

# THE MILITANT

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

## FBI BURGLAR JAILED!

—PAGE 2

## ATTICA

PROTESTS FORCE CAREY TO  
GRANT CLEMENCY. PAGE 4.

## PERSPECTIVA MUNDIAL

NEW SPANISH-LANGUAGE  
MAGAZINE. PAGE 5.

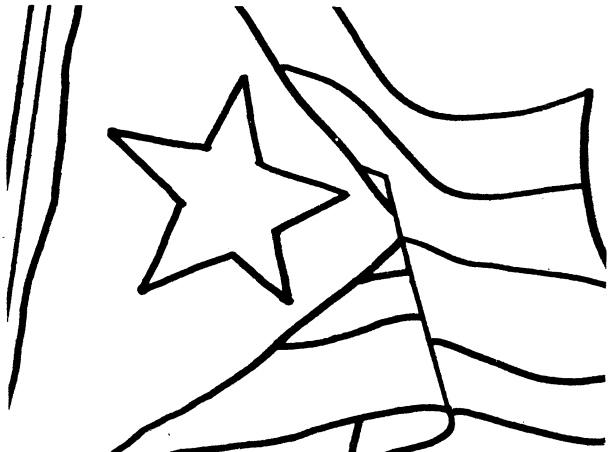
## WOMEN'S RIGHTS

ACTIONS TO BACK ERA,  
ABORTION. PAGE 6.

## SUPREME COURT'S BUSING DECISION

ANOTHER BLOW AGAINST  
BLACK RIGHTS. PAGE 26.

## PUERTO RICO



## INDEPENDENCE, NOT STATEHOOD

—PAGE 3

# OIL PROFITEERS THREATEN LIFE ON SEA. LAND



MAGAZINE SUPPLEMENT  
**socialist**  
INSIDE review

# In Brief

## THIS WEEK'S MILITANT

- 3 Oil disasters expose greed on high seas
- 4 Carey grants Attica clemency
- 5 Protests called to halt Utah execution
- 6 Women's rights actions will kick off new year
- 7 Informer in Hampton case 'loses' memory
- 8 Anatomy of a hatchet job
- 9 Immigration counselors take on 'la migra'
- 24 Feminism in Spain
- 25 Protests free CP leader
- 26 Supreme Court ruling new blow to Blacks
- 27 Black antiwar veteran answers government
- 28 Attorney maps defense of YSA activists
- 29 'A group that stands behind what it says'
- 30 Texas campesinos urge bill for right to strike
- 32 YSA drive: U.S. out of S. Africa

2 In Brief

10 In Our Opinion Letters

23 National Picket Line ¡La Raza en Acción!

11-22 International Socialist Review

## THE MILITANT

VOLUME 41/NUMBER 1  
JANUARY 14, 1977  
CLOSING NEWS DATE—JAN. 5

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Published weekly by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: Editorial Office (212) 243-6392; Business Office (212) 929-3486. Southwest Bureau: 1237 S. Atlantic Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif. 90022. Telephone: (213) 269-1456. Washington Bureau: 1424 16th St. NW, #701-B, Washington, D.C. 20036. Telephone: (202) 265-6865.

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

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscriptions: U.S., \$7.50 a year; outside U.S., \$13.00. By first-class mail: U.S., Canada, and Mexico, \$35.00. Write for surface and airmail rates to all other countries.

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

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

**'MOCKERY OF JUSTICE' IN STARKY CASE:** In 1972 a U.S. district court ruled that the constitutional rights of Arizona State University Prof. Morris Starsky had been violated when he was fired from his job because of his socialist views and activities. But on December 30, a federal court-appointed official decided not to order the ASU board of regents to reinstate Starsky.

Starsky had been a tenured professor in ASU's department of philosophy. He was fired in 1970—a victim of an FBI-orchestrated campaign of dirty tricks. The ASU faculty committee on academic freedom and tenure unanimously opposed his dismissal.

Starsky branded the December 30 ruling "a mockery of justice." He asked, "What do constitutional rights mean in the United States anyway? The regents fire someone for his political views, the courts even recognize that this was a violation of free speech rights. But the court does not rule that he be given his job back!"

Starsky will appeal the decision.

## FBI burglar jailed

On January 5 Timothy Redfearn became the first FBI burglar to be indicted, convicted, and sentenced to prison. Redfearn was sentenced by Denver district court judge Robert Fullerton to an indeterminate-to-ten-year term in the Colorado State Reformatory in Buena Vista. Redfearn was indicted after his arrest for burglarizing documents from the offices of the Denver Socialist Workers party last July 7. He had pleaded guilty January 3 to second-degree burglary charges.

When Fullerton asked Redfearn, who had worked as a government informer against the SWP, if the FBI had been involved in the SWP burglary, Redfearn answered yes. This contradicts FBI statements at the time claiming that Redfearn acted on his own.

On December 27, Redfearn had also been sentenced to an indeterminate-to-twelve-year sentence at Buena Vista on other charges of burglarizing several thousand dollars worth of guns from a private home. Several other burglary charges against Redfearn were dropped after he pleaded guilty in the SWP burglary case.



**SURVEY ON SPANISH-SPEAKING U.S. POPULATION:** A federal report released in December revealed new information on discrimination against the 11.1 million people of Spanish-speaking origin estimated by the Census Bureau to live in the United States. The bureau—whose survey methods undercount the Spanish-speaking population and overestimate its average income—says it found 6.6 million people of Mexican descent, 1.8 million of Puerto Rican background, and 687,000 of Cuban origin in the United States as of June 1975. The balance were from other Spanish-speaking backgrounds.

The Census Bureau says this represents an increase of one-half million since 1973 and now accounts for 5.3 percent of the population.

Median 1975 income for Spanish-speaking families was reported to be \$9,551. Median income for families describing themselves as white, or giving non-Spanish-speaking ethnic backgrounds, was reported at \$14,268. Black family median income was reported at \$8,779.

Unemployment figures for March 1975 were listed as 11.5 percent for Spanish-speaking, 6.8 percent for whites, and about 13 percent for Blacks.

The report showed that Spanish-speaking family incomes were 71.2 percent of white family incomes in 1974, but dropped even further to 66.9 percent in 1975.

Nearly 27 percent of the population of Spanish-speaking origin had incomes below the federally defined poverty level. This compared to 9.7 percent of whites and 31.3 percent of Blacks.

**COOK COUNTY NURSES END STRIKE:** Striking nurses at Chicago's Cook County and Oak Forest hospitals voted December 10 to end their thirty-eight-day strike against the Cook County Health and Hospital Governing Commission.

The nurses walked off the job November 3 when the governing commission moved to eliminate the twelve paid sick days the nurses received each year.

The settlement approved by the nurses allows only 25 percent pay for the first day of any sick leave. While losing on this key issue, the nurses did win a 7 percent wage increase retroactive to July 1, improved family health insurance, and a guarantee they would not be transferred to specialty units for which they are not adequately trained.

These gains were won through a militant struggle that overcame considerable difficulties. These included the

withdrawal of support for the strike by the Illinois Nurses' Association under threat of heavy court fines. Threats of firings and deportations were also used against strikers.

**BLACK MARINE SENTENCED AT CAMP PENDLETON:** Cpl. E.F. Henry was sentenced by a military court December 29 to three months at hard labor, a reduction in pay of \$150 a month for four months, and demotion to private. Henry is one of thirteen Black marines currently on trial at Camp Pendleton after a November 13 attack on what they thought was a Ku Klux Klan meeting

**SPECIAL STEEL ISSUE:** Next week's Militant will feature expanded coverage of the election campaign in the United Steelworkers of America and Ed Sadlowski's challenge to the union bureaucracy. To join in plant-gate sales of this special issue, contact the Socialist Workers party branch nearest you (see Socialist Directory, page 31) or order copies at 18¢ each from the Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

on the base. Charges against a fourteenth marine were dropped after he agreed to testify against the other defendants.

Henry's conviction came after his charges were reduced to simple assault, from the original charge of aggravated assault and conspiracy to commit assault.

During pretrial testimony, a former roommate of a klan member on the base said he had heard klansmen threaten Blacks and had seen weapons including knives and a .357 magnum revolver the racist thugs had hidden.

**SOUTH CAROLINA SCHOOL BOYCOTT TO CONTINUE:** The struggle by Black parents and students in Calhoun County to oust racist school administrators is continuing.

On January 1, Oscar Means, head of the Concerned Citizens of Calhoun County, the group organizing the boycott, said Black students would not return to classes after the holiday break unless Supt. H. Thad Ott and principals Ernest Stokes and Walter Lee Funderburk are dismissed. The school district is 89 percent Black.

The school board had attempted to undercut the boycott by voting to send the three administrators and five others to sessions in "leadership training" sponsored by the state department of education.

—Peter Seidman



## Special Offer For New Readers

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# Oil disasters expose greed on high seas

By Steve Wattenmaker

Just hours after Transportation Secretary William Coleman overrode environmental arguments and approved the construction of the nation's first "supertanker" ports, an oil tanker exploded in Los Angeles with a force that killed nine people and jostled families forty miles away.

Within a week and a half, two other tankers had caused major oil spills on the East Coast. And disaster was narrowly avoided as two more tankers ran aground in Connecticut and Puerto Rico.

The transportation secretary's announcement and the string of environmental catastrophes that followed shed new light on Washington's back-room agreements to protect the oil industry's profit gouging—even if the result is environmental tragedy.

Most attention was focused on the wreck and break-up of the oil tanker *Argo Merchant* a few days before Christmas.

Russell Train, administrator of the federal Environmental Protection Agency, called the 7.6 million gallons of paste-thick crude that oozed into the Atlantic twenty-seven miles off Cape Cod "the biggest oil spill disaster on the American coast in our history."

Scientists agreed that even if the oil slick drifted away from the New



Tanker 'Argo Merchant' awash and leaking off Massachusetts

England shore, the long-term effects were unknown and dangerous.

At the very least, a vast quantity of fish larvae that hatch in the area will be smothered by floating oil—wiping out a substantial portion of future cod, haddock, flounder, and halibut catches.

But scientists at Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution warn of an even more alarming consequence.

By feeding on smaller organisms contaminated by oil, fish in the vital

Georges Bank grounds may over the years produce weaker and weaker offspring, until a complete link in the area's marine food chain is permanently destroyed.

Shortly after the *Argo Merchant* ran aground, another tanker spilled 134,000 gallons of oil into the Delaware River while docking. The slick from the *Olympic Games* posed a direct threat to thousands of ducks, geese, and other waterfowl wintering in the Delaware estuary.

As dramatic as these two spills were, however, they were just part of the *five million tons* of oil *annually* dumped in the world's oceans. Tankers contribute a third of this total through spillage and the widespread practice of flushing out their giant tanks before reloading.

The *Argo Merchant*, like the *Olympic Games* and the other three ships involved in the "Christmas disasters," was sailing under Liberian registry.

While Liberia itself actually owns only two ships, the merchant fleet sailing under its flag is the largest in the world, some 2,500 vessels. The fleet is built and owned by other countries that use Liberia as a "flag of convenience" to avoid more stringent safety standards, corporate taxes and, above all, trade unions and higher wage scales.

United States corporations own a third of the tonnage registered to Liberia. American funds built the Liberian port of Monrovia (named for U.S. President James Monroe) after World War II.

Washington gives its official blessing to this lucrative liaison in a variety of ways.

Merchant vessels flying the flag of another country are allowed to enter U.S. ports without meeting even the

*Continued on page 30*

## YSA leader hits Ford proposal

# Independence—not statehood—for Puerto Rico

By Diane Rupp

President Ford came out for statehood for Puerto Rico December 31.

So the next day, when Puerto Rican activist and Young Socialist Alliance leader Andrea Lubrano appeared at a press conference during the YSA convention, it was natural for reporters to ask her opinion. Lubrano is a newly elected member of the YSA National Executive Committee.

"This is just an attempt to maintain the oppression of Puerto Rico," Lubrano said. "Puerto Rico is a colony of the United States. This move is just an attempt to cover up the colonial status and to continue making profits from Puerto Rico."

Lubrano pointed out that Puerto Ricans had voted overwhelmingly against becoming a state when the issue appeared on the ballot in 1967.

"Didn't they vote overwhelmingly to remain a commonwealth," a reporter from a Chicago TV station pressed.

Lubrano answered that Puerto Ricans voted for commonwealth status because they feared that some kind of attachment to the United States was necessary for economic survival.

"Eat with humility or starve with dignity," is the way the issue is posed by the government, she said. But she emphasized that Puerto Ricans had voted "for the least definitive form of attachment."

The reporter pointed to Puerto Rico's

high unemployment rate, which is reportedly as high as 40 percent. How would Puerto Rico fare without the United States? he asked.

"The problem in Puerto Rico is that the United States superexploits the island," Lubrano answered. She explained that U.S. industries go to Puerto Rico because they are given tax breaks. Therefore, "no money comes into the island."

The reporter asked about what he called Puerto Rico's overpopulation, suggesting that this is the cause of unemployment.

Lubrano rejected this argument. She attacked the government's campaign to control population through forced sterilization. "They have already successfully sterilized one-third of Puerto Rican women who are in their reproductive years. I don't think that's the way to solve the unemployment."

Lubrano suggested that giving women the right to free and legal abortion and birth control would allow Puerto Ricans to take care of their own population.

"Your're saying you don't think statehood will benefit Puerto Rico?" the reporter asked.

"No, I don't," Lubrano answered. "We defend the right of Puerto Ricans to control their own country."

"Independence?" asked the newsman.

"Yes," she answered.

"What's wrong with U.S. citizenship?" the reporter asked. "It gave Puerto Ricans the right to come and go as they please."

Lubrano answered him, "Wouldn't it have been better to let them be citizens of Puerto Rico?"

NEW YORK—Two Puerto Rican proindependence groups condemned Ford's statehood proposal.

Natascha López, who brought greetings to the Young Socialist Alliance convention from Puerto Rico's Trotskyist group, the Liga Internacionalista de los Trabajadores, told the *Militant*:

"The declaration made by Ford reflects very clearly the United States' violation of our people's right of self-determination. Ford's statement under-

lines Puerto Rico's colonial status."

Some news articles have tried to find some significance in the victory of Carlos Romero Barceló, Puerto Rico's new governor, who ran as the candidate of the pro-statehood New Progressive party, in the last election.

López commented, "Romero Barceló won because his campaign *did not* focus on the issue of statehood, but on solving the economic problems facing the country. The election results cannot be interpreted as a desire of our people to make Puerto Rico a state, but as a protest against the economic situation manifested in the high unemployment rate and the rise in the cost of living."

The U.S. section of the Puerto Rican

Socialist party also criticized Ford's statement.

"The only responsible and honorable measure the United States can take," a PSP statement said, is to adopt the bill introduced into Congress by Rep. Ron Dellums (D-Calif.) last summer. That bill would require the United States to recognize Puerto Rican independence.

"The only solution to the question of the status of Puerto Rico is the exercise of full self-determination and full sovereignty," said the PSP statement.

"Only in this way can Puerto Rican people face the serious political, economic, and social ills that are the direct result of colonial dependency and plunder to which we have been subjected by the transnational monopolies."

## Gov't whitewashes wiretaps

What is wiretapping?

Just an improved telephone service, according to the Puerto Rican government.

An official inquiry into telephone wiretaps in Puerto Rico claims that the bugging was only part of the telephone company's "quality control" program, not political spying.

It was quite an unusual "quality control" program. The work was carried out by a special Department of Observations. It was headed by a right-wing Cuban exile. And no regular telephone company personnel were allowed to take part.

The official report, released in December, claims that the phone company only monitored the first twelve seconds of random conversations.

Random? At least once a week the Department of Observations sent out lists of phones to be targeted. The department also collected the tapes of recorded conversations.

The twelve-second limit did not hold either. After the wiretap scandal broke, many tapes were destroyed. Those that survived, however, included conversations between political activists—and more than twelve seconds' worth.

The government began its investigation after the Puerto Rican Socialist party exposed the wiretapping program last summer.

At the time many political groups criticized the official inquiry. The New Progressive party, Puerto Rican Independence party, and PSP all questioned the government's credentials to investigate its own crimes.

The Colegio de Abogados—the bar association—launched an independent investigation into the wiretapping.

A spokesperson for the PSP in New York said that the official report showed that the government "wanted to avoid a thorough investigation." The lawyers' probe will continue, he said.

Natasha López, a member of the Liga Internacionalista de los Trabajadores, the Trotskyist group in Puerto Rico, said that the verdict of the official inquiry helps "expose the so-called neutrality of the government, which defends the interests of the ruling minority."

"When the government is threatened by being discovered as a violator of individual rights," López said, "it prefers to terminate the investigation."

—D.R.



ANDREA LUBRANO

Militant/Nancy Cole



## Busing, cop spying key issues

# Socialist challenges Bradley for L.A. mayor

By Sherry Smith

LOS ANGELES—The Socialist Workers party here has named Sam Manuel as its candidate in the 1977 mayoral election. Manuel is a twenty-seven-year-old Black activist and founding member of the National Student Coalition Against Racism.

Incumbent Mayor Thomas Bradley is one of Manuel's major opponents in the race. Bradley, a former cop and city council member, was elected in 1973. Newspapers hailed the election of a Black mayor in the nation's third largest city as a giant step forward for Black Americans.

In Manuel's opinion, however, Bradley has remained closely wedded to the Democratic party's policy of promoting corporate profits at the expense of Blacks, Chicanos, and other working people in this sprawling metropolis. For example:

- During Bradley's tenure as mayor, unemployment in Los Angeles has climbed to 10.1 percent. Unemployment among Blacks is 25 percent, 40 percent for Black youth.

- Los Angeles cops have continued to brutalize the Black and Chicano communities.

- Ground has yet to be broken on a mass transit system Bradley promised to begin two years ago.

At a news conference announcing his campaign, Manuel made a special point of scoring the Los Angeles city



SAM MANUEL

Militant/Andy Rose

administration for its long history of spying on the Socialist Workers party and other dissenters.

Manuel spoke immediately before a hearing by the city on guidelines for the Public Disorder Intelligence Division (PDID) of the Los Angeles Police Department.

"I am here," Manuel explained, "to demand a public guarantee from Mayor Bradley and the police commissioners that the police will not spy on or

harass my campaign committee."

For two years the PDID has been surveilling and gathering files on a wide range of organizations under a set of interim guidelines.

A wave of protests from civil liberties, Black, and women's organizations forced hearings on the guidelines.

The SWP and other groups have called for the abolition of the intelligence division and the opening up of its secret files to public view.

"It is already clear who the Los Angeles Police Department has targeted for its intelligence operations," Manuel said. "Not the perpetrators of violence but the victims."

Manuel also blasted the LAPD's inaction last year after a right-wing bombing wave damaged the offices of the SWP and other radical organizations.

This September, Serge Masche, a suspect in the February 4, 1975, bombing of the Socialist Workers campaign offices, was arrested for possession of illegal weapons. The cache included 17 rifles, 4 artillery shells, a tear gas gun, and 500,000 rounds of ammunition.

"All charges against him have now been dropped," Manuel said. "We demand to know: Was the Los Angeles Police Department complicit with this attack on my party?"

School desegregation is another important issue in the mayoral campaign.

In June 1976 the California Supreme Court ordered the Los Angeles school district to take steps to desegregate its schools. The court noted that the district had failed to undertake "any efforts to alleviate segregation."

Los Angeles has one of the most segregated school systems in the country. The *Los Angeles Times* reported last spring that 292 of the city's 564 public schools have more than a 50 percent minority enrollment. Of those 292 schools, 157 have 97 percent or higher minority enrollment.

In the four years that Los Angeles has had a Black mayor, the schools have become more—not less—segregated, while continuing to deteriorate.

State Senator Alan Robbins has joined the race for mayor as an antibusing candidate. Robbins represents the San Fernando Valley area, where racist whites have organized an antibusing group named Bustop.

Promoting his candidacy, Robbins told the *Los Angeles Times* that "forced busing is going to bring racial disharmony to the community, and what the city has needed over the last year or two is a mayor who has candidly said that. . . ."

Robbins also plans to run a "law and order" campaign against incumbent Bradley. His campaign symbol is a small "rape whistle" that he is handing out by the thousands.

# Victory: Attica Brothers win clemency at last

By Willie Mae Reid

On December 30 New York Gov. Hugh Carey announced that he was granting clemency to the Attica defendants and all others involved in the 1971 prison rebellion. In response to continuing public support for the Attica brothers, Carey moved to "firmly and finally close the book on this unhappy chapter of our [state] history."

Carey said he was accepting the recommendation of special prosecutor Alfred Scotti "that six inmates convicted of crimes committed at Attica be granted a pardon for these convictions. In addition, I am extending clemency to the two other inmates convicted of Attica-related crimes—one will be pardoned, and the Attica-related sentence of the other will be commuted, making him eligible for parole."

The governor said that "Attica lurks as a dark shadow over our system of justice." After reading, reviewing, and analyzing the materials on the Attica revolt, Carey says he concluded that "the conduct of this investigation and prosecution has been such that we now confront the real possibility that the law itself may will fall into disrespect."

Carey pointed out that "two independent investigators have documented the one-sided nature of the prosecutions. The failure to take early and vigilant action to insure a vigorous, thorough, and impartial investigation and prosecution of all crimes committed . . . renders futile any further attempts to secure even a semblance of equal justice now. . . ."

A semblance of equal justice was certainly not secured in past court proceedings. Not one guard or state trooper was indicted in the slaughter that left forty-three people dead, including ten hostages. One cop was indicted on the minor charge of reckless endangerment, but this charge was later dismissed.

Yet sixty-two prisoners—mainly Black and Puerto Rican—received forty-two indictments for 1,289 crimes, including murder.

The Attica prisoners were revolting

against the inhuman conditions in the prison. They were asking for better food and housing. They wanted religious freedom and adequate medical treatment. They asked for guards who could speak their language and were of their own race.

The hostages they held were not harmed. But that didn't matter to New York officials, who—as a *New York Times* editorial put it—"were more interested in retaking the institution than in saving human life. . . ."

That's putting it mildly. Helicopters dropped tear gas. Armed guardsmen and state troopers stormed the prison behind the gas blanket. They fired on orders to shoot to kill. And kill they did—savagely.

The families of the prisoners murdered in that bloody massacre must certainly feel the truth in Carey's official admission most acutely. It was their fathers, sons, husbands, and relatives who were murdered.

The prisoners who were wounded, framed up, and terrorized into lying for the prosecution—and the families of the slain hostages—will also not forget the state's disregard for human life that day.

The Attica brothers' defense attorneys have been forced for more than five years to overcome almost impossible odds. They have had to present cases in trials where evidence was missing or fabricated. Prosecution witnesses gave rehearsed testimony. Charles Crowley, a prisoner, was beaten and terrorized into lying for the prosecution.

But the horror of the Attica assault encouraged thousands to rally to the support of the framed-up prisoners. Rallies and demonstrations were organized in cities across the country and in other prisons. As New York State investigations—prompted by these protests—uncovered more of the truth about this flagrant miscarriage of justice, public sentiment continued to mount.

As a result, prosecutors were forced to drop many of the charges and some acquittals were won.

Now these ongoing protests have



Aftermath of Attica massacre

also forced Carey to announce his clemency decision. The governor evidently felt that his action was necessary to restore public confidence—in his words—in "the principle and practice of evenhanded justice."

This is good news for the men with charges still hanging over them, especially John Hill, an American Indian. Hill was convicted of killing a prison guard in the early days of the prison revolt. With the murder charge commuted, Hill will soon be eligible for parole.

When asked by the *Militant*, Lenny Klaif, one of the lawyers who served on the case, said that Hill was "sure to get out." Klaif also pointed to the lawsuits that individual prisoners have filed against the state and the guards. With criminal proceedings completed, Klaif feels the obstacles to hearing these suits have lessened.

Carey hopes his decision will end the attention that has been focused on the role of the government in the massacre—and the role of Nelson Rockefeller, who was governor at that time.

Rockefeller could have ended the rebellion peacefully and humanely by granting the prisoners' just demands. He refused. Instead of meeting with the prisoners, he met with President Richard Nixon. The result was the shoot-to-kill order that ended in more than forty deaths.

Carey has no plans to right this wrong. His December 30 statement made it clear that no action will be taken against "any armed personnel who were misdirected or abused their authority in the retaking of the facility and rehousing of the inmates." Not to mention against Rockefeller!

This will only continue the white-wash of the state's actions in the Attica massacre.

Carey's decision recognizes at long last that the victims at Attica were victimized. That's good!

But the evenhanded justice that Carey promised will not be had until a full investigation into the massacre has been made and all those responsible for the murders—no matter how high up—have been indicted and convicted.



# Protests called to stop Utah execution

SALT LAKE CITY—The Utah Coalition Against the Death Penalty is organizing a protest rally here January 15, the Saturday before the scheduled execution of Gary Gilmore.

A vigil protest at the prison entrance is also planned for the predawn hours of Monday, January 17. That is the day the state has pledged to go through with the first official murder in this country since 1967.

The coalition was initiated by the Utah affiliate of the American Civil Liberties Union several weeks ago. Although organizations in the area are not formal endorsers yet, individuals working with the coalition represent a broad range of groups. Among them are the NAACP, United Church of Christ, Society of Friends, and Socialist Workers party.

A coalition meeting here in Salt Lake City January 4 attracted wide media coverage, including news spots on all three local television stations. The United Methodist church and the American Friends Service Committee both sent national representatives to the meeting.

In an interview televised on the ABC-TV affiliate prior to the meeting, Bill Hoyle commented on Gilmore's public pleas to face the firing squad, rather than spend the remainder of his life in prison. Hoyle is one of three coalition coordinators.

"Our quarrel is not with Gary Gilmore," Hoyle said. "Our quarrel is with the state and federal government. We do not think they should have the option of legal murder available to them."

For more information on coalition activities, contact Hoyle at (801) 521-8654.



GARY GILMORE

## Demand Carter grant unconditional amnesty

By Steve Wattenmaker

Jimmy Carter's political "honeymoon" with one group of Americans may be over even before the inaugural confetti is swept off Pennsylvania Avenue later this month.

*Militant staff writer Steve Wattenmaker is a Vietnam-era veteran. In 1974 he successfully fought an attempt to kick him out of inactive reserves with a less-than-honorable discharge. His membership in the Young Socialist Alliance, the army contended, was "incompatible with national security."*

Demands are escalating for the president-elect to scrap his planned pardon of draft resisters and instead

issue a sweeping, unconditional amnesty for everyone victimized for opposing the Vietnam War.

But so far Carter has stuck to his original proposal, pledging to act on the pardon during his first week in office.

At issue is Carter's decision to pardon only those who "violated Selective Service laws."

This would directly affect no more than 14,000 individuals. Military deserters, who would not be pardoned, would be forced to appeal for clemency on a case-by-case basis.

The number of people eligible under such a measure is only a tiny fraction of those who have been legally, financially, and socially persecuted for their resistance during the war.

According to figures published by proamnesty organizations and the *New York Times*, the president-elect's

proposed pardon leaves out the overwhelming majority of those who would benefit from an amnesty order:

- Some 790,000 GIs were booted out of the military with less-than-honorable discharges during the Vietnam War. This leaves them with a life-long stigma in seeking jobs, loans, and other opportunities.

Bad discharges were handed out to GIs for activities ranging from refusing to serve in Vietnam to handing out antiwar leaflets—and to a large number of Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicano soldiers who were victims of military racism.

In a letter to Carter urging amnesty, the head of the United Church of Christ pointed to the issue of racism in the military.

The Rev. Dr. Joseph Evans wrote: "As a black myself who has counseled with black Vietnam veterans, I knew

that many of those who received less-than-honorable discharges were not war resisters, nor did they cause major discipline problems. They simply ran afoul of officers and noncommissioned officers who did not like the color of their skin."

Oppressed minorities and the poor were drummed out of the military, Evans told Carter, because they "did not have the resources to learn of their legal rights."

- Among those Carter says he will not pardon are 20,000 military deserters. Deserters are another category of war resisters disproportionately made up of Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and the poor.

President Ford's clemency board found that of the deserters who appealed their cases to it in 1974 and 1975, 25 percent were Black or

*Continued on page 30*

## New Trotskyist biweekly in Spanish launched

By Barry Sheppard

The socialist movement in the United States will take an important step forward on January 24, the publication date of the first issue of a biweekly magazine in Spanish.

The new publication will be called *Perspectiva Mundial* (World Outlook).

The appearance of the magazine will mark the first time that a regular Spanish publication has been produced by the Trotskyist movement in this country.

That such a publication can now be launched reflects the growth of the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance in the past few years, especially coming out of the recent socialist election campaign.

As a result of the election effort and other work of the two organizations, the SWP and YSA have expanded significantly geographically. One of the areas in which socialists have strengthened their units and built new ones has been the Southwest.

The growth of the socialist movement has also been reflected in building branches of the SWP and chapters of the YSA that are located in Puerto Rican, Chicano, and other Spanish-speaking communities in many cities from New York to San Francisco.

Interest in socialist ideas is on the rise among the oppressed Spanish-speaking peoples in the United States—one result of their radicalization in recent years. More Spanish-speaking people are joining the SWP and YSA as we become more deeply involved in these struggles.

*Perspectiva Mundial* will be an important next step toward the goal of

constructing a bilingual socialist movement in this country.

Much of the material in *Perspectiva* will consist of translations from the revolutionary socialist newsweekly *Intercontinental Press*. As such, *Perspectiva Mundial* will have at its disposal *IP*'s unique resources, including worldwide correspondents, translations from the world press in more than twenty-five languages, and documents.

Accordingly, the new magazine will present international news, analysis, and information that has not been available in Spanish before. It will, in addition, contain reprints from the Spanish-language revolutionary socialist press as well as special features, including translations of articles by Leon Trotsky.

The magazine will endeavor to set the same high standards of accuracy in fact and translation that *Intercontinental Press* maintains. In this regard, it will stand head and shoulders above attempts at printing certain columns or pages in Spanish in the publications of other tendencies on the American left.

Such a magazine will be of interest not only in the United States. It will help build the socialist movement in Spanish-speaking countries throughout the world.

Readers of the *Militant* who can read Spanish are urged to use the coupon below to get your subscription now and not miss a single issue, and to bring the magazine to the attention of others who would find it useful.

And, for those who are studying Spanish, *Perspectiva Mundial* is a must!

Tu revista en castellano aparecerá el 24 de enero.

# Perspectiva Mundial

### SUSCRIBETE a:

A través de este esfuerzo, queremos presentar a nuestros compañeros de habla hispana un bisemanario de noticias y análisis de los más importantes acontecimientos mundiales.

Además, en los primeros números serán incluidos los temas siguientes:

- La caída de la libra y la lira, por Ernesto Mandel
- Los primeros años de Mao Tsetung
- La política de los Batustán en Sudáfrica
- Asia: Un año de represión y agitación
- Artículos de León Trotsky
- Entrevista con el exilado revolucionario panameño, Miguel Antonio Bernal: "Por Qué Se Aferra el Pentágono a Panamá".

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# Women's rights action will kick off new year

By Ginny Hildebrand

This past year government and right-wing forces have been battering women's rights. In the first month of 1977 feminists and their supporters will hold actions demanding a halt to these attacks.

## Equal Rights Amendment

At a widely covered January 4 news conference, Atlanta Mayor Maynard Jackson proclaimed January 7-8 ERA weekend. That's the weekend of an Equal Rights Amendment conference at Georgia State University.

The 8:00 p.m. Friday rally at GSU's Urban Life Auditorium will feature leading feminists, unionists, and Black rights activists.

Discussions and workshops on building a 1977 Georgia ratification drive will begin Saturday at 10:30 a.m.

An Indianapolis ERA demonstration will begin at 2:00 p.m. January 9 at the State Office Building Plaza. A keynote speaker will be National Organization for Women (NOW) National Board Chairperson Eleanor Smeal.

An Open Air Speak-Out in Richmond will demand Virginia's ratification. The featured speaker at the

January 15 Monroe Park rally will be Gloria Steinem. For information on a chartered bus from the Washington, D.C., area call (703) 578-3973.

Seattle activists in the Washington ERA Coalition will aid the drive in unratified states by holding a January 14 teach-in at the Seattle Center.

A January 14 rally in Houston at the First Unitarian Church will be dedicated to Alice Paul, author of the ERA. Among the speakers will be Elma Barrera, a local TV news reporter; Nikki Van Hightower, women's advocate for the city; and Zoia Jones from the National Council of Negro Women.

The rally, which is set to start at 7:30 p.m., is sponsored by NOW, Coalition of Labor Union Women, Federally Employed Women, Socialist Workers party, *Breakthrough* magazine, and others.

## Abortion

On January 14 the St. Paul Militant Labor Forum is sponsoring a panel discussion entitled In Defense of Women's Right to Choose Abortion. It will begin at 7:30 p.m. at the YWCA. Speakers will be representatives from the Abortion Rights Council, St. Paul

NOW, Socialist Workers party, Women's Political Caucus, and Concerned Neighbors Coalition.

The next day, a local Planned Parenthood clinic will hold an open house to counter right-wing efforts to ban the clinic from the neighborhood.

On January 22, the anniversary of the Supreme Court ruling legalizing abortion, actions are set in several cities.

• **Milwaukee:** An Abortion Rights Speak-Out is scheduled for 1:00 p.m. at the YWCA. Activities will continue the next week at the University of Wisconsin.

• **New York:** A public meeting in defense of abortion rights is set to begin at 2:00 p.m. at the Washington Square Methodist Church. A letter urging groups to participate has been signed by feminist author Florynce Kennedy; Gloria Steinem; Digna Sanchez, Puerto Rican Socialist party Commission on Women; Rosemary Meacham, Newspaper Guild Local 3; Maritza Arrastia, Committee to End Sterilization Abuse; and Carol DeSaram, president of New York NOW.

• **Tacoma, Washington:** An Abortion Defense Action Day speak-out is

being planned.

• **Seattle:** A downtown demonstration will be held.

• **Cleveland:** A picket line will gather at St. Johns Cathedral.

• **Philadelphia:** NOW will hold workshops on abortion rights.

• **Toledo:** The Welfare Rights Organization and NOW are sponsoring a speak-out at the University of Toledo.

On January 20 in Chicago the University of Illinois Circle Campus women's liberation group will sponsor an abortion rights panel.

In Washington, D.C., January 28, Sarah Weddington, outgoing president of the National Abortion Rights Action League, will speak at a forum beginning at 8:00 p.m. at All Souls Church.

## Women's State of Union

Women's State of the Union addresses will be delivered at women's rights rallies in San Francisco and Washington, D.C. The San Francisco event begins at 7:00 p.m. January 11 at the Old Presbyterian Church. In the capital, NOW President Karen DeCrow will be the featured speaker at the George Washington University rally set for 7:00 p.m. January 13.

# Socialists blast gutting of affirmative action

Last fall the Labor Department proposed new guidelines to gut affirmative-action hiring programs. Protests forced the government to hold hearings in Atlanta, Los Angeles, Chicago, and New York. Socialists, feminist and Black leaders, working women's and union groups all testified against the proposed changes.

Following are excerpts from testimony presented by leaders of the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance.

Sam Manuel, Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor of Los Angeles.

What will these new guidelines mean?

They will reduce the numbers of companies with federal contracts that will be required to set up affirmative-action programs. They will raise by \$9 million the amount of a federal contract subject to review for hiring practices.

They will increase twofold the number of employees and the amount of the contract involved to require submission of affirmative-action plans. This provision alone would eliminate more than 3,400,000 employees from coverage.

These guidelines are not an isolated

attack on our civil rights. They go hand-in-hand with the recent California Supreme Court ruling in the Bakke case. In that case the court ruled against affirmative action in admissions to the University of California system, claiming that such programs are discriminatory against nonminority applicants.

We need more affirmative action, more jobs, more preferential treatment for Blacks, Chicanos, and women.

We say, instead of spending billions on war, use that money to provide jobs for all!

Suzanne Haig, 1976 Socialist

Workers party candidate for governor of Illinois.

It is no coincidence that at the same time that the Labor Department is attempting to undermine the affirmative-action regulations, the Supreme Court has ruled that employers do not have to pay disability benefits for pregnancy; Congress has voted to cut off Medicaid payments for abortion; child-care funds have been severely curtailed; and legislatures have failed to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment.

Women, like Black people and other oppressed groups, are under direct

Continued on page 30

# Stalinists seek 'protection' for anti-ERA line

By Ginny Hildebrand

Communist party leaders shook their heads. How, they pondered, could feminists think that the ERA would have made it tougher for the Supreme Court to rule against paid maternity leaves?

"The court ruling . . . makes clear that it would use the Equal Rights Amendment, as now written, as a vehicle for eliminating all special protective legislation that guarantees equality in fact and not just in word," the editors of the

## AS I SEE IT

Communist party newspaper the *Daily World* wrote December 10.

Actually, while the Stalinists were cranking out these assertions, they were guilty of overlooking some facts.

For example, in an article in last October's *Equal Rights Monitor* magazine, Gov. Milton Shapp wrote that the Pennsylvania ERA has meant that "pregnancy must be treated as any other temporary disability in determining employment and employment benefits."

On December 14 Pennsylvania's State Human Relations Commission reaffirmed that sick-leave programs must cover pregnant employees despite the Supreme Court's ruling.

In other words, regardless of CP predictions, in Pennsylvania the ERA gave impetus to extending disability to pregnant workers.

This doesn't mean that America's rulers won't try to find ways to ignore the ERA or even use it against women, if ratified.

Look at the Fourteenth Amendment. Blacks have used this antislavery constitutional amendment in their fight for equal protection under the law. Now, however, the California Supreme Court has backed a white applicant to a state medical school, who claimed that his Fourteenth Amendment rights were violated by the school's affirmative-action admissions policy.

Would the CP urge Black rights supporters to organize to repeal the Fourteenth Amendment? It wouldn't dare.

But on the ERA, the CP sounds the retreat even before the battle. It declares: "This Court has clearly, through many decisions, defined itself as a pro-big business court. We would feel very uneasy about leaving such a decision [interpretation of 'protective' laws under the ERA] in the hands of this Court!"

Who's saying we should leave the interpretation of the ERA up to the Supreme Court? A fighting women's and labor movement could drive through ERA ratification and make the courts enforce it according to the needs of working women. These needs include erasing some so-called women's protective laws and extending others to men.

The CP doesn't mention that many "protective" laws have "in fact and not just in word" discriminated against us. Some laws have explicitly barred women from "men only" jobs. Others, such as weight lifting maximums that apply only to women, have locked us out of jobs.

Already, one-third of the states have substantially altered or repealed their "protective" laws under Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Would the CP urge us to topple this civil rights law?

When you get right down to it, the CP opposes

the ERA for the same reasons as right-wingers—reverence for the nuclear family and traditional sex roles.

The October 25, 1975, *Daily World* emphasized the importance of "special laws protecting women workers including weight lifting maximums" and "overtime limits so families will not suffer."

I'd like to hear reactions to this from women working on the Alaska pipeline and working mothers who are trying to get their husbands to share family responsibilities.

The CP's hostility to the ERA stems from its mentors in the Soviet bureaucracy, who seek to bolster women's subordinate role by assigning them the main responsibility for child rearing and housekeeping—even if they have a job as well.

Note, for example, the laws that still curtail women's right to abortion (See page 20.)

Sexist attitudes in the Soviet Union reflect these government policies. For instance, one survey found only 25 percent of Soviet men approve of their wives having jobs!

The Soviet journal *Literary Gazette* recently reported that dozens of men have written in with this kind of complaint: "Every man dreams of a woman who's soft, loving, expressive, affectionate, modest and shy, a feminine woman. . . ."

"Their bossy shouts around the house, their shabby way of dressing and their swaggering way of drinking bottoms-up like a man turns the home into a crude barracks."

This sounds like something you'd read in *Vogue* magazine from its male readers complaining about the "women's lib" movement. Would we also hear this kind of lament around the editorial office of the *Daily World*?



## After 5-day disappearing act

# Informer in Hampton case 'loses' memory

By Nancy Cole

CHICAGO—FBI agent-provocateur William O'Neal—the key witness in the Fred Hampton/Mark Clark trial here—is trying to turn the tables by “remembering” only what he wants to about his infiltration of the Black Panther party.

BPP members Hampton and Clark were murdered in their sleep in December 1969 when Chicago cops shot their way into a West Side apartment.

The \$47.7 million lawsuit was filed by the families of the two slain Panthers and by survivors of the murderous raid. It charges an unconstitutional conspiracy by the FBI and Chicago cops in planning and carrying out the assault.

As part of the FBI's Cointelpro operations against the Panthers, O'Neal had worked himself up to “captain of security.” He was responsible for protecting BPP leaders.

When pressed, he admitted in court to delivering a floor plan of the murder scene to the FBI. He is also believed to have drugged Hampton the night of his death to ensure the BPP leader would be in a coma during the raid. He can't “recall” if he did it.

O'Neal had been on the witness stand for more than two weeks when he disappeared with no explanation December 8. Government attorneys

later claimed his wife was having a miscarriage. He reappeared December 13 with no excuse for his absence.

Judge Joseph Sam Perry allowed O'Neal to resume testifying as though nothing had happened.

According to the plaintiffs' attorney Jeffrey Haas, O'Neal has had to be pressured to “remember” anything about his traitorous role.

At first he couldn't recall if he passed along the layout of the Panthers' apartment to the FBI. He also didn't remember that his FBI control agent Roy Mitchell paid his bail several times and bought several cars for him. Documents submitted prove these events occurred.

Haas told the *Militant* that when O'Neal was confronted with his faulty memory, “he said some days he doesn't even remember his birthday.”

O'Neal, however, miraculously recovers his memory under questioning by government attorneys.

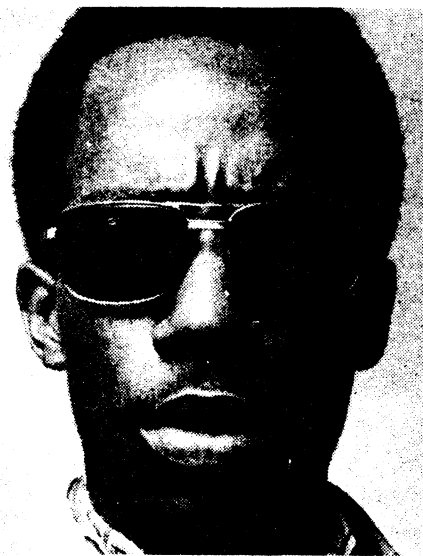
“He has told a lot of lies about what the Panthers are, about supposed illegal activities,” Haas said. “He tries to portray himself as the hero that stopped all these things from going on.”

According to Haas, in addition to the \$1,100 O'Neal has received from the FBI every month since the trial began, he's collected another \$8,500 during

the past four months. That's more than \$3,000 a month to testify for the FBI. Plus he gets about \$500 “expense” money each week for coming in to consult with his attorney.

“O'Neal is still performing Cointelpros,” Haas adds. “His purpose in the trial is to try and dirty up the Panthers. The counterintelligence program was aimed at destroying the Panthers and discrediting them. And this is the function he's trying to serve here.”

And Judge Perry is more than



INFORMER O'NEAL: “... said some days he doesn't remember his birthday.”

willing to give him and the other defendants a free hand in it, charge the plaintiffs.

The U.S. Court of Appeals here denied a motion by the plaintiffs' attorneys that would have required the production of the entire trial transcript for the higher court's inspection. The plaintiffs cannot afford the costly court record.

The purpose of the appeal to a higher court, Haas explained, “was to show that first, the judge is prejudiced and second, because of this he is not the proper one to rule on a contempt motion” against attorney Flint Taylor. Taylor was jailed by Perry for five hours November 11 over a broken water pitcher.

As one example, plaintiffs submitted an affidavit from a former government attorney in the case, Sheldon Waxman, reporting a conversation he had with the judge. Perry told Waxman before the trial even began that the plaintiffs would “never be able to prove that the FBI killed those fellas.”

When court resumes after the holiday break, plaintiff attorneys plan to ask for an extension of the trial, which Perry has arbitrarily declared to be over January 15. O'Neal is expected to testify for at least two more weeks and half the cop defendants have yet to even take the stand.

# Oliver Lee Davis fights racist frame-up

By Bill Ruppert

DALLAS—Oliver Lee Davis is a twenty-one-year-old Black man serving a ninety-nine-year prison sentence for two crimes he did not commit.

Davis was convicted and sentenced by an all-white jury in an atmosphere of racist hysteria in the rural town of Waxahachie, twenty miles south of Dallas.

On August 23, 1974, three days before his enrollment at one of the twenty-five colleges offering him a scholarship, Oliver Lee Davis faced the beginning of a set of injustices that would strip him of his freedom.

Davis was a star basketball player at Skyline High School in Dallas. His coach told Davis to look for another team member who was absent from school.

Davis hitched a ride with two young men, one of whom he knew. They offered to take him to his destination if he would ride to Ennis, a town thirty miles south of Dallas. That trip was to become the longest ride in Davis's young life.

Near Waxahachie the car stopped at

a store. Unknown to Davis before, the two young men intended to rob the store. After the robbery attempt Davis, scared for his life, got back into the car. Police stopped the car and arrested everyone.

The two young men and the store owner testified that Davis was not involved in the robbery. Despite this he was charged with robbery and held in the Ellis County jail.

Davis was kept in a seven-man cellblock for several months. All this time he tried to resist the bigotry and racism of the jailers. Davis was Black and proud. This made his jailers hate him.

On the day of the robbery trial in Waxahachie, Davis was found guilty and given a ten-year probated sentence. As Davis was leaving the courtroom the judge told him to stop. “Hey, hey, come back here. We've got something else for you.” At that time Davis and three other Black men were charged with sodomy and aggravated sexual abuse of two white prisoners.

The three other Blacks pleaded

guilty, while Davis contended his innocence. He maintains his innocence today. Two of the three who pleaded guilty are now free while Davis is imprisoned for ninety-nine years.

It became obvious during the trial that the case was a frame-up. Only one witness testified that Davis was involved in sexual abuse. Two of the other Black prisoners testified that Davis was not involved. One of the whites admitted that Davis had nothing to do with it and said Davis had offered them first aid. The testimony was four to one for Davis's innocence on the charge of aggravated sexual abuse.

Only one additional witness testified that Davis was involved in sodomy, a charge that brings a much lower penalty than sexual abuse.

An all-white jury quickly returned a verdict of guilty and a sentence of ninety-nine years. One prospective juror was heard to declare, “Life is not good enough for what you've done.” She was later confirmed as a juror.

Davis's case is now on appeal.

During the time Davis was in the

Ellis County jail, he was the object of abuse and mistreatment. He was given pills for asthma. But the pills were not suited for the treatment of asthma and could have killed him. Davis found more pills hidden in his food.

The frame-up of Davis has provoked anger in the Dallas Black community. Citizens in Dallas, including Davis's family, have organized to bring public pressure to free him. More than 8,000 people have signed petitions in his behalf.

Many community leaders have gone on record to lend support to Davis's defense. They include Texas State Representatives Eddie Bernice Johnson, Paul Ragsdale, and Sam Hudson; NAACP Regional Director Richard Dockery; Dallas City Council members Lucy Patterson and Juanita Craft; and Rev. S.M. Wright, president of the Interdenominational Ministers Alliance.

The Oliver Lee Davis Defense Committee is mobilizing public support to defend Davis and to raise funds for his legal defense. Its address is Post Office Box 17308, Dallas, Texas 75217.

# Actions defend LA antideportation activist

By Jan Aragón and Mariana Hernández

LOS ANGELES—The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) is expected to hold its ninth hearing this month in its nine-month effort to deport José Jacques Medina. Medina, an activist in the antideportation movement here, was arrested by the FBI last March on a warrant dated March 30, 1975—almost a year prior to his arrest. FBI agents tried to intimidate Medina by threatening to charge him with trafficking in drugs and conspiring to overthrow the United States government. After questioning Medina, the FBI turned him over to the INS for deportation.

Before coming to the United States, Medina was a leader of the Mexican

student movement. He was active in the defense of students jailed after the “Massacre of Tlatelolco,” a demonstration that was brutally attacked by the Mexican government in 1968.

Because of threats and harassment by right-wing groups such as “los Halcones” (the Falcons)—then operating with almost total impunity—Medina, then a law student, fled Mexico.

Medina continued his political activity in Los Angeles. He has been a member of CASA-Hermanidad General de Trabajadores (CASA—General Brotherhood of Workers), an antideportation group. He writes a regular column in the Los Angeles CASA newspaper, *Sin Fronteras*. Medina has also lectured on the democratic rights

of undocumented workers in the United States.

Medina is being represented by attorney Leonard Weinglass. According to Weinglass's office, Medina is accused of entering the United States “without inspection,” despite the fact that he entered with a visa. Medina's case is another example of the government's stepped-up harassment of antideportation activists in the Southwest.

Medina filed for political asylum in the United States August 5. According to U.S. law, any noncitizen has the right to request asylum on grounds that he or she might face persecution if returned to their country of origin.

On January 11 Medina will appear at a hearing on his asylum request. He

will offer proof that he and other political activists in Mexico do face imminent danger.

Medina has requested that the hearings be public.

The Committee for the Defense of José Jacques Medina has called demonstrations in Seattle, Chicago, New York, San Antonio, and Los Angeles for January 8. They are requesting that letters be sent to the U.S. State Department to support asylum for Medina. Petitions are also being circulated.

For further information write: Committee for the Defense of José Jacques Medina, 1523 East Brooklyn Avenue, Los Angeles, California 90033; or phone (213) 225-1479.



EVANS & NOVAK

# ANATOMY OF A HATCHET JOB

## Sadlowski campaign in steel smeared by right-wing journalists

By Andy Rose

The 1.4 million members of the United Steelworkers of America have a couple of new friends who are determined to save them from an awful fate.

The awful fate is that steelworkers may elect insurgent Ed Sadlowski rather than administration-backed Lloyd McBride as USWA president.

The self-proclaimed friends are Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, whose syndicated column appears in some 250 newspapers across the country.

Evans and Novak sounded the alarm in a column last month warning that Sadlowski's candidacy "is supported not only by respectable liberals but by the far left, which is trying to regain a foothold in the American labor movement."

Sadlowski's campaign, they say, "is managed by the liberal operatives,

including Washington labor lawyer Joseph Rauh, who took over the mine workers. But cheering loudly from the sidelines are the Communist Party, the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party and other leftist elements resurfacing on the labor scene."

(Mine workers may believe that they themselves—not "liberal operatives"—took over their union in 1972 when they voted out corrupt dictator Tony Boyle and started to implement some democratic reforms. But that's another story.)

### A dangerous character

Evans and Novak accord Sadlowski some benefit of the doubt about the bad company he has fallen into: "There is no evidence that Sadlowski solicited leftist aid or that it is helping his campaign."

On the other hand, they find his unwillingness to witch-hunt the Steelworkers Fight Back movement highly suspect: "But he has not repudiated Communist support, has accused foes of 'red-baiting' and advocates repeal of the anti-Communist clause in the union's constitution."

Clearly a dangerous character! He can probably be convicted of having read the Bill of Rights, and may even believe that freedom of speech and association are constitutionally protected—even inside the labor movement.

Now, neither Rowland Evans nor Robert Novak has ever worked in a steel mill. They have never shown much interest in improving the wages or safeguarding the democratic rights of steelworkers. But they are bona fide experts at finding reds under the bed. They've been doing it for a long time, and under a lot of beds.

In the mid-1960s it was the civil rights movement. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, they warned, was "substantially infiltrated by beatniks, left-wing revolutionaries and—worst of all—by communists." They blasted the "bearded, bushy-haired young bravos" of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic party.

Evans and Novak declared in September 1965 that for college administrators to allow radical speakers on campus was like a government "supplying bullets to the revolution."

(The columnists' lofty disregard for free speech on campus persists. One point in their indictment of Sadlowski charges him with supporting the civil liberties of a "self-described Marxist" that the University of Pittsburgh is trying to fire for his political views.)

### Vietnam warhawks

As fervent supporters of the Vietnam War, Evans and Novak missed no opportunity to "expose" the antiwar movement.

The steering committee of the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, they wrote on November 12, 1969, "is studded with past and present Communist Party members including veteran party functionary Arnold Johnson."

That column appeared three days before a massive antiwar march on Washington sponsored by the New Mobilization Committee. That's no coincidence.

The purpose of the column was precisely to discourage participation in the broadly sponsored march by branding it as communist-dominated. This smear was a typical trick of the prowar forces to avoid debating the real issues, such as whether the United States had any right to be in Vietnam in the first place.

The technique was honed to a fine and despicable art by the FBI with its Cointelpro (Counterintelligence) program of disruption, poison-pen letters, anonymous slanders, and . . . planted news stories.

By 1969, however, the red-baiting was already losing much of its punch. More than half a million people converged on Washington for the November 15, 1969, protest.

One of the biggest antiwar demonstrations ever held in this country was the April 24, 1971, march on Washington. Evans and Novak wrote at least two columns trying to sabotage that protest. Five days before the march, under the headline "Muskie and the Trotskyites," they wrote: "The fact that Sen. Edmund S. Muskie of Maine endorsed Saturday's antiwar demonstration here without even considering

its domination by Trotskyist Communists typifies the cloak of respectability inadvertently provided for the far left by liberals."

They went on to declare that the National Peace Action Coalition, initiator of the march, was "dominated" by the Socialist Workers party.

### Pattern emerges

You see the pattern? Evans and Novak don't have anything against the antiwar movement, naturally. Or the civil rights movement. Or the movement for union democracy.

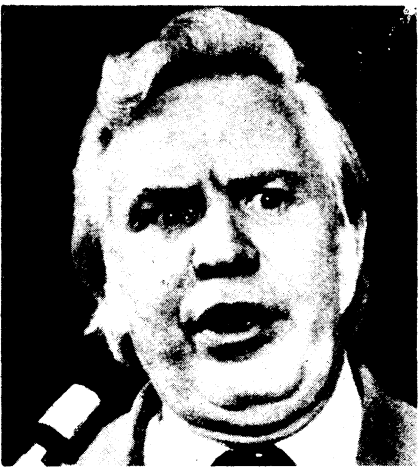
It's just that if anybody joins these movements—out of the simple, heartfelt belief that the war was wrong or that equality and union democracy are right—Evans and Novak figure it's their duty to "expose" these dupes for providing a "cloak of respectability" for "communists."

The problem, Evans and Novak complained in their April 19, 1971, diatribe, is that "in the lingering reaction to the Joe McCarthy era, liberals are reluctant to probe anybody's ideological beliefs."

Back to the good old days of Senator Joe, eh boys? When it was open season on everybody's "ideological beliefs" and those who didn't believe the right things could be fired, blacklisted, and maybe even packed off to jail. That's the Evans and Novak line.

Continued on page 30

## Another bureaucrat for McBride



Lloyd McBride has received backhanded support from U.S. Labor Secretary W.J. Usery, a onetime official of the Machinists union and a top labor adviser in both the Nixon and Ford administrations.

In an interview reported last month in the *Chicago Daily News*, Usery "strongly endorsed" the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement in steel. "It's certainly good for the nation, and I think it's good for both sides," Usery stated.

The no-strike deal is a crucial dividing line in the steelworkers election. The Abel-McBride forces defend it as the capstone of their policy of collaboration with management. Sadlowski condemns it as a violation of union principles and a sellout of the membership.

Usery's pro-ENA statement is further evidence of the united effort by the union bureaucracy, the employers, and the government to defeat Sadlowski and keep the steelworkers union subservient to the corporations.

## Abel fans 'outsider' scare

The United Steelworkers officialdom is letting out all the stops in its drive to discredit Ed Sadlowski's candidacy, obscure the issues in the February 8 union election, and assure continued bureaucratic control over the USWA.

In mid-December outgoing President I.W. Abel called on U.S. Sen. Harrison Williams (D-N.J.), head of the Senate Labor Committee, to hold hearings on "outside influence" in the steel elections.

Abel charges that Sadlowski's campaign for militant and democratic unionism is a creature of "employers and antagonistic millionaires who resent the successful record of this union and want to weaken it in the future."

At the same time, with little regard for consistency or logic, Abel claims Sadlowski is dominated by "a broad spectrum of left-wing groups."

On December 23, Abel's chosen successor, Lloyd McBride, filed suit in an Illinois state court charging that Sadlowski has received illegal contributions from "employers, agents of employers and lawyers for employers." The names of eight alleged "employer" contributors were apparently culled from newspaper accounts of Sadlowski fund-raising parties.

Most newspaper reports on

McBride's suit took a skeptical tone. They noted that McBride provided no evidence that the individuals named actually contributed money to Sadlowski or had ties to companies employing USWA members.

Apparently seeking to bolster the weak charges, Abel again entered the fray with a year-end statement that Sadlowski contributors might be a "conduit" for the steel corporations.

Sadlowski termed the McBride suit "a scurrilous act of a drowning man." Emphatically denying that Steelworkers Fight Back had taken money from any employer, Sadlowski added:

"What McBride is trying to do with these sham charges is to diminish the effect of corporate support for McBride's slate, as was exhibited in J. Bruce Johnston's speech last week. That's what this is really all about."

J. Bruce Johnston is a U.S. Steel Corporation vice-president. He recently called on the USWA candidates to defend the Experimental Negotiating Agreement barring strikes in the steel industry.

Since McBride endorses the no-strike deal and Sadlowski opposes it, Johnston's message was clear—despite his proclaimed "impartiality" in the USWA race. —A.R.



By Harry Ring

TUCSON, Ariz.—By the time they are finished, federal officials here may feel they selected the wrong victims when they indicted three social workers and a nun for the “crime” of counseling undocumented immigrants.

The four are determined to mobilize the broadest possible support to fight this frame-up. They are already making encouraging headway.

This was the definite impression I came away with after interviewing three of the four defendants here.

The Manzo Area Council is a busy community agency in the heart of Tucson's West Side Chicano barrio.

Recently a new poster was added to others outside the agency's storefront offices. The new one declares:

“Manzo sí—Migra no!”

People in the community are indignant at the dirty game being played by *la migra*, the feared and hated U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service and its Border Patrol cops.

Many Mexicans and other Latin Americans who come to this country without documents have relatives who are U.S. citizens. This can be the legal basis for their remaining in this country.

Immigration counseling helps people work their way through the maze of red tape involved in achieving resident status.

### Manzo begins counseling

About a year ago, the Manzo Area Council expanded its services to include such counseling. It also provided the community with information about the legal rights of undocumented people.

*La migra* took a dim view of this.

Over the years, many people from the Mexican state of Sonora have migrated to Tucson, some fifty miles north of the border. Today, about 25 percent of Tucson's population is of Mexican origin. Many of these have come without documents.

When Manzo began its counseling service, *la migra* responded with an intensive campaign of community harassment.

*Migra* buses and trucks began cruising the community in greater numbers. Places of employment were raided. Even churches were hit. In less than a year, about a thousand people were picked up.

Last April 9 Border Patrol cops raided the Manzo office. Armed with a federal warrant, they carted off files listing all of Manzo's clients.

In the weeks that followed about 150 of these people were picked up and deported.

The warrant to seize the Manzo files had been issued on the basis that people were being counseled on how to illegally obtain welfare and food stamps. This false claim was soon dropped.

But the files were turned over to a grand jury anyway, and indictments were issued on felony charges of “aiding and abetting,” “transporting,” and “conspiring” to aid “illegal aliens.”

## Interview with Manzo defendants

# Immigration counselors take on ‘la migra’



MANZO DEFENDANTS (clockwise from upper left): Margo Cowan, Margie Ramirez, Ann Gabriel, and Cathy Montaño.

Those indicted were Margo Cowan, director of the agency; Catalina Montaño and Marguerita Ramirez, staff workers; and Sister Ann Gabriel Marcaicq, who had been assigned by her religious order to work with Manzo. Their trial is scheduled for March 8.

They face a total of 166 years in jail, plus heavy fines.

### Serious consequences

A conviction in this case could spell the end of immigration counseling. Anyone trying to help an undocumented person would be subject to the same charges.

When I visited the Manzo Area Council, it seemed like business as usual, with a steady flow of people in and out.

But Margo Cowan, Catalina Monta-

ño, and Margie Ramirez took out time to discuss their case.

They emphasized that what is at stake is more than an injustice to them. The rights of undocumented immigrants are in danger as well.

They see the attack on Manzo as part of the current stepped-up INS campaign against undocumented people. Since Tucson is generally regarded as a conservative community, they speculate, federal officials may have felt it would be easier to obtain a conviction here.

It may not prove so easy.

With the support of the elected community board of directors of the Manzo Area Council, the defendants are seeking to mount the kind of public support they know is necessary to win.

A number of social service agencies, recognizing their stake in the issue, have expressed support.

So has Bishop Francis Green of the Tucson area Catholic church. Other public figures have also spoken out.

The American Civil Liberties Union is seeking full return of the seized Manzo files.

A number of Tucson lawyers are volunteering their services for the defense.

And the community is definitely supportive.

### ‘I support Manzo’

A sign in the agency office announced that T-shirts were available for three dollars declaring, “I support Manzo.”

There was only one T-shirt on hand. “We stencil them up ourselves and we ran out,” Montaño explained.

How many have been sold so far, I asked.

“About a thousand.”

An attractive four-page tabloid has recently been prepared explaining the facts of the case and reprinting a *Los Angeles Times* editorial assailing the prosecution. Some 17,000 have already been distributed—about 15,000 locally, the rest to other parts of the country. More are now being printed.

Almost everyone in the community, the defendants explained, has a relative, friend, or neighbor living under the threat of being scooped up by *la migra*.

Conditions are bad in Tucson. There is little industry here, and Chicanos are generally limited to service jobs or the tourist trade, mainly in hotels and restaurants.

For undocumented Mexican workers, the situation is even worse.

Most of them are from the rural areas of Sonora. There are few field jobs left in the Tucson area, and they don't have skills for city jobs. The people at Manzo estimate that a third of them find work.

### Low-paying jobs

For men it's jobs like dishwashing in restaurants. They make as little as \$1.35 an hour.

Women work as maids or babysitters. That can pay in the area of twenty dollars a week. A few really good cooks might earn as high as two dollars an hour.

The average wage for an undocumented worker in Tucson, they estimate, is around \$1.60 an hour.

And, they add, there is the constant fear of deportation back to Sonora where conditions are even worse. The

## You can help

There are a number of things you can do to help the Manzo defendants.

- Send a contribution or order “I support Manzo” T-shirts for three dollars each. (Small, medium, large, extra large.) This will help defray legal costs and publicity expenses.

- Order and distribute bundles of the special tabloid explaining the case. (A contribution to cover printing and postage will help.)

- See if you can arrange a meeting for one of the defendants in your area. They will be available for speaking engagements nationally during January and February.

Contact the Manzo Area Council, 1025 North Grande, Tucson, Arizona 85705. Telephone: (602) 623-5739.

employers use that as a club to really sweat them. “Do the work or else” is the bosses' approach.

And they know they have *la migra* to back them up.

That's why they went after Manzo when immigration counseling began.

“Before,” Montaño said, “people would be picked up and sent back. They didn't know they could ask to talk to a lawyer, ask for a deportation hearing. When we started the program, people became aware of this.”

“People started getting educated, to feel they have some rights. They can do something for themselves, not just passively go along with it.”

The indictments, Cowan said, “are part of a pattern. The government—as always—sees immigrants as scapegoats for the problems of the economy, for unemployment.”

“They try to make them appear like real aliens. They're hiding under your bed. They're trying to get your job.”

“What they are trying to do,” Cowan said, “is to convince the American people that people who aren't citizens are criminals.”

The Manzo defendants are fighting to combat that reactionary notion. They are also fighting to stay out of jail.

And they need your support.

## Dangerous aliens?

TUCSON, Ariz.—A ninety-day stay of deportation was won December 13 in the case of Oscar and Blanca Bay-Leon. Both are qualified for legal status here. But it is unlikely that they can complete the necessary legal process in the three months available.

Oscar Bay-Leon is six. Blanca is ten.

Their widowed mother is a legal U.S. resident. She has two younger children who were born here. But when Oscar and Blanca were born, she went back to Mexico because medical costs are lower and she wanted to be with relatives.

She filed a residence application for the children two years ago, but the Immigration and Naturalization Service says it can't find the records.

If the children are deported, she will have to go with them. All her relatives are now either dead or in this country.

The family does have the option of voluntarily moving to Mexico until the children's applications are processed. But if the mother stays out of the country more than six months, she will lose her resident status.

Blanca and Oscar Bay-Leon are among those counseled by Manzo.

A real “felony.”

—H.R.

## A CARTER NEW YEAR

The New Year's resolution of the Carter administration—unofficial but self-evident—is to continue reneging on the campaign promises that made millions of American voters view the Democrat as a lesser evil to Ford. The latest pledge to be “taken back” was Carter's supposed commitment to reduce war spending.

One of Harold Brown's first actions after being designated secretary of war in the new cabinet was to tell reporters he doubted that an “absolute reduction” of \$5 billion to \$7 billion could be made in so-called defense spending.

Carter's press secretary, Jody Powell, immediately seconded the retraction. “I don't think [Carter] ever intended to make or made that commitment,” Powell said. Powell was lying.

- In the New Hampshire primary, Carter called for a \$7 billion to \$8 billion cut in the Pentagon budget.

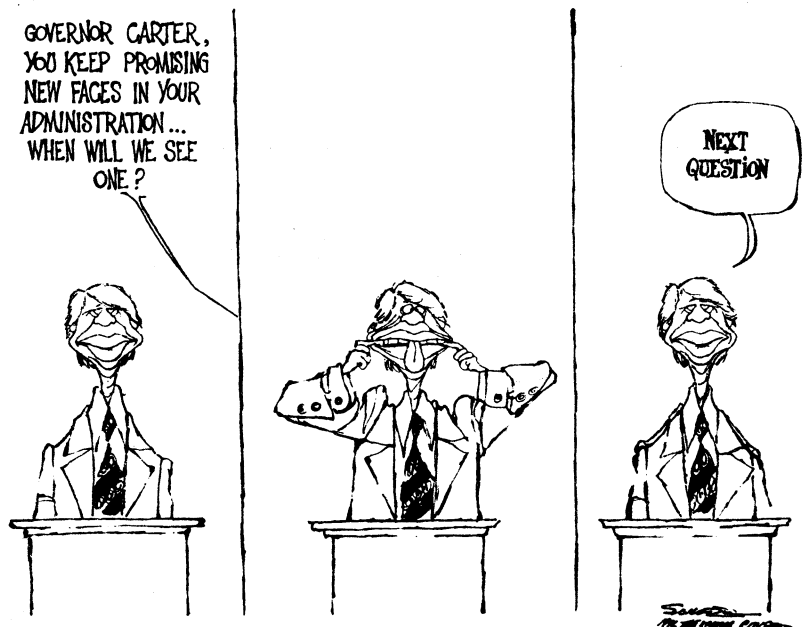
- In June he advised the Democratic party platform committee that “without endangering the defense of our nation or our commitment to our allies, we can reduce present defense expenditures by about \$5 billion to \$7 billion annually.”

Carter was also lying. The war budget reduction is now on the same scrap heap with Carter's pledge to make job creation the “number one priority” of his administration.

And now Carter swears: “I've never said anything but that the first responsibility of any president is to guarantee the security of this country.” So the latest word from Washington is that the Pentagon will get nothing less this year than the \$123 billion already proposed by Ford. The highest war expenditures in history—and in “peacetime,” no less.

Do the bombers and tanks, the far-flung overseas bases, the CIA spies and hit squads, the nuclear missiles poised to wipe out all life on earth—do these “guarantee the security” of working people in this country or anywhere else?

No, this immense squandering of our tax dollars on the imperialist war machine only guarantees that under Carter as under Nixon and Ford there will be “no money” for jobs, “no money” for education, “no money” for welfare, “no money” for health or public transportation or other vital social services. The cutbacks will go on. The unemployment will go on. The inflation—fueled by war spending—will go on.



The promise-shredding continues on other fronts as well. Griffin Bell, Carter's nominee for attorney general, told a January 3 news conference that “it upsets Americans to take children away from their neighborhood schools” and that busing would be used to desegregate schools only “as a last resort.”

This is the man who is supposed to be in charge of enforcing civil rights laws.

Meanwhile Andrew Young, named by Carter as U.S. representative to the United Nations, began to unfold the real foreign policy of the incoming administration.

Asked January 2 if he would support imposing sanctions against South Africa because of its racist apartheid policies, Young replied: “I don't see sanctions. I would see an arms embargo, of course [which has supposedly been in effect for a number of years—*Militant*], but sanctions very seldom have worked.”

Young added that he had “a great deal of sympathy for the white minority governments” of South Africa and Rhodesia.

So it looks like an “ethnic purity” New Year, folks . . . unless the working people of America decide to implement some resolutions of their own.

### Paid maternity leaves

One element of the recent Supreme Court ruling on paid maternity leaves not taken up in the *Militant's* insightful and angry analysis is that which was given as the foundation of the ruling by local media: that pregnancy is a “voluntary and desired condition” unlike heart attacks or prostate surgery.

After regaining my breath from this blast of cool cynicism jetted from nine white, male judges high atop Mount Patriarchy, I found that this misconception is widespread among many not-quite-so-poor people.

Until the right to choose abortion or a safe, effective means of contraception is available, such factual-sounding statements remain bombast.

It is in fact the poorest among us who have the least access to currently available methods of reproductive planning; thus, this ruling, like the Hyde amendment [a congressional attempt to ban federally funded Medicaid abortions] hit hardest at poor and nonwhite women.

The “ignorance” behind such a statement is the same sentiment that keeps all oppressed people in our varied chairs.

Sara Smith  
Washington, D.C.

### 'Feminist Reprint'

Enclosed is a copy of the *Feminist Reprint*, published by the National Organization for Women, hot off the presses. Included in it is an article from the *Militant* [“What will women lose? The ERA & ‘protective’ legislation” by Ginny Hildebrand reprinted from the March 12, 1976, *Militant*].

This paper is intended to be a fundraiser as well as a consciousness-raiser. It is our hope that it will succeed on both counts.

Thank you for your part in our effort.  
Kathleen Senn, President  
La Crosse, Wisconsin NOW  
La Crosse, Wisconsin

### High school rights

I would like to inform the readers of the *Militant* of a thus far successful political venture in Hastings High School. More than a month ago I began the formation of the Civil Disobedience Club. Following all the standard procedures to bring about an official school club, the organization was rejected on the grounds that it was an illegal club.

We voted to change our name to SCORE. The acronym stands for Students Combatting Organized Repression, Etc.

After numerous futile discussions with the administration, we were once again frustrated. We would not only be denied a charter, but also access to the school's paths of communication.

In flagrant disregard of policy previously passed by the board of education and pushed through by past student activists, the administration denied us the right to distribute literature and to announce meetings through the daily school bulletin.

We put up posters and tried to use the bulletin board anyway. The posters were torn down and the announcements were altered or deleted entirely.

We managed to call meetings in spite of the suppression. The turnouts were good, and we almost appealed to the principal's authority. We did not have to. He was hard to crumble, but we reached a compromise by reducing him

to bargaining (a situation the administration did not want to find itself in).

In exchange for a summary of our goals and intentions, the principal will (in a written paper) admit that he was discriminatory in dealing with our club. It is a small victory but a victory just the same . . . and it is a start.

Andrew Ratzkin  
Hastings-on-Hudson, New York

### Labor Dept. antiunion drive

Workers who have looked to Labor Secretary W.J. Usery as their knight in shining armor should have a talk with Holgate Young. Usery is *his* boss.

Young is head steward of Local 12 of the American Federation of Government Employees, which represents workers at the Labor Department. He also edits the local's newsletter, which has been critical of Usery. Recently Young was hit with a two-week suspension for allegedly failing to report to his supervisor for each use of official time for union business.

Local 12 spokespeople have charged that the suspension was “completely unjustified and is an attempt to intimidate union officials,” according to the December 13 *Federal Times*.

Grievances have been filed alleging harassment, and the union plans to file an unfair labor practice charge against the Department of Labor itself.

Steve Beck  
New York, New York

### Critical of 'The Front'

I just recently read Peter Seidman's review of *The Front* (*Militant*, December 17). I feel his approval of the film is totally contradictory to the values of the left.

*The Front* is just another long overdue, schmaltzy, cliché ridden, Hollywood film. It still adheres to outmoded and “unrevolutionary” cinematic clichés. Liberal Hollywood continues to dodge real issues and waters everything into cheap humanistic values.

Political thought is complex; Marx himself was extremely critical of anti-intellectual and emotional (idealist) political thought. It makes no difference if *The Front* is pro-left or not, to me it's just a mishmash of “politically safe humanism.”

Of course the film is meant to be entertainment, but here is the contradiction, Mr. Seidman. How else can the entertainment industry thrive except under the values and economics of a capitalist society. Let's not resort to platitudes, let's resort to critical thought.

Tim Smith  
Seattle, Washington

### Carter and Artis

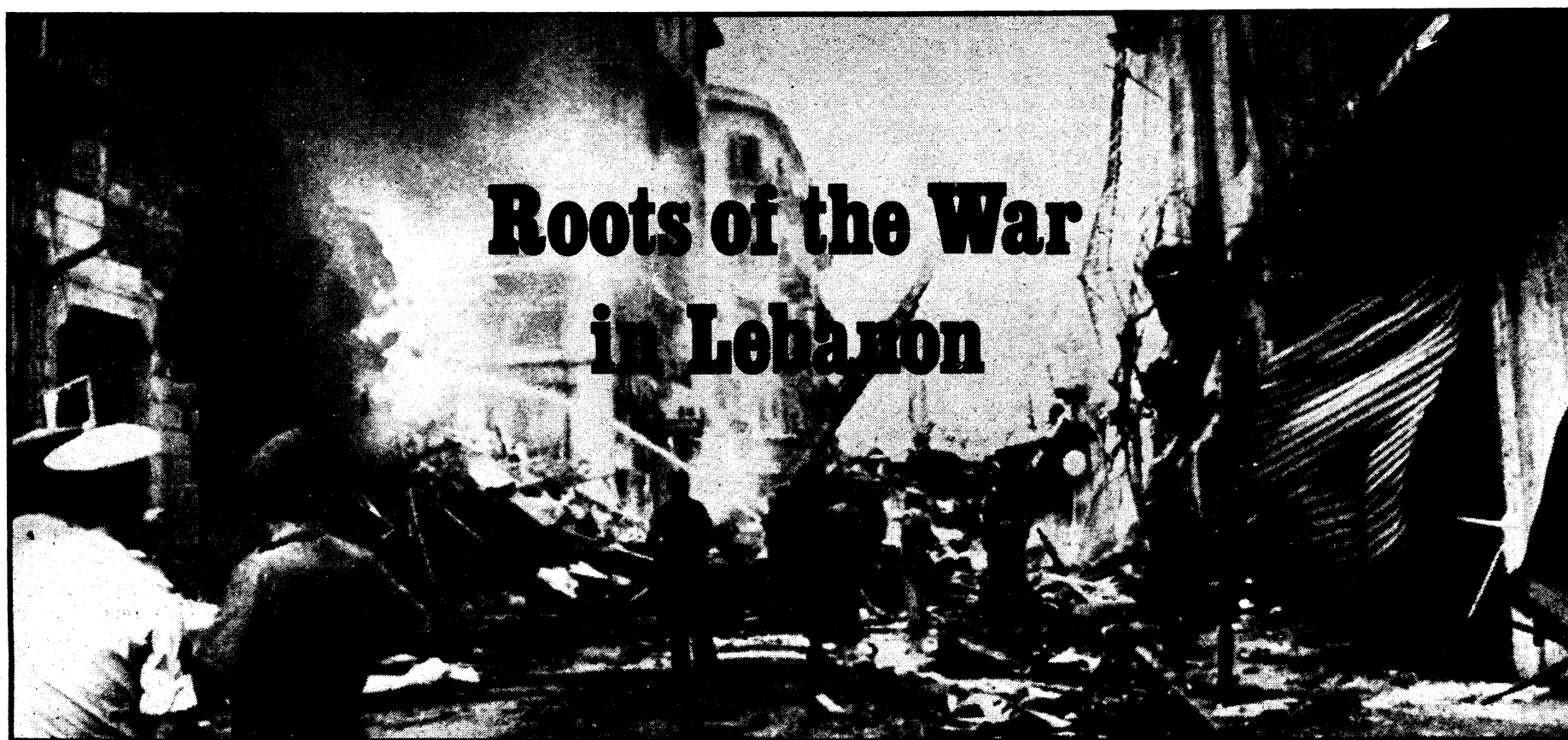
New Jersey Prosecutor Burrell Humphreys, the man who orchestrated the second frame-up of Rubin Carter and John Artis, is boasting that a gain has been made for civil liberties and civil rights. He is especially proud that the two elderly Blacks on the jury voted for conviction, which he says is an advance for racial harmony and safer streets.

Never mind that the trial was a farce and a fraud. Humphreys got his conviction mainly through the testimony of Alfred Bello, an unstable character, self-confessed liar, and small-time crook who has been coddled by the New Jersey cops for the last ten years, stating off and on that he saw

Continued on page 23



# **international socialist review**



• **George Breitman on Rosa Luxemburg  
and the National Question**

• **Lysenko: Pseudoscience and  
Pseudo-Marxism**



• **Black Music, White Racism**

# THE MONTH IN REVIEW

## Brazil 'Contingency Plan'

The publication of previously secret diplomatic communications has revealed the U.S. government's complicity in the rightist coup that installed a repressive military regime in Brazil nearly thirteen years ago. Previously, U.S. officials sanctimoniously denied any involvement in the overturn.

The December 29, 1976, *Washington Post* reported, "The United States was prepared, if needed, to support militarily the Brazilian armed forces' ouster of the country's last civilian government. . . ."

"A U.S. naval task force with an aircraft carrier, a helicopter carrier, six destroyers and oil tankers was ordered to take positions off the Brazilian coast during the 1964 coup. . . ."

According to a top secret telegraphic communication delivered to the Joint Chiefs of Staff in Washington, the U.S. ambassador to Brazil, Lincoln Gordon, was authorized to determine "whether Brazilian military forces or state police forces will require early U.S. support."

As was the case later in Chile and Argentina, the military take-over in Brazil was preceded by a period of mass radicalization. Millions of workers were organized into powerful trade unions. Inspired by the Cuban revolution, tens of thousands of peasants in the impoverished Northeast had organized into peasant leagues demanding redistribution of the land. A constitutionally elected government headed by João Goulart attempted to assuage popular sentiment by instituting modest reforms.

The breadth of the mass upsurge was indicated when thousands of rank-and-file soldiers began to demonstrate for their right to organize and in support of land reform and other democratic rights.

Dean Rusk, U.S. secretary of state at the time, cynically described the coup as a "move to insure the continuity of constitutional government." But the truth was that Washington and its clients in Brazil were convinced that the popular mobilization could not be defeated unless the democratic rights of the masses were decisively smashed.

In the aftermath of the coup, the unions and peasant leagues were banned. Thousands of Communist party members, socialists, and other radicals were arrested and many were killed. Torture was institutionalized as a means of terrorizing dissenters. The living standards of the workers and peasants, already intolerably low, were systematically slashed, as the U.S. imperialists and their Brazilian allies raked in unprecedented profits.

Lincoln Gordon, who later became assistant secretary of state for Latin America, attempted to belittle the revelations of U.S. involvement in the coup by stressing that "it

was a contingency never put into effect." This was true because the Brazilian masses, who had placed confidence in Goulart and were caught off guard by the coup, were unable to put up effective resistance.

However, a virtually identical contingency plan was put into effect by Washington a little more than a year later. When the dictator of the Dominican Republic, General Elias Wessín y Wessín, proved unable to put down a rebellion by forces favoring a return to constitutional democracy, more than 20,000 U.S. troops occupied the country. The U.S. rulers—fearful that the establishment of greater democratic rights would foster worker and peasant struggles leading toward a socialist revolution—helped install and shore up a new repressive government headed by Joaquín Balaguer.

As in the case of Brazil, U.S. government spokespeople immediately denied at the time any involvement in the rightist coups in Chile and Argentina, coups that led to large-scale murders of socialists and trade unionists, arrest and torture of dissidents, and the suppression of even the most minimal democratic rights. The revelations about Brazil show that no credence can be placed in such statements.

The American people have a right to demand of the incoming Carter administration that it reveal any and all "contingency" plans that were made to aid the Chilean and Argentine gorillas, as well as any still in existence to counter upsurges in other parts of the world.

## The Environment in 1976

Within two weeks last month, two different tankers ran aground off the East Coast, disgorging nearly eight million gallons of oil into the water. The full consequences for birds, beaches, and valuable fishing grounds are not yet clear.

The disturbing thing is, however, that December was no worse than an average month in 1976 in terms of ecological disasters. The events of the past year, in relation to the environment, show a dangerous new level of breakdowns, sickness, and destruction caused by capitalist production for profit.

- In January, the French-British Concorde supersonic transport aircraft began making commercial flights. Environmentalists maintain the Concorde will raise air and noise pollution near airports to dangerous levels, as well as damage the earth's ozone layer. The ozone layer protects humans from the sun's ultraviolet rays, which can cause skin cancer. In February, Washington granted the Concorde permission to land in the United States.

- February also saw the resignation of three top engineers from General Electric's nuclear energy division. "Nuclear power has become a technological monster and it is not clear who, if anyone, is in control," stated one of them.

- Various studies were released last spring pointing to air pollution and industrial chemicals as responsible for the spread of cancer in industrial countries. Meanwhile, to help the capitalists achieve an economic recovery, federal and state governments have pressed for relaxation of the pitiful pollution control

standards that exist.

- In May, a federal grand jury charged Allied Chemical Corporation, Life Science Products, and the city of Hopewell, Virginia, with 1,096 violations of water pollution laws, after seventy-five Hopewell residents and their families began suffering nervous tremors, erratic eye movements, loss of memory, slurred speech, liver damage, and other ailments. They had been contaminated by the deadly chemical Kepone, which had been discharged into the city sewage system by the Allied Chemical plant.

While the plant itself has now been buried, Allied Chemical still has the problem of how to get rid of sixty-five tons of Kepone-contaminated waste materials.

- In mid-June a specter began haunting New York City: a giant mass of sludge had reached the shore of Long Island. Seventy miles of beautiful beaches had to be shut down as the waters splashing onto them turned into "a giant toilet bowl," as one local official described it.

The sludge invasion was the result of the forty-year practice of dumping raw sewage off the coast of New York City.

- On July 10 a pipe in a chemical plant exploded in Italy, releasing a cloud of poisonous gases on the towns of Séveso and Meda. The chemical released is one of the most toxic substances known; it had previously been used in the defoliants sprayed by U.S. planes in Vietnam. Animals died by the thousands and the area had to be evacuated. Doctors fear that those contaminated with even small doses will face long-term effects including kidney, liver, and lung damage as well as deformed children.

Resistance to the threat of environmental destruction has also mounted. On June 1, 11,000 Japanese demonstrated against the docking of the nuclear-powered merchant ship *Mutsu*. On November 13, more than 30,000 people protested at the site where an atomic energy plant is being built near the village of Brokdorf in West Germany. The demand for safe conditions on the job has become a central demand of increasing numbers of trade unions.

The scale of environmental breakdowns and disasters is climbing. The power and complexity of technology that has been achieved under capitalism is turning against humanity, enveloping us with sludge, disease, floods, and the threat of nuclear holocaust.

This is because of the deepening anarchy of capitalism in its monopolistic stage. As Marx predicted more than one hundred years ago, the current system of production—private ownership and competition for private profit—comes into greater and greater conflict with the social nature of production and the interdependency of human productive efforts. The system of production for profit channels society's powerful productive forces into anarchic and antihuman directions, producing breakdowns and disorder. Human safety is sacrificed to profit.

Working people and their allies need to take control of technology and production out of the hands of the profit hogs who now control them. Democratically planned production for human needs can make this planet green and fresh again, and enable human beings to enjoy the fruit of the powerful technology we have created.

## CONTENTS

The Month In Review	2
Roots of the War in Lebanon By Peter Seidman	3

Lysenko: Pseudoscience and Pseudo-Marxism By Stephen Bloom	7
Rosa Luxemburg and the National Question Review by George Breitman	9
Letters	10

Black Music, White Racism Review by Michael Smith	11
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The *International Socialist Review* appears in the *Militant* that is published the first week of every month.

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# Roots of the War in Lebanon

**'The civil war in Lebanon was not fundamentally a religious conflict. Religious differences are linked to the class differences in Lebanese society, and to the issue of imperialist domination.'**

**By Peter Seidman**

On November 15, 1976, the Syrian army completed its occupation of Beirut. Newspapers and diplomats around the world hailed this step as marking the end of the bloody civil war in Lebanon.

Cyrus Vance, secretary of state-designate, has stated that the time seems ripe for a major diplomatic move toward a negotiated peace in the Middle East. Moscow has been calling for this for a long time. President Anwar el-Sadat of Egypt favors negotiations as well.

Despite the peace talk in Washington, Moscow, and Cairo, however, the Middle East remains a powder keg, ready to explode into new wars at any time.

The current pause in the conflict in Lebanon is a good occasion to look into the underlying causes of this bloodbath. More than 40,000 people died in the nineteen-month Lebanese civil war—proportionately equivalent to more than two million people in the United States. What was this fratricidal war all about?

Was it simply a religious conflict, or was it fueled by deeper social and political forces?

How did the Palestinians come to play such an important role in the fighting?

And how does one explain the role of Syria, which, though it claims to be a friend of the Palestinians, became their deadly foe in the course of the civil war?

What is the meaning of Israel's position? How could the Zionist state—which has perpetually been at war against Syria and even today occupies Syrian territory—tacitly accept Syrian President Hafez al-Assad's invasion of neighboring Lebanon?

And what about the role of the Soviet Union? Moscow, which claims to be a staunch friend of the Palestinians, refused to put any meaningful pressure on Syria, a close diplomatic ally in the Middle East, despite Assad's murderous drive against the Palestinians in Lebanon.

And, finally, what about Washington? In whose interests did it intervene in the Lebanese crisis?

Washington has long been deeply involved in Lebanese politics. In 1958, U.S. Marines invaded that country when an Arab nationalist upsurge swept the Middle East and threatened to unseat the proimperialist regime in Lebanon. Given the deepgoing opposition to such military adventures among the American people today, Washington has been forced to act more indirectly. But its policies have made the Middle East a flash point that could plunge the world into war.

## How the War Began

The civil war in Lebanon erupted in April 1975, when a busload of Palestinians was attacked by rightists. Twenty-seven Palestinians were killed. The bus was returning from a rally protesting Israeli attacks on Lebanon. Fighting broke out and rapidly led to a sharp polarization of the country, affecting every social layer.

Lebanon divided into two camps. On one side was a coalition of leftist forces predominantly composed of Muslim workers, peasants, and poor

city dwellers, in alliance with the Palestinian refugee population in Lebanon. Some traditional leaders of the oppressed Muslim population also sided with this coalition to one degree or another, as did many Christian leftists. On the other side was a bloc of rightist forces led by the Maronite Christian ruling strata.

This outbreak of large-scale fighting represented the culmination of a steady buildup of social tension in Lebanon. This was reflected most immediately in the large demonstrations that occurred in the spring of 1975 against the failure of the Lebanese government to take any meaningful action to defend villages and Palestinian refugee camps in the south from a mounting wave of Israeli terror attacks.

The regime had failed to take effective defense measures against Israeli terror for years. In 1973, Israeli commandos assassinated Palestinian leaders in the heart of Beirut. This angered the Lebanese masses, who felt great solidarity with the Palestinians. Two hundred fifty thousand people marched in Beirut to protest this attack.

The Israeli terror had aggravated the problems of the Lebanese economy. Tens of thousands of peasants fled to Beirut as a result of Israel's bombing raids.

They joined thousands of other peasants, who, unable to earn a living on the land as a result of the policies of the big landowners, had also gone to the capital.

This massive exodus from the countryside was not the result of the modernization of agriculture and the development of industry in the cities. It was forced by the backwardness of agriculture and the inability of the government to protect the peasants from Israeli attacks.

Behind this crisis in the countryside is a policy of government neglect. In the Paris daily *Le Monde*, correspondent Eric Rouleau reported last year that an agricultural engineer told him that "since the country became independent thirty-two years ago, the government has not initiated a single irrigation or hydraulic project, or given any technical or financial assistance to the farmers, who are on the verge of bankruptcy."

The conditions for the urban workers and unemployed were no better, and in fact were worsened by the massive migration of peasants from the land. According to one estimate, half of the national income in Lebanon went to the richest 5 percent of the population; the agricultural, industrial, and construction workers received only 12-15 percent.

Beirut, after Tokyo, is the most densely populated city in the world.

## Belt of Poverty

Prior to the outbreak of the civil war, a giant belt of poverty and misery surrounded the city, populated by the working people and the displaced peasantry and Palestinians from the south. There the death rate was two to three times the national average. Medical care and educational facilities were practically nonexistent.

While the cost of living was as high as in New York City, 72 percent of the workers earned an average of 425 Lebanese pounds per month, or \$193. For those unable to find work or who had only occasional jobs, conditions were even worse.

Income for the peasants in the countryside was less than that of urban workers.

These desperate conditions for the great masses of Lebanese were exaggerated by the world inflationary spiral of the 1970s.

In response, a major strike by fishermen broke out in Sidon in February 1975. This challenged



Battle zone, Beirut

the government's antiunion legislation as well as its complicity in maintaining special business privileges for corrupt government leaders.

The mounting strike wave, the increasing demonstrations against government inaction in the face of Israeli terror, and the deepening misery of the masses, all underscored the bankruptcy of the Lebanese ruling capitalist class.

The government could not meet the demands of the masses for:

- defense against Israeli attacks;
- land reform and aid in agricultural development to help end the misery in the countryside;
- a crash program to establish health and education facilities;
- an economic policy that could begin to develop industry, ensuring adequate jobs at decent pay.

Instead, the government protected the interests

*Peter Seidman, a staff writer for the Militant, has spoken and written extensively on the Middle East. He is author of the pamphlet Socialists and the Fight Against Anti-Semitism (Pathfinder Press, 1973).*

of the wealthy ruling clique, which thrived amidst great popular misery.

Here is how Eric Rouleau described this ruling elite in a September 1975 issue of *Le Monde*: "The privileged lead ostentatious lives: several big cars, preferably American and sometimes fitted with telephones, per family; country homes in the hills with swimming pools, tennis courts, even a golf course, all surrounded by a big estate to which one escapes in the hottest times of the year.

"Apartments in Paris, Geneva, London, or New York are used for short stays when on business or in search of pleasure. Yachts anchored out at Taslik, off Beirut, make it possible to spend pleasant weekends with friends."

### Religious War?

These inequalities provided the highly combustible material which flared into the Lebanese civil war. The superficial view that the divisions in Lebanon take place along simply religious lines has led some to view the civil war as primarily of religious content.

While it is true that the reactionary forces that were fighting to maintain their privileges are predominantly Christian in composition while the leftist alliance is predominantly Muslim, the divisions in Lebanon are not most fundamentally along religious lines.

The civil war impelled people to choose sides on the basis of political and social criteria; some Christian forces of leftist persuasion, as well as rightist elements among the Muslim population, broke with the predominant lines of cleavage. For example, at least two of the Palestinian refugee camps attacked by rightists were mainly Christian.

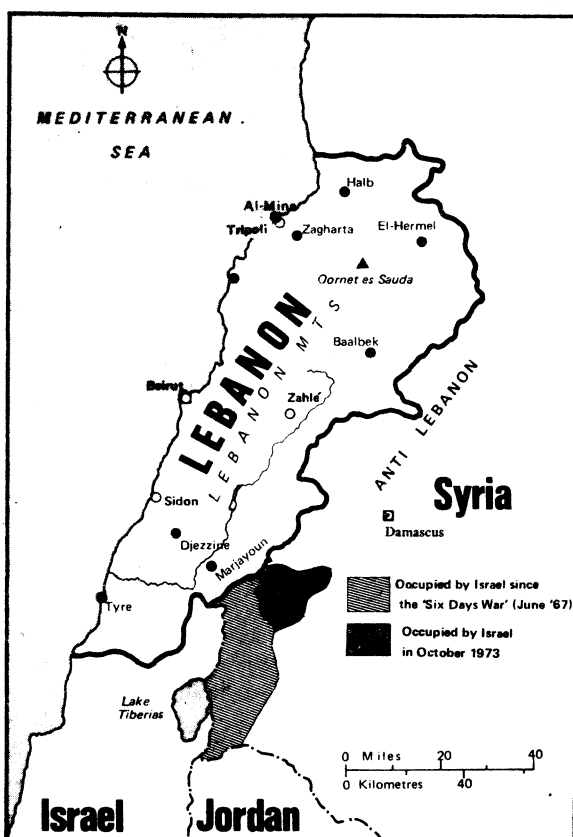
Still, religious differences have played a role in the fighting. This is because they are *linked* to the class differences in the country and the issue of imperialist domination.

Lebanon, like all the present-day states in the Middle East, is an artificial creation carved out of the Arab territories by the European powers. Following the breakup of the Turkish Ottoman Empire after World War I, Britain and France played a major role—through their League of Nations mandates—in setting the stage for the conflicts that today rock the Middle East.

This was not done by accident or through lack of foresight. The decay of Turkish rule and the outbreak of the First World War coincided, helping to spur forward a wave of Arab national consciousness. The Arab masses demanded political independence from Turkish and then Western imperialist rule and a united Arab nation.

Britain and France, highly conscious of the threat to their position in the Arab East, used their mandate power to block the Arab nationalist movement in every possible way.

One aspect of this policy was the carving out of artificial states, which were kept weak and pitted against each other. In this way the Arab national struggle against the colonialist powers was saddled with the burden of inter-Arab competition between regimes.



**'In 1958 U.S. Marines invaded Lebanon when an Arab nationalist upsurge swept the Middle East and threatened to unseat the proimperialist regime. Today Washington has been forced to act more indirectly.'**

In Lebanon, the French exploited religious differences to try to build a base for their continued domination and to counter Arab national consciousness.

When the French, confronted with an insurgent independence movement during the Second World War, finally gave up their mandate and negotiated formal independence for Lebanon, they did so under a complicated governmental formula that granted special privileges to the Christian population—especially the Maronite sect—at the expense of the Muslims. Today, Lebanon is ruled by a Maronite minority.

The impact of this formula was to make it appear that the divisions within Lebanon had their origins in religious differences rather than in the special privileges granted the Maronites in exchange for their cooperation with imperialism.

The religious aspect of the civil war today is, therefore, not a sign of some inherently senseless bigotry among the Arab peoples, as some pro-Israeli spokespeople have tried to claim; it is rather another bitter legacy of imperialism's drive to weaken the Arab revolution.

Only by seeing the underlying social relationships and contradictions can the correct political conclusions be drawn.

### Weakness of Lebanese Capitalism

To begin with, it must be noted that the Lebanese government presides over a weak capitalist state. Lebanon's warped economy is a result of the exploitation of the country by imperialism, both through the bequest of Turkish and French colonialism, as well as through the present role of U.S. imperialist domination.

The country's economy is also weakened by the constant military incursions of Israel, the imperialist outpost to the south.

The Lebanese capitalist class, however, is unwilling and unable to take the steps necessary to develop the country, even along capitalist lines. To do this, they would have to challenge imperialist control of investment, which has kept the economy backward, as well as the grip of the reactionary landowners on agriculture. A thoroughgoing land reform would be necessary to increase agricultural productivity, thereby building a base for stepped-up industrialization.

Moreover, the Lebanese capitalists would have to be prepared to stand up to economic reprisals that would be imposed by the imperialist powers to try to crush any threat to their profiteering in Lebanon.

Such anti-imperialist moves could only be sustained if the Lebanese capitalists were willing to bring to bear the power of the masses to defend these measures. And such a mobilization would carry with it the threat of direct imperialist military intervention.

The experience of the self-determination strug-

gles of the Vietnamese and Cuban peoples amply demonstrates this pattern. But the Lebanese capitalists have shown no willingness to break with their imperialist patrons and stand with the masses against them.

The Lebanese rulers fear such mass mobilizations even as they sometimes need to make use of them. For action by the masses will tend to go beyond the narrow limits of the system of capitalist property relations that is vital to the privileges and rule of the Christian rightists.

The civil war demonstrated the weakness of the Lebanese capitalist class. Against the mobilizations of the workers and peasants demanding government action to stop Israeli raids, the rightists chose to launch a violent counterattack.

*Even when it came to defending their own country from Israeli bombs, the rightists saw a greater threat from the Lebanese masses and turned upon them instead!*

This is because in the long run, the rightists' goal is the defense of privilege and of capitalist property relations; in this framework, their reactionary stance in the civil war is entirely logical.

Of course, when the capitalist rulers of a semicolonial country like Lebanon *do* take steps to defend their country from Israeli or U.S. attacks, they deserve support as against the imperialist powers. But the war in Lebanon has highlighted the inability of the Lebanese regime—or for that matter of the Egyptian or other Arab governments—to effectively and consistently fight in their own defense.

This fact has implications for the struggle of the masses in Lebanon. Clearly the government has failed to meet the demands of the workers and peasants for land reform; for rationalization (which must mean nationalization) of the economy toward production geared to the needs of the majority; for an end to special privileges for the Christian minority; for destruction of the threat of Israeli intervention; and for genuine independence from imperialism.

But just as clearly, these things cannot be achieved under capitalist auspices. A struggle is necessary to replace a government whose loyalty is to the capitalist system, with one whose loyalty is to the interests of the workers and peasants.

This is the logic of the fight for genuine independence and land reform in Lebanon and the other countries of the Arab East. Their struggles for democratic demands must grow over into the struggle for socialist revolution.

### The Palestinians

The Lebanese civil war was made all the more explosive because it was intertwined with the struggle of the Palestinian people to regain their



homeland in the territory now occupied by Israel.

The expulsion of 750,000 Palestinians from their homeland in 1948 was a special form of imperialist oppression in the Middle East. All the other Arab states were created as artificially divided capitalist entities designed to preserve imperialist exploitation under conditions of formal political independence. But the fate of the Palestinians was different. They were physically driven from their land by a settler-colonialist movement, Zionism, with the backing of British and then American imperialism.

For years after the Arab-Israeli war of 1948, even the existence of a distinct Palestinian nation was denied by supporters of Israel. The driving of the Palestinians into wretched refugee camps was treated as an incidental and unimportant by-product of the biblically mandated return of the Jewish people to their own state in Palestine.

This reactionary myth was shattered by the reemergence of the Palestinians as an independent political force after the 1967 war.

The rise of the Palestinian national liberation struggle revealed more clearly the nature of Israel as a barrier to genuine Arab national self-determination.

No longer depending for a voice on the Arab regimes—who had shown again and again their fear of confronting Israel in defense of the Palestinians' rights—the Palestinians reentered the arena of world politics in their own right.

They demanded the dismantling of the Zionist state that had driven them off their land and denied them their most basic rights, while granting special privileges to the Jewish population. They proposed to create instead a democratic, secular Palestine, where Muslims, Christians, and Jews could live as equals.

The emergence of the Palestinian struggle accentuated the political problems of all the Arab regimes, because it exposed their unwillingness to champion the Palestinians' just cause—a cause that burned in the heart of the Arab masses as the most obvious symbol of how imperialism had oppressed them and blocked their economic and social progress.

The rise of the Palestinian movement thus gave impetus to the formation of numerous currents opposing the Arab regimes from the left.

The potential power of the Palestinians to challenge the hypocrisy of the Arab regimes is clear from their large numbers throughout the Arab world. There are 300,000 to 400,000 Palestinians in Lebanon. They compose more than one third of the population of that part of Jordan that is not occupied by Israel. Two hundred seventy thousand Palestinians live in Kuwait, a quarter of the population.

Since the outbreak of the Lebanese civil war, some 150,000 Palestinians have entered Syria. And, of course, the 500,000 Palestinians inside Israel's pre-1967 boundaries plus the 1.1 million more in the occupied territories have also demonstrated their power. And not only are the Palestinians numerically significant; they also tend to play important roles in the economies and politics of the countries they live in.

An additional factor is the tremendous reserves of solidarity enjoyed by the Palestinians among the great masses of the other Arab peoples.

The Palestinian struggle confronts and exposes the unwillingness of the Arab regimes to challenge Israeli occupation of Palestine or to defend the Arab peoples from attacks by Israeli forces—such as the failure of the Lebanese government to take action against Zionist attacks, and the waffling and wavering of Sadat in challenging the Israeli occupation of the Sinai.

The Palestinian struggle is also objectively linked to the struggles of the Arab workers and peasants against their own governments. In both cases, the logic of these struggles is to challenge capitalist rule. It is for this reason that the Palestinian struggle against Zionism has become the spearhead of the Arab revolution against capitalism and imperialism.

And conversely, the Palestinian struggle fortifies and exposes the convergence of interests between the bourgeois Arab regimes and Israel in suppressing any challenge to capitalist rule in the region.

In the case of Lebanon, the Palestinians—undefended by the government in the face of terrorist Zionist attacks and, at the same time, hounded by government repressive forces for

their independent initiatives in self-defense—found a powerful ally in the unfolding struggles of the Lebanese masses against the reactionary policies of their government.

This added a particularly explosive character to the Lebanese civil war: the combined struggle of the Lebanese masses and the Palestinians pointed the way toward struggle for both socialism in Lebanon and the Palestinian goal of a democratic, secular Palestine to replace the Zionist regime.

### Syrian Invasion

This is the framework in which Syria intervened in the Lebanese civil war.

Syrian President Hafez al-Assad's initial objective in Lebanon was to play off the Palestinian movement and the rightist forces against each other by providing the Palestinians with only limited aid. Assad hoped that by striking a balance between the contending forces he would emerge as the arbiter.

He hoped to force the Palestinian side to make compromises. But he wanted to do this from the vantage point of appearing to be aiding the Palestinians so as to improve his image before the masses.

Assad hoped this maneuver would allow him to increase pressure on Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat as well. Sadat's unilateral decision to sign the Sinai disengagement pact in the fall of 1975—a pact that removed any military pressure from Israel's southern front—had weakened Syria's ability to negotiate with Tel Aviv over Israel's occupation of the Golan Heights.

Assad attacked the Sinai pact as a betrayal of the Palestinian struggle. Since Assad's plans were no less accommodationist with Israel than

Such a confrontation would have forced Assad, along with other Arab leaders, to fight. But he had no taste for a confrontation with imperialism.

Moreover, Assad feared the inspiring influence that a leftist victory would have on the class struggle in his own country.

In face of all this, Assad cut off assistance to the Palestinians and in June launched a full-scale invasion of Lebanon aimed at driving back the leftist alliance from its newly won positions and shifting the balance of the civil war in favor of the Christian rightists.

Assad's deep fear of the Arab revolution had led him into an alliance with Israel and the Lebanese rightists against the very Palestinian cause he had been claiming to champion only months before.

### Carrot and Stick

Assad maintained the same objective—to gain control over the Palestinians and use them as a bargaining chip in his own diplomatic intrigues—but his methods changed. His invasion represented a calculated decision to smash the Palestinians as an independent political force.

Given the massive support enjoyed by the Palestinians throughout the Arab world, he had to move carefully. At each stage of his war drive, which finally brought him to the leftist stronghold of West Beirut in November, he advanced a step at a time, carefully measuring the response among the various camps that were party to the war: How would Israel respond? What were the signals from Washington? How strong were the Palestinian forces? What was the reaction among the other Arab regimes?

Most of the other Arab regimes gave tacit



Palestinian refugee camp in Lebanon

those of his Egyptian counterpart, this posturing was demagogic. But it reflected the necessity of the Arab bourgeois nationalist regimes to try to maintain power by doing a balancing act between the masses and imperialism. In this case, Assad's tactical moves permitted a limited backing of the Palestinian-leftist alliance in Lebanon.

However, this same balancing act required that the Palestinians and leftists not be too successful against the Christian rightists. Too much success would upset Assad's plans—which were not based on mobilizing the masses in an unrelenting struggle, but on a schema of delicately assembled diplomatic blocs and temporary alliances safely contained within the framework of capitalism.

Assad feared the effect of mounting victories for the Palestinians and leftists. And as the Palestinian-leftist forces conquered more and more territory and threatened to defeat the rightist forces—an outcome that appeared likely by spring of 1976—the Syrian president shifted gears.

He knew that a leftist-Palestinian victory in Lebanon would immediately pose the danger of Israeli or even U.S. intervention. This in turn would open the possibility, not only within Lebanon but throughout the Arab world, for a defensive mobilization that might in the end sweep aside the foot-dragging Arab regimes.

support to Assad's maneuvers. They, too, saw the advantages if Assad were successful in breaking the power of the Palestinians. And they appreciated the fact that it was he who shouldered the responsibility for this murderous drive.

To one degree or another—through verbal criticisms (as in the case of Libyan head of state Col. Muammar Qaddafi) or through promotion of an ineffectual Arab "peace-keeping force" (fostered by Egypt and Saudi Arabia)—they could posture as supporters of the Palestinians without interfering with Assad's scheme.

Assad even disguised his operation with pro-Palestinian rhetoric in an attempt to confuse the Arab masses. In bizarre language reminiscent of George Orwell's *1984*, he launched his offensive as a pro-Palestinian move and attacked Palestinian leaders involved in the conflict as "deviationists" who had to be defeated "in the interests of the Palestinian people." Assad accused them of having drawn their people into an internal Lebanese conflict at the expense of the real war with the Zionists.

Perhaps he learned this technique from the propaganda experts in the Pentagon, one of whom justified a major bombing operation against the NLF-held village of Ben Tre in Vietnam by explaining "it became necessary to destroy the town to save it."

But despite Assad's rhetoric, the result of his actions is not to help the Palestinians but to



weaken their position.

This explains Israel's decision to appear to sit quietly by during Assad's invasion of Lebanon. The Zionists have in the past said that a Syrian presence in Lebanon would be a pretext for them to attack.

Their reason for not doing so was stated bluntly by Israeli Premier Yitzhak Rabin, who explained to a student gathering June 2, 1976, that he would "not stand in the way of anyone who wants to subdue Arafat's terrorists."

Assad and the other bourgeois Arab leaders hope that Israel will grant concessions to them in exchange for their cooperation in weakening the Palestinians. What they hope for is the return of territory conquered by Israel in Egypt, Jordan, and Syria. They sweeten this proposal with the offer to also grant diplomatic recognition to Israel as part of such a deal.

This is the reasoning behind the sudden escalation of peace talk proposals that are now coming out of the Middle East.

Within this framework, the Arab governments are also putting immense pressure on the greatly weakened Palestinian movement to give up their goal of a democratic, secular Palestine and recognize the right of the Zionist state of Israel to exist on the land it stole from the Palestinians.

The Arab governments are offering the Palestinians the promise that if they go along with such a deal they will be granted a "mini-state" on some part of the territory now occupied by Israel on the West Bank of the Jordan River and in the Gaza Strip.

One Palestinian leader, quoted in the October 13 issue of the *Christian Science Monitor*, expressed the opinion that Assad's maneuvering may even be based on assurances of such a deal from Henry Kissinger.

But the Palestinian went on to explain that "the flaw in the plan is that the Israelis will give up nothing of the West Bank. All this affair does is buy time... during which Israeli settlements increase on the West Bank."

Since June, Tel Aviv has been able to witness with pleasure the sharp blows being directed against the Palestinians by their former Syrian ally. This no doubt comes as a welcome relief to Israel's rulers.

The Zionist regime has been more and more isolated because of its repressive and discriminatory policies toward the Palestinians. This was reflected in the United Nations resolution of November 1975 condemning Zionism as a form of racism, as well as in the widespread sympathy evoked for the Palestinians in Israel who have been revolting against the racist land policies and occupation tactics of the regime.

Israel sees Assad's anti-Palestinian drive for what it is—a blow directed against the Arab revolution. The Zionists have even collaborated with the Lebanese rightists, thereby helping Assad's military offensive.

This is because the Zionists know that the destruction of the Palestinian movement in Lebanon will not only weaken the defense of that country but weaken Syria as well. A defeated Palestinian movement in Lebanon clears away a major obstacle to Israeli military operations in southern Lebanon and on the approaches to Damascus.

#### West Bank Palestinian State?

The Israeli regime's posture toward the Lebanese events hardly promises any motion in the direction of granting a settlement that would result in some form of truncated Palestinian homeland. The Israeli ruling class is not interested in a settlement, but in the maintenance of their regime, the very logic of which is expansionist.

The whole history of Israel is marked by military incursions against its Arab neighbors. The latest proof of the Israeli government's intentions is its stepped-up military and economic activity in southern Lebanon. Israel has long considered the Litani River in southern Lebanon a more "natural" boundary. With the weakening of the Palestinian resistance movement in the area, the Zionists may now feel able to try to secure it.

The Zionists are aware that the convergence of interests they now share with Assad will not last forever.

As long as Syria can maintain the status quo in Lebanon, obtained at the expense of the Palestinians, Israel is likely to leave Assad's



Henri Bureau  
Funeral demonstration for Arab youth slain by Zionist police in Nablus last spring.

### 'The Zionist regime has been more and more isolated because of its repressive and discriminatory policies toward the Palestinians.'

maneuvers unchallenged. But a number of factors threaten the cease-fire in Lebanon.

One is the different objectives toward the Palestinians held by Assad and his present allies, the Christian rightists. Assad wants to break the Palestinians politically, but the Lebanese rightists may want to go further than the Syrian president in curbing Palestinian activities.

Assad—under pressure from the pro-Palestinian sentiment of the masses in Syria—might feel he would have to turn against his rightist allies of today should they decide to launch a new offensive against the Palestinians.

Another time bomb built into the cease-fire is the call for disarming both sides in the civil war. So far this has not happened. The rightists say they will not disarm until the Palestinians have been disarmed.

There are conflicting reports as to what the Palestinians will do in the face of this ultimatum.

Israel will be watching Assad's reaction to this disarmament process carefully, especially since it is linked to another part of the cease-fire agreement that calls for the return of the Palestinian guerrillas to their bases in southern Lebanon. This is an area where right-wing Christian militias have been built up and armed by Tel Aviv as part of a conscious decision to establish an anti-Palestinian force on Israel's northern border.

Should these Christians attack the Palestinians, Assad will be confronted with the choice of risking complicity with them in an effort to further weaken the Palestinians—a step which could be highly dangerous to him on his home

front—or else backing the Palestinians and thereby risking new confrontations with Israel.

The truth is that while Assad and other Arab rulers appear to be holding all the strings in this complicated balancing act, they are severely limited in their options—on the one hand by the vast reserves of pro-Palestinian sentiment among the masses, and on the other by the intransigence of the Israeli regime. The peace pact worked out so far in Lebanon is a fragile nest of straw sitting on top of these two powerful, explosive forces.

#### Israel Prepares for War

And as a result it is war, and not a settlement, that the Israeli government considers the likely outcome of the Lebanese events in the long run. War is what the Israeli government is preparing for.

Lieut. Gen. Mordechai Gur, the Israeli chief of staff, was quoted in an October 4 *New York Times* dispatch as saying: "The quiet on Israel's northern borders with Syria and Lebanon has enabled us, the Israeli defense forces, to worry less about current security problems and concentrate more on preparing ourselves for total war. The Lebanese conflict has enabled us to concentrate more on central matters."

What is evident from all of this is that the defeat of the Palestinians in Lebanon has only heightened the danger of war and weakened the Arab freedom struggle.

Furthermore, the war in Lebanon has demonstrated anew that none of the Arab regimes are politically reliable allies of the Palestinians in forestalling this dangerous possibility.

While some advantages can be gained by maneuvering between these regimes and exploiting their contradictions, the real allies of the Palestinians are the masses in the Arab world, whose interests lie in anticapitalist struggle against their governments.

The war in Lebanon has also demonstrated anew that Israel is no refuge for the Jewish people. The threat of war is built into the Israeli occupation of Palestine. The Israeli state must be armed to the teeth and constantly on a war footing against the Arab masses. Any advance of the class struggle in the Arab world threatens the Zionist regime.

In the long run this is no safe haven for the Jews. Israel pits them—3 million—against the more than 100 million Arabs. Already there is increasing dissatisfaction within Israel—one of the most highly taxed countries in the world—over the burden imposed by the garrison state.

#### Threat of Anti-Semitism

Moreover, Israel is dependent on Washington for its economic and military existence. This Zionist reliance on the United States is highly ironic. For in today's world the threat of virulent anti-Semitic outbreaks lies precisely in the reactionary lashing-out of crisis-ridden imperialist powers like Germany in the 1930s.

Violent anti-Semitic movements arise during periods of deepening social crisis of the capitalist system. These are fostered, along with racist and anticommunist forces, as a battering ram aimed against working-class struggles to resolve the crisis through socialist revolution.

Such a crisis is on the agenda for the United States as well. As the current economic and social problems here continue to deepen, we can expect a resurgence of anti-Semitism to accompany the rise of racist gangs that is already beginning to occur.

Clearly, U.S. support to Israel is not based on any humanitarian concern for Jews. This has never been a feature of American foreign policy; for example, Washington refused entry to the Jewish refugees of Hitlerite terror during the 1930s and after World War II. Today it has warm relations with the Videla dictatorship in Argentina, which has fostered anti-Semitic, rightist terror squads.

Washington supports Israel because it sees the Zionist regime as a major bulwark against the Arab revolution.

If the Arab peoples were to break out of the strangulation of underdevelopment and imposed backwardness, this would upset a key base of American power. It would mean an end to the superprofits extracted through American exploitation of Arab oil. It would mean the loss of reliable control over a key trade and transport

center of the world economy. It would mean the loss of key military positions along the borders of the Soviet Union.

Israel has proven a reliable striking force against the liberating thrust of the Arab revolution. It has played this role since its founding war in 1948. In 1956 it struck against Egypt when Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal. In 1967, 1973, and in southern Lebanon today, it has dealt blows to the Arab masses.

It serves as a launching pad for reactionary imperialist blows against the African freedom struggle—as in the case of Israeli support to the South African army's invasion of Angola. It supported the dirty war of the French in Algeria and backed the U.S. aggression in Korea and Vietnam.

For these reasons, Washington fully supports the maintenance of a militarily powerful Israel.

And correspondingly, Washington's posture in the Lebanese civil war has been to quietly welcome this new attack on the Palestinians.

### Role of the Kremlin

In face of this lineup of counterrevolutionary forces, the question arises: What is the role of the Soviet Union? The Kremlin has always claimed to be a staunch supporter of the Arab revolution and the struggle of the Palestinians for self-determination. But Moscow has taken no meaningful steps to curb the anti-Palestinian offensive of its closest ally in the Middle East, Syrian President Assad.

In fact, a prominent article in the September 8 issue of *Pravda*, newspaper of the Communist party of the Soviet Union, attacked "ultra-left elements" among the Palestinians for their unreasonableness in refusing an accommodation to Assad's drive to destroy them as a political force.

While verbally opposing Assad's invasion, the Kremlin continued to support his government.

Given the threat that a strong imperialist presence in the Middle East poses to Soviet borders, how can one explain the Kremlin's failure to act swiftly and effectively in support of the Palestinian cause?

Obviously the Kremlin valued its diplomatic

alliance with Assad over the interests of the Palestinians and Arab masses. This is consistent with the general foreign policy of the Soviet regime, which is based on the narrow vision of a caste of privileged bureaucrats.

This bureaucratic caste managed to triumph over the central leaders and left wing of the 1917 Russian revolution during the 1920s, a period of ebb of the world revolution and isolation of the new Soviet state.

Led by Stalin, these bureaucrats opposed the revolutionary strategy of Lenin and Trotsky, who believed that the construction of socialism in the USSR was linked to and dependent on an extension of the revolution to more advanced capitalist countries in the West. In opposing this view, Stalin abandoned a foreign policy based on helping to build revolutionary parties that could give leadership to the class struggle around the world.

On the domestic level, Stalin's policy was to strike at the democratic rights of the Soviet masses in order to politically demobilize them. His foreign policy was aimed at demobilizing workers' and peasants' struggles in other countries in exchange for diplomatic blocs with imperialist and procapitalist forces in the colonial world.

The latest version of the Stalinist "peaceful coexistence" policy is what is now dubbed *détente*. The failure of this policy is clearly seen in the Mideast, where *détente* has resulted in the isolation of the Soviet Union and its vulnerability to attack by blunting the protective power of the Arab revolution.

The Kremlin has vigorously called for a negotiated settlement in the Middle East involving guarantees from Washington as well as Moscow. Carter's secretary of state-designate, Cyrus Vance, sensing the defeat suffered by the Palestinians in Lebanon, now claims he too is for some kind of major diplomatic initiative.

But even Carter's decision to emphasize this possibility now, as opposed to several months ago, reveals his real intentions. As long as Washington and Tel Aviv were convinced that the military and political relationship of forces allowed events to proceed towards weakening the

Arab revolution, they didn't say a word about negotiations.

With the weakening of the Palestinians that has now occurred, the imperialists may feel there is some advantage to codifying the new relationship of forces at the conference table.

But if such negotiations get underway—which is by no means certain—they are not likely to result in concessions by the imperialists and Zionists. These are only made in response to victories in the struggle of the Arab masses, not in the aftermath of a defeat dealt to them.

Even if Washington and Tel Aviv do agree to a settlement at some time in the future, it is the responsibility of American working people to denounce any intervention of the U.S. government in the affairs of the Arab people. The United States and Israel have no right to negotiate any settlement for, or impose any conditions on, the Arab people.

This kind of settlement would only raise the danger of direct U.S. intervention in the Middle East to enforce its terms—as happened, for example, with the Geneva agreements on Vietnam in 1954. And the American people would mightily oppose such a step.

The truth is that the U.S. government plays a central role in the Mideast conflict and is presiding over events that could rapidly bring the world to war. This ties the working people and students of this country directly to the daily course of events in that area of the world.

It is our cities, our education, our jobs and wages, and ultimately our lives that are lost as Washington pursues its Mideast policies to the brink of war.

American working people need to learn where our real interests lie so that we can defend them. They do not lie with the policies of Washington and its reactionary allies in the Middle East, but with the Arab and Palestinian workers and peasants. The success of their struggles would be a tremendous step toward peace and the liberation of humanity.

## Lysenko: Pseudoscience and Pseudo-Marxism

By Stephen Bloom

Trofim Denisovich Lysenko, who dominated agricultural and biological sciences in the Soviet Union for more than thirty years, and who was responsible for the destruction of the work, careers, and even lives of many world-famous scientists, died in the USSR on November 20, 1976.

Lysenko's theories, which belong more in the realm of pseudoscience than of science, are not taken seriously today by anyone, either inside or outside the Soviet Union. None of his once heralded "breakthroughs" are still applied in Soviet agriculture.

Lysenko believed that the environment of a plant or animal, not genetic inheritance, was the dominant factor in its development. He also believed that inherited characteristics were not caused by any basic genetic structure and could be altered in subsequent generations by environmental influences on the present generation. This latter part of his theory is popularly known as the inheritance of acquired characteristics.

Lysenko first came to prominence in 1929, as a result of an experiment done at his father's farm near Poltava in the Ukraine. There he developed

his famous process of vernalization of grain, which was to launch his career.

Briefly, vernalization consisted of the treating of seeds under controlled conditions of temperature and humidity for a period of time before planting. Lysenko claimed that this could significantly reduce the growing time of the crops (thus reducing the dangers of drought or frost) and increase yields. This became a major project for agriculture that was introduced extensively in the Soviet Union.

Basing himself on his experience with vernalization, Lysenko began to generalize about the effects of environment on plant growth and developed his theories concerning genetics.

When the Russian plant experimenter Ivan Michurin died in 1935, Lysenko declared himself a follower of "Michurinism" and began to denounce the believers in genetics as followers of "Mendelism-Morganism," which he claimed was bourgeois and anticommunist. Gregor Mendel was an Austrian priest who first postulated the existence of genes; Thomas Hunt Morgan was an American scientist who also subscribed to the theory of genes.

Michurin himself, while he was alive, did not claim any theoretical contributions in the area of plant breeding. His work was that of practical experimentation with different techniques of growing plants and increasing yields. He did not counterpose his activities to the ideas of genetics or the work of Mendel. Nevertheless, Lysenko attached the name of Michurin to his theories in order to give them increased prestige.

By 1936, Lysenko was the director of the Odessa Genetics Institute. He took over as head of the Lenin All-Union Agricultural Academy in 1938, and the next year he became a member of

the Academy of Science and head of the Leningrad Plant-Growing Institute. He became head of the Institute of Genetics in 1940, capping his rise to complete dominance in the area of plant breeding and agricultural science.

### 1948 Genetics Debate

The involvement of the Soviet Union in World War II brought about a lull in scientific debate. But with the war's end, Lysenko began to broaden his theories, extending his ideas into other areas and creating new frictions with established scientists. This new conflict led to the notorious genetics debate at the 1948 session of the Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences.

At this session, Lysenko gave a report outlining his theories of biology. He did not reveal that Stalin had given prior approval to his ideas until after his opponents had committed themselves to their opposed theories. He proceeded to politically destroy his scientific opponents, and his supporters took over every major position in the biological sciences and related fields.

With Stalin's death in 1953, Lysenko came under attack and his influence, while not eliminated, was greatly reduced. His star rose again briefly under Khrushchev, but with the latter's fall from power in 1964, Lysenkoism in Soviet biology became a thing of the past.

Lysenko's challenge to the growing science of genetics was not, in and of itself, unusual in the late 1920s and 1930s, when he began his rise to fame. There were many doubts and questions about the genetic theory of inheritance among scientists, not only in the USSR, but in other parts of the world.

What was different about Lysenko was that he

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did not base his disagreements with geneticists on scientific evidence. He was unwilling to put his theories to the test of rigorous experiment, and he drew sweeping conclusions based only on the most superficial observations.

A brief look at the process of vernalization will illustrate this point. Lysenko's original claims for this process were based on the observation of one planting of vernalized wheat and its comparison with yields in previous years.

The scientific difficulties of drawing conclusions on the basis of such experience are enormous. For example, what other factors—such as rainfall, temperature, quality and variety of the original seed, time of sowing, attacks by insects or disease, etc.—might affect crop yields from year to year?

Lysenko made no efforts to account for such effects—if vernalized seed resulted in increased yields then vernalization was the cause. This failure to take into account all possible variables was typical of Lysenko's method.

In another case, he presented a paper on the



TROFIM LYSENKO

transformation of winter wheat into spring wheat. He based this on the observation of the descendants of a *single stalk* of wheat of the variety *Kooperatorka*. He did not even attempt to demonstrate the purity of the strain of the specimen with which he started. Of course, no scientists either inside or outside the USSR were able to duplicate Lysenko's results with such "experiments."

The lack of scientific basis for Lysenko's techniques resulted in disastrous consequences when they were applied. Even in the case of vernalization, his most successful effort, it resulted in only negligible increases, if any, for Soviet agriculture. The tremendous amounts of time, energy, and labor that were devoted to the process were far out of proportion to the small increases in yield.

Nevertheless, it often took years before the counterproductiveness of Lysenko's various schemes became known and were withdrawn from use. Even then, the initial fanfare in introducing them built up Lysenko's reputation far more than their quiet withdrawal undermined it.

#### Effects of Bureaucratic Structure

In addition, the failures of Lysenko's methods were often hidden by the bureaucratic structure of the Soviet economy. For example, a new technique would be introduced for a period of time to determine its beneficial effect on agricultural production. It would be preceded by a huge buildup in the press and by the party as a tremendous agricultural advance. The results of the test would be based on the reports of production filled out by the heads of the various collective farms where the technique was used.

But there was no check on the accuracy of such reports from the heads of collective farms. These individuals knew that large increases in produc-

tion were expected and that it would be a mark against them if their farm did not increase the harvest; therefore they reported large crops.

There were cases in which each farm in a given region would report increases in production, yet the overall harvest in the region remained the same or even decreased. Nevertheless, Lysenko could claim success for his methods based on the reports from the individual farms.

The important question is, of course, how an unscientific charlatan was able to attain the position of control and influence in Soviet science that Lysenko did. The answer to this flows from the political and social climate in the USSR at the time.

At the end of the 1920s and the beginning of the 1930s, Stalin and the developing bureaucratic caste in the Soviet Union were consolidating their grip on the first workers state. No longer was the most important motivation for political and economic endeavors the advancement of the revolution and the needs of the working class.

The principal concern of the bureaucracy was the improvement of its own privileged position and the consolidation of the political monopoly that allowed it to maintain those privileges. It was not interested in scientific truth any more than it was in political truth and viewed debate in this sphere, as in all others, as potentially dangerous.

Lysenko and his followers took advantage of this development away from the original goals of the revolution for their own purposes. They introduced the Stalinist political polemic into scientific debate, accusing geneticists of advancing "bourgeois philosophy," of "Trotskyism," and of attempting to wreck Soviet agriculture whenever they were unable to answer the scientific arguments.

Among other techniques, the Lysenkoists used direct lies and distortions of fact; and they made amalgams between the scientific theories and political ideas of foreign geneticists, for example attributing to genetics an inherently racist content because of the way in which it was distorted by the Nazis in Germany.

Lysenko's opponents refused to use the same methods of debate. They correctly pointed out that scientific questions can only be resolved by scientific criteria—by the verification of theoretical models by means of experimental and other data.

Among these opponents of Lysenkoism were internationally prominent scientists who were supporters of the revolution and of Marxism. Foremost of these was Nikolai Vavilov, who was president in 1939 of the International Genetics Congress at Edinburgh, Scotland, and had formally been head of the Soviet Union's Leningrad Plant-Growing Institute and the Lenin All-Union Agricultural Academy.

Although Vavilov made major theoretical contributions in genetics, his most important activity was the organization of expeditions to all parts of the world to gather plant specimens for use in creating new varieties specifically designed to meet the needs of Soviet agriculture.

Vavilov and his supporters understood the progress that could be made by Soviet agriculture if genetics were correctly applied. The value of genetics for plant breeding lies in the possibility of creating new varieties that combine various desirable characteristics of already existing specimens. Through crossing different types of the same species and then selecting their offspring for the desired characteristics—such as disease resistance, rate of maturation, quantity and quality of fruit, etc.—desirable hybrids could be obtained.

If the scientific differences between the geneticists and the Lysenkoists had been resolved on the basis of what would be most productive for Soviet agriculture, determined by an honest test of the results of the two methods, then the victory of Vavilov over Lysenko would have been a certainty.

But Lysenko's mimicry of Stalin's pseudo-Marxist rhetoric and his uncritical support to the current line of the bureaucracy ingratiated him and his opinions with the officialdom of the Communist party, not least of all with Stalin himself. In addition, Lysenko promised through his methods extremely rapid advances for Soviet agriculture. He promised to develop plant varieties in a fraction of the time that geneticists said was necessary.

This promise of quick results was suited to

Stalin's call for a fast collectivization of agriculture and rapid advances in production. Another appeal of Lysenko's theories for Stalin was the credibility which they could give to the bureaucracy's claim of creating a new "socialist man" overnight.

#### Scientists to Siberia

With the support of the party in the biological debate, Lysenko's victory was assured. No opponents of his pseudoscience would be tolerated. Stalin, through Lysenko, applied to scientific debate the method he had perfected in crushing his Leninist opponents in the Communist party—the frame-up trial of those who could not be defeated in open debate. Vavilov was arrested in 1940. He died in prison in Siberia.

Other biologists were also arrested and charged with anti-Soviet activities for the sole "crime" of believing in the validity of genetics. Some who perished were the biologists Karpechenko, Levitsky, and Govorov. Still others spent years in Stalin's prisons or in Siberian exile.

The Lysenko phenomenon did not represent a Marxist approach to science, as many who wanted to discredit socialism and the Russian revolution maintained. It was a distortion of science made possible only by the Stalinist degeneration of the USSR. Lysenko's rout of the geneticists did not represent the victory of Marxist philosophy in science, but rather the victory of Stalin's secret police. Lysenko's appeals to philosophy were in reality appeals to the delusions of grandeur of the bureaucratic elite. Stalin imagined that he could decide the laws of nature the same way he issued laws for Soviet citizens.



GREGOR MENDEL

The basis for Lysenkoism, however, cannot be found in Stalin's ideas or theories. It is rooted in the material need of the bureaucrats in the USSR to defend their precarious privileged position against all opposition; most of all against the Soviet workers themselves. To accomplish this, they must stifle debate in every sphere of Soviet life, and this means that the party must be set up as an infallible authority on every question of political, scientific, and artistic truth, regardless of whether it has any knowledge or understanding in that area.

This need to stifle the full flowering of human knowledge and creative energy, which is the bright promise of socialism, shows this bureaucratic caste to be a transitory parasitical formation, alien to and fearful of the working masses.

Those who would identify the political and philosophical ideas of Stalin and the Soviet bureaucracy with genuine Marxism do a grave disservice to Marx and Engels.

The Marxist philosophy of dialectical materialism attempts to generalize the laws of change that apply in the real world. As a philosophical method of interpreting reality it has much to offer the natural sciences. The materialist method is still adhered to by many outstanding Soviet scientists, including some who are far



from being conformists to the ruling bureaucracy.

The fundamental goals of Marxist philosophy are to broaden and expand our knowledge of and control over the material world, and this corresponds with the goal of an ever broader and more inquisitive pursuit of scientific knowledge.

#### Contradiction Facing Bureaucrats

But here the bureaucracy finds itself in a severe contradiction, as the final outcome of the Lysenko affair reveals. In order to maintain a relatively sustained level of economic progress, the bureaucracy must apply the real advances in science and technology. Such economic progress is needed if the bureaucracy is to protect its own base from military or economic incursions by imperialism or to grant concessions to ward off the discontent of the masses.

Real advances in science and technology can

only come from free and open discussion and testing of different theories. The more advanced and complex the economy becomes, the more disastrous will be the blunders resulting from the making of scientific decisions by untrained bureaucrats. It was the disastrous results of Lysenkoism on Soviet agriculture which forced a change in the Soviet attitude toward genetics and biology.

After the fall of Khrushchev, the new leadership found it necessary to end Lysenko's dominance and rehabilitate those biologists who supported genetic theory. They were forced to allow a freer debate about biological theory. Similar pressures had earlier resulted in the lifting of restrictions on Soviet scientists in other disciplines.

This partial liberalization is a Pandora's box for the Brezhnev regime. Discussion and debate cannot be permitted in one area of social life while it is barred from all others. It is not

accidental that many Soviet scientists are outspoken dissenters from the Stalinist regime.

The bureaucracy is above all a product of the backwardness and poverty of old Russia. As the working class grows and industrialization raises the cultural level of the nation, there is less and less place for such a monstrosity. The bureaucracy will not voluntarily give up its power. But every retreat it is compelled to make strengthens the forces that will one day confront and overthrow it, instituting a regime based on socialist democracy.

Only then will science be genuinely free and at the service of the great majority of working people. Only then will it cease to serve as a prop for the power of entrenched minorities, as it does under both bourgeois and Stalinist rule.

## BOOKS

# Rosa Luxemburg and the National Question

### The National Question

Selected Writings by  
Rosa Luxemburg

Edited and with an introduction by Horace B. Davis. Monthly Review Press, 1976.

By George Breitman

In his 1967 book *Nationalism and Socialism: Marxist and Labor Theories of Nationalism to 1917*, Horace B. Davis included a summary of Rosa Luxemburg's views on the right of self-determination and his hope that eventually her most important writings on this subject would be translated into English.

This was desirable because Luxemburg was Lenin's chief adversary in the most important discussions about nationalism ever held in the Marxist movement, and while Lenin's contributions in this discussion have been available in English for many years (in his *Collected Works* and in various compilations), most of Luxemburg's (in Polish) could not be read and judged in the same way by those who know only English.

No one else responded to Davis's appeal, so he has done the job himself, while completing a second book of his own on nationalism covering the period from 1917 to the present (soon to be published by Monthly Review Press). Most of *The National Question* is devoted to the first five parts of a long six-part series Luxemburg wrote on "The National Question and Autonomy" in 1908-09, but it also contains two earlier articles by her (1896 and 1905) and excerpts from two later documents (1916 and 1918).

For this service we can only be grateful to Davis and the publisher. The superiority of Lenin's position was demonstrated by subsequent events more definitively than by what anyone wrote, but the present collection enables us to understand in detail the fallacies and weaknesses of Luxemburg's position, and to better appreciate Lenin's. (This, by the way, is

not the view today of Davis, whose introduction is more critical of Lenin and more sympathetic to Luxemburg than he was in his 1967 book. But I lack room here for a discussion of his introduction as a whole, except to say that I disagree with it on several points.)

Rosa Luxemburg (1871-1919) was one of the towering figures of the Marxist movement, which has produced many remarkable people in its history of less than a century and a third. Her place among the greatest leaders was firmly established by the struggles she fought against reformism, opportunism, and social-patriotism in the German Social Democratic party and the Second International. Her contributions to Marxist theory, tactics, and strategy are still required reading for people who want to obtain a rounded conception of Marxism. (The best compilation for this purpose is *Rosa Luxemburg Speaks* (Pathfinder Press, 1970); its introduction by editor Mary-Alice Waters contains an excellent critique of Luxemburg's views on the national question, and it has appendixes on Luxemburg by Lenin and Trotsky.)

### Self-determination utopian?

In spite of her many contributions, Luxemburg was wrong, very wrong, on the national question. She held that the right of nations to self-determination was impossible under capitalism and unnecessary under socialism. She argued that in general there is no right of nations to self-determination, dismissing the very concept as utopian.

She was opposed to the independence of Poland (where she was born) from tsarist Russia, warning that support of this struggle by revolutionaries would lead them to support of bourgeois nationalism. Instead of independence for Poland, she advocated autonomy, as part of a Russian republic.

With few exceptions, she extended her opposition to independence to most areas of the world where national oppression was acute. And she has the unhappy distinction of having formulated the essence of the sterile dilemma—class struggle or national struggle—that has plagued the Marxist movement throughout this century.



Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht (center) at a German Social Democratic party congress in 1909.

George Breitman, an associate editor of the *International Socialist Review*, has written numerous articles, pamphlets, and books over the past thirty years on the Black struggle in the United States and the national question in general. He is author of *The Last Year of Malcolm X: The Evolution of a Revolutionary*, and has edited three volumes of speeches by Malcolm X: *Malcolm X Speaks, By Any Means Necessary*, and *Malcolm X on Afro-American History* (Pathfinder Press).

Luxemburg remained a Marxist while arguing these positions, and she presented them in the most effective and favorable light; it is no wonder that they were highly influential in the movement of her time. Not only was she a skilled polemicist but, as the present collection shows, she brought real erudition to her polemics, which are studded with brilliant Marxist insights.

Moreover, her intentions were patently revolutionary. She was an internationalist, she hated national oppression and chauvinism, she wanted to unite the workers of all countries and nationalities to abolish capitalist rule, she was concerned with defending and preserving the revolutionary character of Marxism. But everything she wanted and hoped for was subverted and contradicted by the positions she took.

Internationalism is not promoted when revolutionaries abstain from or turn their backs on national struggles; on the contrary, such abstention benefits only the bourgeois nationalists, the procapitalist forces. Hating national oppression is beside the point, a mere personal whim or moral preference, if it is not expressed in a political program designed to mobilize the workers to end national oppression. The kind of working-class unity that is required to abolish capitalism cannot be achieved by ignoring national or racial privilege or by promising to correct them after the revolution—that kind of unity can be achieved only by combating national and racist oppression before and during the revolution. And a Marxism that failed to develop the answers to the new problems posed by the emergence and dominance of modern imperialism would have been doomed to degeneration and utter irrelevance.

Why did a Marxist of Luxemburg's stature make such errors? It has been suggested that they stemmed from her passionate involvement in the internal struggles of the Polish movement, which continued after she left Poland as a student until her death in Germany thirty years later. The Social Democratic party of Poland and Lithuania, the Marxist organization which she helped found, was throughout its existence (1893-1918) engaged in bitter conflict with the Polish Socialist party—an increasingly opportunist party dedicated to achieving Polish independence—for hegemony among revolutionary workers in Poland and for recognition as the official section of the Second International. According to this interpretation, the heat of these disputes swept Luxemburg into erroneous positions and generalizations on the national question.

### Methodological Weakness

There is probably some truth to this, but after reading *The National Question* I don't think it is the major part of the explanation. What struck me was a certain methodological weakness that was not unique with Luxemburg but was shared to some degree by the leaders of the prewar Second International as a whole. This defect used to be called "fatalism." More recent writers discussing the same phenomenon use the term "economism" (in a broad sense, not the narrow sense in which it was used around 1900 in the Russian Social Democratic movement) or "deter-

minism" (also in a broad sense). None of the terms is completely satisfactory. Anyhow, by "fatalism" was meant a tendency toward passive avoidance or postponement of some difficult problems in the belief (or hope) that time, or the further development of capitalism, or evolution, or even revolution would take care of them automatically. So why worry or bother about them now?

Looking back, we can see that the most notable manifestation of this tendency was in the area of theory and practice on the kind of party needed to abolish capitalism. Relatively little attention was given to this problem, even by the left-wingers in the Second International (Lenin's Bolsheviks being the main exception), because it was assumed that this problem would solve itself more or less automatically as a result of the ripening of conditions, a spontaneous rise in the consciousness of the revolutionary workers, etc. (Meanwhile, the right-wingers strengthened their hold on the party apparatuses, with the toleration of centrist theoreticians like Karl Kautsky, who supplied revolutionary formulas and rationalizations to cover this reality.)

Luxemburg was an opponent of Kautskyan fatalism and passivity before World War I; being at the scene of the internal German disputes enabled her to detect what lay behind Kautsky's revolutionary rhetoric earlier than Lenin did. She sensed what Kautsky implied when, in his polemics against the German left wing, he argued that the Marxist party was "a revolutionary party but not a party which makes revolutions" and that "the revolution is a natural phenomenon whose coming can neither be hastened nor delayed" (cited by Prof. Erich Matthias in *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1968).

And yet her own thinking on the national question was definitely swayed by fatalist-economist-determinist logic: Poland was already integrated into the Russian economy so how could it be politically separate, and what was the sense of a political demand for separation that contradicted the economic trend? Socialism, which will end national oppression, was inevitable, so why complicate the tasks of achieving socialism by raising demands that might divide the Polish and Russian workers and couldn't be really and fully achieved under capitalism anyhow?

Other important examples of this passive-postponement tendency in Luxemburg's time were the official Socialist party position in the United States on the oppression of Blacks (your problems will be solved when we achieve socialism; meanwhile, all we can offer you is an invitation to support socialism and the class struggle), and the widespread indifference or hostility inside the Second International toward the strong wave of feminism in the early years of this century (of course we want women in our movement but you can't really expect us to put your interests on the same level as those of the industrial workers, whose historical mission is to end class rule and thereby all oppression).

Part of Lenin's genius as a revolutionary thinker and political leader was that he did not counterpose things that are not really opposites and should not be counterposed (and it was from this side of Lenin that Trotsky learned the fertile

truth that national struggle is a form of class struggle).

Internationalism, Lenin understood, is not necessarily inconsistent with national movements; on the contrary, it is often achieved only through the struggles of national movements. He agreed with Luxemburg that socialism will bring the end of national frontiers, barriers, and divisions; but he perceived that before we can get socialism there's the little problem of making a revolution, and that may be possible only by supporting movements to break up the capitalist empires through the restoration of suppressed nations or the creation of new ones.

There have been two major strands of thought or ways of looking at national questions in the Marxist movement in the twentieth century. One is the Leninist, the other Luxemburgist. The latter had considerable strength not only in the Second International before World War I but also among the Bolsheviks, before 1917, and in the leadership of the Third International in its revolutionary years. It was in a minority there, but it persisted as an unacknowledged influence and "tradition," surviving into the 1930s before Stalin extirpated everything that was not completely Stalinist. Isaac Deutscher was one of the communists who carried this influence over into the Trotskyist movement; thirty years later, he was still unable to make heads or tails out of Black nationalism in the United States.

Trotsky, who thought Lenin's work on the national question was one of his major contributions to the Marxist movement, tried to imbue the Fourth International with the Leninist spirit and the Leninist policy.

The Fourth International is more correct on national questions than any other international tendency, but even it has important weaknesses in this area. For example, I do not think it has fully developed the Leninist potential of the demand Trotsky raised in 1939 for an independent Soviet Ukraine. The Soviet Union is a prisonhouse of nations if ever there was one, with the Soviet bureaucracy imposing national oppression on most of Eastern Europe as well as the former tsarist empire. The right of self-determination for these oppressed nations is central to the political revolution against Stalinism that the Fourth International stands for in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, but the struggle to achieve this right gets too little attention from the leadership of the Fourth International. In my opinion the explanation for this failure is a Luxemburgist underappreciation of the national question in degenerated and deformed workers states.

There is no organized tendency or movement today that considers itself Luxemburgist on the national question. But strands of her arguments and her political attitude persist among many sectarian and abstentionist groups in the radical movement that counterpose "working-class unity" to national struggles and nationalism, even though some of them have never read Luxemburg and may be incapable of following the nuances of her thought. This is another reason why it is useful to have her views in English at last.

## LETTERS

**Editors:** Right on! Your article entitled "The Role of Women's Liberation in the Socialist Revolution," written by Mary-Alice Waters, really deals a blow to those individuals who still maintain that the Equal Rights Amendment and the fight for equality for women are simply a white middle-class thing.

I would like very much to see this article translated into Spanish; it's definitely needed!

R.T.  
Bronx, New York

**Editors:** I would like to comment on Marilyn Vogt's review of William

Mandel's *Soviet Women*, appearing in the December *ISR*.

I had recently read *Soviet Women*, and though I agree with Vogt's view that the social needs of women are not being met by the Stalinist bureaucracy (and that they won't be until the state assumes the responsibility for extensive child-care centers, communal eating facilities, etc.), I do think *Soviet Women* illustrates two important and positive points.

The first is that the Soviet bureaucracy, since its power does rest on a workers state, is not totally able to ignore the needs of women. Abortions were legalized in 1955 and are available at no cost to any woman who desires one for medical reasons. (The preponderance of women physicians in the USSR perhaps leads to better doctor/patient relationships than we are accustomed to in the United States.) For nonmedi-

cal reasons, any woman may have an abortion if she is willing to pay for it, which according to Mandel would be about a day's wages.

This contrasts greatly with the position of women in the U.S. and other capitalist countries. Here, facilities performing abortions are far too few, despite the legalization of abortion, and the costs are equal to about two weeks or more of an average working woman's pay.

The other positive impression I got from reading *Soviet Women* was the widespread concern felt by Soviet women about their rights and their position in society. When they finally realize that they can never gain true equality while shouldering responsibility for raising children and caring for households, a movement could develop in direct struggle with undemocratic and bureaucratic rule.

Mallen Kear

Clackamas, Oregon

**Marilyn Vogt Replies:** I agree with some of the points raised by Mallen Kear. However, my review of Mandel's book stressed the overall negative character of the book because an apology for the status quo that women face in the Soviet Union deserves to be exposed.

On the question of a woman's right to abortion in the USSR, several things should be noted: Abortion is legal on demand only through the twelfth week of pregnancy; after that it is legal only if "medically indicated." It is free only when "medically indicated." And Mandel says that a voluntary abortion ranks in importance and seriousness with voluntary dental work, disqualifying a woman from paid sick leave.

Thus, abortion is not considered a

democratic right of all women in the USSR.

While imperfect methods of birth control are available, like the condom and diaphragm, abortion is still the principal birth control method. Until the early 1970s, the pill and the IUD had not been introduced, and even today, they are available to only a small percentage of women.

A woman's right to choose whether or not to bear children thus depends largely on the legality and availability of abortion. Although women have precious few avenues for making their social needs known, their actions have spoken for their need for better birth control devices.

Since abortion was re-legalized in 1955, the population growth rate among Russians has declined

sharply. In the Soviet Union in 1965, there were between two and three times as many abortions as there were live births, according to Hilda Scott in *Does Socialism Liberate Women?* In Leningrad in 1967, four out of every five pregnancies were terminated by abortion.

Many sources speak of the "concern of Soviet demographers" with this declining birth rate. Such "concerns" could prompt the Stalinist bureaucracy to try to curtail the availability of abortions or make them legal only for "medical reasons," as was the case in Bulgaria from 1967 to 1970 and in East Germany from 1950 to 1970, or only to save the woman's life, as was done in Rumania since 1966 and in the Soviet Union under Stalin in 1936.

Such setbacks are possible as long as a woman's right to an abortion is not an unqualified right and as long as women are not organized to fight for their rights.

In the USSR today, such organization would undoubtedly be construed by the bureaucrats as "anti-Soviet activity."

By comparison with the barbarity of the United States and other capitalist countries where abortion is illegal or, if legal, is expensive, the legality of abortion and its relatively low price in the Soviet Union is, of course, an undeniable gain for women's rights.

However, showing the relative advances of women in the USSR over women in the capitalist countries deals with only part of the problem, even if done honestly, and

Mandel's book was not.

His book is an apology for the present Soviet government's policies and institutions that oppress women. He was dishonest in his presentation of historical facts so that he could underplay the importance of the real ideas of the Bolshevik revolutionists and present what exists today as the most that could be expected. He distorts the goals of the women's movements internationally so as to discredit the validity of their demands within the context of Soviet society today.

I agree that there was some evidence in Mandel's book of concern among some women in the Soviet Union about their rights, but I felt such evidence was deliberately minimal and presented in only a token manner and when it suited his narrow purposes.

## BOOKS

### Black Music, White Racism

#### Mister Jelly Roll

**The Fortunes of Jelly Roll Morton, New Orleans Creole and 'Inventor of Jazz'**

By Alan Lomax. University of California Press, Berkeley, 1950, second edition 1973.

#### Really the Blues

By Mezz Mezzrow and Bernard Wolfe. Anchor Books, Doubleday, New York, 1972, first edition 1946.

#### Bessie

By Chris Albertson. Stein and Day, New York, 1972.

#### Bird Lives!

**The High Life and Hard Times of Charlie (Yardbird) Parker**

By Ross Russell. Charterhouse, New York, 1973.

#### By Michael Smith

There are a few good books written about jazz. But few people know about them. Like the social history of Afro-American people, their musical history is neglected. "Writing about jazz," writes Charlie Parker's biographer Ross Russell, "is something like playing jazz—a vocation without honor and frequently without profit in the country of its origin. The reason for this state of affairs is that jazz is a black art. This is no oversimplification."

The literature, if scanty, is nonetheless rich, as readers of any of these books will discover to their delight.

Jelly Roll Morton, the first and most influential composer of jazz, sporting house "professor," bandleader, pool shark, singer, and gambler, related the story of "the very early days" to Alan Lomax at the Library of Congress in 1938. Jelly Roll tells how jazz came to be created in New

Orleans around the turn of this century. It came forth as the result of conflict, then collaboration, between the light-skinned, French-speaking, French-cultured Creoles and the darker class of Afro-Americans, who were even more discriminated against.

The New Orleans Creoles, being part French, had some association with European music. At least they were taught the traditional ways of playing instruments. This was not true for the Black musicians, most of whom went out and bought "an axe" secondhand and took it home and taught themselves how to play through trial and error. They learned later, if at all, how to finger the notes and how to read music. Johnny Dodds, who was regarded as the finest clarinet player of his time, changed notes with his lips as well as with his fingers—the way his African predecessors would have played, say, a conch shell or a hand-carved flute. This plebeian origin is what makes jazz so unique and—with little thanks due to the prevailing establishment culture—so American.

Jelly understood this, indeed he explained it to Lomax. Yet he had the typical New Orleans Creole attitude of denying he was Black and being prejudiced against those blacker than himself.

Jelly Roll (born Ferdinand La Menthe) started out playing the proverbial "piano in a whorehouse." It was in the red-light district, called simply the District, where jazz was developed.

What a pleasure it must have been for Lomax when Jelly, leaving his Lincoln at the curb, strolled into the stuffy Library of Congress in Washington, D.C., conservatively but splendidly dressed and sporting a diamond, set in gold in a front incisor, that "glittered like a gaslight." Lomax writes: "Jelly Roll was on fire with his story—of a great city and of one of those rare moments in human time when something genuinely new begins. New Orleans is, thus far, America's Florence, her Paris, the place that gave rise to the most original thing America has contributed to the arts of mankind."

Jelly immodestly told Lomax that "I personally originated jazz in New Orleans in 1902." Then for a period of months he sat at the grand piano in the empty chamber-music room of the library talking in wonderful prose ("Mister Jelly Lord/He's simply royal on the old keyboard," he would say) and simultaneously playing his story and the story of his people into a dutiful tape recorder. Some took offense at his braggadocio, but none challenged his memory.

At the end of World War I the mayor, under pressure from the navy, closed down the District. That, and the shift of commerce from the river city of New Orleans north to the great railroad



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hub of Chicago, signaled a shift in the locus of jazz. Jazzmen went up the river on fabulous riverboats bringing the new American music to the cities on its banks.

In five years after the war, a half million Blacks went North, 50,000 of them to Chicago's South Side. And jazzmen caught the Northbound Illinois Central train. "From that moment," writes Lomax, "jazz was no longer a New Orleans specialty; it became the music of the whole Negro people, asserting their new-found confidence and reflecting, presently, the novel ironies of their harsh lives in city slums and heavy industry."

Chicago in the 1920s became the great jazz center of the country. Musicians like Jelly Roll, Johnny Dodds, Sidney Bechet, Kid Ory, King Oliver, and later Louis Armstrong, who not long before could have been heard playing in brass marching bands at New Orleans funerals, now settled in the Black neighborhoods of Chicago's South Side and played music like the world had never known.

Mezz Mezzrow in *Really the Blues* tells us of his experience, as a Jewish kid from Chicago's Northwest Side, of hearing the music, learning how to play it while in prison, and eventually becoming part of the culture, or as he put it, "living the life." The American-style apartheid system circumscribed musicians' associations then, as it does now for that matter. Mezz at first had to work in an all-white band. "He fought across the no-man's-land between the races, outing Jim Crow as he went, to get where he had to go . . ." Mezz wrote. "I'll tell you about that too, especially that."

In the 1930s no Blacks sat in symphony orchestras, and it was a rare occasion when whites sat in with Black jazz bands. Black recording artists didn't make records until the mid-twenties. It wasn't until the late twenties that they were allowed to record with whites, but this didn't happen often. Afro-American musicians were called "race artists" and recorded on "race labels." The biggest market for their records was among rural Blacks who made their purchases through mail-order catalogs. It was they who supported this new art form. Record company ads depicted Blacks as sobbing or grinning Sambos.

Other whites, Benny Goodman being the best known, started playing in Chicago in the 1930s. The Chicagoans, as they have become known, learned the band business fast. Their music, Mezzrow writes, "was still a white-man's conception, a mixture of New Orleans, ragtime, and white jazz."

Mezz did not regard their music as real jazz and advised that "if you want to play real jazz, go live close to the Negro, see through his eyes, laugh and cry with him, soak up his spirit . . . if you're humble enough, and strip off all the prejudices that are a barrier between you and the source, you'll make it. It takes a lot of living and loving, among the right people."

Mezzrow refused to go commercial, join up with a big band, and make money. "I never wanted to take up permanent lodging in the half-way house that has gone down in history as the Chicago School."

Ross Russell shared Mezzrow's opinion of the relationship of Black and white musicians to jazz: "I am convinced that jazz is a black man's game, and that with very few exceptions . . . white players have been imitators, codifiers, and exploiters."

Mezzrow was an exception. When Hugues Panassié, the French jazz enthusiast, author, and record producer, came from Paris to New York to record Black music in 1938, he looked up Mezz Mezzrow, who true to himself was living in Harlem.

On Panassié's request Mezz gathered together his friends—some of the great New Orleans musicians, then unemployed and scattered around New York. He joined them on clarinet and wrote some of the arrangements for what are recognized as historic recordings.

Bessie Smith came from the South, from Chattanooga, Tennessee. As a teen-age orphan she joined a Black touring variety show organized by the Theatre Owner's Booking Association (TOBA). Hard work and low pay led its vaudeville performers to dub it "Tough On Black Asses."

Bessie sang of love, sex, and misery. As Chris Albertson, her biographer, wrote, she "raised the most powerful, soulful voice . . . ever heard."



BESSIE SMITH

She was known as the Empress of the Blues.

Albertson, like Russell and Lomax, is a new breed of writers whose concern is social as well as musical. "Bessie," he realized, "had to be more than the story of the world's most famous blues singer; it had to be the story of a woman who was black and proud long before that became the acceptable thing to be."

Bessie was the top Black singer of her time, often making one to two thousand dollars a week. Yet she had to stay in less-than-third-rate hotels. She got no royalties on her records. When she died none of her estate went to her only son and her grave remained unmarked for thirty-three years. (Finally Janis Joplin helped pay for a tombstone, two months before she herself died.)

The most attention Bessie ever got in the white press was her obituary. Advertising and distribution of "race records" was such that Northern whites didn't run across them. But Southerners did. They liked the blues, listened to her records, and came to her shows. Bessie did one show for white folk and the same show, either earlier or later, depending upon the local curfew laws, for Black folk. Albertson wrote, "It was only in the South that Bessie had a substantial following of whites, but their enthusiasm was reserved for her artistry."

The only way Bessie got into white homes was on records and radio. And she played a white theater in the South only once. In the North she also only played Black theaters, not being considered "sophisticated" enough for white audiences. "Bessie wasn't fooled by those Southern crackers smiling at her," said her friend Ruby Walker. "She wasn't scared of any of those white people down there. Not Bessie—she would tell anybody to kiss her ass. Nobody messed with Bessie, black or white, it didn't make no difference."

Charlie Parker's life is both terrible and inspiring. In the 1930s while still a teen-ager Parker, disregarding Bach's system of harmony, taught himself a new music on a saxophone held together with cellophane, rubber bands, and twine. Parker's widowed mother had saved up from her night-shift job and bought it for him. After she went to work he would leave home too and hide in the balcony of a Kansas City nightclub to listen—and memorize—as the musicians who barnstormed the territory from Oklahoma to Iowa strutted their stuff playing a big engagement in that city on the prairie. On any one night he might have heard Coleman Hawkins, the King of the tenor sax; Lester Young, the President of the instrument, who was nicknamed Pres by his close friend Billie Holiday; or Bill Basie, later known as the Count.

Kansas City was vital to the development of

jazz. A lot of musicians were able to find work there. This was during prohibition, and the dictatorial Pendergast machine, which gave us Harry Truman, was running the "depression-proof" city. The machine's only concern about prohibition was how to make a buck out of it. For a rake off the profits they let the clubs alone to serve liquor, flesh, and music. Such was "the political economy of jazz," to use Nat Hentoff's term. Jazz flourished in Kansas City as it had in New Orleans and Chicago, and as it would later in the forties under Parker's influence in the tiny New York clubs on Fifty-second Street.

Charlie, called "Bird" after his fondness for chicken, came to New York when he was twenty-one and quickly became a legend in the jazz underground. He amazed people with his ability to improvise. Nobody could play with such speed and precision. In virtuosity alone he was without equal in the band business, a true *enfant terrible*. Word spread about this fabulous unknown saxophone player, in Russell's words, "a young Mozart spouting forth melodies by the yard at an obscure club in upper Harlem." He made the sax into the most expressive of instruments. His influence as an innovator exceeded that of Louis Armstrong. He made jazz a music to seriously listen to as well as to dance to. As Russell Procope, forty-year veteran of the Duke Ellington Orchestra put it, "A Bird comes along once in a century."

Although Charlie was uncompromisingly self-disciplined about his music, his personal life was dissolute. The huge amounts of alcohol, food, and heroin he consumed added to his legend. "Charlie saw no future for the music he played nor for his race in America," Russell perceived. "To live once, and to the limit—that was his game plan."

Why did Charlie succumb to the occupational hazard of drugs and alcohol? Russell gives a sympathetic answer: "Drugs allayed the pressure he suffered from the lack of steady work, the public indifference to his music, his contradictory, indeed ridiculous role—a creative artist composing and improvising in a night club."

Just as they were later to do to Billie Holiday, New York City revoked Charlie's cabaret license because they suspected him of drug use. He couldn't work in New York and was forced to go on the road just as he was trying to get his life together with his new wife and children. One child died, possibly for lack of proper medical care.

The hipsters of the World War II generation were rebels. "The leading figures of jazz looked to Parker for social and political orientation," but Parker's protests were nihilistic and ineffective. Russell understood: "Because he was ahead of his time, he bore the burdens of loneliness and frustration. The futility of the blows he directed at the establishment did much to encourage his dependence upon heroin and alcohol, adding to his loneliness and accelerating an inner drive toward self-destruction." Hampton Hawes, an admirer of Parker, wrote, "Bird felt deeply about the black-white split. He was the first jazz musician I met who understood what was happening to his people. He couldn't come up with an answer. So he stayed high."

While these fascinating sagas about Bessie, Jelly Roll, Mezz, and Bird have not had wide circulation, one imagines that they have been read with great appreciation. And one is obliged to remember that they are but superb program notes for their subjects' music.

\* \* \*

Bessie had her arm torn off in a car accident on the highway while driving to Clarksdale, Mississippi. She died from not having received the prompt medical attention she would have had had she been white. Jelly died poor, the undertaker having secretly taken the diamond from his tooth. Charlie Parker died homeless watching TV on a friend's couch. The doctor came and said the body looked to be that of a fifty- or sixty-year-old man. Charlie was thirty-four. He had been a drug addict for nineteen years. Mezz went to live and play in Paris, where he died. Charlie never made it to Europe to live, but two of his children, young musicians, are growing up there. And as jazz promoter Billy Taylor has pointed out, the American Bicentennial Commission failed to allocate one nickel for the aid of jazz during our country's 200th birthday celebration.

# National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



## UAW victory in Louisiana

One of the things left over from negotiations in the auto industry last year was the matter of unorganized parts plants built and operated by General Motors Corporation in the Deep South. The United Auto Workers demanded that the corporation take a hands-off policy in union organizing drives.

In negotiations last summer GM representatives argued that they held no animus against the UAW, and were in fact anxious to continue and extend amicable labor relations. As usual they asked only that the union be "reasonable." Local social and economic conditions in the South, they said, dictate that newly constructed plants there should not pay hourly wages too much above the area average. The area is nonunion, as everyone knows, and the corporation was reluctant to introduce the union into communities where the general feeling was hostile.

Several salient facts were omitted from this sophisticated argument. One was what the workers thought. Would they be allowed to choose union representation without fear of reprisal? In other words, if they voted for the union would they lose their jobs?

The underlying fact is that workers in these GM plants in the South are paid two dollars an hour less than is paid in Detroit for identical labor. And because the southern worker has no union protection the rate of production is often higher than in organized plants.

General Motors was raking in an extra profit of several million dollars annually from the low-wage, nonunion operations. This was one of the reasons the corporation opened these plants: the search for cheap labor. The UAW correctly called this GM's "Southern Strategy."

It was nothing new, not a GM invention. Other large corporations had already used this strategy with considerable success. General Electric is a vast empire of electrical manufacturing plants, many of them located in recent years in the rural South. Few of these plants are organized. The result is that the electrical unions (twelve separate unions negotiate contracts

with GE) fear a strike because the corporation can continue operations and supply the market with products even while all its unionized plants are closed.

The same is true in the rubber industry. The "big four" tire manufacturers—Goodyear, Goodrich, Uniroyal, and Firestone—all have modern plants in the South, many unorganized. One of the reasons the rubber strike dragged on for more than four months last summer was because only about 60 percent of production was closed.

Officials of the auto union see in the electrical and rubber industries what can happen in a few years in auto. They challenged GM on this issue. In the end top officials of the corporation signed a memorandum that they would in no way interfere with UAW organizing efforts in six GM plants in the South.

Two days before Christmas the results of the first union election at the GM Guide Lamp Division plant in Monroe, Louisiana, were announced. The UAW won by a vote of 323 to 280. But this does not settle the matter. A contract has yet to be negotiated.

Vice-president Irving Bluestone, director of the union's GM department, announced immediately that "UAW now will move quickly to bring the workers at the Monroe plant under the provisions of the union's national agreement with GM and to work out local agreements that will be satisfactory to the Monroe workers."

This sounds as if those workers had just voted themselves a substantial wage raise plus other union benefits.

If it turns out that way, the news is sure to spread. Other unorganized plants will come under union control. It may be that the way is open to organize the rubber and electrical manufacturing industries.

What happened in Monroe is a sign. It heralds big changes that have been long delayed in the South. But these changes will not come as easy as the victory in Monroe . . . which still has to be secured.

Continued from page 10

Carter and Artis at the scene of the crime. (Bello was committing a burglary at a nearby factory at the time.)

All of Humphreys's other three key witnesses were exposed by the defense as favor-seeking police hangers-on, including a person who didn't testify at the first trial but came forward ten years later to "identify" evidence the police had planted in Carter's car.

The trial, as Carter has stated, was a rerun of the first. Except that this time the prosecutor was allowed to present a "motive" to the jury—that the killing of three white strangers was an act of racial revenge, a charge which is at the same time unprovable and irrefutable. This is what convicted the two men.

Artis will be eligible for parole in 1980, Carter in 1996. Readers of the *Militant* will continue to tell the truth about this case, and we say to Rubin and John: Brothers, if we have anything to say about it—and we will—you are not going to have to wait that long. For as the Black nationalist movement grows and seeks allies, we'll give Humphreys and his ilk a real taste of "racial harmony."

Michael Smith  
New York, New York

### S.W.P.

On October 29, 1976, my son was born. After years of subscribing to the *Militant*, we named him Sean William Poole—just in time to tell our close friends how we were voting—the initials of our son!

Bill Poole, Jr.  
Lake Hiawatha, New Jersey

### 'Chile sí, junta no'

About seventy-five people participated in a picket December 15 protesting the planned Minnesota visit of Manuel Trucco, ambassador to the United States from the Chilean junta.

The protest was called by the Minnesota Committee for Chilean Freedom and co-sponsored by the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA).

Trucco was to speak at a rally organized by People to People International, but the threat of a confrontation with the picket line led to the cancelling of his Minnesota visit—a great victory for all.

Of special concern to the protesters is the gift of thousands of dollars of hospital equipment to the junta by University of Minnesota hospitals. Hospital workers, AFSCME Local 1164, passed a resolution against shipping this equipment.

Since most impoverished Chileans have no access to hospital care, this gift at the taxpayers' and workers' expense will only serve to give legitimacy to the repressive military regime that rules Chile.

The cry of the picketers echoed through the cold Minnesota night: "Chile sí, junta no."

Julia M. Morgan  
Minneapolis, Minnesota

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.

## iLa Raza en Acción!

Miguel Pendás



## Chicanos & steel

DENVER—Unions can be a powerful force for all kinds of progressive change. They can back up Chicanos not only on the job but also in the community—in the struggle for bilingual-bicultural education, for affirmative action, against police brutality, and against the abuses of *la migra*.

The labor movement has the clout to win these struggles. And Chicanos have the right to expect its support. But the labor movement will have to be transformed first to put it on the right track. The union bureaucracy now cooperates with the bosses to uphold racist discrimination.

For this reason Ed Sadlowski's campaign for president of the United Steelworkers of America is of special interest to Chicanos.

In many plants, mines, and mills under USWA contract—especially in the Southwest—Chicanos are a major part of the labor force. And Chicanos, Blacks, and women are hardest hit by the massive layoffs in the steel industry. It is those at the bottom whose wages suffer the most from inflation.

Sadlowski and the rest of the Steelworkers Fight Back slate say that the unions must be run by the workers and respond to the needs of the workers. They are campaigning for the right to vote on contracts and to eliminate the no-strike pledge that union President I.W. Abel signed with the steel companies.

The Steelworkers Fight Back movement aims to revive the fighting traditions of the unions. It points out that for unions to truly represent the interests of their member, they must be concerned with more than just wages and working conditions. They must take up the whole range of social and political issues affecting working people.

This is especially true for Chicanos, Blacks, and women. The exploitation of Chicanos as workers is inseparable from their oppression as second-class citizens. One of the reasons the United Farm Workers

union has been successful in organizing *campesinos* where others have failed is that it recognized that it must fight all forms of racism in the fields.

As one indication that Fight Back is serious about addressing itself to the oppressed, the slate includes Ignacio "Nash" Rodríguez, a Chicano, and Oliver Montgomery, a Black. If Fight Back wins, they will be the first nonwhite international officers elected in the history of the union.

Sadlowski has denounced the racist myth—peddled by the bosses and union bureaucrats—that *mexicano* workers, the so-called illegal aliens, are to blame for unemployment. He correctly says that the bosses "throw open the doors to this country to the humble and poor when they need their railroads built, swamps drained, and blast furnaces tended, and they throw them out when they can't give them jobs."

"I don't believe we should have fences around this country," Sadlowski says. "We should be looking at ourselves as citizens of the world."

Sadlowski has credited the UFW with some of his ideas about what the labor movement should be. "We've got to develop a very strong cause in this country," he said. "Chávez is a good example of that. It's a cause. Even with the roadblocks and setbacks he's successful."

To inject *la causa* into the steelworkers union it will be necessary to involve the whole community. That is another lesson to be learned from the farm workers. This is not just an issue for Chicano steelworkers. It is a struggle for all of *la raza*.

Chicanos have a big stake in the steelworkers election. A victory for the Fight Back slate will help open up the whole labor movement to the struggle of *la raza*. But it's not just a matter of voting. Involvement is the key.

Sadlowski put it well: "Organize around the premise of what you want this union to be." Chicanos should have plenty of good ideas about that.



## Eyewitness account

# Feminism in Spain



LINDA JENNESS speaks to crowd of 2,000 at University of Barcelona

Socialist Workers party leader Linda Jenness returned December 12 from a three-week speaking tour of six cities in Spain. She spoke to large audiences on campuses and in working-class communities and met with leaders of the feminist, trade-union, and revolutionary movements.

Following are major excerpts from Jenness's report on her tour to 350 people attending a women's liberation and socialism conference sponsored by the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance, at New York's Columbia University December 18.

Jenness is a member of the SWP National Committee and was the party's presidential candidate in 1972.

The feminist movement in Spain is bringing thousands of new forces into the international fight for women's rights. Within one short year it has become a major component of the developing revolution in Spain.

There's some kind of action or activity almost every day. Just while I was in Barcelona, there was a demonstration of 5,000 women against adultery laws; a women's festival featuring feminist protest

singers that drew 4,000 people; and the meeting where I spoke on feminism and socialism attended by 2,000. All that in one week.

In addition, there are articles in the papers and magazines and often letters to the editors, debating one or another women's issue.

My tour itself was an indication of the interest in feminism. Not only were the meetings large in all six cities—2,000 in Barcelona, 700 in Valencia, 500 in Madrid, several others of 300 or 400—but the tour was covered in all the press and on radio and television.

In Seville I was on the radio five times. On one thirty-minute live program I talked about everything—feminism, abortion, divorce, the world Trotskyist movement, the need for socialist revolution in the United States and elsewhere.

The members of the Liga Comunista (LC—Communist League) and the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria (LCR—Revolutionary Communist League), the groups that arranged the tour, were shocked that this radio show was not cut off. They kept watching the control room to see if they had flipped on a record and cut me off.

They said it was the first time in forty years that a revolutionary socialist talked for thirty minutes on live radio.

What you have to understand is that the open discussion and debate of political ideas is new in Spain, because people have been living under a fascist dictatorship for forty years.

### Phony referendum

While I was in Spain, another big issue was the referendum. This was part of the ruling class's attempt to maneuver a transition from the Franco fascist dictatorship to a parliamentary form of government with a guise of democracy. The phony Francoist legislature passed a bill calling for elections and put it forward as a referendum.

Of course, there is just one big problem with the referendum and the elections: all parties except those that support the government are outlawed. The Communist party, the Trotskyist and Maoist parties, even women's liberation organizations, are not legal. So the elections that will be held will exclude any opposition.

While I was in Spain, 134 members of the LCR were arrested for just holding a meeting. You can hardly talk about democratic elections when people are being arrested for simply holding a meeting.

Even two of my meetings were banned by the government, one in Madrid and one in Pamplona. You know that permission for your meeting has been denied when you arrive at the meeting hall and see a bunch of civil guards with machine guns.

So this referendum was a total fraud, and there was an active campaign to boycott it.

There is also in Spain a growing struggle of the oppressed nationalities for self-determination. I was in Catalonia and the Basque country. When Franco came to power there was fierce repression of these nations, including the outlawing of their languages, cultures, even their folk dances. Now the nationalist struggles are on the rise.

In the Basque country, at all of my meetings there was a translator to translate any questions asked in Euzkadi, the language of the Basques, into Spanish, and my answer back from Spanish to Euzkadi. Everyone can speak Spanish, but speaking Euzkadi is a form of protest and nationalist sentiment.

The fight for political rights, the nationalist struggles, the feminist movement, and the emerging workers' struggles are all key ingredients of the developing revolution in Spain.

### Divorce and adultery

The two issues at the center of the women's liberation struggle right now are divorce and adultery. There is no civil marriage in Spain. That means that the right to divorce is totally in the hands of the Catholic church, which strictly forbids divorce.

Those women who find their marriages intolerable have no legal way out. And, if they leave their husbands, they can be persecuted, prosecuted, and jailed under a variety of laws.

For instance, under the home abandoning law, any woman who leaves her home—either her husband's if she is married, or her father's if she is not married—without permission can be brought to trial and jailed. There are hundreds of women in jail for this crime.

If a married woman separates from her husband and lives with another man, she can be tried and thrown in jail for adultery.

Not only are these laws antiquated, but the double standard is flagrant. A married woman who "copulates with a man not her husband," is automatically guilty. Her partner can only be found guilty if it can be proven that he knew she was married. If a husband sleeps with a woman who is not his wife, he can only be charged with adultery on two conditions: one, if he moves his mistress into his family household, or two, if he consorts with his mistress in public so flagrantly that it is embarrassing to the church and the state.

In the center of the fight against these scandalous adultery laws are several defense cases. One of these is the case of María Angeles Muñoz, a woman from Barcelona.

María Angeles Muñoz and her daughter were deserted by María's husband several years ago. But, since there's no divorce, the husband still retains legal power over her. The husband is accusing María Angeles of adultery and demanding custody of her daughter.

It was this case that triggered the protest of 5,000 women in Barcelona November 18. The protest was broken up by cops.



Basques raising nationalist flag at workers union conference. 'Franco fiercely repressed the national minorities. Now the nationalist struggles are on the rise.'

The feminist movement takes this case very seriously. It understands that María Angeles Muñoz can go to jail if convicted. In jail she would join hundreds of others imprisoned for adultery, home abandoning, and for having abortions. That's why one of the main slogans of all the actions is amnesty for all the women in jail for "women's" crimes.

### Sit-in

It was also the case of María Angeles Muñoz that sparked the sit-in at a Barcelona church, which I participated in.

The women in Spain often have meetings and protests in churches, because generally they have immunity there from police arrest. I went to the sit-in at 10:30 a.m. Sunday. There were about fifty present then, although more than 200 participated at one time or another during the twenty-four hour period.

The discussion at this church was a mixture of business—what to do next with the action they were taking—and more personal discussions. Some women talked about their own situation at home

Linda Jenness, feminista USA

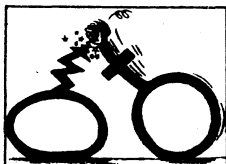
## "La familia es la principal institución opresiva"

JAIME MILLAS  
Linda Jenness acaba de llegar a España. Linda Jenness es una destacada activista y teórica del Movimiento de Liberación de la Mujer en los Estados Unidos y, como tal, está realizando una gira por nuestro país de tres semanas. Autora de *Feminismo y socialismo*, *El aborto: la lucha de las mujeres por el derecho de escoger*, y otros títulos, participa en la actividad política como miembro del WONACC (Women's National Abortion Action Coalition) y militante del Partido Trotskyista, Socialist Worker's Party (SWP).

Presentó su candidatura a la presidencia de los Estados Unidos frente a Nixon en 1972. Ha ejercido como periodista en el semanario *The Militant*, encargada de la sección *Women in revolt*.

Nació en 1941 en Oklahoma. Su padre estuvo tres años como agregado militar en la embajada norteamericana en Bolivia, de ahí que conozca el castellano.

Linda Jenness iba a pronunciar una conferencia sobre *Feminismo y Socialismo* en la Casa de la Cultura de Getafe, que fue prohibida por la autoridad gubernativa.



Claudio Ponsal vio así en *L'Exposé* la lucha feminista. Pasa a esta página, Linda Jenness afirma que los hombres no son machistas: que el enemigo es el sistema de clase

Para l de la mu tución zación clases. económ pende mente. Constitu ca de l: Nuestra signific educaci socieda: dividua control la instit ciones r tra luch de la soc La pi electora ganar, si que ofe ciudad de com.



and asked for advice from some of the women lawyers there. Differences between the various groups and tendencies were also discussed.

I had the strange feeling I'd been there before. It reminded me of some of the consciousness raising meetings we had in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1969 when I lived there. I was periodically reminded that I was in Spain, however, by a big bottle of wine that kept being passed around the circle. I don't remember doing that in Atlanta, at least not at 10:30 in the morning.

I was also reminded where I was when a young woman came in and told me I should leave because the cops were outside, and if something happened I would probably find myself at the border and that would be the end of the tour.

Sure enough, the police were outside driving around the church. They finally stopped and pulled down the big banners the women had hung up on the church and across the street demanding "Amnesty for women" and "Abolish the sexist and discriminatory laws."

But then, a little thing happened that would have been unthinkable six months or a year ago and is a sign of the growing combativity and self-confidence of the workers in Spain. As soon as the cops had left, a group of men from the community ran over and sprayed the slogans back on the church with spray paint.

### Fascism and sexism

All these laws—against divorce, adultery, home abandoning, contraception, and abortion—are a result of the victory of fascism in Spain.

In the 1930s during the Spanish Republic, there was a big radicalization of women that won certain rights. With the victory of fascism, rights were taken away from women. Fascism gave absolute power over women to capitalism's holy trinity: that is, the church, the state, and the family—or the pope, Franco, and your father.

I have to admit that one of the things that delighted me most about the tour was when I told audiences about the Catholic church's reactionary role in our fight for abortion rights in this country.

And then I would tell how we answered the church: "The Catholic church, we said, is hypocritical. They cry about the lives of the unborn, but they do not care about the living. The foundation of the Catholic church, we said, is ignorance. It is an institution built upon the oppression of women."

And then, everyone would applaud. What a sign of the radicalization that people identify the Catholic church as their oppressor!

Another issue of immediate concern for the feminist movement in Spain is the fight for contraceptives. Contraceptives for women are totally illegal.

Hand in hand with the lack of contraceptives is the lack of abortion rights. Between these two restrictions, tens of thousands of women are forced into illegal, dangerous abortions. Many die, many are maimed, and many are jailed.

A sign of the growing impact of the feminist movement is that the recent convention of the Partido Socialista Obrero Español—the social-democratic party—adopted a women's rights platform that included the demand for free, legal abortions.

### Round table

One of the most interesting meetings I had was what was called a round-table discussion. At this round table, the leaders of some of the major women's organizations got together to discuss with me what was going on in Spain and to share experiences.

One group represented was the *Collectiva Feminista* (Feminist Collective), the group led by Lydia Falcón. Falcón is the Spanish feminist who was sent to jail several years ago, along with Eva Forest, for her feminist ideas. She is the author of several books, a lawyer, and certainly one of the pioneers of feminism in Spain.

The women in Falcón's group are called the radical feminists. Although small in numbers, they are activists and have small groups all over.

These are the women who believe that women are a class—not an oppressed sex—but a class. They reject the idea that women's oppression began with the division of society into classes, the development of private property, and the institution of the family.

Instead, they believe that women were always oppressed and that the basic fight is between men and women. They are strongly opposed to women belonging to political parties that include men. In fact, they think that women who do belong to parties, including revolutionary parties, are not really feminists.

I don't believe there is much future for this group in Spain. The women's liberation movement is

developing along with, and in the midst of, a giant workers struggle.

Here in the United States, when revolutionary socialist women said to the radical feminists, "Yes, we have to build an independent women's movement, but women also have to be part of the class struggle for socialism," the radical feminists—acting only on what they saw directly in front of them—used to say, "What class struggle?"

Well, in Spain you can't say that. It's more obvious there that the feminist movement can't isolate itself from everything else.

Then there's the *Asociación Democrática de Mujeres* (Democratic Association of Women). This is primarily led by the Workers party, a Maoist group. The *Asociación* is in a contradictory situation. The leadership's position, as explained to me at the round table, is that women should fight *only* as part of the general struggle for democracy against fascism. Then, only after there's a more democratic situation, should women fight for their special interests as women.

On the other hand, because of the number of women in this group who are not Maoists, and because of the pressure of the feminist movement, the organization is forced to participate in women's liberation struggles.

When the leadership tells women that they should fight for democracy against fascism, the women say, "Of course, that's what we're doing—we're fighting for divorce and abortion rights. We're fighting for *our* democratic rights."

The Communist party, which is also reluctant to build the independent feminist movement, is also forced to participate. It is especially active in *amas de casas*, housewives' organizations. These groups have been concentrating on the fight against inflation and high prices.

### Democratic demands

The *Frente de Liberación de Mujer* (Women's Liberation Front), considers itself a socialist-feminist group. Although its ranks include sincere young feminists, they make a lot of mistakes.

For instance, when we discussed divorce at the round table, the women from the *Frente* explained that they were not for fighting for the right to divorce because the right to divorce would simply strengthen the bourgeois family by making it more flexible and easier to maintain. They said that the only way to fight for divorce rights was to always link that struggle to the fight against the bourgeois family.

In other words, they are afraid of any demand that they think can be met under the capitalist system. Each fight, they believe, must include some demand that only a socialist society could meet. They fail to understand the importance of the fight for democratic rights for women, the oppressed nationalities, and the working class.

Then there are the *Liga Comunista* and the *Liga Comunista Revolucionaria*, two Trotskyist groups that organized my tour. The women in these organizations participate in almost all the women's groups in the unions, barrios, on the campuses. They are trying to build the women's movement and help it form alliances with other struggles.

I told the women at the round table that the discussions and debates taking place in Spain were



'I am also an adulteress,' reads the demonstrator's sign. 'If a married woman separates from her husband and lives with another man, she can be thrown in jail for adultery.'

the same as those taking place elsewhere and that they are around fundamental questions for the women's movement: the origin of the oppression of women; the relationship of the women's liberation movement to the workers movement; the history of the women's movement; the question of a revolutionary party and what program it should have; the relationship between the feminist struggle and the nationalist struggle.

I said that I thought these debates and discussions were important. I also told them that while we discuss and debate, we must also attempt to unite in action and mobilize masses of people around issues that everyone can agree on.

### International struggle

Although the feminist movement in Spain is young—about a year old—and the battles ahead of it will be long and hard, the feminist movement there starts off with some advantages too.

For one thing, the women in Spain join an already existing and strong international feminist movement—so they don't have to start totally from scratch. They can use many of the experiences and lessons, the books and literature, and the weight and authority gained by women here and in England, Japan, France, Italy, Canada, and elsewhere.

Their movement also starts in the midst of a combative mood on the part of the working class in Spain. That combativity will include the readiness to fight prejudices, stereotypes, moral hypocrisy, and the double oppression of working women.

I'm sure that feminists the world over are inspired to see our ranks swelled by new battalions from Spain. It gives us confidence in our movement and confidence in our victory.

## Protests free CP leader

By Peter Seidman

On December 30, Santiago Carrillo, general secretary of the Communist party of Spain, was released on \$4,400 bail. He had been held in Carabanchel prison outside Madrid for nine days on charges of belonging to an "illegal association." The charge carries a potential sentence of six months in prison.

Carrillo was arrested December 22 along with seven other CP leaders who have also been released. Twelve days earlier the officially barred CP leader had revealed at a news conference in Madrid that he had been living in Spain since February. He demanded that the government end its ban on the CP.

Demonstrations in Madrid and protests by numerous European Communist parties greeted Carrillo's arrest. These convinced the regime that its demagogic efforts to present a more liberalized image would be dealt too costly a blow by continued prosecution of the CP leaders. According to the *New York Times*, it now seems "more than likely that the case [will] never come to trial."

A spokesperson for the Spanish CP hailed Carrillo's release as "an important step toward the legalization of all political parties in Spain."



CP leader Santiago Carrillo (inset) shown waving from car after release from prison.

On the same day the regime announced it was abolishing the Court of Public Order. This court was established by Franco in 1963. It has been responsible for blocking legal appeals for freedom by hundreds of political prisoners.

## Rejects Austin busing plan

# Supreme Court ruling new blow to Blacks

By Peter Seidman

On December 7 the U.S. Supreme Court rejected a court-ordered desegregation plan for Austin, Texas. The plan would have required the busing of nearly 25,000 students.

In the seven-to-two ruling, the court majority laid down a highly restrictive standard of how far lower courts can go in ordering action to overcome segregated education.

The busing plan overturned by the Supreme Court had been ordered by a federal appeals court. That three-judge panel in New Orleans had rejected a partial desegregation plan submitted by the Austin school board as inadequate. The partial plan, for example, did not provide for desegregation below the sixth grade.

But the Supreme Court's December 7 ruling said the court-ordered substitute plan went too far. It explained that "the remedy ordered appears to exceed that necessary to eliminate the effect of any official acts" of racial discrimination.

The justices said the court-ordered plan imposes "a view of the constitutional obligations of a school board far exceeding anything required by this Court." It held that "large-scale busing is permissible only where the evidence supports a finding that the extent of integration sought to be achieved by busing would have existed had the



New decision curbs use of busing to overcome segregated housing patterns.

school authorities fulfilled their constitutional obligations in the past."

This means busing can only be ordered where it can be proven that school officials *intentionally* discriminated against minority students. In

the past, courts have accepted evidence of segregated schools and discriminatory funding as grounds for ordering busing—regardless of ability to prove the intent of school officials.

The effect of the December 7 ruling is to exempt school districts from responsibility for overcoming segregated school conditions that result from anything but "official acts."

This means that busing could not be ordered to overcome a key cause of educational inequality: segregated housing. Hence, the Supreme Court's ruling provides racist school boards from coast to coast with a convenient excuse for continuing racist discrimination in education.

The justices put it this way: "The principal cause of racial and ethnic imbalance in urban public schools across the country—North and South—is the imbalance in residential patterns. Such residential patterns are typically beyond the control of school authorities."

The justices admit that if the new standards they set in the Austin ruling were generally applied, "they would rarely result in the widespread busing of elementary-age children."

The Supreme Court's ruling is a major retreat from earlier decisions upholding busing as the only way to overcome discriminatory funding for segregated schools. The justices accept-

ed the logic of a brief filed by U.S. Solicitor General Robert Bork.

Bork said, "A conclusion that there has been discrimination with respect to particular schools does not support a judicial order that racial balance must be produced throughout the school system."

Bork's brief is consistent with other attempts to attack busing by making a distinction between illegal *de jure* segregation and "legal" *de facto* segregation. This was the thinking, for example, behind the Supreme Court's June 28 ruling overturning a key part of the Pasadena, California, busing plan. (See the *Militant*, July 23, 1976.)

The December 7 ruling also opens a door for Bork to challenge a major busing plan that has been ordered for Wilmington, Delaware, and surrounding suburbs.

In the Wilmington case, racists are challenging the busing plan on the grounds that it goes beyond correcting proven "official" segregation and seeks to compensate also for segregated housing patterns in the Wilmington area. In November the Supreme Court refused to review the Wilmington plan—at least for the time being.

But racist opponents of busing are still pressing for a reversal of the Wilmington plan, and the Supreme Court's Austin ruling has put some wind in their sails.

## Why desegregation fight must continue

By Chris Horner

BOSTON—Why is the struggle for school desegregation so important? And where does this struggle stand today?

These were among the questions addressed by a panel of probusing leaders during the National Student Conference Against Racism held here this fall.

The National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR), which hosted the conference, was founded in February 1975 to organize student support for school desegregation and other antiracist struggles in Boston and other cities.

Tony Austin chaired the desegregation panel. He was elected as the new NSCAR national coordinator. The previous national coordinator, Maceo Dixon, also spoke on the panel.

Dixon explained that the largest demonstrations for Black rights in recent years have been in defense of school desegregation, while the largest mobilizations against Black rights have been in opposition to busing.

Any challenge to segregated schools, Dixon said, also confronts the highly segregated housing patterns in American cities. Since these patterns are intertwined with discriminatory lower wages and higher unemployment among Blacks, the school desegregation fight is closely tied to Black people's fight for economic equality.

Dixon pointed to renewed threats in Congress to pass antibusing amendments. He called attention to the highly segregated character of school systems in America's three largest cities—New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles. These are warning signs, Dixon said, that NSCAR's participation in the probusing struggle needs to continue.

Dixon urged conference participants to continue NSCAR's educational campaign on busing. He urged NSCAR activists to continue to work with trade unions, NAACP chapters, and groups such as the

Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Urban League to build unified mobilizations in defense of busing.

Three other panelists also spoke: Ilene Carver, a staff organizer for Progress In Education, a Louisville probusing organization; Christine Rossell, a Boston University professor currently writing a book on the Boston busing struggle to be entitled *The Little Rock of the North*; and Luis Fuentes, the first Puerto Rican principal in the New York City school system and a longtime activist in the fight for bilingual-bicultural education.

Carver recounted the violence that greeted the implementation of busing in Louisville in September 1975. She scored public officials who claimed they would obey the court order, while actually giving backhanded encouragement to racist mobs by expressing their "personal opposition" to busing.

Carver explained that the opening of schools this fall was relatively peaceful. But, she said, the racism has shifted from the streets to the classrooms, where violence and a variety of subtler methods are used to undo the initial victory achieved through busing.

Young Blacks, who make up 25 percent of Louisville's student population, suffer 69 percent of school suspensions. Black students older than sixteen, she said, are encouraged to drop out. And teachers have been laid off in the name of a "budget crisis." Meanwhile, top school administrators are paid up to \$43,000 a year.

Rossell reported that the large majority of school districts in the United States remain segregated. Within those districts that have been desegregated, little has been achieved at the classroom level. Because of tracking of Blacks into "remedial" and other "special" classes, they are still shortchanged.

The meaning of this, Rossell said, is that prodesegregation forces cannot stop their efforts to win equality

of education for Blacks even after busing has been ordered.

Massive suspensions also greet Black students in desegregated schools. In Boston, Rossell said, Blacks were suspended at a rate two to three times that of whites in the initial weeks of school. "Everybody's always worrying about 'white flight,'" Rossell said, "but you don't hear much about 'Black push-out.'"

Luis Fuentes addressed his remarks to the special problems of non-English-speaking national minorities. He illustrated the crucial importance of bilingual and bicultural educational programs with some chilling statistics on Puerto Rican youth in New York City.

Fifty-three percent of Puerto Rican students drop out of high school. One reason for this is that there is barely one Puerto Rican teacher for every 300 of the 120,000 Spanish-speaking students in the city's schools.

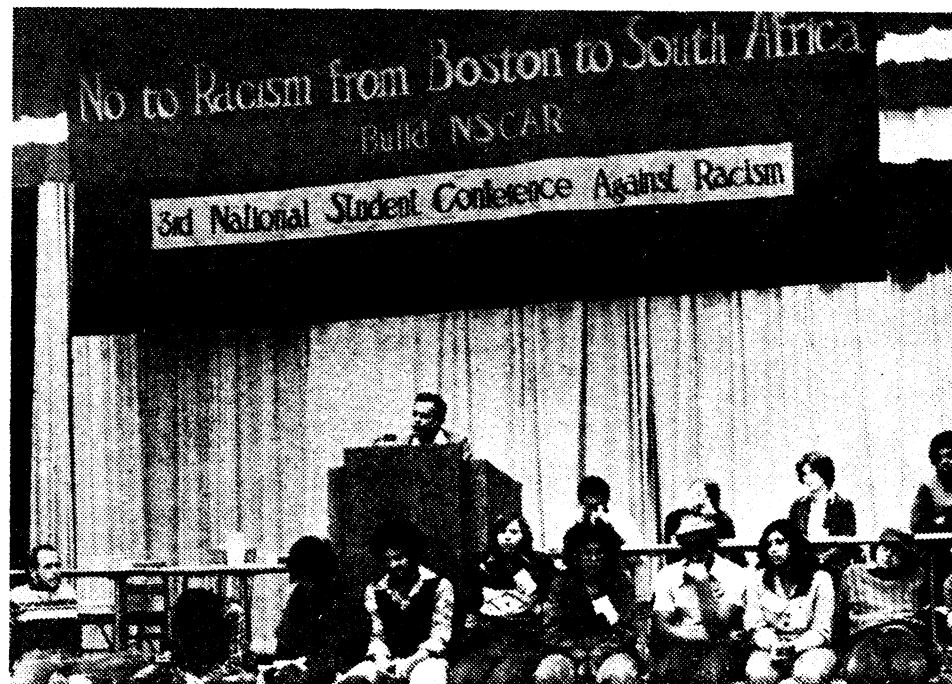
The price paid by these victims of racist New York City education is high. For example, Fuentes said, the

unemployment rate for Puerto Ricans between the ages of seventeen and twenty-five is 50 percent.

Fuentes blasted the racist opposition to bilingual education by Albert Shanker, leader of New York's United Federation of Teachers. Fuentes told the conference what happened when he tried to follow one of Shanker's suggestions. Shanker had proposed that instead of hiring bilingual teachers, the schools could provide voluntary instruction in Spanish to English-speaking teachers.

"In 1972," Fuentes reported, "I initiated free after-school classes in Cantonese and Spanish, meeting with 900 mono-lingual teachers. Twenty signed up and about half that number attended. The classes had to be scrapped."

Tony Austin, Christine Rossell, and Luis Fuentes are all available through NSCAR's national speakers bureau. For more information, contact NSCAR at 612 Blue Hill Avenue, Dorchester, Massachusetts 02121. Telephone: (617) 288-6200.



Panel on school desegregation at National Student Conference Against Racism.





In 1968 Andrew Pulley went into the army rather than go to jail. He had been arrested for taking part in the Black community rebellion in Cleveland following the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr.

In the army, Pulley became one of the Fort Jackson Eight, who in 1969 were thrown into the stockade for their antiwar activities. An international campaign to defend GI civil liberties forced the army to drop its charges.

Pulley later joined the Young Socialist Alliance, was elected its national chairperson, and in 1972 ran for U.S. vice-president on the Socialist Workers party ticket.

The following are excerpts from Pulley's testimony when he was cross-examined by Assistant U.S. Attorney William Brandt last May.

The testimony is part of the pretrial evidence being collected for the \$40 million lawsuit the SWP and YSA have brought against government harassment.

\* \* \*

*Question. Mr. Pulley, will you just state your name for the record, please?*

*Answer. My name is Andrew Pulley.*

*Q. Would you tell us briefly, Mr. Pulley, your educational background?*

*A. I attended elementary school, junior high school, high school, one semester of college in California.*

*Q. Could you tell me, Mr. Pulley, when you completed high school?*

*A. I did not complete high school.*

*Q. I am sorry. Did you say you attended high school?*

*A. I attended high school from about '65 to '68, that is, junior high school and a year of high school.*

*Q. Oh, you only had a year of high school.*

*A. Yes. To the tenth grade.*

*Q. Could you tell us when in 1967 or 1968 you were arrested for allegedly inciting a riot?*

*A. Yes. In 1968. It was in April, a few days following the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr.*

*Q. What happened after you were arrested? Were you tried?*

*A. No, I was not tried. It was put in a temporary detention home and charges were being brought, during which time I was put on probation. My probation officer pointed out the choices facing me. That was jail or joining the army to escape being tried for incitement to riot charge. And I joined the army in May.*

*Q. Could you give us the approximate date that you entered the army, sir?*

*A. May 22, 1968.*

*Q. Could you tell us the date you left the army?*

*A. May 23, 1969.*

*Q. So you were in the army for approximately a year?*

*A. A year and one day.*

*Q. Did you engage in any political activities while you were in the army?*

*A. I engaged in antiwar discussion and discussion against racist practices in the army. You can call that political if you want. All of which was, of course, legal under both the Constitution and the UCMJ, Uniform Code of Military Justice.*

#### Stockade

*Q. You were at Fort Jackson during this period of time?*

*A. Yes, I was at Fort Jackson.*



FORT JACKSON EIGHT: (from left) Andrew Pulley, José Rudder, Delmar Thomas, Edilberto Chaparro, Tommie Woodfin, Dominick Duddie, Joe Cole, Curtis Mays.

*Q. Did there come a time in March of 1969 that you were placed in the stockade?*

*A. That is correct, for about two months.*

*Q. Could you tell us the events leading up to your being placed in the stockade?*

*A. I was arrested along with eight other GIs for allegedly having disobeyed a direct order to disperse; for illegally demonstrating on the base without a permit; for breach of peace; disrespect to an officer; and some other charges.*

*And this stemmed from a legal, peaceful gathering of GIs talking about the war in Vietnam and other things.*

*And all charges were subsequently dropped before any court-martial took place. So in effect we only had a grand jury investigation.*

*Q. Were you given a discharge as a result of that proceeding?*

*A. No, not exactly as a result of that proceeding. I was given an undesirable discharge, though.*

#### GIs United

*Q. Were you a member of a group called the GIs United Against the War?*

*A. That is correct. It consisted of GIs who wanted to talk about opposing the war; and included Black, white, Puerto Rican GIs, and so on.*

*Q. Could you tell us what activities the GIs United Against the War engaged in?*

*A. Well, we listened to tapes of Malcolm X and we talked about the war in Vietnam.*

*Q. Did you ever make speeches?*

*A. Well, we talked about the war, yes.*

*Q. Was [there] a place where this group usually met?*

*A. The group usually met in Company B144, in Fort Jackson United States Army Base.*

*Q. How many members were there in the GIs United Against the War?*

*A. The overwhelming majority of the company. To be a member one had simply to oppose the war in Vietnam and want to discuss it, that's all.*

*Q. How many people regularly met with your group?*

*A. It varied. From 1 to 150.*

*Q. There were times when you had 150 people meet?*

*A. Yes, 150 would gather around, as was the case on March 20, which is the day we were arrested and incarcerated. That included people looking out of the window of the barracks and sitting around on the grass. It was not a demonstration; it was totally informal discussion.*

*Q. Were there certain leaders of that organization?*

*A. In effect, yes, fellows who knew more about the war and were best able to articulate what was wrong with it.*

*Q. Were you one of those leaders?*

*A. In that sense, yes.*

#### Antiwar work

*Q. Did you engage in any antiwar activities during that period, June, July of 1969? [after discharge from the army?]*

*A. Certainly.*

*Q. Could you tell me the nature of your antiwar activities?*

*A. Well, I attended a couple of antiwar conferences and meetings and rallies, things of that sort.*

*Q. Did you give any speeches at that time?*

*A. Yes, I made talks. I talked about the need to oppose the war in Vietnam and to convince the American people of that.*

*Q. Did you engage in any activities on behalf of Black liberation movement?*

*A. I spoke about the need to end racist attacks and racism, the need to change from a system that profits from it and perpetuates it to one that is the opposite.*

*Q. Did you attend the national antiwar conference in Cleveland? . . . Did you give a speech at that time?*

*A. Yes, I spoke from the floor a couple of times.*

*Q. Could you tell us the nature of your statements at that time?*

*A. Well, it was along the general line of the need to mobilize the masses of people in the streets to oppose the war.*

*Q. Did you make any reference to GIs and what GIs should do?*

*A. Yes, to include them in such mobilization. They should march in the street with the American people.*

#### Violence?

*Q. Did you ever make any statement which in substance stated that GIs should take up their weapons and shoot their officers?*

*A. No, I never made such a statement that implied that or said it.*

*Q. Did you ever hear anybody else make a statement like that?*

*A. Well, I have heard that many times. I don't know whether they were serious, radical, or FBI agents.*

*Q. Did there come a time when you became a candidate for office of the Socialist Workers party?*

*A. June—wait a minute—August '71. I became a candidate for U.S. vice-president. And previous to that I was a candidate for Congress in 1970 in California.*

*Q. Did you have to take a stand on certain issues before you became a Socialist Workers party candidate?*

*A. By the very fact I was a member of the Socialist Workers party and was going*



Pulley in Japan, 1970

to speak for it, that meant that I agree with the Socialist Workers party.

*Q. During this time when you were a candidate in August of 1970, did you travel? . . . Did you travel to Japan?*

*A. Yes. I toured a number of cities in Japan and attended rallies.*

*Q. Did you ever send a message to a rally concerning the use of violence?*

*A. No.*

*Q. Did you ever have any discussions during that period—and I am talking about August and July of 1970—as to the use of violence vis-à-vis the military?*

*A. No. Well, it depends what you mean by that. If you mean did I talk about opponents of the policies of the military using violence, then the answer is emphatically no.*

*If you mean did I speak out against military violence, as in Vietnam and other places, then of course I did.*



## Predicts victory

# Attorney maps defense of YSA activists

By Meg Hayes

DETROIT—"Central Michigan University is trying to suppress political ideas and activity by drowning students in a cesspool of regulations," commented civil liberties attorney Ron Reosti about the arrest of three Young Socialist Alliance members.

The three—Brigid Douglas, Jim Garrison, and Tom Smith—were arrested October 20 for distributing Socialist Workers party campaign literature at a public lecture at CMU.

Each defendant is charged with three counts of criminal trespass and illegal occupation of a university building by force.

Reosti has represented political activists in the Detroit area for the past twelve years. He is convinced a victory can be won in this case. He plans to argue in court that the three YSA members had a constitutional right to distribute political literature and campaign for the candidates of their choice.

"The law is clear," Reosti said. "Campus regulations cannot be used as a subterfuge for preventing political activity."

The CMU administration claims that the three socialists refused to comply with university regulations. These campus rules require forms for recognition of organizations, literature table reservations, and permission to sell literature.



RON REOSTI: 'Campus regulations cannot be used to prevent political activity.'

The YSA members complied with the first two regulations and were informed by Dean of Student Affairs James Hill that the university had decided not to enforce the sales regulations. Defendant Jim Garrison explained, "We indicated that we would comply with university regulations when Dean Hill told us about them. But he answered that our effort would be no use because the administration would not process the forms during our visit on campus."

"We had been campaigning on campuses in Michigan for five weeks," Garrison said. "We complied with regulations at all the campuses and never encountered any problem until we arrived at CMU."

"Sale of political literature is certainly not a reason to arrest," said Reosti. "If the right to distribute literature depended on the ability of people to give literature away free, the right would be effectively nullified for all but the very wealthy."

Brigid Douglas added, "The real issue in this case is the right of students to engage in political activity and to invite and hear the views of nonstudents."

"These campus regulations are meant to prevent students from engaging in any political activity—from the defense of Gary Tyler to struggles for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment."

Reosti pointed out that "university administrations suffered a setback in the late 1960s and early 1970s in their ability to control what ideas students may hear. During the recent slowdown in political activism, these administrations have been encouraged to try to 'regulate' student rights away."

"At the same time, no doubt, they are in a hurry to prepare a tactic to head off the political activism they fear will result from cutbacks and the economic crisis."

Reosti emphasized the national importance of the CMU case. "A victory for the CMU defendants," he said, "will be a major setback for what I believe is a strategy that would otherwise be adopted by other major universities, a strategy to silence political ideas by a labyrinth of regulations."

## Protest frame-ups

Brigid Douglas, Jim Garrison, and Tom Smith will have a court hearing in Mount Pleasant January 20. From now until that hearing all who support free speech should send telegrams demanding that charges be dropped. Send telegrams to: CMU President Harold Abel, Warriner Hall, Central Michigan University, Mount Pleasant, Michigan 48859 with copies to the CMU Board of Trustees, 103 North Hall, Central Michigan University, Mount Pleasant, Michigan 48859.

Send copies of protests and contributions for the YSA members' defense to the Committee for Free Speech, Post Office Box 626, Mount Pleasant, Michigan 48858.

# Socialist steelworkers hold conference

By Andy Rose

CHICAGO—Socialist steelworkers from across the country met here December 18-19 in a national conference sponsored by the Socialist Workers party.

The conference was held to discuss the significance of Ed Sadlowski's campaign for president of the United Steelworkers and the participation of socialists in the developing movement for democratic and militant unionism.

Frank Lovell, SWP national trade-union director, noted in opening the gathering that it was "reviving an old tradition in our party."

"The last such conference that I can remember," Lovell said, "was in 1947 in Detroit when the auto workers met to plan their battle strategy to defend the democratic traditions and institutions of the United Auto Workers

against the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists and government agents of all kinds who had infiltrated the union."

Lovell added that the prospects for class-struggle unionism are far brighter today than they were thirty years ago on the eve of the cold-war witch-hunt.

This conference brought together activists in the Steelworkers Fight Back campaign from California, Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Texas, and Wisconsin. They reported on the campaign's progress in their areas.

All noted the extraordinary receptivity of steelworkers to Sadlowski's call for a union controlled by the membership and fighting for the membership.

Ed Heisler presented a national perspectives report to the conference.

Heisler, a National Committee member of the SWP, was the organizer of an earlier struggle in the United Transportation Union for the right of members to vote on contracts.

Heisler said that the Steelworkers Fight Back movement is the biggest challenge in decades to the class-collaborationist policies of the union bureaucracy.

He cited the basic themes of the Sadlowski campaign: that the members must run the union; that union leaders are responsible to the ranks, not to the employers; that the interests of workers and bosses are fundamentally antagonistic; that the right to strike is the source of the workers' power and is not to be surrendered.

Heisler also noted that the Fight Back candidates have put forward

some valuable proposals for union action: for a shorter workweek to create jobs, for an end to race and sex discrimination in seniority systems, and for effective on-the-job action to enforce safe working conditions and resolve grievances.

They have spoken out against reliance on "impartial arbitrators" rather than union power and against the chauvinist hysteria blaming unemployment on foreign imports and so-called illegal aliens.

The response to the Sadlowski campaign, Heisler said, is an important indication of the changing consciousness of American workers. "The vision of a powerful, militant, and fighting labor movement has inspired thousands of steelworkers to get involved. Many see for the first time the possibil-

*Continued on page 30*

# Morale high as Miami hotel strike continues

By Bob Angels

MIAMI—Every winter the luxury Miami Beach hotels fill up for the season. Tourists pay from \$50 to \$100 a day for rooms in some of the most famous hotels in the world. But the women who clean the rooms support their families on as little as \$65 a week.

Recently hotel owners raised rates 20 percent. But they refused to budge on workers' wage demands when union contracts ran out last September. After three months without a contract, Local 355 of the Hotel, Motel and Restaurant Employees Union called a strike. On Christmas Day 5,000 workers walked off the job.

The union's demands were modest: a 10 percent average increase in wages; increased hospitalization insurance; and guaranteed prepaid tips for maids who serve convention and tour-group guests.

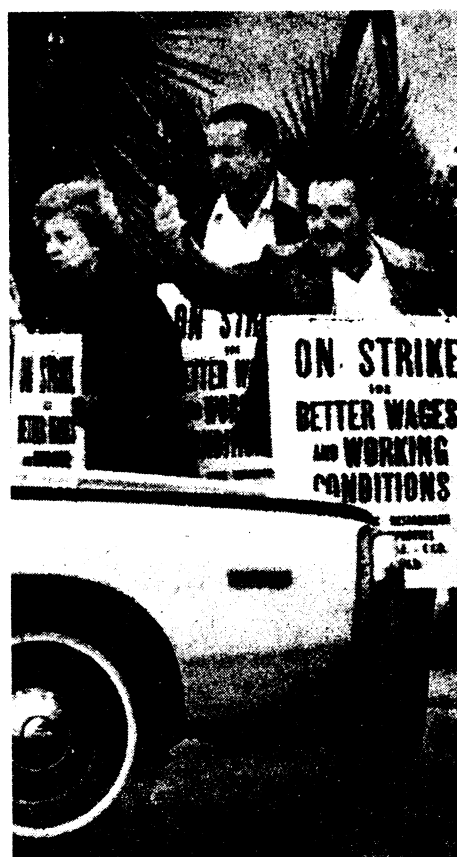
The union plan for prepaid tips was simple. Each convention or tour-group guest would be charged \$1.50 a day by the hotels. The amount was revised downward to \$.60 in agreements the union reached with thirteen hotel managements. It is this demand that a

number of the largest hotels have refused to agree to.

Though the strike is in its second week, the spirit and determination of the strikers is high. They are out to win. As one striker told me, "We will not go back without a contract. Then we will go back together!"

Most of the Miami-area organized labor movement backs that sentiment. A number of unions, including the United Steelworkers of America and the American Federation of Teachers, are now conducting their own organizing drives. They correctly see that a hotel workers' victory could help their chances of winning and that a defeat could hurt them. The December 27 meeting of the Dade Federation of Labor voted unanimously to back the strike and called on AFL-CIO international unions to hold their conventions away from Miami Beach until the strike is settled.

One exception to this display of solidarity is the local musicians union. The musicians, who are not members of the Dade Federation of Labor, have refused to honor picket lines. If they did honor the pickets, they could have



a big impact on the success of the strike, since entertainment is one of the main attractions the big hotels offer.

Another obstacle facing the strikers is the employers' attempt to replace the strikers with scabs. As in many other industries in south Florida, the hotel owners have consciously replaced Black workers with Cuban immigrants. Today Cubans make up 80 percent of the hotel work force.

The same hotel owners who pushed Black workers out the door fifteen years ago are now trying to get them to scab with the promise of "permanent" jobs.

Although the employers haven't been able to recruit significant numbers of scabs this way, their attempt underlines the need for the union to vigorously seek out Black community support for the strike. The union is in a weak position to do this, since it has done little to oppose the racist hiring practices of the hotel owners. Taking a firm stand against the owners' racist hiring practices would be a first step toward turning this situation around.

# 'A group that stands behind what it says'

By Nancy Cole

CHICAGO—"We intend to think big, and we intend to be big and strong in Houston," delegate Veronica Fontenot told the recent national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance here.

Fontenot has good cause for her optimism. During the last couple of months her YSA chapter in northeast Houston has grown to seventeen—all of them Black junior or senior high school students.

Fifteen of them made the tedious, twenty-four-hour trip to the Chicago convention December 31-January 2.

"Anyone who wants to struggle to support the freedom fighters in South Africa, anyone who wants to struggle to win the Equal Rights Amendment, anyone who wants to demand justice in the case of Milton Glover should be in our YSA chapter," Veronica said during discussion of the convention's "Building the YSA" report. (Glover was a Houston Black killed by cops.)

Veronica was one of three delegates—all women—representing what must be the youngest YSA chapter anywhere. The group got its start about five months ago when Veronica's sister Rene joined the YSA.

Rene Fontenot ran into the socialist movement as an activist in the Student Coalition Against Racism. Then Terry Payne, a student at the same school—Kashmere Senior High—also joined. Veronica Fontenot soon followed.

The YSA at Kashmere grew rapidly into a chapter after Payne and Rene Fontenot ran for president and vice-president of their sophomore class. They ran on a socialist platform, and "the students loved it," Rene told me. "People started asking questions about socialism."

They were both elected.

Since the administration would not permit the YSA status as a school club, they helped form a political science club.

This fall the club invited representatives of the national presidential campaigns to speak at school. Only the Socialist Workers party's speaker, Silvia Zapata, showed up.

"She convinced a whole lot of people about socialism," Rene Fontenot explained.

The mock election netted Carter about 400 votes; the SWP's Peter Camejo, 300; and Ford, 20.

After that, the political science club was abolished by school officials.

The majority of the Northeast Houston YSA chapter are from Kashmere, but there are



YSA rally January 1 cheered Houston students

Militant/Bruce Marcus

members from five other schools as well, including three junior high schools.

If there is one event that jolted the students into political activity, it was the brutal cop slaying of Black Vietnam veteran Milton Glover last March. The killer-cops were later officially cleared.

"I joined the YSA because my friend Milton Glover got killed by the cops," fifteen-year-old Calvin Charles told me. "I knew his family and his girlfriend. I knew everything about him. He was nice, he was friendly, and everything else."

David Brown, seventeen, added, "It wasn't right, because Milton Glover pulled out a Bible and they said it was a gun. And they shot him seven times. Nothing happened to those officers, and I felt like something should have. That's the reason I joined the YSA."

The YSA participated actively in an independent commission of inquiry, which this September brought in a verdict of murder. This convinced a number of the students that the YSA was the group to be in.

During one of the convention's dinner breaks, the students agreed to an interview with the *Militant*, where they added other reasons for joining the YSA. The fifteen, crowded into a small hotel room, range in age from fourteen to eighteen.

There's a lot of laughter. Some are extremely shy and have to be coaxed by the others to speak. But they're all serious when they tell what led them to join the YSA.

"My mother told me I should join something that was important," explains fourteen-year-old

Monique McKnight.

"Why should I just sit around and let someone else do the work when I should really be out there trying to make change?" offers David Brown, seventeen.

"The YSA seems like an organization that really stands behind what they say they're going to do," says Carl Madison.

They all say they've enjoyed the convention, especially the chance to talk to YSA members from other cities. The only complaint expressed in unison is that there's been no hot water in their hotel rooms. It's been cold showers every morning.

When they're done talking, they pull out scraps of paper. It's rehearsal time. Curtis Hannibal, president of the Kashmere drama club, has written and choreographed a cheer they will perform at that night's convention rally.

Hey!

We're the Blacks from the YSA.

We're the present, the future, and yesterday.

We're for justice, socialism, and all the rest.

We are the YSA and we are the best!

It's the smash hit of the rally.

"We need a change in the YSA," chapter organizer Rene Fontenot said in remarks under the convention's "Fight Against Racism" report. "We need a change for more Blacks and minorities."

"Next year I plan to bring a hundred Black students to the convention."

## Pickets greet opening night

# 'Ipi Tombi' exploits Black South Africans

By Earl Williams

NEW YORK—The advertisement proclaims, "Happiness is an African musical called Ipi-Tombi." But at the show's December 28 preview, some 500 demonstrators here brought another message to the crowd at the Harkness Theater.

Organized by the Emergency Committee to Protest the South African Production of Ipi Tombi, the protesters blasted the show for its exploitation of Black African artists and culture, as well as its false portrayal of what life for Black people is like under apartheid.

The Emergency Committee was established after members of the cast of the London production of *Ipi Tombi* wrote to Marcia Ann Gillespie, editor of *Essence* magazine here in the United States.

In their letter, the cast members complained that they were outrageously underpaid—the equivalent of only fourteen dollars a week. They also protested the profiteering on the musical material in the show by Bertha Egnos, a South African white who is credited in press releases as having "conceived" the show and "composed the music."

What Egnos did, the cast members explained, was bring together "various

dancing groups and asked them to perform their native dances and songs. Thereafter, to everyone's surprise, she claimed and copyrighted all songs and dances under her name. They really don't belong to her, but to the black people of South Africa. She did that successfully because the black people have no say in South Africa."

Members of the London cast were fired.

As a result of the protests, however, the pay scale for the New York troupe, according to *Ipi Tombi's* public relations director Max Eisen, has been raised to no less than \$395 weekly.

The demonstrators at preview night denounced *Ipi Tombi's* exploitation of South African Blacks' culture. And they also scored the show's attempt to depict life under apartheid as happy-go-lucky.

According to the January 1 *Amsterdam News*, these themes evoked a positive response from theatergoers: "The play...was delayed for over one hour by the demonstration and scores of sympathetic patrons who demanded a refund of their advance ticket purchases."

"As these rebellious customers exited the theater, with their ticket money raised in a clinched fist, they were greeted by a rousing round of applause

and cheers from the young and middle-aged demonstrators circling the entrance."

Among those participating in the Emergency Committee were the Black

Theater Alliance; Fight Back; Patrice Lumumba Coalition; South African Freedom Day Coalition; Socialist Workers party; TV producer Ellis Haizlip; and Hazel Bryant of the Richard Allen Cultural Center.

## London protest backs actors

Members and supporters of Ipi Tombi's London, England, cast picket at South Africa House there to protest the firing of cast members who protested degrading conditions and low pay. All members of the original cast came from Soweto, where the current rebellion against white minority rule began last June. One of those fired was arrested after he was deported to South Africa.



Report/Andrew Ward



# Texas campesinos call for right to unionize

By Rick Congress

HOUSTON—The Texas Farm Workers Union has launched a statewide campaign to gain support for the right of agricultural workers to form unions and strike in this state.

The focus is on a bill to be introduced into the January 1977 session of the state legislature by Rep. Gonzalo Barrientos, an Austin Democrat. The proposed law is patterned after the California Agricultural Labor Relations Law.

The TFW is an independent union of Texas farm workers. It is based in the lower Rio Grande Valley, a major citrus-growing area. The group is concentrating on education around the need for a union of *campesinos* in the valley. The TFW publishes a bilingual newspaper, *El Cuhamil*.

In September the union dispatched representatives to Austin, San Antonio, and Houston to set up offices to help mobilize public support for the bill.

One project is a petition drive with a goal of 500,000 signatures. The TFW is planning a statewide march in January to present the petitions to the state legislature.

The Texas Raza Unida party strongly supports the TFW efforts. A state executive committee meeting of the RUP November 20 passed a resolution endorsing the petition drive and pledging RUP support.

The Brown Berets also attended the meeting and indicated their support.

Jesus Luna, Houston TFW organizer, told the *Militant* that important new endorsements for the effort have come from Bishop Morkovsky of the Houston-Galveston Archdiocese, the Martin Luther King, Jr., Community Center in Houston, and the National Conference of Catholic Bishops.

For more information, contact the TFW at Post Office Box 876, San Juan, Texas 78589, or 5218 Sherman, Houston, Texas 77011.

## ...oil spills

Continued from page 3

inadequate safety standards required of American ships and crews.

The *Argo Merchant*, for example, had reported eighteen earlier accidents. It lacked sophisticated navigational equipment, had a poorly trained crew, and had spilled oil in Boston Harbor during 1975.

The government also makes no attempt to tax American shipholding companies that dodge the Internal Revenue Service by paying a country like Liberia or Panama a token ten cents per ton each year to sail under its flag.

When a spill does occur, working people can expect to be the victims of a new Catch-22. Legislation is in Congress to establish a fund to pay liability claims from oil spills. Instead of taxing the untaxed shipowners and oil companies, consumers are slated to foot the bill.

The recent disasters have already provoked new protests by environmental forces.

In Southern California members of the National Maritime Union, the Marine Cooks and Stewards Union, and the Los Angeles AFL-CIO demonstrated at the site of the oil tanker explosion for tougher safety standards.

The grounding over Christmas of the tanker *Daphne* near Puerto Rico is expected to fuel ongoing opposition there to the construction of a deepwater "supertanker" port.

On the East Coast, environmentalists have called for the immediate halt to the planned sale of oil-drilling leases in the Atlantic Ocean off New England. Oil companies are especially angling for drilling rights on the Georges Bank, practically next to the spot where the *Argo Merchant* went down.

## ...amnesty

Continued from page 5

Spanish-speaking and 57 percent were from low-income families.

- An untold number of civilian war protesters were convicted of "crimes" connected with antiwar demonstrations. On May 1, 1971, alone, more than 12,000 civilians were arrested in Washington, D.C., during antiwar protests. Their records should now be wiped clean.

- A special case is that of the 7,500 war resisters who have taken citizenship in Canada, Sweden, and other countries. Even if they are pardoned by Carter, U.S. law will still forbid them as "excluded aliens" to ever again set foot in this country.

In the last several months, proamnesty organizations such as Amex-Canada and Safe Return have stepped up efforts to demand that Carter grant a general amnesty.

In early December a group that included parents of Vietnam War resisters and veterans with less-than-honorable discharges held a vigil outside Carter's church in Plains, Georgia. They unsuccessfully sought to speak with Carter as he entered for services.

Later in the month, veterans organizations joined with Rep. John Conyers (D-Mich.) in releasing a statement calling for "total universal, unconditional amnesty." The group also announced plans to meet with the Carter transition team to present their case.

Carter aides have already indicated that they have reached "substantial agreement" on recommending a broader pardon plan to the incoming president. However, no details of the new proposal have been released and what Carter will actually do during the week following January 20 remains a mystery.

After Carter makes his decision, proamnesty forces have said they will meet in Canada to decide their response. After President Ford announced his insulting "earned reentry" clemency program in 1974, a similar conference of war resisters sponsored by Amex-Canada decided on and carried out a successful boycott of the program.

"If President Carter's offer falls short of our expectations and our conference decides to continue the amnesty campaign," says draft resister and Amex-Canada magazine coeditor Steve Grossman, "I could be in Canada for a long time to come. But if Jimmy Carter decides to resolve the issue by unconditional amnesty for all war resisters, I will be able to go home. And that, more than anything else, is what I want to do."

## ...hearings

Continued from page 6

attack because business wants to solve the economic crisis at our expense.

Forty-eight percent of all women now hold jobs or are actively seeking work. Yet women make 57 percent the wages of men. Millions of dollars are made annually by companies due to this discrimination in pay.

In unemployment, women and minorities are most affected, since they are the last hired and first fired. Many affirmative-action gains have been wiped out due to discriminatory layoffs.

The pressure is on to pay women less

# Calendar

## CHICAGO

**LAST GRAVE AT DIMBAZA.** A film. Followed by a talk by Andrew Pulley, 1976 SWP candidate for U.S. Congress from Illinois. Fri., Jan. 14, 7:30 p.m. 8008 S. Jeffrey. Donations: \$1. Ausp: South Chicago Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 734-7644.

## DETROIT

**DEBATE ON CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.** Speakers: Ray Shoulders, NW Detroit Black Business Association; B.R. Washington, SWP. Fri., Jan. 14, 8 p.m. 18415 Wyoming. Donation: \$1. Ausp: West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 341-6436.

## EAST LOS ANGELES

**CHINA.** Speaker: Theodore Edwards, Marxist commentator at KPFK radio in Los Angeles. Fri., Jan. 14, 8 p.m. 1237 S. Atlantic Blvd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (213) 265-1347.

## MINNEAPOLIS

**THE AMERICAN INDIAN MOVEMENT VS. THE FBI—THE CASE OF LEONARD PELTIER.** Speaker: Dino Butler, Oglala Four defendant and member of AIM. Fri., Jan. 14, 8 p.m. Cedar Riverside People's Center, 2000 S. 5th St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Westbank Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 338-5093.

## NEWARK

**AFFIRMATIVE ACTION: THE FIGHT AGAINST JOB DISCRIMINATION.** Speakers: Will Council, co-plaintiff in a suit against discrimination at Nu-Car Carrier and member of Teamsters Local 560; Agapito Diaz, deputy director of the Puerto Rican Congress of N.J.; others. Fri., Jan. 14, 8 p.m. 403 Chancellor Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Weequahic Militant Forum. For more information call (201) 923-2284.

## NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

**THE FIGHT AGAINST SOUTH AFRICAN APARTHEID.** Speakers: Elton Razemba, representative to the UN for the African National Council; Duane Jones, executive director of Black Theater; Bob Desverney, SWP; representative from NSCAR. Thurs., Jan. 13, 8 p.m. 786 Amsterdam Ave. (near 98th St.) Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

## PITTSBURGH

**PUBLIC WORKERS UNDER ATTACK: HOW TO FIGHT BACK.** Speakers: Rufus Jordan, staff representative and vice-president of Pittsburgh Federation of Teachers; Dan Kinney, acting president of Allegheny chapter of Pennsylvania Social Services Union; Nancy Kuhn, executive committee member, AFT Local 2067; representative from SWP. Fri., Jan. 14, 8 p.m. 5504 Penn Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore. For more information call (412) 441-1419.

## RICHMOND, VA.

**IN DEFENSE OF WOMEN'S RIGHTS.** Speakers: Andrea Morell, SWP; others. Fri., Jan. 14, 8 p.m. 1203A W. Main St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (804) 353-3238.

and drive them out of the labor market if possible. The government is trying to get white male workers to blame women and Black workers for job shortages.

*Susan Winsten, New York City YSA organizer.*

The colleges and universities would be virtually exempted from complying under the new guidelines. Already the California Bakke decision and the ending of open admissions in the City University of New York deny tens of thousands of Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicano youth a chance to a college education.

Rather than being restricted, affirmative-action programs should be extended. Only in this way can centuries-old discrimination against oppressed nationalities and the female half of the population be halted.

We cannot rely on the Republican and Democratic parties to fight for and defend our rights. For example, the Democratic administration in New York City supported the elimination of open admissions at the City University.

Women's groups, students, trade unions, and Black and Puerto Rican organizations must join together to protest the government's attempts to take away the gains we have won.

## ...hatchet

Continued from page 8

The columnists' witch-hunting fervor extended to those Democratic party politicians who tried to capitalize on antiwar sentiment.

As ardent Nixon backers in 1972, Evans and Novak campaigned vehemently against "McGovernism," calling it "a pervasive political disease" whose symptoms are "far-out positions on pot, abortion and draft-dodger amnesty."

On May 15, 1972, they said the public would soon be alerted that McGovern was a "proponent of busing, an admirer of black revolutionary George Jackson and the Presidential choice of left activist Jerry Rubin."

This kind of "inside dope" doesn't result from clever sleuthing by Evans and Novak, needless to say. The columnists served as willing and eager propaganda mouthpieces for the Nixon gang.

Watergate figures H.R. Haldeman and Jeb Stuart Magruder both cited the Evans and Novak column as a good place to plant slanted stories. In his book *An American Life: One Man's Road to Watergate*, Magruder gave an example of a news story about the 1972

Republican convention that the White House wanted distorted.

Magruder concluded: "My talk with Novak resulted in a column that said exactly what we'd hoped it would say. It was a good example of how we could achieve our ends by effective leaks to the press."

Their biased coverage of the Watergate scandals earned the two columnists the nickname "Errors and No Facts."

These, then, are the anticommunist crusaders out to "expose" Ed Sadlowski and Steelworkers Fight Back. They did Nixon's dirty work—why not do the same for McBride and the steel companies?

## ...steel

Continued from page 28

ity of changing and taking control of their union.

"Some are beginning to see themselves, not only as participants in an election campaign, but as builders of a movement that will continue after the election, whether Sadlowski wins or not."

Heisler said that socialist steelworkers would continue to help campaign for the Sadlowski slate and would also seek "to help build Fight Back into a mass movement for union democracy before and after the February 8 election."

The Sadlowski campaign, he said, has opened a far-reaching discussion throughout the union movement. "Steelworkers are talking about where the union should go, what it should do, and what it should be."

Socialists will participate in this discussion, putting forward their ideas on how the workers can best advance their interests. This will be done through talking with co-workers on the job and in the union, through sales of the *Militant*, and through the whole range of party activities—such as election campaigns and forums—that address the problems of all working people.

Socialists in steel and other unions today have increased opportunities to show *in action* that they are the best union builders.

As the struggle against the employers and the union bureaucracy develops, Heisler said, growing numbers of workers will come to the conclusion that a complete socialist transformation of society is required and will join the Socialist Workers party.

Malik Miah and Cindy Jaquith presented supplementary reports to Heisler's, highlighting the crucial role that will be played by Black workers and women workers in the coming labor battles.



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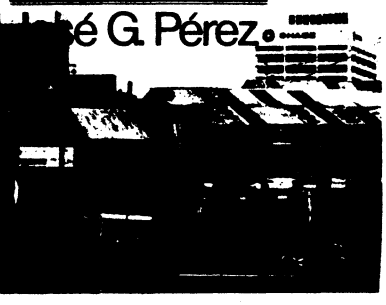
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# THE MILITANT

## YSA launches drive to get U.S. OUT OF S. AFRICA

By Diane Rupp

CHICAGO—"Our message to our brothers and sisters in Soweto, and students around the world, is that the Young Socialist Alliance is going to put the U.S. government on notice. We are not a small minority but part of the majority that opposes minority rule in southern Africa," declared Rick Berman in his report to the YSA convention.

"The student movement is alive and well and ready to build a movement that can end U.S. support to racism in southern Africa once and for all."

Seven hundred delegates and guests attended the YSA's sixteenth national convention in Chicago December 31-January 2. Students came from twenty-nine states and the District of Columbia, representing YSA members on 150 high school and college campuses.

*Next week's Militant will carry more reports about the YSA convention and the activities discussed and campaigns launched there.*

Cathy Sedwick, who reported to the convention on the freedom struggle in southern Africa, explained the YSA's decision to launch a campaign against racist white minority rule. At a New Year's Day news conference here Sedwick told reporters:

"We believe the 26 million college and high school students in the United States can initiate a movement like the antiwar movement that forced the government out of Vietnam."

Sedwick said the YSA would build the demonstrations scheduled for March 25 and 26 called by the National Student Coalition Against Racism. These nationwide protests will demand immediate Black majority rule in southern Africa, freedom for all political prisoners, and an end to U.S. aid to racist regimes in South Africa, Namibia, and Zimbabwe (Rhodesia).

Nancy Brown, YSA women's liberation director and editor of the monthly *Young Socialist* newspaper, described recent attacks on women's rights. "1976 wasn't a good year for women," she said. "The Equal Rights Amendment was defeated in four states. Legal abortion came under attack.



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

Seventeen high school students in Houston formed the YSA's newest—and youngest—chapter. Page 29.

Child-care centers were shut down. Affirmative-action programs were slashed. And maternity rights for working women and Social Security benefits for divorced women were struck down by the Supreme Court."

The convention decided to undertake a major effort to turn back these attacks and extend women's rights.

The convention discussed activities planned for January 22, anniversary of the 1973 Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion, and March 8, International Women's Day.

The convention also pledged to defend Brigid Douglas, Jim Garrison, and Tom Smith, three YSA members who are being victimized by administrators at Central Michigan University in Mount Pleasant, Michigan, for distributing Socialist Workers party campaign literature. (See article on page 28.)

"If we don't halt these attacks on student rights they will deepen, said Joanne Tortorici, convention

delegate from Pasadena, California. "A defeat at CMU would be a defeat for the YSA and students everywhere."

The wide variety of YSA activities was shown in other reports and workshops held during the three-day conference. In these sessions, YSA members discussed:

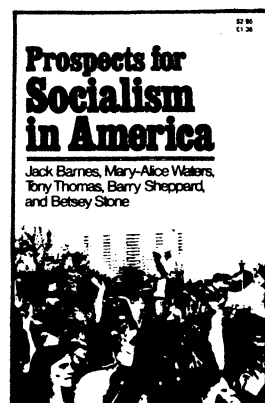
- protests against the death penalty and defense of frame-up victims such as Gary Tyler;
- fights against education cutbacks and tuition increases;
- defense of minority admissions programs that help provide Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans equal educational opportunities;
- defense of democratic rights through the lawsuit the YSA and Socialist Workers party have filed against CIA and FBI harassment and disruption; and
- support for community and trade-union struggles, such as Ed Sadlowski's Steelworkers Fight Back campaign to democratize the United Steelworkers union.

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