

THE MILITANT

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



Marksman's view of chair where Gary Gilmore was shot to death. New pro-death-penalty president Carter (inset) signed Georgia's capital punishment law.

THE INAUGURAL EXECUTION

Will Gilmore's death clear way for mass executions?

The cold-blooded murder of Gary Mark Gilmore by the state of Utah January 17—not the gala parties,

people as the Carter administration takes office.

America's wealthy rulers are congratulating themselves. They got away with it. They killed the first one. And now they plan to hang, shoot, gas, and electrocute hundreds more.

There are no rich people on death row. It is Blacks, Puerto

Continued on page 10

Editorial

flag-waving parades, and lavish banquets in Washington—shows what is really in store for working

INSIDE: On-the-scene report from Utah

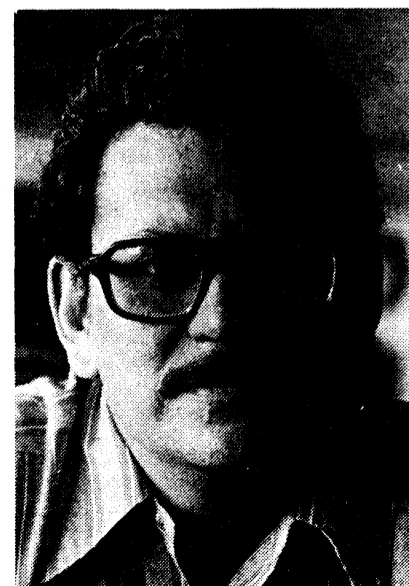
ERA VICTORY IN INDIANA

35 states down
3 more to go

—PAGE 7

RAZA UNIDA IN TEXAS

'They're out to destroy us'



Militant/Harry Ring

Jose Angel Gutierrez speaks out on government attacks

—PAGE 14

THIS WEEK'S MILITANT

- 4 Outside prison walls: sunrise brings no hope
- 5 Vigils, pickets protest killing of Gilmore
- 6 650 rally for ERA in Virginia
- 8 CIA targeted Fourth International
- 9 Threats move Colo. frame-up trial
- 13 Court bars door to open housing
- 14 Texas RUP faces stepped-up attacks
- 16 Who came to the YSA convention?
- 17 Coalition calls rally for Lincoln Hospital
- 18 Union bureaucrats fear loss of privilege
- 19 Sadlowski responds to 'outsider' charge
- 20 Ohio steelworker: 'Why I back Sadlowski'
- 25 Rosa Luxemburg: against capital punishment

2 In Brief

- 10 In Our Opinion Letters
- 11 ¡La Raza en Acción! By Any Means Necessary
- 12 The Great Society Women in Revolt Free Lance

WORLD OUTLOOK

- 21 Indian CP uneasy over tightening noose
- 23 World News Notes
- 24 East Europe: crisis of Stalinism deepens

THE MILITANT

VOLUME 41/NUMBER 3
JANUARY 28, 1977
CLOSING NEWS DATE—JAN. 19

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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.

ATTICA BROTHER DENIED PAROLE: In a move described by his lawyers as "an indecent and inhumane act," the New York State Board of Parole denied parole for John Hill January 18. Hill is the only Attica inmate still in prison on charges stemming from the 1971 prison uprising.

On December 30, New York Gov. Hugh Carey issued a clemency proclamation that claimed to "firmly and finally close the book" on all further Attica prosecutions. The effect of the proclamation was to make Hill eligible for parole.

The parole board informed Hill's lawyers that it would not consider his case for another two years. Hill's attorneys, Margaret Ratner, Elizabeth Fink, and William Kunstler, say they will challenge the board's action in the state supreme court.

PROTEST AT 'IPI TOMBI' OPENING NIGHT: The Emergency Committee to Protest the South African Production of Ipi Tombi capped its campaign of daily picketing with a demonstration by 500 people at the show's January 12 opening performance.



Militant/Barry Chann

Five hundred demonstrators protest New York opening night performance of 'Ipi Tombi.'

The picketers were greeted by a statement red-baiting the protest. The statement was distributed by the show's management. It tried to rebut criticism of *Ipi Tombi*'s false portrayal of South African Blacks as happy by pointing to participation by the Socialist Workers party and the Patrice Lumumba Coalition in the Emergency Committee.

The Emergency Committee, which is a widely supported coalition, denounced this red-baiting attack.

All in all it was a bad opening night for the South African musical. "'Ipi' Sings of the Mines, But It's Really the Pits," was the headline on the *New York Post*'s panning of the musical. *New York Times* critic Clive Barnes's review, which noted participation by the SWP and the PLC in the opening night demonstration, was headlined "Furor Surrounds Tedious 'Ipi Tombi.'"

GAY RIGHTS VICTORY IN MIAMI: On January 18 the Dade County Commission gave final approval to a new law prohibiting discrimination against gay people in housing, public accommodation, and employment.

AND IN THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH: Ellen Marie Barrett was ordained January 10 as an Episcopal priest,

overcoming opposition because she is a woman and gay. A statement issued by Bishop Paul Moore, who ordained Barrett, said, "Many persons with homosexual tendencies are presently in the ordained ministry. Ellen Barrett's candor in this regard is not considered a barrier. . . she is highly qualified intellectually, morally and spiritually to be a priest."

BUT CATHOLIC HIERARCHY WON'T BUDGE: On January 15, members of Dignity, the Catholic gay rights organization, held a picket line to protest their church's refusal to ordain gay seminarian Thomas Sweetin. Despite the growing impact of the gay rights movement on other churches and in civil law, Sweetin's Jesuit superiors have ignored his application for ordination for nearly three years.

YVONNE WANROW WINS NEW TRIAL: On January 7 the Washington State Supreme Court ordered a new trial for Yvonne Wanrow. Wanrow is a Colville Indian woman who was sentenced to twenty-five years in prison in 1973. She was charged with second-degree murder for having shot a drunken child molester who invaded a home where she and her three children were staying in 1972.

The court criticized the way Wanrow's trial judge instructed the jury on the concept of self-defense. In what Wanrow's lawyers call a "landmark" ruling, the court said Wanrow's actions should be legally protected because: "In our society women suffer from a conspicuous lack of access to . . . the means of developing those skills necessary to effectively repel a male assailant without resorting to the use of deadly weapons."

WILMINGTON TEN DEFENDANT PAROLED: Anne Shepard Turner, a white antipoverty worker and one of the Wilmington Ten, won parole January 17. The Wilmington Ten are civil rights activists framed up by North Carolina authorities on charges of arson and conspiracy. The other nine defendants, including Rev. Ben Chavis, received heavier sentences than Turner and are not yet eligible for parole.

Imani Kazana of the Wilmington Ten Defense Committee told the *Militant* that the committee will hold a protest at the Justice Department in Washington, D.C., February 2 to mark the completion of the frame-up victims' first year in jail. For more information call (202) 452-1030.

N.J. STUDENTS HIT SLASH IN MINORITY AID: Plans by New Jersey's chancellor of higher education to roll back financial aid programs for Black and Puerto Rican students have galvanized student protest.

Chancellor Ralph Dungan is proposing a Tuition Aid Program (TAP) that would effectively destroy the ability of the present aid program, the Educational Opportunity Fund (EOF), to recruit and maintain minority students in school.

Militant correspondent Joanne Murphy reports that when Rutgers-Newark students found out about Dungan's proposal, they formed Students Against TAP. So far the group has won backing from both day and night school EOF students, as well as the Federation of Latin American Students, the Black Organization of Students, and the student government.

Students Against TAP plans to mobilize opposition to the new plan at public hearings in Trenton.

—Peter Seidman

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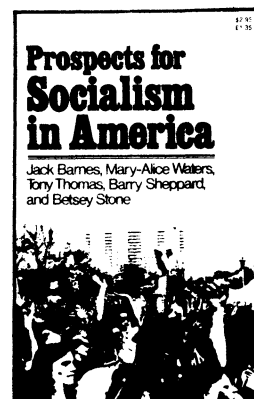
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Another fang in the Carter smile

Young will back U.S.-South Africa ties at UN

By Peter Seidman

A January 13 statement by Andrew Young shows the contempt the Carter administration holds for the aspirations of the Black people whose votes helped put it into office.

Young is the United States' first Black chief representative to the United Nations. Yet he said he "wouldn't have any problem" carrying out government instructions to veto resolutions calling for the ouster of the South African apartheid regime from the UN.

Such motions, Young said, are "essentially a propaganda weapon." Rather than moving to cut ties with South Africa, Young believes the practical way to bring about change is to rely on "South African businessmen and American concerns doing business in South Africa," according to the January 14 *New York Times*. These, he says, are the most effective "forces for



Appointed by Jimmy Carter as first Black chief UN representative, Andrew Young says he'll have 'no problem' vetoing resolutions seeking ouster of South Africa.

bringing about the relaxation of racial barriers and peaceful change."

Young says he knows "how the system works. . . . If I participate in the decision-making I'll win some and lose some—and I can live with that."

But last year at least 499 Black South Africans—mainly students—were killed by the South African government while protesting its policies.

Should militant opponents of apartheid and their supporters around the world suspend their protests, as Andrew Young now urges, until he can convince "concerns doing business in South Africa" to exercise what he calls their "sense of social responsibility?"

Young himself exposed the absurdity of this position in a remark he made shortly before he was named to the UN post. After returning from a visit to South Africa, Young told *Washington Post* correspondent Jim Hoagland that the Afrikaners (South African whites) "remind me . . . of the old Southern Baptists, there's this awful familiarity." It was like "traveling in Mississippi or Louisiana or Georgia when I was a child," he said.

Young knows that Black Americans didn't overturn Jim Crow in the South by waiting for backroom deals between white-appointed Black leaders like himself and the racists. He knows—because he participated in it—that only the massive civil rights struggle by Blacks and their supporters finally forced an end to Jim Crow.

Hoagland's discussion with Young was part of a series on South Africa six months after the current Black upsurge there began. Hoagland found that the South African racists—backed by Washington—are prepared to defend their privileges by the most brutal means.

For example, each December 16 South Africa celebrates "Blood River Day." On that day in 1838, the Boer settlers massacred 3,000 Zulu warriors

in a few hours. They claim they suffered only three wounded in the fighting.

"The annual commemorations of this victory have been growing shrill and pessimistic as pressures increase on the white minority," Hoagland reported January 13. "South Africa

must not be cowed, prescribed to or intimidated, not even by the United States," Information Minister Connie Mulder volunteered at one celebration last month. At another, President Nicholas Diederichs said South Africa was on the brink of another Blood River that could be the most vicious battle in the country's history."

But instead of clearly taking the side of the Black freedom fighters in this battle, Young is sending them a message to cool their protests.

Fortunately, Black South Africans have shown little willingness to wait for Jimmy Carter and his friends.

The massive school boycott launched June 16 by the Soweto protests continued with the reopening of schools January 5.

According to the January 6 *Christian Science Monitor*, "In the high schools, the focal point of the unrest, attendance was estimated at 10 to 20 percent."

Continued on page 26

Bare U.S. bomb threat

Washington's stakes in preserving the apartheid regime in South Africa are very high. This was clearly revealed in a report by Colombian author Gabriel Garcia Marquez published January 9 by the official Cuban news agency, Prensa Latina.

Marquez's report described the Cuban army's intervention into Angola last year, a move that was strongly opposed by Washington. Cuban troops were key to the defeat of South Africa's invasion of Angola during the civil war.

The Cuban mission was supported by the government of Guyana, a Latin American country that offered its airport as a fueling stop for Cuban planes ferrying troops to Africa.

"... The Government of Guyana was firm in its solidarity toward the Cubans," Marquez wrote, "until the ambassador of the United States personally threatened it with the bombardment and destruction of the airport at Georgetown," Guyana's capital city.

This arrogant threat—along with similar saber rattling against Cuba at the time—is a warning of how far the United States will go in defending its interests in South Africa against the African liberation struggle. —P.S.

Build antiapartheid actions!

"The National Student Coalition Against Racism believes in massive protests, not Andrew Young's promises, as the best way for us to help end U.S. complicity with racism in southern Africa." That's what Tony Austin, NSCAR's national coordinator, told the *Militant* in describing how things are shaping up for the planned March 25-26 demonstrations. These protests were initiated at the third National Student Conference Against Racism held in Boston last November.

Austin pointed to the example set by British trade unionists who this month announced a week of solidarity actions with South African Blacks.

"In Britain," he said, "the chief of the Post Office Workers Union has called for a boycott of mail and telephone services and for dockers, airline workers, truck drivers, and seamen to do the same."

Austin said that Jack Jones, general secretary of Britain's largest union, the Transport and General Workers, called for the "impeding, harassing, slowing down, and in some cases refusal to touch goods" bound for South Africa during the protest week.

"While March 25-26 has not won such wide backing from American

trade unions," Austin said, "it does provide an organizing center around which students can take another step forward toward educating and mobilizing people in this country. And broader support will follow."

To help publicize the March actions, NSCAR has prepared South Africa fact sheets and has printed leaflets that can be models for local areas, a "U.S. Out of southern Africa—Protest March 25-26" button, a poster, and a new issue of its paper, the *Student Mobilizer*.

It is also organizing six-week tours for two leaders of the June 16 Black student protest in Soweto: Tsietshi Mashinini, who spoke at NSCAR's November conference; and George Khotsa, who like Mashinini was president of the Students Representative Council until his escape from South Africa in December.

NSCAR will kick off these tours at its next national steering committee meeting, set for February 26 in New York City.

For information on the Mashinini and Khotsa tours and to order materials for March 25-26, contact NSCAR: 612 Blue Hill Avenue, Dorchester, Massachusetts 02121. Telephone (617) 288-6200.

Bakke protest set for Feb. 25 in Calif.

By Sandy Porter

OAKLAND, Calif.—A January 15 conference of more than 400 people—primarily Black, Chicano, Asian, and female students—launched a campaign of California-wide demonstrations to oppose far-reaching attacks that threaten special admissions programs for this state's minority students.

The conference, held on the University of California's Berkeley campus, was organized to oppose the Bakke decision. This September 16 ruling by the California Supreme Court overturned minority admissions programs in the University of California (UC) system. The court said these programs are "unconstitutional and amount to reverse discrimination" against whites.

The ruling came in response to a suit filed by Allan Bakke, a white student whose applications to the UC Medical School were rejected in 1973 and 1974. In those years, the medical school received 2,644 and 3,735 applications for 100 openings. Only 16 places each

year were reserved for minority students.

The impact of the Bakke decision was reported in the September 17 *Los Angeles Times*. Law and medical school deans interviewed by the paper "said that without special admissions policy, there would be almost no minority students in their schools, no matter how aggressively they recruit."

The Bakke decision sets a dangerous precedent for further attacks on minorities and women in other areas as well. Affirmative-action hiring programs, school desegregation, housing, special funding for minority students, and special admissions at the undergraduate level are all threatened by the court's reactionary ruling.

The Bakke decision is now being appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court. Participants in the January 15 conference voted to buttress this legal appeal with a series of demonstrations. They set February 25 as a day for regional actions against the decision. And they called for a statewide demonstration in April.

Among the demands to be raised at the protests are: reversal of the Bakke decision; maintaining and extending minority admissions programs; that UC accept a co-counsel to represent the interests of minority students in the legal fight; and an end to cutbacks in minority and women's studies programs.

Conference participants included a wide range of Black, Chicano, Asian, Native American and feminist campus organizations.

Among those who addressed the meeting were James Bell, executive board, Black Law Students Association of Hastings Law School; Lehman Brightman, president, United Native Americans, Inc.; Rodolfo Acuña, professor, California State University, Northridge; Carol Deberry, president, East Bay Chapter, Coalition of Labor Union Women; Carlos Muñoz, professor of Chicano studies, UC Berkeley; and Ron Takaki, chairperson of the ethnic studies department, UC Berkeley.

Outside the prison walls: sunrise brings no hope



Militant/José G. Pérez

By José G. Pérez

POINT OF THE MOUNTAIN, Utah—When I flew out from New York January 14 I had little hope of returning with anything but the grimmest of stories: the murder of Gary Gilmore, the first legal execution in the United States in a decade.

My little hope became no hope as I stood in front of the prison gate the evening of the sixteenth. At the sunset prayer meeting, somebody told me that the Supreme Court had turned down the last request for a stay of execution, and no more could be filed.

But the new day brought new hope. A few hours before the execution a federal judge in Salt Lake City held a hearing and granted a stay.

Harry Baker told me this when he came to pick me up at six in the morning to drive out to the prison.

"But we'd better go out there anyways," Baker cautioned, "just in case."

The State of Utah was trying to get the federal appeals court in Denver to throw out the stay.

We climbed into his Volkswagen. Baker, organizer of the Salt Lake City

Socialist Workers party, had the back of the car full of placards.

We picked up some other people, then took Interstate Highway 15 from Salt Lake City to the prison. It's a half-hour drive to Point of the Mountain, the meeting place between a ridge of the Wasatch chain to the east and the Oquirrh Mountains to the west.

We got off the highway and headed down the access road to the prison. At a roadblock, cops made sure we were "peaceful demonstrators," then gave us directions on how to proceed and where to park.

It was 6:50 when we parked a little way short of the barricade blocking the prison's main gate. Looking east past I-15 to the Wasatch Mountains, I could see a hint of gray between two peaks.

There were only a dozen or so people there when we arrived.

By kerosene light I looked west and could see the seven-foot drop-off next to the access road and a high fence topped with barbed wire—then, further away, the lights of the prison buildings.

Way beyond the prison, high in the

Oquirrh Mountains, a string of lights glowed in perfect horizontal array. "That's Kennecott's open-pit copper mine," someone told me.

People drifted in during the next half hour, and it got light enough to see. Many had not heard about the stay of execution. As they did, their faces relaxed. Some smiled.

Reporters buzzed around interviewing the protesters. One asked a man who had stayed the night why he had come.

"To see a raw slice of American barbarism," the man replied.

I had a transistor radio. I put it in an inside coat pocket and listened to an all-news station through an earplug.

The radio said the Denver appeals court was now considering the stay of execution. I told this to Bill Hoyle, a coordinator of the Utah Coalition Against the Death Penalty, one of the groups that organized the protest.

Hoyle announced the news to the crowd. Then Bishop James Armstrong of the United Methodist Church spoke.

"We come to this moment with a prayer of thanksgiving because, so far as we know, a life will not be taken today by this state." Then he read from a Bible.

As he began to read, a blue pickup truck went by on I-15. A man in the truck shouted, "Kill him! Kill him!"

Someone looked over at the cops keeping guard at the main gate.

They were grinning.

It was 7:35. The sky was getting lighter by the minute.

We were told that if no word came from the federal judges before 7:49—sunrise over Point of the Mountain—Gary Gilmore could not be shot that day. We waited.

Bishop Armstrong was still speaking when the news came over the radio.

I called over Rev. John Adams of the United Methodist Church, who had played an important role coordinating the delegation of twenty religious leaders who were present.

The radio said that in Denver the appeals court had vacated the stay.

Inside the prison they were taking Gary Gilmore from his cell.

In Washington, American Civil Liberties Union attorneys were searching frantically for a Supreme Court justice who would renew the stay.

Adams touched Bishop Armstrong on the shoulder, whispered to him. The bishop walked back to his lectern, stared long at the open book in front of him, his face betraying no emotion.

"I said our thanksgiving was cau-

tious," he began. But his voice cracked and he stopped. He looked down again, then looked at the crowd, less than a hundred in all now huddled in a semicircle facing the prison.

He began again, "Judge Ritter's stay of execution has been overruled."

A woman next to me dropped the cigarette from her hand, clenched her fists, stood there rigid with arms partly outstretched as the color drained from her face.

One man had wrapped himself in a blanket to keep warm in the twenty-degree weather. Now he had two young children with him, and he drew the blanket tighter around all three, gripping the children to himself. He cried.

The police radio in a patrol car barricading the main gate was squawking. Three plainclothes cops gathered around the patrol car.

One of them reached in, spoke into a microphone, and turned around beaming. They too had heard of the Denver court ruling.

It was 7:44 in the morning. Beyond the prison, above the mine, the peaks of the Oquirrh were glowing copper.

Eight minutes later I heard in the earphone that the Supreme Court had refused to intervene. Gilmore was now being taken before the firing squad.

I told Bill Hoyle, and he told the crowd, asking them to remain. Several people were crying, but most looked grim.

I paced on the periphery of the crowd. Then the radio announcer interrupted tersely: "We have a report from the Utah State Prison. Please stand by." Then static.

I pulled the radio out of my pocket, unplugged the earphone, gestured to John Adams to listen. The announcer repeated his brief statement. Then we heard a different voice:

"The order of the Fourth Judicial Court of the State of Utah has been carried out. Gary Mark Gilmore is dead."

I clicked off the receiver.

A woman in front of me turned and asked, "They executed him?" I nodded. She covered her face with her hands, saying, "How horrible."

John Adams made his way to the lectern. He asked for a minute of silence and said coalition leaders might have a statement for the press later.

To my left, a young man collapsed to his knees, sobbing with his head bowed. Another person crouched beside him and put his arm around him. The man continued crying.

In the west, the Oquirrh Mountains glowed brightly. But we couldn't see the sun from where we were standing.

Then I heard a shout of approval coming from the highway.

It was a rebel yell, battle cry of the confederacy in their war to preserve slavery.

It was 8:09 in the morning, January 17, 1977.



Militant/José G. Pérez

'The world is watching'

By José G. Pérez

SALT LAKE CITY—"This meeting may seem to you small, it certainly may seem to you a long one, but make no mistake about it—in the words of those who witnessed for peace only a very few short years ago, the whole world is watching this meeting."

Henry Schwartzchild was addressing a meeting of 200 opponents of the death penalty held here at the State Office Building January 15. Schwartzchild is director of the American Civil Liberties Union Capital Punishment Project and coordinator of the National Coalition Against the Death Penalty.

The meeting was organized by the Utah Coalition Against the Death Penalty.

Other speakers included the Very Rev. Robert Anderson, Dean of St. Mark's Episcopal Cathedral; Willford Smith, professor of sociology at Brigham Young University; Frances Farley, Democratic state senator; and Jefferson Fordham, Distinguished Professor of Law at

the University of Utah.

Also, Robert Walker, editor-in-chief of the *Utah Daily Chronicle*, newspaper at the University of Utah; James Dooley, president of the Salt Lake City chapter of the NAACP; and Rev. Donald Proctor, chairperson of the coalition that sponsored the protest.

In addition, the audience heard a poem about Gilmore's execution by Chicano poet Lalo Delgado; an anti-death-penalty folksong by Sue Ann Butler; and statements from the National Student Coalition Against Racism and the Socialist Workers party.

News conferences and other protests were held in Utah during the days preceding Gilmore's execution. The most widely covered was a Sunday sunset prayer meeting in front of Utah State Prison.

The service and all-night vigil following it were organized by representatives of national religious organizations, headed by William Thompson, president of the National Council of Churches.

Vigils, pickets protest killing of Gary Gilmore

By Willie Mae Reid

During the days prior to the execution of Gary Gilmore, opponents of the death penalty held vigils, picket lines, news conferences, and other protests in many U.S. cities.

Protesters gathered in front of the Tennessee state capitol in Nashville the morning Gilmore was shot. The state legislature is currently debating whether to reinstitute the death penalty.

The Minnesota Coalition Against the Death Penalty held a successful news conference that morning. Ruth Cain, associate chairperson of the state Democratic party, joined with speakers from other groups in the Twin Cities area to express outrage at the barbarism of capital punishment.

Death penalty opponents in Austin, Texas, also held a news conference, with representatives of the state American Civil Liberties Union and the Texas Coalition Against the Death Penalty.

Texas activists have also called a picket line outside the governor's mansion in Austin for January 29.

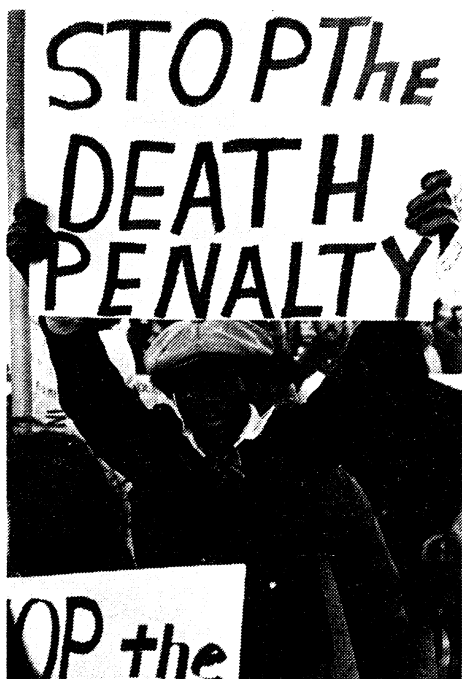
January 17 news conferences were also held in New Orleans, Baltimore, and Chicago.

Earlier in the week death penalty opponents held a motorcade through the Black community of Liberty City, Florida, near Miami. A featured speaker at the rally following the motorcade was Wilbert Lee, a Black man who along with Freddie Pitts served twelve years in Florida prisons. Framed, they were finally vindicated and released in 1975.

In Atlanta, a contingent from the Georgia Committee Against the Death Penalty joined a mostly Black crowd of nearly 5,000 for the annual January 15 commemoration of the birthday of Dr. Martin Luther King.

Dallas capital punishment opponents held a prayer vigil on January 16. The vigil, which drew a number of prominent religious figures, was sponsored by the Dallas Coalition Against the Death Penalty. A local TV station aired news coverage of the event.

Continued on page 26



Militant/Sid Fine

Anti-death-penalty contingent joined Martin Luther King memorial march in Atlanta.

Reactions to execution

Gary Gilmore's execution met with protests from organizations and individuals throughout the country. Below is a sampling of the reaction to America's first legal murder in a decade.

Jack Greenberg, director-counsel, NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund: "We hope that the circumstances of the Gilmore execution may in fact hasten the demise of this racist, archaic, futile, and barbarous institution."

Greenberg noted that the Gilmore execution "illustrated yet another repugnant feature of the death penalty . . . that the existence of capital punishment actually encourages the commission of homicides by certain deranged persons."

Carl Stokes, former mayor of Cleveland, now a commentator on WNBC-TV in New York: "In the four years I was a prosecutor for the city of Cleveland, I had a conviction record of 85 percent. But among those 15 percent I lost were mostly defendants who had money. . . ."

"The death penalty is really a class penalty. And for that reason alone it should be repugnant to a society that conceives of itself as fair and just."

National Student Coalition Against Racism: "NSCAR condemns as an atrocity the legal murder of Gary Gilmore. Although Gilmore was white, the bullets fired by the Utah firing squad will now open the door to a long string of executions, the victims of which will be overwhelmingly non-white."

"We have a duty to mobilize massive anti-death-penalty public opinion in visible protests. It is the beginning of a struggle to again force the U.S. Supreme Court to outlaw the death penalty."

Charles Goode, associate director, National Conference of Black Lawyers: "The death penalty has

been traditionally used against the poor and has been used in a discriminatory manner, especially against Blacks and other minority groups."

Michael Meeropol, son of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg: "I thought the execution was horrendous, horrible, and disgusting."

"I've always been opposed to capital punishment. Not only is it not a deterrent, there's also the element of executing the wrong person. You can't undo a death sentence. In the case of my parents, that's obvious. If they were alive in 1962, they would have had a new trial."

"You can bet that after they get through executing these few whites, it's going to be Blacks, American Indians, and Chicanos, and it's going to be people on politically motivated frame-ups."

William Simons, president, Local 6, American Federation of Teachers, Washington, D.C.; secretary, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists: "I am against capital punishment. It certainly is no deterrent to crime. . . . We've got to look at the entire penal system, and we've got to look at society and the causes of crime."

Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers party candidate for U.S. president in 1968 and a leader of the anti-Vietnam War movement: "It's not Gary Gilmore they're worried about. It's future Joe Hills."

Tyrone Brooks, Southern Christian Leadership Conference: "It's a horrible tragedy that this nation has resorted to capital punishment. We don't think any state has the right to kill."

Aryeh Neier, executive director of the American Civil Liberties Union: "This is all very sad. I feel that it will be the first of a great many executions."

Chicago union official admits red squad ties

By Diane Wang

CHICAGO—Until last month Sheli Lulkin was a member of the executive board of the Chicago Teachers Union (CTU) and a trustee of its pension fund.

She was a national figure, too, as co-chairperson of the women's rights committee in the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) and a national executive board member of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW).

Last May 16, at the national rally in Springfield, Illinois, for the Equal Rights Amendment, Lulkin spoke as a representative of the labor movement.

Sheli Lulkin also worked for the Chicago police red squad.

On December 21, forced to respond to a Chicago lawsuit against police spying, Lulkin admitted having worked for the red squad.

Her targets, it appears, were not only antiwar activists, feminists, and socialists, but the labor movement as well.

According to the Chicago *Daily News*, Lulkin "regularly reported to police on meetings of the union's House of Delegates and on activities of minority and dissident factions within the union."

As the newspaper pointed out, "If the information supplied to police by Ms. Lulkin was passed to City Hall or the Board of Education, it could have affected the union's position in contract negotiations."

Red squad files released by court order for the Chicago lawsuit are still covered by a gag order restricting public scrutiny. So it is difficult to publicly document the damage Lulkin may have done.

It is known, however, that Chicago cops destroyed two volumes of documents on the CTU before the lawsuit was filed. There is no doubt that the union was a target of red squad surveillance.

In addition, police records made public through another legal action include a report apparently filed by Lulkin. That report lists fifty-two people who attended a Black labor convention, including seventeen prominent CTU members. At least part of Lulkin's job was keeping an eye on trade unionists who became involved in movements for social change.

Lulkin was exposed—thanks to a lawsuit filed by thirty-three individuals and organizations against the Chicago police.

According to the suit's attorney, Rick Gutman, the red squad has been forced to turn over 25,000 pages of documents and 112,000 index cards. A major accomplishment of the lawsuit so far, Gutman said, has been securing "the right of people to see their own file."

The legal action had previously exposed police infiltration of Chicago community groups such as the Organization for a Better Austin and the Citizens Action Program.

But Lulkin "was the first labor spy uncovered by our suit," Gutman said,

"and one of the first exposed anywhere since the 1930s. I certainly can't think of any other prominent person in labor" who has been called to account for political spying.

The lawsuit was filed as a class-action case on behalf of everyone targeted by the red squad. The attorneys have only recently begun to get police documents about individuals and groups besides those who filed the lawsuit.

Under court order, documents can be given only to the groups victimized.

So far the CTU and AFT have taken no action against Lulkin and the Chicago police or probed further into Lulkin's activities.

A spokesperson for the CTU said that "Lulkin did resign from her numerous union offices after being asked to do so." The union's House of Delegates accepted the resignation, but rejected taking any further action.

An AFT spokesperson in Washington, D.C., told the *Militant* only that Lulkin "is no longer involved in national AFT affairs" since the international executive board voted De-



Militant/Anne Teesdale

SHELI LULKIN: Did she report to cops on the ERA rally she addressed last May 16?

cember 10 to accept her resignation.

CLUW has also not commented on Lulkin's case. Barbara Merrill, president of the Chicago CLUW chapter, told the *Militant*, "I am not at liberty to give any information on Sheli Lulkin." CLUW's national office confirmed that Lulkin resigned from the executive board in mid-December. CLUW is not, however, seeking files from the Chicago police or taking other action, according to a spokesperson in the national office.

But, as Jack Spigle, a Chicago trade unionist active in the Chicago Peace Council, commented, "This [spying on the labor movement] may not be an exceptional thing." Other trade unions and organizations may have been targeted by police agents like Lulkin.

CTU member Bob Kissinger said he thought it was important for the union to take action. "The Lulkin case shows

Continued on page 26



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650 rally for ERA ratification in Virginia

By Andrea Morell

RICHMOND, Va.—Despite an out-of-the-ordinary southern snowstorm, 650 people participated in a January 15 Speak-Out for the Equal Rights Amendment here. Supporters drove the icy highways from as far away as Alexandria, Newport News, and Charlottesville, Virginia.

Participants moved from the planned outdoor location into a Virginia Commonwealth University (VCU) building where the speak-out proceeded on schedule.

A recent poll by Richmond Media General showed 68 percent of Richmonders supporting the ERA. Referring to this, featured speaker Gloria Steinem observed, "The people of Richmond are far smarter and far out ahead of their legislators."

The previous week the legislature's Democratic caucus defeated a rules change that would have sent the ERA out of committee and onto the floor for the first time.

Steinem compared the current stage of the ERA fight to the final period of the women's suffrage struggle. When there were only a few states to go and time was running out, she said, resistance to the suffrage amendment stiffened. But the suffragists intensified their efforts and finally triumphed.

Steinem urged ERA fighters to do likewise—step up actions now to win ratification by the 1979 deadline.

Steinem also spoke of the need for a diverse and unified women's movement. These remarks were especially important, since some forces in the ERA coalition had tried to exclude

socialists. While this divisive policy was defeated, it showed that the question of nonexclusion remains central to building the women's movement.

The speak-out was cochaired by Bessida White, a member of the National Black Feminist Organization, and Beth Alley of the Richmond ERA Ratification Council.

Also speaking were Charles Howell, president of the Richmond NAACP; Mary Hatwood, chairperson of ERAmerica; Mary Zins, cochairperson of VCU for ERA; two state legislators; and a city councilwoman. That the majority of speakers were Black reflected the increasing role of Black women in the ERA fight.

The crowd applauded Mary Zins when she said, "We are told that our

numbers offend the legislators, that we should work quietly for the ERA and not be too visible. Well, we have a message for those legislators: your failure to ratify the ERA offends us. And we will not make any backroom deals with you. We will stay visible, stay in the streets until we've won."

Zins also urged united actions to counter government measures to roll back abortion rights and deny maternity benefits.

Toba Singer, a leader of the Richmond Socialist Workers party, gave a fund pitch that netted nearly \$500.

The speak-out, which coincided with Martin Luther King's birthday, closed with the audience and speakers linking arms and singing the traditional civil rights song "We Shall Overcome."

Women begin 1977 with rallies and teach-ins

By Ginny Hildebrand

"Women's state in this union is not good," Karen DeCrow, president of the National Organization for Women, told 500 women's rights supporters January 13. DeCrow was the featured speaker at a rally at George Washington University where she delivered a Women's State of the Union Address. Earlier that day she presented highlights of her address at a Capitol Hill news conference.

During the same week, women's rights events were held in several cities.

At the Washington, D.C., rally, DeCrow shared the platform with Gloria Johnson, treasurer of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW); Anita Shelton, executive director of the National Committee on Household Employment; and others.

DeCrow condemned the courts and lawmakers for rolling back affirmative action and maternity benefits. She deplored Congress's "shocking act of elitism" in passing the Hyde amendment to cut off Medicaid abortions. "This is declaring war on all the poor women in the country," she said.

She called for Equal Rights Amendment ratification and an executive order banning discrimination against gays.

Panelists at a NOW meeting in San Francisco January 11 agreed that women's status deteriorated in 1976. Sixty people gathered to hear Elba Montez of the Puerto Rican Women's Organization; Shelly Fernandez, president of San Francisco NOW; Sylvia Weinstein, leader of the city's child-care movement and member of the Socialist Workers party; and others.

They discussed the ERA, abortion, child care, gay rights, and the need to enlist women of the oppressed nationalities in women's rights struggles.

Several speakers emphasized coun-

tering attacks on women's rights with actions, instead of relying on politicians. Sylvia Weinstein encouraged everyone to join in planning the Second Annual Day in the Park for Women's Rights to commemorate International Women's Day in March.

Also on January 11, 100 women and men in Philadelphia celebrated Alice Paul's birthday (see box) and pledged to continued the fight for national ERA ratification. The gathering was held at the University of Pennsylvania, where Paul earned her doctorate.

In Seattle on January 14, a standing-room-only crowd of more than 500 rallied for the Equal Rights Amendment. Mayor Wes Uhlman declared it Alice Paul Day at the request of the Washington ERA Coalition, which sponsored the event.

The crowd burst into cheers and applause when speakers called for an active, visible women's movement to defend women's rights.

Speakers included Bev Smith, state director of the Washington State Nurses Association; author Tom Robbins; Kate Daher of the University of Washington ERA Coalition; and Father O.J. McGowan of the Office of Minority Student Affairs at Seattle University. Kate Butler, coordinator of Nevadans for the ERA, brought news of that state's fight for ratification.

That same evening in Houston 250 people celebrated Alice Paul's birthday. Speakers urged activists to help plan an International Women's Day march on the state capitol in defense of the ERA, abortion rights, paid maternity leaves, and child care.

A solidarity message to the rally from Maria Elena Martínez, the new head of the Texas Raza Unida party, called the lack of a constitutional guarantee of equality "a double hazard for minority persons in Texas."

The message also asked ERA acti-

vists to support Chicanos against Gov. Dolph Briscoe's racist slanders accusing Chicanos of being "un-American."

Featured speakers at the rally were Nikki Van Hightower, women's advocate for the city; Elma Barrera, a local TV newscaster; Zoia Jones of the

National Council of Negro Women; Jill Fein of the Socialist Workers party; and Claudia Jacobs, president of Houston CLUW.

The newly formed Women's Rights Council, a coalition of some forty groups, sponsored the rally.

Tribute to Alice Paul

On January 11, feminists celebrated the ninety-second birthday of Alice Paul, suffragist and author of the ERA.

While studying in England early in the century, Paul was jailed for marching in suffragist demonstrations. She says her English sisters taught her that women must focus responsibility for their oppression on the governing powers. Thus, she remained a bitter opponent of Democrat Woodrow Wilson, while other suffragists lobbied the president hoping to coax him into supporting their cause.

The day before Wilson's inauguration in 1913, Paul led 10,000 suffragists in a march on the capital. In 1914 the National American Women's Suffrage Association expelled Paul and her cothinkers. In 1916, she helped found the Women's party.

During World War I Paul condemned the government's hypocritical claim to be fighting for democracy abroad while denying women democratic rights at home.

In 1923, three years after women won the vote, she launched the long battle for a new amendment—the ERA.

With the ERA still three states

short of ratification, Paul says she is not disappointed, "because, the volume of support exceeds what I dared hope for."



Alice Paul toasts suffrage in 1920

Georgia politicians block ERA

By Laurie Perkus

ATLANTA—Georgia leaders of the National Organization for Women have revealed that they were "betrayed" by Democratic state legislators in a "deal" made by NOW to forsake all demonstrations and other public protests in return for a promise that the Georgia Senate would ratify the Equal Rights Amendment this year.

NOW's announcement, made at a January 13 "women's state of the union" rally here, occurred the day after the very same state legislators who made the "deal" successfully tabled the ERA in the senate. This virtually killed its chances of passage this year.

Susan Hester, state legislative coordinator of NOW, angrily charged that the "betrayal" reached all the way to President-elect Jimmy Carter. She said NOW has been urged by the Demo-

crats to "use more conventional tactics" and "keep a low profile" in order not to discredit the ERA in the face of what was promised as immediate ratification.

Atlanta NOW President Sharon Adams, who also addressed the rally, declared that NOW's "low-key approach" to winning the ERA has ended.

On January 18 the NOW chapter held an emergency discussion. Fifty women participated in a lively discussion of strategy to win the ERA.

Several NOW members said they had never understood why NOW hadn't supported a march this year. Others said that the experience of "deals" with the state legislators shows these politicians can't be trusted. There was general sentiment in favor of a series of pro-ERA activities to be carried out by NOW.

The chapter voted to hold a pro-ERA picket line at the state capitol January 31 and to invite all ERA supporters to attend. It also decided to send a mailing to all NOW chapters in the state urging similar public actions around the ERA.

The lessons of the defeat of the ERA in Georgia are now being discussed widely by equal rights supporters.

In previous years, pro-ERA forces have staged large marches prior to the opening of the state legislature. The January 1976 march, which NOW helped to build, drew 3,000. These public protest actions helped make the ERA a big political issue in the state. They put increasing pressure on the legislature.

But this year, Georgians for the ERA (GERA), the coalition that has initiated past demonstrations, was unable to

Continued on page 26

Carter's man in HEW out to stop abortions

By Ginny Hildebrand

The election campaign is over. Jimmy Carter has taken hold of the reins and he's riding roughshod over women.

For those who shut their ears to candidate Carter's anti-abortion pronouncements, President Carter's man for the Health, Education and Welfare Department is repeating them.

"Abortion is wrong," Joseph Califano said during Senate confirmation hearings. He promised that as HEW chief he would actively work to halt all federal funding for abortions. This includes pushing for the Supreme Court to uphold the Hyde amendment, which will stop Medicaid-funded abortions.

So that there could be no confusion about his authority to make good on his pledge, Califano explained that Carter holds "the same position."

This shouldn't surprise anyone. Last fall Carter stated, "I don't think we ought to tax people like myself who feel very strongly against abortions."

Isn't this position odd? After all, as president, Carter will ask us to empty our pockets for plenty of causes we despise: funding the FBI and CIA; bankrolling the shah of Iran and other dictators; opening up more corporate tax loopholes; and keeping the world on the brink of nuclear holocaust.

Carter doesn't have any qualms about imposing the priorities of the ruling rich on the rest of us. So why is he saying no taxation without the consent of the anti-abortion movement? Why doesn't he just go whole hog for a constitutional ban on all abortions?

There's only one logical explanation: Carter and other astute anti-abortionists think that their goal is best served by picking off women one group at a time.

Cutting off federal funds will cut out the right to safe, legal abortions for hundreds of thousands of Black, Chi-

cano, Puerto Rican, and other low-paid women workers and welfare recipients.

In other words, the Hyde amendment is calculated to divide the women's movement along race and class lines and avoid massive, united resistance.

Feminists must read this divide-and-conquer strategy as a declaration of war on *all* women. This is imperative first because robbing Medicaid recipients of their right to choose would be a giant step toward reversing the January 22, 1973, Supreme Court decision recognizing abortion rights for *all* women.

Second, an effective women's movement has to be based on defending the needs and rights of our most oppressed sisters. A movement that champions the struggles of Black and working women will bring these sisters into action by the tens of thousands and bring their power to bear on the fight to defend all the gains of the women's movement.

How can we stop the drive to return these women to enforced pregnancies and back-alley butcher abortions?

There's no point in appealing to Jimmy Carter's conscience. He understands the human cost of his anti-abortion policy. And his hypocrisy is immeasurable. While mouthing concern for the "life" of fetuses, he takes the oath of office as an advocate of legalized murder—capital punishment.

Neither can we count on the liberal politicians—Bella Abzug, Shirley Chisholm, and the rest. They voted for the Hyde amendment, too.

In its ruling against paid maternity leaves, the Supreme Court also showed its anti-women's-rights disposition.

But, neither the courts, nor Congress, nor the president make decisions in a vacuum. They feel safe in attacking women's rights because leading feminist organizations such as the National Organization for Women

Continued on page 26

Join 'Militant' staff



Militant/Susan Ellis

Willie Mae Reid and John Hawkins have recently joined the staff of the *Militant*. Beginning this week, both will write regular columns for the paper.

Reid was the Socialist Workers party candidate for vice-president of the United States last year. Her name appeared on the ballot in twenty-nine states.

Hawkins comes to New York from Detroit, where he was the city organizer of the SWP.

Both Reid and Hawkins are members of the National Committee of the SWP. Their addition to the *Militant* staff is part of a process of strengthening coverage of the Black movement and women's liberation activities.

Reid is replacing Cindy Jaquith as regular author of the Women in Revolt column. Jaquith will be devoting full time to coordinating the national women's liberation

work of the SWP.

Hawkins will be writing the By Any Means Necessary column. Baxter Smith, who has written that column since 1972, has moved to Washington, D.C. Smith will be working to establish a new branch of the SWP in that city, as well as reporting for the *Militant*.

Reid, thirty-seven, was born and grew up in Memphis, Tennessee. She has been a hospital worker, a hotel worker, a garment worker, and a computer programmer. Reid joined the SWP in the early 1970s in Chicago, where she was active in struggles in the Black community.

John Hawkins was born in Detroit in 1948 and joined the SWP in 1969. He was a leader of the student and antiwar movements. Like many Detroit Black youths, Hawkins worked for a time in the automobile plants.

Indiana ERA victory: 3 more states to go

The following statement was released January 19 by Willie Mae Reid, the 1976 Socialist Workers party candidate for vice-president.

A little after 3:00 p.m. on January 18 I heard the news: Indiana ratified the Equal Rights Amendment! It passed by a close 26 to 24 vote in the state senate after being approved in the house the previous week.

I join with millions of women's rights advocates in celebrating this victory. And I salute those activists who made it possible.

Our achievement is an inspiration for the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican women fighting for Medicaid-funded abortions. For working women whose maternity rights are in jeopardy. For the mothers marching to stop cutbacks in child-care services.

Indiana is the thirty-fifth state to ratify the ERA. But the Indiana ratification has done more than bring us one step closer to our goal.

For a time it appeared that a solid wall stood between the thirty-four ratified states and the four others needed by the 1979 deadline.

The Indiana victory has put a giant crack in that wall. A crack that shows that the ERA majority can force other state legislatures to crumble under massive public pressure.

We can be sure that our success has demoralized the ERA's reactionary opponents—like Stop ERA, Ku Klux Klan, and John Birch Society. We must turn their demoralization into despair. We must seize the new momentum and push ahead. To do this,



Indianapolis ERA demonstrators assemble January 9

ERA supporters need to understand what led to our victory in Indiana.

The *Washington Post* attributes the victory to a phone call from Rosalynn Carter to a wavering state senator. National Organization for Women President Karen DeCrow credits it to "the strategy of defeating anti-ERA candidates."

Both assessments are naïve and misleading.

In fact, relying on phone calls from prominent individuals, electing "pro-ERA politicians," and lobbying allowed the ratification to grind to a halt for two years.

In many states, including Indiana, so-called pro-ERA politicians have time and again found excuses for shoving the ERA under the rug.

How many times have they told

women, "We can't pass it this time around. Wait until the next election and get more ERA backers elected?"

How many times have these Democrats and Republicans traded off ERA votes in political deals?

Ratification in Indiana was won through a process that involves important social forces: the antiwomen's-rights forces on one side, and the majority of women, Blacks, and other working people on the other.

Although our full power has yet to be tapped, stepped-up actions for the ERA have begun to make this majority sentiment visible and undeniable.

Many feminists were shocked after the 1975 defeats of state ERA referenda in New York and New Jersey. They saw that anti-ERA groups had out-organized the pro-ERA majority and in

doing so got out a bigger anti-ERA vote. These feminists recognized the need to show legislatures in all the unratified states that the women's movement was not about to walk away defeated, but would fight back.

Last spring local ERA rallies, marches, and debates occurred in many cities. On May 16 more than 8,000 feminists, unionists, students, and Blacks heeded NOW's call to march on Springfield, Illinois. "ERA yes!" we shouted to legislators across the country. This demonstration focused national attention once again on the ERA and made it clear that the women's liberation movement was alive and kicking.

Unfortunately, ERA activity petered out during the fall, while many women's organizations buried themselves in Democratic party election campaigns. Despite this, two important successes were scored for the ERA.

In Massachusetts a state ERA was put to the voters. They passed it by a two-thirds majority. In Colorado, an attempt to rescind that state's ERA was soundly defeated by a similar pro-ERA vote.

With the elections over, women planned renewed ERA actions for the opening of the state legislatures. One of the most important was the rally of 600 in Indianapolis on January 9.

Today, we need more mobilizations on an even larger scale. Now is the time to move in that direction and intensify the pressure on the remaining state legislatures. Let's make Indiana the turning point in our drive to ratify the ERA!

Documents show Fourth International targeted by CIA

By David Frankel
From Intercontinental Press

Maker and breaker of governments, sponsor of private armies, source of the most sophisticated instruments of torture and of the most sensitive electronic surveillance devices, the Central Intelligence Agency pollutes the political life of six continents.

Now, the CIA has been forced to hand over hundreds of documents on its secret operations around the world to the Socialist Workers party (SWP) and Young Socialist Alliance (YSA). The CIA documents were made public as a result of a suit initiated by the SWP and YSA against the U.S. government's illegal surveillance and harassment of dissident individuals and organizations. The SWP and YSA are demanding an injunction against further government abuses and \$40 million in damages.

Only a tiny portion of the CIA's massive file has been released so far. Adopting the same method employed by Richard Nixon to hide the truth from the masses of people, the CIA insists that release of many of its files would endanger "national security." Even those that have been turned over to the SWP and YSA have been heavily censored. Nevertheless, what emerges from the documents is a vast campaign to disrupt and destroy the SWP and its international cothinkers.

Further information has been obtained through the sworn statements of CIA officials. Acting under court order, a number of CIA officials, including CIA Director George Bush, have been forced to answer questions about some of the activities of the agency in regard to the SWP and YSA. According to this sworn testimony:

- CIA burglars carried out break-ins directed against SWP and YSA members travelling abroad. The CIA has refused to name the countries where the burglaries took place or say when they occurred. Perhaps the agency hopes to save embarrassment for friendly governments and police forces that may have cooperated with it in breaking their own laws.

- Electronic surveillance was used against SWP and YSA members travelling abroad. Most countries have laws against this type of activity, and the CIA has declined to say when and where it used this technique to gather information.

- A mail cover was maintained on some correspondence to and from the American Trotskyists. This included the opening and copying of letters, in clear violation of the law.

- Information on the SWP and YSA was obtained by the CIA through the use of informers.

- Although it refused to supply any information about the countries involved, the type of information sought or obtained, and what was done with this information, the CIA did admit that information on the SWP and YSA was both given to and received from foreign governments.

- Finally, the agency admitted that

it "has engaged in the collection of information concerning the Fourth International," the worldwide revolutionary socialist organization with which the SWP collaborates. It refused to say what type of information on the Fourth International was obtained, how it was obtained, or when it was obtained.

The French connection

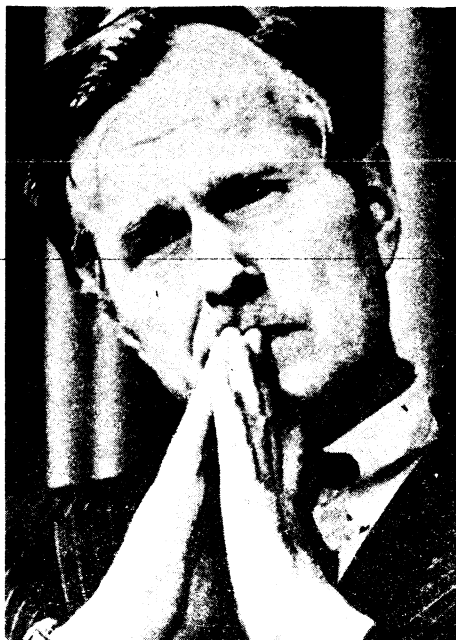
One thing that comes through clearly in the CIA documents is the complicity of other governments in CIA activities. The cordial relations between the CIA and the French secret police, for example, are indicated in a number of documents.

Material in a March 1975 document dealing with the Trotskyist movement in France is deleted, since, according to the CIA censor, it was "information provided by a foreign government." A document dated January 1972 advises CIA offices that "Available in the CIA Document and Pictorial Services Division is a seven-page review, in French, of the activities of a Trotskyite organization, the Communist League, in factories and other business enterprises."

In addition to receiving reports from French police agents on the trade union and political activities of the French Trotskyists, there are indications that the CIA had its own agents at work collecting information. An April 1973 report on the "role of the Trotskyist Communist League in organizing student demonstrations; tactics of French labor with regard to students," is censored under the heading of "source revealing information" instead of the heading "information provided by a foreign government."

It is also clear that the CIA returned the favors of friendly political police organizations elsewhere in the world. One CIA file on the Ad Hoc Committee to Support French Workers and Students said:

"Subject organization is a coalition of several U.S. organizations which demonstrated in June 1968 in support



GEORGE BUSH: Spy chief hit with tough questions from SWP lawsuit.

of striking French workers and students in protest of the French government's ban on public demonstrations, radical organizations, and the arrest of political activists."

The memorandum included a breakdown of the U.S. demonstrations by city, along with identified sponsors and demonstrators. Additional censored material appeared with each name and organization. Can there be any doubt that a report was dispatched to the appropriate French police agency?

Expelling two 'Amcits'

Another example of the collaboration between the French and the American governments for the purpose of suppressing political dissent is provided by a telegram in the CIA files. Dated November 1972, the telegram is from the American consul in Martinique.

"French authorities," it says, "are expelling two Amcit [American citizen] members of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party for engaging in political activities in Martinique."

Did American authorities protest this infringement of democratic rights? Did they ask for an explanation of why American socialists were being forbidden to meet with advocates of independence for the French colony?

No, the U.S. consul was too busy helping the French police. The telegram explains: "For purposes hearing, local French authorities request info about possible subversive activities in which Thomas and Washington [the two SWP members] may have previously engaged including any involving illegal black power groups. Information may either be unclassified or, if appropriate, handed over to French authorities by consulate in confidence."

Unfortunately for the image of French democracy, Thomas and Washington had not been engaging in any illegal activities, either in the United States or in Martinique. The colonial regime had to expel them simply for attending a political meeting.

Of course, the CIA did not confine its so-called counterintelligence activities against the Trotskyist movement to France. The documents turned over to the SWP and YSA so far deal with about twenty countries.

What was the CIA so interested in? To begin with, the movement against the war in Vietnam was a prime target of the CIA spies.

A 1973 CIA report on the Fourth International said:

Although tactics and activities vary from country to country, depending on local conditions, the international organization is capable of coordinating activities of its member sections to provide greater impact on world opinion. Prior to the planned [antiwar] marches on Washington and San Francisco in April 1971 by the Socialist Workers Party (the American section of the United Secretariat), the International Exec-

utive Committee sent letters urging groups throughout the world to demonstrate their solidarity with the anti-war movement in the United States.*

Subversive action indeed!

Under the direction of Lyndon B. Johnson, the CIA began a "counterintelligence" program in 1967 directed against domestic dissenters—a program that later took on the suggestive name of "Operation Chaos."

As part of Operation Chaos, the CIA spied on the activities of American Trotskyists in Mexico, Argentina, and Chile. For instance, Linda Jenness, the SWP's 1972 presidential candidate, came under surveillance when she travelled to Chile during that election campaign.

The CIA was also interested in events in Spain. An October 1972 document on Spain reports:

"On 13 Oct 72, per Ref A suggestion, (CIA source) was alerted to the arrival of Peter Camejo (classified matter) in Barcelona 'possibly to contact Spanish Trotskyist leaders' there. (CIA source) was asked to keep us informed on subject's activities there."

After recording information obtained from this CIA informer, the memorandum says, "In line with Ref B instructions which received 25 Oct, will not raise subject or press (CIA source) for any follow up action this case. However, will pass on any info which (CIA source) may volunteer on subject to headquarters and (foreign city). (Administrative matter) (Administrative matter)."

What type of "follow up action" was rejected in this case—and not rejected in others? How much "info" was passed on to Franco's fascist police? Were communications with the Franco regime's repressive apparatus considered "administrative matters"?

A helping hand in Bolivia

Latin America is another area that the CIA pays particular attention to. The SWP's active support for the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners seemed to worry the CIA. SWP leaders Joseph Hansen and George Novack, for example, are both singled out because of their role in aiding the defense of Latin American political prisoners.

Especially upsetting to the CIA was the first issue of the *USLA Reporter*. "The intended purpose of the bulletin was to disseminate information, as

*Two lies should be noted in this CIA statement. First, the SWP is not a section of the Fourth International; reactionary legislation passed in 1940 forced the American Trotskyists to sever formal ties with their international cothinkers. Second, the April 24, 1971, antiwar demonstrations—which drew 500,000 persons in Washington, D.C., alone—were not SWP operations, although the SWP participated in them and helped to build them. They were sponsored by a broad coalition that included members of Congress.

complete as possible, relating to all political prisoners in Latin America and to activities of the USLAJC."

The CIA documents turned over to the SWP and YSA deal with at least eleven Latin American countries, but by far the most extensive coverage was devoted to Bolivia during the period of 1965-68. During this period the dictatorship of Gen. René Barrientos, which was closely tied to Washington, had to contend with intense social unrest among the Bolivian masses.

The CIA's solicitude for the Barrientos regime was indicated in an April 1966 document on the "plans of the Bolivian Trotskyist party for May Day." It reported on a meeting of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Revolutionary Workers party). The POR, it seems, planned to publish a special issue of its newspaper, distribute 100,000 leaflets, and work with other groups on demonstrations against the military junta. All was reported by the CIA.

Following this report, an entire page is devoted to unspecified "organizational data," according to the CIA censor. In light of the context, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that the CIA was helping the dictatorship to organize the repression of the Bolivian people.

According to its charter, the CIA is supposed to operate only outside of the United States. But CIA operations inside the United States came to light as a result of the Watergate investigation.

In an attempt to prevent the American people from learning the full extent of the CIA's crimes, the Ford administration appointed a "blue-ribbon" commission to investigate and

The Rockefeller Commission reported that the CIA stopped keeping files on legal political activities of American citizens in March 1974, when Operation Chaos was ended. But the CIA itself listed one cable to an unnamed overseas station dated November 20, 1974—eight months after the supposed March cutoff date—in its dossier on Peter Camejo. The CIA refused to release the cable on the grounds that it is "based on a request of a foreign intelligence service."

CIA spying inside the United States also continued after March 1974. A document dated May 3, 1974, said: "[Censored] Scheduled attend private filming of documentary on life Trotsky on 28 April in New York. SWP old timers George Novak [sic] [censored] also scheduled be present. Provided [censored] some general topics for discussion with SWPers if opportunity presented."

The CIA admits that it is continuing to collect information on the American Trotskyist movement, claiming that this is "incidental" to, or a "by-product" of, its operations against the Fourth International abroad. As former CIA Director William Colby explained in January 1976, the end of Operation Chaos "doesn't mean the end of all counter-intelligence."

Why these targets?

Summing up the activities of the SWP, a 1964 CIA document commented:

The SWP, in order to escape from its restrictive isolation, promotes or penetrates organizations which are likely to arouse some part of the population. Causes taken up by the SWP in this way are the Cuban question (through the Fair Play for Cuba

The SWP's contacts with the Fourth International, it argues, justify the continuing surveillance.

Answer to 'terrorist' smear

The CIA's attempt to equate revolutionary socialism with terrorism is hardly an original device. Similar smears—often planted by the CIA—have been appearing in the world press for years. In 1972, for example, *Newsweek* magazine ran an article labeling the Fourth International as a "terrorist international."

Ernest Mandel, the Belgian Trotskyist leader, answered the smear at the time, although *Newsweek* declined to print his letter. The Fourth International, Mandel said, "is not a terrorist organization but has always rejected the philosophy and methods of terrorism, opposed to the Marxist principles it stands for."

"... we do not fight by means of dynamite, bombs, or the like."

Taking up the intent behind the smear, Mandel said: "Nobody should be surprised that terrorists who happen to wield state power and, in that position, pursue their political goals by murdering thousands of innocent people... call their opponents 'criminal terrorists.' The political function of this linguistic trick is obviously to facilitate and justify in advance mass repression, mass persecution, mass torture and, if necessary, mass killing of political opponents."

"Police informers and other professionals in the noble art of curtailing freedom of thought, speech, organization, and travel the world over are experts in this type of frame-up. They cannot understand this simple truth: that society can only be changed through the efforts of millions, of broad social forces, and that it is ridiculous to attribute to Marxists the wish to 'conspire' and to build socialism without the conscious resolution of the majority of the toilers."

Unfortunately, the United States government today stands on the wrong side of those struggles in which the people of the world are attempting to throw off the yoke of oppression. It is, in fact, the prime supporter of inequality and exploitation around the world.

The CIA's assassination plots against heads of state have made headlines. The CIA was also responsible for the "Phoenix" program in Vietnam, under which some 20,000 persons were murdered because of their political views.

CIA-engineered coups were responsible for the dictatorial regimes in Iran and Chile. The CIA tried to fix elections from Italy to Japan, and trains secret police in the arts of repression and torture from Korea to Brazil.

Yet this agency claims it has the right to spy on the SWP because of the socialists' cothinkers!

In a statement submitted for the socialists' lawsuit the CIA claimed that the Fourth International has supported rebellions "against governments friendly to the United States" and "has assisted Communist regimes hostile to the United States in worldwide propaganda campaigns against the United States and its allies."

According to the McCarthyite logic of the CIA witch-hunters, the movement against the war in Vietnam was one of these "world-wide propaganda campaigns against the United States and its allies."

No doubt the CIA considers the worldwide campaigns in defense of political prisoners in Chile, Iran, and South Korea in the same category. After all, these dictatorial regimes are certainly "governments friendly to the United States."

The American Trotskyists, however, have a different view. The SWP and YSA refuse to support butchers like Pinochet or the shah of Iran, even if they are "friendly to the United States" government. And, as Patrick Henry declared during the American Revolution, "If this be treason, make the most of it."

Vigilante threats move Colo. frame-up trial

By Miguel Pendás

DENVER—Because of threats of violence by right-wing extremists, the upcoming frame-up trial of Chicano activist Juan Haro has been moved from Akron, Colorado.

Haro, a leader of the Crusade for Justice, and Crusade activist Antonio Quintana have been falsely charged with plotting to blow up several Denver police stations. Haro's trial had been scheduled in Akron, a hundred miles from Denver.

In the January 6 Akron *News Reporter* the ultraright Committee to Restore the Constitution advertised a vigilante meeting to "maintain law and order in Akron during the upcoming 'Chicano Bomber Trial.'"

"Akron may be left in shreds," the bigots' notice read. "... The answer must be that we citizens gird ourselves to react positively, firmly, and efficiently to any act detrimental to the best interests of our community."

If there were any questions as to what was meant by "positively, firmly, and efficiently," Loren Ludwig, the group's president, cleared these up when he testified in presiding judge George McNamara's court January 11, the day before Haro's trial was set to begin.

Ludwig said he could get a "good number of people" to show up armed with "ball, bat, or pitchfork." Later he admitted they would bring guns, too.

Long before the vigilante threat, defense attorneys Stanley Marks and Ken Padilla warned it was impossible for Haro and Quintana to get a fair trial in Akron, which is more than 99 percent Anglo.

Denver District Attorney Dale Tooley, the man whose job it is to railroad Haro and Quintana into prison, had pooh-poohed the idea that there might be racist prejudice in Akron against Chicanos.

"I have a high regard for juries," Tooley said. "I think a fair, impartial jury can be found in that jurisdiction [Akron] and in any other."

Finally, however, the vigilante threat forced the judge to move the trial.

Also testifying at the January 11 hearing was Washington County Sheriff William Macdonald, who said Ludwig's ultraright group had "mouthed off a lot about hanging."

The sheriff's proposed solution was to have "hotheads" on either side "taken out of circulation and put in jail."

However, the sheriff's claim to be evenhanded is open to question. Under questioning by attorney Ken Padilla, Ludwig admitted his organization includes deputies and employees of the sheriff's department. The sheriff himself had an invitation to attend the vigilante meeting!

Judge McNamara set a hearing for January 24 to determine where Haro's trial will be moved.

Two days later, though, McNamara disqualified himself from presiding over the trial. He said he was upset that *El Gallo*, the Crusade's newspaper, had accused him of conspiring with police and prosecutors against the defendants. The criticisms angered him so much, he said, that he could no longer claim to be impartial.

McNamara is a former FBI agent and Denver deputy district attorney.



U.S. contingent in 1972 Paris demonstration against Vietnam War. International solidarity like this worried CIA.

report on the agency's activities. Nelson Rockefeller was chosen to preside over the whitewash.

The Rockefeller Commission and, later, the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence insisted that CIA spying in the United States began in 1967. In fact, the CIA files include material on the SWP going back to 1949.

"According to a report dated 7 February 1951," one CIA memorandum says, "Frank LOVELL, member of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), charged that American intervention in Korea was a 'most brazen act of imperialism.'"

CIA surveillance inside the United States picked up during the late 1950s and early 1960s. The CIA files contain reports on the YSA from New York, Berkeley, and Boston in this period. The CIA's Boston field office filed a report in 1961 on a rally held to protest the murder of Congolese leader Patrice Lumumba.

Later CIA reports on the YSA came from Utah, San Francisco, and Washington, D.C.

Committee (FPCC) and the Committee for Travel to Cuba), the integration problem, civil liberties in general, and labor problems. . . .

As the anonymous CIA commentator saw it, "The SWP is calculated to inflame primarily the unbalanced, the dissatisfied, the desperate, and those who do not care. In special circumstances the SWP might well create, or stimulate, serious problems."

The CIA, like the FBI, has gone to extraordinary lengths in searching for actions by the SWP and the YSA that could be interpreted as justifiable reasons for filing criminal charges against the two organizations. The agency's concern was reflected in a 1956 CIA document reporting that the SWP "actually ran candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency in the 1956 elections."

But supporting civil liberties, inflaming the dissatisfied, and running candidates in elections are not crimes in the eyes of the American people. The CIA has tried to get around this fact by smearing the Fourth International as a whole as a terrorist organization.

...execution

Continued from front page

Ricans, Chicanos, Native Americans, and the poor who face execution. These are the people that Gilmore's killing is meant to terrorize.

Those responsible for this barbarous and vindictive act are the real criminals. They are the real mass murderers. Their hands are stained with the blood of the Vietnamese, the Chilean workers, South African Blacks, and countless others.

It is no accident that they chose Gary Gilmore for the first legal execution in a decade in this country. The many bizarre aspects of his case served to obscure the real issues.

Gilmore was white. That helps mask the racist injustice of capital punishment, which has always been used mainly against Blacks and other minorities.

Gilmore admitted killing two people. That helps cover up the notorious use of police frame-ups to send innocent people to their deaths—from the Haymarket martyrs of 1886, Joe Hill, and the Rosenbergs, to people like Gary Tyler and Delbert Tibbs whose lives are in jeopardy today.

Gilmore asked to be killed rather than face life in prison. That helped divert the debate to his "right to die" rather than the real question: whether the state has a right to kill.

Gilmore himself—a product of the brutal and brutalizing prison system of capitalist America—was obviously mentally unstable. He had attempted suicide twice. He may well have killed others precisely in order to put himself in front of a firing squad.

His case actually bears witness to the fact—supported by thorough scientific studies—that capital punishment has absolutely no effect of "detering crime."

The new president, like the old one, stands foursquare for executions. As governor of Georgia, Carter signed that state's current death penalty law in 1973.

Carter and his backers promise a better life for working people and minorities under the new administration. But Carter's every act—from his cabinet appointments of warhawks and bigots to his paltry "economic stimulus" plan that won't provide more than a handful of jobs—shows that there will be no change. At least no change for the better.

The real outlook is for more attacks on wages, job safety, working conditions, and labor's right to organize and strike.

More cutbacks in social services.

More racist assaults on the rights of Blacks to desegregated schools, decent housing, and equal job opportunity.

Poverty. Unemployment. Racial oppression. Human degradation. These are the conditions that drive people to desperation and crime.

The purpose of the "law and order" outcry—with the firing squad, the noose, and the electric chair as its triumphal symbols—is not to combat crime at all. It is to enflame racist prejudices, whip up popular support for police violence against minorities and the poor, and generally blame individuals for the breakdown of the social fabric.

Capital punishment is a weapon of race and class oppression, not justice. It aims to reinforce the profit system by terrorizing the downtrodden and the outcast.

And as the capitalist economic and social crisis deepens, prompting new struggles by labor and minorities, the death penalty will stand forth ever more clearly as a weapon against working-class militants.

For opponents of the death penalty, Gilmore's death should be a time to take stock of the situation and plan the next steps in the campaign to abolish capital punishment. Millions of people have been confused by the Gilmore case and the barrage of pro-death-penalty propaganda.

The latest Harris poll showed a 71 to 19 percent majority of Americans favoring Gilmore's execution. A 58 to 28 percent majority supported execution of other death row prisoners. The viewpoint among Blacks was strikingly different, with a 49 to 25 percent plurality opposing executions.

A massive campaign of education and protest is urgently needed. Speak-outs, forums, and debates should be organized to rebut the hypocritical justifications for legal murder and expose the real nature of the death penalty.

Many more trade unions, Black groups, women's organizations, students, and other supporters of basic human rights must be drawn into action to block further killings.

Hundreds of lives depend on the rallies, demonstrations, vigils, and other protests that must be organized again and again to demand:

Stop the executions!

Abolish the death penalty!

Prohibition party vote

I want to congratulate you on the good coverage of third party election data in the December 31 *Militant*. The *Militant* has been the best publication in the country for printing this data, as far as I know.

I do complain that the chart accompanying the article omitted the Prohibition party vote, although it listed totals for the other parties. The Prohibition party received 15,944—more votes than the total received by Levin [Socialist Labor party] and Zeidler [Socialist party].

The following is a breakdown of the Prohibition party's votes for the information of your readers:

Alabama: 6,669; California: 31; Colorado: 2,883; Delaware: 103; Kansas: 1,403; Maine: 3,495; Massachusetts: 14; Michigan: 13; New Jersey: 554; New Mexico: 211; North Dakota: 63; Ohio: 62; Oregon: 1; Tennessee: 442.

R.W.

San Francisco, California

Released from prison

I'm elated to inform you that you no longer need to send me the *Militant*, because I'm being released from this prison. Now, I can go by one of your offices and personally pick up the information.

The free subscription has had a great impact on my understanding of what is required of people everywhere who desire to make life better.

And I wish to thank you for the many issues of the newspaper sent to me during the time I've been imprisoned. Now you can forward my copy to someone else in need.

A prisoner

Illinois

[The *Militant's* special Prisoner Fund makes it possible for us to send complimentary or reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help out, send your contribution to: Militant Prisoner Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.]

Elitist medical schools

The December 10 *Militant* carried an article on a recent California Supreme Court decision in favor of a white student applicant to a medical school. The white student challenged the admission of a Black student under an affirmative-action program. He said that admitting the Black rather than him was discriminatory and denied him his constitutional rights.

The article correctly opposed the court decision. It correctly supported preferential admission of Blacks to make up for many years of prior discrimination in graduate schools.

However, it did not say all that should be said on the question. This partial treatment could give the impression that the *Militant* accepts the limitation imposed upon the total number of medical students who can go on to become doctors.

Years ago it was the practice of the medical school establishment, which was under the control of the American Medical Association, to use a secret central clearing house to decide on a national scale who should go to medical school and just which schools each applicant could attend. I do not know if this is still the practice. At any rate, in the old days very few if any Blacks or other minorities, and women, were permitted in.

That the United States, the richest country in the world, is still not

providing adequate health care to millions of people can be attributed to a large extent to the monopoly practice of limiting the number of young people—regardless of color, nationality, or sex—who can study medicine. It has also allowed doctors to charge exorbitant fees for their services and to enrich themselves.

The *Militant* should demand free, universal education for all who want it, and that subsidies be provided to those who cannot afford to go to school. This was raised at the international youth conference that followed the founding conference of the Fourth International in 1938, and it was included as a prominent demand in the resolution on the worldwide youth radicalization passed by the Young Socialist Alliance at its 1969 convention. It is an effective answer to the idea that the authorities have the right to limit the number of students who can go to medical school and other graduate schools.

Milt Alvin

Los Angeles, California

Decided to subscribe

I've just recently been introduced to your paper and was pleased at how objective it is.

I feel as though I'm reading news that has been overlooked by the rest of the media.

I've decided to subscribe on a trial basis to see if the journalism keeps its balance. I don't think I'll be at all disappointed.

As for my decision to have the *Militant* sent to my home—well, after reading that the FBI kept tabs on the Charlestown *Gazette* and its editors for being critical of the FBI, then I decided it doesn't make a lot of difference what paper you read. What matters is how good the news is that's printed.

R.H.

Louisville, Kentucky

Cincinnati teachers

Capping a twelve-year struggle to build a teachers union in Cincinnati, the Cincinnati Federation of Teachers (CFT), American Federation of Teachers Local 1520, defeated the Cincinnati Teachers Association (CTA) December 2 in a representation election.

Major demands raised by the CFT are an automatic cost-of-living raise, an immediate 16 percent salary increase to catch up with inflation, and a class-size maximum of twenty-five at the secondary level and fifteen in the elementary grades.

Leading up to the victory, the CFT conducted a well-organized membership drive that resulted in more than 400 new members.

Over the summer, teams of union members visited teachers' homes, wrote letters, and made phone calls. It was this campaign that helped make the difference.

By the eve of the election, the CFT had gained more than 1,200 members. The CTA, whose support had steadily slipped, had 930. Of the 700 unaffiliated teachers, 547 voted for the CFT.

The CTA's record was also a major factor in the union victory. Last year the board of education offered teachers an immediate 6 percent salary increase. The CTA protested that this would violate the contract because wage-reopener negotiations weren't scheduled until spring.

When the CTA finally got around to bargaining, all teachers got was a paltry 4 percent.

Also, the teachers' staff has been

Miguel Pendás



'Aliens' & unemployment

Last week I dealt with *la migra's* latest broadside against *mexicanos*: an article in the October *Reader's Digest* entitled "Illegal Aliens: Time To Call A Halt!"

In the article, Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) Director Leonard Chapman falsely alleged that immigrants without visas receive social services while not paying taxes. I cited official government reports to show that exactly the opposite the case.

Perhaps Chapman's biggest hoax is that deportations are going to ease unemployment. "One of our primary missions," he writes, "is to protect the American workers by detecting and deporting illegal aliens employed here."

He holds out the following phony promise to citizens: "If we could locate and deport the three to four million illegals who currently hold jobs in the U.S., replacing them with citizens and legal residents, we could reduce our own unemployment dramatically—as much as 50 percent."

In order to fulfill his "mission" Chapman urges passage of restrictive immigration laws now being proposed by Peter Rodino (D-N.J.) in the House and James Eastland (D-Miss.) in the Senate.

Chapman also announced that, "the INS is about to institute a counterfeit-proof alien ID card—called a 'green card'—which will be issued to legal alien residents over the next five years. Welfare agencies should require this card as proof of legal residence."

Lastly, Chapman demands increased funding for *la migra*—to hire more "investigators" and "hearing officers," he says.

All of these proposals add up to a "mission" all right, but not one that is going to help working people—either Mexican or American.

Chapman is working for the employers, not the workers. His plan is to create a racist hysteria through the use of propaganda and terror tactics. Deportations are used to intimidate Mexicans without visas so that they are more fertile targets for exploitation by farm and factory bosses.

Chapman may very well carry out his threat of mass deportations. But this will not be intended to reduce unemployment for anyone. That is the bait he uses in order to win support for his racist campaign from workers who are American citizens.

The vast influx of impoverished *mexicanos* to the United States that has already taken place would have been impossible without the acquiescence of the Border Patrol.

Employers and the immigration service work together to maintain millions of undocumented workers as a reserve pool of cheap labor used to drive down the wages of all workers, to break strikes, and to bust unions.

In the final analysis, all working people are the victims of exclusive immigration policy. Chicanos in particular will suffer from Chapman's proposal to institute a "foolproof" ID system for issuing visas.

What this innocent-sounding proposal really means is that all Latin-looking persons will be forced to "prove" their citizenship in order to apply for a job, medical care, food stamps, and welfare—or just to walk the streets.

The sagging capitalist economy can't put everyone to work, and the government is looking for scapegoats. It is in the interest of all working people in the United States to oppose the anti-"alien" campaign. We must demand jobs and full rights for all who live and work here. Only in this way can we stop the government's game of pitting one group of workers against another.

reduced by 20 percent since 1969. More than 900 teachers have been laid off since 1971. Last year 141 teachers received their notice. The CFT has been the only group to actively oppose this. During the election campaign, the CFT pledged to oppose new layoffs or cutbacks.

Rick Mitts
Cincinnati, Ohio

Couldn't do without it

I am one of your 20,000 new subscribers who bought his first *Militant* when Peter Camejo visited a campus here. Some of my friends also subscribed at that time. Although they are not all resubscribing, we will all continue to read the *Militant*.

I am truly impressed with the quality and quantity of reportage in your paper. You consistently get the facts (which in and of itself is not unusual) and place them in the proper perspective of the broad masses of the American people. This is very rare and praiseworthy.

In most papers, the facts are the official facts—the ones given by the government to serve its own ends. Whereas you are more concerned with the people involved. I don't think I could do without the *Militant*.

T.D.
El Paso, Texas

Italian Communist party

On Friday, December 10, 1976, CBS presented a news special, "Friends, Romans, Communists," which probed the growing influence of Italy's Communist party.

Italy's June 20-21 national elections resulted in the ruling Christian Democratic party and the Italian Communist party receiving 38.7 percent and 34.4 percent of the votes respectively.

Add to the CP's votes those received by the Italian Socialist party—9.6 percent—and one can conclude that the Italian people's desire for a party reflecting workers' interests (interests supposedly supported by both so-called leftist parties) was undoubtedly in existence.

Also, referring to the recent National Assembly elections in France, the November 9 *New York Times* stated: "The 6 percent swing to the left that was registered, if repeated in the next general election, would promise Communist-Socialist control of Parliament and the Government."

Now let us think! If the political-economic systems of communism and socialism are as evil as we Americans have been led to believe, then how was it possible that the Italian people almost "voted" themselves communism?

How is it possible that the French people—who I would assume are homo sapiens and no more or less inherently intelligent than we—could actually be considering electing a Communist-Socialist government! Is it possible that they may know something that we don't?

Darryl Dickerson
New York, New York

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

By Any Means Necessary

John Hawkins



For whom Bell toils

Starting this week "By Any Means Necessary" will be regularly written by John Hawkins.

Jimmy Carter's nomination of Griffin Bell for U.S. attorney general has caused a lot of sparks to fly, and rightly so. Bell's record as a federal judge proves beyond the shadow of a doubt that he was and is a defender of the racist status quo. Not to mention his membership in racist clubs.

When Bell says he's for busing as a last resort, he means just that—the very last. Bell helped engineer the deal in Atlanta that put off busing in exchange for some school board posts for several Black leaders there.

Bell is also one of the chief theoreticians and spokespersons for the limited busing policy now being followed by the Supreme Court.

"I wrote the leading opinion on that subject," bragged Bell. He was referring to two 1972 rulings in cases from Corpus Christi and Austin, Texas. In those rulings Bell laid down strict limitations on the use of busing and detailed steps a federal judge should go through before ordering its use.

In another case, Bell voted to allow Jackson, Mississippi, to close its swimming pools to both races rather than desegregate. Bell's was the deciding vote.

Yet another case Bell ruled on involved Shaw, Mississippi. The white part of that town had all the sewers, pavement, and light. The Black part of town got nothing.

Bell could barely bring himself to acknowledge the town's flagrant racist discrimination. The disproportionate impact of the situation was not enough to prove discrimination, argued the soon-to-be attorney general. Evil motive must be found. Luckily, in this case, Bell found it.

With a record like this—proudly acknowledged by the man in the pages of the press—it is astonishing that anyone claiming to speak for Black people would dare support him. But there are those who do.

Roy Innis, executive director of the Congress of

Racial Equality, tripped over himself to come to Bell's defense. "I don't think he is any more racist than the average American," said the former civil rights leader, as though that were an excuse.

Andrew Young, already settling in as a member of the Carter "team," repeats over and over his satisfaction with Bell. According to Young, Bell would have been his first or second choice.

Luckily, these sorts are few and far between. But even those established leaders who opposed Bell's nomination miss the point. They act as though this appointment is a fluke, as though the policies Bell stands for are out of step with the Carter administration's.

Well they're not. When Carter said he was for "ethnic purity," he meant it. And he chose an attorney general that will enforce "ethnic purity" as the law of the land.

And that's to be expected from a Georgia Democrat.



Griffin Bell (left) and racist Sen. James Eastland share a laugh. Bell's nomination gives Blacks, other minorities little to laugh at.

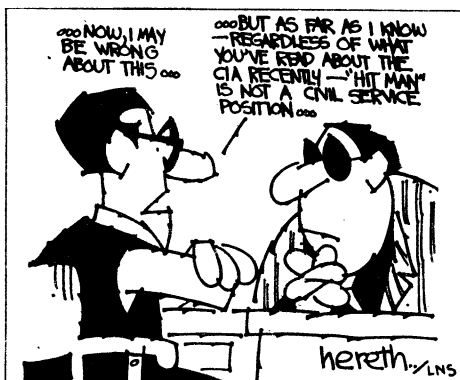
The Great Society

Harry Ring



Subversion, gram by gram—Dean Krakel, director of the National Cowboy Hall of Fame, disclosed that “metric is definitely Communist. One monetary system, one language, one weight and measurements system—one world—all Communist!”

Basic education—To instill a sense of the reality ahead, time clocks have been installed for vocational training students at a Newark, Delaware, high school.



Truly righteous—A hungry Florida migrant worker walked into the kitchen of the Dundee Baptist Church and began making a bologna sandwich. The Rev. James Lockwood caught him and called the cops. The police wanted to let him go, but the rev insisted on pressing charges. “I feel as a Christian,” he explained, “that I have a duty to apprehend those involved in criminal acts.”

Give him his dime back—A Bristol, Connecticut, jury awarded \$100,000

to the widow of a foundry worker who was killed when he tried to buy a candy bar from a plant vending machine. When he pulled the lever, it toppled over on him. The company wants the verdict set aside as “excessive and unlawful.”

An American institution—According to the manufacturer, 90 percent of American girls between five and ten own an average of 2.1 Barbie dolls each.

Women in Revolt

Willie Mae Reid



The ‘peoples’ cabinet

Starting this week “Women in Revolt” will be regularly written by Willie Mae Reid.

Carter’s cabinet is not even a compromise for the promises extended in his campaign. Yet, Sen. William Proxmire (D.-Wisc.) dared to echo Carter’s campaign theme of “concern for the people” during Senate hearings last week. Proxmire is one of eleven men on the Senate committee that questioned Patricia Roberts Harris, the Black woman nominated for secretary of housing and urban development.

Proxmire told his colleagues that Harris is inexperienced. But he is more concerned that she is “not of, by, and for the people.” Can the pot call the kettle black?

Proxmire is not “of, by, and for the people” either! Neither is Carter nor the rest of his cabinet. Nor, for that matter, is the rest of Congress.

The token “new faces” and “outsiders” in Carter’s administration are really old reliables. Tried, tested, and interested in recycling the old established methods of “pulling yourself up by the bootstraps.”

Harris made that point as she answered Proxmire’s arrogance. She angrily pointed to her own life as a living example of success—up from poor beginnings to her current position in a prestigious

law firm.

Her tone was understandable. But her example was all wrong.

Harris’s life is a living example of a much more important achievement. Namely, the success of active, organized resistance to discrimination by masses of Blacks and our allies during the 1960s.

Her roots are typical of most Blacks, then and now. Born of poor, hardworking parents who had to sacrifice a lot for their children’s future, she is one of the handful of Blacks that “made it.”

She was a protester when she was a student. But now, according to an article in *New Times* magazine, Harris feels that “you can accomplish a lot more in an IBM board meeting than demonstrating in the streets.”

Patricia Harris, like Juanita Kreps, Carter’s secretary of commerce, is groomed in the methods of big business. They both come to Washington from lucrative jobs and directorships in several corporations.

Time magazine describes Kreps as a soft-spoken feminist who shuns the term *women’s liberation*. Kreps thinks she has met her responsibility in helping to achieve equality for racial minorities and women when she “makes a fuss” by frequently bringing up the question in corporation board

meetings.

Actually, Kreps and Harris were chosen by Carter for the same reasons that he picked other business “reps” and careerists. Why? Because they’ve successfully demonstrated their willingness to help carry out the attacks on the rights and living standards of women, Blacks, and all working people.

Women’s groups, like Blacks, made the mistake of marking time, waiting for the Carter victory. Only a fraction of our power was organized in actions during the last two years to demand affirmative action in jobs and education, defend abortion rights, provide adequate child care, win the Equal Rights Amendment, and protect maternity benefits.

It will take united action by women, Blacks, and the trade-union movement to defend our gains and extend our rights.

Carter’s cabinet choices—from Griffin Bell and Joseph Califano to the few token Blacks and women—show how necessary it is to break from the methods that “successes” like Patricia Harris and Juanita Kreps represent.

Activists in the Black and women’s movements can start right now to use the methods *we’ve* been groomed in—the method of mass action *we’ve* perfected over the last decade or so.

Free Lance

Dave Freeman

My father & the FBI

It was 1951.

I was too young to remember. Years later my father told me about it.

Two FBI agents came to the door. They said they wanted to ask my father some questions.

They sat down at the dining room table and put a briefcase on it. They asked him to give them the names of some of the people my father had known when he was in the Communist party for a short time in the 1930s.

“I’ve got nothing to say,” my father told them. “Get out.” And they did.

At the time, my father was the director of a social services agency in New Britain, Connecticut. He was told by his boss a few days after the FBI visit to resign or be fired. He resigned.

It wasn’t the first job my father lost. Three years earlier when a friend of his in the U.S. Treasury Department was being attacked for having Communist sympathies, my father also lost his job.

That job was in Richmond, Virginia, and it paid my father a lot of money. He wound up peddling shoes for a year.

Things were like that back then. After he told the FBI agents to go to hell and lost his second job with the social services agency, he borrowed some money and became a chicken farmer. He did this for ten

years. My father wasn’t much of a farmer and he hated it.

I remember when my father first told me his story, I was infuriated. Nearly twenty years of my life—where I lived, what my parents did, our economic status—had been dictated by J. Edgar Hoover and his G-men.

The whole experience had made my father paranoid. And in the context of the fifties and early sixties, that was completely understandable.

He subscribed to the *Nation*, a liberal magazine, during those years. He used to say, only half-kiddingly I think, that the local postmaster in the small town where we lived would tremble when the magazine came in the mail. Just to be safe, my father got his *Nation* mailed to him in a plain brown wrapper.

I came home from college my freshman year in 1964 and told my father I’d joined a socialist study group. My father warned me that if I got connected up with such things it could cost me a job later on.

I’m sure his advice was a factor in my early hesitation to become too closely identified with an avowedly left-wing organization.

My father died of a heart attack in 1969. He was scarcely sixty. People die of a lot of things, but I

think one reason for his death was the near terror he personally felt and had to live with during the last twenty years of his life.

It worked on him. Molded him. He wasn’t free, and he couldn’t be what he wanted to be and say what he wanted. I hold the FBI largely to blame for his death.

That’s why the suit against the FBI by the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance is so important to me, personally. It is a wonderful thing.

As far as I’m concerned the FBI could burn in hell for eternity and it still wouldn’t even things up. It still won’t bring back my father and the millions of others the FBI terrorized into silence.

But the suit is the best thing going, and I’m sure there are a lot of people out there in the hinterlands who think it is, too. The \$40 million the SWP and YSA are asking for is a pittance compared to what the FBI has done.

I’m proud of my old man. He told the FBI to shove it. He wasn’t a revolutionary, just a decent human being who didn’t believe in a gestapo.

And in the process of kicking my father when he was down, the FBI made me an enemy of theirs for life.

OKs all-white Chicago suburb

High court bars door to open housing

By John Hawkins

On January 11 the U.S. Supreme Court came down once again on the side of racist opponents of desegregation.

In a five-to-three decision, the court majority reversed a lower court decision that in effect would have brought open housing to the Chicago suburb of Arlington Heights.

The decision came in a suit brought by the Chicago-area Metropolitan Housing Development Corporation. The MHDC wanted to build subsidized housing "open to all" in the suburb.

After leasing fifteen acres of land for a 190-unit lower- and middle-income development, the nonprofit corporation ran into stiff resistance. The Arlington Heights Plan Commission and Town Council refused to rezone the property.

In 1972 the MHDC filed suit against Arlington Heights officials. Its lawyers challenged the zoning laws as both unconstitutional and in violation of the 1968 Fair Housing Act.

In February 1974 the federal district court in Chicago ruled in favor of the suburb. But this decision was reversed by the Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals.

The appeals court cited Arlington Heights for violation of the Fourteenth Amendment guarantee to equal protection under the law. It pointed out that the "ultimate effect" of not rezoning would be racist discrimination. Because not rezoning meant blocking the construction of the housing development. And not constructing the housing development meant excluding all but a few token Blacks from the suburb.

Most segregated

Statistics and testimony bear this out. According to one witness in the case, Arlington Heights is the most racially segregated of Chicago's larger suburbs. The 1970 census showed only 27 Blacks living there. A special 1972 census showed 124 Blacks and 350 "other minorities" out of 69,204 residents.

Despite this evidence, the Supreme Court overturned the appeals court's decision. In doing so it struck another blow against Blacks and other prodesegregation forces.

The cornerstone of the court's ruling was a decision it handed down in another case last June. In that ruling the court refused to declare hiring tests used by the Washington, D.C., police department racially biased, even though more Blacks failed the test than whites.

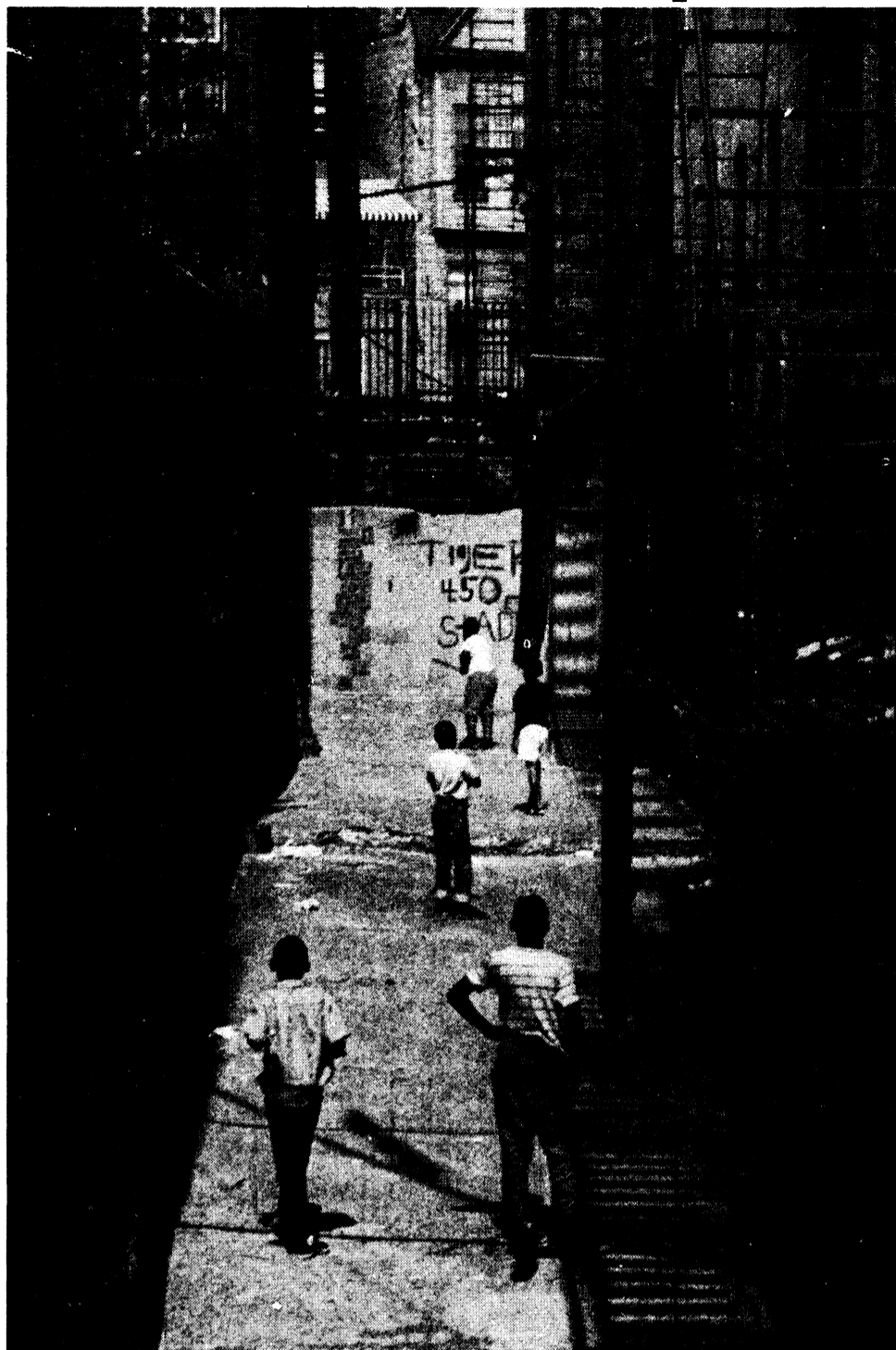
The court said the racially "disproportionate impact" on Blacks was insufficient proof that the test was racially discriminatory. To prove discrimination, the court argued, it is necessary to show that officials *had in mind* a racially discriminatory purpose.

This same argument crops up in the Arlington Heights decision. According to the court, the refusal to rezone is not unconstitutional even though it discriminates against Blacks. To be unconstitutional, the court said, there must be an "intent" or "purpose" to discriminate.

Austin case

This decision comes a little more than a month after a similar decision by the Supreme Court December 7. In that ruling the court rejected a court-ordered school desegregation for Austin, Texas. The court declared that busing should be used only when it can be proved that the government intentionally segregated the schools.

As part of that decision the justices repeated a familiar racist dodge. "The principal cause of racial and ethnic imbalance in urban public schools across the country—North and



South—," they said, "is the imbalance in residential patterns."

From this some might have thought the court would look more favorably on attempts to desegregate neighborhoods. The Arlington Heights decision should dispel those illusions.

Wall in Blacks

These two rulings taken together effectively wall in the Black community. They say in effect that there will be no busing and no open housing. They hold out to the racists the promise of all-white schools in all-white neighborhoods.

They attack the concept of affirmative action. Their effect is to absolve government officials of responsibility for overcoming segregation unless it results from "official acts."

These rulings are part and parcel of a nationwide capitalist offensive against Black rights. Behind this offensive lies capitalism's economic crisis.

Blacks, always the last-hired and first-fired in racist America, are singled out for special treatment whenever the economy goes into a downturn. Today is no exception.

Even according to government figures, more than 13 percent of Black adults are unemployed. And 35 percent of Black teen-agers can't find jobs. Joblessness and the concentration of Blacks in the lowest-paying jobs keep Black communities across the country at the bottom of the economic heap.

Blacks are also singled out for special cutbacks in social services and government programs.

The rulers of this country are out to force Blacks to accept these economic attacks. To do this they have to attack the most fundamental rights Black people have won over the past twenty

years of struggle.

At the same time, the employers encourage the growth of racism among whites to try to head off any joint action against the attacks on workers' living standards.

One of the more astute voices of capitalist opinion, the *New York Times*, laid this out openly. Correspondent Lesley Oelsner said the two rulings suggest that "the Washington [job test] case will be broadly used, both by the high court and by lower courts, in racial discrimination cases in the future—with increasingly restrictive rulings resulting."

However, the Arlington Heights ruling goes even farther than the Washington or Austin decisions. The new guidelines for judging "racist intent" are even stiffer.

What are these guidelines? Historical background of a government's action. Whether the action was a "departure" from normal procedure. The legislative history of the action.

These new criteria are meant for one

purpose only—to serve as legal supports for the status quo. They have the same ring to them as the segregationist's old excuse that Jim Crow was just a custom—part of the quaint traditions of white society in the South—that now and then happened to spill over into a little lynching.

Footnote

To eliminate any confusion, the court explained its intentions clearly in a footnote. According to the justices, even if Arlington Heights had been "motivated in part by a racially discriminatory purpose," its refusal to rezone would not necessarily be unconstitutional. Its action would be okay as long as the city could prove it would have refused to rezone anyway for other reasons.

The Arlington Heights decision is one of the most cynical and hypocritical the court has made in recent times. And its impact could be far-reaching.

Indirectly, it sets a precedent for future rulings on a whole variety of fronts.

Directly, it hinders the fight for open housing and school desegregation.

The decision says clearly to every bigot, "The Supreme Court will look the other way no matter what you do to keep Blacks in their place—just so long as you don't say that that's the only reason you're doing it."

It's no accident that the decision comes at a time of demobilization in the Black rights movement. The major Black and civil rights organizations—NAACP, Urban League, World Community of Islam, and Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU)—have concentrated all their energies over the past year on getting Jimmy Carter elected.

This preoccupation with electing Carter and other Democrats has taken place at the expense of mobilizing the Black community to defend its rights. This helped clear the way for the legal setbacks in the Arlington Heights, Austin, and Washington, D.C., cases.

What is needed to turn this situation around?

While it is good that the NAACP and other civil rights organizations have opposed Griffin Bell's nomination as attorney general at recent Senate hearings, the fight to defend Black rights cannot stop there. This struggle will not be decided in the courts or Congress.

We must mount a massive campaign of demonstrations and protests to mobilize the Black community and its supporters. It was through actions of this sort that the civil rights movement won many of the gains we must fight to defend today.

Organizations such as the NAACP, Urban League, and World Community of Islam could mobilize hundreds of thousands through such an appeal to action. The CBTU could help mobilize large contingents of Black workers and gain the support of antiracist white workers as well.

Such a campaign is sorely needed to reverse the current trend.

'Ethnic purity' in N.Y. too

Less than a week after the Arlington Heights decision, the Supreme Court launched still another attack on open housing. On January 17 the court majority refused, without comment, to hear a zoning-related case in Westchester County, New York.

Several Black county residents had challenged two federal grants to the mostly white town of New Castle. They charged that the grants had helped the town maintain its racially discriminatory housing and

community development program.

Their suit, however, was disallowed in a ruling by the Second Circuit Court of Appeals last June. The appeals court said the Blacks did not have "standing" to bring the suit because they did not live in New Castle and thus had "sustained no injury" as a result of the federal government's actions in making the grants.

It was this Catch-22 ruling that the Supreme Court let stand.

—J.H.

RAZA UNIDA IN TEXAS FAC

By Harry Ring

CRYSTAL CITY, Tex.—The concerted drive by state and federal officials to destroy the Raza Unida party is now focused on killing a community-owned farm project for which federal funding had been granted.

The latest crooked move toward this end was the arbitrary revocation of a state charter of incorporation of the community body to which the federal grant had been allocated.

Two years ago, the Zavala County Economic Development Corporation was chartered with José Angel Gutiérrez as president. The founding leader of the Crystal City Raza Unida party, Gutiérrez is the elected judge of Zavala County, of which Crystal City is the seat.

The Economic Development Corporation won an initial grant of \$1.5 million from the federal Community Services Agency to establish a farm of about a thousand acres.

Last September, Gov. Dolph Briscoe, a major Texas landowner, unleashed a ferocious public attack on the farm project, branding it “un-Texan and un-American.”

The state attorney general then went into federal court to have the grant revoked. He argued that it had been illegally approved, because prior approval had not been obtained from the state.

Froze funds

The court refused to rule the grant illegal. It did, however, freeze the funds allocated for it for sixty days to give the state an opportunity to review the project and express its opinion to the federal government.

A review was made and a negative opinion sent to Washington.

The sixty days expired December 28 without Washington having acted on Briscoe's recommendation to kill the project.

On December 29 the Zavala County Economic Development Corporation was notified by the Texas secretary of state that its charter of incorporation was revoked.

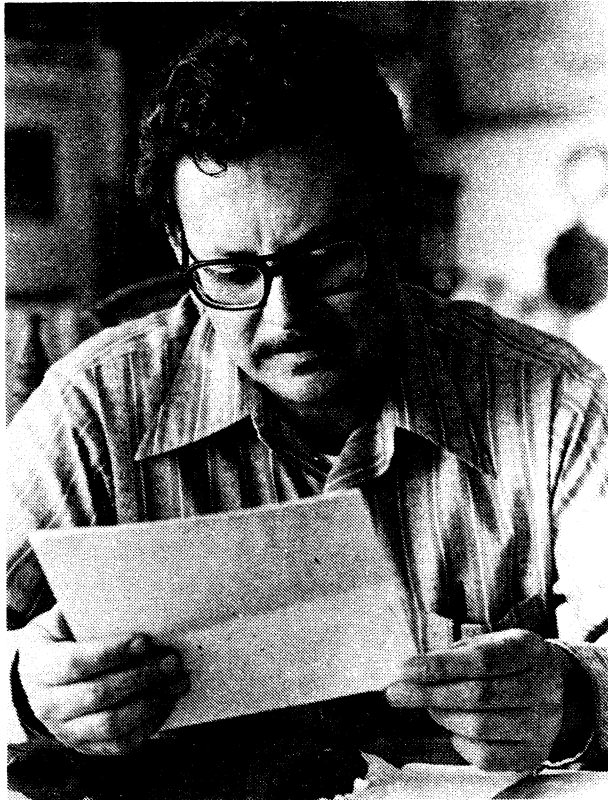
No reason was given. The community has a month to appeal the decision. The appeal will be heard by the secretary of state. If he upholds his own decision, the matter can be taken to court.

Meanwhile there is the danger that without corporation papers, Washington might revoke the grant.

This danger is real, since it is not only Briscoe that is out to get the farm project and Raza Unida.

The project has come under attack from Rep. Floyd Hicks (D-Wash.) of the Government Operations Subcommittee on Manpower and Housing. Hicks has charged that the farm project is shot through with conflict of interest, nepotism, faulty bookkeeping, and “outrageous” consulting fees.

Since the community corporation came under fire, it has been the target of intensive scrutiny by numerous agencies.



Militant/Harry Ring

THEY KEPT TABS ON HIM, TOO. At his home in Crystal City, Judge Gutiérrez reads document received in morning mail from U.S. Fourth Army Intelligence. Cover letter explained it was sent at request of CIA, from whom he had petitioned for files under Freedom of Information Act.

In addition to probes from the Government Operations subcommittee, there have been two teams from the Community Service Agency and one from the Office of Economic Development. Auditors from the U.S. General Accounting Office have gone through the books with a fine-tooth-comb.

Charges unfounded

Despite the lurid charges by Representative Hicks, none of the investigators have come up with anything more than routine bookkeeping errors and the kind of record-keeping lapses normal to such an operation.

The continuing drive in the absence of any wrongdoing makes clear that the purpose is to discredit the Raza Unida party with the ultimate aim of destroying it.

The gang-up on the community farm is but one part of the operation.

For nearly a year, the state has had a Task Force on Organized Crime in Crystal City. So far they have obtained indictments from a majority Anglo grand jury against three former Crystal City school officials on charges of corruption.

The actual charges are so flimsy that they may well not stand up in court. But meanwhile, the indictments make good headlines about Raza Unida “corruption.”

The drive against the Raza Unida is being pressed on other fronts as well.

A group of wealthy Anglo ranchers have filed suit against what they declare are illegal Zavala County tax assessments.

Their complaint is based on systematic review of tax values in the county initiated by the Raza Unida when it won the county administration. Not surprisingly, the new Chicano administration found wholesale tax dodging, with ranch properties substantially undervalued.

Lowered tax rate

By reassessing properties closer to their real values, the county was able to increase tax income, while reducing the individual rate.

The “taxpayer” suit, spearheaded by such outfits as the giant King Ranch, is designed to put the county into acute financial difficulty. Tax payments are already being held back, and if an injunction is

Gutierrez: ‘They’re out to des

In a speech at the University of Texas at San Antonio this past October, José Angel Gutiérrez discussed the mounting attacks on the Raza Unida party. Two of the main points in his talk were the attempts to stop the federal funding of a community-owned farm in Zavala County and the red-baiting campaign being leveled against him and the RUP. Sparked by Gov. Dolph Briscoe, the red-baiting has focused on the fact that in the spring of 1975, Gutiérrez led a Raza Unida delegation on a two-week visit to Cuba.

The following are excerpts from Gutiérrez's remarks.

Dolph Briscoe is making a big campaign saying that a thousand acres and \$1.5 million means a little Cuba on Texas soil. But nobody bothered to ask him what it means to have \$40 million and a million acres. We think there's a conflict of interest here.

Do you know that twenty-six persons—individuals and corporations—own 87 percent of the land in Zavala County?

Dolph has 13,000 acres in Zavala County. He's not one of the biggest there. But he is one of the very biggest in the whole of South Texas.

On the other side, half the families in Zavala County are under the poverty level. They average six to a family and the median age is fourteen.

Why do we want this farm? Our people have to work all over now. We want this farm so we won't have to go on a “summer vacation” picking cherries in Michigan or potatoes in Idaho, or corn in Wisconsin for the Jolly Green Giant.

We're not saying it's bad to work in the fields. Hell no. It's good. But it's bad to work under substandard, subhuman conditions.

So we plan to start out with our farm by paying

\$2.50 an hour. Now that's “subversive.” It's subversive because if you've got one farm in the midst of all those others paying \$2.50, who in hell is going to work for the other guy!

We're also talking about how after a certain amount of time, the workers could put an added twenty cents an hour into a general fund, and they could decide what to do with it.

They could build themselves houses. They could send their kids to college. They could take care of their dental work—whatever they want to do with it.

That's “subversive” too, right? People are going to have the right to decide for themselves what they should do with their money and their labor!

And it will be those who need it. The model requires that 80 percent of the members of the corporation be under the poverty level.

The whole thrust of this program is to put capital into the hands of poor people. It's good old-fashioned capitalism. Except this time it's going to be the have-nots who get a chance at it.

You know, it's costing them a bunch of money to keep track of Raza Unida in Zavala County. But it's money well spent. By the time it's over, they're going to find how clean and honest we are. They're going to wish everybody was like us.

Meanwhile, we've got to suffer through all this—suffer being suspect.

Crystal City is the only little city in Texas that has an office of the state attorney general. Call information. Ask for the attorney general's office, Crystal City.

Government attention

We have the attorney general's Task Force on Organized Crime down there. We've had the Government Operations subcommittee there. Have you heard of them? That's the investigative arm of Congress! Hallelujah, we're important people.

They raise so much hell about one little county judge, one little rinky-dink county. Why?

They've been down there for a long time, checking every piece of paper, every receipt. The U.S. General Accounting Office. They just left.

Interesting. Before they went, they said, “We'd like to tell you one thing. We didn't find anything wrong criminally.” I didn't know that was what they were looking for.

Well, that's behind us. At least from the GAO.

They said we did have some problems—somebody traveled excessively, somebody did this or that and there's no receipt.

OK. We agree. You can't have all your books in order. If you did you'd be suspect. Nobody can do it. It's impossible. That's why you have audits. Audits bring these things out.

But the point is, you're supposed to have an opportunity to correct these things. You're not supposed to be hit over the head for them.

What comes out of all this is that some people are trying to destroy us.

I'd like you to think about this. Why? We thought it was fair to try to organize a political party. We're not talking about organizing a revolution. We're not talking about killing people with bullets. Just a political party. You don't even have to vote for it.

All we tried to do was organize a political party. And when we got elected, we tried to build some houses—people in Crystal City didn't have houses. We tried to pave some streets. We tried to put water in parts of the city that didn't have it. There were parts of Crystal City that didn't have running water until 1973. About eighty families.

That's all we tried to do. I think everybody—within the guidelines of the law—has that right.

Well, some people don't think so.

Like Dolph. Like some of the press. Like maybe Jimmy [Carter].

ES STEPPED-UP ATTACKS

granted, the county will have to borrow money from the banks. It is not assured that such loans would be forthcoming. And, according to Judge Gutiérrez, the county could be forced into bankruptcy.

Meanwhile, harassment continues from a variety of other sources.

In an interview here, Gutiérrez offered two current but not isolated examples.

Why Dolph likes Jimmy

Dolph Briscoe, governor of Texas, is a hard-nosed right-winger. He is also a millionaire rancher-banker. He won banner headlines throughout Texas with a speech to the state Democratic convention September 17 urging support for Carter. He declared:

"If you want your tax money to establish a little Cuba in Texas, to establish a communal farm in Texas; if you want federal funds to finance efforts to destroy the free enterprise system, the capitalist system that built this state and this nation of ours; then you want a continuation in power of an administration that makes such grants to the Raza Unida party."

One of the accomplishments of the Raza Unida administration has been the opening of a public clinic. (The only hospital—privately owned—closed down a while back.)

Every obstacle was placed in the way of funding the clinic and, since it opened, staffing it with medical personnel.

Recently, a National Health Corps dentist took the assignment to work at the clinic.

Shortly after, two federal narcotics agents and a state health agent appeared at the office of the new dentist.

First they demanded to see his Texas dentistry license and threatened him with arrest for not having one. They did this even though the dentist didn't need a state licence to practice at the clinic, which is affiliated to the National Health Service.

Following the license routine, the narcotics agents made a search for illegal drugs. They then left, threatening the dentist that he would never get a Texas license.

The dentist's family, Gutiérrez said, now feels he should give up the assignment.

Harassment has also come from the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

About a year ago, the Raza Unida began classes for people applying for citizenship. About thirty people took the classes in preparation for the INS citizenship examination.

All were notified by the INS that they passed and waited to be called before a federal judge to be sworn in as citizens.

This normally occurs no more than a month after passing the examination. Yet none of those counseled by Raza Unida have been called up, even though some have waited as long as six months. The judge, it has been explained, is "busy."

Four people did get notices from the INS to appear for "reexamination," even though they had passed. When inquiries were made about this unusual procedure, it was dropped.

Suing secret cops

Meanwhile, the state RUP is moving ahead with plans to sue federal and state agencies for illegal harassment and intimidation.

In preparation for the suit, dossiers have been requested under the Freedom of Information Act from the relevant agencies.

The CIA responded by supplying a largely blanked-out dossier on Gutiérrez and the party, ending in 1972. Despite its sketchiness, it makes clear that the Raza Unida has been under extensive CIA surveillance.

While I was interviewing Gutiérrez, his morning mail arrived, including a letter from the U.S. Fourth Army Intelligence Division.

It contained a short file. A cover letter explained it was being sent at the request of the CIA.

The file consisted of a summary of a March 27, 1970, article in the *Militant* reporting on a meeting in Houston of the League of Mexican-American Students that heard, among others, Frobén Lozada and Olga Rodríguez of the Socialist Workers party and Mario Compéan of the Raza Unida.

The army did not explain what reason it had to record such a political gathering in its files.

Commenting on these developments, Gutiérrez said, "When you view the events of the last year in Zavala County, you get the clear picture that there is an organized, orchestrated effort to destroy not only the credibility of the party, but its actual existence."

This goes all the way, he said, from the FBI, CIA, and INS to the Texas politicians and police agencies.

"Now that we're trying to break up their vast landholding," he said "and own some land ourselves, we're getting some very serious problems. It's the biggest crisis we've ever had. We need a lot of support."



Militant/Antonio Camejo

Crystal City, 1970. Raza Unida administration sought to better conditions for Chicanos. Now gains are threatened by Democratic politicians and government harassment.

stroy us'

Why did we make the trip to Cuba? That's something that always generates a lot of interest, because—in a way—we're still susceptible to the hold of the McCarthy era. Anybody says, "He's a communist," man, and you're ticketed for life.

We voted to go to Cuba for simple reasons. The same thing that probably went through the mind of Lila Cockrell [the mayor of San Antonio] when she was invited to China and accepted. The same thing that went through the mind of George McGovern when he went to Cuba. You know, a whole bunch of people have traveled to China, to Russia, to Yugoslavia—and to Cuba.

We were very innocent, saying: They can do it, I guess we can too.

Two travel standards

We found out that it doesn't work that way. We're Mexicans. Mexicans ain't supposed to go find out about things.

I never heard anybody giving Lila hell about going to China. She never got there. But she did say she was going. She accepted the invitation. And everyone thought: "Leadership." "Vision." "Foreign expertise." "Contributing to peace."

But when Judge Gutiérrez went to Cuba—I am a county judge. I've got a little card to prove it—bam! There must be something behind this!

Well, there wasn't. I wanted to go to see what Cuba was like.

I always heard that beans and communism were bad. I knew they were lying about the beans. But I wasn't sure about the other part.

We wanted to see what Cuba was like—from a different perspective. I'm tired of people telling me that Cubans run around like little robots. It's nonsense.

And on top of that, we got to Cuba and—lo and behold—they spoke Spanish. They do eat beans.

And they drink beer, and they dance, and they laugh.

And the kids are *not* taken from their mommas and locked up in cubicles.

It was a varied experience. Some things were good. Some were bad. We didn't like the dogmatism, the regimentation. At least, that's my personal opinion.

But I really got turned on by the health thing—Here we go again. It will make the papers again—I really got turned on with their idea of health.

The Cubans have a fantastic idea. It's radical as hell. They say everybody's got a right to be healthy. And they don't give a damn if you've got money or not.

I liked that.

They'll put that in the newspapers. That makes me a bad cat. OK. But I want to stay healthy.

The Cubans also have an idea that everybody

ought to have a home. Not an \$80,000 home. But at least minimum standards—plumbing, fixtures.

You look at the problems of Chicanos. We ain't got no houses. We've got fallen-down shacks. I think it's a good idea that everyone should have decent housing. Don't you?

Plus education. I was very interested in that. People tell you that in Cuba they don't have any illiteracy. I couldn't believe it. I'm a doubting Thomas. I had to go down there and find out.

I didn't believe there were no beggars in the streets, no people without shoes, no people going hungry. I went down and saw for myself. And it's true.

These are some of the most important reasons we went. But the most important thing was—we *wanted* to go. We had no other reason than that. We wanted to go.

YOUNG SOCIALISTS

Who came to the YSA convention?

By Diane Wang

CHICAGO—"What do you think of the convention?" the *Militant* asked people at the Young Socialist Alliance gathering December 31-January 2. "What impressed you most?"

Almost always the answer came back, "The people here!"

Seven hundred eleven people registered for the YSA's sixteenth national convention. They came from more than 150 colleges and were members of fifty different organizations.

The people the *Militant* interviewed in Chicago provide a picture of what the YSA is doing and what's happening on campuses across the country.

Like many of the people attending their first convention, **Robert Canedo** first met the socialists during last year's election campaign.

Canedo is in his second year at El Centro College in Dallas. "Pedro Vásquez (the Socialist Workers party candidate for U.S. Senate from Texas) was speaking there one afternoon," Canedo recalled. "I caught wind of it, listened, and then went over to the table the YSA had set up."

Why did he join? "I liked what I heard about socialism," Canedo said. "I want to get involved politically and change society, because I'm not satisfied with a lot of things."

The Dallas chapter has been working in a coalition of groups against the death penalty, Canedo said. Last November the coalition organized a protest march to the federal building in Dallas.

Texas has scheduled the execution of Jerry Lane Jurek, a nineteen-year-old, for January 19. So the Dallas YSA is working hard to protest and, if possible, prevent the execution.

At the convention the YSA launched a major campaign to oppose white racist rule in southern Africa. Even before that, though, the socialists had been active in supporting Black African freedom struggles.

That's how **Rhonda Jean** came to join the University of New Orleans YSA chapter. She was working with the Student Coalition Against Racism to protest apartheid in South Africa, and she met some YSA members.

"I saw they were working around a lot of other issues I thought were major problems, like abortion rights and racism here at home. And I knew that the issue went beyond just these problems, that it was capitalist society at issue."

Last semester the YSA chapter's major work was defense of Gary Tyler, the Black high school student framed for murder in Louisiana.

"And next semester we're also working on the national March 25-26 protests against South Africa," Jean said.

More than 250 people attending the convention were not YSA members. One guest was **Ilene Carver**. She is an activist in the Kentucky Alliance to End Racist and Political Repression and in Progress In Education, a Louisville school desegregation group.

Carver said she had come to the convention for several reasons. "For one," she explained, "I think it's time for young people to come together to say 'no' to the decaying capitalist system."

In addition, Carver said, "I've seen the YSA as being one of the leading organizations in this country that has actively defended the right of Black students to an equal education and has publicly resisted the racist antibusing movement."

What did she think of the convention? "What impressed me most," Carver answered, "is the seriousness of the people here. I'm leaving feeling very much that people will go back and organize these necessary struggles."

Andy Pollack is assistant editor of the *Eagle*, the school newspaper at American University in Washington, D.C. When a YSA chapter was formed on campus last fall, he joined it.

When asked what the YSA chapter there had accomplished, Pollack rattled off quite a list: "The campus fired a secretary, in part because she was a radical. We're working on that issue. We supported the *Washington Post* press operators by having a benefit showing of the movie *Salt of the Earth* on campus for them. We helped start a chapter of the Student Coalition Against Racism. We had a meeting on behalf of Iranian political prisoners."

By Chuck Petrin

On January 27 a rally will be held at Central Michigan University to protest the victimization of three Young Socialist Alliance members. The Committee for Free Speech is sponsoring the meeting.

Brigid Douglas, Jim Garrison, and Tom Smith were arrested by CMU security cops October 20 while distributing Socialist Workers party campaign material. The three were charged with multiple counts of "criminal trespass" and "illegally occupying a university building by force." If convicted, each faces \$1,650 in fines and six months in jail.

Speakers at the rally will include Zolton Ferency, attorney and American Association of University Profes-

All that in three months.

The YSA elected a national committee responsible for leading the organization until next year's convention. The new national committee has three high school student members, including **Rohima Miah** and **Rene Fontenot**.

Miah is from the YSA chapter at Cass Technical High School in Detroit. Socialists organizing in high schools have special problems, she explained. There are all kinds of regulations about club sponsors, bulletin boards, fund raising—you name it.

Fontenot faced similar problems at Kashmere High in Houston. "The main thing you have to do is not worry too much about the administration and get the students on your side," she commented.

Terry Payne and Fontenot ran on a socialist slate for president and vice-president of their sophomore class.

"The teachers and administrators kept on coming down on us," she recalled. "But the main thing we did was try to get students to support us. And they did."

That's how they won the election. Now the Kashmere High students are trying to arrange speakers for Black history week.

Forty-five percent of the convention participants were women, many of them active in women's liberation groups. **Sue Finn**, for instance, is a coordinator of the University Community Feminists at the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis.

The group has been trying to force the university hospital to reopen the abortion clinic closed last spring.

Campus women have held a teach-in and picket lines. They met with hospital administrators and attended a university regents meeting. And last quarter they collected 2,000 signatures on petitions.

"The administrators say the abortion clinic couldn't break even financially," Finn said. "It shows where their heads are at. They're concerned with money, not women's health."

Some YSA chapters include more than one campus. The Newark chapter, for example, works at Rutgers University in Newark and at Essex County College.

The chapter's active support to anticutback struggles at Rutgers convinced nursing student **Betsy Cummings** to join last October.

sors representative at Wayne State University; Joe Madison, president of the Detroit NAACP; Rosalie Sullivan of the Detroit Area National Organization for Women; Ron Reosti, defense attorney in the case; and Cathy Sedwick, national secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Telegrams protesting the socialists' arrest have been sent to CMU President Harold Abel from around the country.

"Although we may not necessarily subscribe to the political views of the defendants," reads one letter from the University of Houston, "we feel that their arrests are an affront to the right of free speech and an attack on academic freedom."

The letter was signed by the presi-

And a fight for student rights at Essex led **Talibah Burden** to join. "The school had a policy that you couldn't put anything political up on bulletin boards," she explained.

Burden had fought the ruling because she wanted to post information about a Black frame-up victim. "I'm interested in political prisoners," she said.

Especially after talking to YSA members active in Gary Tyler's defense, Talibah said, she was eager to take word of that case back to Essex.

Mark Judkins is county chairperson of the Democratic Youth Caucus from Waukesha, Wisconsin. But he has been disappointed in the Democrats and liked SWP presidential candidate Peter Camejo. So he came to the convention to find out more.

"The fact that abortion as the right to choose was clearly in the SWP platform appealed to me very much. And the support to the United Farm Workers," he said.

Judkins feels strongly about his positions on these issues. "I still hold them, and the fact that the Democratic party doesn't live up to them—I'm certainly not going to put my faith there."

By the end of the convention, Judkins said he was in agreement with "practically all the work you do."

But he still had a lot of questions.

Juan Bermúdez, on the other hand, felt the convention answered his questions. He kicked off the new year by joining the YSA at the convention January 1.

Bermúdez, a senior at Metro State College in Denver, first worked with YSA members in support activities for the United Farm Workers in 1974.

The variety of the convention topics convinced Bermúdez to join.

"It just shows there is a massive change going on. That's the way I see it," he said.

"How can they expect people to live in this society? It cuts out child-care programs. It hassles bicultural/bilingual education programs. It won't let schools be desegregated. It sends weapons all around the world to fuel wars."

If you would like to join these people in changing society, contact the YSA chapter nearest you, listed on page 27. Or write to the YSA national office, Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

Rally set to defend free speech rights in Mich.

YSA sets drive for women's rights

By Nancy Cole

CHICAGO—If there is to be a movement to fight back against the growing attacks on women's rights, students will have to be a vital part of it.

This was the essence of discussions at the sixteenth national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance. The group met in Chicago, December 31-January 2.

The YSA decided to make one of its two central campaigns this spring an all-out effort to involve high school and college students in assessing the meaning of the new attacks on women and planning a strategy to turn them back.

"Despite support from the majority of people in this country for the Equal Rights Amendment, legal abortion, and the other goals of the women's liberation movement, we are witnessing a massive government attack against almost all the rights and gains that women have won over the past ten years," Nancy Brown told the convention. Brown is YSA women's liberation director.

On the floor of the convention and in workshops and informal discussions, delegates and guests talked about the issues facing women, their experiences in organizing campus feminist groups, and the strategy needed to wage an effective struggle.

"The ruling class has carried out its assault on women in a way calculated to divide the feminist movement and undercut its resistance," Brown said.

As the prime example, she cited the Hyde amendment, which would deny abortions to women on Medicaid.

"In this way, the rulers of this country hoped that the attack would

from campuses in and around Los Angeles.

Mujeres Unidas is planning a state-wide conference March 5, around International Women's Day. It will discuss the attacks on abortion, the growing numbers of forced sterilizations, and the ERA.

"Even though there are massive incidents of sterilizations of Chicanas, there are no figures like there are for Puerto Rican women," Lubrano explained. "It is estimated that between 1968 and 1970, the number of sterilizations at the Los Angeles county hospital has risen more than 400 percent."

In other cities, plans for March 8 activities are also underway. Where no actions have been set yet, YSA members pledged to go back and help initiate them.

There's no question that the YSA's determination to fight for an action campaign in defense of women's rights can have an impact on the nation's campuses. The group now has more students among its ranks than ever in its history.

And more and more women are becoming leaders in the YSA. That was clear during convention deliberations. Forty-five percent of the delegates were women. Nearly half of the national committee chosen by the convention is female.

A number of convention participants first ran into the YSA through its activity for women's rights.

One was Rae Vogeler, who joined the YSA in Milwaukee after she marched in Springfield, Illinois, for the ERA last May 16.

She told the *Militant* about the "momentum" that has built up in Milwaukee around abortion rights.



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

YSA convention voted to fight for an action campaign to win ERA, abortion rights, and other goals of women's liberation movement.

not be seen by the feminist movement as an attack on the rights of *everyone*, and the women's movement would not rally to the defense of those sisters under attack."

"In large measure, this strategy has met with success," she said, because the leadership of the feminist movement, which is tied to the Democratic party, did not respond.

All the way around, it is Black, Chicana, Puerto Rican, and other women of oppressed minorities who suffer most from these assaults on women's rights. Any battle to turn back the attacks will only be successful if these women are in its front lines.

Beginning an educational discussion on perspectives for the women's movement will be important in the general feminist groups the YSA participates in, Brown said.

A big task of these groups is to reach out to Black and Latino groups, such as Black student unions and MECHAs, Chicano student organizations. YSA members will also join in the formation of campus and high school Black women's liberation groups.

Los Angeles delegate Andrea Lubrano described the formation of Mujeres Unidas, a group made up of Chicanas

"Each time we organize an activity, we have more and more people that become involved and larger and more varied organizations.

"We're planning an abortion rights speak-out for January 22, and it should be dynamite!"

The May 16 ERA action had an impact on another convention participant—Barbara Katz, a student at Philadelphia's Temple University.

She was in the midst of what was the third attempt to organize a women's center on campus last spring, when YSA members convinced her to ride the Freedom Train to Springfield.

"The talks on the train about socialism and feminism helped me see that what's happening with the ERA and abortion, even with the women's center, fits into a lot of other things," she told the women's liberation workshop.

"It was not until I saw a group of people, a socialist group, that had a feminist commitment, that I was ready to make the commitment to join something to help me broaden my views."

"There's a lesson to be learned," the two-month YSA veteran explained, "on how to involve other women in the YSA."

Coalition calls rally to save Lincoln Hospital

By Rubén Torres and Terie Balus

NEW YORK—Hospital workers, union members, and people of the South Bronx community will discuss the devastating effects of cutbacks facing Lincoln Hospital at a public meeting January 27.

The meeting, which will begin at noon at Lincoln Hospital, was called by District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, which represents workers at the hospital, and the Bronx Community and Church Coalition.

The coalition has also called a rally to "Save Lincoln Hospital" for Saturday, January 29, at 1:00 p.m., in front of Lincoln (149th Street and Morris Avenue in the South Bronx).

Car caravans have been canvassing the South Bronx neighborhoods, calling on the community, students, hospital workers, and other organizations to participate.

The Bronx Community and Church Coalition, formed last September, includes more than thirty organizations and churches as well as many student and community activists.

The coalition is demanding: save Lincoln Hospital, stop the cuts, and open Lincoln to its full capacity.

Late last year Morrisania and Fordham hospitals in the Bronx were closed because of the New York City budget cutbacks. A new \$240 million Lincoln Hospital was opened eight months ago to provide much-needed medical care in the South Bronx.

In addition to its own area Lincoln has to cover the areas formerly ser-

viced by Morrisania and Fordham. Despite this heavy load Lincoln has never been opened to its full capacity.

Patient care in the South Bronx has deteriorated seriously as a result of the heavy layoffs of health care workers.

The newly built hospital may even be eliminated from the city hospital system because of further cuts projected in social services. Already Lincoln expects more than \$5 million in budget cuts this year.

Many in the community feel that hospital care has suffered because some of Lincoln's top staff personnel have been appointed not on the basis of their competence and experience but because of their political connections.

City council member Ramón Vélez, a prominent Democratic machine politician, controls Lincoln Hospital as head of the hospital community board.

Many in the community hold Vélez responsible for these conditions. New elections to the community board, the first in three years, are scheduled to take place early in the year.

The coalition argues that the board should be representative of the area serviced by Lincoln—and free from the domination of public officials, politicians, and poverty and community agencies that are really part of the Democratic machine.

The coalition is now preparing a slate of community residents to run in this election.

For more information contact the Bronx Coalition of Community and Churches, c/o St. Anne's Church, 295 St. Anne's Avenue, Bronx, New York, 10454. Telephone: (212) 669-5632.

Chicano workers ice air conditioner plant

By Ellard Yow

SAN ANTONIO—Seven hundred workers, most of them Chicanos, began a spirited and solid strike January 4 against the Fredericks Refrigerator Company.

The strikers are members of Local 780, International Union of Electrical Workers.

In the past the threat of being locked out of work over the winter holidays was usually enough to scare workers at Fredericks into submission. This would have denied them paychecks, including holiday pay, at the cruellest time of the year.

The December 17 contract expiration date coincided with the lowest rate of production for refrigeration equipment. The company would let the workers starve a little to break their spirit, then resume normal production in the spring.

The result is an average wage of \$3.34 an hour with up to twenty hours a week of forced overtime. Grievance procedures, contract enforcement, pension benefits, sick time benefits—all have suffered from the union's weak position.

But this year could be a decisive turning point. On December 15, the Texas Supreme Court upset "business as usual" by ruling that locked-out workers were eligible for unemployment benefits.

Throughout the summer the union had been gathering strength. It had participated in a large rally for the ERA on August 28.

It had recruited shop stewards in every department.

It had elected as officers young militants, mostly Chicanos, who encouraged democratic discussion of the union's proposals.

The members were united around the

central issues of changing the contract expiration date, a cost-of-living clause, better retirement benefits, and a raise.

The company offered essentially nothing, apparently hoping to provoke a strike immediately and avoid paying holiday pay or unemployment benefits.

At a meeting of 600 members on December 18, Local President Rudy Rodríguez declared:

"I propose that if the company doesn't stop negotiating on the shop floor, doesn't stop harassing union members and playing favorites with nonunion members, and negotiating in bad faith, that we go on an unfair-labor-practices strike at midnight January 4."

A roar of approval went up from the crowd. Speaker after speaker agreed. One old-timer said, "I hear people say how proud they are to have worked here twenty, thirty years. But all we have to show for it is tired bones and empty pockets! Now is the time to stand up to the company."

The strike vote was nearly unanimous.

On January 4, the union met to consider the previous day's negotiations. The company had only gone up five cents more on the wage offer and wanted a forty-month contract, not expiring until June 1980.

The crowd began to come forward to claim picket signs even before the meeting ended. Everyone signed the list volunteering to picket. Within an hour 100 demonstrators had joined the picketers circling three plants.

The sentiment of the day was expressed by Rodríguez: "It looks like the company just wants to try us on for size. We have to show them we are united and that we mean what we say."

McBride's 'dirty tricks' campaign

Union bureaucrats fear loss of privileges

By Frank Lovell

Entrenched officeholders in the United Steelworkers of America hope to make "outside influence" the decisive issue in their campaign to retain control as the race for union president enters the final weeks.

Their future rides on the prospect of frightening a section of the 1.4 million members that "employers" and "limousine liberals" are about to seize the union, that if Ed Sadlowski wins on February 8 the union will be finished.

Not that they have given up the idea of stealing the election as they have always done in the past. But that practice is more difficult now because they got caught when they did it in 1973, and because of the wide publicity and general interest in the outcome of this election.

The stakes are high.

The no-change candidate

Lloyd McBride, the sixty-year-old director of the union's District 34 in St. Louis, is the "official family" candidate, the man who will see to it that nothing changes when incumbent President I.W. Abel's mandatory retirement from his \$75,000-a-year job (plus expenses) becomes effective later this year.

If McBride wins, none of the staff or district directors will have to change the complacent habits that come from years in office.

They know McBride as one of their own. He has worked his way up the bureaucratic ladder over thirty years and now seeks to represent the union bureaucracy. He is the right man for the job.

McBride promises not to change the

established union-management relations. He is perfectly satisfied with the Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA) that forfeits the union's right to strike in the basic steel industry.

There will never be any word of criticism from McBride about the way the steel trust controls the industry and regulates prices.

When the steel corporations announced a 6 percent price hike last November at the same time that demand for steel was declining, neither Abel nor McBride nor any others of the union's "official family" mumbled a single word of protest. Not even friendly advice.

Their only response to the declining standard of living of steelworkers is to echo the demand of the corporations for import quotas on foreign competition.

Steelworkers suffer from high prices the same as all other workers. If the steel industry wants to meet foreign competition it needs to lower its prices, not raise them. This could start the idle mills rolling again. But it could also mean a dip in the rate of corporate profit, something union officials like Able and McBride find unthinkable.

Meanwhile, union members are dissatisfied with dirty, unsafe, and unhealthy working conditions. They are worried about the new wave of unemployment.

Many think the shorter workday is needed now, not just a demand to be talked about and forgotten by union officials. They worry about high prices and about the failure of the union escalator clause to keep wages abreast of rising living costs.

Black workers expect something



Union President I.W. Abel (right) yuks it up with a top-level 'outsider'—U.S. Steel Corporation executive R. Heath Larry.

more than they have been getting from the consent decree, which promises equal job opportunity but fails to deliver.

Women workers are still barred from the industry in many classifications and receive rough treatment on the job from supervisors and other company agents. They are looking for union protection, something they have never received.

The long list of membership grievances includes the facts that union representatives appear to be nothing more than "messenger boys" for management, that they are seldom seen when there is a serious grievance on the job, that union dues are too high for services rendered, and that the members have nothing to say about the affairs of the union.

Real union issues

These are some of the issues that Ed Sadlowski talks about. He says the union belongs to the membership, that elected officials should serve the members and not the other way around.

He claims that the unions are organized to protect the workers against speedup and low wages, not to safeguard the profits of the corporations.

He believes that steelworkers must reclaim their right to strike, reduce the salaries of union officials, lower the dues of underpaid workers, and establish cooperative relations with all unions and other organizations of the oppressed to raise the standard of living and improve the quality of life in this country.

The union movement must once again become a cause for industrial democracy and social equality as it was in the 1930s during the formative years of the CIO.

This kind of talk alarms industrial executives and frightens union bureaucrats. It appeals to workers, in the steel industry and elsewhere.

The McBride forces are running an expensive campaign to discredit and defeat Sadlowski. Usually they have a ready-made vote-catching-machine in the union staff, but the reputation of this discredited crew makes many of them a liability instead of an asset.

The McBride people hope to influence as many votes as possible with money and promises of jobs.

McBride's heavy expenses are financed in part from a tax on the expense accounts of union staff, ranging up to \$1,000 a head. Other union bureaucrats outside the steelworkers are chipping in.

At the same time these

bureaucrats—including AFL-CIO President George Meany, American Federation of Teachers President Albert Shanker, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers President Murray Finley, and others—are denouncing Sadlowski as the tool of "outsiders" and "employers."

Appeal for funds

The basis for this change is Sadlowski's broad appeal to labor and liberal forces for funds to aid his campaign. He badly needs money for campaign literature and traveling expenses.

He has received help from such prominent show people as Jane Fonda and Ossie Davis, from economics professor John Kenneth Galbraith, from labor and civil liberties attorney Joseph Rauh, from retired auto union official Victor Reuther, and from assorted politicians in the liberal wing of the Democratic party.

He has been disappointed in the amount of help from these limited sources and says his campaign is deeply in debt. He has opened his financial records to show that his main source of support is small contributions from rank-and-file steelworkers.

For those who know nothing at all about the nefarious activities of I.W. Abel, George Meany, Albert Shanker, and their like, the condemnation of "outside influence" in the union movement may seem plausible. Coming from them, it is bizarre.

They hold high union posts only because of support from employers in exchange for guarantees of "labor peace." Shanker is president of the American Federation of Teachers because he has over the years enjoyed the support of the New York City Board of Education.

He acted as the direct agent of the board in the 1968 New York teacher strike against Black and Puerto Rican community control of schools. Currently he serves the board in acceptance of teacher layoffs and salary cuts to "solve" the city's financial crisis.

As for Meany, he has long boasted of his close association with monopoly interests, Rockefeller in particular, and with the most reactionary elements in the Democratic party.

Old habits

The attack on Sadlowski from these sources is not intended to condemn or discourage "outsiders" in the unions. It is directed against authentic Sadlowski-type insiders who want to build the union.

The union bureaucracy is so in the

Steel campaign notes

'BUSINESS WEEK' MAKES IT OFFICIAL: "Steel company officials have been listening to the union debate with much interest. They prefer McBride to Sadlowski. . . ." *Business Week* magazine reports in its January 24 issue. The key reason: Sadlowski's opposition to the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement in basic steel.

A WORD FROM VICTOR GOTBAUM: Writing in the January 14 *Public Employee Press*, Victor Gotbaum protests attacks on Sadlowski by Albert Shanker and Murray Finley, who allege "outsider" support for the insurgent. Gotbaum is head of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees District Council 37 in New York.

"The definition of an 'outsider' to these labor leaders is apparently quite elastic, depending, it seems, upon whom the alleged 'outsider' is supporting," says Gotbaum. "The 'outsiders' supporting Mr. Sadlowski are familiar names to the labor movement. They include many of the same writers, opinion leaders and political figures the labor movement turns to first for assistance in emergencies. The entertainers Mr. Shanker labels 'outsiders' are paid-up members of other unions. . . ."

Gotbaum adds that he personally "may dislike some of Mr. Sadlowski's tactics," especially his "emotional appeals." But the labor movement cannot be seen as an "isolated institution," he insists, and "all Americans have a stake in its future." Gotbaum concludes that "the rank and file rules in the end."

THE LAST ELECTION? It's been rumored for some time that if the steel union bureaucrats defeat Sadlowski, they will move at the next USWA convention to abolish referendum elections so that no such challenge can be mounted in the future.

The January 17 *U.S. News & World Report* confirms that "McBride now joins Abel in saying that election of officers by rank-and-file referendum may be too disruptive, and perhaps should be replaced by elections at conventions where the national union staff casts about a fourth of the votes."

The message for steelworkers: vote while you still have the chance.

SCORE ONE FOR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS: On January 12 the U.S. Supreme Court struck down the USWA requirement that candidates for union office must have attended half or more of all union meetings held for three years before an election in order to be eligible. USWA bureaucrats complained that the court shouldn't interfere in the way they run elections, but the justices ruled that the requirement has a "substantial undemocratic effect" in violation of federal labor law.

The specific case involved a 1970 election in Local 3489 in Terre Haute, Indiana. The local had about 660 members in good standing—96.5 percent of them were ineligible to run for union office because of the restrictive requirement.

and power in steel

habit of having its own way, doing what it pleases, associating with whomever it likes, and completely disregarding the interests and wishes of the membership, that it assumes all this as its natural right. Any challenge to this customary conduct is necessarily the work of "outsiders."

How can a lowly steelworker like Sadlowski, only thirty-eight years old, the son and grandson of steelworkers, expect to organize the administration of the steelworkers union?

Abel and McBride think this is impossible. They know for sure they are incapable of such an accomplishment—that's what the staff lawyers are hired for. And they assume that anyone else from a factory or workshop is likewise incompetent. It never occurs to them that workers can run their own organizations.

Sadlowski says that steelworkers can and will do the job. That is one of the basic differences between his campaign and those he seeks to replace.

From other sources and under different circumstances, the charge of "outside influence" would deserve serious attention. Workers feel the need to defend their unions against boss pressures and hostile influences.

The best defense against these union-weakening intrusions is an appeal for unity and support from other sectors of the working class, both organized and unorganized. This is what the Sadlowski campaign does.

Instead of introducing "outside influence" it strives to release the union from the grip of the steel corporations and their agents in the union bureaucracy.

The best traditions

In this campaign Sadlowski and his supporters are in the best tradition of the union movement. They are following the example of the CIO organizers in the 1930s who broke the grip of the old AFL craft unions that stood in the way of organizing the mass-production industries.

The CIO could never have organized the steel mills if it had not gotten the help of such "outsiders" as the United Mine Workers and other allies, including volunteer student organizers and the NAACP.

The narrow-minded contention that unions are self-sufficient and should operate like a closed corporation is fostered by union bureaucrats because they prefer to conduct their affairs privately between themselves and the particular bosses they deal with.

If this closed-door atmosphere can be maintained within the unions, the hoary cry of "outside influence" serves to intimidate all critics of the officialdom. It stands to reason that any form of criticism must have its origins outside the union.

How else would victimized members know about the right of protest?

And where would they appeal for help?

Certainly if they are confined to their own union organization and then forced to appeal only to the corrupt officials of that union, there is little chance that anything will change.

But this pattern is breaking down.

New sense of freedom

The new sense of freedom in the union movement—expressed by the Sadlowski campaign—was conditioned in part by broader social changes of the past two decades.

The civil rights movement in the Old South faced the similar charge of "outside agitation." The Freedom Riders of the early 1960s were opponents of racial segregation who rode South in integrated buses to help break down the hated Jim Crow system.

From the days of the Montgomery bus boycott, Blacks were accused by white rulers in the South of being used by self-seeking Northern liberals.

The warnings by Abel and McBride against "outside influence" in the steel workers union today have less substance than the anguished cries of the Southern Bourbons a few years back. And they deserve the same response.

Sadlowski responds to 'outsider' charge

The following are excerpts from a statement by Ed Sadlowski and the Steelworkers Fight Back slate in response to Abel and McBride's charges of "employer" contributions to the Fight Back campaign. The statement was released at a January 9 news conference in Chicago at which Sadlowski opened his campaign finance records.

It is important that we get back to the fundamental issues of this campaign. What is this election all about?

There is a critical need to return the United Steelworkers to a democratic union—responsive to the needs and decisions of the membership.

Sweetheart agreements, such as ENA [the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement], must go. ENA has cost steelworkers thousands of jobs, increased injuries on the job, and is more in keeping with "company unionism" than with our tradition of a democratic and aggressive union.

We accuse: Abel and McBride of conducting a vile, slanderous and malicious smear campaign in this important election while refusing to discuss the issues of unemployment, job combination, speed-ups, and health and safety.

We accuse: Abel and McBride of pressuring officers, employees and staff members for thousands of dollars in campaign contributions. The success of their effort is reflected in their plush campaign headquarters in the swank and expensive Pittsburgh Hilton Hotel.

We accuse: Abel and McBride of abuse of the official union newspaper, union services and thousands of hours of union staff time and resources, in flagrant violation of the law and our union constitution, to support their campaign.

We accuse: The steel corporations of interference in our election campaign on the side of the Abel-McBride team. Statements such as those of Bruce Johnston of the U.S. Steel Corporation have attacked our candidacy. His remarks about neutrality to the contrary, that statement was designed to be a defense of Abel's "no strike" increase-productivity agreement.

We accuse: The steel corporations of interference and of supporting McBride in this election by harassing supporters of the Sadlowski campaign and interfering with their distribution of leaflets and other campaign materials.

On Tuesday, January 4, 1977, three of our supporters were arrested at the U.S. Steel plant in Gary, Indiana, while passing out Sadlowski leaflets.

Steel corporations are breaking with years of company policy by demanding that all campaign materials be removed from hard hats and lockers in a desperate attempt to stop the sweep of our campaign.

We accuse: Abel and McBride of engaging in a lying campaign, labeling us "reds," "communists," "agitators." This name-calling answers none of the problems facing steelworkers. It is a Watergate-style cover-up to avoid the real issues. It is playing the bosses' game—and we want no part of it.

Where we are at

In summary, on one side we have the bureaucrats of the labor movement, pulling out all stops in their desperate attempt to hold back the rising tide of membership anger at the weak, timid, do-nothing policy of much of the labor movement today; and the steel corporations and their fellow corporate interests.

On the other side, we have a membership fed up with the policies of the Abel-McBride leadership of the steel-



Militant/Glenn Campbell

ED SADLOWSKI: 'We welcome the support of anyone, other than an employer, who believes a fair, honest election is our right.'

workers union who constantly tell us: "You've never had it so good" and promise us more of the same.

Abel-McBride smoke screen

A smoke screen has been raised alleging outside interference in our campaign, claiming that we have the support of millionaire limousine liberals. Bull! The money our campaign has received from such sources is but a fraction of the money and support we have received from steelworkers.

We have not received one dime from any corporation.

Rank-and-file steelworkers have given much more than their money. They have donated tens of thousands of hours of *their* time, and *their* hard-earned vacation time because they know it is *their* campaign, *their* fight, and will again be *their* union.

So there be no misunderstanding on this point, we want to say that we welcome the support of anyone, other than an employer, who believes that a fair and honest election is our right.

We welcome the support of anyone, other than an employer, who recognizes that a strong, aggressive and democratic union is good not only for steelworkers, but good for the entire country.

Forty years ago, liberals and progressives gave generously of their time, energy, money, and even walked our picket lines to assist mass-production workers in the struggle to smash the open-shop and sweatshop conditions of misery which were the lot of workers in that day.

Today we face the same battle. Conditions in the shops have deteriorated. Unemployment is massive. The Abel-McBride leadership and their productivity and speedup committees have aggravated the problem.

The incredible surrender of our basic weapon, the right to strike in basic steel, without even a vote of the membership, has seriously crippled our bargaining power.

We have got to turn things around. We have got to restore the strength and respect our union once held, so that we can restore dignity and justice to the workplace.

To do so we must rid ourselves of the Abel-McBride brand of timid, do-nothing, sweet-talking leadership. For too long they have played a buffer role between the steel corporations with their exorbitant profits and the men and women who work in the mines and the mills.

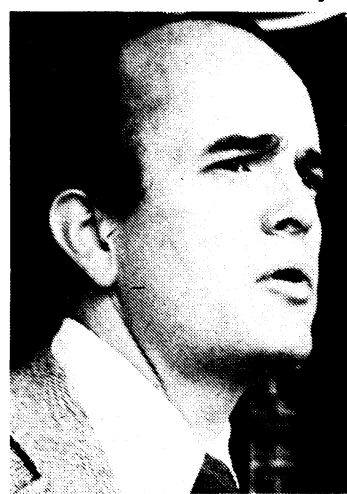
We need and welcome the support of all steelworkers. We need your support in our campaign in the plants. We need your money—\$1, \$5, \$10, whatever you can afford.

We need the help of all fair-minded people who believe steelworkers should have the right to a free and fair election and an honest ballot count on election day.

We are entering the final phase of this campaign. We will not be deterred by lies or slander. *We will win!!*

Hear Jack Barnes,

National secretary of the Socialist Workers party.



SADLOWSKI'S CHALLENGE IN STEEL

What it means for U.S. politics

CHICAGO Friday, January 28, 8 p.m. Lincoln Parlor on 2nd floor of Midland Hotel, 172 W. Adams. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

PITTSBURGH Sunday, January 30, 7 p.m. 5504 Penn Ave. For more information call (412) 441-1419.

CLEVELAND Wednesday, February 2, 8 p.m. Room 364, University Center, Cleveland State University. For more information call (216) 861-4166.

HOUSTON Saturday, February

5. For information on time and place call (713) 526-1082.

DETROIT Thursday, February 10. For information call (313) 961-5675.

LOS ANGELES Saturday, February 19. For information call (213) 732-8197.

SAN FRANCISCO Friday, February 25. For information call (415) 285-4686.

OAKLAND/BERKELEY Saturday, February 26. For information call (415) 261-1210.

Ohio steelworker: 'Why I back Sadlowski'

Bill Waller, a Black member of United Steelworkers Local 14613, is on the steering committee of Steelworkers Fight Back in Cleveland. Waller has worked at Patterson and Leech, a small steel fabricating shop, for eight years. He is chairperson of the grievance committee and recording secretary of Local 14613.

Waller was interviewed recently by Militant correspondent Alyson Kennedy.

Question: How did you find out about Ed Sadlowski's campaign for president of the United Steelworkers?

Answer: I came out to my car one day, and saw this leaflet on my windshield, and it said Ed Sadlowski. I read it. I didn't think too much about it.

[Sادلowski's opponent Lloyd] McBride was in town, and I went down and listened. That following week I went to a meeting for Sadlowski. I talked to him and decided this is the guy for me.

Q: Why do you support Sadlowski?

A: I support his idea to get more action at the local level of the union, to give the local more power to perform the job.

Filing grievances now is just a procedure the company uses to get around the main issues. They constantly violate the contract, and they know you don't have any power to demonstrate or strike or what have you. They say, file a grievance.

I would like to see him make it possible for smaller locals to participate in the national events like the conventions.

We need more money back into the local from the per capita [dues payments]. You have a local of 100 that gets 50 percent of the dues back, but same thing holds true for a 10,000-member local.

Small locals don't have the money to go to arbitration, to participate in conventions. You have to give your votes to your staffman, and nine out of ten times the staffman is not acquainted with the job you are doing on the floor.

We have a staffman now who is a photographer on the international level, and he doesn't know anything about the job operation like fitting and welding. So he takes our votes up there, and he votes for a dues increase, which we don't have any knowledge of.

You have union officers who are not aware of union procedures, how to cope with management. You voice this to your staffman and the director, and they completely ignore you.

A lot of times you make a lot of blunders, and this is all reflected on the union officers, because the men want to know what happened to their grievances.

To me Sadlowski seems like he's not only talking. I've talked to him personally; he seems sincere about changing the union over. Changing it around—giving the locals more authority, giving them more money back into their treasuries, so they can participate on the national level.

He just seems like the type of guy you can talk to. He's not distant. This appealed to me. That's why I'll give him my vote.

Q: Did the majority of Blacks in your local vote to nominate Sadlowski?

A: All the Blacks voted for Sadlowski, as did the Appalachians. The



Militant/Almeda Kirsch

BILL WALLER: 'You've got a different breed of guys coming into the plants now. When they hear Sadlowski, they've got to understand that, because he's militant and that's what they are.'

Croatians were skeptical. But the guys from Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and the Blacks were all on one side of the room.

Q: Why does Sadlowski appeal to Black steelworkers?

A: The issue is just like this paper—militant. They kept guys off the job and terminated them, because they were militant.

They kept those guys off the job a year purposely so they could be terminated. Those guys were militant.

It used to be the foreman would tell a guy to do a job, and there was no second thought. You got a different breed of guys coming into the plants now. These guys are not going to take anything lying down; they'll speak out.

When they hear a guy like Sadlowski come along, they've got to understand that, because he's militant and that's what they are.

That's what it's all about. That's what's happening now.

We had a guy just the other day get a day off for insubordination. They've been after that guy since '74. The foreman cussed at him and he cussed back.

This is what is appealing to those guys. Here's a guy that talks their language. Sadlowski has proven he's militant when he bucked the machine in Chicago. They relate to him.

Q: Are you a member of any other organization, such as the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists?

A: No. The is the first time I've really been out working in something. This guy really motivated me. Most of the time I was sitting at home watching television.

Q: Is there any blatant racism in the shop?

A: It's not open, but you can readily see it in the job selection. I am a fitter—it's a skilled trade. There are only two Black fitters out of about twelve.

A fellow in our shop was fired about three years ago. He was Black and had been there eight years. He was working part time, but his main job in the plant was operating a crane.

He was qualified to be a welder. All those years he had worked there, he had welding certificates in his pocket, but the company never put him into welding.

Then the company made the crane electronic and put him on the floor, welding. He always got the worst jobs. The white fellows would be doing nice, easy work, and he'd be inside of a pipe or something with a lot of smoke.

To me this is like pitting one against the other. You could be doing one job here, and you see a white fellow doing something much easier. This causes the men to argue with each other, instead of working together.

But this guy was militant and vocal about it. He was always filing grievances. They eventually fired him.

The union then was like a buddy-buddy thing. If you weren't a drinking buddy the union wouldn't go to strike for you.

A grievance was filed but the union said it wasn't a justifiable grievance. I guess he's out there in the courts now trying to get his job back.

Q: How have layoffs affected your shop?

A: Last year we lost about 50 percent of our work force. In October of '75 up until September '76 we were working at half force.

We had about 200 guys in our shop, and after the layoffs we had 58 men. We are back to 130, and the rest of the guys were terminated.

Q: What percentage of the layoffs were Black?

A: The majority. What happened is the company had a big copper job that I guess was government sponsored, and they hired a lot of Blacks. Most of those fellows were terminated after the layoffs.

Q: Do you think companies should be required to keep the same percentage of Blacks and women on the work force when there are layoffs?

A: I think this would be a good idea. With women and Blacks, where skills are concerned they were the last hired.

You have to have ten years experience to be a welder. We found this wasn't true. You can go to welding schools and you are qualified to do the job in six months. But these are things that keep Blacks out of the [skilled] trades.

When I went to Patterson and Leech eight years ago, I was about the third Black there, and Patterson and Leech is in a predominantly Black neighborhood.

I have been there eight years and trying to get into Group I yet. And whites who came there three years ago are now in Group I.

Q: How is Sadlowski addressing the issue of layoffs?

A: When the company violates the contract, how do you penalize them? If they are responsible for keeping men out of these jobs because of their race, or women because of their sex, then I think they should be made to pay for it. Make it incumbent on the company.

Sادلowski says the company should be punished for these things, and they should be. They have an equal opportunity thing on the board at work, that so many percent of the jobs are supposed to be held by Blacks and Puerto Ricans. But this doesn't hold true.

Q: Are there any women in your shop?

A: Not in our shop. A woman came down and applied for a job, about a year ago. She took the test. All of the fellows said they were shocked she passed the test. But they never hired her.

Q: What do you think about the economic situation?

A: At the last rally, someone asked Sadlowski about what the slate was going to do about the imports causing us to lose jobs.

Sادلowski said there is no problem there. In reality it's not the Japanese that's causing the problems, but the big businesses here who are building plants overseas and hiring cheap labor.

Last week in our shop we shipped out a job to Venezuela for General Electric. A whole plant fabricated right in our shop. We put it on a ship to be assembled down there.

People are beginning to see that management is playing games with them. People are growing up now. People are not as stupid as they are thought to be.

They are trying to red-bait Sadlowski. This is not going to hurt Sadlowski; this is going to help him along.

We are organizing to continue Fight Back—whoever wins, even if Sadlowski wins. Sadlowski's a man. He's going to have to have his coattail pulled every now and then.

Most of the people I'm working with don't want it to end. I think Sadlowski would welcome this.

World Outlook

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

JANUARY 28, 1977

But still supports Gandhi regime

Indian CP uneasy over tightening noose

By Pankaj Roy

NEW DELHI—Since the imposition of a state of emergency on June 25, 1975, the pro-Moscow Communist party of India (CPI) has supported the Gandhi regime's suppression of democratic rights and other anti-working-class measures. The CPI claimed that since Gandhi was fighting "right reaction," which according to the CPI was subverting democracy in India, she had to be supported. The fact that Gandhi herself had thrown bourgeois democracy overboard was ignored.

The CPI did not protest the banning of several political parties, the imprisonment of thousands of political activists, and the numerous attacks on the standards of living and trade-union rights of the working class. Not only did it remain silent on these burning issues of the Indian working-class movement, but its leaders, like S.A. Dange, actively rebuked party and trade-union activists who raised their voices against such measures.

Since Gandhi has now more or less routed the rightist bourgeois opposition parties, the regime has begun to turn its attention toward the CPI itself.

The Central Executive Committee of the CPI, which met in New Delhi October 24-27, has expressed some concern over this shift. The October 31 issue of the CPI organ *New Age* published a resolution of the meeting entitled "Misuse of Emergency."

The resolution states, "The Central Executive Committee is disturbed to find that in some states while the number of communists detained under MISA or prosecuted under DIR¹ is steadily increasing, reactionaries are being released on a big scale." It notes with grave concern the regime's refusal to permit even closed-door meetings inside halls.

1. The Maintenance of Internal Security Act and the Defence of India Rules.—IP

The All-India Youth Federation and the All-India Students Federation were refused permission to organise a rally in defence of socialism and democracy, and for implementation of the twenty-point programme.²

Most significant, the resolution noted, was the fact that the Thirtieth Session of the All-India Trade Union Congress (AITUC), the trade union federation dominated by the CPI, was not allowed to hold its open session at Jamshedpur. And it was only after a great deal of reluctance that the regime agreed to withdraw its condition that no delegate could criticise any policy of the government in the AITUC's closed-door delegates' session.

The CPI has at last conceded that press censorship is now more or less directed against the press of the left while the rightist press is allowed more freedom. The CPI seems to have finally realised that there is truth in the increasing number of reports of high-handedness by officials, of harassment of innocent people, of collusion of officials with landlords, moneylenders, and hoarders, and of repression against landless peasants and sharecroppers. A separate resolution on "coercive methods in family planning programme" was also adopted at the meeting.

This resolution on the emergency marks a subtle shift by the CPI from total and unconditional support of the emergency to a critical approach—however limited—toward it. But it is not total opposition. Nor can it be. The CPI's support to the Gandhi regime satisfies the current needs of the Soviet bureaucracy toward this area. Gandhi

2. Gandhi demagogically announced a twenty-point economic program shortly after the declaration of the state of emergency. The program promised to distribute surplus land to landless peasants, abolish bonded labor, make income tax reforms, and bring down prices.—IP



C. Barsotti

is fully aware of the CPI's subversion to Moscow and adroitly uses the CPI to provide her with a left cover.

Although the CPI has become disturbed over the "misuse of emergency" against itself, the resolution still refuses to take cognisance of the repression against the Naxalites, the CPI(M),³ and other leftist parties. It does not have a word to say about the political prisoners rotting in Gandhi's jails.

It has not, moreover, proposed mass struggles or a united front with other

left parties in defence of democratic and trade-union rights. Instead, it makes a special appeal to the ruling Congress party "to realise the grave danger that may befall us unless immediate steps are taken to halt the misuse of emergency powers." It does not demand repeal of the state of emergency.

The resolution adopted at the New Delhi meeting still clings to the concept of the broadest possible unity of the "patriotic" and "democratic" parties and forces, "especially the Congress and the CPI"—that is, a long-term perspective of class collaboration. It calls for mass struggles basically to forge such a unity.

It remains to be seen how long the Gandhi regime will permit the CPI to raise even such mild criticisms.

November 17, 1976

CP members arrested in India

The Communist party of India (CPI), a long-time supporter of the repressive regime of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, has come under mounting public attack from leading government officials and even from Gandhi herself.

In reply to the CPI's allegations that there was a "reactionary caucus" within the ruling Congress party, Gandhi declared November 23, "Their stand that they will support Indira Gandhi but not others is not acceptable to Indira."

Mainstream, a New Delhi weekly edited by CPI member Nikhil Chakravarty, was ordered December 10 to submit to precensorship. Although *Mainstream* supported Gandhi's "progressive Socialist policies," it also made some criticisms of the regime's curbs on freedom of the press and other democratic rights. The journal closed down December 28 rather than submit to censorship.

The CPI defied Gandhi's ban on all public demonstrations by calling for protests around the country January 1 against rising prices. CPI

General Secretary C. Rajeshwar Rao made it clear, however, that the day of protests "was not for confrontation with the government, but to bring people's pressure on the government to implement its own policies and to redeem the pledges the Congress leadership had given to the people."

On the eve of the scheduled protests, about seventy CPI organizers in the state of Uttar Pradesh were arrested. The following day, a CPI representative said that several dozen more CPI members were arrested for participating in the protest marches.

Despite the serious danger that Gandhi may move to suppress the CPI as she has most of the opposition parties, the CPI refused to draw the obvious lessons from the arrests and the public attacks. A "senior party official" cited in a December 31 Associated Press dispatch from New Delhi said, "We are not interpreting the arrests as a planned, coordinated crackdown on our party, but just as a preventive measure by local government officials."



INDIRA GANDHI WITH BREZHNEV: CPI's support to the Gandhi regime satisfies the current needs of the Soviet bureaucracy in India.

...E. Europe: crisis of Stalinism continues to sharpen

Continued from page 24

many Stalinist parties in West Europe to criticize some of the violations of democratic rights in East Europe that they covered up for previously.

At the same time, the Kremlin is prepared to allow the West European CPs more leeway for criticism than before. It has hoped that the détente and easing of the Cold War would enable the European CPs to gain influence that would in turn reinforce the détente itself.

The shift in the Kremlin's attitude is particularly noticeable in the case of the Spanish CP. In an article in the February 1974 *Partiinaiia Zhizn*, the Soviet leaders launched a violent attack on the Spanish leadership, which had criticized Moscow for sacrificing the needs of the world working class to its own interests as a great power. A superloyal Stalinist group was even encouraged to split. However, during the preparation of the East Berlin summit of CPs in June 1976, the rift was smoothed over. The Spanish and Italian CP leaders in particular were allowed to be the stars of the affair, upstaging even Brezhnev, despite the fact that in accordance with Stalinist protocol his report was substantially longer.

The Soviet leaders hailed the electoral gains of the Italian CP in the June elections. These gains followed a campaign in which the Italian pro-Moscow Stalinists went so far as to say that the possibilities for building democratic socialism in Italy were safeguarded by membership in NATO.

Weakened grip

The tendency for the various national bureaucracies to be pulled apart by different national interests has also weakened the Soviet bureaucracy's grip on the parties and regimes historically dependent on it. For example, the Yugoslav and Romanian regimes have protected parties that go beyond what the Kremlin is prepared to allow in the way of independence, as in the case of the "interior" faction of the Greek CP. They have helped to prevent meetings of European CPs from condemning Peking, even though it openly allies itself with imperialism against the USSR.

The West European CPs' attempts to disassociate themselves from Stalinist repression has resulted in wider recruitment and electoral gains. But it



ITALIAN CP DEMONSTRATION: One consequence of rise of Euro-Communism is that pressure of aspirations of West European workers for a democratic socialist system is being transmitted into the heart of Stalinism itself.

has also undermined the dogmatic defenses of Stalinism, including in the USSR.

The French CP's criticism of the persecution of the left-wing Ukrainian dissident Leonid Plyushch was clearly a major factor in winning his release from a psychiatric prison. His exile was a much less grave form of victimization and involved serious problems for the Kremlin. This is the first well-known case since the expulsion of Trotsky in which the Kremlin has allowed a Marxist antibureaucratic fighter to go abroad and make his views known. It is also one of the first cases since the great purges of active collaboration between antibureaucratic fighters in the Stalinist countries and revolutionists in the capitalist world.

Trotskyists played a key role in building the campaign for Plyushch's release. And he in turn, since his ouster, has helped to clarify the nature of the dissident movement and draw left forces into the campaign against bureaucratic repression.

The political defeat for the Kremlin represented by Plyushch's release and the publicizing of his views in the West was followed up by a real shock to the Soviet bureaucracy. In Paris on October 21, Soviet press correspondents could see representatives of the French CP share a public platform with Plyushch and former members of the Dubcek government who were driven into exile by Soviet tanks. They all spoke in support of political prisoners in the Stalinized workers states, including Vladimir Bukovsky in the USSR.

Debate repression in USSR

After failing to report this incident in the USSR for a week, the Soviet authorities finally published a long article by the first deputy minister of justice, responding to the charges of political repression in the USSR. Even then, they did so only in *Literaturnaia Gazeta*, a weekly with a relatively restricted circulation. The tone was extremely violent, but in their arguments the bureaucrats only got themselves further entangled. (See *IP*, November 22, p. 1658.)

Despite the angry reaction of the Soviet bureaucracy, apparently intended as a warning, the French CP's leading intellectual, Jean Elleinstein, went further. He said in a public debate November 24 that the Kremlin had invaded Czechoslovakia because it was afraid of the impact an experi-

ment in democratic socialism would have on its own people.

Nonetheless, the December 3 *Pravda* carried an article pointing with pride to the electoral gains of the French CP.

One of the consequences of the Euro-Communist maneuver is that the pressure of the aspirations of the West European workers for a democratic socialist system is being transmitted into the heart of Stalinism itself.

Wolf Biermann

Since the emergence of Euro-Communism has brought an assist to the hard-pressed antibureaucratic fighters, it would not be surprising if there were a tendency among them to have illusions about how far this "democratic" turn will go. Such illusions are most clearly expressed by the East German poet, Wolf Biermann.

Nonetheless, in his first interview in *Der Spiegel* after being deprived of his citizenship in mid-November, Biermann put Euro-Communism in a broader perspective: "This change has had a profound impact on the reality in the German Democratic Republic and on the people there. It also represents the dialectic of a historical process. The Stalinist faction in the GDR both builds socialism and obstructs it—both at the same time. It inspires socialist hopes it does not fulfill."

Biermann was allowed to go on a concert tour of West Germany following a mass campaign that won broad support in the West German labor movement. The formal invitation came from I.G. Metall, the country's biggest union. This campaign started at Bochum University in the Rhineland at a rally against political blacklisting. A CP singer refused to support Biermann's right to perform. In response, socialist students started a campaign to bring Biermann to the university as a symbol of opposition to all political repression.

Once Biermann was in the West, the bureaucracy deprived him of his citizenship. He was a very poor choice of target for such a measure. He is an outspoken defender of Marxism and his views are well-known. It cannot be maintained that the bourgeois forces in West Germany are friendly to him. Moreover, in a country that is fundamentally one, although divided by different social systems and heavily guarded borders, it is impossible to conceal the facts about Biermann from the East German people.

By choosing this way to get rid of

Biermann, the East German bureaucracy only highlighted him more as the symbol of the socialist traditions and aspirations of the German working class as a whole. The action also provoked public dissent in East Germany on a scale unknown since the spontaneous workers rebellion in 1953.

Yugoslavia

The most advanced model of reform in the context of bureaucratic rule, the Tito regime in Yugoslavia, continued to lose luster rapidly. The fading of hopes that the regime can solve the country's problems is reflected by steadily hardening bureaucratic repression. The year opened with the trial of a lawyer accused of spreading false information about the country (in his defense of a man accused of disparaging its economic development), and with the trial of a number of ethnic Albanians accused of seeking to break from the Yugoslav federation to join Albania.

Since Yugoslavia has the most extensive relations with capitalism, it threatens to suffer most from the deepening capitalist economic crisis.

The Yugoslav Stalinist regime has been unable even to narrow the economic gap between the different republics in the federation, which are on very disparate levels of development. Despite heavy federal investment in the more backward republics, this gap is growing. So, too, are national antagonisms among the various nationalities of the federation. The Albanian minority represents perhaps the most explosive problem.

However, the greatest factor of instability in the Balkans at the moment is uncertainty about what will happen after Tito dies. With his latest illnesses, the dictatorship has entered a crisis of mortality similar to the last months before Franco's death in Spain.

In 1976, the manifold contradictions of the Stalinist bureaucracy took more acute forms. At the same time, the international struggle for socialism is beginning more and more to leap over the various walls set up by the bureaucrats. There was clear progress toward developing direct links between the socialist and workers movement in the capitalist countries and the antibureaucratic movement for workers democracy in East Europe.



LEONID PLYUSHCH

Lutte Ouvrière



WOLF BIERMANN

Poet punished for his writings

S. Korea jails Kim Chi Ha

Kim Chi Ha, an internationally-known South Korean poet and opponent of the Park dictatorship, was sentenced to seven years in prison December 31. Presiding Judge Shim Hoon Jung found him guilty under the country's notorious anti-Communist laws, claiming that his writings proved that he was aiding and encouraging the North Korean regime.

Kim's mother, Chung Kuum Sung, told reporters in the courthouse corridor that her son "is in prison because of Mr. Park's dictatorial government."

Since 1970, Kim has been arrested four times for his defiant writings, in which he criticized corruption, social inequality, and Park's undemocratic rule. In July 1974, he was sentenced to death by a military tribunal, but international protests forced Park to commute the sentence to life imprisonment. In February 1975, he was released on conditional amnesty.

Despite threats to reimprison him, Kim published a series of articles describing the methods of torture used by the Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA). He also denounced the trial of twenty-two alleged members of the outlawed People's Revolutionary party (PRP) as a frame-up. (Eight of the defendants in that case were later executed.) In March 1975, the KCIA rearrested him, charging him with aiding the PRP and being "a Commu-

nist who infiltrated the Catholic church." The earlier life sentence was reinstated.

In order to "prove" its charges against Kim, the regime produced a written "confession" from him claiming that he was a "Communist." But in



KIM CHI HA

Sekai Kakumei

August 1975 Kim smuggled a 12,000 word "Declaration of Conscience" out of prison denying that he was a Communist and repudiating the "confession." Several students and at least one priest are serving prison terms for distributing the declaration.

...Sri Lanka strikes

Continued from page 24

Seven trade unions sent a letter to Bandaranaike in support of the railway workers, according to the December 31 *Ceylon Daily News*. The Colombo daily paraphrased the letter as stating, "The governments policy of refusing to negotiate with representatives of striking workers and of trying to break strikes with the assistance of the leaderships of trade unions that are not on strike and are in collaboration with the government is the real cause of the present crisis. . . ."

One of the signers of the letter was Bala Tampoe, the general secretary of the Ceylon Mercantile Union and a central leader of the Revolutionary Marxist party, Sri Lanka section of the Fourth International.

The Bandaranaike regime viewed the strike as a serious threat. After an emergency meeting December 28, the government launched a major public relations campaign designed to slander the strikers as "saboteurs" and to isolate them from the rest of the working class.

In a country-wide broadcast December 29, Bandaranaike charged that "a small group of workers" was holding "the rest of the country to ransom." She blamed the strikers for shortages of food and fuel in several parts of the country.

She threatened dire consequences: "If they continue in their strike, the Government, as it cannot allow the public to be inconvenienced any more, will have no alternative but to take such measures as are necessary to preserve law and order and maintain the services that are essential for the life of the community."

Bandaranaike's strident response to the strikes reflects a deep concern over the possibility of even greater mass struggles in 1977. The coming year, during which general elections are

scheduled, could be a major test of her regime's stability.

Despite the government's slander campaign and efforts to break the strikes, more workers in other sectors continued to join the work stoppages. The Samastha Lanka Viduli Sandashaya Engineeru Kamkaru Sangamaya (Telephone Engineering Workers Union) began a strike December 30. The lighthouse workers at Colombo Port struck the following day; and workers at the fishery harbors of Galle and Mirissa walked off their jobs. By the first week of January, the strike threatened to spread to postal, bus, and other government employees.

In an effort to crush the strikes before they escaped control, Bandaranaike invoked new emergency powers January 5, ordering railway workers, doctors, and other employees to return to work by the next day or face possible imprisonment of up to five years and confiscation of property.



SIRIMAVO BANDARANAIKE

World news notes

South African Blacks sentenced

Nine leaders of the Black Consciousness movement in South Africa were sentenced to prison terms December 21. They were defendants in the longest trial ever held under the draconian Terrorism Act and had been charged with conspiring to "transform the State by unconstitutional, revolutionary and/or violent means."

The nine Black activists, who were members of the South African Students Organisation (SASO) and of the Black People's Convention (BPC), were found guilty on only two of the thirteen counts they were charged with. In his 260-page judgment, Justice Wessel Boshoff found them guilty of a "conspiratorial agreement" to bring about a "total change in South Africa by total involvement of the black communities." The only "evidence" brought against the defendants in the course of the seventeen-month trial was their speeches and writings.

Sentenced to six years in prison were Sathasivan "Saths" Cooper, former BPC public relations officer; Muntu Myeza, former national president and general secretary of the SASO; Mosiuoa Lekota, former SASO permanent organizer; Aubrey Mokoape, former BPC chairman in Durban; Nkwenkwe Nkomo, former BPC permanent organizer; and Pandelani Nefolohodwe, former SASO president.

The three defendants receiving five-year terms were Zitulele Cindi, former BPC general secretary; Strinivasa Moodley, former SASO publications director; and Kaunda Sedibe, former president of the Students Representative Council at the University of the North in Turfloop.

Five dissidents arrested in Prague

Czechoslovak authorities have detained at least five dissident intellectuals following the publication in several West European newspapers of a manifesto in support of democratic rights. The manifesto was signed by 241 prominent Czechoslovak citizens.

Rude Pravo, the Czechoslovak Communist party newspaper, warned January 7 that "those who lie on the rails to stop the train of history" must expect to get their legs cut off. Dissident sources reported that police picked up Vaclav Havel, one of Czechoslovakia's best-known playwrights; Frantisek Pavlicek, director of Prague's Vinohrady Theater; and the writers Ludvik Vaculik, Pavel Landovsky, and Zdenek Urbanik.

All five were released after questioning, but Havel was rearrested January 7. The playwright was characterized in *Rude Pravo* as the "son of a millionaire who has never forgiven the working class."

The Prague regime has been conducting a campaign to associate demands for democratic rights with imperialist forces. *Rude Pravo* charged that dissident petitions "are in fact commissioned by anti-Communist and Zionist centers and published by the most reactionary information media."

Leniency shown Portuguese fascists

António Domingues, a former member of the Portuguese political police under the Salazar regime, was sentenced January 5 for the murder of a Communist artist. The military court trying Domingues found that he had indeed shot and killed José Dias Coelho, a sculptor, in December 1961. But, the court ruled, there was no proof of "intent to kill." Domingues got off with a three-and-one-half-year sentence.

The Dias Coelho case was only the latest example of the leniency of the military courts to the former secret police. Thirteen of the officers and agents of the political police tried since December have been set free, even though they were found guilty, because they had served their sentences in pretrial detention. One was acquitted.

Social Democratic Prime Minister Mário Soares insisted January 6 that the courts were independent, and that there was nothing he could do about their attitude. "As a private citizen, however," he declared in the face of mounting indignation, "I think the mild sentence in the Dias Coelho case is shameful and shocking to anti-Fascist public opinion."

Press restrictions in Peru

In a New Year decree, the Peruvian military regime headed by Gen. Francisco Morales Bermúdez announced that it would lift a ban on seven private magazines that had been closed down by the previous military government. The move, however, was not without certain conditions.

All seven publications have agreed to "respect . . . the honor of individuals and . . . the guiding institutions of the country as well as . . . public morality and the achievement of national objectives." There was no public explanation of what this would mean in practice.

Peruvian Trotskyist murdered

Fernando Lozano Menéndez, a twenty-two-year-old student at the Catholic University in Lima, was murdered by Peruvian police November 27. Lozano, a member of the Frente Izquierda Revolucionaria (FIR—Front of the Revolutionary Left), a sympathizing section of the Fourth International, had been arrested by the police on November 26. He was taken to a hospital the following day after suffering what the minister of the interior called "a sudden illness." According to the government, Lozano died of a "pulmonary seizure."

Lozano's death following his "interrogation" by the police provoked a protest signed by nineteen trade unions and trade-union federations. The protest said, in part, "We demand the investigation and clarification of the facts of the case, whatever their consequences, and exemplary punishment for those responsible for this crime." Protests were also organized by students at the Catholic University.

Bureaucracy shaken by 1976 Polish upsurge

East Europe: crisis of Stalinism continues to deepen

By Gerry Foley

[The following article appeared in the "1976 in Review" issue of *Intercontinental Press* dated December 27, 1976.]

In 1976, the world capitalist crisis gave an additional push to the deepening crisis of the Stalinist regimes in Eastern Europe. In Poland, it played an important role in touching off a new mass workers' rebellion against the bureaucracy.

Ironically, the most powerful revolutionary explosion that the world capitalist crisis and the resulting cutbacks in living standards helped to touch off came in a Stalinized workers state, Poland, and not in a capitalist country.

Among other things, rising prices on the world market and sharpening competition in international trade played an important role in convincing the Polish bureaucracy to risk imposing higher prices for food. This decision provoked a spontaneous general strike throughout the country that brought Poland to the verge of insurrection. The Gierk government headed off a full-scale confrontation only by surrendering to the demands of the strikers.

Although the regime's retreat restored the appearance of stability, the Stalinist system has been shaken to its roots. Following the Baltic port rebellions in 1970 the bureaucracy was never able to regain full totalitarian control over the workers in the plants. The June general strike further weakened the bureaucratic grip. For the first time since the establishment of the Stalinist dictatorship, the bureaucrats have had to accept open public opposition.

Public opposition

The Committee to Support Worker Victims of the Repression functions openly. Its leaders are known. It has collected money for the families of workers fired for their participation in the strike. A fourth of the work force at the giant Ursus factory outside Warsaw has signed a public protest against the victimization of their jobmates. Defiance of the dictatorship, which remained diffuse and confined to immediate economic issues after 1970, has taken on political expression.



TANKS SUPPRESSING 1971 WORKERS' STRIKES IN POLAND: 1976 showed that glow of reforms instituted after Baltic port rebellions has begun to fade.

The most prominent intellectuals and writers in Poland, who head the Committee to Support Worker Victims of the Repression, have given expression to the aspirations of the workers, and they speak in the name of revolutionary principles. For example, in an open letter addressed to the workers jailed and fired, Jerzy Andrzejewski, leading Polish novelist in the postwar period, said: "I want you to know that there are people in Poland who have become immune to the lies, who can still tell truth from falsehood. I want you to know that there are people in this country who see you persecuted workers not only as the defenders of a just cause, but above all as fighters for genuine socialist democracy."

The formation of the Committee to Support Worker Victims of the Repression appears to mark the beginning of the end of the separation between anti-Stalinist intellectuals and the masses of workers. This gap had been widened by the fact that the government succeeded in smashing the opposition movement of students and intellectuals in 1968 before active opposition developed among the workers.

For a long period, the antibureaucratic feelings of the workers developed

under the surface. Their seeming quiescence caused bitterness among the intellectuals and students who found themselves almost alone in 1968 facing Stalinist pogroms. But the rebellions of the 1970s have shown the process that was at work.

Never decisively defeated

The Polish working class has gone through a longer experience of reformist illusions than any other working class in a Stalinized country except in Yugoslavia. The sparkle of the 1956 reforms faded slowly and did not dissipate until after the mid-1960s. Then it took several years for the pressure to build up to an explosion. The glow of the Gierk reforms instituted after the Baltic port rebellions faded much more rapidly than the illusions in Gomulka's liberalism and his "workers councils."

But in this succession of reformist thaws, the Polish workers have had a better chance to gain confidence than their counterparts elsewhere in Eastern Europe. Unlike the workers in other countries where mass antibureaucratic movements developed, the Poles have never been decisively defeated. Now the Polish bureaucracy

and its Soviet backers face a confident, battle-hardened proletariat with two decades of continuous experience in struggle. This situation was illustrated graphically in an August 12 dispatch by *New York Times* correspondent Malcolm Browne from the Baltic port of Gdansk. He quoted a shop foreman as saying: "They [the government] can't do anything big without our say-so anymore. They try and we stop work, it's that simple. So we are getting more democracy."

If the workers revolution against the bureaucracy is the most advanced in Poland, the Soviet Union seems to stand at the other end of the spectrum. The fact that the Soviet bureaucracy remains in a relatively strong position in its own country and is able to intervene to prop up the weaker bureaucracies is the biggest obstacle to antibureaucratic revolution in Eastern Europe. Even left-wing oppositionists still have difficulty in seeing the possibility of a mass workers movement against the bureaucracy, not unlike many Polish intellectual oppositionists before 1970.

'Euro-Communism'

However, the international contradictions of Stalinism have given a lift to the opposition in the Stalinist center. These are expressed today in the attempts of the West European CPs to gain a more democratic image—the development of "Euro-Communism."

This turn on the part of the West European CPs is partially a result of the world economic crisis. The masses that are being radicalized by the capitalist decline are turning toward the traditional working-class parties, including the CP. This process opens the possibility of official or unofficial participation in the government in a number of major European countries for the first time since the post-World War II period.

However, in order to collect the spoils, the CPs have to meet the competition of Social Democratic parties that offer essentially the same program but without the spectre of the totalitarian dictatorship. They also have to reassure new layers historically antagonistic to them.

The lure of new opportunities has led

Continued on page 22

Strikes in Sri Lanka challenge regime

By Ernest Harsch

The regime of Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike has been confronted with a new outbreak of unrest since late December, when railway,

A January 15 *Associated Press* dispatch reports that Sri Lankan railway unions said they would end their strike January 17. The back-to-work decision was made just before the government issued an ultimatum that "no persons who have lost their employment by joining the strike will be taken back after Jan. 18." The regime threatened to hire thousands of new workers to scab on strikers after that date.

The proposal to end the strike was endorsed by other striking unions.

harbor, and other workers walked off their jobs, crippling Sri Lanka's transport system.

It was the second major challenge to Bandaranaike's "socialist" regime in less than two months. The country was swept by student protests and labor actions in November, following the police-killing of a student demonstrator in Kandy. Nearly 500,000 workers participated in one of those protest strikes.

The new round of ferment began on December 15, when workers at the Ratmalana railway workshop walked off their jobs to press their demand for an increase in their year-end salary advance from Rs 100 to Rs 500 (one rupee equals US\$0.13). Laborers in other parts of the country joined in, and by December 21 the entire railway system, which employs 26,000 workers, was paralyzed.

The biggest railway union involved in the strike was the Lanka Dumriya Sevaka Sangamaya (LDSS), which is controlled by the ex-Trotskyist Lanka Sama Samaja party (LSSP—Ceylon Equal Society party). The LSSP was expelled from the Fourth International in 1964 for accepting posts in Bandara-

naike's capitalist government. Since the LSSP leaders were dropped from her cabinet in 1975, the party has been more critical of the regime and has participated in strikes.

According to a representative of the LDSS, at least sixteen railway unions had joined the strike by December 26. The Ceylon Railway Guards Union voted December 27 to strike in support of the other railway workers. A United Front of Railway Trade Unions was formed.

When railway officials tried to continue operating a train in Dematagoda, strikers stopped it by demonstrating on the tracks. The regime later claimed that "saboteurs" had halted the train by tearing up sections of the track.

Workers at Colombo Port, who also demanded a salary advance of Rs 500, walked off their jobs December 29. The following day, strikers were forcibly removed from the harbor area as the Sri Lanka Navy was brought in to help break the strike.

Continued on page 23



ROSA LUXEMBURG **AGAINST CAPITAL PUNISHMENT**

ABOUT THIS ARTICLE & ITS AUTHOR

Rosa Luxemburg is one of the towering figures of the international socialist movement. During the early part of the twentieth century, she was a central leader of the revolutionary wing of the German Social Democratic party (SPD).

When World War I broke out in August 1914, the majority of Social Democratic parties across Europe revealed their complete abandonment of socialist principles by supporting "their own" imperialist government in the bloodbath.

The SPD was no exception. Its leaders rushed to support the German Hohenzollern Empire with Kaiser Wilhelm at its head.

Luxemburg and her comrade Karl Liebknecht were two of a handful of well-known leaders of the socialist movement of that time who took a clear position against the war and against sacrificing workers' needs to the war effort.

Luxemburg was twice imprisoned during the war for her revolutionary views. She was freed along with other political prisoners on November 9, 1918, after German workers and soldiers—fed up with capitalist slaughter and exploitation—organized councils similar to the Russian Soviets and staged a general strike that toppled the Hohenzollern government.

But the provisional government that took power following the general strike, composed of

the same procapitalist SPD leaders who had supported the war, strangled the revolution at its birth.

Luxemburg was at the time a leader of the Spartacus League, an organization of revolutionary workers who had opposed the war. This article, written shortly after Luxemburg was released from prison, was part of her struggle to expose the anti-working-class policies of the government. Scheidemann, Ledebour, Barth, and Daeumig, whom Luxemburg attacks in the article, were all leading figures in the organizations that made up the new government.

But "Against Capital Punishment" is more than a passing polemic. It is a ringing condemnation of the barbarism of capitalist "justice" and a reaffirmation of the humanitarian goals of the socialist revolution.

In January 1919 Luxemburg and Liebknecht were kidnapped and assassinated by counterrevolutionaries in complicity with the SPD.

"Against Capital Punishment" is reprinted by permission from *Rosa Luxemburg Speaks*, edited with an introduction by Mary-Alice Waters, Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. It is available in cloth for \$13.00 and in paper for \$3.95.

We did not wish for amnesty, not for pardon, in the case of the political prisoners, who had been the prey of the old order. We demanded the right to liberty, to agitation, to revolution for the hundreds of brave and loyal men who groaned in the jails and in the fortresses because, under the former dictatorship of imperialist criminals, they had fought for the people, for peace, and for socialism.

They are all free now.

We find ourselves again in the ranks, ready for battle.

It was not the clique of Scheidemann and his bourgeois allies, with Prince Max of Baden at their head, that liberated us. It was the proletarian revolution that made the doors of our cells spring open.

But another class of unfortunate dwellers in those gloomy mansions has been completely forgotten. No one, at present, thinks of the pale and morbid figures which sigh behind prison walls because of offenses against ordinary law.

Nevertheless these are also the unfortunate victims of the infamous social order against which the revolution is directed—victims of the imperialistic war which pushed distress and misery to the very limit of intolerable torture, victims of that frightful butchery of men which let loose all the vilest instincts.

The justice of the bourgeois classes had again been like a net, which allowed the voracious sharks to escape, while the little sardines were caught. The profiteers who have realized millions during the

war have been acquitted or let off with ridiculous penalties. The little thieves, men and women, have been punished with sentences of Draconian severity.

Worn out by hunger and cold, in cells which are hardly heated, these derelicts of society await mercy and pity.

They have waited in vain, for in his preoccupation with making the nations cut one another's throats and of distributing crowns, the last of the Hohenzollerns forgot these miserable people, and since the Conquest of Liege there has been no amnesty, not even on the official holiday of German slaves, the kaiser's birthday.

The proletarian revolution ought now, by a little ray of kindness, to illuminate the gloomy life of the prisons, shorten Draconian sentences, abolish barbarous punishments—the use of manacles and whippings—improve, as far as possible, the medical attention, the food allowance, and the conditions of labor. That is a duty of honor!

The existing disciplinary system, which is impregnated with brutal class spirit and with capitalist barbarism, should be radically altered.

But a complete reform, in harmony with the spirit of socialism, can be based only on a new economic and social order; for both crime and punishment have, in the last analysis, their roots deep in the organization of society. One radical measure, however, can be taken without any elaborate legal process. Capital punishment, the greatest shame of the ultrareactionary German code, ought to be done away with at once. Why are there any hesitations

on the part of this government of workers and soldiers? The noble Beccaria, two hundred years ago, denounced the ignominy of the death penalty. Doesn't ignominy exist for you, Ledebour, Barth, Daeumig?

You have no time, you have a thousand cares, a thousand difficulties, a thousand tasks before you? That is true. But mark, watch in hand, how much time would be needed to say: "Capital punishment is abolished!" Would you argue that, on this question also, long discussions followed by votes are necessary? Would you thus lose yourselves in the complications of formalism, in considerations of jurisdiction, in questions of departmental red tape?

Ah! How German this German Revolution is! How argumentative and pedantic it is! How rigid, inflexible, lacking in grandeur!

The forgotten death penalty is only one little isolated detail. But how precisely the inner spirit, which governs the revolution, betrays itself in these little details!

Let one take up any ordinary history of the Great French Revolution. Let one take up the dry Mignet, for instance.

Can one read this book except with a beating heart and a burning brow? Can one, after having opened it, at no matter what page, put it aside before one has heard, with bated breath, the last chord of that formidable tragedy? It is like a symphony of Beethoven carried to the gigantic and the grotesque, a tempest thundering on the organ of time, great and superb in its errors as well as in its achievement, in victory as well as in defeat, in the first cry of naive joyfulness as well as in the final breath.

And now how is it with us in Germany?

Everywhere, in the small as in the great, one feels that these are still and always the old and sober citizens of the defunct social democracy, those for whom the badge of membership is everything and the man and the spirit are nothing.

Let us not forget this, however. The history of the world is not made without grandeur of spirit, without lofty morale, without noble gestures.

Liebknecht and I, on leaving the hospitable halls which we recently inhabited—he, among his pale companions in the penitentiary, I with my dear, poor thieves and women of the streets, with whom I have passed, under the same roof, three years and a half of my life—we took this oath as they followed us with their sad eyes: "We shall not forget you!"

We demand of the executive committee of the Council of Workers and Soldiers an immediate amelioration of the lot of all the prisoners in the German jails!

We demand the excision of capital punishment from the German penal code!

During the four years of this slaughter of the peoples, blood has flowed in torrents. Today, each drop of the precious fluid ought to be preserved devotedly in crystal urns.

Revolutionary activity and profound humanitarianism—they alone are the true breath of socialism.

A world must be turned upside down. But each tear that flows, when it could have been spared, is an accusation, and he commits a crime who with brutal inadvertency crushes a poor earthworm.

...Young

Continued from page 3

The government has answered these ongoing protests with repression.

On January 12, the *Washington Post* reported, South African police raided Cape Town's Langa township and arrested ninety-five people on various charges, including fire bombing six schools. That same day, the Pan-Africanist Congress charged that Dr. Nanaoth Ntshunthsa and Lawrence Ndzanga, two Black leaders being held in a Johannesburg jail under the Terrorism Act, were tortured and killed by South African police.

Only the mass antiapartheid struggle can end white minority rule in South Africa. Such a struggle should be supported by students and working people in the United States.

By urging reliance on his promises instead of antiapartheid actions around the world, Young is helping take pressure off the racists in Washington and Pretoria.

...vigils

Continued from page 5

The American Civil Liberties Union and National Council of Churches were among the organizations participating in a picket line January 10 outside the Arizona state capitol in Phoenix.

The Coalition Against the Death Penalty sponsored an all-night vigil in San Antonio that began at 5:00 p.m. January 16, the night before Gilmore's execution. Speakers included State Rep. Lou Nell Sutton and Nathaniel Weeks of the American Friends Service Committee. Two San Antonio television stations covered the protest.

The University of Kentucky Committee Against the Death Penalty held its founding meeting the night of the execution. The meeting was called by the Student Coalition Against Racism.

The Coalition to Abolish the Death Penalty, a national organization, is sponsoring a Southeast-wide protest in Atlanta on April 9. Participating organizations include the NAACP, ACLU, and Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

A spokesperson for SCLC told the *Militant* that the coalition hoped the Atlanta action would be joined by similar protests around the country.

...spy

Continued from page 5

very clearly that labor has a stake in the fight to defend civil liberties," he said. "The union should join with all the other groups in exposing and calling a halt to these attacks on democratic rights."

Lulkin was active in the Chicago Peace Council for many years. She was a national delegate to the Coordinating Committee of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice. She later worked with the Chicago chapter of Vietnam Veterans Against the War.

Lulkin also spent some time in the Young Workers Liberation League, a youth group affiliated with the Communist party. She came around the Communist party youth before the league was founded but was asked to leave the league in 1971, according to YWLL leader Jay Shaffner.

Many earlier revelations of state, local, and national spy operations have shown that informers rarely limit their activity to informing. They often try to stir up dissension in the groups they operate against. And Lulkin was no exception.

Schaffner, who worked with Lulkin in the Peace Council, told the *Militant*, "She was in the forefront of every political in-fight in the peace movement."

"The real political differences that existed within the peace movement were exaggerated and aggravated on

the basis of name calling," he recalled.

Robbylee Terri, who works at the Guild Bookstore in Chicago, also was in some groups with Lulkin. "I think you have to have an overview," Terri commented in a phone interview. "These people were not just gathering information—they were gathering material so the red squad could plan actions against people."

...ERA

Continued from page 6

convince other pro-ERA groups to unite around such an action. Instead of marching, more "conventional" tactics were called for by the League of Women Voters, ERAmerica, the ERA Council, NOW and other organizations.

These groups cited the election of Jimmy Carter and the few new pro-ERA legislators elected in November as sufficient to win senate passage this year. They said passage by the house should be put off.

The only pro-ERA action prior to the opening of the legislature was a conference and rally initiated by the GERA on January 7 and 8. NOW canceled an ERA vigil originally planned to coincide with its women's state of the union address January 13.

Meanwhile, Sen. Peter Banks, co-sponsor of the ERA ratification bill, told the *Atlanta Journal* January 13, "I doubt very seriously we'll see [the ERA] again this year."

He went on to explain that keeping the ERA out of the public eye till the next legislative session would allow pro-ERA forces "time to regroup." Banks, who maneuvered the deal with NOW, was himself responsible for getting the ERA tabled.

At the January 13 women's state of the union rally, Sharon Adams denounced those who claim that feminist activists are to blame for anti-ERA sentiment among the legislators.

She stated, "Feminists cannot be made the scapegoat for the failure of the ERA this year. . . legislative opposition to the ERA is not a reaction to the type of people who support the amendment. It is simply that the male members of the Georgia assembly do not want women to have equality. . . .

"In the past," said Adams, "the excuse has been made that 'wrong type of woman' supported the ERA. This year there was widespread support for the ERA. Some of the most respected women and organizations in the state have expressed their support. The organizations which are in opposition include the John Birch Society and American party. These are the kinds of groups the senate has chosen to identify with."

...abortion

Continued from page 7

have depended primarily on behind-the-scenes lobbying and campaigning for Democratic candidates to protect women's rights, instead of launching a counteroffensive of action that could mobilize women in the streets.

The feminist movement needs to discuss and reverse this course. We need to alert women's rights supporters to the grave danger posed by the attacks on abortion rights. This is the first step to mobilizing the entire movement and our allies in the Black, labor, and student movements in action.

The ERA victory in Indiana provides inspiration and new momentum for our struggle. The rallies and teach-ins commemorating the 1973 Supreme Court ruling are an occasion to begin this fight.

Thousands of women would rush to join a feminist movement that waged a determined struggle in defense of every woman's right to choose abortion. These reinforcements would give the movement new confidence and the power to challenge the government's antiwoman drive.

Calendar

BALTIMORE

SADLOWSKI'S CHALLENGE IN STEEL: WHAT IT MEANS FOR U.S. POLITICS. Speaker: Ed Heister, SWP national trade-union secretary. Fri., Feb. 4, 8 p.m. 2117 N. Charles. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (301) 547-0668.

BOSTON

PUERTO RICO: STATEHOOD OR INDEPENDENCE? Speakers: Andrea Lubrano, YSA National Committee; Maria Morrison, PSP; representative of Puerto Rican Student Union, U. Mass. Boston; others. Fri., Jan. 28, 8 p.m. Cardinal Cushing Spanish Speaking Center, 1375 Washington St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Boston Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4620.

HOUSTON: SOUTH-CENTRAL INDUSTRIAL POLLUTION: A PERSONAL AND PUBLIC HAZARD. Fri., Jan. 28, 7:30 p.m. 4987 S. Park Blvd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 643-0005.

KANSAS CITY, MO.

GRAND OPENING OF THE MILITANT FORUM. Speaker: Dick Roberts, *Militant* staff writer, on Jimmy Carter: *What will he mean for working people?* Fri., Jan. 28, 7:30 p.m. 4715A Troost. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (816) 531-2978.

AN INTRODUCTION TO MARXIST ECONOMICS. Two classes by Dick Roberts, *Militant* staff writer. Sat., Jan. 29, 10:30 a.m. and 1 p.m. 218 Haag Hall Annex, UMKC, 52nd St. west of Rockhill. Ausp: UMKC YSA & Univ. Programming Board. For more information call (816) 561-7384.

MINNEAPOLIS

RALLY AGAINST FBI CRIMES. Speakers: John Trudell, AIM national chairperson; Zohara Simmons, American Friends Service Committee; Syd Stapleton, Political Rights Defense Fund; John Adams, United Methodist Church. Thurs., Jan. 27, 7:30 p.m. Great Hall, Coffman Union, Univ. of Minn. Ausp: Minn. Citizens' Review Commission on the FBI. For more information call (612) 870-1284.

A SOCIALIST VIEW OF THE NEW CARTER ADMINISTRATION. Fri., Jan. 28, 8 p.m. 23 E. Lake St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 825-6663.

NEWARK

CHINA SINCE MAO. Speaker: Jim Kendrick, SWP. Fri., Jan. 28, 7:30 p.m. 256 Broadway. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Broadway Militant Forum. For more information call (201) 482-3367.

THE CONVICTION OF RUBIN CARTER AND JOHN ARTIS: A MOCKERY OF JUSTICE. Speaker: Ed Carter, cousin of Rubin Carter. Also a videotape

NEW YORK

'UNION MAIDS' AND 'ON THE LINE.' New York premier showing of two documentary films. Live music. Fri., Jan. 28, 8 p.m. Tishman Aud., NYU Law School. Donation: \$5.50. Other showings at Elgin Theater, 8th Ave. and 19th St. Sat. and Sun., Jan. 29 and 30, Feb. 5 and 6, Feb. 12 and 13, at noon. Donation: \$2. Benefits for July 4th Coalition and New American Movement. For more information call (212) 966-5285.

PITTSBURGH

THE SOCIALIST VIEW OF THE SADLOWSKI CAMPAIGN. Speaker: Jack Barnes, SWP national secretary. Sun., Jan. 30, 7 p.m. 5504 Penn Ave. (near Negley). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore. For more information call (412) 441-1419.

PORTLAND, ORE.

THE CHINESE REVOLUTION AND STALINISM. Two classes by Fred Feldman, associate editor, *International Socialist Review*. Sun., Jan. 30, 5 p.m. and 8 p.m. 3928 N. Williams Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore. For more information call (503) 288-7860.

CHINA AFTER MAO. Speaker: Fred Feldman. Mon., Jan. 31, 8 p.m. 3928 N. Williams Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore. For more information call (503) 288-7860.

RICHMOND, VA.

BEHIND THE STEEL UNION ELECTION FIGHT. Speaker: Frank Lord. Fri., Jan. 28, 8 p.m. 1203A W. Main St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (804) 353-3238.

ST. LOUIS: WESTEND

THE INHERITANCE. A film on the history of a century of labor struggles. Fri., Jan. 28, 8 p.m. 6223 Delmar. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (314) 725-1570.

SAN JOSE

WEEKEND CLASS SERIES. *Socialism and Individual Freedom*. Fri., Jan. 28, 8 p.m. *The Role of the Revolutionary Party*. Sat., Jan. 29, 1 p.m. Teacher: Harry Ring. 957 S. 1st St. Donation: \$1 per class. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (408) 295-8342.

SEATTLE/TACOMA

CHINA AFTER MAO. Speaker: Fred Feldman, associate editor, *International Socialist Review*. Fri., January 28, 8 p.m. Univ. of Washington, HUB 309A. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum and YSA. For more information call (206) 522-7800 or 329-7404.

THE CHINESE REVOLUTION AND STALINISM. Two classes by Fred Feldman. Sat., Jan. 29, 11:30 a.m. & 2:30 p.m. Univ. of Washington, HUB 309A. Donation: \$1 per class. Ausp: Militant Forum and YSA. For more information call (206) 522-7800 or 329-7404.

...Carter inauguration

Continued from back page

any lingering doubts that business might have about his loyalty.

Nationally syndicated columnist William Safire reported that almost Carter's entire cabinet was on loan to government from the International Business Machines Corporation.

Three cabinet officers—Cyrus Vance, Harold Brown, and Patricia Harris—are directors of IBM. Carter's first choices for two other posts, Irving Shapiro and Jane Cahill Pfeiffer, are also present or former IBM executives.

Griffin Bell, the attorney general-designate, and presidential adviser Charles Kirbo handled IBM's legal affairs in Georgia. Carter appointee for under secretary of state, Warren Christopher, handled IBM's legal affairs in the Far West.

The president's science and technology adviser is also chief of technology for IBM and a company vice-president.

It was no surprise then when "a leading Eastern banker" told the *New York Times* in early January: "The President-elect hasn't made a false move yet in his appointments to the top economic jobs in his Administration, and his policy statements on taxes and spending and other things have tended to build confidence."

The new president's campaign promises to working people will go unfulfilled. Carter, like Ford, will make the same "tough" decisions to keep business profits at record highs by holding down workers' standard of living.

For working people January 20 is not the inauguration of a new president, but the inauguration of new

attacks on their rights and living standards.

The trade-union movement faces big battles in the coming year. Industry-wide contracts in steel, aluminum, communications, railroads, and other unions covering three million workers expire in 1977. Employers will put up bitter resistance to basic union demands for better wages and hours, job security, and improved health and safety provisions.

In steel, insurgent Ed Sadlowski will confront the "official family's" candidate, Lloyd McBride, in the February 8 election for president of the United Steelworkers. Sadlowski's challenge—win or lose—will encourage other movements for unions democracy and militancy.

An upsurge in the ranks of labor could also open up the first serious discussion of independent labor political action—especially as Carter's anti-working-class policies come more into the open.

Beyond the trade-union movement, Carter's appointments of Griffin Bell and Joseph Califano foreshadow bitter fights by Blacks and women.

School desegregation is pending in Los Angeles, Cleveland, and a dozen other cities.

Abortion rights are under attack by the Catholic church and other reactionaries.

Victories in these and other struggles—such as the recent ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment in Indiana—will prove much more important to celebrate than what happens in Washington on January 20.

cineaste

WINTER 1976-77 ISSUE

'Red Flags and American Dollars', A Preview of Bernardo Bertolucci's new film, "1900", with two interviews; 'The Politics of Luis Bunuel's Later Films' (from LOS OLVIDADOS to DIS-CREET CHARM); 'The Left and Porno'; UNDERGROUND, Pro and Con reviews; interviews with Nagisa Oshima on IN THE REALM OF THE SENSES and Alain Tanner on JONAH WHO WILL BE 25 IN THE YEAR 2000; plus reviews of THE FRONT, MEMORY OF JUSTICE, THE LAST WOMAN, THE OMEN, LET'S TALK ABOUT MEN, THE LAST TYCOON, etc.

SPRING ISSUE: HARLAN COUNTY, U.S.A.; Roberto Rossellini talks about his new film on Karl Marx

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America's Revolutionary Heritage

Edited with an introduction by George Novack

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Marxism and the Black Struggle

BLACK LIBERATION AND SOCIALISM

Anthology, edited by Tony Thomas. How can Afro-Americans win complete liberation? These authors, all young militant Black Marxists, prove racism is intrinsic to capitalist society and that a socialist revolution is needed to sweep away all the institutions of racist oppression and economic exploitation.

In discussing the history, theory, and strategy of the Black movement, the authors probe the relevance of women's liberation to Black women. They also call for a political break from the Democratic and Republican parties and the formation of an independent Black political party. 207 pp., \$10.00, paper \$2.45

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San Diego: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 1053 15th St., San Diego, Calif. 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630.

San Fernando Valley: SWP, 13411 Van Nuys Blvd., Pacoima, Calif. 91331. Tel: (213) 899-5811.

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Carter inaugural No ball for working people

By Steve Wattenmaker

A new administration was in place this week, awaiting only the conclusion of inaugural festivities to pick up the reins of government.

The installation of the new president was plumped by Carter aides as a "people's inaugural."

Formal dress at the \$25-a-head, invitation-only inaugural balls, they said, would be optional.

The president-elect would wear an ordinary business suit to the swearing-in ceremony.

Transportation to and from the parade route along Pennsylvania Avenue would be provided free.

But behind the pomp, glitter, and pretense, the administration inaugurated January 20 had neither the appearance nor substance of a government concerned about working people.

Carter's cabinet appointments and policy pronouncements signaled an administration opposed to the needs of working people, Blacks and other oppressed minorities, women, and the poor—precisely those groups that gave Carter the needed votes in November.

AFL-CIO 'disappointed'

How did the new administration shape up in the weeks prior to inauguration?

- **Jobs**—During his campaign, Carter called creating jobs his "number one priority." Just what he meant was revealed when he unveiled his "economic stimulus program" January 7.

Out of a total spending package of \$12 to \$16 billion, only \$2 billion was earmarked for jobs programs and public works projects. Income-tax cuts and a \$2 billion tax credit for business made up the remainder.

Carter's plan would directly create only 800,000 jobs in the next year and a half. By government count, 7.8 million are out of work. The AFL-CIO puts the figure closer to 10.5 million.

AFL-CIO officials, who led the labor federation in an all-out effort to elect Carter, maintained an embarrassed silence last month when Carter's advisers began to publicly suggest that lowering

unemployment would be harder than they thought.

After the president-elect announced his probusiness economic package, however, union leaders felt compelled to express their "disappointment" with Carter's proposals.

The AFL-CIO executive council labeled the package "a retreat from the goals which we understood President-elect Carter to have set during last year's campaign."

- **Abortion**—Joseph Califano, Jr., Carter's choice for secretary of health, education and welfare, testified before Congress that he is opposed to abortion and would work to bar abortions under all federal health programs.

If the courts permit, Califano said, he and the president will go as far as they can to restrict federal funds for abortion.

And what if a woman is poor and cannot afford private abortion costs? asked Sen. Robert Packwood (R-Ore.).

"The federal government is not the source of all funds," Califano replied.

- **Desegregation**—The appointment of Griffin Bell as attorney general was a slap in the face even to Black Democrats who engineered "Operation Big Vote" for Carter in the Black communities.

Bell has opposed school desegregation throughout his entire career. As principal legal adviser to segregationist Georgia Gov. Ernest Vandiver in the 1950s and later as a federal appeals court judge, Bell actively resisted the Supreme Court's 1954 school desegregation ruling.

Rep. Parren Mitchell (D-Md.) charged that Bell had engineered Georgia's "massive resistance" to school desegregation.

NAACP spokesperson Clarence Mitchell asked the Senate Judiciary Committee to reject the Bell nomination because the association had "serious questions about his record on civil rights."

Bell's racist record first came to light when his membership in whites-only clubs in Atlanta was made public. Bell said at his confirmation hearing that he will resign from his clubs but refused to give



any assurance that he would not immediately rejoin them when he left government.

- **Health insurance**—One key plank in the Democratic party platform, national health insurance, has already been shelved.

Any legislation to enact a national health insurance plan would have to be put off until at least 1978, the new administration says, because of competition for federal dollars.

Undoubtedly a big competitor is next year's \$123 billion Pentagon budget. Carter campaigned on the promise of cutting military spending by a minimal \$5 to \$7 billion a year. That promise was scrapped weeks ago.

Corporations reassured

Rather than the "people," it was big business that saw reason to celebrate Carter's inauguration.

Bankers and corporate executives had been pleased with Ford's two and a half years in the White House. Richard Leshner, head of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, said he would give Ford "very high grades" for making the "tough" decisions necessary to achieve the proper "trade-off between inflation and unemployment."

Carter, on the other hand, was a Democrat who had been elected by promising—or seeming to promise—expensive social welfare programs and action to close "disgraceful" corporate tax loopholes. Was business dismayed?

Forrest Rettgers, an official of the National Association of Manufacturers, admitted shortly after Carter's election that he was "a little worried" that a Democratic president and a Democratic Congress might enact "inflationary" programs.

But on the whole, Rettgers added, "We are not as scared as a lot of people might think about Carter as President."

By January Carter had done his best to banish

Continued on page 26

YSA: 'Full amnesty now!'

The following statement was released January 19 by Cathy Sedwick, national secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance.

More than 50,000 American soldiers were killed in Washington's war against the Vietnamese people. Tens of thousands of other young people resisted the military and were victimized for their actions.

The Young Socialist Alliance demands that President Carter proclaim a universal and unconditional amnesty for all those who suffered in any way for their opposition to the Vietnam War.

This includes:

- All those who refused the draft, either by going into exile, going to prison, or going underground. Those who have taken citizenship in another country must also be offered the chance to return.

- Twenty thousand military deserters, a category disproportionately made up of Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican veterans.

- The 790,000 GIs who were booted out of the military with less-than-honorable discharges. Bad discharges were handed out as punishment for protesting the war, as well as resisting racism and other aspects of military life.

- Civilian antiwar demonstrators. On May 1, 1971, alone, more than 12,000 civilians were arrested in Washington, D.C., during antiwar protests.

President Carter has said he plans to issue a "pardon" during his first week in office limited to 14,000 individuals who violated the Selective Service law. With at least 800,000 needing the benefit of amnesty, the new president's proposal for a narrow pardon amounts to an act of cynical, political expediency.