

THE MILITANT

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



What Malcolm X said about U.S. Blacks' stake in Africa

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Wilmington 10

Three say they lied in gov't plot that put Black rights activists in jail

By Arnold Weissberg

BURGAW, N.C.—Testimony in the 1972 Wilmington Ten trial was invented by the district attorney, three key prosecution witnesses at that trial revealed during hearings here May 9 and 10.

The ten—Rev. Ben Chavis, eight other young Black men, and a white woman—were convicted of fire bombing a white-owned grocery store in Wilmington on the night of February 6, 1971. All were slapped with long prison terms. Anne Shepard, the white woman, is out on parole.

Allen Hall, Jerome Mitchell, and Eric Junious—all Black—testified that District Attorney Jay Stroud used threats, promises, and bribes to get them to lie at the 1972 trial.

On the basis of these revelations, the ten are demanding a new trial.

The first two days of the expected two-week hearing have exposed a conspiracy against

the Wilmington Ten that reached the highest levels of state government and included at least one federal agency and the Ku Klux Klan.

Without the "evidence" from Hall, Junious, and Mitchell, the prosecution's case falls apart.

The frame-up was concocted in the midst of a racist offensive against the Wilmington Black community.

The Ku Klux Klan had launched violent attacks on school desegregation there. Eighteen Black students had been expelled from school. In response, Chavis—a representative of the United Church of Christ's Commission for Racial Justice—led a protest march in Wilmington of some 2,500 people.

District Attorney Stroud saw a chance to get rid of Chavis and advance his own political career in that longtime Klan stronghold.

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Carter's anti-'alien' plans threaten all workers

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BLACK LAWYERS HIT SHAKUR JUDGE RULING: Participants at a May 8 Rutgers University conference cosponsored by the National Conference of Black Lawyers (NCBL) protested contempt of court charges against NCBL director Lennox Hinds. Hinds was part of the legal defense team for Black frame-up victim Assata Shakur (Joanne Chesimard) during her recent trial. Hinds was hit with the contempt charges and threat of disbarment after he told reporters that the presiding judge at Shakur's trial "lacked the judicial temperament and racial sensitivity to be fair, and should have excused himself." Hinds told conference participants that he could have added that the judge "was mentally imbalanced and a racist, but I did not."

Hinds also denounced the May 5 decision by Federal District Court Judge Clarkson Fisher to deny Shakur's request that she be transferred from the Yardville Correction Center where she is currently being held. Shakur is the only woman there among 857 male prisoners.

Stanford protests

Three hundred California students demanding that Stanford University stop investing in corporations doing business in South Africa ended their occupation of the Old Student Union building May 10. The night before—as 1,000 other demonstrators looked on—sheriff's deputies arrested 294 students who were sitting in. Nearly all those arrested were released pending trial on their own recognizance.

The protests are led by the Stanford Committee for Responsible Investment Policy (SCRIP).

Stanford owns more than \$120 million worth of stock in thirty-three companies that operate in South Africa. The \$6 million the university earns from these investments in apartheid each year amounts to one-third of its income from stock. SCRIP demands that university trustees support stockholders' resolutions coming before seven of these companies mandating their withdrawal from South Africa.

Many campus organizations—as well as some 2,500 students and staff and more than seventy-five faculty members—have signed petitions backing SCRIP's demands.

In the face of the student protests, Stanford trustees have agreed to meet with SCRIP representatives and to prepare a report on what it would cost for the school to give up its apartheid holdings.

PROTESTS HIT COLLEGE CUTBACKS: On May 10-11, some 400 Chicano, Black, Asian, and Native American students on the Boulder campus of the University of Colorado protested administration plans to eliminate credit for courses under the Educational Opportunity Program. This move would drive many minority students out of the university. The protests forced Chancellor Mary Berry to announce May 11 that the course credit would be retained for another year . . . 1,000 students and faculty members boycotted classes and demonstrated April 30 at the University of California, Los Angeles. They were protesting proposed budget cutbacks that would reduce the number of teaching assistants by 9 percent. The demonstrators also demanded the reinstatement of fired Black dean Bill Davis.

KENT, JACKSON STATE MARK 1970 MURDERS:

On May 4, 1970, four students at Kent State University in Ohio were gunned down by the national guard during a protest against the U.S. invasion of Cambodia. Ten days later, the highway patrol cut down two Black youths at Jackson State University in Mississippi during an attack on civil rights and antiwar protests at that predominantly Black school.

A candlelight vigil at Kent State marked the seventh anniversary of the murders. Kent State students are protesting plans to erect a gymnasium on the site where the four were killed.

Jackson State's class of 1970 was finally able to participate in a formal commencement ceremony this year on May 8. Ceremonies for the class of 1970 had been canceled following the police attack.

300 PROTEST SHAH AT HARVARD RALLY:

A three-day tour of Boston by noted Iranian poet and former political prisoner Reza Baraheni concluded April 28 with a highly successful rally of 300 at Harvard University. Baraheni is the honorary chairperson of the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran. Joining him in protesting the shah of Iran's brutal regime were MIT professor Noam Chomsky; Peg McCarter, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; former Harvard *Crimson* editor Jim Cramer; Joshua Rubenstein, Boston director of Amnesty International; and Ali Fakhr of the Ali

Shokri Defense Committee.

During his tour, Baraheni spoke on Boston's Black radio station WILD. The *Phoenix*, an alternative newspaper, ran a front-page article on Iran publicizing the April 28 rally.

SWP RUNS MARTINEZ IN SAN FRANCISCO: On April 23 the San Francisco Socialist Workers party launched the campaign of Juan Martínez for the San Francisco Board of Supervisors,

District 6. Martínez was born and raised in the largely Latino Mission District, which he is now seeking to represent. The November election will be the first time the board has been elected on a district basis. Speaking at Martínez's campaign kickoff rally, James Bell of the Black Law Students of Hastings College of Law urged Black people to "divorce ourselves from the two-party structure that enslaves us." He cited Black mayor Tom Bradley's opposition to busing in Los Angeles and Black mayor Maynard Jackson's attack on striking city workers in Atlanta as examples of why supporting Democrats is a dead end.



JUAN MARTINEZ

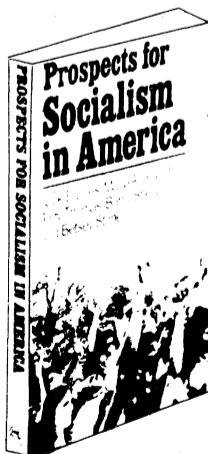
NEW YORK CITY REDLINING: A study by the New York State Banking Department sheds a little light on redlining, the practice through which banks secretly help maintain segregated, rundown ghettos. The study shows, for example, that while the ten major savings banks in Brooklyn get three-fourths of their deposits within that borough, only 11 percent of these deposits are invested in Brooklyn residential mortgages. And of that 11 percent, nearly 85 percent is invested in sections of Brooklyn with almost all-white populations. Only 1 percent of the banks' mortgages are invested in neighborhoods with heavily nonwhite populations. This means that the hard-earned savings of Brooklyn's nonwhite population are used to develop prosperous New York suburbs, while the banks refuse their own customers the loans needed to improve Brooklyn's Black and Latin neighborhoods.

FREE ELECTIONS (?) DEPT.: Reports on file with the Federal Election Commission show that it cost the 22 Democrats and 11 Republicans who captured Senate seats in 1976 an average of \$617,000 each to win. The 292 Democrats and 143 Republicans who won seats in the House of Representatives spent an average of \$80,000 on their campaigns.

—Peter Seidman

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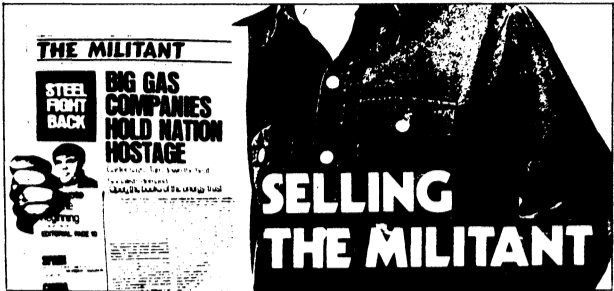
Special Militant sales planned this week

By Harvey McArthur

"We are going to set aside all other activities and spend a whole week selling the *Militant*."

"We have doubled our goal to give *Militant* sales a boost this week."

"With these special sales we will be able to go to



many new plants and help establish more regular workplace sales locations."

Socialist Workers party branches around the country report ambitious plans for the second national sales target week, May 14-20. They have raised their bundle orders by more than 5,000 and plan to sell well over the 10,000 weekly goal.

Many areas will also be selling *Perspectiva Mundial*, the biweekly Spanish-language socialist magazine. Houston, for instance, has ordered a special bundle of fifty-five copies.

Boston is using the sales week to help kick off the campaign of Hattie McCutcheon, Socialist Workers candidate for Boston School Committee. They will

be having a long day of leafleting and *Militant* sales to help build their first major campaign rally that night.

Los Angeles has raised their goal from 650 to 1,175 for the target week. They are sending teams to sell at the big Kaiser steel plant in Fontana, as well as increasing sales in Los Angeles itself.

New York socialists have raised their weekly goal from 1,100 to 2,400. They are organizing a full Saturday of *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* sales at shopping centers, on street corners, and in housing projects, and they think they will sell more than 2,000 over the weekend alone.

During the week, New Yorkers will concentrate on sales at workplaces and plant gates. And teams from New York City are going to the steel mills in

Bethlehem and Fairless Hills, Pennsylvania.

Salespeople from Atlanta will go to Birmingham, Alabama. Their efforts will be focused on the U.S. Steel works at Fairfield and in the Black community.

Joining the sales drive this week will be the Socialist Workers branch in Albuquerque, New Mexico. That branch ordered a bundle of 100 *Militants* and 10 *Perspectiva Mundials* to launch their campaign to introduce people in Albuquerque to the SWP.

Several other new branches of the SWP are also upping their goals for the target week: Dallas from 140 to 300; Indianapolis from 135 to 225; Phoenix from 120 to 221; and Toledo from 75 to 150.

Sales scoreboard

Area	Goal	Sold	%										
Toledo	75	90	120.0	Louisville	100	70	70.0	Houston	400	169	42.2		
New Orleans	200	217	108.5	Boston	520	362	69.6	Atlanta	400	155	38.7		
Indianapolis	135	143	105.9	Cincinnati	125	86	68.8	San Francisco	550	212	38.5		
St. Paul	80	81	101.2	Miami	75	48	64.0	Cleveland	180	63	35.0		
Tacoma, Wash.	70	68	97.1	Denver	200	121	60.5	Minneapolis	300	103	34.3		
San Diego	200	175	87.5	Milwaukee	200	114	57.0	Richmond, Va.	75	24	32.0		
Salt Lake City	100	83	83.0	Kansas City, Mo.	120	68	56.6	Newark	225	67	29.7		
Raleigh, N.C.	40	33	82.5	Washington, D.C., Area	400	224	56.0	Chicago	650	189	29.0		
Dallas	140	109	77.8	St. Louis	300	167	55.6	Pittsburgh	175	50	28.5		
Seattle	215	164	76.2	San Jose	200	110	55.0	New York City	1,100	306	27.8		
San Antonio	125	95	76.0	Albany, N.Y.	75	41	54.6	Baltimore	150	40	26.6		
Los Angeles	650	469	72.1	Detroit	625	322	51.5	Philadelphia	400	70	17.5		
Phoenix	125	88	70.4	Oakland, Calif.	250	125	50.0	Total					
				Portland, Ore.	200	100	50.0	May 6 issue	10,000	5,221	52.2		

Antinuke protesters still held in N.H. armories

By May Cramer

Some 700 people arrested for protesting the construction of a nuclear power plant were still being held in New Hampshire national guard armories as this article was written May 11.

Originally, 1,414 protesters were imprisoned in four armories after mass arrests May 1. About 2,000 people organized by the Clamshell Alliance had occupied the Seabrook, New Hampshire, site April 30, demanding an end to construction of the light-water nuclear reactors there. The next day New Hampshire Gov. Meldrim Thomson moved in with state cops and national guardsmen to arrest the demonstrators.

So far, only twenty-seven protesters have been tried in court. Three have been released—one because of a mistake in the arrest warrant, and two because the state could not prove they were at the occupied site when the cops read an arrest warning.

The convicted protesters have each been given \$100 fines and fifteen days in jail.

'Militant' gets around, but not in

By Chris Horner

CONCORD, N.H.—National guard officers would allow only fourteen copies of the *Militant* into New Hampshire armories where some 1,400 antinuclear protesters were being held.

Various of the guard brass gave different reasons May 7 for refusing to let the newspaper in:

"On what basis do I say no?" said Colonel Boisvert in Manchester. "Oh, just a personal thing."

Major Agrafiotis in Concord said the paper had to be screened to make sure it "doesn't violate the security precautions we have set up for this little shindig."

"They constitute a fire hazard," claimed Concord's Colonel Parquette.

None of the officers could explain why the *Militant* was considered more inflammable (maybe inflammatory?)—than other newspapers allowed in the armories. They must fear the *Militant's* politics will spark something.

The national guard even confiscated copies of the *Militant* from friends and relatives waiting to see prisoners.

One Seabrook supporter suggested the real reason for banning the *Militant*: "Of course they won't let it inside—it tells the truth!"

Militant salespeople did sell 100 copies of the issue featuring the Seabrook protest at an antinuclear rally in Concord May 7.

The New Hampshire court system allows automatic appeal of verdicts to a county superior court. State Attorney General David Souter denied protesters this right, however, by insisting that the sentences be served immediately. Souter claimed that plans to reoccupy Seabrook had been overheard on citizens band radios.

The Clamshell Alliance denied any plans to repeat the occupation. Even the *New York Times* felt compelled to protest the state's move, saying in a May 7 editorial, "The argument that they should be jailed because of an unproved intention to reoccupy the site smacks mightily of preventive detention."

Several hundred demonstrators have gradually been bailed out of the armories to return to jobs or schools. One protester was sent home with German measles. Since as many as fifty prisoners were pregnant and endangered by the German measles, they were also offered release on their personal recognizance.

The measles outbreak emphasizes the dangerous health conditions in the armories. American Civil Liberties Union attorneys have filed a class-action suit in federal court charging that the demonstrators are being held under unconstitutional, cruel, and unusual conditions. The suit demands that protesters be released if the state does not provide better facilities.

The unnecessary and unhealthy imprisonment highlights the vindictive determination of state officials. But New Hampshire Clamshell Alliance activists told the *Militant* that the unanimous voice from inside the armories says, "Don't talk about the lousy food and few cots and bad conditions—tell why we are here."

The antinuclear protesters have pointed out that light-water reactors such as those planned for Seabrook are notoriously accident-prone.

In addition, the Seabrook reactors will ruin nearby marshes that are an important breeding ground for fish and marine life.

Local residents voted twice against the reactors. Only minimal construction work is allowed at Seabrook while the federal Environmental Protection Agency studies the plant's designed cooling system.

The Clamshell Alliance has also pointed out that nuclear power plants tie up millions of dollars that could be used for developing safe sources of energy.

Despite this, President Carter's energy package calls for building seventy more light-water nuclear plants like the one planned for Seabrook. And on May 6 the Federal Nuclear Regulatory Commission authorized the construction of what will be the world's largest nuclear generating plant in Hartsville, Tennessee.

New Hampshire's Governor Thomson has vowed to "preserve law and order" by keeping the



Arrested Seabrook protesters discuss plans in Concord, New Hampshire, armory.

protesters in jail "no matter what the cost."

According to state officials, that cost is about \$50,000 per day. Rockingham County commissioners responsible for court and jail costs are reportedly "enraged" at the governor for acting without their consent. The commissioners voted May 9 to consider paying the protesters' fines rather than the cost of keeping prisoners in county jails.

Thomson has issued a nationwide appeal for funds from "corporations, labor unions, and rank-and-file citizens" to pay for the state's costs. "Our battle of today can become theirs of tomorrow," declared the governor.

That slogan might just as well be the battle cry of the Clamshell Alliance.

Recent protests against the dangers of nuclear power have been held around the country. Rallies were held the same weekend as the Seabrook protest—April 30 and May 1—at atomic plants in Wintersburg, Arizona; Zion, Illinois; Portland, Oregon; Montpelier, Vermont; San Luis Obispo, California; and New Orleans, Louisiana.

Clamshell Alliance organizers are planning a rally May 12 at the annual stockholders meeting of the Public Service Company responsible for the Seabrook plant.

Wilmington 10 hearing

Witnesses: D.A. wrote our perjury script

Continued from front page

Wilmington police picked up seventeen-year-old Allen Hall after the grocery store fire. According to Hall's testimony here, the cops told him they "didn't want me, they wanted Ben Chavis."

Hall said he was offered a brief prison term as a youthful offender if he would testify against Chavis.

The cops housed him in a beachfront motel during the trial, Hall said, and supplied him with marijuana. An agent of the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Division of the U.S. Treasury Department coached him in making fire bombs.

His trial testimony was cooked up by Jay Stroud.

Hall was the third of the three key prosecution witnesses from the trial who said Stroud had phoned their testimony.

The first was Jerome Mitchell. "The testimony I gave at the trial was false," the soft-spoken, twenty-two-year-old Mitchell said. He told the packed courtroom he hadn't even been at the church that night.

Methodical questioning by chief defense counsel James Ferguson brought out Mitchell's story.



WILMINGTON 10: (top, from left) Willie Vereen, Ben Chavis, Anne Shepard Turner, James McKoy, Wayne Moore; (bottom, from left) Jerry Jacobs, William Wright, Marvin Patrick, Reginald Epps, Connie Tindall.

Mitchell, then sixteen, faced a murder charge. Stroud sought his testimony against the ten, but Mitchell at first refused.

Then, after he got a one-day to thirty-year jail term, Mitchell gave in to Stroud's promise to get him out after "six or seven months."

Stroud got Mitchell out of prison temporarily and housed him with Hall

on the beach. Stroud wrote out their testimony and they began memorizing it.

Stroud's handwritten notes were made public here for the first time.

After about a week, Mitchell said, Stroud moved him to a beachfront home owned by Tex Gross, a Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan. Mitchell said Gross told him he and Hall

"didn't have to worry about protection" after they testified.

Mitchell said he went along with Stroud because he didn't want to spend the next thirty years in prison. "Nothing was explained to me," he said, and he didn't think what he was doing was wrong because "it was the law itself that was asking."

By 1974, after two years in prison, Mitchell realized he'd been used. Stroud visited him a couple of times, brought him a radio, and put some money in his prison account. But he wasn't going to get out in six months.

Mitchell wrote to the court of appeals, the attorney general, two governors, and the parole board over the next three years, explaining that he'd lied at the trial. He said he couldn't live with it any more.

Only the parole board even bothered to acknowledge his letter, and his charges were never investigated.

The hearing made Mitchell's letters public for the first time, attorney Ferguson told the *Militant*.

Ferguson read a moving appeal from Mitchell to Gov. James Hunt, in which Mitchell asked for the governor's help.

Continued on page 30

Nixon on TV: roots of Watergate

By Diane Wang

It was a national TV event, the biggest thing since "Roots." Supposedly, more than 45 million people watched on May 4 when David Frost interviewed Richard Nixon. That's not as large as the audience for "Roots," but it was record-setting. The Nixon show was the most-watched news interview in TV history.

AS I SEE IT

When we watched the story of Kunta Kinte and his children we learned something about history and human dignity.

But nobody really got much from the Frost-Nixon spectacle (except Frost and Nixon, who will collect, respectively, \$1 million and \$600,000 plus). Nixon talked, much as he did before he left the White House nearly three years ago, about "bad judgment" and "political containment."

To me, only one comment rang at all true. That was when Nixon described his last meeting with Republican and Democrat buddies before he resigned:

"Well," Nixon recalled, "when I said, 'I just hope I haven't let you down,' that said it all. I had. I let down my friends. I let down the country. I let down our system of government and the dreams of all those young people that ought to get into government. . . ."

Really, that was Nixon's crime. He let down his friends who rule this country by getting

caught. He blew the cover and revealed that this system of government routinely functions through secrecy, dirty tricks, and lies.

Once Nixon was caught in the act, people clamored to know the whole truth. And as congressional committees reluctantly peeked into the past and lawsuits pried out government documents, we found that what Nixon did was not unique.

Harassing political enemies, violating democratic rights, secret spying, political police operations—all these crimes went way back and were done by both Democratic and Republican officials. Franklin D. Roosevelt had unleashed J. Edgar Hoover against labor and political organizations. And every president had continued the operations.

But once again Nixon is being portrayed as an isolated villain in a nightmare, a breakdown in an otherwise smoothly run system. They want us to believe we are now back to "normal" with a Democrat in the White House who proclaims human rights.

We may be back to "normal." But normal politics in this country are Watergate-style politics. Witness the Carter administration's attempts to strengthen secrecy laws and its decision not to prosecute the CIA for illegal mail openings. And the recent government frame-up of two Massachusetts trade unionists on bombing charges. All the evidence shows that not much has changed since Nixon left Washington.

The reason the secrecy and deceit and dirty tricks continue is that the roots of Watergate go



deeper than to Nixon's weak character or evil genius. The real roots of Watergate go back to the policies of both capitalist parties.

And those policies are ultimately rooted in a system based on buying and selling human beings on the market, on trading off human needs for profits. The very nature of capitalism demands lying and deceiving to safeguard the wealth of a greedy few.

Once working people throw off their shackles and create a new society, they will be able to look back on Nixon as a curious relic of the past.

Who knows? If he's still around then, he might even become a TV celebrity. He'd be great on "Let's Make a Deal." Or on "It Takes a Thief." He'd be a hit on "The Gong Show."

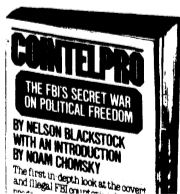
When we sued the FBI in 1973 we didn't know how much we'd uncover.

We knew the FBI had been harassing the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance for years. We suspected they were behind strange visits to socialists' employers, unsolved burglaries, and armed attacks on SWP

headquarters. We had confidence that our attorneys, led by Leonard Boudin, could build a

good legal case. But we didn't know we would get tens of thousands of pages of FBI documents. In fact, we got enough evidence about government Cointelpro operations to fill a book. It gives an idea of what all was done—not just to socialists, but to Black activists, feminists, labor organizers, and everyone else fighting for their rights.

We didn't know when we began our case that we would document 92 FBI break-ins at the SWP and YSA national offices. Or that when the Justice Department started searching



hidden FBI files for evidence in our case they would find proof of

burglaries and illegal wiretaps against others. (Now FBI agents face criminal charges for those crimes too.)

And who would have expected that we would catch an FBI informer burglarizing the Denver SWP headquarters last summer? Timothy Redfearn, FBI agent No. 481-S, is now serving time. And we are getting more information about the FBI's political informer network.

We are going to find out more. More about FBI crimes. And more about the CIA, army intelligence, Internal Revenue Service, National Security



Timothy Redfearn

Agency—because we are suing these agencies too.

Help us find out more of the truth.

The lawsuit requires a lot of work putting together the evidence. It takes a lot of money for court costs, taking sworn statements, Xeroxing documents, and so forth. The Political Rights Defense Fund is organizing support for this case. Please send your contribution to the PRDF and help us shed more light on government crimes against political rights.



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Safety issues provoke wildcat strikes in coal

By Dennis Boyer

MORGANTOWN, W. Va.—On April 20 a new round of strikes hit the northern West Virginia coal mines. The strikes began at Eastern Associated Coal Company's Federal No. 2 mine in Blacksville, West Virginia.

The strikes eventually closed more than fifty mines, affecting more than 16,000 coal miners.

This was the second strike at Federal No. 2 since the beginning of the year. Like the late February walkout the dispute centered around the company's removal of a United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) safety committeeperson.

Carroll Tenney was removed from his post for closing down Federal No. 2 when equipment seemed unsafe to work with. The members of Local 1570 supported Tenney's decision.

Several hundred miners held a public support rally in Fairmont, West Virginia, then walked to the UMWA's District 31 headquarters.

District President J. Floyd appeared, accompanied by his bodyguard. He did not give the strikers any satisfaction, making only vague promises. Local 1570 President James Momone confronted the district officials with charges of indifference.

Local 1570 then sent a delegation of twenty miners to Washington to see UMWA President Arnold Miller. Miller promised to visit Federal No. 2 personally to assess conditions.

He failed, however, to commit any of the international's legal staff to appeal the recent adverse arbitration decisions. The best that Miller would promise was to try to prod District 31 officials into action.

While in the capital Local 1570's delegation made a phone call to the White House. The miners sought to personally ask President Carter if his emphasis on coal production would mean a drop in safety standards. A White House spokesperson

would only say that he would try to arrange a future appointment.

In the meantime U.S. District Judge Charles Haden imposed an injunction and threatened \$8,000 a day fines. Some miners returned to work, but on April 25, 8,000 remained on strike.

Strikers tried to win community support, focusing on the insensitivity of Eastern's management to safety issues.

Miller's visit to the mine helped in bringing attention to the situation. But some members of Local 1570 were disappointed by Miller's lack of militancy. Many others were pleased that he was not snowed by the company tour of the mine.

At a meeting later, Miller had miners laughing when he said, "If the mine foreman lied to me twice in one hour I wonder what he does to you guys."

Little tangible action came out of the Miller visit, however. Supporters of Harry Patrick and LeRoy Patterson, two challengers to Miller for the UMWA presidency, labeled the trip a campaign ploy. Disappointment, coupled with legal threats and waning support at other mines, resulted in the strike running down by the first week in May.

Out of the strike, miners have formed a rank-and-file committee called the Committee for Concerned Miners. They have already begun to publish a newsletter called "The Unionist."

They say the real test will come this winter. They expect a prolonged strike when the contract expires in December. In the meantime they are hoping to depose the district officials in the June elections.

An epilog to the strike was Judge Haden's decision to entertain a motion to reinstate Tenney. The judge referred to the problem as a management-caused difficulty. This was an indication of the public pressure the miners had generated.

Rank and filers at Federal No. 2 concede that they face some new

problems in their local. The company has successfully promoted a division between older workers on the day shift and the less senior workers in the other two shifts.

It is true that most of the support for the strike has come from the night shifts. But that is where most of the safety and equipment problems have originated. These are also the shifts on which most young, Black, and women miners are assigned to work. It is evident that the company feels no urgency to repair breakdowns.

The organizers of the Committee for Concerned Miners are trying to heal this division. They have held meetings to explain their position. With the aid of a few old-timers, who remember the CIO organizing drives, they are exposing the company's divide-and-conquer tactics.

The Committee for Concerned Miners has taken the initiative to educate the miners that a union member must defend the safety of all workers.

Frank Raddish, a committee member, said, "We believe we need a lot more union men who are not afraid to stand up for safety no matter how small the thing may seem."

A miner replied that is what we have safety committees for. Raddish responded, "It is not only a few individuals' job to see that safety is kept to high standards. It should involve every union member."

As of May 10, 22,000 coal miners in Ohio, West Virginia, and parts of Pennsylvania reportedly remain on strike against punitive policies on absenteeism recently put into effect by coal companies in many areas. The new policies violate the UMWA contract.

On May 10 the UMWA international executive board voted to declare the grievance "an issue of national scope," thus making it the subject for immediate national negotiations and raising the possibility of a nationwide strike.

Milw. teachers vote to accept compromise

By Robert Schwarz

MILWAUKEE—Striking Milwaukee teachers and the school board reached a tentative agreement on a three-year contract May 8 when board negotiators finally accepted a compromise worked out by state mediator Byron Yaffe.

The agreement incorporated elements of an earlier compromise proposal from Special Integration Master John Gronouski.

Gronouski entered the stalled negotiations last week, saying the continued strike jeopardized preparations for phase two of Milwaukee's court-ordered school desegregation next fall.

Included in the settlement, according to newspaper reports, are limits on class size, sixteen in-service training days during the next three years to make up for lost time during the strike, and a 4 percent raise this year, retroactive to expiration of the last contract January 1, plus 4.5 and 5 percent for the following two years.

An additional provision establishes seniority within a school as one of the criteria for assigning teachers to newly created specialty school programs. The board had sought to eliminate any restrictions on arbitrary assignment of teachers to new specialty programs.

The settlement came several days after the Milwaukee Teachers Education Association's (MTEA) executive board accepted Gronouski's proposals. Over the weekend board negotiators stalled and maneuvered, first accepting and then rejecting various provisions of the Gronouski proposal.

MTEA negotiators for aides, substitutes, and accountants are negotiating around the clock to reach settlements for these units. Teachers have vowed not to return to work until all four units have contracts.

Striking K.C. teachers return to job

By Michael Laird

KANSAS CITY, Mo.—Members of the Kansas City Federation of Teachers (KCFT), on strike since March 21, voted May 8 to comply with a court order to return to work.

The court ordered the Kansas City school board to resume negotiations in good faith without reprisals against teachers involved in the strike. It also ordered the rehiring of maintenance and cafeteria workers the board fired for refusing to cross teachers' picket lines.

The school board is appealing the court ruling. It insists that it must be allowed to fire or rehire teachers on an individual basis. The board's insistence that it be allowed to carry out reprisals against some teachers has been the major issue blocking settlement for about four weeks. The board fired 500 nontenured teachers early in the strike and later fired about 150 maintenance and cafeteria workers.

Earlier rulings by the court had ordered the teachers to return without any guarantee against reprisals. The revised order came May 6 as 2,000 people rallied in support of the teachers in downtown Kansas City.

AFL-CIO head George Meany and Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers, spoke to the rally.

Meany criticized the strike-busting role of the courts and declared that public employees have the same needs as other workers and should have the same rights.

'This contract stinks'

Phila. transit workers lose strike

By Terry Hardy

PHILADELPHIA—The forty-four day city transit strike ended May 7 with the announcement that members of the Transport Workers Union Local 234 had approved the Southeastern Pennsylvania Transportation Authority's (SEPTA) offer for a two-year contract settlement.

At union headquarters, amid a chorus of boos, Local 234 President Ned LeDonne said the members had accepted the contract proposal by a vote of 2,129 to 1,592.

The new contract proposal differs only slightly from the earlier contract that Local 234 voted down at the outset of the strike. The new contract proposal offers the same sixty cents over two years, with thirty-seven cents in the first year and twenty-three cents added in the second. The net effect of the change is that drivers, cashiers, and mechanics are offered five cents more of their raise immediately.

A rally was held May 6 by many union members urging a rejection of the new contract proposal. A banner at the rally stating "This Contract Stinks—Vote No!" summed up the feelings of many drivers.

Many union members stated that if the contract was accepted it would only be because of the economic suffering of the union members, who had already stayed out for more than six weeks with no unemployment benefits or strike funds.

Last night, even supporters of the

contract conceded that its ratification represented a defeat for the union after the long strike. "We know we didn't win this strike," said Bert Stickel, an executive board member who represents cashiers. "We lost this strike. They're telling us who runs the city, and it ain't us."



Transit worker at Frankford Depot indicates his feelings about contract

500 feminists at Northwest conference

By Alicia Merel

SEATTLE—More than 500 women gathered at the University of Washington campus in Seattle April 30-May 1 for the Northwest Women's Action Conference.

According to organizers of the meeting, its purpose was "to plan action, to decide where we're going in the women's movement and what we should do in the next several years."

Participants came from as far away as Spokane, Washington, and Portland, Oregon. The conference was sponsored by Seattle-King County chapter of National Organization for Women, Washington ERA Coalition, University of Washington ERA Coalition, and Northwest Women's Studies Association.

"One gets the impression that things are not so rosy in the fight for women's rights," said Rita Shaw in her remarks opening the conference. Shaw is a member of Seattle-King County NOW and a founding member of the Washington ERA Coalition.

Shaw outlined the attacks women are facing: the widening gap in pay between men and women, cutbacks in

affirmative action and child care, restrictions on the right to choose abortion, and the right-wing opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment.

"We must deal realistically with the fact that our gains are being eroded," Shaw continued. "And even though the battles seem insurmountable, we must acknowledge that any whittling away of the rights of any woman is a loss for all women."

The most discussion at the conference took place in more than twenty-five workshops covering a wide variety of topics.

The plenary sessions then discussed resolutions from the workshops and voted them up or down.

One proposal supported by the conference calls for a demonstration and rally on August 26—women's equality day—in downtown Seattle. It also urges similar actions in other cities in Washington and Oregon.

There was considerable debate over this resolution, especially around what the central demands of the action would be.

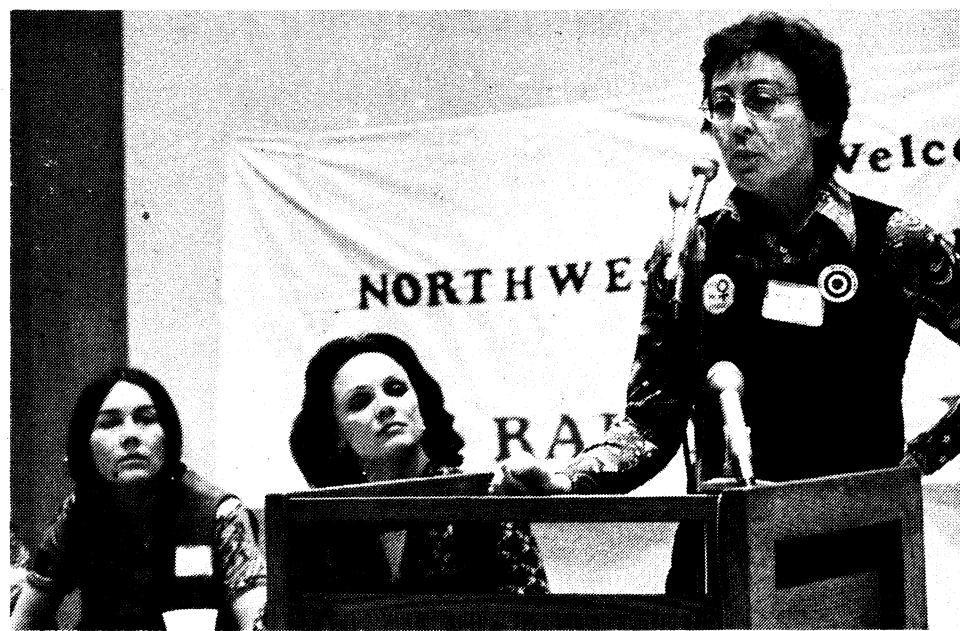
The majority of participants agreed with Shaw when she said, "We want the ERA. We must have the ERA. But our fight for every other aspect of women's rights cannot be separated from our fight for the ERA."

The conference decided to focus the protest's demands around the ERA, abortion rights, no forced sterilization, and child care.

There was discussion around adding additional demands, including protective legislation and gay rights. The conference decided not to include either of these among the action's central demands. Gay activists were encouraged to build a gay task force and a contingent for the August 26 action.

The conference also endorsed a resolution from the Black women's workshop calling for a minority women's task force for the demonstration. This task force will hold forums in Seattle's Black, Chicano, Native American, and Filipino communities to attract more nationally oppressed women into the women's movement and to the August 26 action.

Women at the conference voted to send a telegram to the Iranian ambas-



Militant/Wayne Glover

Eight hundred attended conference rally. From left: Yvonne Wanrow, Valerie Harper, Rita Shaw.

sador to the United States, demanding an end to all torture in Iran and the immediate release of Vida Hadjebi Tabrizi and all other women Iranian political prisoners.

Telegrams were also sent to Health, Education and Welfare Secretary Joseph Califano and President Carter protesting the government's attacks on abortion rights.

Letters were sent to the California Supreme Court and other appropriate agencies in the Northwest opposing the court's *Bakke* decision. That ruling attacked affirmative-action college admissions programs.

The campus workshop, which proposed sending this letter, made plans to meet again to discuss forming a women's liberation group at the University of Washington.

The conference also passed a resolution calling for an affirmative-action tribunal, which would involve Black, Chicano, and women's groups, as well as labor and student organizations.

This resolution will be taken to the upcoming state AFL-CIO women's conference.

Eight hundred attended the conference rally Saturday night. Speakers were Betty Friedan, television star

Valerie Harper, and Yvonne Wanrow, a Native American woman facing a new trial for shooting a man in defense of herself and her children.

The mood among participants at the conference was one of excitement and enthusiasm. Many workshop discussions continued beyond the scheduled time.

Sales of T-shirts and buttons were brisk, as were sales of newspapers and literature on feminism.

The NOW national conference in Detroit had ended just one week earlier, and women here were interested in what happened at that meeting in discussing perspectives for the women's movement.

That was evidenced in part by the sales of 100 copies of the *Militant* with its report on the NOW conference.

Heidy Meyer, an eighth-grade student and NOW member from Walla Walla, Washington, summed it up for many women:

"This is the little push I needed to go back and be more active," she said. "I wish more people my age had come. I want to go back to my school and bring that little push to others and maybe get a group started."

Arizona defeats ERA

PHOENIX—The Arizona senate defeated the Equal Rights Amendment May 5.

The eighteen-to-eleven vote has sparked activists in the ERA movement here to begin preparations for the next bout. The Tucson National Organization for Women, along with Feminists United for Action in both Tucson and Phoenix, is discussing plans for a statewide summer conference of ERA supporters to plan public activities for the fall and winter.

One proposal calls for a week of teach-ins during January 1978, culminating in a demonstration when the legislature reopens that month.

Mother's Day actions defend abortion

In March the National Abortion Rights Action League called for local demonstrations in defense of abortion rights on Mother's Day, May 8.

The following are reports on some actions that took place over the Mother's Day weekend.

By Dorothy Hawkinson

WASHINGTON—"The government denies poor, pregnant women their constitutional rights. . . . It is the responsibility of society to carry out women's right to choose in a safe, legal, and dignified manner. The rights of the living must have precedence over some vague, ambiguous 'right to life.'"

These words brought Dr. Kenneth Edelin, a prominent Black physician from Boston, a standing ovation from 400 vocal demonstrators here. They were at the White House May 8, Mother's Day, to demand: "Motherhood by choice, not chance."

The picket line and rally were organized by the D.C. Committee for Motherhood by Choice. Protesters called on the Carter administration to take action to maintain Medicaid-paid abortions, provide maternity disability benefits, increase funds for family planning research and services, and prevent forced sterilization.

Karen Mulhauser, executive director of the National Abortion Rights Action League, took President Carter and Health, Education and Welfare Secretary Joseph Califano to task for their attempts to deny women the right to abortion.

Dr. Emily Moore, executive director of Planned Parenthood of Metropolitan Washington, also spoke.

Anti-abortionists held a counter picket line which numbered fifty at its peak.

Edelin's appearance at the rally particularly irritated the antichoice group. During an intense period of racist, antibusing activity in Boston, Edelin was convicted of manslaughter for performing a legal abortion. He was recently acquitted of that charge.



Protesters at White House May 8

Militant/Tony Grillo

The anti-abortionists tried unsuccessfully to disrupt the demonstration. When Edelin was speaking, for example, they unfurled a banner behind him that said "the Boston strangler."

The demonstration drew women from Buffalo, New York; Baltimore; and Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

Nearly twenty organizations endorsed the action. They included Catholics for a Free Choice, D.C. National Organization for Women (NOW) Task Force on Abortion Action, Northern Prince Georges County NOW, Women Concerned for Choice at Howard University, and Socialist Workers party.

By Gale Shangold

More than 100 people picketed the Colorado State Capitol building in Denver on Saturday, May 7.

The theme of the picket line and rally was "Defend women's rights"—abortion rights, Equal Rights Amendment, pregnancy benefits, affirmative action, and child care. "No forced sterilization" was also a demand of the action.

The day's events were sponsored by the East Metro Denver NOW chapter.

Pat Schroeder, Colorado U.S. Congressperson, pointed to a number of legislative acts that are serious attacks

Continued on page 30

Part of anti-‘alien’ drive

Carter wants ID card for all workers

By José G. Pérez

President Carter is reportedly determined to push ahead with plans to institute mandatory, computer-coded identification cards for all U.S. workers.

According to a report by Ronald Ostrow in the May 7 *Los Angeles Times*, Carter “has questioned a cabinet committee’s proposals for dealing with illegal aliens, particularly the suggestion that existing identification cards are a sufficient safeguard.”

Carter had hoped to announce a crackdown on undocumented immigrants at the end of April, but differences over the ID card proposal forced a postponement.

A new offensive against so-called illegal aliens has been in the works for more than a year, prepared by cabinet committees of both the Ford and Carter administrations.

According to news reports, provisions of the plan sent to Carter at the end of April include:

- Making it illegal to knowingly hire undocumented workers;
- Additional staff and equipment for the immigration cops;
- Continued use of computerized ID cards for all “legal aliens”;
- Increased U.S. aid, trade, and investment for the native countries of immigrants; and
- “Amnesty” for undocumented persons who have been in the United States for at least five years.

According to Ostrow, Carter is in agreement with the thrust of the proposals. His objection is that limiting internal passport-type cards to noncitizens may make other aspects of the plan more difficult to enforce.

Although details are sketchy, the proposals seem to be essentially the same as those presented to President Ford just before he left office by the Domestic Council Committee on Illegal Aliens, which was headed by his attorney general, Edward Levi.

No sooner had Carter moved into the White House than he went ahead to implement the proposals of Ford’s committee. He set up his own top-level body, with Secretary of Labor F. Ray Marshall, Attorney General Griffin

Bell, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Joseph Califano, and Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher.

News of the Carter committee first surfaced in a February 21 *Los Angeles Times* interview with Marshall. Marshall explained that a campaign against unauthorized immigration is a “high priority item for this administration.”

He said the government would “get everything together and be sure we are ready, and then we can move in a hurry.”

It was in this interview that Marshall first raised the idea of ID cards. He said this would be the most effective way to enforce a jobs ban against workers without documents.

Following Marshall’s interview, Attorney General Bell said he was against the ID card proposal because it smacked of the internal passports traditionally used in police states.

In mid-April, the Gallup poll reported Americans opposed the ID card proposal by a 50 to 45 percent plurality.

The same poll, however, also showed the powerful impact of years of racist news media lies blaming the predominantly Mexican immigrants for unemployment and other social ills. Some 82 percent of those surveyed favored laws against hiring immigrants without visas.

The committee’s proposals—sent to Carter at the end of April—did not include the ID card proposal. Government officials said it had “civil liberties problems.”

Carter apparently doesn’t share this concern.

Administration officials are claiming their plan is more humane than existing policy. But the thrust of the proposal is clearly reactionary.

Carter administration officials say they won’t call for mass roundups and deportations, calling them “inhuman and impracticable.” But the jobs ban would accomplish the same thing.

The “amnesty” has been billed as a huge concession. But the five-year residency requirement means that many, if not most, undocumented

Vendido of the week



Vendido (sell out) of the week award to: Leonel Castillo, who will get \$50,000 a year as Carter’s commissioner of immigration. Says Castillo about Mexican immigrants: ‘Even if they are illegal, they are still people. . . . Deport them, but treat them like human beings.’

workers won’t be covered.

It is also not clear what proof of residency will be required and what other criteria an immigrant must meet to be eligible for the “amnesty.” Depending on these provisions, the number of immigrants covered might be only a tiny fraction of the millions living in this country.

The proposal for increased U.S. aid, investment, and trade with immigrants’ native countries is strictly propaganda for domestic consumption. The government wants Americans to believe it will do something about the unemployment in semi-colonial countries that pushes people to move to the United States.

But the truth is that these countries are impoverished to begin with because the United States and other imperialist powers have siphoned off much of their wealth through superprofits on investments and through unequal terms of trade.

And beefing up the immigration cops will only lead to more deportations and increased harassment of all Latinos living in the United States—“legals” and “illegals.”

Carter has also taken two other steps designed to facilitate implementation of the racist, chauvinist package.

In February, he ordered a “lowering of rhetoric” while the crackdown was being plotted for fear of sparking mass opposition.

In March he appointed Leonel Castillo Commissioner of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service. Putting a brown face in charge of immigration is supposed to deflect criticism that the crackdown is racist.

According to the May 7 *Los Angeles Times*, Carter was to have met with Bell and Marshall to go over a revised plan as soon as he got back from his European junket.

The goal is to have “refined proposals ready by Castillo’s swearing in ceremony, Friday, May 13.

La migra: no jobless benefits for ‘illegals’

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—The U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service is putting pressure on California unemployment officials to help track down immigrants from Mexico who lack work or residence permits.

The April 30 *Los Angeles Times* reported on a letter of protest sent by Joseph Sureck, INS district director, to Gov. Edmund Brown.

According to the *Times*, Sureck charged that state officials are “refusing to cooperate in efforts to curb the increasing number of illegal aliens

pouring into California. . . .”

The *la migra* official also asserted that state unemployment officials “are sending illegal workers out to fill jobs that in many cases have just been vacated by illegal aliens who were apprehended by federal officers.”

He also protested that undocumented people were being permitted to collect unemployment insurance.

Since these workers obviously had to qualify to collect, he didn’t say if it’s “illegal” for them to obtain the benefits to which they’re clearly entitled.

Sureck complained that state job

placement offices do not demand proof from noncitizens that they are legally entitled to work. He didn’t say if they should have cops and cells on the premises to forcibly detain those who might not be able to produce satisfactory “proof” on a moment’s notice.

In 1971 California passed what may have been the first state law making it a crime for an employer to “knowingly” hire an undocumented worker. That law has been tied up in the courts since then and has not been implemented.

However, similar laws have spread

to an astonishing extent. According to the *Los Angeles Times*, nine states now have such laws on the books. In another three states, similar measures have been approved by the legislatures and await governors’ signatures.

Puerto Rico, Las Vegas, and Clark County, Nevada, have also enacted such laws.

And an additional eighteen states, plus the city of New York, have similar measures in the legislative hoppers.

The spread of these laws has been accomplished, the *Times* notes, “with some quiet assistance from the INS.”

UFW scores new victories in Calif. organizing

LOS ANGELES—The United Farm Workers has won its biggest unfair labor practices settlement to date.

On the eve of hearings against it, Dairy Fresh Products—a Riverside area egg ranch—agreed to pay \$35,000 in back wages to twelve workers fired for union activity.

Dairy Fresh fired the workers in 1976 during a UFW organizing drive. In addition to the back pay settlement, the ranch agreed to put the workers at the top of an eligibility list for rehiring.

Meanwhile, the union announced April 28 that it was initiating a boycott of carrots grown by the Maggio Company in Calexico. Although the UFW was certified as bargaining agent after winning a union representation election, the company has balked at signing a contract.

The union has also called a strike at Mount Arbor, a rose nursery in central California. There the state Agricultural Labor Relations Board has filed an unfair labor practice complaint

against the company. It too refused to negotiate after the union won an election and was certified as bargaining agent.

In the Coachella Valley, the UFW won an important election victory April 21. In a representation election at a ranch operated by the giant Tenneco Corporation, grape, citrus, and date workers voted 177 for the UFW against 120 for “no union.”

The UFW victory at Coachella will be of particular value when the union runs in elections at Tenneco’s huge

holdings in the San Joaquin area. Previously the Teamsters union—which has now pulled out of agriculture—held sweetheart contracts with Tenneco.

The opening of the grape organizing drive in Coachella was marked by a hands-down victory for the UFW at the Freedman ranch. The vote was 723 to 15. Freedman has been under contract with the UFW since 1970.

Meanwhile, the boycott of scab grapes, lettuce, and Gallo wines continues. —H.R.

What next for Africa solidarity fight?

By Omari Musa

The upsurge in the colonial revolution in southern Africa has sparked a growing interest in this country in the role that the U.S. government and corporations play on the African continent.

Following the collapse of Portuguese colonial rule in Africa, thousands protested U.S. intervention in the Angolan civil war. Similarly, since the massive demonstrations in Soweto, South Africa, last June, thousands have voiced opposition to U.S. complicity with apartheid.

Last summer the national conventions of the NAACP and National Urban League called on Washington to oppose white minority rule in southern Africa.

This spring the National Student Coalition Against Racism toured two central leaders of the Soweto rebellion—Tsietso Mashinini and Khotso Seatlholo. The two student leaders spoke to 15,000 to 20,000 people in more than forty cities.

NSCAR also organized protest actions March 25-26 to commemorate the 1960 Sharpeville massacre in South Africa. Several thousand people participated in these actions.

Earlier this spring a broad coalition of New York student and community groups organized a successful boycott of the South African musical *Ipi Tombi*. Nightly picket lines—sometimes involving 300-500 people—forced the show's producers to close after a short run.

Just last month 900 opponents of apartheid picketed the South Africa-U.S. Davis Cup tennis match in Newport Beach, California.



March 26 demonstration in Washington, D.C.

Militant/Kathy Whitley

Many of the spring protests drew participation from organizations such as Operation PUSH, NAACP, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, National Organization for Women, National Council of Negro Women, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Black student groups, and labor unions.

These actions reflect the potential for organizing a powerful movement to get the U.S. out of Africa.

Racist propaganda

This growing sentiment is worrisome both to Washington and to the white minority regimes in southern Africa.

The South African government is conducting a concerted propaganda campaign directed at the American people. Full-page ads have appeared in the U.S. press portraying Black majority rule as a plot hatched in Moscow and Havana.

The Bantustans—in actuality reservations for Black South Africans—are pictured as paradises of African “separate development.”

At the same time, the South African government is preparing to crush further Black rebellions by arming itself to the teeth. It recently increased its defense budget by more than 20 percent and upped its outlay for police by 15 percent.

New U.S. Africa policy

The upsurge in southern Africa and reaction to it here at home have forced Washington to shift its policy there. Its goals, of course, remain the same: to hold on to the valuable African resources that are owned by giant U.S. and European corporations. But that means fostering governments pledged to defending imperialist interests in the region. And the mounting liberation struggles there conflict with that aim.

So Washington hopes to engineer a negotiated

transfer of power to Black neocolonial regimes in Namibia and Zimbabwe (Rhodesia). So far, however, Washington has been unsuccessful.

The White House is also pressuring the South African government to make a few cosmetic reforms, hoping to defuse the struggle of the Black masses there.

Carter has assigned Andrew Young, his Black United Nations ambassador, two important tasks: gaining the confidence of nationalist groups in Zimbabwe and Namibia and convincing the American people—especially Blacks—that the U.S. plan is just.

And Vice-president Walter Mondale has been assigned the task of negotiating with the British, South African, and Rhodesian governments to work out their side of the deal.

Growing instability

Imperialism's drive to protect its interests on the African continent also explains why Washington, Paris, and other capitalist powers have rushed to prop up President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaïre and to stabilize the political situation in that country.

But despite Washington's desires, instability is rooted in the current situation in southern Africa. And new upsurges in the struggle there and elsewhere on the continent will confront Washington with the necessity to intervene.

Response in this country to the adventure in Angola, however, showed Washington that direct intervention is still politically risky. It threatens to stir Afro-Americans into action. Of course, any attempt to use Black troops in Africa would only pour fuel on the fire.

The antiwar consciousness produced by the Vietnam War is still very much alive. Carter's repeated assurances that no U.S. troops will be sent to Zaïre illustrate his fear of this sentiment.

Nevertheless, the danger exists that American imperialism and its allies could become embroiled in such a war if it believed vital interests were at stake. And even short of that, the role of U.S. corporations and government agencies in propping up the pro-imperialist regimes is key to their economic survival and military strength.

How to get the U.S. out

Supporters of African liberation are asking: How can the U.S. be forced out of Africa?

Many people have been taken in by Washington's diplomatic maneuvering. The majority of people in this country—Blacks included—believe that the Carter administration is sincerely working toward Black majority rule in Namibia, Zimbabwe, and South Africa.

One of the best ways to develop a winning strategy is to look at how we achieved our past victories. The anti-Vietnam War movement offers a good example.

The United States was forced out of Vietnam by the drive of the Vietnamese for national liberation,

Soweto students appeal for international actions June 16

The movement in solidarity with Black majority rule in southern Africa is gaining momentum internationally. Four executive committee members of the Soweto Students Representative Council (SSRC) have issued an appeal calling upon “the progressive peoples of the world to mark this anniversary [June 16] by demonstrating their solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa and against all forms of support for the brutal Vorster Apartheid regime.”

The appeal is signed by Tsietso Mashinini, first president of the SSRC; Barney Mokgatle, secre-

tary of the SSRC; Selby Semela, treasurer of the SSRC; and Khotso Seatlholo, second president of the SSRC.

The British Nation Union of Students, an endorser of the appeal, has called a demonstration in London June 18.

The appeal has also won the endorsement of British members of Parliament, the South Wales National Union of Mineworkers and other trade unionists, Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, and others.

—O.M.

and by the international mass movement centered here demanding "Out now!"

The movement started as a tiny minority of the American population. It organized picket lines, campus teach-ins, and mass demonstrations.

It distributed educational material countering government lies about what was going on in Vietnam.

These and other activities helped educate the majority of the American people about the real U.S. role.

Many different tactics were proposed to end the war. These tactics were debated at open, democratic conferences where everybody could have their say.

The strength of the anti-Vietnam War movement was its openness to all who opposed the war, its independence from the Democratic and Republican parties, and its determination to reach the majority of the American people and draw them into mass protest.

By the early 1970s millions of people were demonstrating against the war, and the majority of the population supported immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces.

Those who support, without qualification, Black majority rule in southern Africa are today a minority of the U.S. population. Our job is different in some ways from that of the anti-Vietnam War movement. Right now there are no U.S. troops fighting national liberation forces in Africa.

But forcing U.S. corporations to withdraw from South Africa would weaken the regime and greatly aid the struggle for Black majority rule.

Our job is twofold: to organize a movement in solidarity with Black majority rule in southern Africa, and to prevent the U.S. from militarily intervening *anywhere* in Africa.

This means that we must educate the American people about the true role of the U.S. government and corporations in Africa. We can do that through picket lines, teach-ins, debates with government officials, community meetings, and demonstrations.

Student groups have already organized protests against university complicity with corporations that have holdings in Namibia, Zimbabwe, and South Africa. They can also expose the recruitment of mercenaries through the CIA or ROTC.

Another important form of solidarity is defense of South African political prisoners. Helping free the imprisoned leaders of the fight against white minority rule can provide inspiration and impetus to the struggle in southern Africa.

Unity in action

Unity in action among groups that support Black majority rule in southern Africa is crucial.

The March 25-26 protest actions were an important step in organizing a movement against U.S. complicity. But the modest size of the demonstrations shows that there is still much work to be done.

What is needed is a broad coalition that can mount a national campaign to oppose U.S. complicity with the racist regimes in southern Africa.

Black groups, women's groups, student organizations, trade unions, and Latino groups must be encouraged to participate in and help lead such a coalition.

The recent call for a meeting of leaders in the African liberation support movement is a step in this direction. The meeting is slated for May 21 in New York City.

The initiators of this leadership meeting include the Village-Chelsea branch NAACP; Courtland Cox, secretary-general, Sixth Pan-Africanist Congress; Koko Farrow, Commission for Racial Justice, United Church of Christ; Lucius Walker, Inter-religious Foundation for Community Organization; and Tony Austin, national coordinator, National Student Coalition Against Racism.

NSCAR and other groups are also organizing protests on May 28, African Liberation Day, and June 16, anniversary of the Soweto rebellion.

A national demonstration has been called by the All-African Peoples Revolutionary party for May 28 in Washington, D.C., in solidarity with the African freedom struggle.

These actions can be further important steps in organizing a broad united movement that can involve millions in the streets to support Black majority rule in southern Africa.

They are the best support we can give the sisters and brothers in Africa fighting for national liberation and against imperialist domination.

As Soweto student leader Tsietsi Mashinini said during his tour: "There is great potential for building a mass movement in the U.S. to get the U.S. out of my country. It is very important to our struggle that you start now organizing such a movement."

Malcolm X on African liberation

Malcolm X believed that African nationalism had a profound impact on the consciousness of Black Americans. In his view, every time an African nation won its freedom from European colonial rule, that was a victory for Afro-Americans. And every victory won by Blacks in this country aided the struggle for freedom in Africa.

The current upsurge in the struggle for Black majority rule in southern Africa and growing solidarity of Afro-Americans with it confirm Malcolm's internationalist outlook.

Below are excerpts from his speech "Communication and Reality," given December 12, 1964.

The topic we are going to discuss in a very informal way is Africa and the African revolution and its effect on the Afro-American.

I take time to mention that because I am one who believes that what's happening on the African continent has a direct bearing on what happens to you and me in this country: The degree to which they get independence, strength, and recognition on that continent is inseparable from the degree to which we get independence, strength, and recognition on this continent, and I hope before the day is over to be able to clarify that.

So what impact or effect does the African revolution have upon you and me? Number one, prior to 1959, many of us didn't want to be identified with Africa in any way, not even indirectly or remotely. The best way to curse one of us was to call us an African; we'd get insulted. But if you've noticed, since 1959 and in more recent years, that's changed. It's changing among us subconsciously faster than we even realize.

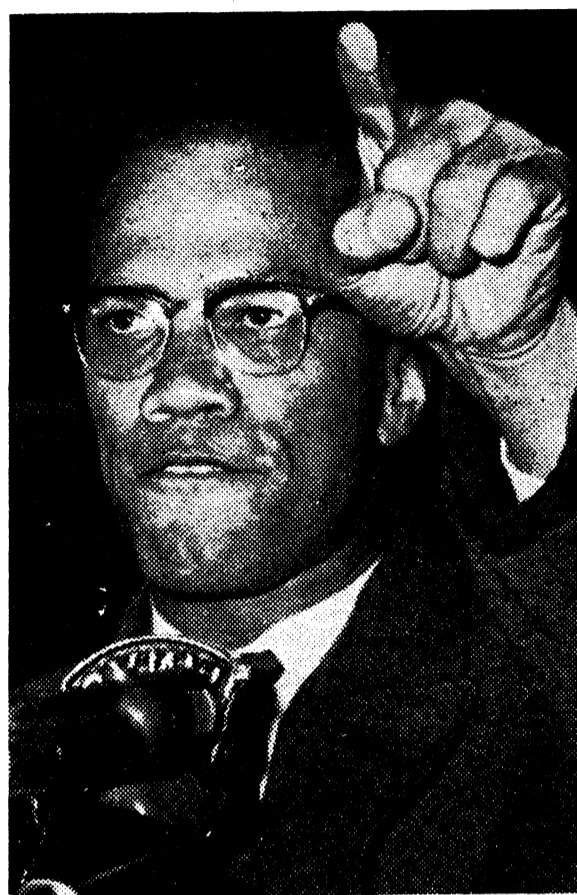
The reason for this change is that prior to 1959 the African image was not created by Africans. The image of Africa was created by European powers. These Europeans joined with America and created a very negative image of Africa and projected this negative image abroad. They projected Africa as a jungle, a place filled with animals, savages, and cannibals.

The image of Africa and the Africans was made so hateful that 22 million of us in America of African ancestry actually shunned Africa because its image was a hateful, negative image. We didn't realize that as soon as we were made to hate Africa and Africans, we also hated ourselves. You can't hate the root and not hate the fruit. You can't hate Africa, the land where you and I originated, without ending up hating you and me.

And the man knew that. We began to hate African features. We hated the African nose and the African lips and the African skin and the African hair. We hated the hair so much we even put lye on it to change its looks. We began hating ourselves. And you know, they accuse us of teaching hate.

Then after 1959, as Africans began to get independence, they began to change the image of the African. They got into a position to project their own image abroad. The image began to swing from negative to positive, and to the same degree that the African image began to change from negative to positive, the Afro-American's image also began to change from negative to positive. His behavior and objectives began to change from negative to positive to the same degree that the behavior and the objectives of the African changed from negative to positive. They had a direct bearing upon the attitude that we here in America began to develop toward each other and also toward the man, and I don't have to say what man.

There were elements in the State Department that began to worry about this change in image. As Africa became militant and uncompromising, you and I became militant and uncompromising, and even the most bourgeois Uncle Tom Afro-American was happy when he heard about the Mau Maus. [Applause.] Yeah,



he was happy when he heard it. He wouldn't say so openly because it wasn't a status symbol to identify with it in some quarters. In other quarters, it was.

But all of this uncompromising and militant action on the part of the Africans created a tendency among our people in this country to be the same way, but many of us didn't realize it. It was an unconscious effect, but it had its effect.

That racist element in the State Department became worried about this. And you are out of your mind if you don't think that there's a racist element in the State Department. I'm not saying that everybody in the State Department is a racist, but I'm saying they sure got some in there and they got them in powerful positions.

And this is the element that became worried about the changing Negro mood and the changing Negro behavior. Especially if that mood and behavior became one of violence, and by violence they only mean when a Black man protects himself against the attack of the white man.

When it comes time for a Black man to explode, they call it violence, but white people can be exploding against Black people all day long and it's never called violence. I have even had some of you come to me and ask if I'm for violence. I'm the victim of violence and you're the victim of violence. In fact, you've been so victimized by it, you can't recognize it for what it is today.

The fear was that the changing image of the African would have a tendency to change your and my image much too much, and they knew you and I tended to identify with Africa where we didn't formerly do so. Their fear was that sympathy and that identity would eventually develop into sort of an allegiance for African hopes and aspirations above and beyond America's hopes and aspirations.

So they had to do something to create a division between the Afro-American and the African so that you and I and they could not get together and coordinate our efforts and make faster progress than we had been making up to that time.

They don't mind you struggling for freedom as long as you struggle according to their rules. As long as you let them tell you how to struggle, they go for your struggle. But as soon as you come to one of them who is supposed to be for your freedom and tell him you're for freedom by any means necessary, he gets away from you. He's for his freedom by any means necessary, but he'll never go along with you to get your freedom by any means necessary.

In Our Opinion

Pay debt to Vietnam

"Well, the destruction was mutual. . . . I don't feel that we have, that we owe a debt, nor that we should be forced to pay reparations, or, at all."

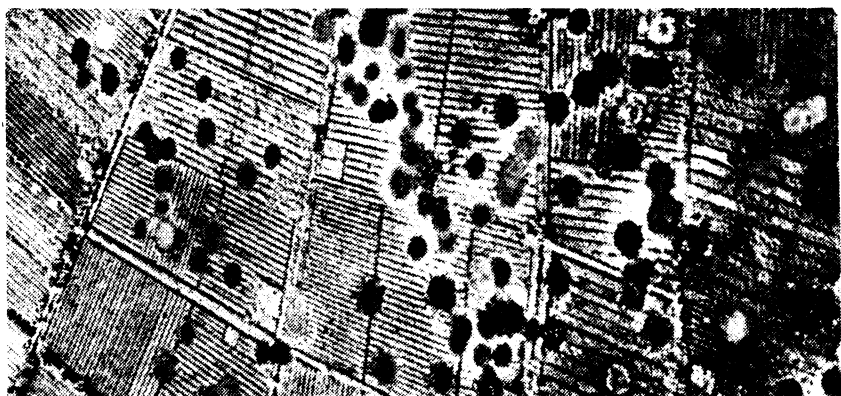
—President Carter
March 24, 1977

"Mutual" destruction? Perhaps Carter was referring to the herbicidal warfare against America's corn belt? Or the well-known Christmas bombing of New York harbor?

The Pentagon spent \$200 billion to mutilate Vietnam. It slaughtered two million Vietnamese.

Between 1965 and 1973 Washington dropped 15 million tons of bombs on Vietnam, the equivalent of 500 Hiroshima atomic blasts. During that period U.S. plans sprayed 50,000 tons of chemical defoliants over the Vietnamese landscape and dropped 200,000 tons of napalm.

The United States *did* suffer from the war. More than 56,000



U.S. soldiers were killed. Antiwar protesters were gunned down at Kent State and Jackson State. The country's resources were drained off into a murderous war machine.

But those losses, too, were the work of America's ruling rich.

Last week, as representatives of the United States and Vietnam met in Paris, the House of Representatives voted to prohibit even a discussion in Congress of aid to Vietnam.

The U.S. government owes a terrible debt. It should give Vietnam massive reparations immediately, and with no strings attached!

Steel price hike

When the U.S. Steel Corporation announced a 6 percent price increase on May 9, it called its action "a positive step toward checking inflationary trends." The Carter administration quickly agreed.

"We welcome this moderation," said the head of the federal Council on Wage and Price Stability, Robert Crandall.

"I welcome it, and I hope it sticks," said Carter's top economic adviser, Charles Schultze.

Strange talk from an administration that just a few weeks ago declared "war" on inflation. Why was a 6 percent price increase "welcome"?

Well, a few days earlier, two other steel companies had announced 6.8 to 8.8 percent price hikes. When these were mildly criticized as "excessive," the stage was set for U.S. Steel's "compromise" price increase that was just about what the corporations wanted in the first place. This is a simple gimmick, one that all profit-hungry industrialists are certain to admire and copy.

The steel companies were quick to blame the increase on rising wages, especially the new contract that pays workers in basic steel 4 percent a year. This is the kind of sleight-of-hand bookkeeping that does not bear close examination.

Steel prices have gone up 20 percent in the past twelve months. Wages lag far behind. And that's not a fluke. From 1967 to March 1977, unit labor costs in manufacturing rose 63 percent. In the same period, the prices of all industrial commodities rose 92 percent and steel prices rose 124 percent!

The latest price hike has not brought a peep of criticism from Carter's top-level labor-management board that is supposed to be leading the fight against inflation. Not a peep from steelworkers President I.W. Abel, who sits on the board along with the president of U.S. Steel. They are too busy promoting productivity schemes and investigating "inflationary" environmental and job-safety regulations.

The whole sorry charade holds an important lesson for workers. Carter's "anti-inflation board" is not going to stop price increases. It is designed solely to protect industry profits.

Workers can protect their standard of living—not by endorsing this corporate rip-off as Abel does—but by fighting for full cost-of-living adjustment of all wages, pensions, and benefits.

Letters

'Thoroughly disgusted'

I was thoroughly disgusted when I read how the trial of the conspirators who killed Black Panthers Fred Hampton and Mark Clark was handled (*Militant*, April 29). Racism was the theme, just like in the circus trial of Assata Shakur.

Imagine this racist judge making the family of the slain Panthers pay big legal expenses for what amounted to nothing except to hear him dismiss all charges.

Like Assata's trial, this mockery of justice must not go unanswered. And we, the people, can make a difference.

Tony A. Jones
Indianapolis, Indiana

Affirmative action

Just a few words on Ginny Hildebrand's "Gov't pulls back from attack on affirmative action" (*Militant*, April 15).

Those of us working in affirmative action must struggle not only against racism and sexism, but against the very government, which seems to support the movement but in reality perpetuates discrimination.

Institutions receiving millions of federal dollars continue to discriminate systematically and overtly, while the government ignores its own laws.

It is important to remember that affirmative action works not only for Blacks and women, as quoted in your article, but bars discrimination in employment because of national origin, religion, age, and handicap.

There are also numerous state laws against discrimination. For example, Washington, D.C., bars discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation, marital status, political affiliation, etc.

I hope you will undertake periodic updates on affirmative action and discuss the action that needs to be taken to make equal opportunity a reality. We need all the help we can get.

C.W.
Arlington, Virginia

Hyde amendment

I like many of your viewpoints. I like the SWP. But to attack the Hyde amendment [barring Medicaid funding for abortions] is to set up poor human beings for "forced child killing."

I know the power structure would want to control our growth. To shoot down the Hyde amendment is to put a gun in their hands.

I've been on welfare. I've been in groups that work to change the humiliation of all. I just feel that to cut down the Hyde amendment is to make Black women powerless.

A prisoner
New York

[In reply—While the government seeks to cut off funds for abortion for low-income women, who are mostly Black, Chicana, and Puerto Rican, more of these women are being forcibly sterilized at government expense.

[The guaranteed right to safe, legal abortions for all women, and access to funds, will save their lives and hamper organized attempts at genocide.]

Hits and errors

I really enjoyed Dave Freeman's column on baseball (*Militant*, May 6). However, there were a few errors and some unmentioned points I'd like to clarify.

There are Blacks managing and working in the front offices. Frank

Robinson is the field manager of the Cleveland Indians. Al Jackson, Elston Howard, and Junior Gilliam are coaches with the Red Sox, Yankees, and Dodgers, respectively. Hank Aaron is a member of the Braves' front office.

We should not forget the man who started the fight for a player's right to become a free agent when his contract expires. Curt Flood is his name. Curt Flood is Black.

Scooter Levison
Newton, Massachusetts

'Mendacious coverage'

The mendacious coverage you gave to the National Organization for Women convention [*Militant*, May 6] plainly shows that the Socialist Workers party means no good to NOW or any other feminist organization.

You harp about the special interests of Latins and Blacks as if those groups were the only ones who suffer in this world. I have news for you. Even if all the white males in the world disappeared overnight, sexism would still exist. All the violence, rape, and other physical and psychological exploitation that women are forced to endure would continue. More likely, it would become worse, since so many misguided women, like the ones in the SWP, take the guilt-ridden position that minorities are incapable of sexism.

Feminist issue must come first!
Myra Campbell
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Popular culture

Today's individual and class frame of reference is developed partly from experience, but it is also developed by popular music, films, television, commercials, the "straight" press, schools, and other opinion-forming institutions—all controlled by capitalist priorities.

May I suggest the *Militant* analyze these institutions of popular culture. They mostly distort reality and propagandize for the present social order. This mostly benefits today's power elites.

Joe Hill's use of ragtime and well-known church tunes is an example of how to redirect popular culture. The lyrics stuck in the workers' minds because they fit their reality. And everybody knew the tunes.

To put it crudely—understand and use Madison Ave. against Madison Ave.

F. Balzer
Jefferson City, Missouri

Crackers and cookies

At the New Jersey Socialist Workers party gubernatorial kickoff rally in Newark, candidate Rich Ariza characterized the election of Newark's Black Democratic Mayor Kenneth Gibson as replacing "a cracker with a cookie."

Newark is still a mess after all Gibson's years in office because he supports the profit system, as do all Democrats.

What I heard on a Black radio station may prove Gibson to be more of a "cracker" than the white one he replaced.

A listener called in and said that Gibson had stated at a "Touch of Class" dinner that Black elected officials shouldn't worry about minority rule in southern Africa because it might threaten the stability of the United States!

The disc jockey couldn't believe he'd

National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



Checkoff or rip-off?

The dues checkoff is a rather recent feature of the union contract. It makes the employer responsible for withholding union dues from the workers' paychecks, thereby ensuring that every worker is a paid-up member of the union.

Initially this system of automatic dues collection reflected the solidarity of the union majority. It was supported by most union militants because it was a way of forcing company-minded workers to contribute their minimal share to the union.

But there is another side to the company checkoff. It ensures a steady income to the union bureaucrats while freeing them from the need to collect monthly dues from every member and explain face-to-face what they are doing to earn their money.

The union dues checkoff was widely used during World War II, backed by the government in exchange for the wartime no-strike pledge by union officials. The greedy cost-plus contractors in the war industries lined up to sign union contracts and were glad to withhold union dues. Workers who never before belonged to a union, saw no reason to join, and received no tangible benefits were issued union membership cards.

When union meetings were held, few bothered to attend and those who showed up were quickly discouraged. The real beneficiaries were the employers who profited from a union-policed work force and the officials who watched union treasuries grow and schemed to loot them.

Those were the halcyon days of unionism in the memory of some officials who are still around, and the idea has been handed down. In his union-dues-paid column in the April 24 *New York Times*, American Federation of Teachers President Albert Shanker summarized the bureaucratic argument for the dues checkoff system.

The argument rests on the assumption that unions are established institutions, legally recognized as agencies separate and apart from the workers they are supposed to represent. "Unions resemble governments in this regard," says Shanker.

What does the union do? Shanker says it "must negotiate salaries, pensions, holidays and other conditions of employment for all the workers. It is illegal to negotiate them for members only.

"Furthermore, even after the benefits have been negotiated, the union is required to administer and police the contract on a day-to-day basis. It must provide training to shop stewards so that they can spot any violation. It must provide for legal, grievance and arbitration costs. Frequently it must employ a

lobbyist or pay dues to state and national affiliates to make sure that what was won for the employees at the bargaining table is not taken away in the legislative process."

In exchange for these services, which are designed to provide "industrial peace" at workers' expense, the employers ought to be willing to withhold union dues. And if federal law isn't revised to require them to do so when a majority of workers in a collective bargaining unit votes for the union, then the unions cannot be expected to provide these valuable services.

The workers will not voluntarily pay their dues. It is against human nature. Shanker says, "Those who want to *force* unions to provide services for all but make their ability to do the job depend on *voluntary* contributions are asking the impossible."

There is a way of building unions without the help of the employers. In fact, it is how unions were originally built. It involves union members in constant struggle *against* the employers and in defense of the workers. This takes care of the dues collection problem, as Farrell Dobbs describes it in *Teamster Power*, the second volume of his four-volume series on the Minneapolis Teamster movement.

Writing about the 1934 Teamster strikes, Dobbs says, "Provisions for a closed-shop contract, entailing compulsory union membership and dues payments, had been included among Local 574's prestrike demands. This had been done at the insistence of [business agent Cliff] Hall, who took the bureaucratic view on the question.

"That view sees the closed shop as a liberating instrument—for the bureaucrats, that is, not the workers. It enables officials sitting on top of a union to more or less freely ignore or go against the wishes of the rank and file. No matter how dissatisfied this may make the workers, dues must still be paid, and the bureaucrats continue to have a union treasury at their disposal."

The strikes did not win this demand. But the new class-struggle leadership of the Minneapolis Teamsters found a better way to collect dues. The secret, as Dobbs explains, was "rank-and-file control over Local 574's affairs, including democratic selection of the leadership. . . . This was the mainspring of its strength."

Teachers who are wondering how their union can collect dues without the checkoff would benefit from reading the Dobbs books on union leadership. They will also learn there how to regain control of their own union and get rid of bureaucrats like Albert Shanker.

said that. Given Gibson's record, I could.

I couldn't agree with Rich Ariza more: "U.S. interests out of South Africa!"

Sam Chetta
Irvington, New Jersey

Prisoners

Militant readers may be interested in an example of the impact of socialist ideas on prisoners.

I have been corresponding with a prisoner incarcerated in Oklahoma. Included in a recent letter was a request for Pathfinder Press to provide a copy of *Woman's Evolution* for study at the prison.

Obviously, discussion among our brothers and sisters in prison is at a highly developed stage, at least in part because of the severity of prison conditions.

This inmate intends to join the socialist movement upon his release.
Marty Anderson
Dallas, Texas

Big cars, small cars

There have been few things that have angered me as much recently as President Carter's proposed tax on big cars. Not that I am a fan of big cars—in fact, the two cars I have owned have both been small. But the hypocrisy of his proposal outrages me.

For one thing, what significant choice have American consumers been given? Auto advertising has made a big car the coveted prize of many families, the most desirable item they can own. Why not penalize the auto *manufacturers* who have produced big cars?

Carter is saying that the consumer—i.e., the American worker—has been at fault all along for being such a glutton, when consumers have had no choice in the matter. Consumers don't design the cars.

Carter's attacks are aimed at workers, not "big cars."

Marty Pettit
Detroit, Michigan

Hine's photographs on tour

The Lewis W. Hine photography exhibit reviewed in the May 13 *Militant* will be touring the United States for the next two years. The schedule is not complete yet, but as of May 6 the exhibit will travel to the following cities:

University Art Museum at Berkeley, California, July-September 1977; Denver Art Museum, November-February 1978; Chicago Historical Society, March-May 1978; Pittsburgh Museum of Art, July-September 1978; Milwaukee Art Institute, November-December 1978; and Greenville County Museum of Art at Greenville, South Carolina, Fall 1979.

Susan Ellis
Hoboken, New Jersey

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.

Women in Revolt

Willie Mae Reid



ERA slides down the poll

The following is a guest column by Ginny Hildebrand.

We're still the ERA *majority*, but we're shrinking, say the polls.

Pollster Louis Harris reports that a 56-to-35 percent majority supports the Equal Rights Amendment—a 9 point drop since October. At the same time, a record 64-to-27 percent majority supports "efforts to strengthen and change women's status."

Harris concludes: "The ERA has become increasingly disassociated . . . with advances in women's rights. Which means that opponents of ERA have been far more effective than the amendment supporters in making their case." And, "The opponents of ERA appear to be clearly more effective in marshaling their forces."

A year ago, it was a different story.

Early last spring the National Organization for Women called a national march for May 16 in Springfield, Illinois. This call triggered local teach-ins, news conferences, and debates to answer anti-ERA lies; rallies and picket lines to put the heat on politicians; trade-union, Black, and feminist move-

ment leaders to speak out and show that progressive forces stood solidly for the ERA. We marshaled our initial forces May 16, 8,000 strong—far more than the anti-ERA movement has ever mustered.

This burst of activity must have helped register a change in public opinion. From May 1975 to October 1976 the ERA majority shot up from 51 to 65 percent, according to Harris.

But, during the 1976 elections, NOW and many other feminist groups exchanged their marching shoes for divining rods to search out "pro-ERA" Democratic and Republican candidates. But after the elections, the politicians produced a torrent of ERA defeats.

In the absence of visible, mass pressure twelve legislatures skirted or trounced the amendment. This gave a new legitimacy to the right-wing ERA opposition: "Only 36-to-35 percent agree that 'the opponents of ERA are the same groups who have opposed progress for less privileged people . . .,'" Harris now reports.

We have less than two years to ratify in three more states. Isn't it time once again to put *our* case before the public by marshaling *our* forces in a national action campaign?



Whoopee!—North Dakota solons created a stir with a bus trip to a special hearing. Fueled by a breakfast including intoxicating beverages, the Associated Press reported, "several told off-color jokes over the public address system and engaged in squirt-gun fights . . . a female legislator stuffed her clothing with inflated balloons so they could be popped by grinning male legislators." And they say life in Bismark is dull.

Economy administration—Following the president's lead, the first

lady granted salary increases to most of her eighteen-member staff. Her press secretary went from \$37,000 to an even \$45,000.

Really?—A study by the congressional Joint Economic Committee found that Americans pay more for their food in cities where a few big chain companies dominate the market.

Big deal—A Soviet citizen is reported, to have trained cockroaches to open tiny newspapers and, in response to his command, rush to a miniature

table where they sit in chairs and eat from tiny dishes. In our old New York apartment they did that on their own.

Better than decafe—Los Angeles area restaurants are now taking as much as forty cents for a cup of coffee. And, says one coffee wholesaler, many of the restaurants he services "use three-and-one-half gallons of water to one pound of coffee when they should only be using two."

That's our problem—"Today's Chuckle," a daily feature in the San

Jose Mercury, advises, "The reason the cigarette scare hasn't been more effective is because people are just naturally for what the government is against."

Thought for the week—"Man and fish alike require a certain amount of contaminating elements in their diet [said] Dr. Philip West, a Louisiana State University professor. . . . He said people are too emotional about pollution and wrongly treat contamination as a dirty word."—*Los Angeles Times*.

La Lucha Puertorriqueña

Lorenzo Piñeiro Rivera

Catarino Garza is the Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor of New York City.

Lorenzo Piñeiro Rivera was an outstanding leader of the Puerto Rican independence struggle for more than four decades. He died in his native Ponce, Puerto Rico, on Palm Sunday, April 3. I was privileged to have met him and known him.

At an early age Lorenzo moved to the United States, where he completed high school. He became active in the Nationalist party in the 1930s. When the U.S. government railroaded to prison Don Pedro Alibzu Campos and other party leaders, Lorenzo returned to Puerto Rico to strengthen the acting leadership there. For a time he served as general secretary of the party.

Lorenzo was wounded in the Ponce Massacre on Palm Sunday 1937, and was one of the leaders the U.S. government indicted for the murders of nationalists gunned down by the cops. After the nationalists were vindicated in court, Lorenzo returned to the United States.

During the 1940s he lived in New York, working for the Spanish-language daily *La Prensa* and United Press International. He was a founder of the Association for the Independence of Puerto Rico—

New York predecessor of the Puerto Rican Independence party (PIP).

He returned to the island in 1953, became general secretary of the PIP in 1955, and won a seat in the Puerto Rican Senate in 1956. His real concern, however, never was winning political posts for their own sake. As the PIP became increasingly conservatized, he became a leader of the left-wing grouping that eventually founded the Pro-Independence Movement (MPI). The MPI grew and prospered, and Lorenzo served as its general secretary in 1965 and later as general director until 1971.

I first met Lorenzo at the MPI's 1968 convention, where he chaired the resolutions workshop.

I got to know him better later that year when he came to New York with Florencio Merced, a student leader who was facing draft evasion and rioting charges. I arranged to have them meet with leaders of the Young Socialist Alliance, who interviewed Merced for their magazine and helped set up speaking engagements for Merced on New York campuses.

I saw Lorenzo again over the years when I traveled to Puerto Rico on one assignment or another for the *Militant*. We would take time to talk, and he was always willing to help me in whatever

Catarino Garza



work I was doing.

When the MPI became the Puerto Rican Socialist party, he was elected to its central committee.

The last time I saw him was in New York City in 1974. I was walking down Fourteenth Street when I spied Lorenzo heading toward me. He said he was on his way to Jersey to visit his son, and that we should get together when he got back. But we never did.

After he died, I heard he had a heart attack while on a visit to his son in 1974. He never recovered.

Lorenzo Piñeiro Rivera was an easy person to get to know and like. He had a knack for making you feel comfortable, and was equally at ease discussing the problems of Puerto Ricans on the island or in the United States.

PSP leader Juan Mari Brás says Lorenzo was one of the few old-timers who identified fully with the radical young people who came to the fore of the independence movement in recent years. He was a living link with the struggles of the past—one of the few who stuck fast to the ideals of freedom through hard times and brought those ideals to a new generation of fighters. All Puerto Ricans are indebted to Lorenzo and to the struggles that he waged for more than forty years.

Capitalism Fouls Things Up

Carter, energy & ecology

Jimmy Carter's energy plan has won high marks from many environmental groups. Thomas Kimball of the National Wildlife Federation said he was "especially pleased to see the emphasis on energy conservation, on protection of the environment, and on the development of solar, wind, and geothermal energy."

"The energy message sounded like we wrote it ourselves," said Sierra Club director Brock Evans.

"Carter's [program] is meant to aid the American people," asserted Jeffrey Knight of Friends of the Earth.

These organizations have unfortunately been taken in by Carter's sweet talk. His energy scheme has only one purpose—to ensure continued high profits for energy corporations.

For example, a plan genuinely aimed at conserving the earth's natural resources would push mass transit. Yet Carter didn't say a word about it.

Carter also wants to step up construction of light-water nuclear power plants. All the environmental groups know that nuclear power is extremely hazardous and should be banned. But they've fallen for his promise to use nuclear energy only as a "last

resort." Carter has already suggested that the "last resort" may be necessary. Is he going to leave nearly 200 nuclear reactors idle?

Carter's proposal for stepped-up use of coal will mean more strip-mining horrors and more air pollution.

Far from protecting the environment, Carter's plan will further degrade it.

Of course, every proposal carries the promise of tough enforcement of environmental protection laws.

But it is naïve to believe that the government, which has put the environment at the bottom of its priority list even in better economic conditions, will change its practices now, when budget balancing, cutbacks, and ending "cumbersome" government regulations have become bipartisan rallying cries in Washington.

For Carter, just like all his predecessors, profit comes first. If you can clean up and also maximize profits, that's fine. If something bites into those profits, then goodbye clean air, clean water, and safe food.

The saddest part of all this is the wedge the pro-

Arnold Weissberg



Carter environmentalists will drive between themselves and the bulk of American working people.

Conservative labor officials feed unionists the lie that environmental concerns are middle-class and antiworker. By backing Carter's assault on workers' living standards, these environmentalists help the union bureaucrats reinforce that incorrect idea.

Instead of banking on Carter, environmentalists should put themselves squarely on the side of the people who suffer the most from a degraded environment.

They should demand an end to toxic and carcinogenic chemicals at work. They should push for clean, cheap mass transit. They should insist that the costs of conserving oil and gas be borne by the oil companies, not by working people.

They should demand an end to nuclear power, not applaud politicians who plan to expand it.

The 4,000 people at the Seabrook antinuclear demonstrations this month showed they weren't willing to put their faith in Carter or any other politician. That's the first step in keeping the earth's environment a fit one for people to live in.

The Daily Calumet

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'If the Democrats are our friends, I'd hate to meet our enemies'

Dennis Brasky, socialist candidate for mayor of Chicago, talks about the need for a labor party

By Dennis Brasky

When you think of a working-class city, you think of Chicago. You think of the sprawling railroad yards and the giant steel mills. You get an inkling of the great potential power the workers in this city have. Yet today, that's all you can get—an inkling of that power.

Dennis Brasky is the Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor of Chicago. A railroad worker, Brasky is a member of the Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers.

Chicago's labor movement has its hands tied behind its back and a blindfold over its eyes. This is where the union officials' strategy of voting for and relying on the Democratic party has led us.

Here's an example of the bind that we're in: Last year the Chicago Board of Education (handpicked by our Democratic party "friends"), signed a contract with the Chicago Teachers Union. Later they said they could not pay teachers for the last three days of the school term because there was a "money shortage." The board of education, in effect, tore up the contracts.

More recently, after the teachers threatened to strike, the board compromised and said that teachers would only lose one day of pay. But the principle of the thing is the same—a legal union contract isn't being honored.

Teachers union President Robert Healy was angry. He pledged to fight against this treachery. But one week later, Healy pledged the union's support in the mayoral election to Acting Mayor Michael Bilandic, a Democrat!

So we have the spectacle of the teachers union fighting against being cheated out of a day's pay and at the same time supporting the people who are cheating them. It doesn't make sense.

The bind we're in

This is the bind we find ourselves in. Our unions are using our money and our votes to put into office people who will lie to us and lay us off. Is that what unions are for? Is this what we pay our dues for?

Our "friends" the Democrats have been in city hall for more than forty years thanks to our money and our votes.

They've had the power to make this

city work for us. But anyone who lives here knows they've failed.

Unemployment in Chicago is officially close to 7 percent. The school system is one of the most segregated in the country and the quality of the education is very poor. Tuition is going up at city colleges. Now officials are proposing changes in admission policies at the University of Illinois, Circle Campus, that will substantially reduce the number of Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicano students.

There has been no attempt to build low-cost, high-quality housing that is badly needed by working people. It is more profitable to build luxury apartments where the rent is \$400 a month instead. On top of that, the housing patterns are based on locking Blacks and Latinos out of certain neighborhoods.

Our money goes for more highways and expressways and more big, ugly, unnecessary skyscrapers downtown. There is only one public hospital for poor people and it is overcrowded and understaffed.

The profits-first policies of the Democratic party are responsible for all of this.

Yet our present union leaders refuse to acknowledge this fact. Like parrots, over and over again they tell us, "The Democrats are friends of labor." If these are our "friends," I'd hate to meet our enemies.

Both the Democratic and Republican parties are the political representatives of the banks and corporations that run this city. They have two parties representing them in the political arena and we have none. Isn't it about time we changed that?

Our own organizations

We formed unions decades ago because we needed our own organizations to defend our economic interests. We don't allow the bosses into our unions. The union is our organization, our protection against the policies of the bosses.

Yet we don't have our own organization to fight for our political interests.

As a result of the current capitalist economic crisis, working people face big problems as a class. None of these problems can be solved at the union level. A successful strike in one industry cannot solve problems such as unemployment, inflation, bad schools, poor public transportation, and so on. These are political issues. Labor must deal with them in the political arena.

For the past few years there has

Poles ate ution

On May 3, 1791 formal adoption of the Constitution by the old Royal Republic of Poland became a reality, marking the birth of the first liberal constitution in Europe.

Following the American pattern, it established three independent branches of government — executive, legislative and judiciary. Throughout the constitution runs a philosophy of humanitarianism and tolerance, including perfect and entire liberty to all people, rule by majority, secret ballot at all elections, religious freedom and liberty.

The advent of the constitution sent shockwaves through the ruling families of Europe. Believing that a taste of democracy could fan the fires of freedom in their own countries, Russia, Prussia and Austria banned together to crush the "Polish cancer of freedom."

In 1795, just four years after the creation of its constitution, Poland, defeated and partitioned, ceased to exist as an independent national state, not to be "reborn" until the end of

(Continued on Page 4)



DENNIS BRASKY

Socialist Candidate Urges Labor Party

By Garrett Brown
(Daily Calumet Staff Writer)

With the Democratic party primary victory of acting Mayor Michael Bilandic many people view the June 7 special mayoral election as a foregone conclusion. One candidate who hasn't given up the ghost, however, is the socialist candidate for mayor, Dennis Brasky.

On Saturday Brasky, a 26-year-old worker and a member of the Workers party (SWP), spoke at a spirited rally of 100 supporters at the downtown Wabash. He was joined by Willie Mae Reid, the state for mayor.

of the rally the SWP had not status in the city. The SWP is a small party with only 16 members in Chicago. The party bills itself as "America's Oldest Community Daily Newspaper." Published in the South Chicago area, it is read by thousands of workers in the steel plants there, as well as by other industrial workers. The Calumet gives extensive coverage to developments in the steel union. The front page of the May 3 issue carried a story about a Steelworkers Fight Back social event attended by 500. But featured more prominently was a story on a socialist unionist who is running for mayor of Chicago. It was a report on an April 30 campaign rally for Dennis Brasky, centering on his call for organized labor to get out of the Democratic party and establish a labor party.

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been a growing movement by rank-and-file members of the United Steelworkers to democratize their union. Steelworkers want to "fight back." To do this they need to harden up their soft and flabby union.

When Steelworkers Fight Back leader Ed Sadlowski ran for president of his union, he said something that is ABC for working people: "The workers and the bosses have nothing in common."

I agree. And, I would add, if we have nothing in common, we shouldn't be in the bosses' political parties either. We should stand on our own two feet.

Our unions are potentially very powerful organizations. We need to use this power to fight for us politically. We need a labor party based upon our unions, independent of all Democrats and Republicans.

A new kind of party

A labor party would put our interests first. It would run railroad workers, steelworkers, office workers, and unemployed workers—not double-talking lawyers and big-business flunkies.

A labor party would be a new kind of

signatures in 1975 when Reid was the first independent candidate on the Chicago ballot in 40 years.

The theme of Brasky's speech was that the potential power of working people, of Blacks and other minorities in city like Chicago has been wasted because it has been "trapped inside the Democratic party."

"The Democrats are supposed to be the friends of labor, of the Black community," they have controlled city hall and the Congress for decades, and they now control the White House, but every new study indicates conditions for working people are getting worse not better."

The socialist candidate pointed to continuing high rates of inflation, unemployment, cutbacks in education, housing, and other social services, new attacks on undocumented workers, and the erosion of affirmative action plans for minorities and women as evidence of

"the crisis of capitalism, and the response of the rulers in their parties, the Democratic and Republican."

"The only solution of the Democrats and Republicans is sacrifice and more sacrifice by working people while a tiny few maintain their profits and property," Brasky contended. He said the leaders of the labor movement are making "a fatal mistake when they give the Democrats 'one more chance,' because the Democrats are using us, we are not using them."

"What we need is an organization that will fight for our interests, our needs. At the workplace we don't let the bosses into our unions, and we should stop begging the bosses to consider us in their party. Working people should have their own party, an independent labor party," Brasky proposed.

The socialist unionist praised the

(Continued on Page 2)

Regins

Making socialism a 'bad word'

Social Democrats cover for NOW leadership

By Nancy Cole

"All in all, as the delegates chanted at the end, 'NOW lives,'" reported the Chicago-based *In These Times*, which describes itself as "the independent socialist newspaper."

Hardly a conclusion an honest observer could take issue with. The National Organization for Women, with 55,000 members, is the largest feminist group in the country. Polls report the number of women identifying with the goals of women's liberation continues to grow. Many are looking for a group to join, and NOW is more often than not the one that comes to mind.

There is no question that "NOW lives."

But the *In These Times* version of the recent NOW conference fell far short of an honest assessment.

"United NOW enters its second decade," its article was headlined. And in that spirit *In These Times* went on to offer a two-page, social-democratic apology for the new NOW leadership.

The first half of the article is a search for something positive to say about the convention. One gets the impression that reporter Judy MacLean had to work hard at it.

In the absence of anything more substantial, MacLean dwells on the "streamlined process and new bylaws" that made for smooth rolling at this conference as opposed to last year's chaotic affair.

This was NOW's first delegated national conference. And having only 650 of the 2,000 conference participants vote "speeded up elections considerably," notes MacLean.

Like Democratic convention

Singled out for a display quote under the story's headline is an observation that the editors of *In These Times* obviously consider to be a piercing insight: "The convention was vaguely reminiscent of last summer's Democratic national convention in its determination to show the world NOW's unity, even to the detail of a shoo-in presidential candidate and a hotly contested vice presidential post."

Whether one considers that assessment to be a compliment or a devastating critique, the analogy is an apt one. The empty rhetoric of the juvenile scramble for the various posts *did* resemble the charade of a Democratic party convention. Only the balloons were missing. And the so-called unity that marked the convention was that between the former majority and minority caucuses, whose differences had more to do with ego clashes and petty power fights than any issues of substance. That was clarified by the ease with which they all united behind the new slate of—all-white—leaders. Again the Democratic party parallel is apt.

As NOW President Eleanor Smeal explained to MacLean, "The ultimate goals of all of us were the same, but we differed on tactics and structure. The bylaws took care of the structure and we compromised on tactics."

The specter of the Democratic party haunted the convention in another way that MacLean alludes to but refrains from elaborating on. By a very close vote the leadership pushed through a resolution to orient NOW towards major involvement in Democratic party politics by setting up a political action committee to contribute funds to candidates they consider acceptable.

They also made clear that their strategy for winning the ERA would be to work to elect "good" candidates in the 1978 state legislative races.

This orientation towards reliance on the Democratic party and a few capitalist politicians, rather than on the power of women mobilized in action, is a strategy for the defeat of the ERA. But the NOW leaders portray it as a move from "protest" to "power."

"Power" it will be—not for women or our struggle, but for our enemies.

Disturbing 'unity'

After the first half of the article protests too much over NOW's new-found unity, the second part admits it wasn't so, and goes on to attack conference participants who disturbed the "unity" by insisting on bringing the real issues to the surface.

"One controversy that could have shattered the unity was the behavior of Socialist Workers party around some resolutions they raised," MacLean writes.

She goes on (and on and on—nearly half of her story is devoted to the SWP) to explain that the resolution on Defending Women's Rights in the Second Decade—"circulated" by the SWP, as she puts it—called for defending the rights of working-class women, especially women of the oppressed nationalities.

It placed special emphasis on issues that are today under attack, like child care, abortion, affirmative-action gains, maternity benefits, and an end to forced sterilization—as well as winning the Equal Rights Amendment.

Maclean's tone is rather defensive. She hastens to insist that "NOW was already on record and active on all these issues."

She argues that "convention resolutions make clear NOW's continued concern with rights of women workers, women who work in the home, minority women and lesbians."

But the NOW leadership's indifference to the problems faced by women on the bottom of the economic pile—grossly displayed at the conference—is too obvious for the "independent socialists" of *In These Times* to ignore. MacLean has to add in all honesty that such resolutions as passed were of a decidedly secondary importance.

"Implementing measures around such issues may fall to task force heads, however, as the national officers concentrate on ERA."

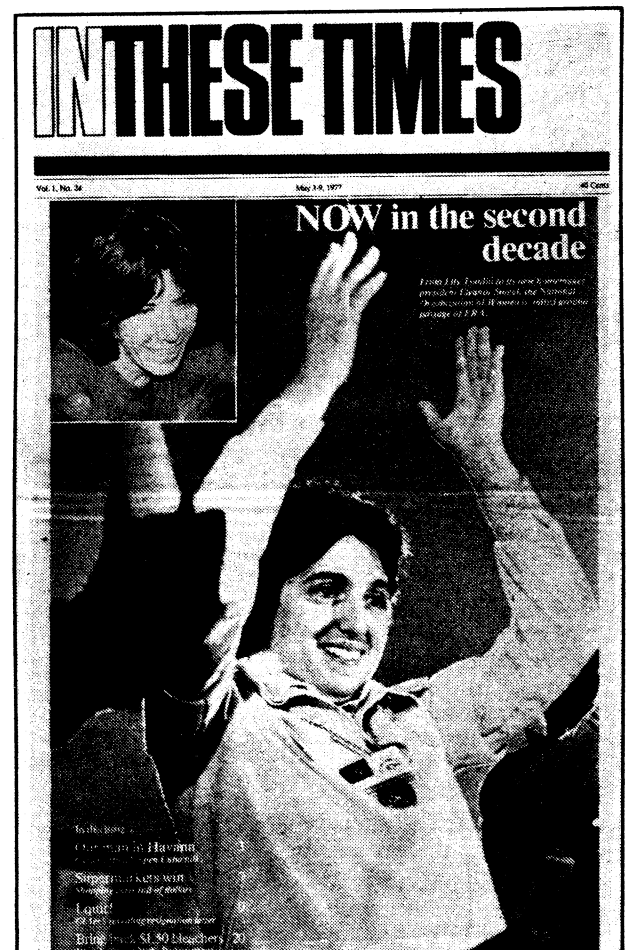
She also goes on to emphasize that there is a real problem in NOW. Even women who did not agree with the Defending Women's Rights resolution felt that NOW was not doing enough to respond to the problems faced by minority women.

MacLean quotes Jacquelin Washington, a Black NOW member from Detroit.

'Angry over racism'

"The racism she's sometimes found in NOW makes her angry, but nevertheless she wants to stay in NOW. 'Racism is everywhere. The problems women have are even greater for minority women, so I say, why not be part of the largest women's civil rights organization.'"

That was the assessment and perspective put forward by the Minority Women workshop as a



whole and by the Defending Women's Rights caucus, which many Black and Latina delegates supported.

After pointing out all this, however, MacLean goes on to say that the problem at the NOW convention was that the SWP attempted to focus discussion on a resolution that addressed itself to this issue and outlined a perspective for correcting NOW's defaults!

She echoes charges made at the conference that the SWP was "using" the issue. How? By trying to get it discussed!

In her account of the conference proceedings, MacLean repeats several rumors that were exposed as false on the plenary floor—such as the report that "the Third World Caucus" was holding a meeting to give the press a statement.

Supports witch-hunt

More importantly, the purpose of the last half of the article is to justify the red-baiting motion stamped through the conference in its closing minutes by the NOW leadership. She approvingly quotes the NOW leadership's argument that the motion wasn't directed against socialist ideas, just against members of the SWP for raising certain ideas. Therefore it wasn't red-baiting!

Of course, that is exactly what red-baiting is. It never focuses on the ideas being put forward for discussion. The whole purpose is to divert attention away from objectively considering the correctness or incorrectness of concrete proposals. Even if the ideas sound correct, they must be rejected because those who are raising them *may* have ulterior motives for proposing them.

The argument about the "tactics" used by supporters of the Defending Women's Rights resolution is in the same vein. The admitted determination of NOW's new leadership to block debate over differing perspectives and put forward a phony facade of "unity," and the crude, undemocratic—and partly successful—attempts to prevent alternative resolutions from even getting on the floor, forced supporters of alternate resolutions to organize themselves and find ways to discuss the real issues.

The problem was not the "tactics" of those who disagreed with some of the resolutions adopted, but the "tactics" and "behavior" of the NOW leadership, which was bent on preventing clarification of the differences over what kind of feminist organization is needed.

At the end of her lengthy defense of the red-baiting attack against democracy in NOW, organized by NOW's new leadership, MacLean even has the gall to charge that the SWP is responsible for creating a situation where others in NOW will be ashamed to admit their socialist sympathies.

The SWP has "made socialism a bad word," she quotes Judy Siebel from Pennsylvania NOW as saying.

But who's discrediting what?

"Independent socialists" who offer apologies for an anti-feminist, anti-working class, anti-Black political orientation, and who applaud a leadership that uses witch-hunting and red-baiting to intimidate its own membership, do far more than discredit the name of socialism. They are a disgrace to it.

Minority Women workshop

Black and Latina feminists discuss how to build NOW



By Willie Mae Reid

Much of the controversy at the recent Detroit conference of the National Organization for Women—and in follow-up reports on it—centered on the meetings of Black and Latina NOW members in the Minority Women workshop.

Rumors circulated that the workshop planned a news conference to denounce NOW as racist, and that NOW members in the Socialist Workers party were using Black and Latina women as part of an SWP plot to take over NOW.

I attended that workshop and the sessions that followed. It's important to set the record straight.

The brochure in the registration kits billed the workshop this way: "Discussion of problems of minority women, more effective ways of attracting minority females to N.O.W."

Twenty-five Black and Latina women attended—along with two or three whites—from cities on the West Coast, in the Rocky Mountain area, the South, the East, and throughout the Midwest.

Jacquelin Washington, a Black Detroit NOW member and member of the Violence Against Women Task Force, chaired the session. Women wanted to know what problems other NOW members faced in their chapters. What attention was given to recruiting minority women. What activities were successful in involving more women of the oppressed nationalities.

Washington described an "affirmative action" plan used in Detroit to make the chapter more conscious of recruiting Black women. She said the plan started with a consciousness-raising session for the Detroit board.

Some members, Washington said, were surprised to learn that their attitudes toward Black women were negative. Others were offended by the revelation. And some who disagreed with changing the composition of the chapter left it.

Desegregation

Reba Williams, a Black Boston NOW member, talked about activities in her chapter. She said the chapter participated in a coalition organized to defend court-ordered busing to desegregate Boston schools. The chapter president spoke at the November 1976 antiracist conference in Boston.

Williams introduced a resolution that she had initiated after Boston NOW had sponsored a panel discussion on women and racism. This resolution on Women of the Oppressed Nationalities proposed a national campaign designed to recruit more of these sisters to NOW.

It called for activities around issues of particular interest to Black, Chicana, Puerto Rican, Asian, and Native American women. It urged outreach to these women through special materials, media advertising, and task forces. (See May 6 *Militant*.)

Most women at the workshop thought the resolution was good—it gave us something to start with, to work together on, to communicate our ideas to other women.

Saundra Melendez, a Black NOW coordinator from Rhode Island, expressed the feelings of many women. She told the *Militant* that there are "a lot of minority women interested in NOW. They look to NOW as a feminist organization for the betterment of all women, regardless of race, color, creed, nationality, or sexual preference."

Ronni Collazo, a Chicana from Colorado Springs, suggested that the workshop make sure all women were included by adding the phrase "and other Latinas" to the list of nationally oppressed women. The workshop then voted to adopt the resolution with no one opposing.

Pat Wright, a Black NOW member from Brooklyn, spoke at the workshop about the resolution on Defending Women's Rights in the Second Decade, which lays out a fighting strategy for NOW.

Wright invited everyone to the evening caucus meeting of supporters of this resolution. Each workshop participant took a copy. Later the Defending Women's Rights caucus voted to adopt the resolution of Women of the Oppressed Nationalities.

The Minority Women workshop was scheduled to end at 4:20 p.m. In the final fifteen minutes, everyone began to talk at once. The discussion had been lively and we wanted to hurry and get everything said.

A Black woman from Detroit suggested that the workshop issue a "strong statement" to the conference voicing our concerns. The idea of a news conference was raised, but it was never discussed in the workshop nor was it ever planned as one of our activities.

A Black reporter from the *Detroit Free Press* promised to join us after her workday ended. We all agreed that we needed to meet again. Washington made arrangements for a late evening session.

Signs were posted announcing: "Minority Women's Caucus Meeting." We met three more times. The Saturday lunchtime meeting was the largest. About fifty women came. It was good to get together!

As Melendez told the *Militant*, we were trying "to tell the conference that minority women are interested in working in NOW, in helping to build NOW."

Equal Rights Amendment

Melendez pointed out the importance of having the support and participation of minorities to get the Equal Rights Amendment passed. She said many workshops were discussing how to make their chapters more Black and Latina, which showed that white NOW members were interested in minority recruitment, too.

Melendez felt that the "twenty-three-month fever" to get the ERA passed was unfortunately causing NOW to forget about organizing around abortion, forced sterilization, and child care. Actions around these issues, she said, are a major way to reach women in the communities of the oppressed.

The resolution on Women of the Oppressed Nationalities was re-adopted in the caucus. The resolution on Defending Women's Rights in the Second Decade was also adopted. Only four Black women voted against the resolutions.

The caucus also adopted two resolutions from the Women & Poverty Task Force on subsidizing poor women and reimbursement of expenses paid to bring two low-income women to the conference.

The minority women's caucus meetings were not organized to divide NOW. Our interest was to discuss achieving greater involvement of Black and Latina women in NOW. This problem is not new.

But instead of an aggressive campaign to recruit more Black and Latina women, the NOW leadership is much more interested in the image the new president projects. With 39 million women now making up 41 per cent of the work force, Eleanor Smeal takes the reins of the largest feminist organization in the country under the highly publicized qualification that she has never had to work a job in her life.

The underground whisper campaign that ran throughout the conference tried to create the impression that the minority women's caucus meetings and discussion were simply SWP manipulation of the "minority issue." This was done to blind the delegates to the content of the resolutions the leadership wanted defeated.

Missing from list

When the resolutions committee distributed the priority list of resolutions to be discussed by the conference plenary, the resolution on Women of the Oppressed Nationalities was missing.

Black and Latina caucus members succeeded in getting the delegates to vote to place the resolution—number sixty-six—high on the priority list. When it reached the floor for discussion, it was amended to also include resolution seventy-six (see box).

Seventy-six called for a national committee to focus on involving nationally oppressed women with one representative to the national board. Through procedural manipulations, the two were divided.

Resolution sixty-six, which provided the teeth for seventy-six, was defeated. But no one ever spoke against it on the floor.

Black and Latina NOW members won a victory by drawing attention to our concerns. But we faced several disappointments at this conference.

One Black woman from Brooklyn said she looked up at the banner in front of the room that said National Organization for Women. Her first reaction was to "tell all minority women to pull out and demand that the organization change its name."

Then she remembered the good discussions she had in the workshops, the caucus, the hallways, and the hotel rooms, and the thousands of women not present at the conference.

She remembered how Black and Latina women led the discussion on our issues and the visible support we found.

As Marie Cobbs from Chicago pointed out, many of us were disappointed, a little hurt. But we were also proud of our success and more determined than before to stay and fight to build a truly united women's movement.

Committee on minority women

The following Resolution on Committee of Minority Women, proposed by the Minority Women workshop, was approved by the National Organization for Women conference, which was held in Detroit April 21-24.

Whereas, minority women of NOW are concerned about the organization's response and action in respect to issues personally affecting every Black, Chicana, Puerto Rican, other Latinas, Asian and Native American women, and,

Whereas, there is a great need for minority women to coalesce within NOW to support each other and reach out to all minority women in order to promote feminism,

Therefore be it resolved that there be established a permanent national committee of minority women composed of at least one representative from each region. One member shall be designated by the committee to attend National Board meetings.

May 17, 1954: Brown v. Bo

1977: Defending desegregation today

The case was called *Brown v. Board of Education*. It could have been more aptly labeled "Blacks v. Jim Crow."

The May 17, 1954, Supreme Court decision was a landmark, the first ruling since Reconstruction in favor of Black equality in education.

The accompanying article describes how that historic decision was won. It is taken from Jon Hillson's new book, *The Battle of Boston: Busing and the Struggle for School Desegregation*.

After the 1954 *Brown* victory, with the law formally on their side, civil rights fighters set out to tear down Jim Crow segregation in this country. Marches, pickets, sit-ins, Freedom Rides, demonstrations—these mass protests forced the federal and state governments to implement school desegregation in Little Rock, Birmingham, and other southern cities. The civil rights movement also forced Congress to pass legislation in the mid-sixties aimed at desegregating public facilities and employment.

But today the *Brown* decision and other gains won through those struggles are under attack.

Last December the Supreme Court overturned school desegregation in Austin, Texas. In January it overturned a busing order in Indianapolis, Indiana. Dayton, Ohio, and Wilmington, Delaware, may be next.

Last January justices also tossed out a lower court decision ordering housing desegregation for a Chicago suburb. And soon it will rule on an important

affirmative-action suit involving admissions to the University of California.

This assault on Black rights is not being carried out only in courtrooms. From the White House, for example, come pledges not to use busing except as a "last resort." And Congress has passed antibusing legislation and is considering constitutional amendments to ban busing.

The flashpoint of the struggle has been in Boston. After a federal judge ordered schools there desegregated in 1974, racists went on a violent two-year rampage against the court order. On May 17, 1975, the NAACP, with the help of the National Student Coalition Against Racism, mobilized 15,000 people in Boston to defend Black students and school desegregation there.

More actions like that one are needed today to turn back the mounting attacks on Black rights. As Martin Luther King once put it, "Legislation and court orders tend only to declare rights. They can never thoroughly deliver them. Only when people begin to act are rights on paper given life blood."
—Diane Wang

Jon Hillson will be touring the country in June to discuss *The Battle of Boston*. He will visit Atlanta June 6-7; Washington, D.C., June 8-9; Boston June 10-11; San Diego June 20-21; Los Angeles June 22-24; and the San Francisco Bay Area June 27-30. For more information on his tour write Viewpoint Speakers Bureau, 410 West Street, New York 10014, or call (212) 242-7654.

By Jon Hillson

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People had traveled a long and painful road to bring the challenge of school segregation to the U.S. Supreme Court in 1952. Founded in 1909 as a multiracial organization committed to securing Black equality in all spheres of life, the NAACP was up against huge odds. In 1896, the Supreme Court had affirmed as the "law of the land" principles of racial segregation based on white supremacy.

Ruthlessly enforced, the policy popularly known as Jim Crow had made Blacks in southern and border states a pariah people, forbidden by law and custom the political rights of American citizenship. Black students trudged miles to ramshackle Black schools, often walking past newer, all-white facilities. Sometimes they were bused past white schools, or watched white students ramble past them in the yellow vehicles to superior facilities.

Movie theaters didn't admit Blacks, or required them to sit in the balcony. There were "colored" Coke machines, drinking fountains, toilets. Restaurants barred Blacks. They were denied the right to attend regular state colleges and universities. They were kept in economic bondage in menial jobs. Blacks fought America's wars in Jim Crow units and were killed and brought home to be buried in "colored" cemeteries. Jim Crow was the law. The sign "white only" haunted Blacks from childhood to death.

Plessy v. Ferguson

There had been no NAACP in 1896 when the Supreme Court, by an eight-to-one decision, approved the right of states to legislate segregation. A Black man named Homer Adolph Plessy had been arrested for refusing to leave the "white only" car on a Louisiana railroad train, thus breaking a law passed in 1888. He and the group of Blacks with whom he organized the challenge to the statute believed that his Fourteenth Amendment rights to equal protection under the law had been violated. New Orleans Municipal Court Judge John Ferguson did not. The appeal, *Plessy v. Ferguson*, wound

its way to the U.S. Supreme Court. The decision would not be difficult for the high court to make.

Racism, North and South, was on the rise. Below the Mason-Dixon line and in the border states, the emancipating principles of the Civil War and Radical Reconstruction had been overthrown. The Ku Klux Klan, the Knights of the White Camelia, and other white racist organizations had triumphed through a campaign of naked terror. Lynching and other extralegal acts were abetted by the police and state militia. State and city statutes had imposed Jim Crow segregation in the southern and border states. The White House had nodded its approval.

This had been the growing reality and national mood in the two decades of expanding aggression against Blacks since the fall of Reconstruction. Now the Supreme Court was about to bestow upon the drive a constitutional blessing.

The Fourteenth Amendment enforced "the absolute equality of the two races before the law, but in the nature of things it could not have been intended to abolish distinctions based upon color, or to enforce social, as distinguished from political equality," the high court stated.

"We consider the underlying fallacy of the plaintiff's [Plessy's] argument to consist in the assumption that the enforced separation of the two races stamps the colored race with a badge of inferiority. If this be so, it is not by reason of anything found in the act, but solely because the colored race chooses to put that construction on it."

'Separate but equal'

Jim Crow, with its fiction of "separate but equal," was as American as apple pie. For the next two decades, the whole of American culture was permeated with white supremacy. Popular songs bore such titles as "All Coons Look Alike to Me" and "If the Man in the Moon Were a Coon." National magazines published "fact" and fiction depicting Blacks as inferior beings. Columbia and Yale spawned professors in the social sciences whose common view was the genetic inferiority of Blacks. Harvard adopted white-only policies in its dormitories. The country itself was on the verge of the Spanish-American War, in the early, colonialist phase of imperialism.

The *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision, the legal buttress of the Jim Crow system, was the ultimate target of the NAACP from its birth. The NAACP based itself on a strategy of fighting for Black rights in the courts. However saturated with racism the judiciary was, suits could still be filed and appeals could be carried up the legal ladder. The Democratic and Republican parties were bastions of white supremacy; the American Federation of Labor, based on all-white crafts, itself practiced Jim Crow.

The NAACP's victories came slowly. In 1915 the Supreme Court ruled against the "grandfather clause," a subterfuge for keeping Blacks from voting in several states. In 1917 city ordinances requiring Blacks to live in certain sections of a town were struck down. In 1923 the conviction of a Black was overturned because Blacks had been excluded from lists of prospective jurors.

But it was unable to contest the essence of *Plessy v. Ferguson*.

Jim Crow

Not when the president of the United States, who was also a former president of Princeton University, regarded Jim Crow as "not humiliating, but a benefit" for Blacks. Liberal Democrat Woodrow Wilson stoked the fires of racism. And as America moved into the 1920s, Washington, D.C., was a citadel of segregation: Jim Crow in housing public accommodation, employment, education, and public facilities. The cue had come from Wilson, the nation's chief law enforcement official, who refused to speak to Black audiences and never opposed the epidemic of lynchings that enforced Jim Crow.

Wilson introduced segregation into America's center of political power. Shortly after his inauguration in 1912, Jim Crow became the official hiring and promotion standard in the postal service. Soon to follow were the Bureau of the Census, the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, and the Treasury Department. Cafeteria seating and toilets were marked off "for white only," and the Senate gallery was segregated. Purges of Blacks in a number of governmental departments came later.

The NAACP was not deterred. There were setbacks, to be sure, but it stood firm as the voice for Black rights, growing in size and influence through the years.

'New Deal'?

In 1941, with preparation for World War II well under way, A. Philip Randolph, leader of a Black union, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, called for a mass march on Washington to demand that America's booming war industries end racial discrimination in hiring. The march never took place, President Franklin D. Roosevelt headed it off with the reluctant appointment of the Fair Employment Practices Commission. Roosevelt, who never supported the campaigns for an antilynch law or other civil rights legislation, paid only lip service to Black rights, and the FEPC was mostly a paper organization. But the call for the march had generated a momentum that was not without effect, and was a harbinger of things to come.

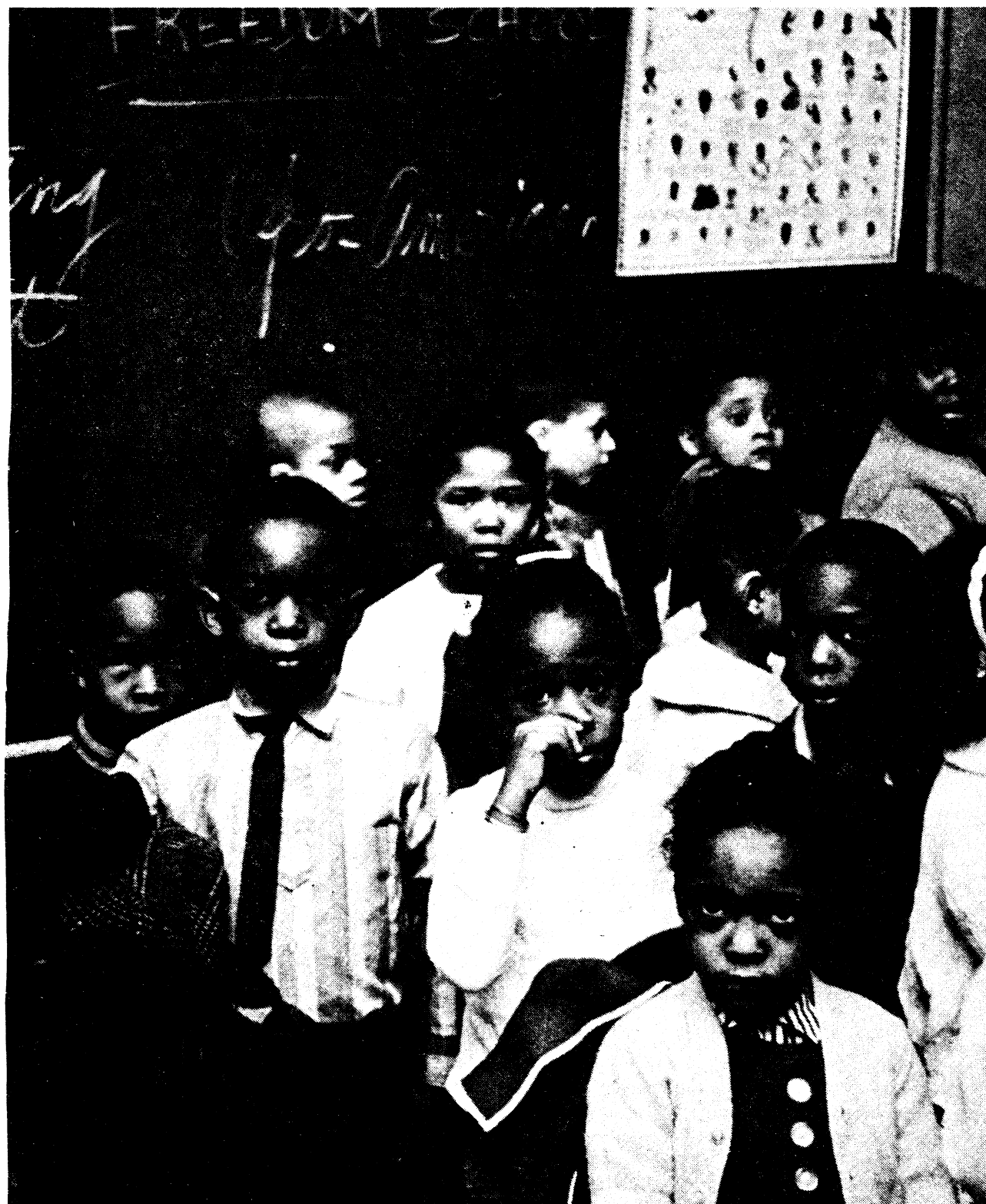
Under pressure to live up to its wartime rhetoric against Hitler's racism, the Roosevelt administration joined an NAACP-backed suit against the "white primary" system of the Democratic Party in Texas. This Jim Crow practice, which in effect barred Blacks from voting, was thrown out by the Supreme Court in 1944.

By now the core of the NAACP legal team included Charles Huston, who would become the dean of Howard University Law School, and a young attorney named Thurgood Marshall, later to be appointed U.S. solicitor general and finally elevated to the Supreme Court. Marshall, an architect of NAACP court strategy, had his sights on *Plessy v. Ferguson*.

Postwar changes

Dramatic economic and social changes growing out of World War II would set the stage for the defeat of Jim Crow. The Black population had begun to shift. Sharecropping, long the basis of southern agriculture, was giving way to mechanization. Blacks were being forced off the land and into southern cities; the massive trek to the industrial North continued. Moreover, Blacks were demanding payment on the wartime boasts about democracy. Now the fight was at home. Blacks had not bled

ard of Education



overseas to return to miserable bondage. New moods were generated, new aspirations. For Blacks, the "V for Victory" salute had a second meaning: victory at home, as well as abroad. It was the 'Double V' in the Black community.

The postwar revolutions by nonwhite peoples in Asia and Africa against colonialism had an inspiring effect upon Black Americans. In addition, the U.S. government needed to improve its image with these newly independent states. This was hardly served by the overt racism of Jim Crow.

Such bigotry was most glaring in the armed forces. In 1948 the government decided to desegregate the army, an act whose implications reverberated deeply through the Black population, North and South. This was a signal to the NAACP to press ahead.

The U.S. was under greater international scrutiny than ever before; its racial policies were steadily under fire from abroad. As a concession to internal and foreign pressure, the Democratic Party put a modest civil rights plank in its 1948 platform. Black community after Black community was challenging segregated education. Parents filed suits in Delaware, South Carolina, Virginia, and Kansas. All of these cases were lost in the lower courts and they all went to the Supreme Court. Each of them contained the basis of a confrontation with *Plessy v. Ferguson*. In the past, the NAACP, defeated on appeals challenging any aspect of the "separate but equal" doctrine, had given up doing so as impractical. Now times were beginning to change.

Brown v. Topeka

The road the NAACP had traveled was forty-three years long when, in 1952, the Supreme Court combined the five separate appeals, placing the case of a young Black student, the first alphabetically of a number of Black plaintiffs, at the top of

its list. Her name was Linda Brown. She had walked miles to a rundown all-Black school when an all-white school—better kept, better staffed, just plain *better*—was a few blocks away. The Black plaintiffs had been fighting the Topeka school board and its Jim Crow system for five years, and *Brown v. Topeka Board of Education* was now before the court of last resort.

Of all the cases before the court, none had come out of such a heated battle as that of *Briggs v. Elliot*, in Clarendon County, South Carolina, the heart of Jim Crow country. The NAACP had considered this the pilot suit. But the Supreme Court chose not to place the South Carolina case at the top of the list. To do so would have made action upholding the appeals seem like a head-on assault on the South. Topeka, in the border state of Kansas, would serve better, taking off some of the heat.

Events were creating a climate which could produce the decision; from the sweeping changes in the Black population to the desegregation of the army and the stunning impact of the colonial revolution on the American government. As Martin Luther King, Jr., would remark in an early speech, "Whether we want to be or not, we are caught up in a great moment of history. . . . The vast majority of people of the world are colored. . . . Up until four or five years ago most of the one and one-quarter billion colored peoples were exploited by empires of the West. . . . Today many are free. . . . And the rest are on the road. . . . We are part of that great movement."

The Truman administration, too, was conscious of the phenomenon King described. As it prepared to turn the reins of government over to the Eisenhower regime, it would file a friend-of-the-court brief in support of the NAACP appeals. Segregation, the brief contended, was indeed unconstitutional, a thorny problem for

Washington—"the window through which the world looks at our house." Later, Secretary of State Dean Acheson would make similar remarks. Propelled by world historic events, the rulers of America were making a conscious shift in policy.

On May 17, 1954, the Supreme Court announced its decision. "Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other 'tangible' factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities? We believe that it does. . . .

'Inherently unequal'

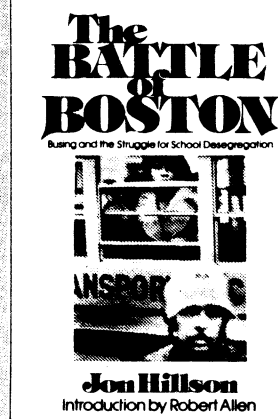
"We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore we hold that the plaintiffs and others similarly situated for whom the actions have been brought are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment."

The decision itself took pains not to assault Jim Crow verbally, nor to excoriate the grotesque legal argumentation that had bolstered *Plessy v. Ferguson*'s authorization of white supremacy. Once consensus had been reached that "separate but equal" was a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment, the justices had debated for months how to avoid tackling the "southern system" head on. The wording should be stern but cautious enough not to ruffle the sensibilities of the Jim Crow states. The meaning of such formulations was clear to Black leaders who, while hailing the decision, would note that it had not called for dismantling of racist school systems.

In fact it would be more than another year before an implementation decision would come from the high court. In the *Brown* decision of May 17, 1954, the justices held that racial discrimination in public education is unconstitutional. The implementation ruling of May 31, 1955, added that "all provisions of Federal, State or local law requiring or permitting such discrimination must yield to this principle." Thurgood Marshall had sought a fixed date for the dismantling of segregation, but the court merely called for a "prompt and reasonable start toward full compliance."

From the very beginning of the historic hearing, there was an atmosphere of apprehension, as if a high explosive was being handled in the courtroom. The judges, compelled by powerful international, domestic, and governmental pressures to make the decision, had then seemed to take fright. Choosing Kansas instead of South Carolina was an act of deference to Jim Crow. Then they had delayed their consensus order, seeking language to soften the blow. They had waited more than a year to outline implementation; and that edict was ambiguous enough to *not* be taken as an order mandating immediate dismantling of the system it had declared onerous, evil, and unconstitutional. The time elapsed had allowed the Jim Crow forces to recover and rally. Declarations by racist governors, senators, legislators, and mayors, repeated month after month, would soon begin to dissipate the mood which had followed the decision—in both the North and the South—that the Supreme Court had outlawed school segregation at long last and that there was no alternative but to accept the "law of the land."

Experience would dampen Black America's initial state of euphoria. Now, for the first time since Reconstruction, the law was on its side; but it was going to take a fight bigger than anyone could have imagined back on May 17, 1954.



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LA court gives segregationists another chance

By Joanie Quinn

LOS ANGELES—Despite accusations by cops here that judges "coddle criminals," most defendants landing in court with thirteen years of grand larceny under their belts would be surprised to receive only a gentle chiding and release on probation.

Yet that is precisely the kind of treatment the Los Angeles school board expects and is receiving from Judge Paul Egly.

Both the court that heard the desegregation suit in 1968 and, more recently, the state supreme court found that the school board had helped carry out the segregation of Los Angeles schools.

Egly, however remains unconvinced. "I must also make the determination as to what is their commitment, and sometimes it helps to see performance," Egly said recently, trying to justify his decision allowing the board to implement a phony desegregation plan.

"A track record is a pretty good idea of what commitment is," Egly added.

Responding to the judge, American Civil Liberties Union attorney Edward Medvene argued, "If they [the board] come in after all these months with a plan that does not desegregate a single school, what more can they do to tell you that [the issue] is too hot for them."

"I am opening the door to their leadership," the judge replied.

In reality the board's "track record"

is a clear demonstration of what can be expected under its leadership—stalling as long as possible to maintain segregation.

Los Angeles schools are among the most segregated in the country. Of the slightly more than 500 schools in the district, 60 are more than 90 percent white, and 123 are more than 90 percent Black, Chicano, or *mexicano*.

Civil Rights Council

The opening volley in the fight to desegregate Los Angeles schools came in 1963 with the formation of the Education Committee of the United Civil Rights Council, an umbrella group of seventy-two organizations. The committee organized marches, pickets, and sit-ins to demand school desegregation.

After five years of stalling by the school board, the ACLU took the board to court to force desegregation.

During the seventy-day trial the board used every trick in the book. Its expert witnesses claimed that segregation was the *result* of lower test scores by Black students, rather than the cause. It claimed that busing would bankrupt the system.

The court ruled against the board.

Refusing to comply with this order, the board created years of delay by appealing the desegregation decision to the state supreme court.

While upholding the lower court ruling, the high court opened a loophole by ordering the board to write a



Militant/Bruce Marcus

For more than ten years Blacks and Chicanos have demanded desegregation. Now judge is confident school board will set good 'track record.'

desegregation plan that was "reasonably feasible." The school board has since emblazoned these two words on its shield, claiming "unfeasibility" at every turn. They argue that there isn't enough money and that busing won't work because Los Angeles is so big.

CACSI

This spring the board set up the Citizen's Advisory Council on School Integration, which included some tok-

en representation from the Black and Chicano communities. The board hoped that CACSI would come up with a plan that could appear to meet court standards without taking any steps toward real desegregation.

However, the board ended up rejecting the plan drawn up by its own council as too far-reaching, and adopted the current do-nothing plan. Under the board's "solution" a minority of Los Angeles students will attend nine-week "integrated learning centers."

Egly himself questioned the constitutionality of the board plan, stating that it didn't "desegregate a single school." Nonetheless, he gave the go-ahead to implement the first stage of the plan.

Recently Egly has made it clear that he wants to see "public response to the plan" before ordering the next phase. This is the key to the eventual outcome of the court battle.

Need for response

To win desegregation of the Los Angeles schools, the leadership of the Black and Chicano communities will have to mobilize support for busing in a visible show of force. This will mean breaking from Black Democrats like Mayor Thomas Bradley, who openly opposes massive crosstown busing.

A movement in support of busing will have to demand reversal of the priorities of the board, which is arguing in court that money for large-scale

Continued on page 30

With 'local ingenuity,' Chicanos don't count

LOS ANGELES—Judge Paul Egly outraged plaintiffs in the desegregation case here by stating in court that more school desegregation could be accomplished if school officials didn't count Mexican-Americans "who have been assimilated into the mainstream of city life."

Egly's remarks are a thinly veiled attempt to exclude whole sections of the Chicano community from any desegregation plan by classifying them as "assimilated." Egly likened second- and third-generation Chicanos to Irish, Italian, and German immigrants. He stated that if this were not the case, spokespeople from the Chicano community would have to prove it to him.

"Color of skin I can buy, a facility

with the language I can buy, but a name [Spanish surname], to be classified as a minority in the school district, I think it is not realistic."

Lynn Pineda, attorney for the Center for Law and Justice, pinpointed the real danger of Egly's remarks—that "integration" of Black schools under this new definition could be accomplished by transporting Chicano students to Black schools. This would leave Anglo schools untouched.

The debate was sparked by testimony that Spanish surnames are used in federal classifications to determine the percentage of Latino students for purposes of desegregation.

Egly contended that there was no need to "blindly and slavishly follow

federal directives."

"We are in a unique position in this community of being able to use our ingenuity and our native intelligence to make a definition which is different from the purposes of the HEW [Health, Education and Welfare]," he added.

In Los Angeles Chicanos and *mexicanos* comprise 24 percent of the district—the largest minority. It is projected that in a few years Chicano students will outnumber whites. If Egly's remarks become law, desegregation in Los Angeles will be effectively blocked.

Egly and the school board seem bent on using their "ingenuity" to see that inferior education for Black and Chicano students continues.

—J.Q.

S.F. meeting backs Miami gay rights ordinance

By David Kaufman

SAN FRANCISCO—More than 300 people met here May 3 to solidarize with the struggle for gay civil rights in Miami. Right-wing forces in southern Florida hope to repeal a Dade County gay rights ordinance in a June 7 referendum.

The rally here, sponsored by the Miami Gay Support Committee, was noteworthy for the enthusiasm of its participants and the breadth of support for gay rights represented by the speakers.

The best-received speaker was Kitty Cone, a leader of the recent sit-in by disabled protesters at the San Francisco office of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Both disabled people and gays, said Cone, face "attempts to deny us our right to exist and be treated as human beings."

Several speakers pointed to the links between the Florida drive against gay rights and attacks on the Equal Rights Amendment and Black rights. These included Michael Prokes, associate minister of Peoples' Temple; Yvonne Golden of the Black Teachers Caucus; and Ali Marrero of the Gay Latino Alliance.

Walter Johnson, president of Retail Clerks Local 1100 and Allan Baird, a local Teamster leader, also spoke, along with representatives of Gay American

Indians, Bay Area Gay Liberation, and Gay Action.

A statement by Juan Martínez, Socialist Workers party candidate for San Francisco Board of Super-

visors, was circulated at the rally. Martínez expressed his support for "visible" actions that "can help turn the tide against the antigay offensive."

* * *

Dade County rally

MIAMI—The Dade County National Organization for Women is sponsoring a May 28 rally to show public support for an embattled gay rights ordinance here.

Featured speakers include Gloria Steinem and Arlie Scott, national NOW's new action vice-president.

Originally the NOW chapter had endorsed a rally scheduled for the end of this month by the Dade County Coalition for Human Rights. When coalition leaders canceled that event, NOW decided to organize its own support activity. Bob Basker, a spokesperson for the coalition, will be speaking at the May 28 rally, which is scheduled for 8:00 p.m. at the University of Miami's student union.

NOW is asking for a \$5.00 donation at the door to help cover expenses for educational and publicity materials.

Gay rights supporters in Boston and Atlanta are also backing the Miami ordinance.

At the University of Massachusetts in Boston, students attended an April 15 gay rights panel discussion sponsored by the campus Gay People's Group, Young Socialist Alliance, and Student Coalition Against Racism.

Panelist Marge Ragona of the Metropolitan Community Church urged feminists and gay rights supporters to work together for homosexual rights and ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. Last month in Florida antigay leader Anita Bryant and Stop ERA national head Phyllis Schlafly teamed up to defeat the ERA.

Atlanta's Gay Rights Alliance is organizing speaking engagements and benefits to support the Dade County ordinance. At an April 28 news conference, GRA leader Linda Regnier stated, "Any city in this country could be targeted next. . . . A strong, visible gay rights movement is needed to defend and extend civil rights to homosexuals."

Anita Bryant has stated that she plans "to go nationally" in her crusade against gay rights.

World Outlook

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MAY 20, 1977

Korean cash cover-up: can of worms for Congress

By Steve Wattenmaker

Is the Carter administration covering up a scandal that could rock Congress? That has been repeatedly intimated by Washington sources following the progress of investigations focused on South Korean bribes paid to scores of members of America's top legislative body.

For more than a year the Justice Department has been looking into charges that agents of the Seoul regime handed out from \$500,000 to \$1 million a year on Capitol Hill, threw lavish parties, and provided legislators with expensive gifts and free junkets to Korea.

With the House now beginning its own investigations, Carter seems eager to avoid involvement, suggesting that Congress do its own house cleaning. William Safire in a March 3 syndicated column headed "President Carter's First Cover-Up" speculated on the president's motives:

"A thorough House probe, done by the Justice Department, would alienate many Congressmen, including most vociferously the Speaker, jeopardizing the Carter programs. A quashing of the probe, on the other hand, would generate at least forty big I.O.U.'s."

Collecting IOUs is not the administration's only objective, however. Full disclosure of Korean efforts to influence legislation would precipitate another crisis in confidence like Watergate.

Early in the investigation a government source close to the probe told the *Washington Post* that the inquiry had already produced the most sweeping allegations of congressional corruption ever investigated by the federal government. From the few details uncovered thus far, it would not be exaggerating to suggest that more than 100 members of Congress could end up in prison if the inquiry were pressed aggressively.

Tongsun Park

The picture of the influence-buying operation that has emerged so far centers on the activities of a Washington-based Korean businessman, Tongsun Park, who acted as an agent of the Korean Central Intelligence Agency, or KCIA.

Investigators have placed Park at a meeting called by South Korean President Park Chung Hee at his official Blue House residence in 1970. Also attending were high KCIA officials and Col. Pak Bo Hi, a former KCIA agent and leader of Rev. Sun Myung Moon's Unification Church.

The gathering reportedly mapped a major lobbying operation designed to "create a favorable legislative climate" in Washington for the South Korean regime.

Seoul was especially interested in assuring the continued flow of economic and military aid. Strong antiwar sentiment in the United States and Nixon's decision to pull 20,000 troops out of Korea in 1971 raised fears that the remaining 40,000 American troops might be withdrawn—an eventuality President Park wanted to prevent.

The Nixon administration found out

about the bribery campaign almost immediately after it was conceived—evidently via a (U.S.) CIA electronic bug planted in Park's Blue House offices. Not only was Nixon uninterested in halting the operation, he gave advice to the Koreans on what members of Congress to approach.

Donald Ranard, a career diplomat who headed the State Department's Office of Korean Affairs from 1970 until he retired in 1974, has testified that he presented evidence to the Justice Department in 1972 that money being raised for the Korean-owned Radio Free Asia was being illegally diverted into the influence-peddling

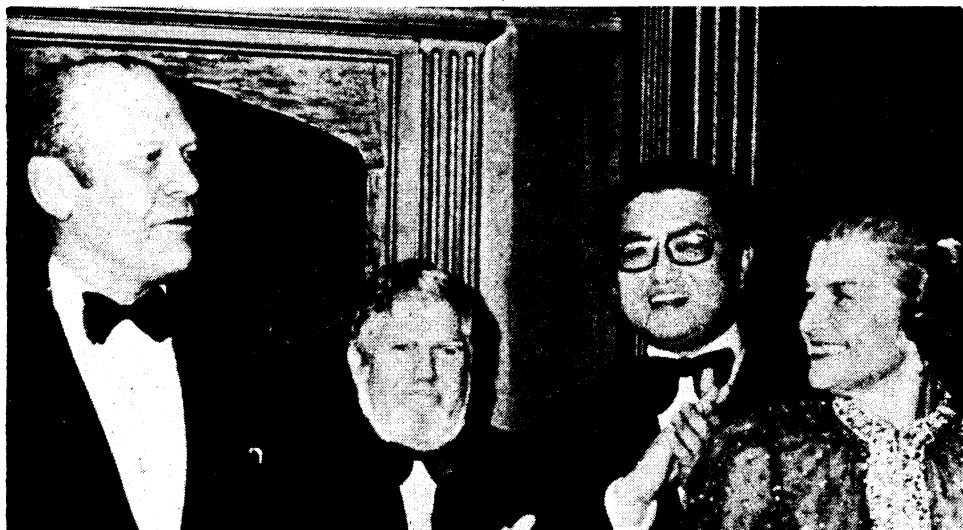
operation.

After several months, Attorney General John Mitchell replied that the evidence was "insufficient" to warrant prosecution.

In 1972 Ranard also received information that New Jersey Congressman Cornelius Gallagher had given a staff job to a Korean connected to the KCIA. Ranard informed the (U.S.) CIA. Nothing happened, but in 1973 Ranard got a phone call from a "fairly senior official" in the CIA who told him to drop his inquiry. "A lot of people around here are a little uneasy about where this thing might end," the official told him.



Philadelphia Inquirer/Auth



Then-Vice-president Ford with Tongsun Park at 1973 birthday party for current House Speaker Thomas 'Tip' O'Neill.



South Korean payola is aimed at creating 'favorable climate' for dictatorial regime of Park Chung Hee (waving).

To covertly finance the multimillion-dollar bribery ring, Seoul designated Tongsun Park as its semiofficial representative in negotiating the purchase of rice imports. U.S. growers paid Park a commission of between \$.55 and \$2 a ton to arrange the sales, reputedly earning Park \$5 million a year from 1970 to 1975.

The KCIA worked other sources of money as well. Investigators are examining whether funds were diverted for the bribery operations from the Korean Cultural and Freedom Foundation, whose president is Pak Bo Hi. The KCFF was organized in Washington in 1964 with the objective of "containing communism on the Asiatic continent."

According to U.S. intelligence reports, the KCIA planned to divert funds raised by the foundation to finance the early stages of the influence-buying campaign. Richard Viguerie, an extreme right-wing businessman who raised \$10 million for George Wallace's unsuccessful 1976 presidential campaign, handled the direct-mail solicitation efforts that netted the foundation \$1.5 million in fiscal year 1975 alone.

The financial demands of the bribery operation were so heavy that the KCIA evidently decided it needed its own bank in the United States. The Diplomat National Bank opened in Washington, D.C., in 1975 with nationally syndicated columnist Jack Anderson as one of its founding directors.

The *Washington Post* revealed November 14, 1976, that Tongsun Park and Pak Bo Hi secretly controlled at least 46 percent of the bank's initial stock. Anderson has since resigned from the board. Other funds were reportedly transferred or "laundered" through secret Bahamian bank accounts.

Social connections

Money alone, however loudly it speaks, was not enough to guarantee the success of the influence-buying racket. The KCIA needed social connections to allow its agents to circulate freely in Washington society. Again, Tongsun Park provided the answer.

In 1966 Park had opened the exclusive members-only George Town Club, in a wealthy section of Washington. Park liberally handed out free memberships to cabinet members, ranking members of Congress, Supreme Court justices, and other high government officials.

The lavish parties Park hosted at his club and his posh mansion established him as a "male Perle Mesta," referring to the legendary *grande dame* of Washington high society.

A birthday party for current House Speaker Thomas "Tip" O'Neill hosted by Park in 1973 attracted the top congressional leadership and then Vice-President Gerald Ford. Park again helped O'Neill celebrate his birthday the following year.

Congressmen from the rice-growing areas in Louisiana and California became some of Park's earliest bribe targets and in turn provided Park with even more connections on Capitol Hill.

Continued on next page

...Korean cover-up: can of worms for Congress

Continued from preceding page

Former Representative Richard Hanna, a California Democrat who was one of Park's co-hosts at "Tip" O'Neill's birthday party, has admitted going into business with Park. A separate Agriculture Department investigation of illegal kickbacks on the Korean rice sales is reported to be focusing on former Democratic representatives Otto Passman and Robert Leggett.

Former Congressman Edwin Edwards, currently governor of Louisiana, has divulged that Park gave his wife a \$10,000 cash "gift" after Edwards helped Passman arrange the rice deals.

How many members of Congress accepted Korean cash? Investigators are working from a list of ninety senators and congressmen that fell into the hands of U.S. Customs inspectors when Tongsun Park was stopped in a routine check returning to Washington from Korea in 1973. (Park tried to avoid the search by complaining to officials that he was in a rush to get back to Washington in time to arrange a business deal with Vice President Ford at the O'Neill birthday party.)

Next to the congressmen's names on the list were notations of 5 to 50 under the heading "Contributions." When asked, Park claimed they represented hundreds of dollars. Other reports have said each figure represented thousands of dollars.

Park later denied the contributions had been doled out to the group. It was only what they asked for, he said.

Correspondent Richard Halloran reported in the February 3 *New York Times* that during the 1974 congressional campaigns it was "common knowledge" among American embassy officials in Seoul that any congressman could pick up a \$30,000 campaign contribution from the South Koreans just by asking for it. For senators, the figure was \$50,000.

Moon disciple

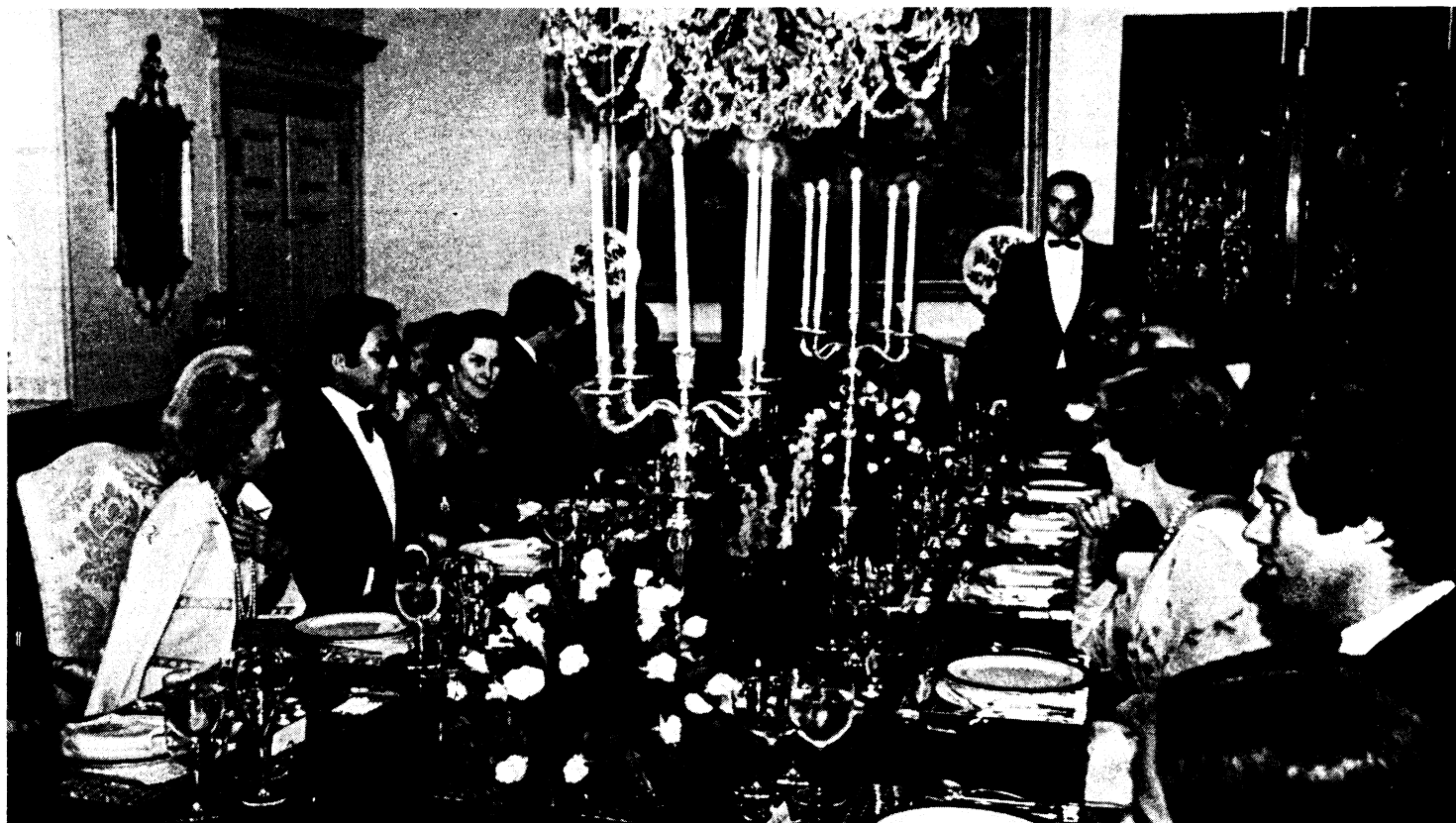
Reports that Korean bribe funds were channelled through the office of former House Speaker Carl Albert to deserving members of Congress are also being explored.

Albert's close aide from 1971 until he retired in January 1977 was Sue Park Thomson, a naturalized American citizen of Korean descent who, like Tongsun Park, had a reputation as a party-giver for congressmen. Thomson, who has admitted "going out" with Albert, is thought to have been recruited to the KCIA about the time she began working in the Speaker's office.

Columnist Jack Anderson revealed December 9, 1975, that Albert also had a curious relationship with a disciple of Rev. Moon in 1975. The young woman, Sue Bergman, would greet the House Speaker outside his office each morning with flowers. Then she would brew ginseng tea for him and serve it in the Speaker's ornate chambers, where she stayed for an hour or two each morning.

Whatever his religious leanings, the Speaker of the House became a dependable political convert. In the summer of 1975 the House International Relations Committee, in a rare action, voted unanimously to condemn the trial in Seoul of eighteen opponents of the Park regime. At the last minute Speaker Albert took the resolution off the House calendar.

Albert and "Tip" O'Neill are not the only top Democrats mentioned in connection with the scandal. California Rep. John McFall, former majority



TONGSUN PARK ENTERTAINING: 'The KCIA needed social connections'

whip and another regular at Park's parties, admitted taking \$4,000 from Park and putting it in his "constituent service account"—an official but unregulated "slush-fund" that members of Congress are entitled to maintain. The current majority whip, Rep. John Brademas, admitted receiving \$4,650 from Park in 1972 and 1974.

Junkets

An extensive number of congressmen were also wooed with free trips to Korea taken on the pretext of conducting official government business or receiving honorary degrees from South Korean universities.

Many of the junkets were arranged by the Pacific Cultural Foundation—a front organization jointly funded by the South Korean and Taiwanese governments.

Democratic Rep. Leo Ryan, a critic of the Seoul regime, was offered an expense-paid trip to South Korea to receive an honorary doctorate degree. Ryan said he was startled when he was invited to "pick the university" that would confer the degree on him.

The degree offer to Rep. Don Bonker came from a South Korean government representative who offered him a \$200 digital watch and an "attractive" Korean woman to meet him in Korea.

According to the October 24, 1976, *Washington Post*, Korean officials regularly provided visiting congressmen with prostitutes. Dignitaries were sometimes whisked directly from the Seoul airport to Walker Hill, a gambling and party resort outside the Korean capital where Tongsun Park maintained his own villa.

Because of the potential scope of the scandal the Carter administration is nervously backing away from the investigation.

Last December the KCIA's No. 2 agent in the United States, Kim Sang Kuen, defected and in return for political asylum offered to fully cooperate with the Justice Department investigation. Kuen had acted as a paymaster in the bribery campaign and was reported to hold damning evidence.

A source familiar with the investigation told *New York Times* correspondent Richard Halloran "this guy will blow the lid off this case. . . ."

Nonetheless, in the first days of the Carter administration, evidence began to mount that the Justice Department

was moving to shelve the inquiry.

Appearing Sunday, February 13, on the CBS program "Face the Nation," Attorney General Griffin Bell said "it seems to me that you don't have to run a grand jury investigation for months or years to find out whether you've got a case or not."

Justice Department lawyers complained privately that Bell's words were calculated to undercut the cases they had been patiently building. Calling for a prompt conclusion to the investigation would encourage some witnesses not to cooperate, the prosecutors told *Washington Post* correspondent Scott Armstrong February 17. Such witnesses might anticipate that the investigation would be terminated before they could be compelled to testify.

Bell has also denied published reports that he had told President Carter to expect from four to six indictments in the case. The *New York Times* checked its own Justice Department sources and confirmed that the Attorney General had "not made a judgment about the prospect of indictments. . . ."

Another ominous sign that a whitewash was being prepared was Carter's appointment of Benjamin Civiletti to head the Justice Department's Criminal Division—the office which has direct responsibility for the congressional probe. Civiletti, a Baltimore attorney who was recommended by presidential advisor Charles Kirbo, steered business to and received business from the influential Atlanta law firm in which Bell and Kirbo were partners.

Another partner in Bell's old law office, Donald O. Clark, served as honorary consul general for South Korea in Atlanta until last December when a permanent consulate was established. Clark provided South Korean representatives with an appraisal of what Carter's position would be on South Korea.

On March 6 the *New York Times* reported that Justice Department investigators were now "pessimistic about being able to obtain indictments on bribery, conspiracy and extortion charges" and had narrowed their investigation to possible income-tax violations by former congressmen Hanna and Gallagher.

Subsequently, word has leaked that

the Carter administration may simply drop the entire inquiry. Columnist Jack Anderson reported April 19 that the government's inability to compel testimony from Tongsun Park, who fled to London last December, "probably will doom the department's efforts to convict a single congressman of bribery."

The two House committees beginning their investigations have received nearly \$1 million combined funding—and will hold public hearings this summer and next fall. Rep. Donald Fraser's Subcommittee on International Organizations will look into KCIA activity in the United States, while Georgia Democrat John Flynt will lead the House ethics committee probe of congressmen who accepted bribes from South Korea.

The 'Watergate factor'

Both committees will be walking a tightrope. Too thorough an investigation would undoubtedly reveal corruption of sensational proportions on Capitol Hill—not just involving South Korea but the thousands of other national and business lobbies that annually stuff millions of dollars into congressional pockets.

On the other hand, as the *Washington Post* earlier warned Attorney General Bell, "the last thing this administration—and this country—needs is something that appears to be another coverup."

How the upcoming congressional hearings turn out may in the end be decided by the "Watergate factor": i.e., despite the best efforts of Congress to limit and stage-manage their investigations, inquiries sometimes assume a life of their own, spilling dangerously over tacitly agreed on boundaries. As Anthony Marro observed in the April 10, 1977, *New York Times*:

"Congressional committees have usually been more aggressive in investigating branches of Government other than legislative, and the ethics committee in particular has an eight-year history of not making waves. But the evidence to date suggests there is a good deal more to be found, and so much money and manpower is being invested in the inquiries that it might be difficult for Congressional leaders to sidetrack them even if they were inclined to."

World news notes

Ethiopian junta shuts down some U.S. bases

By Ernest Harsch

The Ethiopian military junta announced April 23 that it had ordered five American offices and installations in the country to close.

Two of them, the communications station at Kagnaw and the consulate-general in Asmara, were in the northern territory of Eritrea, where Eritrean forces are fighting for the region's independence from Ethiopia. The U.S. Information Service office, the Military Assistance Advisory Group, and the Navy Medical Research Unit in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia's capital, were also closed.

By April 27, the last of the 300 Americans connected with these installations had left the country.

Also closed were the Italian and Sudanese consulates and the honorary British, French, and Belgian consulates in Asmara.

On April 25, the military junta, called the Dergue, also expelled the last three Western reporters resident in Ethiopia. They were Jeremy Toyé of Reuters, Laurent Chenard of Agence France-Presse, and David Ottaway of the *Washington Post*.

A representative of the Ministry of Information and National Guidance charged that the three "have been the main source of fallacious and totally biased dispatches used for the anti-Ethiopian propaganda campaign by the enemies of this country." He claimed that the reporters had collaborated with the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF), one of the main Eritrean independence groups; the Ethiopian Democratic Union, a rightist formation carrying out guerrilla actions in some provinces; and the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary party, an underground opposition group operating largely in Addis Ababa.

Washington's close relations with Addis Ababa began under the regime of Emperor Haile Selassie. Since 1952 it has provided \$350 million in economic aid and more than \$275 million in military assistance. In addition, more than \$150 million worth of American arms were sold to the Dergue since it seized power from Selassie in September 1974.

However, as a result of continued unrest throughout much of the coun-

try, some of this military assistance has recently been scaled down and American officials have raised doubts about the Dergue's stability. In fact, shortly before the Ethiopian regime announced the closures, Washington had informed the Dergue that the Kagnaw station was scheduled to be shut down by September and the staff of the Military Assistance Advisory Group was to be cut from about fifty persons to twenty.

An Ethiopian radio announcement took note of these American moves, plus President Carter's earlier halt to military grants, by stating that there was "no need to allow the advisory group to continue since the United States Government openly announced it had stopped military assistance to Ethiopia."

Although at a reduced level, American ties to the Ethiopian regime still remain. The American embassy in Addis Ababa was not closed, and seventy-six American officials—forty-seven from the State Department, twenty-two from the Agency for International Development, and seven from the Defense Department—are still stationed in the country. More than \$18 million in American economic and food assistance is still in effect for the current year. In addition, the Dergue has nearly \$100 million in arms purchases on order from Washington. (The arms deliveries were temporarily halted April 27, however.)

The diminishing of the American role in Ethiopia has been accompanied by new Soviet overtures toward the Dergue. In February, Moscow extended its congratulations to Lieut. Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam, the current head of state, after he emerged the victor from a power struggle within the junta. There have also been reports that Moscow has begun to ship arms to the Ethiopian regime.

In public, Washington has professed little concern about these Soviet moves. In an April 25 dispatch from Washington, *New York Times* correspondent Graham Hovey reported that "in light of the continuing political and military disintegration in Ethiopia and changes elsewhere in the volatile region, Administration officials believe that the Soviet gains could be of short duration."

The major challenge that the Dergue faces is the Eritrean independence struggle. The ELF and the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) control most of the countryside, and the EPLF has recently made some important military gains, capturing the towns of Karora and Nacfa, the capital of Sahel district.

David Ottaway reported in the April 22 *Washington Post* that the Dergue was planning a new offensive against the Eritrean forces, possibly involving elements of the newly formed People's Militia. *New York Times* reporter John Darnton commented in the April 28 issue that the closing of the foreign consulates in Asmara may be linked to this new offensive.

A representative of the ELF stated in Damascus April 25 that the consulates were closed to remove potential witnesses to a "big massacre" and charged that Addis Ababa was preparing a new military campaign in the territory.

Soviet dissidents appeal to French auto workers

Eighty-six Soviet dissidents appealed to auto workers at France's Renault plants April 13, asking that they press inquiries about the "fate of members of the Soviet Committee to Supervise Compliance With the Helsinki Accords who were arrested recently in the USSR."

According to a report in the April 15 issue of the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge*, the appeal was by representatives of the main opposition currents, including Andrei Sakharov, Pyotr Grigorenko, Valery Turchin, and Vladimir Slepak.

Gromyko visits India

At the end of a three-day visit to India by Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko, a joint communiqué was issued April 27 reaffirming Moscow's ties to New Delhi.

Moscow had for years supported the previous regime of Indira Gandhi and praised her declaration of a state of emergency in June 1975. But after Gandhi's defeat in the March elections, the new prime minister, Morarji Desai, who has in the past expressed admiration for Washington, hinted at a possible foreign policy shift away from Moscow. "If the Indo-Soviet friendship treaty involves any want of friendship with others," he said, "then it will have to change."

However, the communiqué issued after Gromyko's visit declared, "The determination of both states was stressed to continue to follow the course toward the further strengthening of equal and mutually beneficial cooperation in the spirit of the Indo-Soviet treaty of peace, friendship and cooperation of August 1971."

In addition, Moscow pledged to give the Desai regime a twenty-year loan of \$200 million.

Amnesty International names jailed unionists

A list of 283 trade unionists who are imprisoned or have disappeared in a score of countries throughout the world was released April 24 by Amnesty International. Several prominent members of Argentina's Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party) were included.

Imprisoned PST member José Páez was described as "one of the most respected trade union leaders in Cordoba," and Silvio Dragunsky was cited as a PST leader in Bahía Blanca detained without charges since 1974. Two other PST activists jailed by the Videla regime, Juan López Osornio and Jorge Rodríguez, were also listed.

Countries listed as holding the largest numbers of trade unionists were: Peru, Chile, Uruguay, South Africa, Rhodesia, Argentina, Indonesia, Nicaragua, Bolivia, and Brazil. Other countries held smaller or indeterminate numbers of prisoners.

The human rights organization emphasized that only those cases known as of March 15, 1977, were included. It added that many more unionists were being held who have not yet come to Amnesty International's attention.

'Business International' gives Fraser high marks

The government of Australian Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser "is succeeding in its drive to reduce real wages," in the opinion of the *New York* weekly newsletter *Business International*.

The April 8 edition gives Fraser high marks for the recent decision of his wage-control board to limit weekly pay increases to US\$6.21. This represents only 60 percent of the latest quarterly rise in the cost of living.

To enforce decisions made by the wage panel, Fraser is planning to set up an Industrial Relations Bureau. "This agency could threaten both sides with heavy fines for disobeying commission rulings," the newsletter reports, "but its thrust is clearly against labor strikes and boycotts, particularly those that are politically motivated. . . . [The draft law] would effectively outlaw such union activities as boycotts on handling shipments to South Africa and Indonesia (because of its invasion of East Timor) and the attempts to prevent the mining of Australian uranium."

While the government's antiunion course runs the danger of provoking workers to retaliate through strikes and protests, "labor is not in a good position to resist, since unemployment is so high," *Business International* concludes. "Thus, the government's campaign is well timed. . . . For the rest of 1977, at least, the unions are likely to keep the peace, having little other alternative."

Abba Eban's finances probed

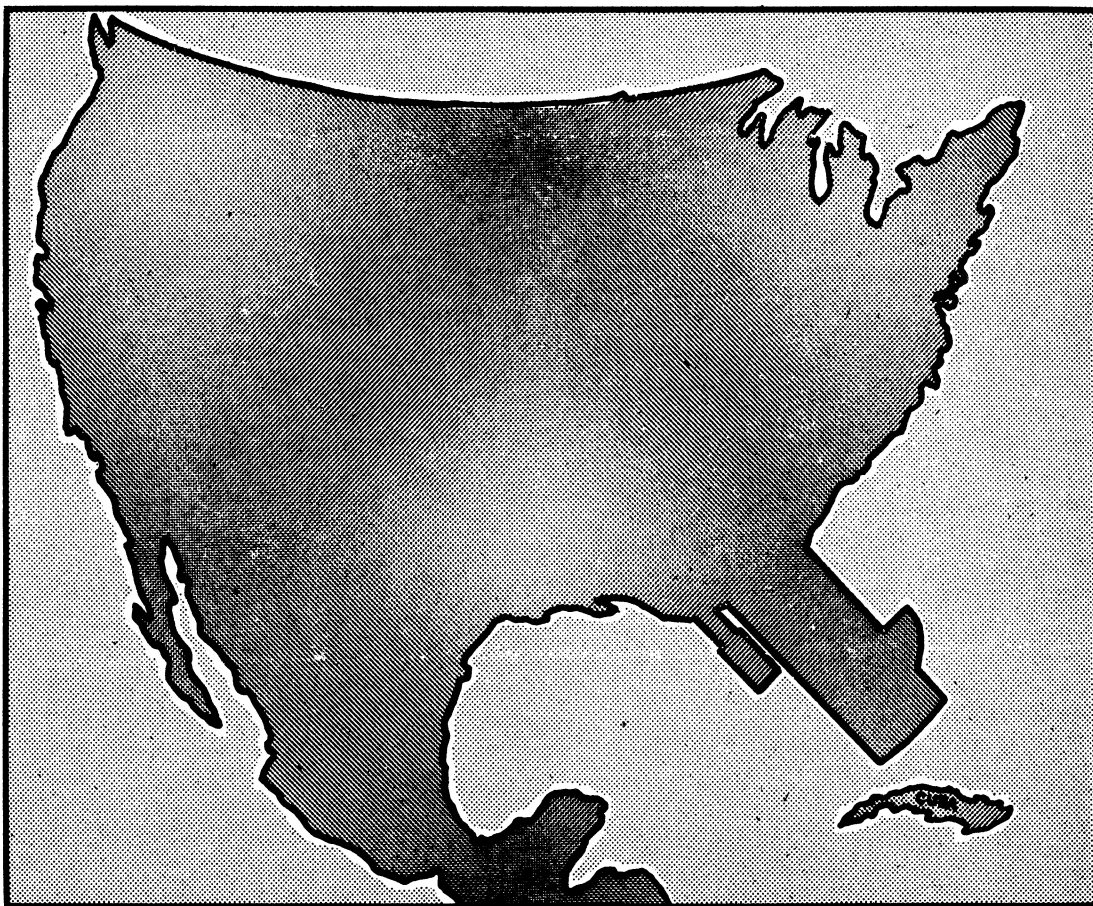
Former Foreign Minister Abba Eban faces prosecution for foreign currency violations, Israeli treasury officials told United Press International April 28. The investigation of Eban's finances follows a similar inquiry that recently forced Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin to step aside as Labor party candidate in Israel's May 17 elections.

Eban, who is the Labor party's third-ranking candidate in the elections, has admitted maintaining bank accounts in New York and London, normally a violation of Israel's currency regulations. However, he claims the accounts were legal under the conditions of a special permit he was issued ten years ago. Searches for the permit have been unsuccessful and Eban may face prosecution if it is not found. The New York and London accounts are reported to hold a total of \$100,000, a sum far in excess of the \$16,000 Eban claims he was authorized to deposit abroad.



MENGISTU HAILE MARIAM

End the United States embargo on Cuba now!



Edmonton Journal/Uluschak

By Michael Baumann

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

Washington's embargo on American trade with Cuba, decreed under Kennedy in 1962 with the aim of strangling the Cuban revolution, is coming under increasing fire as a relic of the Cold War.

"It makes no sense," Senator George McGovern told reporters April 8 during a visit to Havana. "It hurts everybody but our competitors. We trade with Peking and Moscow. Why shouldn't we trade with the Cubans?"

McGovern of course speaks as a capitalist political representative, for whom concerns of profit and Washington's diplomatic advantage are paramount. But even from this perspective the embargo has proved to be an embarrassing failure.

Even when combined with a military invasion and eight known assassination plots against Castro, strict application of the embargo has failed to turn back the Cuban revolution.

More to the point, however, is the toll of human suffering the embargo has cost the Cuban people, who have waged a heroic struggle for simple economic survival in the face of the imperialist stranglehold. In their demand for an end to the embargo, they have the support of revolutionary socialists and all those throughout the world who believe in the right of every nation to determine its own destiny.

Prior to the embargo, American goods represented 70 percent of Cuban trade. Application of the measure forced Cuba to import from countries at a great distance, thereby increasing transportation costs considerably. In addition, many needed items, such as spare parts for American-made machinery, proved unobtainable at any price outside the United States.

It cannot be argued that in continuing this bullying stance toward Cuba Carter has the support of the American people. A Gallup poll conducted in March and published in the April 21 *Los Angeles Times* showed that a majority of Americans favor reestablishing diplomatic relations with Cuba, a step that would necessarily include an end to the embargo.

Significantly, the poll shows that a majority or near majority of virtually every sector of the public supports renewing ties.

Furthermore, 27 percent of those interviewed said they would like to visit Cuba.

In face of this sentiment, the White House has taken a number of steps toward what the State Department has termed "gradual" improvement of relations with Cuba. These include the following:

- The halting January 11 of Pentagon spy flights over Cuban air space.
- The lifting on March 18 of the ban on travel to Cuba by U.S. citizens.
- The ending on March 25 of the ban on U.S. citizens spending American currency in Cuba.

• The visit of an American basketball team in early April, the first officially sanctioned trip to Cuba by a group of American citizens since Washington broke off diplomatic relations in 1961.

• The visit to Cuba, beginning April 18, of fifty-two Minnesota businessmen, with the obvious seal of approval of the State Department. The delegation was reportedly the largest American group to visit Cuba since the break in ties. Included among its members were representatives of such major corporations as General Mills, Pillsbury, Control Data, and Honeywell.

• A State Department announcement April 21 saying that Washington is considering proposing that an American diplomat be stationed in Havana. According to a report of the proposal in the April 22 *Los Angeles Times*, "The envoy would operate a special 'interest section' in the Swiss Embassy, which now represents U.S. interests in the Cuban capital. Similarly, a Cuban diplomat might be stationed in the Czechoslovakian Embassy in Washington."

• The announcement April 28 of a fishing agreement with the Cuban government. As Cuba is only 90 miles from the United States and both countries claim jurisdiction over fishing rights 200 miles out to sea, an accord to settle the conflicting claims was necessary. Under the terms reportedly agreed to during negotiations in Havana, a boundary has been set midway between Cuba and the United States, with Cuban fishing fleets to be allowed to fish for some species within the American sector.

Taken together, these moves are designed to show progress toward establishing normal relations with Cuba. Why then has Carter failed to take the obvious step of removing what the Cuban leadership has repeatedly pointed to as the single greatest obstacle—that is, ending the trade embargo?

The answer is not difficult. Despite

his predilection for lectures on human rights, Carter intends to continue using the embargo as a club against the Cuban people in an effort to wring political concessions from their government.

Troops in Angola

First and foremost, Washington is aiming at forcing the Cuban government to give up its right to act in international affairs as a sovereign nation taking orders from no one. Of particular concern to the White House strategists is the presence of Cuban troops in Angola. Carter made this clear February 16 in a comment widely quoted in the press. He said:

I would like very much to see the Cubans remove their soldiers from Angola and let the Angolan natives make their own decisions about their government.

We've received information from indirect sources that Castro and Cuba have promised to remove those troops. And that would be a step toward full normalization of relationships with Angola.

The same thing applies ultimately to the restoration of normal relationships with Cuba.

Carter then let it be known that more than Angola was involved:

If I can be convinced that Cuba wants to remove their aggravating influence from other countries in this hemisphere, will not participate in violence in nations across the oceans, will recommit the former relationship that existed in Cuba towards human rights, then I will be willing to move toward normalizing relationships with Cuba as well.

Let us leave aside for the moment Carter's stated preference for the situation of "human rights" under the Batista dictatorship, as well as the fact that the Cuban troops are in Angola at the request of the Angolan government, which like the Cubans has the full right to act as a sovereign power.

It is clear that if Cuba were to accept these dictates its national sovereignty would amount to no more than that of the Bantustans created by South Africa. At issue is Cuba's right to continue to serve as an example and an inspiration to the freedom struggle in the colonial and semicolonial world.

Castro has repeatedly and publicly rejected any such limitations on Cuba's sovereignty, stating in the case of Angola that the question of Cuban troops is a matter to be decided between Cuba and Angola.

Another aim in maintaining the embargo is to press for Cuban payment of reparations for American

property taken over following the revolution. According to Washington's accounting, the bill comes to some \$1.8 billion, prompt payment of which is requested.

One must ask however whether Carter seriously intends to go before world public opinion and demand that the Cuban people squeeze \$1.8 billion from their hard-pressed economy to further enrich the stockholders of some of America's largest corporations.

U.S. out of Guantanamo

A further aim in maintaining the embargo is to use it in bargaining for continuation of the Pentagon's military base at Guantanamo, where U.S. troops, currently numbering more than 2,400, are stationed.

Cuban leaders have blasted the hypocrisy of this demand. Speaking in Havana April 4, Cuban military chief Raúl Castro said: "If the American Government wants to negotiate with us about the withdrawal of any troops, we are going to remove their troops which, against the will of our people, are occupying illegally the Guantánamo base."

Speaking in an interview in Newfoundland April 8, on his return from a trip to Moscow, Fidel Castro made the same point, demanding that Washington remove its base at Guantánamo.

In the United States, revolutionary socialists have supported the demand of the Cubans for the removal of U.S. troops since it was first raised by the new government.

A front-page editorial in the November 5, 1962, issue of the American Trotskyist weekly the *Militant* said:

Kennedy advances the argument that "Soviet weapons" in Cuba are a threat to the U.S. By his own logic then, how much greater is the threat to Cuba of U.S. weapons at Guantanamo? That base is the first thing that should be removed and no United Nations inspection team is required to accomplish that task. The U.S. should just leave and let the Cubans have their own territory back.

All who believe Washington has no right to dictate anything to Cuba should raise their voices in demanding an immediate end to the embargo, withdrawal of U.S. troops from Cuban soil, and full diplomatic recognition of the Cuban government.

The State Department prediction that "improvement" of relations with Cuba will be "gradual" is more than a prediction. It is both a threat and a signal that the fight is far from over, that nothing is yet settled.

Israeli election: view from an Arab village

By David Frankel

TIRA, Israel—At first sight, the Palestinian village of Tira seems very remote from the Israeli parliamentary election scheduled for May 18. A village of 11,000 to 12,000 persons, Tira is known for its strawberries. Tractors and trucks are more common than cars in its streets. Horses, donkeys, and goats frequently pass by.

Although Tira is a relatively well-off village, it suffers much discrimination because it is inhabited by Arabs

This is another of the series of on-the-spot reports from Israel by Militant correspondent David Frankel.

instead of Jews. To begin with, Tira is classified as a *village*, not a town, although it is several times the size of many Jewish towns. Towns get more budgetary aid from the government than villages.

In addition, many welfare and social service programs normally administered by governments are run in Israel by Zionist organizations such as the United Jewish Appeal, the Jewish National Fund, or the Jewish Agency.

All of these are formally independent of the Israeli government. Arab villages, of course, get no help from such sources. This is true even in the case of those like Tira, whose inhabitants are formally citizens of Israel.

In contrast to the situation in Jewish areas, the roads in Tira are poorly paved or not paved at all. Indoor plumbing is currently being installed in the village, but it is virtually impossible to get a telephone there because the government refuses to install new lines.

No flags in Tira

But Tira is not a sleepy agricultural backwater. The first time I was there, on April 16, I saw the eagerness with which people snapped up copies of *Matzpen Marxist*, the newspaper of the Revolutionary Communist League (RCL—the Israeli section of the Fourth International).

At a coffee house in the center of the village, thirty to forty men participated in an animated discussion on the upcoming election and the role of the Israeli Communist party (Rakah).

Later, I attended a meeting of twenty-two RCL members and sympathizers at the Tira sports club. Those at the meeting ranged from young men in their teens to one grey-haired veteran of the Arab nationalist El Ard party, which was banned by Israeli authorities in the early 1960s.

The meeting was called to discuss the elections and activities within the village. The Israeli day of independence—April 21—was picked as the date for a mass meeting.

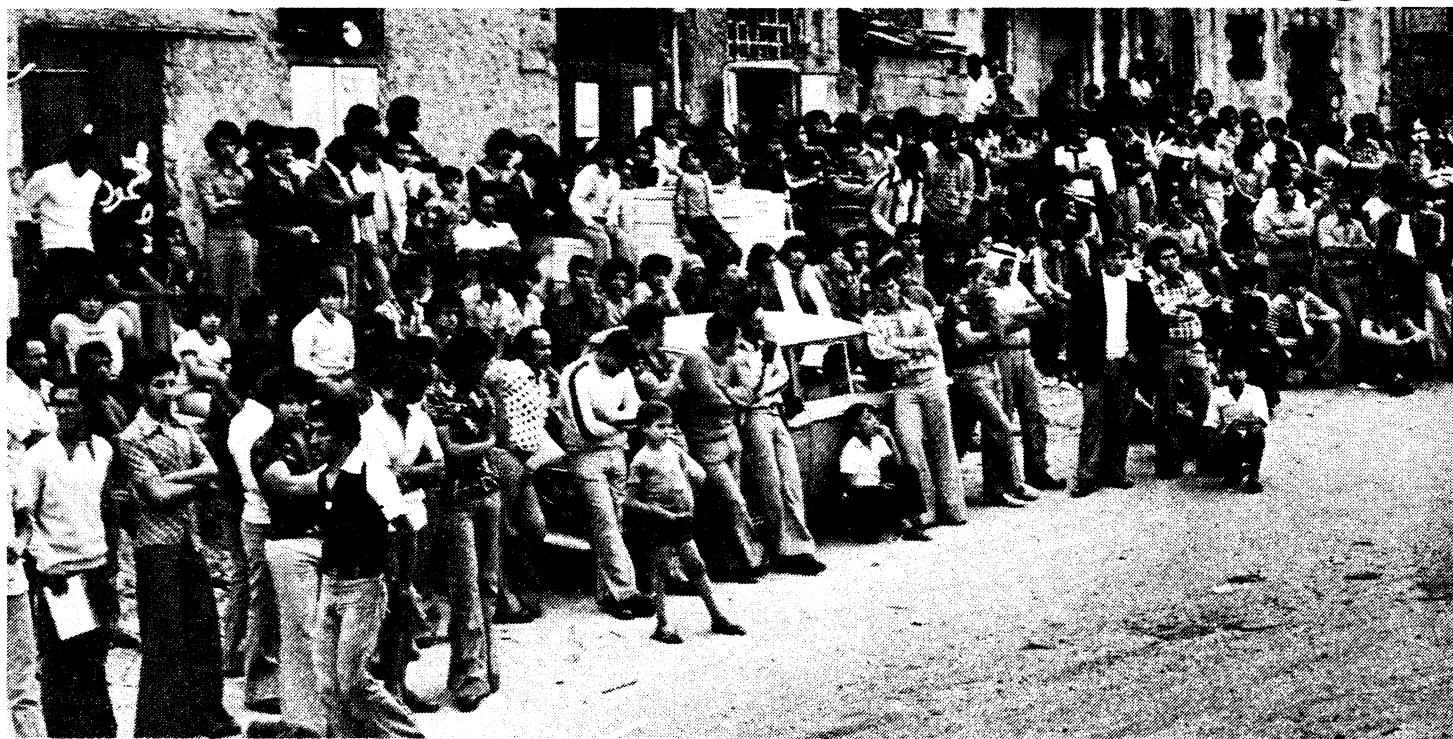
April 21 was a holiday in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, Haifa, and other predominantly Jewish cities. Not surprisingly, it was viewed differently in the Arab villages. No flags flew in Tira, and the peasants went to work as usual. That evening, 350 persons came to the RCL rally.

Tariq Abdel Hai

Until now, most of the Palestinian villages inside Israel have been governed by family combinations linked to the Israeli Labor party through bribes, special privileges, and favors.

But the radicalization of the Palestinian population following the October 1973 war—and especially after the savage repression of the Day of the Land protests in March 1976—has resulted in increasing dissatisfaction with this state of affairs.

Tira is typical in this regard. Its peaceful facade was shattered just over a year ago when Israeli troops attacked demonstrators protesting Zion-



Tira, April 21: 350 villagers attended Revolutionary Communist League rally

Militant/David Frankel

ist confiscation of Arab land. None of the six persons gunned down by Israeli troops that day were killed in Tira, but dozens of villagers there were wounded, some seriously.

Tariq Abdel Hai—the mayor of Tira and a man reputed to have ties with the criminal underworld, as well as with the gangsters of the Zionist Labor party—distinguished himself during the first Day of the Land by trying to stop the protests single-handedly.

The mayor went out with a pistol strapped to his waist and opened the chambers of the village council to show that there was no strike. He then turned on the students who were in the streets, beating several. Finally, Abdel Hai called in the Israeli border guards against the demonstrators.

Under the circumstances, it is little wonder that people in Tira have begun to look for an alternative to Tariq Abdel Hai and his Zionist masters.

'Progressive' Zionists

Unfortunately, the struggle between politicians like Tariq Abdel Hai and those like the RCL who stand for uncompromising struggle for the rights of the oppressed is made more difficult by the role of the Israeli Communist party.

Rakah supported the establishment of Israel in 1948. Today it advocates an alliance with "progressive" Zionist forces. Rakah leaders hope that such an alliance could help bring about a deal between Israel and the Arab regimes at the expense of the Palestinians' rights. Such a deal would strengthen the Kremlin's détente with American imperialism in the Middle East.

Because it has been the only sizable party in Israel that defended the rights of the Palestinians at all, Rakah has built up a large Arab following. In the last parliamentary elections, in December 1973, Rakah won about 35 percent of the Arab vote.

This year, Rakah is expected to do much better because of the radicalization in the Palestinian population. The party has polled about 50 percent of the vote in recent local elections. Commentators in the capitalist press predict that it will increase its representation from four seats in the Knesset [Israel's parliament] to seven or eight as a result of the May 17 vote.

However, the same militancy among the Palestinian population that is enabling the Communist party to gain ground in the villages against the parties of the Zionist establishment is coming into conflict with Rakah's hopes for a bloc with "progressive" Zionists.

Thus, Rakah tried to prove its reliability to prospective Zionist allies

by opposing actions in most villages on the anniversary of the Day of the Land. It proposed instead two minutes of silence to commemorate the fallen.

This policy of inaction was followed even in Nazareth, the largest Arab city in Israel and one governed by Rakah Mayor Toufiq Zayyad. As an article in the April 9 issue of *Matzpen* explained, "For Rakah it was not the Day of the Land, but the forty-eighth day before the elections."

The attempt of the Stalinists to subordinate the independent struggle of the Palestinian masses to deal with the more flexible elements in the Zionist establishment did not go unchallenged.

Palestinian militants outside the ranks of Rakah led protests in many villages on March 30. In Tira, nearly 2,000 persons took to the streets, and a march of 2,000 persons from Sakhnin was organized by the RCL, Arab students from Jerusalem, and activists from several villages.

Rakah answers critics

So far, Rakah has been unable to attract any section of the Zionist establishment into its proposed front. Nevertheless, the Stalinists have established an electoral front called the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality.

In addition to Rakah, this front includes a small group that split off from a left-Zionist organization; individuals formerly associated with the Israeli Black Panthers (this was an organization of Oriental Jews, who are discriminated against in Israel); and Arab notables formerly associated with Zionist parties but forced to break with them as a result of the mass pressure from below. Tariq Abdel Hai, the mayor of Tira, is included in this latter group.

Association with notorious collaborators like Tariq Abdel Hai has been a bitter pill for many of Rakah's less hardened members to swallow.

The Stalinist leaders have responded to this problem by trying to incite violence against their critics. Members of the RCL and other left-wing groups were physically attacked by Stalinist goons in the villages of Taibeh and Arrabe on March 29 and 30.

An editorial in the April 1 issue of Rakah's Arabic newspaper, *Al Ittihad*, scored the RCL, the Arab Student Union at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, and the groups in the Arab villages that criticized the Communist party's policies on the Day of the Land. *Al Ittihad* compared its opponents to "human parasites" and "crazy hysterics."

The editorial ended with a threat:

"Our people have supported these human parasites with great patience, but there is a limit to patience. And the limit has been reached."

But it is questionable whether such bluster will help the Stalinists dodge their critics on the left for very long.

After the first Day of the Land in March 1976, Toufiq Zayyad himself publicly branded Tariq Abdel Hai and Jamal Tarabe (another mayor who opposed the Land Day demonstrations and who is now in Rakah's electoral front) as "traitors who will end up in the garbage can of history."

As Michel Warshavsky, a leader of the RCL, explained during the rally in Tira April 21: "We are not against the idea of a front. But we don't want an electoral front with the left Zionists and the collaborators, not a front like the Peace Front. We want a fighting front composed of all the anti-Zionist forces, Jews and Arabs, who are ready to struggle for the democratic and national rights of the Palestinian Arab people."

West Bank protesters gunned down

By Peter Seidman

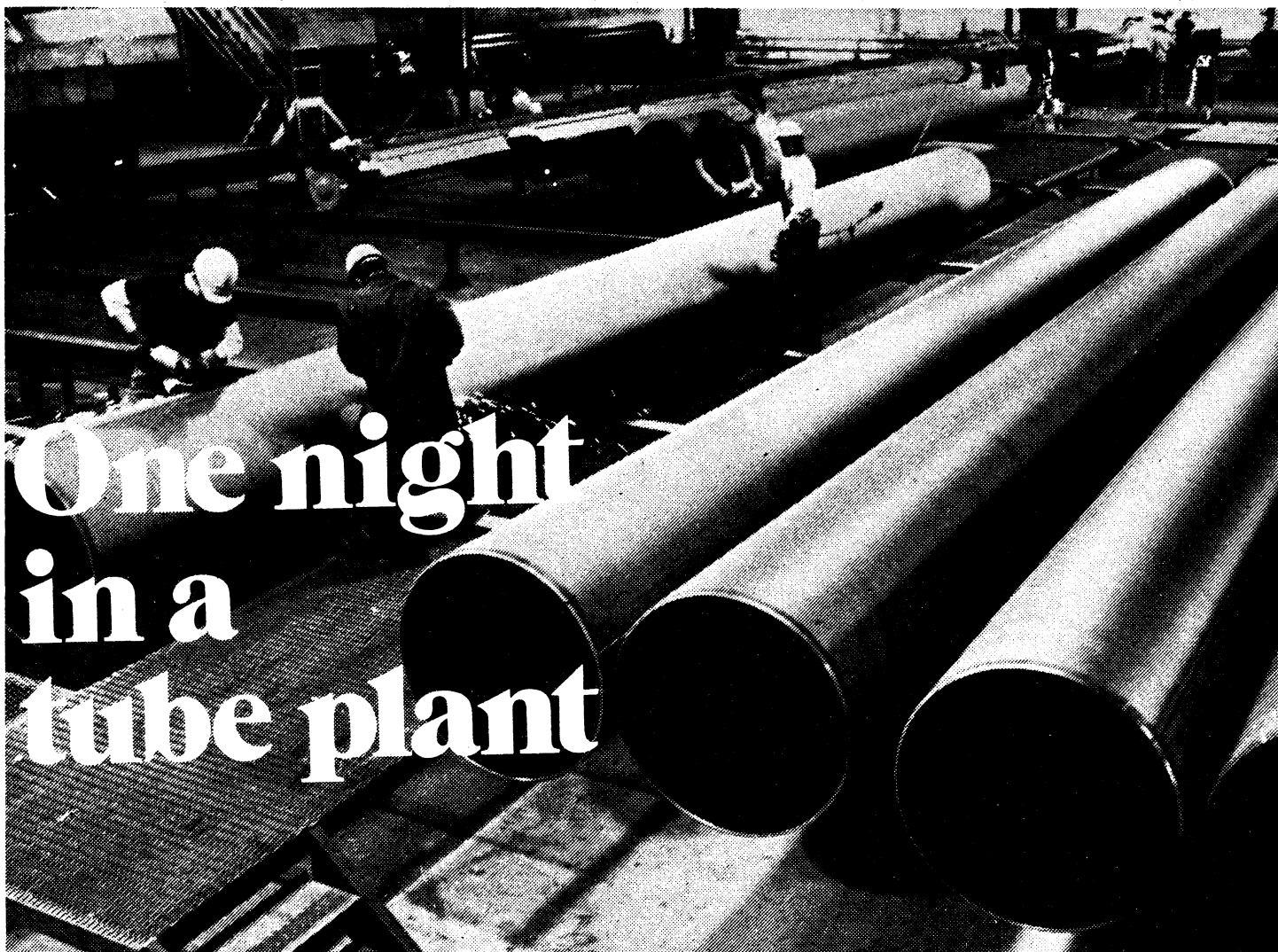
Angry protests and demonstrations shook the Palestinian towns of Qabatiya, Jenin, Nablus, and Ramallah in the Israeli-occupied West Bank territory May 4.

The protests came a day after Israeli troops gunned down Dalal Hassan Halil Abu Roob, fifteen, and Fatima Hamadi, fifty-five. The troops wounded four other Palestinians.

The youth was killed during a demonstration in Qabatiya protesting reports that Gush Emunim, a fanatical Zionist group, was starting another illegal West Bank settlement nearby.

Hamadi was shot during a confrontation between Israeli soldiers and a procession of thousands of Palestinians bringing the dead youth's body home for funeral preparations after his murder.

Mayor Ahmed Shauki Mahmoud says soldiers arrested some sixty people in Jenin after using tear gas to disperse the May 4 protests. Israeli authorities deny there were arrests in Jenin, but do say that two protesters were arrested in Ramallah. A curfew was ordered in Nablus.



One night in a tube plant

**The first woman in the plant since World War II describes
'the most dangerous, the most dreaded job.'**

By Debby Deegan

MILWAUKEE—Three, two, one. The miles tick down.

The parking lot is marked off into different areas: "First Shift," "Second Shift," "Third Shift," "Women." "Women" means office workers.

"Hi, Debby." A friendly greeting from a second-shift millworker going home.

Uncertainty. Tonight at lunch (3:00 a.m.) I will find out if I have Saturday and Sunday nights off. We're scheduled for three nights off each month, but management has until Thursday "noon" to decide which ones.

Uncertainty, too, as to what jobs I'll get tonight. As part of a machine repair crew in this tube mill, I get sent out on different jobs all over the plant.

I glance at the huge fifty-by-eighty-by-twenty-foot furnace to make sure its doors are closed. If they're open, it means I may be sent into the thick asbestos-lined chambers all night and choke all the next day on the fibers.

Since I was hired in December—the first woman in the plant since World War II—the company has hired three more women.

In the locker room we exchange the latest news: "I slept six hours today!" Two of the women have children at home to take care of in addition to the breakneck work schedule.

By the time I'm changed into my workclothes, I'm all dirty. Just putting on my boots, a quarter-inch thick with grease, is enough to make my hands black.

I finish tying my shoelaces, put in my ear plugs, adjust my yellow hard hat, find my flashlight, wrench, pliers, and safety glasses; make sure I have enough coffee change to last until lunch; and make my way down the wooden stairs.

I walk past the flashing red "safety" light. My nose adjusts to the "burned Rice Krispies" smell of two shifts of unventilated mill, and I enter the machine shop.

There, the atmosphere is less friendly. As the first woman ever in this "male turf" there is 25 percent hostility, 25 percent neutrality, and 50 percent acceptance. I make my way to

the far end of the row, where the younger men stand while the older journeymen sit on the counter near their tool boxes.

11:00 p.m.

11:00 p.m. The bell rings.

Suspense mounts. Who will get what job? The general foreman doles out jobs to the welders and riggers (mechanics who do the heaviest lifting with cranes and hoists). The machine shop foreman comes around with pink slips and assigns a job and partner to each machinist.

Everyone knows that the piercer rolls must be changed tonight. This is the hardest, the most dangerous, the most dreaded job. The function of each roll is to pierce a hole in both ends of red-hot steel bar stock, weighing about 1,000 pounds. This will turn a bar into a tube. The rolls must be set at exactly the right angle or the mill cannot run.

Dennis, the union steward, and I have been assigned this job. Everyone else breathes a sigh of relief. Like me, Dennis is thirty. I like working with him: he's cool and steady.

We get two clean pairs of gloves and load up our cart with tools: two sledgehammers, two babbitt hammers, a pail of kerosene, two twenty-four-inch wrenches, a screw jack, lots of rags.

As a helper, part of my job is to push the truck full of tools. We trudge toward the weld shop.

We roll by Furnace 28, a reheat furnace that is left running twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week. The twenty-foot-long rolls in this furnace must be changed while it's running, which means they come out red hot. Boiling hot water, used to cool the rolls, hisses and spits out at us as we pass.

We continue along past the Manischmire (nicknamed "many smear") Mill. My first night on the job I crawled headfirst under this mill tightening bolts. On this job you wear rags under your helmet like an Arabian horseman, to keep the grease from getting in your hair.

Once in the weld shop, we set our tools down and begin setting up the

piercer roll.

The first part of the job involves heating up the knuckle so it will expand and fit over the end of the roll where it keeps the bearings from slipping. The knuckle must be heated for an hour. We strike a match to paper towels, turn on the gas and air, and light torches on either side of the knuckle.

12:30 a.m.

At 12:30 we begin the process of getting the knuckle on the roll. This involves split-second timing. At Dennis's signal, I turn off my torch and push the button to move the crane that is holding the knuckle. The knuckle slides halfway on and Dennis starts swinging. I grab the other sledgehammer and we pound in unison. The hot knuckle feels like it's burning through my asbestos gloves.

The knuckle is stuck. Dennis's hand is burned. I wait for him to get back from the nurse.

While I'm waiting, my foreman comes to ask me if I "want" to work the weekend.

I play dumb: "Do I have to?"

He explains that I don't have the proper attitude: I should look at this as an opportunity to make extra money. I tell him thank you, but no. He says he'll see what he can do.

I feel angry and helpless. This is supposed to be my weekend off and I've planned to sleep. But, as the least senior person, I have to work if there aren't enough people scheduled or if a more senior person wants off.

More than angry, I'm worried. Dennis must be hurt badly.

Dennis comes back with his hand bandaged. He asked to go home, but the nurse told him to get his foreman's permission. The foreman has refused.

3:00 a.m.

On the way to lunch, I run into my foreman. He tells me I'm off this weekend.

I crawl up the stairs to the women's locker room and recoup my forces for the rest of the night. The roof is leaking and my stale bologna sandwich gets soaked.

After lunch I return to the weld shop to find that Chuck has replaced Dennis.

Chuck is my favorite person to work with. He's twenty-five and comes from a logging town in northern Wisconsin. His dream is to buy a trailer and return there someday.

He has spent two of the twelve months he's worked here in the hospital. His hard hat didn't protect him from a tube that fell and hit him in the temple. One of the few people in the machine shop who isn't related to a foreman, Chuck was almost kicked out of the shop by the general foreman for not being "skilled" enough.

We are both wringing wet from sweat and the rain coming down through the roof. Chuck smokes constantly as we prepare the roll for installation.

4:30 a.m.

By 4:30 a.m. the roll is ready. "Big Mike" is sent to help. Because of his size, no one picks on Big Mike. I roll the truck to the mill while Mike and Chuck accompany the two motor forklifts with the roll.

This has become a rush job. Three mill setup workers have been sent to help. From here on, I will have to listen carefully to instructions and not get in the way.

Chuck sends me underneath the mill with a screw jack. The setup crew hoists the roll into midair and brings it into position.

Chuck shows me where to insert the screw jack, and I start pumping. It is still hot under the mill, which has been running all night.

I don't see any rats, but I hold my nose against the smell of decomposed rats in the rancid grease. My boots squash in the grease and water. I try not to slip.

6:00 a.m.

My job is done. The jack is securely in place.

Three nervous foremen have come to watch us. If our job isn't done, we'll have to work overtime. It's almost 6:00 a.m., time for the mill to start. Assured that the job is almost done, the foremen in their white hats drive off in their battery-powered scooters.

The millworkers in their orange hats are ready to start. We get out of the way fast, throw our tools on the truck, and watch the mill start up with a big rumble.

It's like a giant earthquake. The ground shudders. Ten-foot logs of steel are rolled by a conveyor into the furnace. They emerge one by one along a conveyor until they reach the piercer rolls where they are pierced at each end until the right-sized hole is made.

Each tube is then rolled down a fifty-foot incline and conveyed in and out of various machines until the inside and outside walls are the right thickness and diameter. The tubes roll downhill at lightning speed: all you can see is green flames. Sparks shoot out everywhere and sizzle as they hit puddles of water.

Tired, wet, and hot, Mike, Chuck, and I truck back to the machine shop. We don't talk, but share a close silence: we've gotten through the night unhurt. Light shines through the green and turquoise windows in the ceiling high above.

6:30 a.m.

6:30 a.m. Relief. The night is over.

It has been raining all night and the roof is leaking buckets of water.

On my way to the locker room I pass a medical unit and see a millworker with a badly blistered arm. He slipped and fell on a green-hot tube.

I got my two nights off, but not without a fight with my foreman.

I didn't have to work on any cranes sixty feet over the mill, where a wrong move can put you in touch with 1,000-volt live currents.

I didn't get sent into the furnace.

I shiver and feel lucky.

Why a Black feminist became a socialist

By Claire Moriarty

Ask Sharon Grant why she's a socialist and she'll tell you: "What I want to do is get people to understand the issues so they can take action."

Sharon will be twenty-four on the Fourth of July. She grew up in foster homes in New York's South Bronx and Brooklyn and went to Bushwick High School in Brooklyn. She's given a lot of thought to the issues that face Black people, particularly Black women, today.

JOINING THE SWP

Last week we both took the thirteen-hour bus ride from New York City to the national conference of the National Organization for Women (NOW) in Detroit. Afterward I asked what she'd thought of the convention.

"You know," she said, "I sometimes used to worry about what they said about feminism being counter-

productive to Black liberation. But I don't anymore. It's just not true."

She and I had both supported the Defending Women's Rights in the Second Decade and the Women of Oppressed Nationalities resolutions. These resolutions outlined a strategy of mass actions to defend and extend the gains women have won around the Equal Rights Amendment, abortion rights, affirmative action, child care, and so on. They urged NOW to open up to minority women by taking up the social issues of most concern to Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanas, Native Americans, and Asian women. The Oppressed Nationalities resolution was defeated at the NOW convention; the Defending Women's Rights proposal did not come to the floor for a vote.

"At first," Sharon told me, "I was disillusioned. But now I'm ready for more dialogue, for activity. Now I can see it. The course is clear. Women's liberation is not just for white women. I don't think NOW has the right to seclude itself from the rest of womanhood."

"Even if the effort is futile—and I don't think it will be—it's imperative to keep pushing these issues in

NOW. To reach minority women you don't need to go to Washington or Albany."

"The International Women's Day demonstration here in New York on March 12 was a good example of what I mean. The demands that day encompassed the lives of minority women, *our* experience. Without that there's nothing in it for us."

I asked Sharon why she'd decided to join the Socialist Workers party. "Well," she said, "I'd been thinking



SHARON GRANT

Militant/Susan Ellis

about it for weeks, but do you want to know the exact minute I decided? The minute the minority women's resolution was voted down at the NOW convention. That's when I decided.

"I saw people in the SWP *doing* something to change things. For me that's what counts."

"I want to get a better idea of the issues—women's issues and others, like South Africa and the unions—and how to work for them. I want to build up my skills—organizing and speaking. I joined the SWP because I think it's imperative to have a base from which to view things, to see things clearly."

Sharon had worked with Democratic party politician Luis Almedo on minority housing in Brooklyn. She realized pretty quickly, she told me, that the endless filling out of applications was not going to solve the housing crisis.

"I've seen a lot of other political groups and never heard anything I could understand; they never discussed the things that affect real people every day. . . .

"Why did I join the SWP? It just seemed like the right thing to do."

New support for disclosure law challenge

By Lucy Burton

A wide range of activists in the Black, civil liberties, and antiwar movements are supporting the challenge to the 1971 Federal Election Campaign Act [FECA] being waged by the Socialist Workers election campaign committees.

Under the act, socialist campaign committees are required to turn over to the government the names and addresses of anyone who donates more than \$100 to SWP candidates for federal office.

Since 1974, the socialist campaign committees have withheld these names from the government. The socialists are suing to have the disclosure laws declared unconstitutional as applied to the SWP.

The socialists cite a long list of

government attacks on SWP campaign supporters. These FBI and CIA dirty tricks have been extensively documented during pretrial proceedings in the SWP's lawsuit against government spying and harassment.

Socialist campaign committees say that they should not be required to turn over a ready-made list to be used for such unconstitutional purposes.

As more and more information about such illegal government activities has been revealed, the roster of those who back the socialists' fight for exemption has grown.

Robert and Michael Meeropol recently voiced their support for the socialists' exemption effort. The Meeropols are currently fighting to expose the government's frame-up and execu-

tion of their parents, Ethel and Julius Rosenberg.

"In view of the past and continuing harassment of the Socialist Workers Party . . ." say the Meeropols, "refusal by the Federal Election Commission to grant this exemption can only be viewed as part of a coordinated government effort to destroy a legitimate political party by intimidating its supporters."

"There is so much evidence of government harassment of the Socialist Workers Party on the public record," says 1976 presidential candidate Eugene McCarthy, "that the party should be exempted from the FECA disclosure requirement."

Victor Good, associate director of the National Conference of Black Lawyers, expressed support for exemption

"until such time as the public is given evidence and proof that Cointelpro and all other illegal government spying programs have been dismantled and discontinued."

Other statements of support have recently been received from Nobel Laureate Salvador Luria, *Black Scholar* editor Robert Allen, and Dave McReynolds of the War Resisters League.

On May 17 the Socialist Workers campaign will file evidence of harassment with the Federal Election Commission in Washington, D.C., and hold a news conference to release summaries of the case. The FEC has been ordered by a federal judge to assemble the facts of harassment directed against the SWP.

N.Y. meeting demands 'Free Dzhemilev!'

By Carol Lisker

NEW YORK—Opponents of political repression in the Soviet Union held a meeting here April 27 to demand freedom for Mustafa Dzhemilev. The meeting, held at the New York University Law School, was sponsored by the Committee to Defend Mustafa Dzhemilev.

Dzhemilev, a young Crimean Tatar,

was arrested by Soviet authorities on April 15, 1976, on charges of "anti-Soviet activity." In reality, his only crime was the consistent and outspoken defense of the national rights of his people.

In 1944 Stalin deported the Crimean Tatars from their homeland—the Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (ASSR)—to central Asia. In

1946 he abolished the Crimean ASSR. Today, despite the denunciation by the current Soviet government of Stalin's acts as "crimes," the Crimean Tatars are still struggling to be allowed to return to their homeland.

Committee spokesperson Marilyn Vogt chaired the meeting. She linked the struggle of the Crimean Tatars for their national rights with the broader fight for democracy in the Soviet Union. She urged all socialists and civil libertarians to support this struggle.

A recurring theme of the meeting was the need for Americans to reject Carter's hypocritical campaign around human rights in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

Jim Houghton—a leader of Fight Back, a Harlem-based organization fighting to break down racial barriers against Blacks in the New York City building trades—pointed out the flagrant hypocrisy of Carter's stance. The United States government says it is alarmed about the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, Houghton noted, but it condones South African apartheid and practices its own version of that policy here at home.

Richard Falk, a professor of law at Princeton University, explained Carter's campaign as part of a program of "pacification of the American people." Its aim, he said, is to renew confidence

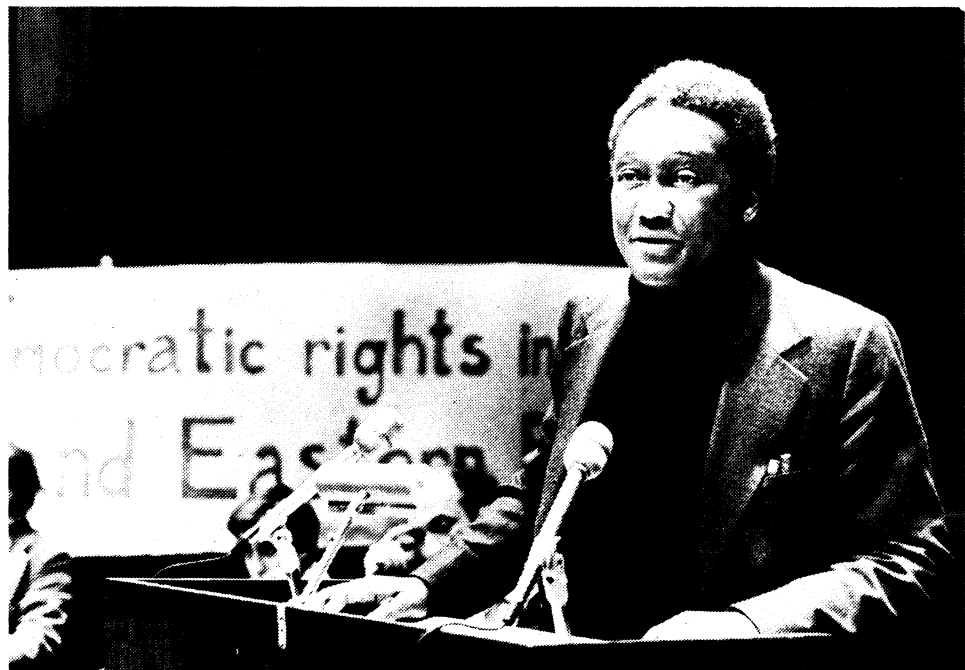
in Washington's foreign policy after its unjust war against the people of Vietnam.

Ralph Schoenman, former executive director of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, explained that it is actually in the interests of both Washington and the bureaucrats in the Kremlin to defeat the movement for socialist democracy.

Reza Baraheni, the well-known Iranian poet and opponent of the shah's brutal regime, spoke of the depth of racism of the Soviet government against Crimean Tatars and other non-European peoples living in the Soviet Union.

Also speaking at the meeting were: Boris Shragin, an exiled Soviet dissident who currently teaches at Queens College in New York City; Irena Lasota-Zabludowski, who was arrested for her activity in the Polish student movement in 1968 and is currently an activist with Amnesty International; and Jane Roland, Socialist Workers party candidate for city council president of New York.

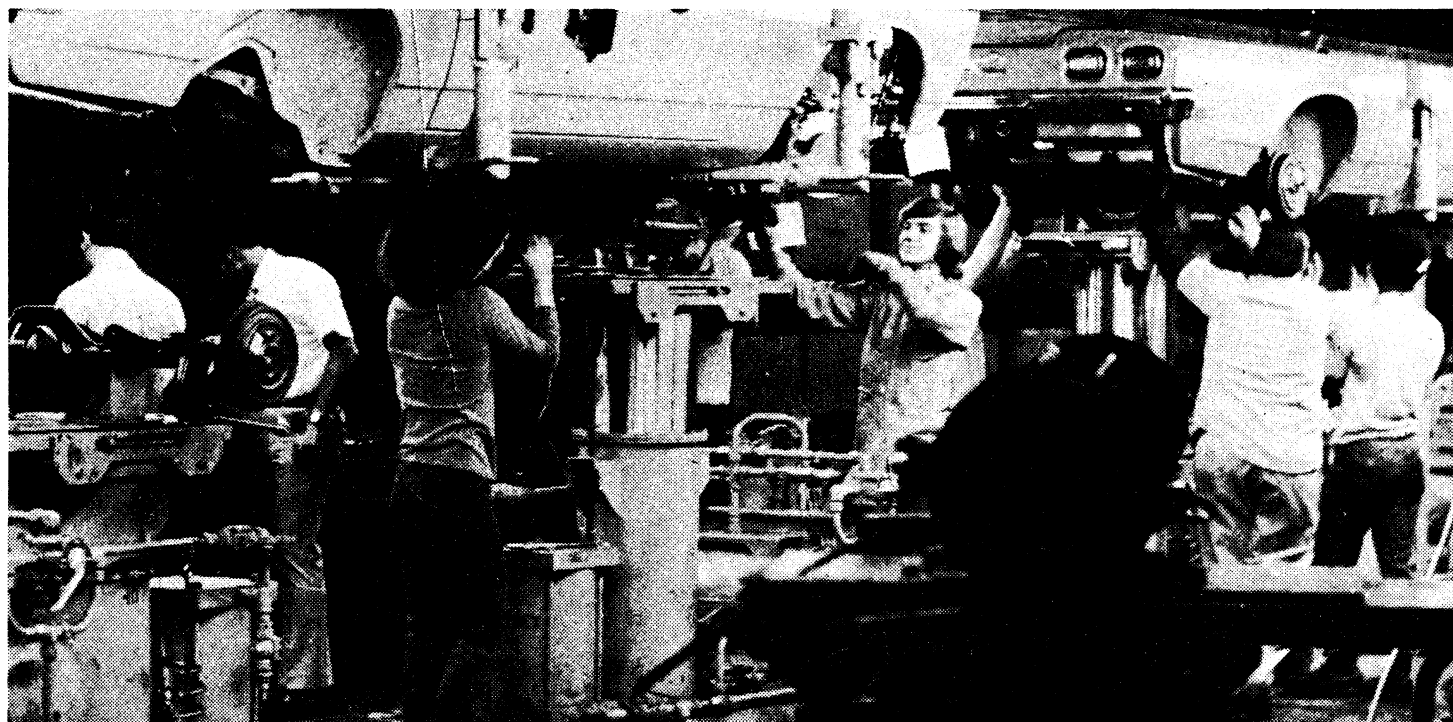
Vogt urged supporters of Dzhemilev's freedom to join a May 18 picket line outside the United Nations building at 3:00 p.m. The picket, on the anniversary of Stalin's deportation of the Crimean Tatars, has been called to demand that they be allowed to return to their homeland.



Jim Houghton at New York meeting for Mustafa Dzhemilev

Militant/Anne Teesdale

'Auto Work and its Discontents'



Auto Work and Its Discontents. Edited by B.J. Widick. Published by the Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976. Paperback \$2.95.

This slim volume about work in the auto industry was produced by five university professors who once worked in auto plants and were union shop stewards. This distinguishes it from other similar writings by academics about "The Quality of Working Life," and makes it more useful to the discontented workers in auto and other industries who want to change conditions, not just comment on them.

Books

The foreword by Eli Ginzberg of Columbia University says the conclusions about work by these writers are "closer to the truth than any other treatment of a theme that has confused social scientists since the days of Karl Marx."

What they say in these brief essays has nothing to do with Marx. They do, however, make some interesting observations about factory workers.

In the main these professors have produced what Ginzberg says it is: a collective "remembrance of things past," plus their opinions about the present.

Feminist union perspective

Patricia Cayo Sexton of New York University remembers her three years on an assembly line at the Dodge Main Plant in Hamtramck (an enclave in Detroit), starting in 1946. That was the year Walter Reuther became president of the United Auto Workers.

Dodge Main, which in those days employed about 20,000 workers, was controlled by the Thomas-Addes caucus in the UAW. Sexton was a member of the Reuther caucus. She was assigned to the trim department of some 500 people, where only three women worked on the main assembly line.

With the changing relationship of political forces in the union she became the first Reutherite steward in that department, with "a lot of help from the few women . . . and very little opposition from men."

Sexton's contribution, "A Feminist Union Perspective," tells about the problems of women auto workers then and now, in the shop and in the union. She thinks working conditions were worse then because women had less

recognition, were kept on sex-segregated jobs where the speedup was greatest, and were placed on separate seniority lists.

She says in her time she tried to break down job segregation and combine the seniority lists, "but both the men and women resisted."

"I have no nostalgia for the shop," she writes. "I had a good job, by shop standards, and my workload was relatively light. But the environment was hard: dirty, grimy, noisy, uncomfortable, unattractive. These things probably count much more for women than for men, but they are vital parts of the work milieu for all of us."

"I loved the people, the variety of them, the toughness and honesty of them, their good humor and spontaneity. I very much like working with 'blue-collar' men. The group bonding that occurs among them is an experience that is denied to most women."

"Men, factory men, have been much more a 'collective' than women. But women are also acquiring some collective solidarity and, thankfully, we are moving at a pace that is swifter than 'all due speed.'"

Women today

Today things are different. But not much better. There are probably more women employed now, but it is not possible to get statistics on the number in the auto industry. Sexton estimates that less than 10 percent of auto workers today are women.

The segregated seniority system is gone, but a breakdown of job classifications shows little change.

"The old story," says Sexton, "almost all the good jobs (officials, professionals, technicians, salesworkers, craftsmen) are held by white males—the jobs that pay off in money, prestige, power. The women and Negro males have what is left over."

"White women are almost evenly divided between clerical and operative jobs, and both Negro males and females are heavily concentrated among operatives."

"I should hasten to add that white males are also heavily into the operative jobs, creating an almost numerically balanced two-class system among white males: the unskilled workers on one hand and the upper echelons of skill and/or authority on the other."

What about women in the UAW? In 1946 none of the top officials were women. Today all international executive board members are male, with one exception. "She fills a spot created for women only."

There are about 800 appointed staff members working for the international union, only 20 of them women.

Seventy-four women are UAW local union presidents, about 5 percent of the total.

Union politics

A local union president told Sexton, "I'm an Albanian and my husband is Italian-Sicilian."

How did she get elected president of her local? "The colored people backed me. That's the only way I could have got elected as a committeewoman. So I crossed the race barrier, and then I had to cross the sex barrier. The [local executive] committee backed a man."

So how did she win? "I ran against two men."

Sexton tells other things about union politics, and about herself. "I felt as though I had walked in on a smoker, a male locker room, that I had opened a door that I, personally, would be better off shutting for the time being."

"I did just that. I returned to college and to academia, a somewhat more hospitable environment for women." That was nearly thirty years ago.

She says if she were in the shop today, "I think I'd give it a hell of a try."

The other contributions are less exciting and imaginative, I think because the other writers were untouched by the youth radicalization of the 1960s. Sexton appreciates the feminist movement and feels that she belongs to it. The others, settled in their academic positions, are content to be spectators and commentators.

Prof. Bill Goode of the State University of New York submits short reminiscences on life in the auto plants. He worked for ten years, during which time he became a journeyman pipefitter and a shop committeeman.

He recalls that the work was sometimes hard but never dull; that the humor, habits, and attitudes of the craftsmen he worked with helped shape his life; and that most grievances he handled now seem to him frivolous.

He says union activity was not highly regarded. "If someone was defeated in an election, he 'went back to work.'" That attitude has not changed, on the part of either workers or union job-seekers.

'Productive education'

As a testimonial to the advantages of his time in auto plants, Professor Goode says, "That ten years . . . was the most productive education I have

ever received. The local union politics could be savage, but the UAW was a yeasty, feisty union composed of the greatest men and women I have ever met. Without them we would all be much diminished."

Prof. Al Nash of Cornell University has begun a more ambitious project. His essay, "Job Satisfaction: A Critique," is an abbreviated statement of a more extensive study on the quality of working life today. He has gathered useful information on the attitudes of factory workers, especially those on the assembly line.

His conclusion is summarized: "While not as bad as . . . in the 1930s, conditions could be much improved. The composition of the workers has changed, too. Some are younger, better educated, more radical or sophisticated, and have higher expectations than their predecessors. What the old-timer of the 1930's saw as a significant improvement is taken for granted by the younger worker."

"Progress, in the sense of constant improvements of the QWL [Quality of Working Life], has not been continuous; rather the union and the workers have been forced to retreat in face of the industry's persistent efforts to intensify efficiency and rationalization of work. . . ."

"Unions generally have failed to question the present structure of work because 'to do so would require a radical challenge to society as a whole.'"

Black workers

Prof. B.J. Widick of Columbia University, as organizer of the study project and editor of their findings, reserves for himself a large share of the space in this monograph.

Among the "many unresolved challenges and problems summarized in this report," Widick takes up what he considers the big one in his special contribution, "Black Workers: Double Discontents." He has written a good deal about the Black struggle in Detroit and knows more about it than he understands.

He has adopted, with advancing age, a patronizing attitude on this question, which he says is "usually written about only in the radical press with its predetermined biases."

In the early 1950s Widick worked with aspiring Black leaders in the UAW such as Horace Sheffield, Robert Battle III, and the late Willoughby Abner to win a greater measure of equality for Blacks in the industry and more recognition for their talented representatives in the UAW.

At the beginning of World War II Blacks were almost totally excluded from the industry, with the exception of Ford, where about 10 percent of the factory work force was Black. Chrysler's workers were about 2.5 percent Black and GM less. The war changed this, but after the war many Blacks were squeezed out.

Widick says a big change has occurred in the past fifteen years. Blacks in the auto industry are now about 30 percent of the total hourly rated work force.

Because of the discriminatory hiring policies of the auto corporations over the years, Black workers suffer most from economic crises and periodic layoffs.

UAW policies

Widick gives high marks to the Reutherite leadership of the UAW, but he says the union is limited in what it can do in support of Blacks.

"The union with perhaps the best

record in race relations and policies toward an integrative society," writes Widick, "finds itself buffeted by cross-political currents, including a strong Wallace sentiment, weakened by mass layoffs and the recession, and functioning in adverse political climate from the standpoint of its program and leadership policies."

The UAW leadership policies that Widick endorses have kept Blacks in the auto industry from actively participating in the decision-making councils of the union. At present there is one Black man on the UAW executive board, a token representative.

In his brief reference to the 1967 Black uprising in Detroit, Widick says the ruling class "assisted separatist, nationalist, and supermilitant blacks to become spokesmen for the black community," which he says was "a tragic error" on their part. He writes as if Black nationalism were something grafted onto the Black community from outside, and deplores it.

Like the UAW leadership with which Widick has for many years tried to associate himself, he sympathizes with Black people in racist America. But he sees them as part of the problem.

It never occurs to him that militant Black workers in the UAW can be leaders in the struggle to transform society and destroy racism along with such other capitalist social evils as unemployment and runaway prices—all problems that plague and perplex the present union leadership.

They were different

All of these professors write sympathetically of the UAW leadership and relate fond memories of their days in the auto plants. But they were different from other workers, especially Blacks, who are in the auto plants because they must be there to earn their living.

They are not looking for any other place to go, and they have no better place. Their only choice is to stay and fight to improve what they have, even if it means changing the economic and social system.

These writers are different in another way, which Sexton mentions in her recollections. "My commitment to unionism undoubtedly made shop work far more stimulating than it otherwise would have been," she says.

It was not only her "commitment to unionism" that gave added meaning to her work in the factory. She was also a socialist and must have thought that what she was doing contributed to the struggle for emancipation of the working class.

The same is also true of Widick. After leaving the Socialist Workers party in 1940 with Max Shachtman and others, he became one of the leaders of the Workers party, which they founded. As such he went to work in the auto industry, where he became deeply involved in UAW politics as a representative of what he thought would become a viable left wing in the Reuther caucus.

This abiding interest in union politics is what kept him in the auto plants for fifteen years. He discovered eventually that there was no place for him in the bureaucratic structure of the union and he left.

What this group of ex-auto-worker professors now have to say about auto work and its discontents is better understood when their interests at the time they were working are known. There is nothing in the text to indicate what their political or other interests were, except for what Sexton writes. Probably they were not all the same.

In retrospect they are in agreement on the value of their work experience, and what they have to say should be interesting to many young factory workers today who are finding their way to socialist ideas and to the ranks of the Socialist Workers party.

It will be their socialist convictions that will change for them the quality of their working life, and this in turn will help them to change the present oppressive conditions in this society.

—Frank Lovell

Don't miss 'Ms.' in June

The FBI Was Watching You by Letty Cottin Pogrebin. Published in the June issue of 'Ms.' magazine, New York, \$1.00.

The June issue of *Ms.* magazine inspects the 1,377 pages of FBI files on the women's movement that were released last February. Many newspapers (including the *Militant*) reported on and quoted from those files. Now *Ms.* adds its detailed study to that coverage.

The magazine includes five pages of FBI excerpts and a four-page list of individuals and organizations targeted by government spies. But the article does much more than just satisfy a tingling curiosity to know who was spied on.

Magazines

Letty Cottin Pogrebin, an editor of *Ms.*, has written a useful analysis of the files. She puts the government operations against the women's liberation movement (or WLM, as the FBI called it) into context.

Pogrebin points out that J. Edgar Hoover wrote his memo declaring that "it is absolutely essential that we conduct sufficient investigation to clearly establish subversive ramifications of the WLM" only three days after the national guard had killed antiwar protesters at Kent State University.

What the files show, Pogrebin demonstrates, is that the FBI attempted to put together a complete index of every person and activity concerned with women's rights.

Pogrebin goes on to analyze some of the divide-and-conquer tactics that the

FBI used against women. She cautions readers against trying to ferret out who the agents were. She correctly labels such agent hunts a "poisonous diversion."

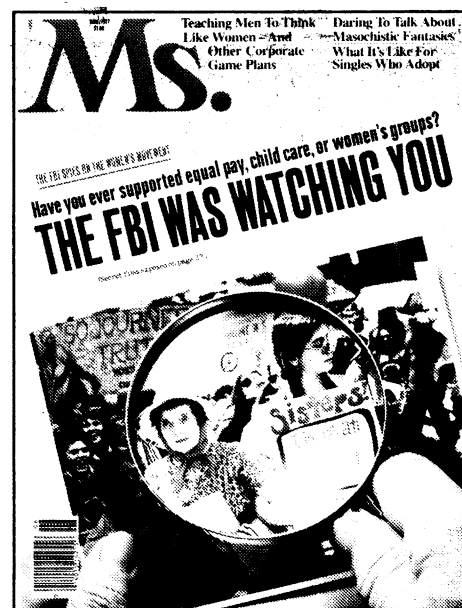
"No one relished (and perhaps manufactured) such accusations more than the FBI," Pogrebin warns. "It would be a shameful irony if the opening of the files inspired bounty hunts for real or imagined agents provocateurs instead of an indictment of the process that produced them."

Pogrebin also examines the FBI's use of red-baiting. She quotes from a 1972 McCarthy-style propaganda piece written and distributed by the FBI entitled "Exploitation of the Women's Movement by Socialist Workers Party." Pogrebin comments:

"Whatever the facts about SWP 'use' of the Women's Movement, a constructive joining together of forces for change seemed to be what the FBI feared most. If we could put aside our differences of political affiliation in order to work together on one issue, there was no telling where it would end. So when the agents witnessed compromise or coalition, they called it manipulation and exploitation."

"Unwittingly, some of us gave them occasional cause for celebration . . . Groups split up over suspected hidden agendas or possible domination. While women were worried about so-called radicals or FBI plants tearing the Movement apart, the FBI was worried about radicals and mainstream women joining together."

Pogrebin's conclusions on red-baiting are a timely contribution to a debate in the women's movement today. It is crucial that the movement devise a strategy to defend women's rights, which are under attack. Leaders of the National Organization for



Women, however, have tried to stifle this discussion. At a recent NOW national conference, a red-scare motion was rammed through at the meeting's end accusing the SWP of trying to "use" and "exploit" the women's movement.

We can all learn a lot from the released FBI files. Most importantly, perhaps, we can learn the importance of open, democratic discussion in the movement, free of name-calling. *Ms.* magazine has done women a valuable service by making the material available so widely.

—Diane Wang

Diane Wang is coauthor, with Cindy Jaquith, of *FBI vs. Women*. This pamphlet analyzes recently released FBI files and reproduces fourteen pages of documents. It is available for seventy-five cents from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.

'Rebellion in Patagonia'



Rebellion in Patagonia. Directed by Hector Olivera. Released in the United States by Tricontinental Film Center, New York.

Few films that aim to make a political point succeed. In my opinion *Rebellion in Patagonia* is one that does.

Set in Argentina's southernmost province of Patagonia in the 1920s, the film deals with the first attempts to organize urban and rural workers in that region. The incipient union, led by

Film

anarcho-syndicalists, first organizes the hotel workers, who stage a successful strike. The union then reaches out to the rural workers in the *estancias* (huge spreads owned by a largely foreign landed aristocracy).

The province's conservative governor realizes the threat the union poses, not only to the big landowners in Patagonia, but to the country's bourgeoisie as a whole. Patagonia becomes, in fact, a focus of international attention. Even Britain, with large investments in the area, begins to pressure for a hard line to crush unionizing efforts.

When the liberal Radical party politicians running the government decide to take action, they send Commander Zavala—a self-righteous and apparently honest army officer—to Patagonia. In his first visit, Zavala finds that the workers' grievances are justified and helps negotiate a settlement.

The "piece of paper" soon betrays the workers, and they are forced to go on strike again. Zavala returns with a mandate to end the rebellion at all costs. This time he unmasks his obsession with defending the "fatherland" and wages a systematic, deliberate slaughter of the union militants.

Rebellion in Patagonia is a tragic chapter in the history of the combative Argentine working class. Bitter battles like this one paved the way for the high degree of organization of the Argentine labor movement today.

But its content is just as relevant today as a half century ago. What is behind the brutal repression of workers movements everywhere, for example, is summarized in a brief exchange between Zavala and his assistant officer after a bloody confrontation. "Don't you think that the punishment was too harsh for what they have done?" asks the officer timidly. "We're too few to dominate them," Zavala replies.

Perhaps the film is not totally accurate. Only an Argentine Marxist historian would know for sure. But it is a crisp, subtle, and poignant film. A film that takes its subject seriously but doesn't beat the public over the head with its message.

Some may charge that the film doesn't take a clear enough stand on the workers' side. In my opinion it gives ample room for the general public to take its stand on the right side of the class line.

But aside from its political merits, *Rebellion in Patagonia* is brilliantly directed and performed. It is a fine artistic film that has received international honors.

When the film was first released in Argentina in 1974 under the Peronist government, it became one of the most controversial films ever shown there. Three of the film's leading actors now live in exile, having been threatened by the right-wing Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance.

Rebellion in Patagonia opened in the New York area on May 5. Don't miss it!

—Mirta Vidal

...Black steelworker blasts contract

Continued from back page

benefits closer to their full wages before retirement than what they're paying today."

Davis assailed the lack of protection in the new agreement against the subcontracting of maintenance and construction work. This "contracting out" means loss of pay for union workers in trades and crafts and extra profits for the employers.

Davis also pointed out the inadequacy of the new contract in protecting the jobs of Black workers. Basic steel, he said, with the replacement of open-hearth operations by Basic Oxygen Furnace operations, is an industry with a shrinking work force.

Since Black workers are largely concentrated in the areas being automated, they are especially vulnerable to permanent layoffs.

I asked Davis what he thought of the "orientation program" for new employees agreed to in the contract. "I think it's dangerous," he said. "In the army I had my first association with psychological warfare. That's what this is."

'Different philosophies'

"You see, there's a fight for the minds of the workers. The union comes up short when it begins to be a party to these schemes. Union and management represent two different philosophies.

"The manager has to get the most he can out of the workers for the least he can pay. The union is fighting for more money and better working conditions.

"I don't see how those two philosophies can ever meet. They're direct opposites. If a trade unionist is true to his creed he has to oppose management. So I'm suspicious of this orientation program.

"That's a big part of the union's problem. They don't have any program to educate the younger worker, so a lot

of times he's picked up by management. He believes sometimes that the benefits he enjoys are because he filled out an application and management simply agreed to give him those benefits.

"But every benefit that he enjoys somebody struck, somebody sacrificed, somebody agitated for it."

Davis, however, was not surprised at the outcome of the negotiations. He told me that he had anticipated such an outcome once the union agreed to the ENA.

Right to strike

"I've been taught since my early involvement—if there's one fundamental principle that's been drilled into my head—it's that you can only get what

respected.

"If I hand you the stick and I stand here with nothing, the best I can do is just listen. That's the position that we're finally in as a national union.

"If ENA was worth what Abel, McBride, and their people say it's worth, you can bet the auto workers, the rubber workers, and the rest of the steelworkers would fight like hell to get it. No one wants it. We don't want it ourselves."

Davis believes that if workers in basic steel had the right to vote on the contract they would probably reject it.

"The first vote taken by the presidents of the basic steel locals was significant," he said. "If you understand how tightly the [contract ratification] conference is organized, how

it really represents. If you don't get an adequate pension, it's ENA. If your local issues aren't resolved, it's ENA.

"It's going to be difficult because management and the international decide what local issues are. They're willing to let us strike over parking lots, shower rooms, things of that type.

"But on major things like more vacation time, the right to schedule, the right to time-and-a-half on the sixth consecutive day when you're doubling back, the testing that goes on in the trades and crafts, the pension—these are basic things that are important to us—they say these are not strikeable items.

"So unless you've got an astute local leadership, doing anything about these items becomes difficult. But there will be some action as you can see by the rallies and protests against the contract negotiated by the international."

The dissatisfaction with the contract and the growing desire to make gains on local issues, Davis told me, reflect a real sentiment in the ranks for fundamental change in the union. The same sentiment, he pointed out, was reflected in the vote for the Steelworkers Fight Back slate.

"Some of us believe," Davis said, "that any leader should be accountable to those that he leads. We're saying to the people we supported in the last campaign that they have an obligation to those that saw fit to get out here and support them.

"By being accountable we mean keeping them well informed as to what is going on and lending a hand.

"Basically we believe that we had some platform issues that we were hoping to deal with, had we been successful in the campaign. Well, those issues are still there.

"We're hoping to get people educated to understand that those issues have not been solved. You don't necessarily need to win an office to push an idea."

you can take from the employers.

"Your only clout as a worker is your right to lay down your tools, withhold your labor.

"When the ENA came along and the union gave up the right to strike, I believe—and some writers have said—that we were no longer a union of collective bargainers but collective beggars. The ENA puts us at the mercy of the companies.

"Abel has alluded to the power of management," Davis said. "He says there is no way to fight management, so we have to cooperate with management.

"I don't believe in that. I'm not saying that it's wrong to compromise, but you have to be in a position of strength, not weakness. You have to be

controlled it is, you have to applaud the presidents that rejected that proposal on the first vote. You can also understand why the roll call vote came down the way it did [that is, accepting the contract].

"So basically it was a rejection. If the contract was submitted to the rank and file they would reject it too. It simply fails to meet their expectations."

Unresolved issues

One indication of the dissatisfaction with the contract, Davis pointed out, is growing sentiment to make gains on local issues unresolved by the new agreement.

"A lot of people who were fooled by ENA before are beginning to see what

...steelworker runs for Houston mayor

Continued from back page

full truth about their phony shortages and their real profits at our expense.

"There's a lot at stake," she points out. "Carter's 'war'—like the war in Vietnam—will be at the expense of our lives and our well-being. He is giving the corporations a green light to push speedup and worsen unsafe working conditions. He is signaling them to renew their attacks on affirmative-action gains.

"I was almost killed a few years ago when a machine blew up in my face. The company runs equipment into the ground. Machines that were designed to operate twelve hours are run twenty-four hours a day. During Carter's 'war,' such dangers will increase.

"Or consider affirmative action," she goes on. "The plant I work in is 85 percent male. With affirmative action, a few more women are getting in. The men I work with usually try to help us learn the job. But some of the supervisors are prejudiced against women and give us a hard time.

"If we lose the affirmative-action gains, women—along with Blacks and Chicanos—will find themselves driven out of these better-paying jobs."

Sarge was a front-line activist in the hard-fought campaign at Hughes to elect the Steelworkers Fight Back slate, headed by Ed Sadlowski, in the recent USWA election for international officers.

Ben Corum, a Sadlowski supporter from Illinois, was shot while leafleting workers leaving the plant after Sarge's shift let out.

Dave Riehle, another Fight Back supporter, was fired by Hughes for his activity during the campaign. Sarge helped in the successful fight to win back Riehle's job.

Sarge says, "Sادلowski's strong stand on health and safety is one of the things I liked best about his campaign. Given Carter's new attacks in these areas, it's no surprise that people in the plant are still talking about Fight Back's idea that the way to

deal with an unsafe job is to close it down until the danger is removed."

This mood of questioning and challenging the established methods of the corporation and the union was also reflected in a story Sarge tells. "There was one meeting," she relates, "where a union staffman got up and said that Sadlowski was against the Vietnam War and had spoken at a rally with Jane Fonda. The staffman assumed that everyone would think this was bad. But most people thought it was good."

Sarge believes that the red-baiting of Steelworkers Fight Back backfired. After an anonymous leaflet was distributed at the plant red-baiting her, more people came up to her to ask about socialism than before.

Sarge was a Fight Back activist because she agrees with the idea that steelworkers need a tough,

"Carter's 'energy war' is really a war against the standard of living of working people."

democratic union to defend themselves against Carter's attacks.

Well-known as a socialist and a union militant, she ran unopposed for union steward. She says, "Workers in my shop know I'm serious about fighting their grievances. In fact, in the last few months I've won each one I've fought.

"But," she adds, "no matter how strong we make our unions, we need to have a way of fighting Carter's antilabor drive in the political arena as well. That's where the decisions are made about the big economic and social questions that affect our lives.

"You know, workers are trained to believe they can't think. At Hughes we're not even allowed to leave the building without our supervisor's permission.

"So the idea of a worker running for mayor sounds a little strange. Many workers think you have to be a lawyer, or a millionaire businessman like Hofheinz, to be in politics. That's exactly what the bosses and their parties, the Democrats and Republicans, want us to think," she says.

"But people in the union are becoming more and more disillusioned with the way the union has been involved in politics up to now.

"People are giving less money to the political action committee," she notes. "I think they are beginning to see the truth.

"It doesn't matter how much money we give the Democrats or Republicans, or how much they promise us. Once they get elected, like Carter, it's clear that all their promises were lies—that we've used our union's money and strength to elect another political agent of the corporations.

"We need a different kind of labor political action," Sarge insists. "We need to break out of the pincer movement Carter has us in. To do this, the unions need to join with all our potential allies—women, Blacks, Chicanos, students—in a political movement to defend all the oppressed.

"In my campaign, I will emphasize that working people should have our own party, based on the organized power of our unions," Sarge continues.

"Then we could back up our struggles to defend our standard of living, our safety, our environment, affirmative-action gains, equal education, and other democratic rights, with a voice in the political arena.

"Such a voice could and would—unlike the Democrats and Republicans—call on the power of the unions to strike, to demonstrate, and to mobilize our allies against the profits-first policies of big business and the capitalist government."

Anti-import drive: protecting who?

By Frank Lovell

(First of two parts)

Last month union officials joined hands with corporate heads of the shoe and textile industries to lead public demonstrations for higher prices on these essential consumer goods.

The stated purpose was to protect U.S. producers against foreign imports. They said it was to "save American jobs."

The largest of these demonstrations was in New York City's garment center on April 13. The sweatshop proprietors closed down for a few hours and sent an estimated 10,000 underpaid workers to stand in Herald Square and hold up signs while politicians and labor leaders made speeches about low wages in other countries.

The demonstration in Cleveland was typical of others in the hinterland. There about 300 garment workers, nearly all women, marched on Public Square, singing patriotic songs.

While this was going on, AFL-CIO President George Meany, accompanied by a union delegation, was sitting in the White House talking about their problems and the trouble with free trade.

It was all preparatory to the May economic summit conference in London, at which Carter meets with European heads of government to talk about international marketing agreements. Some industries in this country, as in many other countries, are seeking profit advantages from new international regulations.

Industry argues its case

The case of the U.S. textile industry was argued in expensive full-page ads that appeared in major daily papers, financed by Burlington Industries of Greensboro, North Carolina. Burlington Industries is the largest U.S. textile manufacturer, an implacable foe of unionism.

"Jobs in textiles: another endangered species," said the ads. "We cannot stand silently watching our own industry's decline."

The danger is potential, not imminent. According to the data submitted, foreign imports account for about 10 percent of the domestic market in textiles, and 17 percent in garments.

But the industry says it worries that foreign imports will gobble up the remaining 85-90 percent of the market and deprive 2.3 million U.S. textile workers of their jobs at the average rate of \$4.02 an hour, which is what Burlington Industries says it pays.

No worker in North Carolina will get rich on four dollars an hour, but the vast majority in the textile industry—including Burlington workers—take home less.

The advantages of lower prices are "illusory," says Burlington. The "long-term dangers" are real: "... widespread textile and apparel unemployment; loss of shareholder investments; the negative impact on the GNP; continued negative balance of trade which for textiles alone in 1976 reached \$3 billion; and the potential destruction of two of this nation's most important industries."

That means Burlington Industries could be out of business. What protection are they asking for? They are careful to state that they do not want textile imports stopped. They are too deeply involved in the import trade for that.

Higher prices

What they want is more regulation that will ensure higher prices for both domestic fabrics and imports. "Thus, we are saying that this country's leaders must take a long, hard look at the Multi-Fiber trade agreement. . . ."

They submit two proposals: limit imports to the rate of expansion of the domestic market, and impose a quota freeze when "imports severely impact the [home] industry."

In other words, what the U.S. textile

industry wants is government protection of its investment in this country and abroad through trade regulation that ensures high prices in the domestic market.

For public relations reasons, the following information is gratuitously offered: Textile employs 2.3 million workers, 12 percent of the total manufacturing work force. Twenty-three percent of textile workers are minorities, and 65 percent are women.

The Burlington Industries ads say, "It is difficult to understand why we are so concerned about countries that become havens for American importers and foreign manufacturers who exploit cheap labor at the expense of our own U.S. labor force and industry."

This problem—so "difficult to understand"—is contrived to distract attention from U.S. investment abroad. Philip Barach, head of the U.S. Shoe Corporation, is among those, like the textile moguls, who seek more government restrictions on imports.

He is "terribly disappointed" that

Workers Union (ACTWU) and the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU).

They copied the company ads. The unions published "An Open Letter to the American Public" stating, "We are an imperiled species." They asked for the same identical "improvements" in the Multifiber agreements as the anti-union textile corporations.

At the open-air rallies that day, union officials could again only echo what had previously been stated by the employers.

Low-wage competition

"We cannot compete with Taiwan and Japan," said Jack DiBlasi, an ACTWU business agent. "They only get ten to fifteen cents an hour."

He might truthfully have added that "we" do try hard to compete, especially for low wages.

These business agents are trained to repeat only what they are told. But

are crying the loudest for lower quotas and higher tariffs. Their scheme is to raise prices and increase their profits.

Politicians join in

The small-bore capitalist politicians are the most enthusiastic endorsers of the whole business. All of them are well-paid and never think twice about \$40 for a pair of shoes or \$300 for a suit. They saw the chance to make some friends and maybe pick up a small cash contribution for their next campaign, along with a few votes.

In New York they all flocked to Herald Square to talk knowingly about things of which they know little and care less. Mayor Beame wants to be reelected this year and he was on hand to assure everyone of his support, hoping the favor would be returned.

"The cause you crusade for today," he said, "concerns our whole country's future, the future of your industry, our city and your job." He must have pronounced those same words a thousand times before on different occa-



U.S. Sen. Daniel Moynihan at New York demonstration for higher prices on April 13

the Carter administration rejected the recent recommendation of the International Trade Commission to impose higher tariffs on cheap shoes from Taiwan and South Korea.

Largest importer

Barach noted, however, that U.S. Shoe will benefit in the long run because it is the largest importer of quality shoes. He pretends interest in "the need for a balanced approach to get and keep jobs in towns with 5,000 and under population where most of the shoe jobs are."

His complaint is that "President Carter is saying that we will continue to export our jobs when all the industry really wanted was to have a viable domestic industry."

This is business talk for government guarantees of high profits for domestic industry. When corporate executives say "viable industry" they mean profits, and this has nothing to do with protecting jobs.

A couple of days after the big "endangered species" ads of the textile company, smaller ads appeared in the same newspapers, timed to coincide with the textile workers' demonstrations. These were paid for by the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile

there are few who don't know that thousands of garment workers—whose union dues are deducted from their paychecks—work at piecework rates, often earn less than the minimum hourly wage, don't know what is in the union contract or what their rights as workers are, and have never seen a union business agent.

Garment workers in New York's Chinatown who are supposed to be represented by unions work under unhealthy, crowded conditions, and at a rate of return for their labor—in terms of food, shelter, and raiment—not very different from workers in Taiwan. Certainly they are not better off than the unionized Japanese workers.

Part of the problem was revealed by President Sol Chaikin of the ILGWU on the eve of the demonstrations. "Hong Kong is like Seventh Avenue East," Chaikin said, "the place is so crowded with American buyers and manufacturers in the Far East to place orders to flood this country with garments made by workers who earn sixteen to twenty-six cents an hour."

Chaikin knows that those buyers and investors who make regular pilgrimages to Hong Kong include the very employers who negotiate union contracts with him, the same ones who

sions and to different audiences.

The prize for buffonery went to the junior U.S. senator from New York, Daniel Moynihan. "All we ask the president is that he preserve jobs we now have and restrict the new imports to 3 percent," Moynihan said.

He, like the others, wanted to make perfectly clear that he is a man of principle. "We believe in international free trade," he said. "But there is a limit to what the workers of this city must endure in the name of a principle few have heard of."

He would also like others to believe that he is a man of influence. "I send this friendly warning to the administration," said Moynihan. "Go out and get a good agreement, a fair agreement. If you don't, don't come back, and for sure don't come back to the Senate Finance Committee, of which I am a member."

Surely such strong talk must bring results. At least some who heard it must have thought so.

But how any of the poorly paid garment workers who stood there could ever benefit from the dubious privilege of paying forty dollars for a four-dollar pair of shoes is one of the possible results that was neither explained nor understood at the rally.

(To be concluded)

...Wilm. 10

Continued from page 4

Hunt didn't bother to reply.

Mitchell was paroled in December 1976, but was arrested again in January. He charges that his arrest was aimed at shutting him up about the Wilmington Ten.

Perhaps the most disgusting part of the frame-up was the ruthless manipulation by Stroud of thirteen-year-old Eric Junious.

Junious had been at Wilmington's Gregory Congregational Church the night the ten supposedly set out from there to set the fire. Stroud paid Junious a visit. He asked the youth what he wanted for Christmas. Junious told the prosecutor he wanted a minibike.

Stroud then showed Junious photos with the ten marked for easy identification. "I knew what they were doin'," even though no one told him to lie, Junious now says.

In court, Junious told the story Stroud wanted: that he heard Chavis and Shepard urge burning the grocery.

He got the minibike. But in January of this year, Junious admitted that his testimony at the first trial had been false.

Even though the state's case against the ten has been shattered, the nine

remaining frame-up victims have been denied bail. Judge George Fountain has even refused to allow them to attend the hearings here.

Four armed state cops sit in the courtroom. All spectators must pass through a metal detector.

A federal grand jury investigated the case in March of this year, but the U.S. government has done nothing about this flagrant violation of civil and human rights.

Supporters of the Wilmington Ten have been visible and active here in the opening days of the hearings. The 330-seat courtroom was filled both days.

A rally the night before the hearing began drew 800 people, mostly from the Wilmington area.

U.S. Rep. Donald Edwards spoke at a defense news conference on the courthouse steps during the first day of the hearing. He said he thought the evidence demanded a new trial. Joining him were Angela Davis, Damu Smith of the National Wilmington Ten Defense Committee, and others.

More than 300,000 signatures have been gathered on petitions demanding freedom for the nine imprisoned victims. The case has been featured on CBS's "Sixty Minutes."

The decision on the defendants' petition for a new trial is entirely up to Judge Fountain.

A noon protest is scheduled that day at the state capitol building.

In Richmond, Virginia forty people attended a rally in support of "Women's right to choose" May 8.

The rally was endorsed by the National Black Feminist Organization, the Women's Center, Lesbian Feminists, American Civil Liberties Union, the Socialist Workers party, and Virginia Commonwealth University for ERA.

Stop forced sterilization, keep abortion legal, and support for the state Holden Bill to curb sterilization abuse were the themes of a noon picket line held at the State Building in San Francisco May 6.

Endorsers of the picket line included San Francisco NOW, Black Women Organized for Action, Concilio Mujeres, and the Socialist Workers party.

A picket line in support of "Women's right to choose" was held outside of the Bureau for Social Insurance in Lexington, Kentucky, May 8. The bureau handles Medicaid funds. The demonstrators were greeted with cheers from passersby.

The picket line was sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance; the Women's Rights Coalition at the University of Kentucky; Lexington NOW; and the Reproductive Freedom League, an affiliate of the National Abortion Rights Action League.

...abortion

Continued from page 6

on women's rights, such as the Hyde amendment to cut off Medicaid funds for abortion.

"All these things are very sobering. We have to get serious about building a broad base of support. We must all get involved and work together," she said.

Peg Ackerman, state coordinator for Colorado NOW, said, "This rally illustrates what NOW is really all about. Talking about all kinds of issues concerning women."

Other speakers included Olga Rodriguez, Socialist Workers party, and Marilee Taylor, Auraria campus NOW.

Stop attacks on abortion rights. Support pregnancy benefits for women workers. End sterilization abuse.

These were the demands raised by seventy-five people in Milwaukee May 7.

The march, picket line, and rally were sponsored by the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee Feminist Center, Marquette Organization for Women, Milwaukee NOW, Los Universitarios, Milwaukee Women's Political Caucus, and Socialist Workers party.

The demonstration also helped to alert the public to Assembly Bill 321, a bill to cut off all state-controlled funds for abortions. Hearings on AB 321 will be held in Madison, May 17, 1:30 p.m.

Calendar

BERKELEY, CALIF.

THE FIGHT FOR THE RIGHTS OF THE DISABLED. Speakers: Kitty Cone, Disabled Women's Coalition; Dennis Billups, 504 Emergency Coalition; others. Thurs., May 19, 8 p.m. 3264 Adeline St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 653-7156.

BOSTON

CAMPAIGN KICKOFF RALLY. Speakers: Hattie McCutcheon, SWP candidate for school committee; Diane Jacobs, SWP candidate for city council. Sat., May 14. Reception: 7 p.m.; rally: 8 p.m. Arlington Street Church, 355 Boylston St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party Campaign Committee. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

LIFE IN CHINA. Jim and Dot Uhl presenting a slide show of their trip to China; Judy Uhl, SWP. Fri., May 20, 8 p.m. 2 Central Sq. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 547-4395.

CHICAGO: NORTH SIDE

WHICH WAY FOR THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT. Panel discussion on how to fight for the ERA, child care, affirmative action, and abortion rights. Fri., May 20, 8 p.m. 1870 N. Halsted. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 642-4811.

CLEVELAND

CAPITALIST PSEUDOSCIENCE APOLOGISTS FOR RACISM AND SEXISM. Speaker: Dr. Morris Starsky, philosophy professor and member of SWP. Fri., May 20, 8 p.m. 2300 Payne. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 861-4166.

DALLAS

SECOND DECADE FOR NOW. Speakers: participants report from the convention, including Jo Della-Giustina, SWP. Fri., May 20, 8 p.m. 2215 Cedar Crest. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (214) 943-6684.

LOS ANGELES

POLITICAL PRISONERS IN IRAN. Speakers: Reza Baraheni, CAIFI; Ramsey Clark, former attorney general; Dorothy Healey, New American Movement; Ali Shokri, defector from Iranian air force seeking asylum in U.S. Thurs., May 19, 7:30 p.m. California State Los Angeles Student Union, Rm. 313. Ausp: CAIFI.

LOS ANGELES: CRENSHAW

CIVIL WAR IN ZAIRE. Speaker: Prof. Gerald Bender, political science department at UC San Diego, recently returned from Africa. Fri., May 20, 8 p.m. 2167 W. Washington Blvd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 732-8196.

MINNEAPOLIS

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION: THE FIGHT AGAINST JOB DISCRIMINATION. Speakers: Jill Lakowski, board member, MFT 59; Joe Selvagio, director, Project for Pride in Living. Fri., May 20, 8 p.m. 23 E. Lake St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 825-6663.

NEW ORLEANS

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN CLASSES. Weekly classes and discussions dealing with political issues. Find out the Socialist Workers Campaign positions and what Joel Aber, socialist candidate for mayor of New Orleans, stands for. Every Sat., 2 p.m. 3812 Magazine St. Ausp: 1977 Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (504) 891-5234.

NEW YORK: THE BRONX

CLASSES ON SOCIALISM. Thursdays, 8 p.m. 2271 Morris Ave. (near 183rd St.). Ausp: SWP. For more information call (212) 365-6652.

THE STRUGGLES OF PUERTO RICANS IN THE UNITED STATES. Fri., May 20, 7:30 p.m. 2271 Morris Ave. (near 183rd St.). Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Libreria Militante/Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 365-6652.

NEW YORK: CHELSEA

IS THERE AN ENERGY CRISIS? Fri., May 20, 7:30 p.m. 200 1/2 W. 24th St. (off 7th Ave.). Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 989-2731.

NEW YORK: LOWER EAST SIDE

WOMEN'S RIGHTS UNDER ATTACK: HOW CAN WOMEN RESPOND? Speakers: Peggy Winter, attorney for PRDF; Narsita Michelen, Minority Women's Task Force of the Greater New York Women's Coalition; representative of the SWP. Fri., May 20, 8 p.m. 221 E. 2nd St. (between Aves. B & C). Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 260-6400 or 989-8214.

NEW YORK: QUEENS

FEMINISM AND SOCIALISM. Speakers: Jane Roland, SWP candidate for city council president; others. Fri., May 20, 8 p.m. 90-43 149th St. (just off Jamaica Ave.), Jamaica. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 658-7718.

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

IS GUYANA SOCIALIST? Speaker: Andaye, active sympathizer of Working Peoples' Alliance of Guyana. Fri., May 20, 8 p.m. 786 Amsterdam Ave. (near 98th St.). Donation: \$1. Ausp: West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

OAKLAND

WHAT IS THE SWP? Speakers: Nat Weinstein, SWP National Committee; Clifton DeBerry, 1964 SWP presidential candidate, participant in Montgomery bus boycott, collaborator with Malcolm X; Lucille Robbins, member of NOW and of SWP; other to be announced. Fri., May 20, 8 p.m. 1467 Fruitvale Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 261-1210.

PHOENIX

CRISIS AT FLORENCE STATE PRISON. Speakers: Carol Gorce, Alliance for Correctional Justice; Calvin Lee, attorney; an ex-prisoner from Florence; Jill Fein, SWP. Fri., May 20, 8 p.m. 314 E. Taylor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (602) 255-0450.

PITTSBURGH

CAMPAIGN KICKOFF RALLY. Speakers: Howard "Buddy" Beck, SWP candidate for mayor; Tania Shai, SWP candidate for city council. Sat., May 21. Campaign headquarters opening: 7 p.m. Rally: 8 p.m. 5504 Penn Ave. Ausp: SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (412) 441-1419.

RICHMOND, VA.

TEACHERS SPEAK OUT AGAINST BUDGET CUTBACKS. Speakers: members of the Richmond Education Association; Michael Pennock, SWP. Fri., May 20, 8 p.m. 1203A W. Main St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (804) 353-3238.

ST. LOUIS: WEST END

TWENTY-THREE YEARS AFTER THE SUPREME COURT DECISION: THE STRUGGLE TO DESEGREGATE ST. LOUIS SCHOOLS. Panel discussion. Fri., May 20, 8 p.m. 6223 Delmar. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (314) 725-1570.

SEATTLE

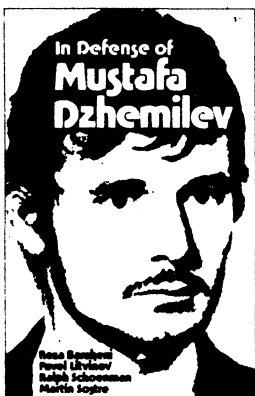
THE CASE OF ALI SHOKRI. Speaker: Ali Shokri, defector from the Iranian air force, seeking asylum in U.S. Fri., May 20, 8 p.m. Univ. of Wash. HUB 309A. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (206) 524-6670, 522-7800, or 329-7404.

CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Margaret Trowe, SWP candidate for mayor of Seattle; Toby Emmerich, SWP candidate for city council. Sat., May 21. Social hour: 7 p.m. Rally: 8 p.m. Polish Hall, 1714 18th Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Seattle Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (206) 524-6670 or 329-7404.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

CAPITALISM: WHY UNEMPLOYMENT & INFLATION CONTINUE TO OPPRESS WORKERS. A Marxist analysis by Dick Roberts, SWP National Committee. Fri., May 20, 8:30 p.m.; Sat., May 21, 10:30-noon; and 1-2:30 p.m. All Souls Church, 16th & Harvard St. NW. Donation: \$1 on Friday night; 75¢ per class on Saturday. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

In defense of Mustafa Dzhemilev



Speeches by Reza Baraheni, Martin Sostre, Pavel Litvinov, and Ralph Schoenman. This new pamphlet details Stalin's deportation of the entire Crimean Tatar population at the end of World War II and their struggle to return to their homeland. For his participation and leadership of this massive struggle, Mustafa Dzhemilev is now serving his fourth prison term in Siberia.

24 pages 50 cents

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

...busing

Continued from page 18

desegregation doesn't exist. Of the \$1.2 billion budget for 1978-79, only \$26 million is projected for implementation of desegregation. And included under this budget heading are items that have nothing to do with ensuring equal education for Black and Chicano youth.

Obviously an honest concern about financing desegregation is the last thing on the board's mind. A clearer indication of its priorities was given by board attorney Jerry Halverson.

"We will try to persuade, inform, and educate people as to the desirability of these voluntary methods," Halverson stated, "but we don't have any coercive methods. We will not hold a pistol to anybody's head and tell him he has to send his white youngster to a minority school."

Of course the board is more than happy to continue forcing Black and

Chicano youths to attend inferior schools. And Egly is going to make sure no one "jumps to the conclusion" that the board is furthering segregation.

FBI Plot Against the Black Movement

Secret Documents Exposed

By Baxter Smith. With reprinted FBI memos. 24 pp., 35 cents

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

THE MILITANT

BLACK STEELWORKER LEADER BLASTS CONTRACT

Interview with Jim Davis of Ad Hoc Committee

By John Hawkins

YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio—There's no joy in Youngstown over the new basic steel contract.

"I've been listening to the comments out in the plant and I just haven't seen

An editorial on the latest steel price hikes appears on page 10.

any satisfaction with it at all," Jim Davis told me in a recent interview.

Davis is national chairperson of the Ad Hoc Committee of Concerned

Steelworkers, a nationwide Black caucus in the United Steelworkers of America.

Davis is a member of USWA Local 1462 and a grievance committeeman at Youngstown Sheet & Tube's Briar Hill plant. He is also a member of the executive board of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists.

"We seem to be going backwards," Davis said. The contract comes up far short of workers' expectations."

Already five major locals in USWA District 26 (the Youngstown area) have

voted to protest the agreement, which was signed April 9.

Protest motions were adopted by Local 1330 at U.S. Steel, Local 1331 at Republic Steel, and Locals 1418 and 1462 at Youngstown Sheet & Tube.

A protest was also voted by Local 1375 at Republic Steel in nearby Warren, Ohio. With 4,000 members it is the largest local in District 26.

Locals 1330, 1418, and 1462 all voted as well to demand convening of a special union convention to repudiate the contract.

The Ad Hoc Committee supported

the Steelworkers Fight Back slate, headed by Ed Sadlowski, in last February's union election. Davis toured several cities with Oliver Montgomery, a Black steelworker leader and vice-presidential candidate on the Fight Back slate.

Davis told me he sees a connection between the Fight Back campaign and the dissatisfaction with the contract. Among the stated negotiating goals of outgoing union President I.W. Abel and president-elect Lloyd McBride were "lifetime job security," better pensions, improved cost-of-living protection, and a substantial wage increase.

None of these were accomplished, Davis pointed out. "When the pressure of the campaign was on, McBride started to echo a lot of what Sadlowski was saying. He got pretty generous in what he promised for the average worker in the new contract.

"Now McBride has won," Davis said, "and it's time to deliver. But ENA doesn't permit them to deliver anything. ENA has tied their hands."

ENA is the Experimental Negotiating Agreement, the no-strike deal Abel negotiated secretly with the steel companies and signed without a vote of the union membership. Under ENA, all unresolved contract issues go to binding arbitration.

Davis explained: "Once management says, 'We just won't give that particular item up. It's a matter for arbitration to decide'—then there's nothing they can do. So we come out with a lot less than what we were entitled to, what we needed, and what many workers were led to expect."

Davis cited the pension provisions of the new contract. "There is no reason that people cannot enjoy a higher pension than the companies have offered to pay," he said.

"Just our limited survey shows that most of the workers at our plant don't draw their full pension. Very few of them live too long once they leave the plant.

"So we believe that the companies can well afford to pay pensioners

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A steelworker for mayor Diane Sarge is socialist candidate in Houston

By Stu Singer

HOUSTON—This is the "energy capital" of America. In air-conditioned offices in the downtown skyscrapers, the owners of the oil corporations are eagerly signing up for President Carter's "moral equivalent of war" against the energy crisis.

The bosses know that Carter's battle plan—a pincer movement to squeeze workers between lower wages, stepped-up productivity, looser environmental controls, and soaring prices of gas and oil—will mean record profits for them.

But the majority who live and work in Houston, as elsewhere in the country, are smarting under Carter's blows against their standard of living.

One of these workers is Diane Sarge. For 7.7 hours every night, she labors over an OD grinder producing teeth that go on a cone or drill bit manufactured at Hughes Tool Company.

Sarge is one of 3,000 hourly workers employed at this plant, a pillar of Houston's oil industry. A Hughes employee for four years, she is a member of Local 1742, United Steelworkers of America, and a shop steward.

Sarge has just announced that she is also the Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor of Houston in the 1977 election.

"I'm running as a socialist for mayor," she says, "because working people here need someone to

speak for us, someone to speak out against the antilabor drive that is the bipartisan policy of capitalist politicians like President Carter and my opponent in this race, incumbent Democratic Mayor Fred Hofheinz.

"Hofheinz portrays himself as a liberal," Sarge explains, "but just like Carter, every time there's a conflict between profits and labor, Hofheinz supports profits. Look at his stand against the bus drivers' strike, the fire fighters, the electrical workers, and other municipal workers.

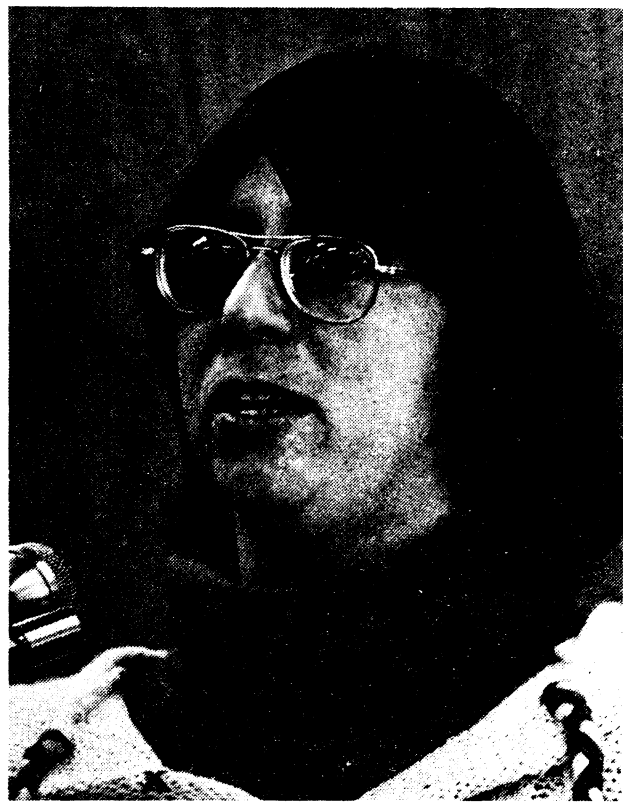
"Carter's 'energy war' is really a war against the standard of living of working people," Sarge maintains. "Carter is using phony CIA reports to whip up a scare story about shortages in order to boost the bosses' profits and lower our real wages.

"I've talked to workers at the refineries who told me about all the oil the companies had stored up during such 'shortages' in the past.

"I will campaign to convince other workers in the energy industry to speak out about the truth," Sarge says. "We know enough already to know Carter is lying. But we need to go farther.

"We need to pool our information at a national conference of unionists and consumers where we can launch a campaign to demand to see the oil companies' books. That way we could bring out the

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DIANE SARGE

Militant/Lynn Henderson