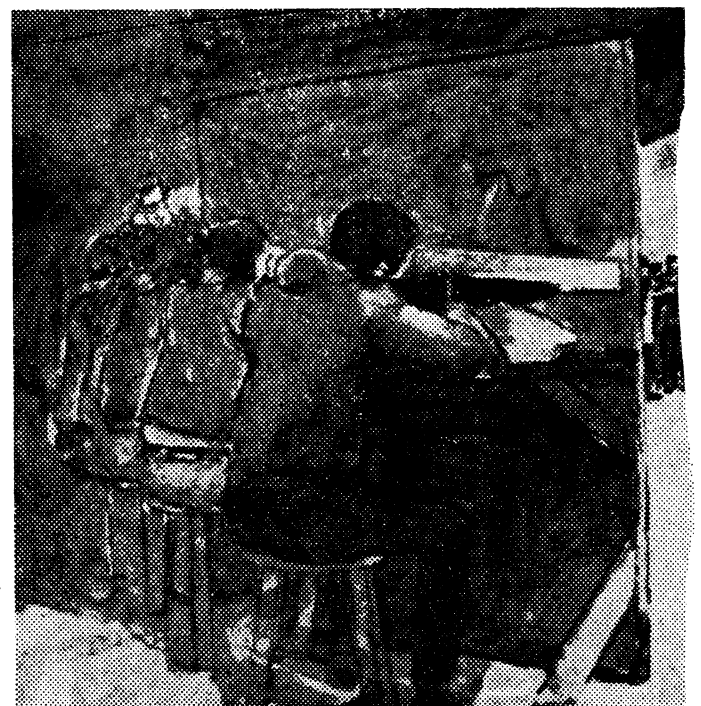
The Supreme Court, however, came up with a new twist to the retribution argument. The justices said the death penalty is a way of preventing the public from illegally taking revenge into its own hands.

"This function [retribution] may be unappealing to many," the court's main opinion held, "but it is essential in an ordered society that asks its citizens to rely on legal procedures rather than self-help to vindicate their wrongs."

Lynching: the real record

This is sophistry. The truth is that lynchings in the United States never were the response of an outraged citizenry against unpunished lawbreakers.

To the contrary, statistics show that legal and illegal executions go hand in hand. Both were used



By José G. Pérez

Most of the U.S. press and other news media are depicting the case of Gary Mark Gilmore as the lone battle of a disturbed individual for his "right to die."

Headlines such as "Utah Killer Wins His Fight to Face the Firing Squad" have appeared on front pages of major dailies.

Meanwhile, the real issue—whether the government has the right to kill—has been pushed into the background by all this sensationalizing.

Yet, if it is wrong for the state to kill, then that remains wrong even if the victim says he wants to die.

Supporters of the death penalty argue that it serves valid social purposes of retribution and deterrence. For example, J.D.B. of Boston and E.M.B. of Encino challenge our claim that capital punishment is not a deterrent to violent crime.

Whether or not capital punishment deters people from crime is a thoroughly studied question. Numerous scientific studies have failed to find any evidence to back up the deterrence theory. Their findings show, for example, that:

- As a general rule, states with death penalty laws do not have lower homicide rates than other states.
- Given two states of similar social composition, the one without a death penalty does not necessarily have a higher rate of criminal homicide.
- States that have abolished the death penalty have not experienced any jump in the number of criminal homicides.
- States that have reinstituted death penalty laws have experienced no resulting decrease in the number of murders.
- Prisoners and prison personnel are targets of criminal assault or homicide just as frequently whether the state has a death penalty or not.
- Murder rates do not fall as execution rates increase.
- There is no change in an area's murder rate

ce, or legal murder?

on a massive scale in the South for decades as weapons of racist oppression. Their essential function was to terrorize Southern Blacks into accepting a return to almost slavlike conditions in the decades following the Civil War.

In the late 1800s and early 1900s, lynchings were not carried out against the wishes of public officials, but with their cooperation—and frequently at their instigation. Some lynchings were announced in advance and publicized in the newspapers. Democratic party politicians would sometimes be featured speakers at the executions.

But the Supreme Court was, unwittingly, right about one thing. There is a relation between legal and illegal executions—but not the one the justices had in mind. What is precisely the same about legal executions in recent times and lynchings in the past is their common aim: both are weapons of race and class oppression.

Who is executed

Reader J.D.B.'s apparent impression that the death penalty today is applied "according to the circumstances and nature of the crime" rather than "one's position in society" is totally inaccurate. Facts show that in real life things are just the other way around.

Since 1930, 3,859 persons have been executed in the United States. Of these, 54 percent were Black. Of the 455 people executed for rape, 405—90 percent—were Black. Virtually all the rest were executed for murder. Of these, half were Black.

Why is this so? Many studies prove that what is being punished is not murder or rape as such, but being poor and Black. Let's take a look at a few of these findings.

- In Pennsylvania, for example, a study showed that a higher proportion of whites on death row got their sentences changed to life imprisonment.
- In New Jersey, which is now in the process of reinstituting the death penalty, another study showed that juries tended to bring in the death penalty for Blacks more frequently than for whites convicted of the very same crime. And then whites' sentences were commuted twice as often as Blacks'.
- One analysis of 3,000 rape convictions in eleven Southern states concluded:

"We are now prepared to assert that a significantly higher proportion of blacks are sentenced to death upon conviction of rape . . . because they are black . . . and the victims were white."

- In one area of North Carolina, during a ten-year period, 43 percent of all Blacks convicted of killing whites were sentenced to death. Not one white convicted of killing a Black was sentenced to death. Whites convicted of murdering whites received the death sentence 19 percent of the time.

If you begin to smell the foul odor of racism behind these statistics, you're right.

Choosing the victim

Between 1930 and 1960, there was one execution for every seventy homicides. Between 1951 and 1960, only one out of every ten persons convicted of first-degree murder was executed. And during the 1960s, executions became even less frequent.

Today there are more than 20,000 homicides a year. Yet since 1972 about 600 people have been

sentenced to death for allegedly killing someone.

How have these 600 been selected?

In *Capital Punishment: The Inevitability of Caprice and Mistake*, Charles Black provides some answers. Black is Luce Professor of Jurisprudence at Yale University.

Black examines the numerous decisions made by many people at every step from the discovery of a murder to the execution—decisions that determine who will live and who will die.

What are some of these decisions? One is who the police decide to arrest. Another is what charges are brought against the suspect. Whether to allow a plea bargain. What verdict the jury brings in. What sentence is imposed. What reception is given to pleas for clemency.

These decisions—as Black points out—are often made by standards bearing no relationship to the idea of justice, many by no discernible standard at all.

In 1972 the Supreme Court was forced to admit that the administration of the death penalty was so "freakish" that it was, as then practiced, unconstitutional.

The Democratic and Republican politicians then drafted new laws. Some laws established a *mandatory* death penalty for certain crimes. Others—the so-called guided discretion laws—cited aggravating or mitigating circumstances to determine whether someone would be executed.

This year the Supreme Court ruled the mandatory laws unconstitutional. Experience had shown that some juries simply would not hand down a guilty verdict for someone they felt should not die.

But the court also upheld some of the guided discretion laws.

What is the difference between the old, admittedly discriminatory laws and the new, supposedly nondiscriminatory ones?

In real life, none whatsoever!

The same proportion of Blacks are being sentenced to death for murder under the "nondiscriminatory" laws as were executed in the past. And—since whites historically have a higher rate of commutations—the new laws may turn out to be even more racist.

License to lynch

Nothing has changed on death row now because the whole racist, class-biased system of "justice" has not changed. Not the cops. Not the prosecutors. Not the judges.

The "standards" written into the new guided discretion laws are not really standards at all. They are just a legal fig leaf to cover up the discrimination against the Black and the poor supposedly outlawed in 1972.

Professor Black makes a detailed study of the current Texas death penalty law, which was *specifically* upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court.

What determines who lives and who dies in Texas?

After convicting someone of murder, a jury has to answer three questions:

- Whether the killing was committed "deliberately";
- whether it was "unreasonable in response to the provocation, if any, by the deceased"; and
- "whether there is a probability that the defendant would commit criminal acts of violence that would constitute a continuing threat to society."

If the jury answers yes to each question "beyond a reasonable doubt," then the person is sentenced to death.

Professor Black shows that the first two questions are simply rephrasings of the definition of murder, and presumably have already been answered yes in a guilty verdict.

The third question—proving "beyond a reasonable doubt" the probability of "a continuing threat to society"—is an invitation to bias and discrimination. It simply says: tell us who you don't like and we'll kill them. It is a license to lynch.

The frame-up

There is an additional aspect that Professor Black and many other opponents of the death penalty leave out. That is the frame-up.

It is a notorious fact that federal, state, and local governments, from one end of the country to the other, frequently accuse people of crimes they have



GILMORE

not committed, fabricate evidence, and send them to prison or death row. Sometimes the victims are political activists. At other times they're simply Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Indian, or poor.

Some people may prefer to believe that these frame-ups are mistakes. No matter. Mistakes or not, they occur often enough that we can say with certainty: If executions resume, many people will be killed for crimes they did not commit.

If someone is wrongly imprisoned, he or she can be later released and partial reparation made. But if someone is wrongly executed, there is no way to even partly correct the injustice.

Why reinstituted?

So the death penalty clearly is not a deterrent to violent crime. And it is not simply society's even handed retribution for such crime.

Why then did the Supreme Court reinstitute the death penalty?

The justices are fully aware of the inherent discrimination against minorities and the poor. They consciously reinstituted the death penalty as a weapon to help control these social groups.

That has been the function of the death penalty throughout history.

And it remains that way in capitalist America today.

Further reading

You can get more information on the death penalty by consulting the books and pamphlets listed below.

The Case Against the Death Penalty, by Hugo A. Bedau, American Civil Liberties Union, 22 East 40th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016.

The Case Against Capital Punishment, The Washington Research Project, 1823 Jefferson Pl. NW, Washington, D.C. 20036.

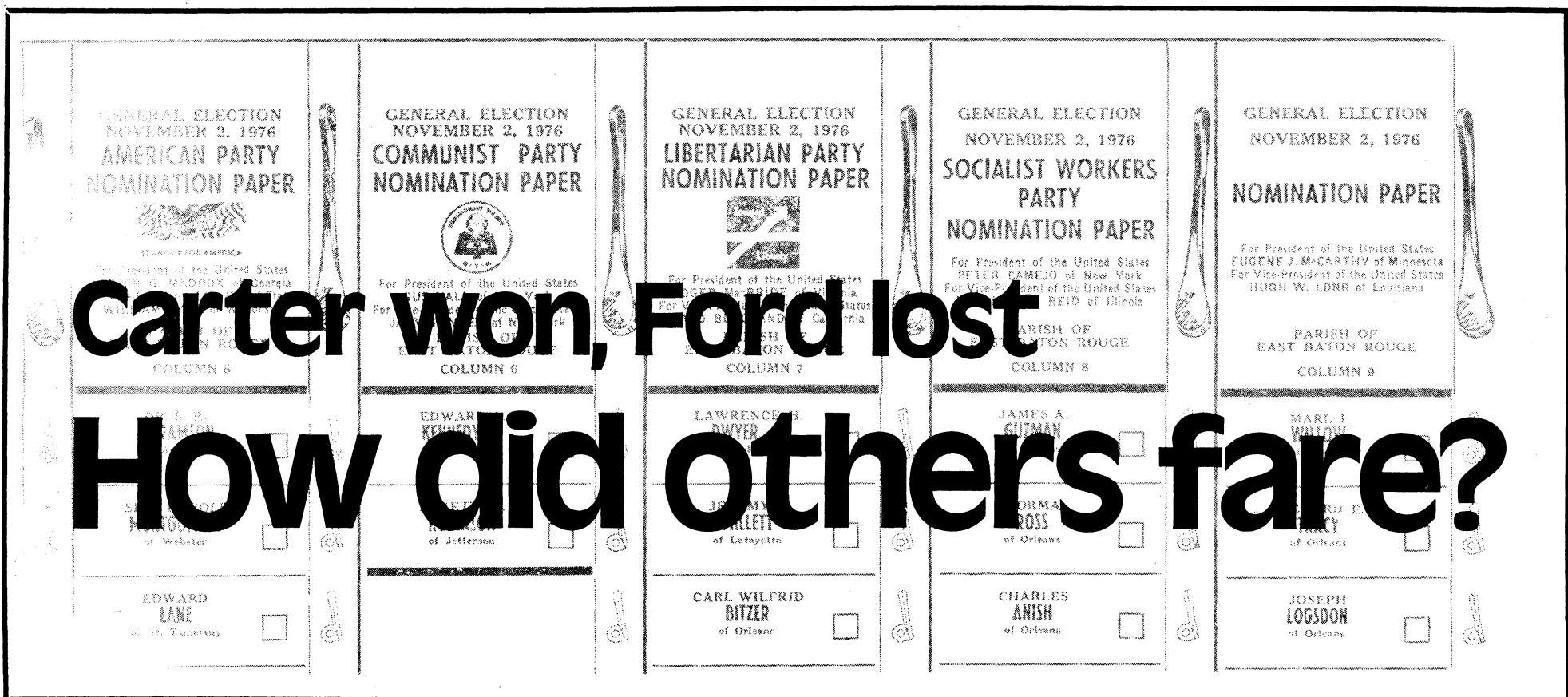
The Death Penalty in America, by Hugo A. Bedau, Doubleday Anchor Books.

Capital Punishment, ed. by J.A. McCafferty, Aldine Publishers.

Capital Punishment, ed. by T. Sellin, Harper & Row.

Capital Punishment: The Inevitability of Caprice and Mistake, by Charles L. Black, Jr., W.W. Norton & Co.





By Steve Wattenmaker

Just over 2 percent of the people who went to the polls November 2 voted for candidates other than Ford or Carter, according to the official tally released December 12.

Socialist Workers party candidates Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid received 90,109 votes, the highest of any working-class party in the election. The combined vote of the SWP, Communist party, Socialist party, and Socialist Labor party was 164,054.

Maverick Democratic party politician Eugene McCarthy, who ran a capitalist campaign independent of his

former party, got 745,042, or about 1 percent, of the total. People's party candidate Margaret Wright tallied 48,981.

Right-wing parties—Libertarians, remnants of the George Wallace movement now split into the American and American Independent parties, and the so-called U.S. Labor party—gathered 546,877 votes.

Voters unenthusiastic

As predicted, voter disenchantment with the two-party system was expressed in a record-low turnout on election day. National participation by

eligible voters was 53.3 percent—the lowest since 1948. In California, New York, Texas, and fifteen other states more than half of the electorate stayed away from the polls.

Curtis Gans, codirector of the Committee for the Study of the American Electorate, remarked after the election, "Americans . . . are voting with their bottoms—sitting out elections in increasing numbers, as if to say it doesn't make any difference."

Without the prospect of a photo finish on election day, the numbers "voting with their bottoms" might well have been even greater.

The growing percentage of nonvoters highlights the cynicism and distrust millions continue to feel toward both the Democratic and Republican parties. Nonetheless, the 1976 election didn't mark any break by working people from the capitalist parties.

While Carter was elected by only 27 percent of eligible voters, millions of working people—men and women, Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans—were persuaded to vote for the Democratic challenger.

At the urging of Black elected officials and other Black leaders, 94 percent of Blacks who voted cast ballots for Carter. Similar percentages were registered among Chicano and Puerto Rican voters.

Trade-union leaders such as Leonard Woodcock, president of the United Auto Workers, pledged that a Carter victory would bring a "Great New Era" for working people. The *New York Times* calculated that the AFL-CIO waged its biggest and most expensive campaign ever to get out the union vote for Carter.

With their skepticism running high, working people nevertheless hoped that Carter might at least provide some jobs, make a few concessions to women and minorities, and clean house after eight scandal-ridden years of Republican administration.

"Veto Ford" was the sentiment that carried working people to the polls—and Carter to the White House.

Behind the left vote

The vote for working-class parties remained small. Writing in the December 17 *New York Post*, columnist Clayton Fritchey dismissed these parties by echoing a familiar ruling-class refrain.

"Despite all the talk about Americans being disillusioned with the Republicans and Democrats," Fritchey wrote, "the final statistics indicate that voters are more dedicated than ever to the two-party system."

"It is difficult to think of any country in the free world where minor parties have come off so feebly."

A more honest appraisal begins by recognizing that the vote for working-class parties is stolen long before voters ever get to the polling place. The capitalist parties have spun a complex web of discriminatory laws and practices to prevent socialists from getting a fair hearing.

Socialist candidates face enormous hurdles to just get on the ballot. Discriminatory laws forced the Socialist Workers party to collect 600,000 signatures to appear on twenty-eight state ballots this year.

Other states—such as Jimmy Carter's home state of Georgia—have ballot requirements that are virtually impossible for smaller parties to fulfill.

Simply organizing to meet these requirements and to challenge unfair

Vote returns for minority parties

	Socialist Workers (Camejo)	Communist (Hall)	Socialist Labor (Levin)	Socialist (Zeldler)	McCarthy	People's (Wright)	Libertarian (McBride)	American (Maddox)	American Independent (Anderson)	U.S. Labor (La Rouché)
Ala.		1,954			103		1,481	9,198	72	
Alaska							6,773			
Ariz.	928				19,229			85	564	
Ark.					639				389	
Calif.	17,259	12,766			58,412	41,731	56,388	51,098		
Colo.	1,071	403	12		27,047		5,339		428	565
Conn.					3,759			7,101		1,789
Del.			86		2,433				645	136
D.C.							274			157
Fla.	545	219			23,644				21,325	
Ga.					832			1,053	1,069	
Hawaii							3,923			
Idaho							3,558	5,935		739
Ill.	3,615	9,250	2,442		55,939		18,057		14,048	2,018
Ind.	5,695									1,947
Iowa	267	554	167	234	20,051		1,452		3,040	241
Kan.					13,185		3,242	2,118	4,724	
Ky.	350	426			6,837		814	2,328	8,308	510
La.	1,473	7,417			6,490		3,134	10,058		
Maine					10,874					
Md.										
Mass.	8,138				65,637				7,555	4,922
Mich.	1,804		1,148		47,905	3,504	5,407			1,366
Minn.	4,149	1,091	370	354	35,490	635	3,529		13,561	543
Miss.	2,805				4,074		2,787	48,661	6,678	
Mo.					24,029					
Mont.									5,772	
Neb.					9,383		1,476	3,378		
Nev.							1,519	1,497		
N.H.	161		66		4,095		936			186
N.J.	1,184	1,662	3,686	469	32,717	1,044	9,449	7,716		1,650
N.M.	2,462			240			1,110			
N.Y.	6,996	10,270					12,197			5,413
N.C.					780		2,219		5,600	755
N.D.	43	85		38	2,952		256	269	3,698	142
Ohio	4,717	7,817	68		58,258		8,961	15,529		4,335
Okla.					14,101					
Ore.					40,296		1,519	1,497		
Pa.	2,998	1,889			50,265			25,370		2,737
R.I.	462	334	118				715			
S.C.								1,950	2,996	
S.D.	168	318					1,619			
Tenn.		547			5,004		1,375	2,303	5,769	512
Texas	1,723				20,118				11,442	
Utah	268	121			3,907		2,438	1,162	13,304	
Vt.	430				4,001					196
Va.	17,802						4,648		16,686	7,508
Wash.	905	817	713	358	36,989	1,124	5,402	8,585	5,046	903
W. Va.										
Wis.	1,691	749	389	4,298	34,943	943	3,814	8,552		738
Wyo.					624		89	30	290	
TOTALS	90,109	58,689	9,265	5,991	745,042	48,981	183,187	170,673	153,009	40,008

ballot laws takes thousands of dollars and hours—time and money the Democrats and Republicans are free to spend campaigning.

Laws also deny opposition parties the public financing that helped fill Democratic and Republican campaign chests.

State and federal financial disclosure laws, promoted as campaign "reform" measures, discourage contributions from individuals who fear government harassment if their donation to a socialist candidate is made public.

Socialist Workers campaign committees have refused to disclose the names of their contributors pending the outcome of an American Civil Liberties Union-sponsored lawsuit attacking the disclosure laws as unconstitutional.

Monopoly on media

Finally, working-class parties must fight for every inch of newspaper space and every minute of television time they get.

Federal equal time laws, which supposedly guarantee fair radio and

election, he entered the SWP vote as 1,723.

What happened to the other 9,733 votes? Texas officials say they are "checking."

In cities and towns across the country, election officials simply refuse to record the socialist vote.

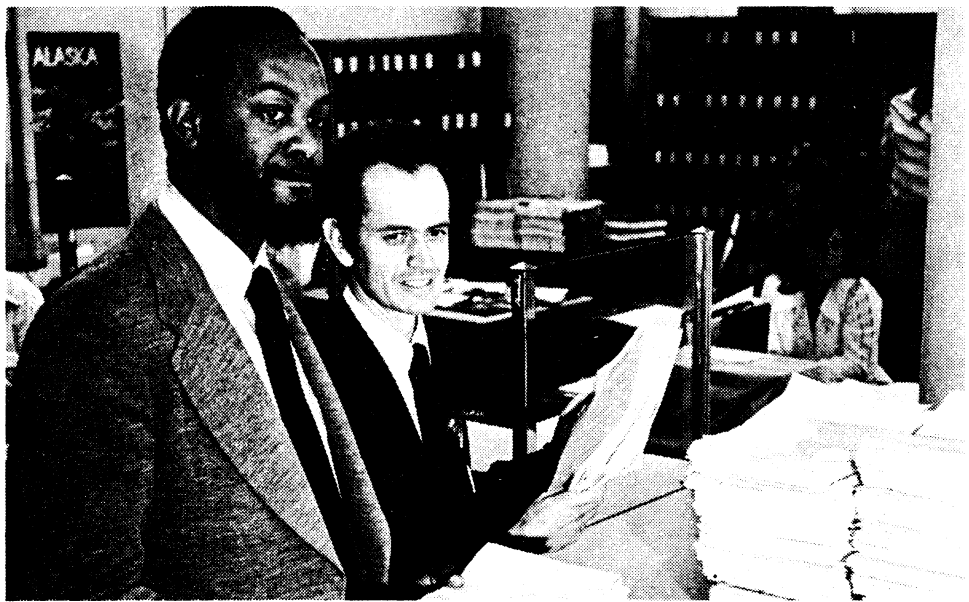
Typical of letters received recently by the SWP is one from a Rochester, New Hampshire, resident, who complained, "Even though I voted Socialist Workers, the official vote tally for the SWP in Rochester is zero. City officials only give me the runaround."

Local races

How socialists fared in the elections can also be judged in part by the vote for local SWP candidates. People are more often willing to cast a socialist vote for Congress or Senate than in a tightly contested presidential race.

Votes cast for SWP candidates for U.S. Senate totaled 157,299 in the ten states where they were on the ballot.

Omari Musa, a Black socialist running for Senate from California, and Ohio senatorial candidate Melissa



Militant/Harry Ring

Peter Camejo and Omari Musa turn in part of more than 300,000 signatures required by restrictive California law to put them on ballot for president and U.S. Senate.

television access to smaller parties, do little to break the Democrats' and Republicans' stranglehold on the media.

A U.S. Supreme Court decision this fall eroded even these equal time provisions by allowing television networks to cover the Ford-Carter debates without offering equal time to other candidates.

The most time-honored method of vote stealing, however, takes place on election day.

Shortly after the November 2 election, the Texas Election Bureau released the total SWP vote in the state as 11,456. Three weeks later when the Texas secretary of state certified the

Singler each received about 32,000 votes. SWP candidate Carol Henderson Evans totaled 24,097, or 1 percent of the vote, in the race for U.S. Senate from Massachusetts.

In Texas, SWP senatorial candidate Pedro Vázquez outpolled the right-wing American party by a vote of 21,280 to 17,828.

James "Mac" Warren took 2 percent of the vote for Congress in the predominantly Black Roxbury section of Boston. Warren was well known in Roxbury as a leader in Boston's school desegregation fight. His Democratic opponent, Joseph Moakley, is a vocal opponent of busing in Congress.

San Francisco child-care activist and SWP member Sylvia Weinstein tallied 20,577 votes as candidate for school board. Since this race was officially nonpartisan, Weinstein's name did not appear on the ballot under an SWP designation.

The most encouraging sign for the future, however, came from an important group of people who found another way to vote against capitalism in the 1976 elections—joining the Socialist Workers party.

Over the past two years hundreds of new members have been won to the ranks of the SWP. The party has expanded into more than twenty new cities.

And in the coming months, hundreds more who first heard about the SWP during the 1976 campaign will continue to vote socialist in that same way.

As one person wrote in a letter received by the SWP after the election: Mr. Camejo,

I am a member of United Auto Workers Local 1112 at Lordstown, Ohio. I have worked here for ten years and have become quite dissatisfied. I would like to join the SWP and do what I can. Please send me information on who to contact.

IQ research faked by racist psychologist

By Nancy Cole

WASHINGTON—Some twenty years after it should have happened, the racist and elitist theories of British psychologist Cyril Burt were recently shown to be pure and simple fraud.

Burt, who died in 1971, was the leading proponent of the view that intelligence is hereditary and not conditioned by environment.

Therefore, his argument went, children born into a life of poverty more frequently emerged with low IQs because they inherited them from low-IQ parents.

His unquestioned "research" was used to justify England's rigid school system. Under it, children were tested at age eleven and on the basis of their determined "intelligence" channeled into grammar or vocational schools.

Burt was regarded as the father of educational psychology. He was the first psychologist to be knighted. He received the American Psychological Association's Thorndike Prize.

Burt made up all his research.

There is no trace that the two research assistants he frequently cited for corroborative evidence ever existed. He favorably reviewed his own books, cited unpublished reports that couldn't be checked, and simply fabricated data.

His writings are heavily relied upon by racist theorists in this country who push their version of Burt's rot—that Blacks inherit inferior brains. Those pundits include William Shockley of Stanford, Arthur Jensen of the University of California, and Richard Herrnstein of Harvard.

Burt began the charade in 1955 with a report on twenty-one pairs of identical twins, who he claimed were reared in separate homes. Out of a possible correlation of 1.0 linking the twins' IQs, Burt claimed he found a high .771.

This supposedly meant it didn't matter under what social conditions children were raised or what kind of training or education they received. Their intelligence was predetermined at birth.

Three years later his group of twins had grown to thirty pairs, still with a correlation of .771. A final report in 1966 put the number at fifty-three pairs, amazingly with the same correlation, .771.

Nobody ever noticed this mathematically improbable consistency. Yet his theories were accepted and promoted in the highest levels of British institutions and government.

Until 1972, when a Princeton University psychologist, Leon Kamin, read Burt's papers. "It didn't take more than ten minutes of reading to begin to suspect that it was fraudulent," he said.

Kamin thinks he may be the only person ever to have read all of Burt's works. He found fakery in these psychological studies as far back as 1912.

The findings of Kamin and other scholars are causing quite a stir in England. One commentator called it "the most sensational charge of scientific fraud in this century."

The indictment of this official sanction of fake theories is even more powerful in that Burt never made an effort to mask his prejudice.

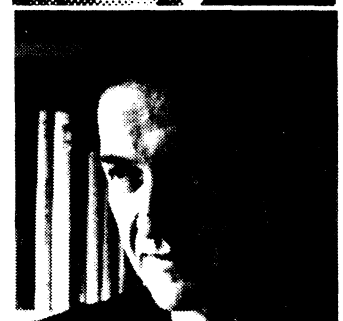
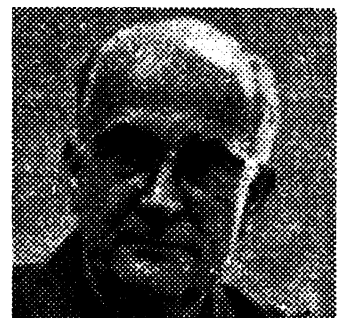
For instance, in one study he described a poor child as "a typical slum monkey with the muzzle of a paleface chimpanzee."

And Burt didn't leave it at that. Poor children weren't the only ones inherently stupid. He found Jews and Irish people less intelligent than the English. And men smarter than women.

At first it might appear incredible that a nation—one of the most "civilized" ones—would thrust a bigoted charlatan like Burt into national eminence. And then use his theories to mold its future generations.

But this is the kind of "science" promoted by the ruling rich. They need to divide working people along these lines—Black and white, men and women, poor and privileged.

So why not have a scientific theory to back them up?



Burt (left) and American peddlers of his racist theories. From top right: William Shockley, Arthur Jensen, and Richard Herrnstein.

Other totals

The Socialist Workers party called for a vote for a number of candidates who offered voters a working-class alternative to the Democrats and Republicans in races where SWP candidates were not running.

Most of these were candidates of the independent Chicano Raza Unida parties in California, New Mexico, Colorado, and Texas. The November 26 *Militant* provided a wrap-up of the RUP results.

In Detroit, the SWP called on people to vote for General Baker, the Communist Labor party's candidate for state legislature. Out of a total vote of 19,650, Baker polled 1,526 or 8 percent.

In Milwaukee, the SWP called for a vote for Michael McGee, a leader of the United Black Community Council. McGee placed fifth out of eleven candidates in the race for a vacant seat in the city council.

—S.W.

NY conference discusses socialism & feminism

By Roberta Scherr

NEW YORK—"As against all the pessimists and downgraders of the feminist movement—and despite what seems to be a slow pace of progress—we are actually witnessing the birth and growth of a mighty giantess, destined to shake and eventually overturn the old oppressive social order."

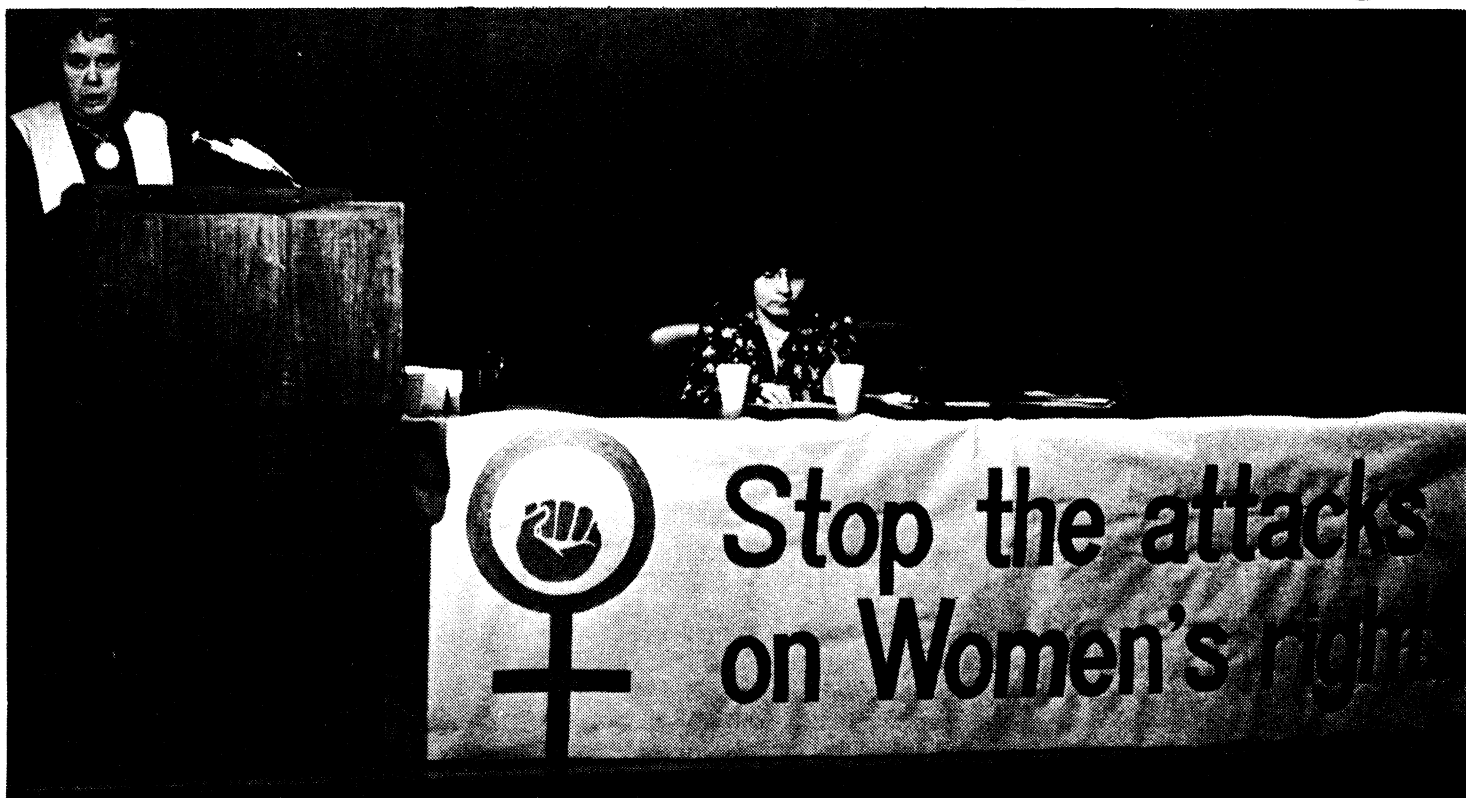
With these words Evelyn Reed expressed the theme of a women's liberation and socialism conference held here December 17-18. Reed, a Marxist anthropologist and leader of the Socialist Workers party, gave the keynote address to a crowd of 350 women and men at Columbia University Friday evening.

The conference, sponsored by the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), drew participants from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, Massachusetts, and Washington, D.C.

Many were members of campus feminist groups, chapters of the National Organization for Women (NOW), the Puerto Rican Socialist party and other organizations.

Reed gave an inspiring account of the first ten years of the "second wave" of feminism, describing its victories and setbacks as the beginning of a long fight requiring "patience and stamina."

"We are fighting a thoroughly ruthless, predatory capitalist system that



Evelyn Reed, speaking: 'The feminist movement is a mighty giantess.' Dianne Feeley seated.

Militant/Lou Howort

profits from the exploitation and degradation of women and workers."

Right now, Reed continued, the capitalist government is trying "to whittle down or take back" gains women have won in abortion rights, affirmative-action programs, and paid

maternity leaves.

Defense of these rights along with winning ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment are crucial issues facing all feminists, Reed emphasized.

The major weight holding back the women's movement today is the continued reliance on Democratic and Republican politicians by many feminists including NOW leaders. We can win our rights, she stressed, "only through the collective power of women in large public actions."

"What we have to do," Reed urged, "is mobilize masses of women in demonstrations, marches, picket lines" to defend the rights of working women and especially Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Chicanas, who are the first hit by the attacks.

"We say that full liberation of women cannot be achieved short of a revolutionary transformation of society from capitalism to socialism," Reed explained.

"But, we also say—and here we stand out from most other parties on the left—that socialism cannot be achieved without the active participation of masses of women fighting for their liberation.

"This means that it is absolutely essential for women to demand and

fight for every improvement, small and large, that can be wrested from a reluctant ruling class."

In addition to socialists helping to build a massive movement of women, Reed said, "We think that a revolutionary socialist party uniting all the oppressed . . . is needed to lead and carry through the struggle to rid the world of capitalist exploitation and oppression. . . ."

"That in fact is the kind of party the SWP is," Reed urged conference participants to join the SWP or YSA.

On Saturday women met in workshops. Reed led a discussion on the origins of women's oppression, fielding questions on her book *Woman's Evolution*.

Another group of women—led by Roberta Scherr, organizer of the Newark SWP, and Karen Stamm, from the Committee to End Sterilization Abuse—discussed how to defend legal abortion and fight forced sterilization.

Kipp Dawson of the Political Rights Defense Fund and Nancy Borman, co-publisher of *Majority Report*, described how the FBI has spied on the women's movement and attempted to split the movement by turning activists against one another.

Continued on page 26

Minority women speak out

A panel of Black and Puerto Rican women at the conference challenged the myth that women's liberation is a white, middle-class concern. Naomi Vega, a leader of the SWP in New York's Lower East Side, described the plight of Puerto Rican women, beginning with their low employment rate—only 28 percent in 1970. Along with race and sex discrimination, Vega said, Puerto Rican women are also kept out of jobs by the lack of child-care centers.

Dr. Helen Rodríguez from the Committee to End Sterilization Abuse spoke out against another tool in the ruling class's racist and sexist arsenal—forced sterilization. Four times as many Black women as white women are sterilized each

year, she reported. In Puerto Rico one-third of women of child-bearing age have been sterilized.

Pat Wright, a member of the SWP National Committee, blasted Congress's attempts to ban federally funded Medicaid abortions. "The Democrats and Republicans have hopes that if they strike at poor minority women, other women's rights advocates will not rally to their defense."

Cathy Sedwick, a leader of the YSA, agreed. She urged Black and Puerto Rican women to help spur the entire movement to fight in defense of the most oppressed women, saying, "We must become leaders of the feminist movement." —R.S.

Actions planned in defense of women's rights

By Ginny Hildebrand

Last week's *Militant* reported that feminists in New York; Indianapolis; Richmond, Virginia; Detroit; Atlanta; and Houston will begin 1977 with actions in defense of women's rights. This week, reports of January activities have come in from several additional cities.

January 22 is the fourth anniversary of the Supreme Court ruling legalizing abortion. Cleveland activists have targeted this date for a picket line at St. Johns Cathedral to protest attacks on abortion rights.

Anti-abortion demonstrators there have tried to halt abortions by pouring into clinics, blocking hallways and staircases. In Cleveland's west side the anti-abortion movement has used restrictive zoning laws to prevent the establishment of an abortion clinic.

Sponsors for the picket line include the Cleveland Abortion Rights Action League, Planned Parenthood, Socialist Workers party, and several abortion clinics and feminist groups.

The day after the picket line these groups will hold a public meeting that will include speeches and workshops on abortion rights.

In Tacoma, Washington, January 22 will be Abortion Defense Action Day.

Sixteen groups met to plan an educational speak-out for that date as a first step in organizing a visible and vocal campaign in defense of women's right to abortion.

Participating groups include the YWCA, Feminist Student Union at the University of Puget Sound, Puyallup Tribe, Tacoma Urban League, Young Socialist Alliance, Lesbian Coalition, and Pierce County Tacoma City Employees Local 120.

Seattle women's rights supporters will take to the streets January 22. Planners of the downtown abortion rights demonstration include the National Abortion Rights Action League, National Organization for Women (NOW), Socialist Workers party, Planned Parenthood, and American Civil Liberties Union.

On January 14 in that city, the Washington ERA Coalition will sponsor a teach-in at the Seattle Center. One of the featured speakers will be a leader from the ERA movement in Nevada, an unratified state.

In Washington, D.C., Karen DeCrow, national NOW president, will be the keynote speaker at a Rally for Women's Rights January 13. DeCrow will deliver the Women's State of the

Union Address to focus national attention on the unmet needs and rights of women.

Additional speakers at the George Washington University event will focus on women's right to control their own bodies, the ERA, and problems of working and minority women. At 7:00 p.m., before the speeches begin, the film *How We Got the Vote* will be

shown.

San Francisco NOW has initiated plans for a similar meeting January 11 at the Old First Presbyterian Church. Beginning at 7:00 p.m. speakers will discuss the ERA, affirmative action, forced sterilization of Chicanas, lesbian oppression, battered women, and racial images in the women's movement.

Women win maternity pay

Employers in New York State must provide women with paid maternity leaves. The state's highest court rendered this decision December 20. The ruling was based on a state statute, which was not affected by the U.S. Supreme Court's December 7 interpretation of federal law freeing employers from this responsibility.

Swayed by arguments that pregnancy compensation would cost employers \$1.6 billion annually, the Supreme Court had said that denying paid sick leave for pregnancy was not sex discrimination according to the Constitution or federal

law. The ruling provoked outrage among feminist and union groups.

In the New York case, three companies also argued on behalf of their profits. They pointed to a 1949 state Disability Benefits Law exempting absenteeism "caused by or arising in connection with a pregnancy."

However, citing the state's 1965 Human Rights Law, the New York Court of Appeals majority saw the issue as a clear-cut case of sex discrimination. The court's decision applies to all businesses with four or more employees, and it cannot be appealed to the Supreme Court.

World Outlook

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

DECEMBER 31, 1976

Hua Kuo-feng reveals issues in China purge: Mao's policy under fire

By Les Evans

When Chiang Ch'ing, Mao Tsetung's widow, and three other top leaders of the Chinese Communist party closely associated with the chairman were arrested and denounced in early October, there was no immediate indication of the political issues involved in the purge. The "gang of four" was accused of plotting to "usurp party and state power" and of seeking to "restore capitalism."

Now the Chinese press has launched a massive campaign to expose the "towering crimes" of the four. The campaign has turned into a broadside attack on the economic and cultural policies of the Mao regime over the last decade.

Hua Kuo-feng and the veteran party and government bureaucrats who support him have chosen thus far to carry out this turn in the name of "Mao Tsetung Thought." But under this cover the new Chinese leadership is admitting that the "politics in command" line of the Cultural Revolution had brought severe economic setbacks. In its place they are reviving many of the economic slogans associated with Liu Shao-ch'i and Teng Hsiao-p'ing. These have been long denounced in China and by Maoists throughout the world as the equivalent of "Soviet revisionism" and "capitalism."

The government is also broadly hinting that now that Mao is gone his austerity program will be scrapped and there will be a liberalization in culture and the arts.

Chiang Ch'ing was made deputy head of the all-powerful Cultural Revolution Group in May 1966. Her associates, Yao Wen-yuan, Chang Ch'un-ch'iao, and Wang Hung-wen, were Mao's chief lieutenants in purging the "capitalist-roaders," who were accused of putting "production in command."

Veiled attacks on Mao

Now the veteran administrators, humiliated by Mao, are taking their revenge.

An article in the Peking *People's Daily*, reprinted by the government news agency Hsinhua on November 10 declared:

They [the four] were busy making intrigues and conspiracies and created splits, allowing only those who bowed before them to survive and casting out those who resisted them. For years, the "gang of four" have committed countless crimes against the party and the people, losing all popular support and becoming extremely isolated. The whole nation celebrates their downfall. [Emphasis added.]

This clearly does not refer to a plot hatched after Mao's death or to acts during the last few months of his illness. Chinese readers will have little

difficulty in getting the message that if the dominance of the "gang of four" goes back "for years," the gang must have had a fifth member—the chief protector of the four, Mao Tsetung.

Now that Mao is gone, his successors appear to have arrested not only his widow, but most of his family as well.

Mao's dumping of many long-time officials during the Cultural Revolution, now criticized as a vindictive act, was not just a personality clash between Mao and his subordinates. It involved policy disputes on a number of questions, above all economic strategy and the handling of dissent among the masses.

Roots of bureaucracy

China, despite the overturn of capitalist property relations and the nationalization of basic industry, remains a poor and industrially backward nation. It lacks the industrial and cultural base for creating a socialist society, which is possible only on an international scale.

In an economy of general scarcity, the working masses resent the privileged life of the government and party officials and administrators. The bureaucracy, for its part, seeks to hold the masses in check by any means at its disposal while building up "its own" national economic base.

Viewed from the perspectives of world economy, the only long-term solution to the pressing contradiction between China's nationalized economy and its material poverty lies in an extension of the socialist revolution to one or more of the advanced industrial countries. In the interim, the best protection of the gains that have been made would rest on creating institutions of workers democracy in government and the economy.

China's Stalinist rulers have rejected this Marxist alternative. As a result the struggles that have erupted in the



CCP leadership over the last decade have focused on two conflicting panaceas for constructing a narrow, nationalistic bureaucratic utopia.

The "two lines" have never been openly debated in China. The regime has vacillated from one to another in response to economic setbacks or resistance from the masses. Whichever "line" is out of favor is denounced, in recent years as "capitalist restorationism."

The first line, identified after 1966 with the name of Liu Shao-ch'i, was imported into China by Soviet economic advisers in 1953. It was in force, with the exception of the 1958-59 period of the Great Leap Forward, until 1966. It stressed "material incentives," rapid industrialization, production efficiency, and reliance on large-scale imports of technology from abroad.

In 1957 the regime was deeply shaken by the outburst of mass criticism in the "Hundred Flowers Bloom" episode, the sluggishness of grain collections from the peasant countryside, and the widening gap between the rising expectations of the city masses and the actual performance of the economy.

Mao proposed a dramatic shift to a policy of "politics in command." In the name of "moral incentives," this line called for a drastic freezing of the standard of living of the masses to free up funds for investment. It sought to

substitute a "voluntary" unpaid labor mobilization for technology. And it placed top priority on the inculcation of "loyalty" to the regime, even at the cost of setbacks in industrial output. Because this line involved continuous "mass campaigns" and local meetings to denounce "class enemies," many apologists for Maoism have presented this policy as a socialist alternative to the bureaucratic practices of the government of the Soviet Union.

In fact, Mao's mind-over-matter tactics proved to be an economic disaster. The Great Leap Forward ended in an economic reversal in China that was not overcome until 1962. The setback was aggravated by bad weather and the withdrawal of Soviet aid in 1960, but many of the party leaders held Mao's policy largely responsible for the problems. Defense Minister P'eng Te-huai told a party plenum in 1959:

In the view of some comrades, putting politics in command was a substitute for everything. . . . But putting politics in command is no substitute for economic principles, much less for concrete economic measures. [Cited by Stanley Karnow, *Mao and China*, p. 110.]

P'eng was purged for his criticisms, but the Peking leadership today is echoing him almost word for word against Mao's imprisoned lieutenants.

A November 12 Hsinhua dispatch quotes a "veteran steel worker" at the

Continued on next page



HUA KUO-FENG: Laying cornerstone of Mao's tomb.

Hua Kuo-feng reveals issues in China purge...

Continued from preceding page

Maanshan Iron and Steel Company in Anhwei province, who criticizes the "gang of four" as follows:

Experience in the struggle has taught us the profound lesson that, by merely raising empty revolutionary slogans without a powerful socialist economic base, the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be consolidated and the modernization of China's agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology and the lofty goal of communism can never be realized.

A secretary of a workshop party branch is quoted as saying:

... The anti-party "gang of four" always tried to sabotage production by hook and by crook. They hurled such serious charges as "practising the theory of productive forces"* and "not placing politics in command" at us. Actually these bourgeois careerists and conspirators were unleashing poisonous arrows of idealism and metaphysics at us with the obvious aim of fooling the masses so that they could usurp party and state power.

The November 14 Peking *People's Daily* generalized these accusations:

The "gang of four" advocated metaphysics frantically. With ulterior motives, they opposed revolution to production, politics to economy, class struggle to the struggle for production, and the dictatorship of the proletariat to socialist construction. They were against promoting production and construction. This would not only impede the expansion of production, but inevitably undermine the great cause of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. According to their logic, when the "satellites go up into the sky", the red flag would inevitably "trail in the dust". If the 800 million people want to "make revolution", they should feed themselves only with northwest wind.

Such an appeal for giving economic construction top priority has not been heard in China since the fall of Liu Shao-ch'i a decade ago. The very suggestion of such a thing was grounds for being branded a capitalist agent. In the purge of Teng Hsiao-p'ing last April, for example, a major article in *Peking Review* lumped Teng

*The so-called theory of productive forces was first announced in China during the Cultural Revolution. It was a criticism not only of Liu Shao-ch'i but of the whole Marxist theory of the priority of objective conditions and material reality. This, it was alleged, led to fatalism, a substitution of "production" for "class struggle," and the preservation—or restoration—of capitalism. Marx, Engels, and Lenin were not criticised by name, but the official texts attributed the theory to Karl Kautsky, Leon Trotsky, the "Soviet revisionists," and Liu Shao-ch'i.

Essentially this view is an antimaterialist and subjectivist outlook, similar to but more crude than the views of subjectivist "Marxists" such as Herbert Marcuse, who hark back to the pre-Marxist utopian socialists.

Mao seems to have developed this notion at the time of the Sino-Soviet split as a means of overcoming—in the mind—the impossible problem of constructing "socialism" solely within the borders of China. One of his most explicit statements of this view appears in his "Reading Notes on the Soviet Union's *Political Economy*," a criticism he wrote in the early 1960s of a Soviet textbook. This was published in China unofficially in 1967 during the Cultural Revolution. There Mao wrote:

"Lenin said: 'The more backward the country, the more difficult the transition from capitalism to socialism.' Now it seems that this way of thinking is incorrect... the more backward the economy, the easier... the transition... In western capitalist countries both the employment rate and the wage standard are relatively high and the bourgeois influence on the working people has been far-reaching. It looks as if it is not that easy to carry out socialist transformation in those countries... The important question is the remoulding of human beings" (cited by Richard Levy, "New Light on Mao," *China Quarterly*, March 1975).



Bicycles used to move freight in Peking: 'empty revolutionary slogans' cannot substitute for economic base.

together with Liu Shao-ch'i on these grounds:

Their vain attempt was to lure the masses and cadres to become engrossed in production and vocational work and forget class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat so that they could restore capitalism with ease. [April 23, 1976.]

The case of Teng Hsiao-p'ing

Significantly, the criticism of Teng has virtually disappeared from the Chinese press. Since November 10, specific accusations against Teng have been dropped. The "campaign to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing" is now mentioned only to add the accusation that it was distorted by the "gang of four" for their own ends. The November 28 *New York Times* reported that wall posters have appeared in Canton signed by the city's foreign trade department staff, saying, "Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping is a warrior who opposed the gang of four." It was also reported that rumors are widespread that Teng has returned to Peking from a resort near Canton and is in discussion with party leaders.

There is no reliable information on which to base estimates of the personal and political relationships within the secretive inner councils of the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy. Differences can be judged only from the publicly announced shifts in policy and the denunciations of fallen bureaucrats. Nevertheless there is reason to believe that China's late premier, Chou En-lai, sought a revision of economic policy before Mao's death.

In his "Report on the Work of the Government" delivered to the Fourth National People's Congress on January 13, 1975, Chou declared:

On Chairman Mao's instructions, it was suggested in the report on the work of the government to the Third National People's Congress [held in 1964] that we might envisage the development of our national economy in two stages beginning from the Third Five-Year Plan: The first stage is to build an independent and relatively comprehensive industrial and economic system in 15 years, that is before 1980; the second stage is to accomplish the comprehensive modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology before the end of the century, so that our national economy will be advancing in the front ranks of the world. [*Peking Review*, January 24, 1975.]

The 'four modernizations'

This ambitious proposal, which contained no details of how such rapid industrialization was to be accomplished, has come to be known under the slogan of the "Four Modernizations." This placing of economic construction as a high priority was noted at the time as a departure from the line of the Cultural Revolution. The "instruc-

tions" cited by Chou dated from 1964, from the period since denounced as under the revisionist sway of Liu Shao-ch'i. Mao did not attend the 1975 congress.

In the months following the congress, the "Four Modernizations" came under attack. They were ultimately identified with Teng Hsiao-p'ing, who had been rehabilitated by Chou after ten years in disgrace as Liu Shao-ch'i's chief lieutenant.

There is some evidence that Teng's downfall was precipitated by his raising sharp criticisms of Mao's economic strategy and calling attention—in the inner-circle—to the perilous state of the economy. A week before Teng was dismissed, wall posters were put up in Peking attacking him for his comments on the economy and recounting statements attributed to him. These quotations were supposed to be self-evident condemnations of his position. They included statements such as:

Throughout the country, in some counties and some districts, grain production is still not up to the level of the early days after liberation [1949]. This is an extraordinary situation and it's worth our while to watch closely. At present, in the rural areas, the economics of 15 per cent of the socialist collectives have collapsed and in some counties this goes up to around 20 per cent. [Translation from photographs of the wall posters, *Toronto Globe and Mail*, March 29, 1976.]

Now we have these people coming around and criticizing the study of [scientific and

technological] theory even in scientific academies. We are making transistors but in Japan they take 2,000 transistors and replace them with only one [an integrated circuit]. This shows that our theoretical work leaves something to be desired... At present scientific and technical experts don't even read books. How can we catch up to advanced world levels this way? [Ibid.]

There's nothing to be afraid of in being a little bit of a white expert [as opposed to a "red revolutionary"]. It deserves praise... Everybody is afraid of following the white expert road. The young ones are afraid and the old ones are even more afraid. Thus our technology is backward. [Ibid.]

At present in our Party there's a very peculiar situation. Many comrades are afraid of this and afraid of that; the only thing they are not afraid of is that economic development will not be done well. I hope that everybody can follow the spirit of the Fourth National People's Congress and modernize this country within this century. [Ibid.]

Teng's dismissal for these heresies was attributed to no less than Mao himself. The Chinese press emphatically denied Teng's allegations and advanced the claim that not only was the economy prospering but that criticizing Teng improved production.

Today, however, the government has admitted that the situation has been much as Teng Hsiao-p'ing described it. And more "criticism" campaigns are not likely to provide any solution.

The November 22 *Liberation Army Daily* reported that workers "are striving to make up for the losses in time and material wealth caused by interference and sabotage by the 'gang of four.'"

Provincial radio broadcasts picked up by Western reporters give more details of the slowdown than the Chinese press. A broadcast from Kwangtung Province, reported in the November 3 *New York Times*, announced a provincial growth rate of only 4.4 percent this year; the national average was reported at 7 percent. The average increase for the decade 1964-74 was reported by Chou En-lai to be 10 percent a year.

Ferment in the factories

In part, of course, the four are being falsely blamed for China's mounting labor discontent. Wang Hung-wen, for example, is now accused of fomenting the massive Hangchow strikes that took place in the summer of 1975. The November 22 *New York Times* reports a broadcast from Kiangsi Province blaming the four for worker disputes there that closed a major tractor factory for ten months this year.

On November 21, broadcasts from the coastal province of Fukien reported the most serious disturbances to date, announcing that the People's Liberation Army had gone to the assistance of local authorities:

... the party committee of the People's Liberation Army units on the Fukien front has organized large numbers of commanders and fighters into propaganda and mass work teams and dispatched them to various cities, rural villages, factories, mines, government offices, schools and neighborhoods of our province to vigorously support local work and enthusiastically propagate the instructions of the party central committee.

In October there were reports of armed clashes between local authorities in Fukien and unnamed persons.

As in the Cultural Revolution, as the authority of the central government declines it falls back more and more on the military as a bulwark of its rule. The new mayor of Shanghai, appointed by the center, is Su Ch'en-hua, head commissar of the navy.

Hua Kuo-feng has not limited his reorganization to the effort to get the economy running and to restore "law



Because Mao's line involved continuous 'mass campaigns,' many apologists for his policies claimed they were a socialist alternative to bureaucratic practices in USSR.

...Mao Tsetung's policies are under attack

and order." His government is plagued with a crisis of legitimacy and a revolution of rising expectations among the Chinese masses.

People expect an improvement in their living standards after the long wage freeze under Mao. Now that Mao is gone they are impatient to see immediate improvements. Visitors to Chinese cities report a buying spree in expectation of wage raises and a renewal of material incentives.

So far, the government has made no genuine concessions, but it has broadly hinted that these are coming soon. A November 4 Hsinhua dispatch promised the long-suffering peasantry a "general advance along the road of common prosperity."

Literature and art

The most concrete promises have been for a relaxation in the field of literature and art. The Chinese press is now paraphrasing Teng Hsiao-p'ing's sarcastic comment that the cultural policy of recent years has been to "let a single flower bloom."

A November 5 Hsinhua dispatch made a wholesale attack on the government's policy on literature and art, which has been under Chiang Ch'ing's direction for the last decade:

They [Chiang Ch'ing, et al.] practised an unscrupulous sectarianism in literary and art circles, developed a coterie that ganged up to advance their own interests so that literary and art circles would become their



TENG HSIAO-P'ING: Denunciations of him have virtually disappeared.



SCENE FROM CHINESE OPERA: Hua has promised relaxation of Mao's stifling policies in literature and arts.

"gang-dominated domain". . . .

They trumped up charges against a great number of revolutionary literary and art workers and persecuted them and suppressed a great number of good or fairly good artistic works, including [the film] "Pioneers", which were created at great effort by artists trying to carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in literature and art. . . .

This doesn't sound at all like the odes to China's "art that serves the workers" we have heard so much of from Western Maoists in the last few years.

But no matter how bad things have been up until now, the author promises a change for the better in the future:

We must fight to usher in the bright springtime in which a hundred flowers of socialist literature and art blossom together.

This slogan, which has been rarely heard in recent years, is plainly intended to assure the Chinese people that a liberalization is in the offing now that the Mao-Chiang Ch'ing stranglehold is broken. We may have a glimpse of how far Hua is willing to go, however, in a report on "Northwest China peasant painters" issued by Hsinhua a few days later, on November 8. The blossoming Hua is prepared to encourage can be gauged from the new artworks on display in Sian. These include murals with titles such as "Down With the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao Anti-Party Clique" and "The Ferreting Out of the 'Gang of

Four' Is Much to the Satisfaction of the People."

In junking the economic strategy of the Cultural Revolution, Hua leaves Maoist "theory" in a shambles. He has cut the ground out from under the principal Maoist theoretical justification for internal repression: that debate over economic policies contains the imminent threat of capitalist restoration, or that Liu Shao-ch'i's policies in particular were capitalist. By extension, this strips of all credibility the Maoist claim that the Soviet Union is a "capitalist" state.

Hua has more immediate concerns at the moment. Within the narrow options of "socialism in one country" he is trying to restore technical professionalism to China's blighted economy and to revive workers' enthusiasm with the carrot of material incentives. This approach gives more place to material reality than Mao's voluntaristic forced march. But it remains a mere technical shift within the Stalinist straitjacket. In rejecting support to the world revolution and the perspective of an international socialist economy, the Chinese bureaucracy turns inevitably toward aid from and dependence upon imperialism, at the price of an alliance against the world revolution.

In this area as in others, Hua has announced a change in policy following Mao's death. Mao, rejecting the very idea that productive forces are the necessary basis for the construction of a planned economy, proclaimed a

xenophobic policy of "self-reliance." He sought aid and trade from imperialism, but feared going into debt to foreign creditors or becoming economically dependent on foreign suppliers. Hua is apparently less worried about this. A *People's Daily* article reported by Hsinhua in a November 22 dispatch took on the "gang of four" (read: Mao Tsetung) for confusing "self-reliance" with a "closed door" policy.

The four are said to have "slandered the efforts to introduce some necessary advanced technologies and equipment from abroad in a planned way on the basis of self-reliance as the 'slavish comprador' philosophy and 'trailing behind at a snail's pace' and as advocates of the 'Westernization movement.' . . .

"Enterprises which import foreign equipment also keep to the principle of independence and self-reliance."

'Open door'

More concrete is a report by Christopher H. Phillips, president of the National Council for U.S.-China Trade, following lengthy meetings with Peking's foreign trade minister, Li Ch'iang, shortly after the purge. Li "indicated that China is interested in buying fully constructed American plants, machinery, technical information, lumber products and possibly cotton," according to a report in the October 27 *Washington Post*.

When Hua announces that self-reliance is not a "closed door" policy he cannot be unaware of the significance of this slogan in China's history. It was under the call for an "open door" that American imperialism sought to carve up China in the nineteenth century and to lay its claim to a share of the vast Chinese market.

When Hua says that he is against a "closed door" he is not redefining "self-reliance" but making a bid to American imperialism. Peking has shown that it is willing to pay a high price for the privilege of being allowed to open its doors to American aid and trade. That is the main point of its endorsement of NATO and of Japanese rearmament and of American client dictatorships throughout the world.

This line is not only counterrevolutionary outside of China. It is a pipedream to believe that the capitalist masters of Washington will offer enough aid to solve China's economic problems no matter what Peking promises in return.

...Argentina

Continued from page 22

the auto workers union or to the region of the Federal Capital or Greater Buenos Aires. Rather, it extended to several different trade unions and to other industrial centers, such as La Plata, Rosario, and San Lorenzo.

2. The fact that the vanguard of the resistance was located in the industrial belt of Buenos Aires is of major importance. This sector represents the overwhelming majority of the proletariat.

3. As the mobilization began to develop, the government hurriedly sought out the bureaucracy for help. Many former delegates surfaced again, trying to divert and slow down the struggle. The power of the movement on the one hand and the disagreements within the government on trade-union policy on the other prevented any negotiation from being concretized.

4. The mobilization provoked a crisis at all levels of the government, exacerbating the differences within the bourgeoisie. For some days, this completely obstructed their ability to respond.

5. A resolute counteroffensive by the government was possible in part because the mobilization completely lacked organization. Each factory was isolated from the rest. At times, even sections within a given factory were isolated from each other. Closely linked to this was the lack of a *political plan* with a working-class perspective that would have been capable of uniting the broad movement for wage increases with all oppressed sectors of society.

Martínez de Hoz's reaffirmation of his economic plan came one week after the movement had been stopped through repression and the promise of raises in the form of awards.³

6. It also took place at a time when the main companies had granted raises in the form of bonuses or other benefits to circumvent the official ban. This represented an objective gain of

the mobilization.

One week later Martínez de Hoz made a special announcement that there would be no raises until next year, expressly prohibiting any concealed form of wage increase. Although he made some companies pull back, this merely confirmed the tremendous weakness of his economic plan and of the entire political plan it rests on. For fear of a "wage avalanche," it cannot even tolerate the raises the companies themselves were willing to give.

Hatred for the dictatorship is growing in the thousands of workers who had registered a wage gain only to see the government take it away from them.

To rebuild the organizations of the workers movement and to develop a political response to the dictatorship, it is essential to halt the repression. It is

3. The most significant of the "awards" granted was the return to a five-day workweek. Following the March 24 coup, auto manufacturers had cut the workweek and implemented forced, unpaid "vacations."—IP

clear that more than a year ago the bourgeoisie came to the conclusion that the political crisis would not be reversed without the physical elimination of the vanguard of the working class. Using the convenient excuse of the fight against the guerrillas, they have adopted the methods of civil war to eliminate that vanguard and then to attempt to crush the class as a whole.

The defense of human and democratic rights is a banner the proletariat must take up and place in the forefront in all its struggles. The majority of the country's population views with horror the average of ten deaths a day, the concentration camps in army outbuildings, and the unknown number of political prisoners—estimated at 20,000. They must be lined up behind that banner.

The defense of democratic freedoms is the most effective way to gain ground in the political struggle against the dictatorship. It is an inescapable duty for the preservation of the workers' right to organize and, moreover, a magnificent chance to advance the consciousness and political education of the workers movement.

Growing resistance to junta

Gloomy prognosis for Argentine economy

By D. Marcelo

BUENOS AIRES—After less than six months in power, the Argentine military dictatorship faced in early September all the elements that shape a serious governmental crisis.

All sectors of the capitalist class identify with the "basic aims" of the March 24 coup.¹ But for a time the strikes and protests² that erupted in September converted that support into a welter of criticism and opposition—in tones ranging from the most timid to the most outspoken.

With the explicit and repeated support of the three commanders in chief, Economics Minister José Martínez de Hoz spoke over the government radio and television chain to make it clear his economic plan was still in effect. He explained that the slightest wage increase would destroy the plan, and asked for patience with current wage levels until January 1, 1977.

The strikes were halted through a

economics minister and all the government's plans.

The most important reason why the bourgeois opposition subsequently toned down its criticisms of the junta was precisely the confirmation—to them surprising—that the workers movement had not been defeated. They realized that a show of political weakness by the government, revealing the deep divisions among the bourgeois forces and the military command, could have unforeseeable consequences.

This in and of itself shows that the crisis has at best been postponed, not resolved.

Gloom in high places

At a recent panel discussion on the recession and inflation, with representatives present from three important companies—Fiat, Pasa (Petroquímica Argentina), and Alpargatas Textiles—one of the most esteemed bourgeois economists stated:

We must be conscious of the fact that we have a model that is essentially unstable, as it is set up now. We cannot consider a reduction of real wages on the order of 20%, 30%, or 40% in one year. That is impossible. Thus, the question is not whether we increase wages. Rather it is, if we increase wages, what do we do with the economy? [*Carta Política*, September 1976, p. 37.]

This declaration of helplessness sums up perfectly the situation facing the dictatorship.

Seen from the point of view of the economics minister, his aims have already been met. That is, there has been a merciless shift of income favoring the big land holders, and finance capital has negotiated some juicy deals.

But seen from the bourgeois vantage-point of the needs of the national economy as a whole and even the very objectives posed by the minister, the economic plan has already failed on all counts. And during the coming months the situation will get worse.

Failure of economic plan

The program has failed on three fundamental questions—inflation, the national budget, and the foreign sector.

Prices are rising after some months in which the minister had succeeded in confusing a paralysis of the economy with containment of inflation. Even during the recession of June, July, and August, the monthly increase in the money supply hovered around 18%. And the inflation rate for September



ARGENTINE AUTO WORKERS DEMONSTRATION: 'The coup has not broken the course of proletarian radicalization.'

appears to be substantially higher than in the previous months.

In foreign trade, the only success Martínez de Hoz can show is the positive balance of trade in the first eight months of the year—\$500 million. But this is a dubious success because it is based on a \$700 million reduction in imports—a result of the industrial recession—and a liquidation of cattle that forced the minister to take steps to restrict the process.

With regard to foreign investment, all that is necessary is to quote one paragraph from a document by Arturo Frondizi and Rogelio Frigerio, the two main leaders of the Movimiento de Integración y Desarrollo [MID—Movement for Unity and Development]:

Concretely, there is not the slightest perspective for foreign investments or for a favorable evolution of the trade balance in the coming fiscal year (*La Opinión*, September 23).

And while the voice of the opposition is categorical, that of the government is no less pessimistic:

In the course of the last few weeks a setback to future international loans for Argentina has come from organizations the United States is part of. It is thought that the American vote, based on a U.S. congressional amendment dealing with countries supposedly contravening human rights, could block some plans (*El Cronista Comercial*, September 28).

Working-class resistance

Part of the offensive against the workers movement has been a steep increase in speedup. For example, at General Motors the workers complain that 1,000 men are now turning out eighty-four vehicles a day, while two months ago 2,000 workers produced seventy-four a day. At Ford, workers in the different divisions report that the

tempo of production has increased between 20% and 45%.

Moreover, troops are stationed inside the factories, the workers have no representation or trade-union rights of any kind, and they live under the constant threat of being laid off without compensation.

In this context, the importance of the recent mobilizations of the working class after six months of inaction cannot be minimized. On the contrary, their actions take on heroic dimensions. The workers who headed the struggle were conscious of the fact that they faced being laid off, jailed, tortured, and quite possibly killed at the hands of the paramilitary gangs. They acted without any sort of legal guarantees and without any sort of national, regional, or even factory organization.

This inspiring example of resistance by the working class punctures the predictions of those who rushed to say that our class had been defeated for a long period.

The proletariat has shown with these mobilizations that the coup did not break either its class structure or the course of radicalization it has been on for several years. In addition, while it is possible to speak of "passivity" during the first six months of the dictatorship, there were innumerable signs of resistance.

During that time, what we could call *passive resistance* won two important victories. First, it prevented the layoffs, which were very numerous, from becoming massive enough to resolve the crisis. Second, through constant and growing pressure, it prevented the bureaucracy from negotiating with the military officials who had taken over the CGT [Confederación General del Trabajo—General Confederation of Labor] and the trade unions. It forced the bureaucracy in an indirect way to raise demands that were unacceptable to the dictatorship.

As a result, like a character off stage on whom the whole plot of a tragedy depends, the proletariat placed limits on all the steps taken by the dictatorship.

The September mobilizations were only a signal that this central character was coming on stage. Nonetheless, they managed to shake the very underpinnings of the military regime.

Although we have not as yet been able to make a precise evaluation of the national impact of the mobilization, we can certainly draw a few conclusions:

1. The movement was not limited to

Continued on page 21



GEN. JORGE VIDELA

combination of promises, layoffs, jailings, kidnappings, and the active presence of army troops in all the big automobile factories. The criticisms from different sectors of the bourgeoisie were muted by the political support brought into play by Martínez de Hoz.

But the evident origin of this crisis is the resistance of the working class to the offensive of Martínez de Hoz's economic plan.

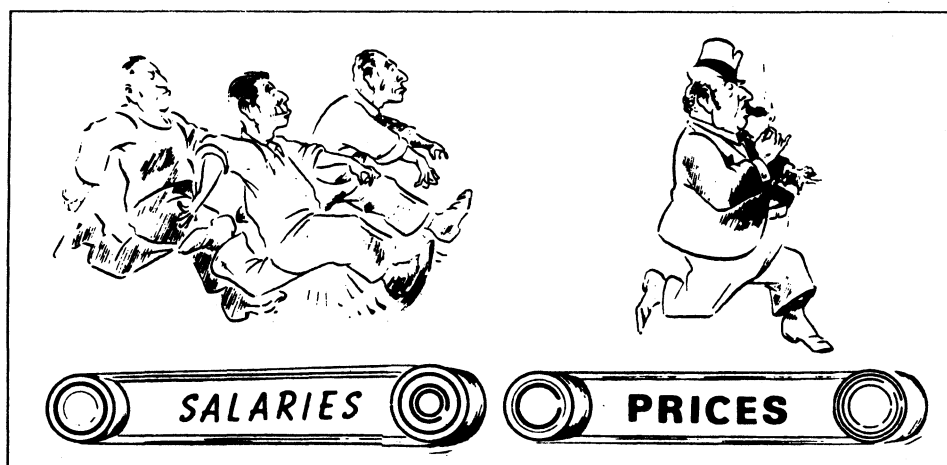
Inflation

At the beginning of September, in terms of buying power the wages of the working class were down 40% from what they were in March. According to the phony official statistics, inflation rose from 4% in July to 9% in August.

The obvious unrest among the ranks of the working class led the government to grant a 12% wage increase starting September 1. However, the step backfired and provoked a reaction among the workers that shook both the

1. The date General Jorge Videla seized power.—IP

2. A wave of strikes, mainly among auto workers, took place in early September protesting an insufficient wage increase granted by the Videla regime September 1.—IP



Vadillo/Siempre

South Africa convicts Black student rebels

By Peter Seidman

On December 15 a South African court found nine leaders of the South African Students Organisation and the Black People's Convention guilty of conspiracy to endanger law and order.

The decision by Judge Wessel Boshoff ended the longest trial ever held



Durban police attack striker in 1973, year SASO leaders were arrested.

under South Africa's Terrorism Act.

For seventeen months, prosecutors for the racist, apartheid government spent \$300,000 trying to prove their main charge that the defendants conspired to "transform the State by unconstitutional, revolutionary and/or violent means."

Judge Boshoff found the nine not guilty on eleven of the thirteen counts against them. In April, Boshoff had explained that "As I see it, the whole trial turns on whether BPC used Black consciousness to prepare the masses for violence."

However in his decision, Boshoff found the defendants not guilty on this charge.

In explaining his verdict, according to the December 16 *New York Times*, Boshoff said the trial had made it clear that the student leaders' aim was "to achieve the total liberation of the black man, and to bring about a total change of the political, social and economic system of the republic."

The judge noted that the tactics used by SASO and BPC were rallies and demonstrations, not the sabotage and terrorism they had been charged with.

He added, "In the case of the blacks, we must remember that if they use language which may seem to be unnecessarily strong, they have no

effective voice or vote and can only protest against what they might regard as grievances."

The nine defendants—Sathasivan "Saths" Cooper, Muntu Myeza, Mosiuoa Lekota, Aubrey Mokoape, Nkwenkwe Nkomo, Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, Kaunda Sedibe, Zitulele Cindi, and Strinivasa Moodley—face a minimum of five years in prison when sentenced by the Supreme Court.

All nine have been in jail for more than two years. They were arrested during a witch-hunt launched after 4,000 to 5,000 Blacks demonstrated in Durban September 25, 1974, in solidarity with the independence struggle in Mozambique.

The nine are among the hundreds arrested who belong to organizations that subscribe to the views of the nationalist current known as the Black Consciousness movement.

Their case, sometimes referred to as the "Trial of Black Consciousness," focused attention on what South Africa's Minister of Justice, Police, and Prisons James Kruger referred to as Pretoria's war against "terrorism of the spirit."

None of the charges against the nine under the broad provisions of the Terrorism Act were based on any actions they were said to have under-

taken against the regime. Instead, the defendants were on trial for their political beliefs.

The "evidence" and exhibits at the trial ran to more than 1,000 pages of speeches, poems, plays, resolutions, and other writings produced by the Black Consciousness movement over a period of several years.

Under the terms of the Terrorism Act, the defendants were required to prove that this material was not likely to "embarrass the administration of the affairs of State," "promote general dislocation, disturbance or disorder," "cause substantial financial loss to any person or the State," "cause further feelings of hostility between White and other inhabitants of the Republic," or "hamper, or deter any person from assisting in the maintenance of law and order."

The nine defendants used the trial to defend their right to their political views. They knew they spoke for the masses of South African Blacks in opposing the apartheid regime. This growing upsurge of the South African freedom struggle has inspired massive sympathy around the world. The increasing isolation of Pretoria in world opinion helped set the stage for Judge Boshoff's rejection of the state's main charge against the defendants.

Leader of Soweto upsurge blasts U.S. policies

By Vince Eagan

"I am calling on you to get your country out of my country and stop America from identifying itself with the racist regime."

Exiled South African student leader Tsietsi Mashinini brought this message to audiences in New York, Washington, Philadelphia, and Amherst, Massachusetts during an eleven-day U.S. speaking tour. The tour was sponsored by the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR) with the collaboration of the American Committee on Africa (ACOA) and its affiliate, the Washington Office on Africa.

Mashinini was president of the Soweto Students Representative Council. He was forced to flee South Africa for his role in organizing the June 16 student demonstrations that sparked the current upsurge in the freedom struggle by South African Blacks against the apartheid regime. Mashinini currently lives in London.

Mashinini began his presentations by stressing the importance of the Soweto protests for the entire African freedom struggle: "I have seen Soweto. I have lived Soweto. I have died Soweto. I am Soweto. Soweto was all of us."

He provided a moving eyewitness account of the violence and brutality of the blood-soaked Vorster government.

Mashinini described how he "saw a little Black girl raise her fist in a Black Power salute to a passing antiriot vehicle. The white policeman who was driving the van got out of the van and opened fire . . . pumping her full of twenty bullets."

The student leader told his audiences that he saw a deep bitterness and a rising militancy among the masses of South African Blacks. He said he believed this would lead to new waves of struggle in the near future. He also reported on the current activities of the Students Representative Council he had led. The November 19 *New York*

Times described this body as the "shadow government" in Soweto.

Mashinini said Americans should support the March 25-26 national protests against U.S. complicity with apartheid. These protests were initiated by the third National Student Conference Against Racism held in Boston, November 19-21.

Mashinini also stressed the plight of the 1,500 other South African Blacks who have fled to Botswana to escape the repression currently being organized by South Africa's Bureau of State Security.

A December 7 New York news conference at the offices of the ACOA resulted in prominent feature articles in both the *New York Times* and the *New York Post*. Mashinini also taped shows for the National Black Network and TV host Gil Noble's program, "Like It Is." His New York tour was also covered in the radical press, including *Workers World* and the *Daily World*.

Mashinini's largest New York meeting was in Harlem on December 5. It was sponsored by the Patrice Lumumba Coalition (PLC), a Pan-Africanist coalition based in Harlem. An audience of 300 heard him speak along with Elombe Brath and Irving Davis of the PLC. Well-known Black nationalist leader Queen Mother Moore delivered a rousing fund-raising pitch. Some \$300 was donated to aid South African exiles. The PLC also organized a meeting attended by seventy-five people at John Jay College.

The Student Coalition Against Racism (SCAR) and the African Students Association chapters of Baruch College organized a meeting of 150 people to hear Mashinini. This was covered by ABC national news.

In Washington, D.C., Mashinini was interviewed by *Jet* magazine, the *Washington Afro-American*, National Public Radio, and Pacifica News Service. The December 5 *Washington Post* featured an article on the young African rebel.



Tsietsi Mashinini at New York's Baruch College

Militant/Barry Chann

Mashinini's largest meetings were at the all-Black Lincoln University outside of Philadelphia and at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst.

During his stay in Philadelphia, Mashinini also taped a show on the nationally broadcast "Black Perspective on the News" program.

Many Black Student Unions, African student groups, and activists in church-related antiapartheid committees were involved in organizing and building these meetings along with local SCAR activists. During Mashinini's tour many people signed up to work with SCAR on the March 25-26 protests.

Mashinini was also able to speak to several smaller meetings. These were sponsored by Rhodes Goiya of the National Council of Churches, the American Committee on Africa, and the Washington Office on Africa.

Among those at these gatherings were individuals and representatives from the Southern Africa Committee, the African National Congress, the Commission for Racial Justice of the United Church of Christ, the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility, the June 16 Coalition, the Pan-African Student Organization of the Americas, the British Anti-Apartheid Movement, and other prominent supporters of the African revolution such as Robert van Lierop, producer of the film "A Luta Continua."

NSCAR has announced that Mashinini will be returning to the United States for a more extensive national tour, currently slated for more than twenty cities from February 23-April 6. For information about this tour and the March 25-26 protests, contact: NSCAR, 612 Blue Hill Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts 02121. Telephone: (617) 288-6200.

'Bound for Glory'

Bound for Glory. Screenplay by Robert Getchell. Directed by Hal Ashby. Starring David Carradine, Melinda Dillon, and Randy Quaid.

This film looks at a small slice of the life and times of Woody Guthrie through the eyes of today's Hollywood liberals. The photography and acting are good. The images of the dust bowl and its refugees are well made, showing some of the wellsprings of Woody's music.

David Carradine's Guthrie retains some of the flavor of the original, but his singing style comes across as a rural 1930s version of the Woody Guthrie imitators of the 1960s—a theatrical protest singer, not a folk singer.

This might be a way of avoiding a

Film

bad imitation, and it presents only a slight annoyance to those familiar with Guthrie's recordings. But it is a distortion that goes beyond the bounds of artistic license because, like the screenplay itself, it takes the politics out of Woody—and that's what's wrong with this film.

Woody was a singing pamphleteer, part of a social movement. His singing was political, not theatrical. His vocalizing and his picking style were simple, sparse, and the focus was on the words. His ideas went beyond trade unionism. He wrote a column, "Woody Sez," for the West Coast paper of the Communist party, and he drew sketches for them. He sang on platforms with and learned from William Z. Foster, Mother Bloor, and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn.

For better and for worse, the influence of the CP and CPers was not peripheral to his life. He wrote "Union Maid" on the typewriter of CP organizers in Oklahoma, not in the California union meeting depicted in this film.

Woody wrote his Columbia River songs for the Bonneville Power Administration, and he sang them at meetings to sell bonds to finance the project—part of Franklin Delano Roosevelt's plan to provide more electric power for the war corporations. Woody wrote patriotic songs and sang for the Office of War Information.

But after World War II, the government no longer needed Woody's services. The CP and its artistic periphery had done their bit to politically disarm the American workers, and now the government was ready to cash in.

The witch-hunt buried a lot of things, including the works of Woody Guthrie. Only his least offensive songs were given much play during the 1960s folksong revival. Pete Seeger, Woody's co-worker and foremost popularizer, has been blacklisted because of his political beliefs. If Woody's performing life had not been cut short by a devastating hereditary ailment, he would have received the same treatment.

Today Hollywood has begun delving into its own blacklisting past. But in *Bound for Glory* it has continued that sorry heritage. In showing Woody refusing to censor his radio programs, the film itself censors them—Woody read radical papers on the air, he didn't just sing about the plight of farm workers.

If it weren't called *Bound for Glory*, and if the main character weren't called "Woody," and if the finale didn't start with a schmaltzy orchestral crescendo of "This Land is Your

Land," this film would stand up pretty well as a remake of *Grapes of Wrath* with all but one character reduced to two dimensions.

But as a biography of Woody Guthrie, this is a weak caricature of a strong, complicated man. By removing his politics, the screenwriters have taken out too much of Woody's soul.

—Fred Stanton



DAVID CARRADINE

'Brownsville Raid'

The Brownsville Raid. Written by Charles Fuller. Produced by the Negro Ensemble Company. Directed by Israel Hicks.

The problem with the August 13, 1906, incident in Brownsville, Texas, was that the army never heard the bugler sound the retreat. Not after Executive Order No. 276 was read to 167 Black soldiers stipulating their "immediate discharge without honor" or trial. And not after those men of B, C, and D companies, First Battalion, 25th Infantry (Colored) left that dusty border town to become nameless porters, janitors, and bootblacks.

That's because seventy years later

Drama

Black GIs still get the kind of racist treatment the army handed the Brownsville soldiers.

Thus the message in the Negro Ensemble Company's version of Charles Fuller's *The Brownsville Raid* is that of stubborn army racism. The play is now running at the Theater DeLys in New York City.

The NEC, the nation's foremost Black theatrical company, gets gold stars here for its sometimes funny, sometimes sad, always enjoyable production.

The play doesn't stray from the facts of the 1906 frame-up. Black soldiers were unjustly accused by townsfolk after thirty army-regulation-type Springfield cartridge shells were found just outside town after a raid on it. Decades later it was learned that white hotbloods had shot up the town, killing

a white man, to get rid of the Black soldiers.

Only in 1973 did the army correct itself and bestow honorable discharges on the soldiers, nearly all of whom had passed on.

Besides the hard message of army racism, there is a second message in the play. This one is softer, more like a ton of falling feathers. It comes from the negative but forthright characterization of the walk-softly-but-carry-a-big-stick politician.

Teddy Roosevelt, the Republican president who issues the executive order, is seen delaying it until the day after his reelection to prevent any mugwumpery by the then-overwhelmingly-Republican Black voters that would aid his Democratic opponent.

He had been warned by Booker T. Washington of the bad effect such disciplining of the Black soldiers would have on Black voters just before election. An emissary of Washington tells Roosevelt that "radicals like Monroe Trotter and DuBois" would make hay out of such an act.

Roosevelt ponders. "All right, I've been fair with you Negroes, no one can deny that," he says to audience chuckles.

"And as a promise I'll delay it. But not for long."

The final scene has the soldiers lined up outside their barracks to receive dishonorable discharges. Their rifles are taken away. All stripes and honors they've earned are ripped from their uniforms. Years of loyal service are erased. They are now disgraced men.

A couple of the actors choke and cry at this point. And from out in the audience their cries come back.

—Baxter Smith

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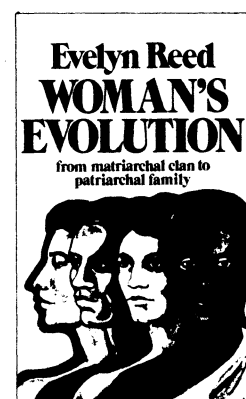
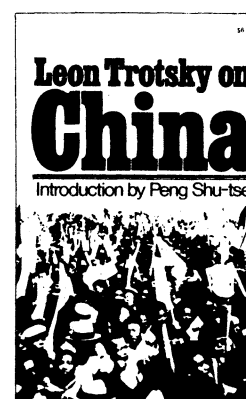
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Charges SWP 'cover-up' for CIA

Communist party slanders fight for socialist democracy

By Peter Seidman

Unions, Black organizations, and civil libertarians from coast to coast are voicing support for the Socialist Workers party's lawsuit against FBI and CIA violations of democratic rights. The suit has exposed a large amount of what is now known about the previously secret dirty tricks of the government's top spy agencies.

It may seem strange, therefore, that Erik Bert, a writer for the Communist party newspaper, the *Daily World*, charged recently that the SWP "may deserve first prize" for a "cover-up" of CIA operations.

Bert's slanderous accusation, made in the December 4 *Daily World*, is absurd on its face. But the reasoning behind it provides a useful insight into how the CP defends the bureaucratic practices of Stalinist regimes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, no matter how damaging this may be to the struggle for socialism.

Bert points to two recent *Militant* articles that championed the struggle by Hungarian workers in 1956 for withdrawal of Soviet occupation troops from their country. These rebel workers hoped to replace the totalitarian Stalinist regime there with a genuinely democratic socialist government.

This November marked the twentieth anniversary of the crushing of the Hungarian uprising by Soviet troops.

The Kremlin tried to justify its invasion of Hungary by claiming that the uprising was "counterrevolutionary." To back up this claim, it pointed to attempts by capitalist governments and other reactionary forces to depict the uprising as antisocialist.

Bert's slanders repeat these lies. The Hungarian uprising, he says, was "anti-socialist." Whatever "revolutionary" verbiage the SWP may use, he adds, its opposition to the Soviet invasion puts it squarely in league with the CIA.

"The capitalist world's anti-socialism and anti-Sovietism operates . . . from two campsites," according to Bert. "In one are the CIA and similar organizations. The other is the launching pad for efforts to camouflage counterrevolution as 'democracy' or 'freedom' or such. In this campsite there are the capitalist media, Trotskyites, Right social democrats, Zionists, and some well-meaning but gullible liberals, progressives and militants."

CIA plot?

The *Militant* articles attacked by Bert explained that the Hungarian workers had their fill of capitalist rule during the Nazi occupation of their country in World War II. They did not put their lives on the line a decade later to restore the horrors of capitalism. Thousands of Hungarians died under fire from Russian tanks in 1956 with the demand for *socialism* on their lips.

Bert ignores all this. He does not even try to refute the facts reported in the *Militant* articles.

Instead, Bert uses a November 30, 1976, *New York Times* article by David Binder to bolster the Kremlin's false claim that the Hungarian revolt was "counterrevolutionary." Binder's dispatch, Bert says, shows that the revolt was "assessed and supported by the



Soviet Union invaded Hungary not to fight 'counterrevolution,' but to defend special privileges of Kremlin bureaucrats. Picture shows Hungarian workers fraternizing with Russian soldiers, trying to convince them of justice of 1956 uprising.

CIA as counterrevolution."

Binder reports disclosures by James Angleton, former chief of covert operations for the CIA. According to Angleton, Binder writes, the "United States gave paramilitary training to Eastern European volunteers for intervention in potential national uprisings in Hungary, Poland and Rumania in 1956."

Angleton's revelation bares another secret weapon used by Washington's counterrevolutionary war machine. But it hardly proves that the Hungarian uprising was a CIA plot. The CIA assesses every development in world politics to see if there is some angle that can advance its reactionary objectives.

As Angleton admits, the CIA will go so far as to build secret counterrevolutionary armies for this purpose. But in Hungary, the CIA's army was never used. Bert simply omits this important fact from Angleton's disclosures. He aims to create the false impression that the CIA army played some role in the Hungarian revolt.

It did not. Binder explains that the clandestine units were never used because they were "not up to snuff." So while the CIA may have "assessed" the Hungarian events, Bert is dishonest in using Binder's article to prove that the revolt was "scripted and set to music by the CIA, to accompany a para-military attempt to overthrow socialist Hungary."

The truth is that the Hungarian workers were struggling for socialist democracy, not a return to capitalism. Their efforts were part of a growing antibureaucratic revolt that had already shaken the East German Stalinist regime in 1953 and the Polish government in 1956.

These developments confirmed what Trotskyists in the SWP and around the world had been saying for years about the struggle to win socialist democracy in the Soviet Union and the other bureaucratized workers states.

We say the Soviet bureaucracy is a privileged conservative layer that has fastened itself upon the Soviet workers state like a parasite.

This bureaucracy plays no useful role in production. It limits the flowering of the USSR's economic and cultural development. It stands as an obstacle to the spread of the world revolution by its policy of détente. It is ruthlessly opposed to workers democracy, under which it would quickly be cast aside by the masses. It rules by virtue of its police apparatus, not the power of its political ideas.

These policies, not the CIA, give birth to struggles such as the Hungarian revolt of 1956.

Such struggles will continue until the Soviet workers succeed in removing the bureaucracy that will never institute socialist democracy.

In 1968 the Kremlin invaded Czechoslovakia to suppress growing mass sentiment there for "socialism with a human face."

In 1970 and again in 1976 the Polish workers launched strikes against the bureaucratic practices of that regime.

East Germany has just exiled Marxist poet Wolf Biermann, one of its most prominent artists, in an attempt to intimidate growing dissent.

European CPs

Today the spectacle of Soviet dissidents being placed in psychiatric hospitals and subjected to medical torture has been condemned even by the French and Italian Communist parties. The Italian CP has publicly

condemned the brutal treatment of Polish protesters arrested after massive strikes against price hikes broke out there in June.

Bert takes a swipe at even these limited criticisms made by some European CPs. He quotes disapprovingly a letter to the *New York Times* linking "the Hungarian revolution with what has come to be known recently in Europe as democratic Communism—or Eurocommunism." Is Bert making a guarded warning to the mass CPs of Europe that they had better watch out what "campsite" they pitch their tents in?

The European CPs that have criticized the Kremlin are trying to accommodate to widespread opposition to the undemocratic Soviet policies among masses of prosocialist workers in Europe.

The much smaller American CP, which is not subject to the pressures of the mass working-class membership of its European counterparts, is more concerned with currying the favor of the Soviet bureaucrats than of the American workers. Since the CPUSA is no longer large enough to mimic the Kremlin's thug methods against its U.S. political opponents—the way it used to—it now contents itself instead with publishing slanders by the likes of Bert. So in the United States the CP falsely equates all critics of Stalinism with counterrevolutionary foes of socialism.

Ironically, this only plays into the hands of the very same American ruling class that Bert accuses the Trotskyists of "covering up" for. *Except for the Kremlin, Washington is the most vigorous exponent of the idea that Stalinism equates socialism. This is a key weapon in capitalism's antisocialist arsenal.*

The honest disgust of American workers with the police-state methods rampant in the Soviet Union makes them wary of supporting a socialist alternative.

Bert's method of argument can only help reinforce the American workers' belief in this "Stalinism equals socialism" lie, one of the biggest obstacles to the world revolution. His attack on the SWP and other defenders of the struggle for socialist democracy only repeats in a different form Washington's boast that struggles for human rights in the workers states prove the desirability of capitalism.

In doing so, Bert surrenders the most precious asset that socialism offers the working class: the prospect of the expansion of democracy into all spheres of life, including the economy.

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Silkwood's family sues company, FBI agents

By Nancy Cole

WASHINGTON—The father and children of Karen Silkwood, the plutonium worker who died in a mysterious car crash two years ago, are suing the Kerr-McGee Corporation.

They charge the company conspired to prevent Silkwood from organizing her union at the plutonium plant near Crescent, Oklahoma, and from reporting safety hazards there to the government.

Also named as defendants are three FBI agents and an informer. The suit says they aided the cover-up of the company's conspiracy against Silkwood.

Kerr-McGee is also charged with "negligence" in handling the toxic plutonium, which resulted in a deliberate contamination of Silkwood's apartment a week before her death.

The lawsuit states that Kerr-McGee officials used "force, violence, intimidation, surveillance, harassment, wiretapping, and other forms of illegal conduct" against Silkwood. Damages asked total \$160,000.

The action was filed in federal district court in Oklahoma City on November 5 on behalf of her father, Bill Silkwood, and her children, Beverly, Michael, and Dawn Meadows. Information on the suit was made available here by the National Labor Task Force of the National Organization for Women and the Supporters of Silkwood coalition.

Silkwood was an elected representative of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union,

Local 5-283. In September 1974, she and two other union representatives from the Oklahoma plant presented evidence of safety and health violations to the Atomic Energy Commission in Washington.

She was on her way to a meeting with an OCAW official and a *New York Times* reporter when she was killed in the crash November 13, 1974.

Officials at all levels jumped to dismiss it as a



R.P. Comiskey

closed case—an "accident" caused by her falling asleep at the wheel.

But there was evidence to the contrary. An envelope she was carrying to the meeting disappeared from the crash scene. Fresh dents were found on the rear of her car.

The OCAW demanded a federal inquiry. NOW took up the campaign, and Supporters of Silkwood was soon formed.

Under pressure, the House Small Business Subcommittee on Energy and the Environment finally began hearings in April 1976.

One thing the hearings disclosed was that Nashville reporter Jacque Srouji, who wrote a book on nuclear energy attacking Silkwood, was an FBI informer. Srouji is named as a defendant.

But the FBI itself was not forced to disclose its role in Silkwood's death and the subsequent cover-up. Hearings were to resume in early December. They were canceled at the last moment, a committee spokesperson told the *Militant*, because the Justice Department and FBI refused to testify on the grounds that they were now defendants in the Silkwood lawsuit.

The NOW Labor Task Force and Supporters of Silkwood are on a campaign to publicize the facts about Silkwood's death and to organize support for the lawsuit. For information contact, S.O.S., 2111 Florida Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20008 (202) 234-2000.

...marines

Continued from page 9

communist and told me I could be transferred if I was."

In Sorsa's opinion, calling for the expulsion of Klan members lets the marine brass off the hook by detracting from the defense of the fourteen victimized Blacks.

"Now even the American Civil Liberties Union has rushed in to 'defend the Klansmen's rights,' as if anybody were attacking their rights in the first place.

"These racist thugs haven't been victimized," Sorsa added. "They were part of how Blacks were 'kept in their place' on the base. The Klan and the brass simply divvied up the chores.

"What is really needed," Sorsa said, "is a massive defense campaign to get those fourteen Black marines out of the brig and the charges against them dropped."

A Camp Pendleton Legal Defense Fund has been set up to do that. It is headed by James Sperling, a marine veteran and leader of the Oceanside Black community. The defense committee has already won support in Oceanside and San Diego.

The Student Coalition Against Racism at the University of California at San Diego plans to make defense of the Pendleton Fourteen a focus of its activity at UCSD and other campuses.

To contact the Camp Pendleton Legal Defense Fund, write P.O. Box 8146, San Diego, California 92102.

...protest

Continued from page 13

After graduation Johnson took the job as a counselor at the community mental health center.

Now, because of his arrest, Johnson has been suspended from his job. At age twenty-six, badly in need of funds

for his defense, he find himself jobless and poor.

But his spirits are still high. A composed and deliberate speaker, Johnson patiently explains the facts in his case to every audience willing to lend an ear—college classes, church groups, and civic clubs.

Knowing the importance of nationwide solidarity, Johnson relates his own story to those of other victims of racist frame-ups: Gary Tyler, Delbert Tibbs, and Clarence Norris, last of the "Scottsboro Boys." Like himself, Tibbs and Norris were both charged with rape. Norris, convicted more than forty years ago, was only exonerated this fall.

Johnson and his defense committee are also speaking out against police harassment in Buffalo's Black community.

In his speech to the December 11 rally, Johnson talked about the case of another Buffalo Black man recently convicted for murder, despite evidence that the real murderer may have been white.

As the rally ended, in the gathering December darkness of Buffalo's Cathedral Square, the crowd—although cold and tired—managed a final spirited chant:

Freedom and truth is our battle cry. Defending Kenny Johnson is defending you and I.

...feminism

Continued from page 18

Dianne Feeley, an SWP member and activist in New York NOW, talked about the status of women in China. In another room women discussed the plight of women political prisoners in Latin America and Iran and the struggle to free Lolita Lebrón, a Puerto Rican nationalist imprisoned in this country.

The international growth of the women's liberation movement was a

prominent theme of the conference. Linda Jenness, the SWP's 1972 presidential candidate, closed the gathering with an inspiring and vivid account of her recent speaking tour of six Spanish cities.

There she spoke on national radio and to audiences as large as 2,000 in Barcelona. She also met with feminist leaders and unionists.

Jenness brought to the conference a flavor of the Spanish women's battles for legal divorce and against adultery laws.

"The Spanish feminist movement is bringing thousands of new forces into the international fight for women's rights," she reported, "and within one short year has become a major component of the developing revolution in Spain."

...IUDs

Continued from back page

Adverse reports on the shield didn't surface until 1973. Army Major Russel Thomsen testified, during a routine federal hearing on another matter, that some of his patients wearing the shield had developed massive bleeding, cramps, inflammatory disease of the pelvic area, and septic abortions.

Later, Planned Parenthood announced that more than 25 percent of the women fitted with shields in its 700

clinics experienced severe cramps and bleeding.

In 1974 (or 1975) Robins finally withdrew its product from the market. Only after this did the Food and Drug Administration rule the Dalkon Shield unsafe! By that point the device had been known to cause seven deaths and 110 septic abortions.

Two other government agencies were involved in promoting the Dalkon Shield. The Health, Education and Welfare Department's clinics fitted women with the shield. The Agency for International Development continued to distribute the shield to more than forty countries until the FDA came up with its ruling.

Although individuals have brought suits against Robins Company, no one has been indicted for the seventeen deaths. Dr. Davis is still head of the Johns Hopkins clinic. He and his co-inventor are also \$1,695,000 richer from the sale of the shield patent and royalties and consulting fees. As for Robins Company, it grossed \$16 million from sales of its little plastic scorpion.

Today, the Dalkon Shield is still worn by an estimated 800,000 women here and 500,000 women in other countries. Many of these women don't know that they are carrying inside them a deadly weapon pointed at themselves. Others can't get rid of it because removal causes lesions of the cervix followed by serious infection.

Behind those birth control research cuts

Scientists are on the brink of developing safer, more effective contraceptive methods, including a male pill. However, these lifesavers may never see the light of day. Why? Because of cutbacks.

Allocations for contraceptive research have been declining since 1972, states a recent study printed in the September-October issue of *Family Planning Perspectives*. In 1975, total funding from the government, industry, and philanthropic groups amounted to little more than a dollar per woman of child-bearing age. The biggest share—\$36,142,000—came from the government. This compares to a war budget of \$110 billion.

The study estimates that just to pursue existing leads in contraceptive knowledge would require outlays of \$328 million per year by 1980.

The study frankly points out that the dramatic decline in private research is "a result of revised anticipations of profits. . . ." Research is an unnecessary overhead for corporations when there are profits galore to be reaped from existing dangerous contraceptive devices.

The Rockefeller Foundation, a major force behind racist population control projects, blames concern over safety for the decline in research. One foundation doctor stated, "A mood for absolute safety is sweeping the country. This is very damaging to women and to research, leading to extended delays in approval of new methods, costly animal tests of questionable validity for human beings, Senate hearings, and harassment from consumer groups."

How unreasonable!

—D.F.

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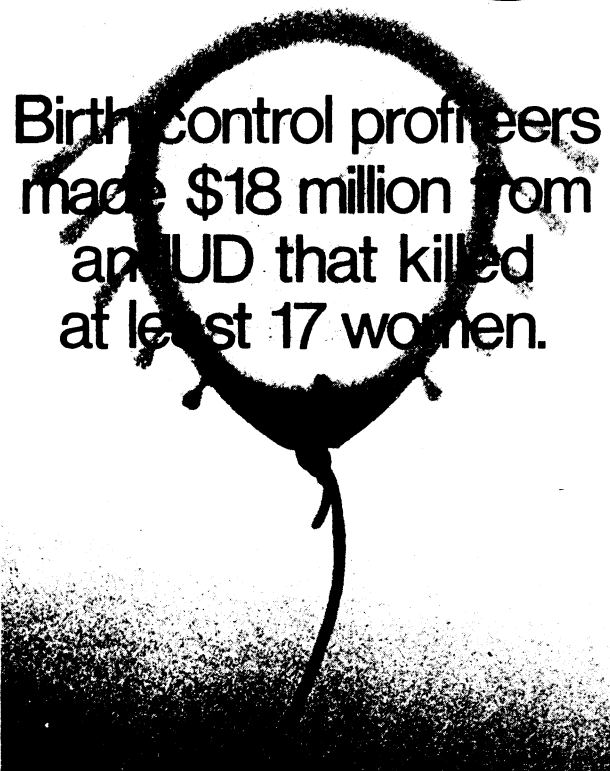
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Trading women's lives for \$



Birth control profiteers made \$18 million from an IUD that killed at least 17 women.

By Dianne Feeley

"Pill Users Warned Of Tumors"; "Oral Contraceptive Boosts Risk of Stroke For Women"; "Blood Clot Linkage to Pill Supported"; "Rare Liver Growths Are Being Found Among Women Using Birth Control Pills"; "Cancer Institute Chief Cautions On the Use of Birth Control Pill."

These newspaper headlines explain why millions of women switched to IUDs (intrauterine devices), advertised as the "safe" alternative to the pill. But now they are discovering that the IUD also has side effects—including death.

A recent federal study has found that if an IUD user becomes pregnant, she runs fifty times the risk of a nonuser of dying from a septic abortion. Much of the investigation into IUD dangers was sparked by a scandal over the Dalkon Shield. As of last January, seventeen women had died from blood poisoning caused by infection and pregnancy while wearing this IUD.

Behind this small spider-shaped piece of plastic is a damning tale of corporate profiteering and government complicity. The story was told in the November issue of *Mother Jones* magazine.

It begins back in 1970 when Dr. Hugh Davis, an inventor of the device, published a report proclaim-

ing that women wearing the shield had a pregnancy rate of only 1.1 percent. These remarkable statistics diminish when we learn that they were arrived at after an average testing period of only 5.5 months per woman and that Davis urged many of his patients to use contraceptive foam along with the IUD.

If you've ever wondered who volunteers to be human guinea pigs for dangerous experiments, Davis's research is a real eye-opener. The first 640 women to wear the shield never signed consent forms agreeing to be part of an experiment.

Reminiscent of the racist experimentation for the pill in Puerto Rico, Davis chose primarily Black women to try out his invention. He heads the Johns Hopkins University family planning clinic in the heart of Baltimore's ghetto.

Later tests revealed pregnancy rates of 3 and even 10 percent. Concealing these facts, the A.H. Robins Company jumped at the chance to market the shield.

One of Robins's research doctors warned the company of potential dangers in the shield's structure. Higher-ups told her to mind her own business.

Continued on page 26

Mass. court finds Black abortionist 'not guilty'

By Carol Henderson Evans

BOSTON—"I've been waiting a long time for this day. I haven't changed my practice of medicine, nor do I have any intention of changing it."

That was the response of Dr. Kenneth Edelin to the December 17 news that the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court had reversed his manslaughter conviction.

In February 1975 an all-white jury had convicted the Black physician for performing an abortion. The prosecution claimed that the fetus was "viable" and that Edelin had deliberately allowed it to die.

Actually, the abortion was entirely legal. In 1973 the U.S. Supreme Court upheld abortion rights through the second trimester—the twenty-fourth week of pregnancy. Edelin's patient, a seventeen-year-old woman, was between twenty and twenty-four weeks pregnant.

Nonetheless, the entire trial was marked by prosecutor Newman Flanagan's inflammatory and prejudicial references to the fetus as a "baby boy." Time and again he showed pictures of the fetus to the jury.

One alternate juror reported that jurors made racist slurs against Edelin.

The verdict came in the midst of a racist antibusing drive in Boston and a series of attacks on abortion rights. The anti-abortion movement was pushing for a bill prohibiting minors from having abortions without parental consent. The state legislature subsequently passed this bill into law, but last July the U.S. Supreme Court overturned it.

Edelin's conviction gained national attention and sparked an outcry in Boston. On one day's notice more than 2,000 people marched through downtown Boston in protest.

The court's decision last week was on Edelin's appeal of his conviction and one-year suspended sentence. Five of the six justices voted to clear Edelin for lack of evidence and said that he

will not have to stand trial again.

In a telephone interview with the *Militant*, Edelin's defense attorney William Homans, Jr., said the decision means that doctors performing abortions can do so "as long as they act in conformance with good medical standards." They won't have to "fear that a lay criminal jury may be looking over their shoulder." However, Homans said, the decision's "value is mainly symbolic."

The anti-abortion movement had hoped to make Edelin's conviction a symbol for its campaign. It gave credence to the charge that abortion is murder. As the right-wingers had hoped, the case led Boston City Hospital, where Edelin works, and other hospitals to curtail second-trimester abortions.

The hypocrisy of the anti-abortion movement's concern for "human life" is shown by one of the prosecution's star witnesses, Dr. Mildred Jefferson, president of the "National Right to Life Committee."

She has recently publicized her support for the death penalty: "If life is the highest value in society and if a person destroys a life, what is the appropriate punishment? If you deliberately take a life, you automatically cancel your own."

If the Edelin conviction had stuck, many women unable to obtain second-trimester abortions would have been forced into the hands of back-alley abortionists. There they would have suffered harm and possibly death—an "appropriate punishment" no doubt in the eyes of Jefferson and other "right-to-lifers."

Edelin said he hopes the new court ruling will mean women "will now have access to [abortions] more openly at various public hospitals."

At a time when abortion rights are under increasing attack, the court action in Massachusetts marks an important victory for the right of women to choose safe, legal abortions.

'La migra' kidnaps Calif. four-year-old



Tampaia Moreno called the sheriff when her four-year-old son, Hector, disappeared. The boy had gone for a walk with a family friend in the City of Commerce, California, and apparently been kidnapped.

Los Angeles County sheriff's deputies searched unsuccessfully for several days.

Finally the Morenos got word of their son's safety. The friend, José Gonzales, telephoned from Tijuana, Mexico. He and Hector Moreno had been caught in a raid by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (*la migra*).

La migra had kidnapped Gonzales and the boy and taken them to Mexico. Immigration officials denied the capture. "We have checked every record," claimed an official. "We absolutely did not remove the two of them to Mexico."

Despite the denial, Los Angeles County sheriff's deputies rescued Hector Moreno from Tijuana. Gonzales, labeled an "illegal alien," was not allowed to return home to Commerce City.