

THE MILITANT

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

Eyewitness accounts

Two Puerto Ricans killed in Chicago police riot



CHICAGO—Cops gang up on youth during assault on Puerto Rican day celebration June 4.

By Catarino Garza and Peter Archer

CHICAGO—Two young Puerto Ricans were killed and dozens of others wounded and beaten during a police attack on a Puerto Rican Day celebration here Saturday, June 4.

Killed during the cop riot were twenty-six-year-old

Catarino Garza is the Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor of New York. Peter Archer is a member of the editorial staff of the Militant.

Julio Osorio and twenty-five-year-old Rafael Cruz. Both were shot in the back, according to an autopsy.

Eyewitnesses who we interviewed in the Humboldt Park area where the events occurred said that cops initially fired their guns into the air, but that at least on one occasion they shot directly into the crowd. Chicago *Sun-Times* reporter Robert Suro says that he saw one policeman fire four or five times directly into the crowd.

Saturday was a warm summer day here. People from the Puerto Rican community on this city's west side had gathered in Humboldt Park in a festive mood to celebrate this yearly Puerto Rican holiday. Families brought picnic lunches and barbecue pits.

A Puerto Rican Day parade came down Division Street to the corner of California at one corner of the park. Many marchers joined the picnickers and sat down to rest in the sun.

Chicago police had stationed themselves in corners of the park, and community residents said the cops were obviously itching for an excuse to attack the gathering. They found one in a scuffle that broke out between members of two rival gangs, the Spanish Cobras and Latin Kings.

The cops moved in on the situation, treating those they arrested brutally, throwing them up against patrol cars. When bystanders protested, the cops turned on them.

The crowd that began to gather around the cross

streets of Division and California was larger than the police had bargained for. When the cops attacked the crowd, they were met with a hail of bottles and rocks.

The police called for reinforcements, but one eyewitness told us that before they arrived, the crowd had twice chased the police from the area.

Joined by reinforcements, the police began to clear the park.

"The police attacked everyone," Victor Maldonado told us. Maldonado works at a grocery store near the park.

Lee Rios added, "The police hassled everyone from the park. Then the bottles started being thrown."

"People stuck together," Rios said. "The police were wrong."

Another eyewitness told us, "The police were hard up, began shooting into the air, but then they did other things. They threw stones at the people, and

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Miami vote: defeat for human rights

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HOUSTON KILLER-COPS DROP APPEAL: On June 2, five Houston cops who were fired from the police force after murdering Joe Campos Torres dropped a Civil Service Commission appeal of their dismissals. (A sixth cop involved has been suspended with pay.)

Public protests forced Houston Police Chief B.G. "Pappy" Bond to fire the five soon after they arrested, beat, and threw Torres into the Buffalo Bayou on May 6. Torres's body was found three days later.

Meanwhile, the Harris County Criminal Lawyers Association is offering to field free of charge a team of special prosecutors to press charges against the killer-cops before a grand jury. Association President Dick DeGuerin said the offer was made because District Attorney Carol Vance "has done absolutely nothing [in the case] since Torres was murdered."

Vance claims he is holding up action against the one cop who could actually be charged with homicide under Texas statutes because he would rather see all six prosecuted by the U.S. Justice Department for federal civil rights law violations. The Justice Department says it is still deciding what action to take in the case.

Miami gay rights defeat

Human rights suffered a major blow June 7 when a Miami law protecting homosexuals from discrimination in housing, jobs, and public accommodations was repealed in a referendum vote.

Right-wing forces won by a two-to-one margin. Votes counted from 439 of Miami's 446 precincts showed 200,058 votes for repeal of the antidiscrimination law and 87,871 for retention.

Repeal of the gay rights law was put on the ballot by singer Anita Bryant and her "Save Our Children" group. Bryant said that homosexuality is a religious abomination. She claimed the antidiscrimination law was an invitation for homosexuals to "recruit" and molest children.

AGEE FORCED FROM BRITAIN: The British government finally overcame legal efforts by Philip Agee to avoid being deported from Britain as a "security risk." Agee was forced to leave for the Netherlands on June 3. He told reporters he hoped to return to Britain. "Expulsion orders do not last for a person's whole life," he said. "Times change, governments change, and ministers change."

Agee, a former U.S. Central Intelligence Agency officer, began living in Britain after his book, *Inside the Company: CIA Diary*, invoked agency displeasure for its damaging revelations of illegal and immoral activities by the CIA.

NEW CALIF. STERILIZATION RULES: Faced with mounting protests against forced sterilization of Chicanas, Blacks, and others, the California Department of Health announced new sterilization rules May 24. The rules apply to all licensed hospitals in the state, but not to sterilizations performed in a doctor's office.

A spokesperson for the Health Department said the new regulations require that a patient be fully informed of the effect of sterilization and that the patient's decision must be made without duress. A "sterilization consent document" must be signed.

There will be a fourteen-day waiting period for elective sterilization. Patients may request that the operation be performed earlier, but not less than seventy-two hours after applying. A translator must be provided if the patient is not fluent in English.

ILLINOIS HOUSE REJECTS ERA: The Illinois house rejected passage of the Equal Rights Amendment by a vote of 101 to 74 on June 6. The measure can still be brought up in the Illinois senate and house this year.

The backwardness of women's rights opponents was amply demonstrated by remarks made by Rep. Thomas Hanahan (D-McHenry) during the two hours of heated debate on the measure. Hanahan called ERA supporters a "bunch of braless, brainless broads."

YALE HIRES APTHEKER: According to the Communist party newspaper, *Daily World*, Yale University has reversed its earlier decision not to hire CP leader Herbert Aptheker to conduct a seminar on W.E.B. DuBois. The recent decision to hire Aptheker followed student protests against the earlier decision.

According to the *Daily World*, the *YALE Daily News* has now added its voice to the sharp debate on academic freedom—which reached into the Organization of American Historians and the American Historical Association—prompted by the Aptheker case.

In an April 20 editorial, the campus paper said the "University should include more courses dealing with Marxist thought" and should seek out "qualified Marxists" to teach them.

GET APARTHEID OFF CAMPUS! A wave of protests against University of California (UC) investments in U.S. corporations doing business in South Africa is continuing.

On June 3, 800 students at UC Berkeley attended a rally and teach-in against the investments, and 200 students demonstrated at UC Santa Cruz. Two days earlier, at a meeting of Campuses United Against Apartheid (CUAA), students from around the state reported on actions at their campuses and discussed future plans.

The UC Board of Regents has responded to the protests by writing letters to thirty-seven corporations questioning their business and employment policies in South Africa. Considering this response inadequate, the CUAA has called a June 20 meeting to discuss plans for a statewide conference when school reopens next fall.

CIA TUTORS STIR CONTROVERSY IN D.C.: Two-thirds of the teachers in Washington, D.C.'s Ballou High School have signed a petition demanding an end to a special tutorial program conducted in the school by the CIA. The petition charged that "the mere presence of the CIA in an educational institution is unsettling, divisive, and interferes with the process of education."

Marilyn Lerch, one of the Ballou teachers, told the *Militant* that although the CIA tutors are apparently out of the school building now "the principal said he'd probably invite the CIA back next year."

When some of the teachers at Ballou organized a protest news conference outside the school, the administration tried to intimidate them. Administrators ordered the teachers back into the building and cited several of them for "insubordination."

MOVE AGAINST MARXIST PROF. IN AKRON: Officials of the University of Akron in Ohio are trying to fire Dr. Leslie Carr, a Marxist sociologist. Students who believe Carr is being persecuted for his political views have organized the Student Committee for Academic Freedom. The Black United Students, Organization of Arab Students, both the graduate and undergraduate student governments, campus chapter of the National Organization for Women, and the student newspaper have all backed Carr.

Carr's defenders say the university's official grounds for dismissal—that the Marxist's "publication record is inadequate"—are a cover-up. Carr has published more articles than the average professor who has taught the same length of time.

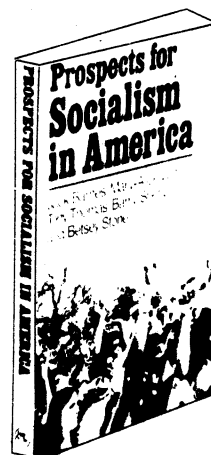
Carr, who has exhausted almost all university grievance procedures, plans to take his case to court next fall.

The ACLU will enter his case as a friend of the court.

—Peter Seidman

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Socialist: 'Arrest the murderers!'

The following statement was issued June 6 by Dennis Brasky, Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor of Chicago in the June 7 election.

The Socialist Workers party is outraged at the brutal murders of Julio Osorio and Rafael Cruz.

The rebellion in the Puerto Rican community that followed was an expression of anger against long years of cop terror and harassment. It was also born of the racist policies of the Democratic party administration that has systematically excluded Puerto Ricans from political representation and subjected the Latino community to decades of unemployment and abhorrent social conditions.

As a sop to the demands of the Puerto Rican community, Mayor Bilandic has promised to open up a few more summer jobs to Puerto Rican youth. Even if granted, this will be a mere pittance of what is needed. We demand immediate jobs at union-scale wages for all Puerto Rican, Chicano, Black, and other unemployed youth.

While Bilandic is trying to smear the Puerto Rican community as "rioters," he is preparing a full-blown escalation of red squad surveillance of the Puerto Rican independence movement and others in this city. We demand an immediate end to all police spying, harassment, and intimidation.

The murderers of Julio Osorio and Rafael Cruz must be brought to justice. We support the demand of Puerto Rican community activists for a commission of inquiry made up of members from the community.

We also demand that all charges be dropped immediately against those arrested at the Puerto Rican Day celebration, and an immediate end to the police dragnet in the Humboldt Park area.

My campaign urges Chicagoans to participate in the demonstration called for this coming Saturday by the Puerto Rican community to protest these brutal murders.

Cops out of the Puerto Rican community!

Prosecute the cops who murdered Julio Osorio and Rafael Cruz!



Militant/Manuel Barrera

Dennis Brasky (left), Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor of Chicago, took time before going to his job as a railroad worker to visit some of the residents of Humboldt Park and listen to their account of the police riot.

...two youths killed in Chicago police riot

Continued from front page
used their clubs and guns. . . . They began beating up on people."

"I saw them grabbing girls and men and dragging them by the hair," another person said.

A Spanish-speaking police officer, Aurelio Garcia, was brought in to try to calm the crowd. Although initially people listened to him, word soon spread that while Garcia was talking, other cops were still beating and arresting people in other parts of the park. Garcia was booed and several rocks and bottles were thrown at him.

That night, Channel 5 News showed a film of six cops holding down a young man and beating him viciously about the head and shoulders.

One hundred forty-seven people were reported injured during the battle between the cops and community, which lasted for six hours Saturday night. One hundred fifty-four were arrested.

The police attacks continued during the evening and throughout the next day, sparking angry reactions throughout the neighborhood.

Several businesses on Division Street within a block or two of the park were looted. Chicago newspapers have played up this looting as typical of "rioters." But we noticed, and community residents confirmed to us, that

the few stores that had been looted were large, white-owned businesses.

This reflects the deep frustration among young people in this neighborhood at the miserable conditions and almost nonexistent job opportunities for Puerto Ricans.

Why did it happen?

Police harassment in Puerto Rican neighborhoods here is nothing new. The people we spoke to in the community told us they were tired of being bullied by the police.

Several people told us they had been arrested several times and taken to the nearby Shakespeare police station. Often people taken there are brutally beaten.

When we were talking to one young man, he turned to his friend and said, "You remember that time I came home all bruised up." The friend nodded.

"That was from Shakespeare." He turned back to us and said, "If you're a Puerto Rican they pick you up. If you've got a record you've got to swallow your tongue. You can't say nothing."

Why did people think the police acted so brutally toward Puerto Ricans? One young woman answered, "They don't like us. They just don't like us."

"Look at this area," she went on. "It was once a suburb. But now it's run down. The apartments are full of roaches, and there are rats."

A young man said he had seen rats crossing Division Street.

Someone else said, "Why don't they have jobs for young people? Many students leave school because they're not getting any skills."

Caesar Rivera, director of the Urban Progress Center, told us that from the numbers of people who come into the center looking for jobs, unemployment among Puerto Ricans here might be as high as 60 or 70 percent. He said the Department of Labor doesn't break it down by groups, so there is no way of knowing for sure.

Acting Mayor Michael Bilandic (who was elected mayor on Tuesday) was quick to blame the police riot on the Puerto Rican community, especially on the Puerto Rican independence movement. He used the fact that a bomb, supposedly set off by a mysterious group called the Fuerzas Armadas Liberación Nacional (FALN—Armed Forces of Puerto Rican National Liberation), exploded in the Cook County Building in downtown Chicago earlier on Saturday. Bilandic said that the blast and events at Humboldt Park proved that "there is a need for

constant surveillance" of dissenting political groups.

Bilandic evidently hopes to continue the illegal spying on political organizations carried on for years by the police red squad here. Lawsuits by several local groups have forced the police to release files revealing not only illegal spying and burglaries, but direct cooperation with right-wing groups in violent attacks on movement activists.

Bilandic did agree to meet with some leaders of the Puerto Rican community on Monday. He kept the community leaders waiting in his office for three-and-a-half hours before meeting with them for twenty-five minutes. Although he promised nothing definite, the city announced Tuesday afternoon that some more summer jobs would be provided for Latinos.

Attempted cop cover-up

The cops have tried to weasel out of responsibility for the deaths of Osorio and Cruz, claiming that Cruz may have shot Osorio because of gang rivalries.

But Humboldt Park residents we talked to, who saw the police fire into the crowd, believe that both Osorio and Cruz were murdered by the police. Even the police admit that the bullet that killed Cruz was of a "large caliber."

Continued on next page

Not the first time

By Nancy Cole

Chicago's June 4 police riot is not the first time the Puerto Rican community in the United States has become victim of a brutal, racist assault.

On July 16, 1972, 200 cops attacked a Puerto Rican cultural festival of 5,000 in Boston with clubs, pistols, and police dogs.

Cops used a fight between two men at the festival as the excuse to launch the assault. Fifty were arrested and scores injured. Two days of rebellion in the South End, Boston's principal Spanish-speaking community, followed.

The anger of the Puerto Rican community was fueled by the history of cop abuse there. Under a state contract with Puerto Rico, many Puerto Ricans worked in the summer as migrant farm laborers, then went

to Boston to try for factory jobs.

A Hispanic festival of 10,000 in Newark became the target for racist police on August 21, 1974. Mounted police, a hated symbol in the Spanish-speaking community, trampled a young woman and her four-year-old child. When the crowd responded, 500 cops attacked.

The next day the People's Committee Against Repression and Police Brutality was formed and a delegation went to city hall, accompanied by a demonstration of 1,000. When a committee representative announced that no progress had been made in the city hall talks, some in the angry crowd began throwing cans and bottles. The cops moved in and beat demonstrators.

Mayor Kenneth Gibson then banned all further protests and street gatherings.



Militant/Manuel Barrera

ON THE SCENE: 'Militant' reporter Catarino Garza interviews eyewitness to police riot over the weekend.

...police riot NOW conference calls regional meeting of minority women

Continued from preceding page possibly .38" (the gun most police carry).

The cops also claim that they only moved into the situation when gang members fired on them. But the eyewitnesses we spoke with said that if any shot was fired before the cops began their attack, it had been fired by the police.

To help expose the police lies about the Humboldt Park events, residents of the neighborhood and some community leaders are calling for an independent commission of inquiry.

Several community organizations have also called a demonstration for Saturday, June 11, to protest the police brutality at Humboldt Park. The demonstration will leave from North and California at 10:30 a.m. and march to Clemente High School where a caravan will be organized to city hall.

Among the demands of the demonstration are: Get the police and FBI out of the community. End police brutality. Prosecute the cops who shot and killed the two Puerto Rican youths.

The marchers are also raising demands around job discrimination and unemployment in the Puerto Rican community.

PSP condemns 'shock troops against our people'

El Diario-la Prensa, a New York Spanish-language daily, is using the Humboldt Park police riot as another opportunity to brand Puerto Rican nationalists as "terrorists."

In an article on June 6, *El Diario* reporter Manuel De Dios Unanue wrote that the police attack on the Puerto Rican Day events was the result of "a perfectly coordinated operation with the participation of elements of the Puerto Rican Socialist party [PSP] and the Armed Forces of Puerto Rican National Liberation (FALN)."

This slander comes at a time of increased government attacks on the Puerto Rican independence movement. Grand juries in New York and Chicago have subpoenaed activists in connection with FALN activities in an attempt to intimidate and harass the entire independence movement. Already three people have been jailed for refusing to cooperate with this illegal fishing expedition, including two employees of the National Commission on Hispanic Affairs of the Episcopal Church.

An article in the June 8 *El Diario* reported the response to the paper's slanders by José Alberto Alvarez, first secretary of the PSP in the United States.

According to *El Diario*, the PSP "places the responsibility for the disturbances that occurred on the government of Chicago" and "condemned attempts to place the blame on socialist organizations."

Alvarez pointed to attempts by the city of Chicago to "evict the Puerto Rican community under the pretext of 'urban renewal.'"

Alvarez also pointed to the miserable state of employment and education in the Chicago Puerto Rican community. "But evidently the city government, not content with this suffering, sees fit to send its shock troops against our people," he said.

Alvarez also said that the PSP rejects "any attempt to picture us as 'coordinators' or having links with the FALN." The PSP, he said, "had nothing to do with the disturbances in this city."

—P.A.

By Nancy Cole

WASHINGTON—The mid-Atlantic conference of the National Organization for Women, which met here June 4-5, issued a call for a regional conference of minority women.

The Black and Latina women's meeting is to be cosponsored by national NOW and local chapters. A planning meeting is scheduled for Pittsburgh, July 16-17.

The call was part of a resolution presented to the conference plenary by

A full report on the mid-Atlantic and other regional conferences of NOW will appear in next week's Militant.

the minority women's workshop. It passed almost unanimously.

"It's vital for the Minority Task Force to have teeth to move ahead in some areas where we can bring more minority women into the National Organization for Women," said Brenda Frazier in motivating the proposal. Frazier is from East End NOW in Pittsburgh and ran unsuccessfully during the conference for a seat on the NOW national board.

The goal of the regional minority women's conference is to "help accomplish the goals of the Minority Women's Task Force and committee and to increase the numbers of minority women within NOW."

Some of the specific goals to be discussed by the conference as outlined in the resolution include:

- "To assess the needs of minority women in states and local communities, and to respond to these needs by

using the guidelines of the Minority Women's Task Force and by initiating specific actions as determined by minority women and the Minority Women's Task Force and committee";

- "to provide workshops, seminars, and other outreach programs in order to recruit more minority women to NOW";

- "to coalesce with other minority organizations when necessary to elevate the status of minority women from the caste of the superoppressed to a place of full equality";

- "to set up seminars to educate all NOW members to accomplishments and contributions of minority women";

- "to cooperate with other NOW task forces, such as child care, right to choose, etc., in order to strengthen our common goals";

- "to provide support for all minority women and particularly minority feminists who are being harassed and fired from their jobs because of their stands against racist and sexist discrimination"; and

- "to recommend to *Do It NOW* [NOW's national publication] that they establish a minority women's column."

The resolution was initiated by the NOW Black Feminist Caucus of Pennsylvania and eight individual women, including Frazier, Ruth Hobson from Baltimore, and Valorie Caffee from Trenton, New Jersey.

The minority women's workshop designated Frazier to coordinate conference plans. For more information, contact Frazier at 503 Gettysburg Street, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15206. Telephone: (412) 361-1817.

Defend abortion rights!

WASHINGTON—Women meeting here for the mid-Atlantic conference of the National Organization for Women voted to "urge the [NOW] chapters to react to the threat of the Hyde amendment prior to or on June 15, using any suitable tactics."

On June 15 the U.S. House of Representatives is scheduled to decide whether low-income women have the same right to abortion as do other women.

The appropriations bill for the departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare is up for a

vote. The bill contains a ban on Medicaid funds for abortions. The same prohibition was introduced last fall as the Hyde amendment.

The U.S. Supreme Court could rule on the constitutionality of the discriminatory Hyde amendment before it recesses at the end of June.

The NOW resolution declared that implementation of the Medicaid ban "would mean that hundreds of thousands of women a year would be forced to continue unwanted pregnancies or resort to back-alley abortions."

—N.C.

Rhodesia invades Mozambique

By Ernest Harsch
From Intercontinental Press

In another brutal attack against the Black freedom struggle, troops of the Rhodesian white minority regime invaded the neighboring country of Mozambique May 29. Four days later Salisbury announced that its forces had withdrawn.

Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith declared that the operation had been "very successful." He claimed that "there was nothing aggressive about it."

Gen. Peter Walls announced May 31 that the purpose of the raid was to strike at Zimbabwean guerrilla camps. The Mozambican regime provides aid and sanctuary to the Zimbabwean liberation forces, which are fighting to oust the Smith regime and establish Black majority rule in their country.

According to Rhodesian military officials, about 700 troops were flown into Mozambique by helicopter May 29. They were supported by jet fighters. The next day, Rhodesian forces occupied the town of Mapai, which is about 50 miles inside Mozambique. Walls declared that his troops would continue to hold the town "until terrorists have been eliminated from the area."

During the five days of the operation, the Smith regime in Salisbury claimed to have killed thirty-two "terrorists" and seized "large quantities of arms, ammunition, explosives, and equipment." It also claimed to have destroyed four guerrilla camps belonging to the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA), the military wing of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU). Besides the ZANLA camp at Mapai, the other camps that were attacked were near Rio, Madulo-Pan, and Jorge-Dolimpopo.

Mozambican Defense Minister Joaquim Chipande said May 30 that the invading troops had struck at Mozambican bases at Chicualacuala, Chitan-

ga, and the Nuanetsi River. Radio Mozambique accused the Rhodesians June 2 of bombing "railway stations, farms, schools and the population of the region."

The latest Rhodesian terror raid was widely condemned around the world. United Nations General Secretary Kurt Waldheim denounced the invasion June 1, stating, "The illegal regime must immediately and unconditionally withdraw its forces from Mozambican territory."

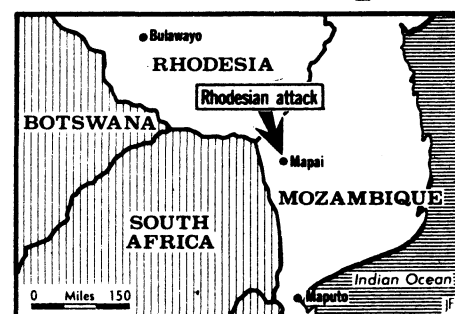
Robert Mugabe, a leader of ZANU, charged the American, British, and South African governments with complicity in the raid.

Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, who has also provided some sanctuary for the Zimbabwean freedom fighters, declared that his forces would retaliate against the Smith regime if attacked.

Both Washington and London issued statements protesting the raid. What the imperialists are concerned about is not the Rhodesian aggression itself, but the possibility that it could further widen the military conflict in southern Africa or upset the British and American plans to defuse the Zimbabwean freedom struggle through drawn-out negotiations. They are seeking to avoid a mass Black uprising that could threaten their interests in the region.

Since the breakdown of the Geneva talks between Smith and the Zimbabwean nationalist leaders in December, both London and Washington have tried to get negotiations started again. In fact, the Rhodesian raid into Mozambique began just a few hours after American and British officials left Salisbury after five days of talks. They were on their way to meet Mugabe in Mozambique.

The State Department noted the danger that the Smith regime's continued intransigence posed to these imperialist plans when it said that the aggression against Mozambique could



have "extremely serious consequences."

The imperialist powers are also worried that continued Rhodesian attacks on neighboring countries could prompt the Black regimes to ask for assistance from Moscow or Havana.

In addition, Washington sent a message through the South African regime urging Smith to withdraw his forces from Mozambique.

The Rhodesian attack into Mozambique was the third such operation Salisbury has acknowledged in the past year. In August 1976 Rhodesian forces massacred more than 600 Zimbabwean refugees near Nyazonia and in late October carried out another invasion, in which it claimed to have killed hundreds of guerrillas.

Besides the immediate military objectives, these operations may be designed to help strengthen Smith's hand in any negotiations that may get under way. The attack into Mozambique in October 1976, for instance, began just three days after the opening of the Geneva talks.

Geoffrey Godsell, an editor of the *Christian Science Monitor*, suggested June 2 that the raid into Mozambique may also have been partly aimed at bolstering the sagging morale of the white settler population. According to the latest Rhodesian figures, there was a net total of nearly 3,600 whites who emigrated from the country in the first four months of this year, compared to 880 during the same period in 1976.

End repression of Black S. African unionists!

By Omari Musa

Since last fall the white supremacist South African government has stepped up its repression against Black trade unionists and their supporters.

Last November the government banned or arrested thirty people connected with African trade unions. Those under a banning order cannot attend meetings, leave their neighborhoods, or make statements to the press. They also face possible exile to other parts of the country distant from the area of their union activity.

Among those banned for five years under the Internal Security Act are Loet Douwes-Dekker, Eric Tyacke, and Jean Tyacke, officials of the Urban Training Project.

The UTP is described in the February 1977 issue of the *Butcher Workman*, the monthly magazine of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, as "a private institution which provides education, training facilities, and services to African unions."

Black victims of the antiunion dragnet include Joe Thloloe, president of the Union of Black Journalists; June-Rose Nala of the National Union of Textile Workers; and Alpheus Mthethwa and Sypho Khubeka of the Metal and Allied Workers' Union.

Although African trade unions are not illegal, the white minority regime refuses to officially recognize them. It does recognize white unions and some mixed, Coloured, and Asian unions.

Steel local opposes S. African imports

Local 1011 of the United Steelworkers of America in East Chicago, Indiana, has demanded that "Youngstown Sheet & Tube not use or purchase products produced under nonunion conditions in southern Africa, including but not limited to chrome from Rhodesia and coal and coke from the Republic of South Africa."

The demand was included in the list of local issues currently being negotiated with the company.

Norman Purdue, president of Local 1011, said this demand will be submitted to the membership as part of a strike vote package if it remains unsettled.

Purdue noted that this was the first known attempt of an American union to make opposition to the importation of goods from the white minority regimes a contractual issue.

Local 1011 also demanded that "a monitoring system be provided to assure the union of company compliance."

Youngstown Steel & Tube denied that it was using Rhodesian chrome or South African coal and coke.

However, a spokesperson for the company admitted that it did import South African coke during 1974-75 when "there was a worldwide coke shortage . . ."

—O.M.

Before the Soweto rebellion the government allowed African trade unions to function in a very limited way. But the mass strikes last summer that stopped industry in Johannesburg and seriously hampered production in other cities have convinced the regime to crack down.

Restrict and control

African workers face repressive laws and official and semiofficial government bodies designed specifically to stifle the growth of African trade unions.

For example, the Bantu Labour Relations Regulation Amendment Act of 1973 established "works committees and liaison committees" as substitutes for unions. Most of these committees were instituted by the employers and not the workers.

While some unionists choose to work through the "works and liaison committees," these bodies have proven to be instruments of employer control more than tools to raise the workers' standard of living.

However, some employers in South Africa are beginning to realize that recognition of African trade unions, especially if they function under the control of the white unions, may be necessary. They hope that such an arrangement will end the threat posed by the growth of independent African unions.

The seriousness with which the apartheid regime views African trade unions was clear during a strike last year in Germiston. There 600 workers went on strike demanding that the Heinemanns factory recognize their union instead of a works or liaison committee.

The response of the government was to unleash the police to attack the strikers.

One of the most frequently used methods to halt the development of African trade unions is a government order banning unionists and their supporters from engaging in trade-union activity.

Protests called

In response to the bans and arrests in November, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) Executive Board called a week of protest activity demanding that the bans be lifted.

The November 25, 1976, ICFTU Executive Board "decided to set aside the week beginning Monday 17 January 1977 for concerted trade union action in protest against the South African apartheid regime."

The board went on to say that "only the strongest measures will make the South African Government understand that it cannot get away with its vicious attack on the African trade union movement."

Unfortunately, the leaderships of ICFTU unions did not mobilize their members and other opponents of apartheid in support of the protests.

However, the fact that the ICFTU and other international trade-union bodies oppose apartheid and the repression against African trade unionists opens the door for future protests.

The International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) passed two resolutions dealing with southern Africa at its recent national convention.

One stated that the ILWU "continues to support the efforts of the black majorities of South Africa, Namibia and Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) to win self-determination."

The second resolution "urges all divisions to notify all respective employers that beginning May



South African cop attacks textile worker near Durban during 1974 strike.

1, 1977 all contracts to be negotiated by this union shall [not] include any language which will allow for the handling, warehousing or transportation of any cargos bound for or coming from South Africa or Zimbabwe (Rhodesia)."

Action based on this type of resolution is what is needed.

It is clear that the South African government and its imperialist backers in Washington are disturbed by the growing militancy of African workers and their willingness to fight for their rights. They also understand that the struggle to organize African workers into unions raises key political questions.

African workers fighting to eliminate the huge difference between their wages and those of whites begins to undermine the apartheid system itself, because South Africa's attractiveness to foreign imperialist investors is based on the profits to be extracted from cheap Black labor.

Black workers fighting for basic trade-union rights inevitably clash with the white minority regime. This clash quickly poses the basic political question in South Africa—whether the Black majority will rule or continue to be ruled by the white minority.

International solidarity against the banning and arrest of African trade unionists and protests demanding their release from jail lend concrete assistance to the organization of African workers and their fight to replace the racist regime.

The labor movement in the United States can play a big role in ending the suppression of African trade unionists. It could bring its weight to bear on the apartheid regime by educating its membership and participating in demonstrations demanding an end to the bannings and arrests, the right of Africans to organize unions, and an end to U.S. complicity with the white minority regime.

Attacks continue on Winnie Mandela in exile

By Omari Musa

A June 3 dispatch from South Africa by *New York Times* correspondent John Burns provided new information about the government's recent attack on Black nationalist leader Winnie Mandela.

Last month the apartheid regime exiled Mandela from her home in Soweto, a Black township outside Johannesburg, to the small and remote village of Brandfort in the Orange Free



State.

The 2,500 Blacks in Brandfort work as farm laborers, as domestic servants, and in some small shops. A large Black prison outside the village provides labor for street cleaning, the flour mill, and the apple harvest.

The 2,000 whites there—mostly retired farmers and civil servants—live in relative comfort as a result of the exploitation of the Black population.

Mandela's "home" is a three-room house with no running water or inside toilet. Her prospects for employment are limited to being a cleaning woman or "nanny."

Mandela is confined to Brandfort. She cannot meet with more than one person at a time, and is under house arrest at night, on weekends, and during holidays.

She is also under constant police surveillance. When Mandela's sisters stayed overnight recently, she was charged with violating her restriction. She could face a three-year jail sent-

ence if found "guilty."

The police try to stop other Blacks from talking with Mandela. "They're dead scared," she told Burns. "Some of them come when it's dark, and express their solidarity in whispers. But most of them stay away."

Police surveillance is so thick that after his discussion with Mandela, Burns was arrested for allegedly taking pictures of prisoners on the streets.

The South African government has reportedly said that Mandela could go to the Transkei—a phony "independent" Bantustan set up by the apartheid regime—or to Swaziland if she wished. "If anybody should leave, it's not me, it's the settler government," she told Burns.

Black groups, women's organizations, and other defenders of civil liberties in this country should demand that the ban on Winnie Mandela be lifted and that the racist South African regime release all its political prisoners now.

Biggest upsurge in nine years

Student protests demand democratic rights

By Judy White

From Intercontinental Press

On May 5, thousands of students in São Paulo marched in the streets, demanding the restoration of democratic rights in Brazil and the immediate release of eight workers and students arrested in that city on April 28. The Geisel regime responded with stepped-up repression. However, the student protest movement continued to build in open defiance of the dictatorship. On May 19 demonstrations took place in sixteen cities in a National Day of Action against the repressiveness of the regime.

The outpouring was the biggest protest in Brazil since 1968, when the student movement spearheaded mobilizations involving large sectors of the working class and petty bourgeoisie. That upsurge was met with a series of repressive decrees barring all political and trade-union activity, imposing strict censorship on the mass media, and opening the way to a bloodbath that decapitated all sectors of the opposition.

Arrest of eight

The current wave of protests was sparked by the arrest of eight persons who were leafletting on April 28 in preparation for a May Day action. A week later, São Paulo students flooded into the city's São Francisco Square. They demanded the release of the eight: Celso Brambilla, Márcia Basseto Paes, José Maria de Almeida, Adamir Marini, Fernando Antonio de Oliveira Lopes, Anita Maria Fabri, Fortuna Dwek, and Cláudio Júlio Gravina.

A wide range of university organizations and departments supported the demonstration. The rector of the São Paulo law school, Rui Barbosa Nogueira, addressed the crowd, saying, "The right to free speech is sacred, especially in the public square."

As they marched from the square to Viaduto do Chá following the rally, the demonstrators were greeted with applause from onlookers. They ignored police orders to disperse, and when attacked with tear gas, they sat down in the street, chanting slogans demanding democratic rights and shouting the text of an "Open Letter to the Brazilian People" (see facing page). After about thirty minutes, the marchers retreated to the law school, which adjoins São Francisco Square.

Geisel cracks down

In the days following the May 5 action, the Geisel regime stepped up attempts to intimidate the protesters.



Students in Rio de Janeiro vote overwhelmingly for a 'Week of Amnesty.' Banner overhead reads: 'For Democratic Rights and a General Amnesty.' Meetings and protests like this one are sweeping Brazilian campuses in the biggest wave of demonstrations since 1968.

Arrests and harassment of activists took place in several cities. University buildings were closed down to prevent planning meetings.

On May 17, Education Minister Nei Amintar Braga went on national television to appeal to university students to work with the government "to build the Brazil of the future."

"We will not permit agitators to upset the tranquil, orderly life of the educational institutions of this nation," he said.

Paulo Egídio Martins, governor of the state of São Paulo, told the press the following day that he "hoped very much that they [the students] would understand the situation and would take the time to meditate on the difficult times the country is going through." The demands presented by the students at the University of São Paulo were "just and legitimate," he continued, but that did not mean that the government was capable of "solving all the problems."

Moreover, he said, referring to the order banning future demonstrations in public places, "the instructions received from the Ministry of Justice will have to be followed and they will be followed."

The secretary of public security, Antonio Erasmo Dias, was more blunt. Orders from the Justice Ministry

would be obeyed "whatever the cost," he said.

And Rui Barbosa Nogueira, who defended freedom of speech on May 5, closed down the São Paulo law school thirteen days later on the pretext that he "feared for the physical safety" of the students because he had received "information that foreign elements could disturb the order" of a follow-up demonstration called for May 19.

In São Paulo on the National Day of Action, riot troops intervened "with a violence that had not been seen since 1968," according to a report in the May 20 issue of the Brazilian daily *Folha de São Paulo*. The government used tear and nausea gas, firehoses, clubs, dogs, and mounted police to crush demonstrations by those who defied an official ban on protests outside the university campus.

More than 77,000 police and troops—the city's entire repressive force—were mobilized to prevent a rally scheduled for São Francisco Square.

The Geisel dictatorship also issued an order forbidding radio or television coverage of the protests.

Despite the police mobilization, however, more than 1,500 persons managed to carry out a march scheduled for the downtown area.

The massive array of repressive force also failed to halt about 8,000

students, workers, professors, and officials of the bourgeois opposition party—the Movimento Democrático Brasileiro (MDB—Brazilian Democratic Movement)—from assembling later that day in the gardens of the University of São Paulo medical school. There the demonstrators heard speeches from academic figures, student leaders, legislators, and trade-union activists.

Several motions were passed, among them one in support of Bishop Pedro Casaldáliga, who has been accused of "subversion" and may face deportation from Brazil. A list of thirty persons who have disappeared since 1974 was read to chants of "Free our prisoners" and "Down with the repression."

'Manifesto for Amnesty'

The crowd recited in unison a "Manifesto for Amnesty," drawn up in preparation for the demonstration. The manifesto repeated the demands of the open letter and reported the repressive actions taken by the Geisel regime since May 5.

Toward the end of the meeting, the participants voted to call another series of public rallies throughout the country on June 15. The aim is to mobilize supporters of democratic rights for a national gathering, which will draw up a statement to be sent to

Open letter to Brazilian people: 'We won't be gagged'

[The following is the text of the open letter distributed at the May 5 actions and used as the basis to mobilize support for the May 19 demonstrations. The translation and footnotes are by Intercontinental Press.]

* * *

Today, anyone who is silent is complicit. There have been enough arrests, enough violence. We will no longer accept deaths like those of Wladimir Herzog (journalist and professor), Manuel Fiel Filho (worker), and Alexandre Vanucchi Leme (student, after whom the Diretório Central de Estudantes-Livre¹ of the University of São Paulo [USP] has been named).² We will not allow the authorities to mistreat and mutilate our comrades. We don't want heroes like Manuel da Conceição³ crippled.

Today we came out into the streets to demand the immediate release of

our worker comrades—Celso Brambilla, Márcia Basseto Paes, José Maria de Almeida, and Adamir Marini—and our student comrades—Fernando Antonio de Oliveira Lopes, Anita Maria Fabri, Fortuna Dwek, and Cláudio Júlio Gravina—who are being held, allegedly for subversion.

In this country today everyone who demands his rights, or who does not accept economic exploitation, the wage squeeze, the high cost of living, and the horrible living and working conditions is considered subversive, as are all those who protest against the constant police violence.

Finally, people who violate the National Security Law, the judicial

1. Free Central Student Council.
2. All of these persons died while under arrest.
3. Leader of a mass peasant movement in the Northeast of Brazil who was tortured so badly he lost a leg.

tool that justifies repression of the population's most legitimate movements, are considered subversives.

We will not tolerate this situation any longer. We demand that the authorities respect the freedom to demonstrate and the right of expression and organization of all oppressed sectors of the population.

We want to speak out against those who oppress us. And we understand that the best way to speak out and to fight against those who oppress us through economic exploitation and political and police violence is through the trade unions and the free groups that we organize independently.

At the University of São Paulo and the Pontifical Catholic University [PUC] of São Paulo the students created their own free groups (the Diretórios Centrais de Estudantes, free DCEs of the USP and the PUC). They are free because we do not abide by the laws imposed by the

authorities that do not permit direct, free elections and that restrict our freedom to demonstrate and organize.

Because we no longer accept being gagged, today we demand the immediate release of our comrades who are being held not for the reasons alleged, of subversion, but because they are fighting for the interests of the majority of the exploited population—against poverty, for an end to the wage squeeze, for freedom of organization and expression to demand their rights.

That is why we call on everyone at this time to join this public demonstration under one and the same banner: For an end to torture, arrests, and political persecution. For the immediate release of the imprisoned comrades. For a broad, unrestricted amnesty for all political prisoners, banned individuals, and exiles. For democratic freedoms.

in Brazil

Amnesty International.

In Salvador and Rio de Janeiro, demonstrations May 19 drew 5,000 persons each. More than 2,000 demonstrated in Porto Alegre and 1,000 in São Carlos that same day and universities at Curitiba, Campinas, Presidente Prudente, Barretos, Ribeirão Preto, Piracicaba, Limeira, and Bauru were shut down by student strikes.

The rally and march at the University of Brasília was "the biggest on the campus since 1971," *Folha de São Paulo* reported. Demonstrations were also reported at universities in Florianópolis and Manaus. Repressive measures prevented announced protests from taking place in Pernambuco, Alagoas, Goiás, Piauí, and Pará, the daily said.

Rulers divided

The Brazilian ruling class is far from unanimous on how to proceed in face of the protests. Not only did MDB representatives officially participate in several of the actions, but the dictatorship's ban on the publication of news critical of the regime was largely ignored.

The daily *O Estado de São Paulo* had a five-column headline, "Salvador, repression of the press." The accompanying article condemned the police attack on journalists who were covering the demonstration in that city.

Folha de São Paulo has devoted page after page to covering the protests, its May 20 edition featuring the São Paulo demonstration on the front page.

"Yesterday the students who gathered on the campus of the medical school issued a clear message, which those who hold power must certainly be thinking over," the lead editorial in the paper's May 20 issue began.

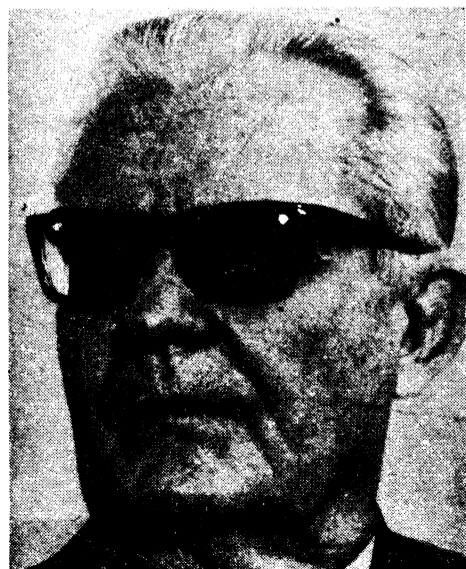
It was not a message that concerned them alone: Yesterday the student youth served as a focus of the tension that has built up in the country as a whole.

Those youths offered an example of maturity and moderation, and not just of passing enthusiasm. Their approach indicates a very clear definition of goals and a thought-out estimate of the possibilities now before us. In addition, it was reassuring that the police did not go to greater extremes to stifle the demonstrators.

Nonetheless, it could not help but be disturbing that where there were excesses, it was the police who committed them. It gave a sinister impression to see the armed forces beating up near children who were shouting "Long live liberty" and who, after all, were only reciting a lesson learned from school and from our history.

The editors concluded with a warning to the Geisel dictatorship:

"There is no reason to believe that the expectations of the nation, as expressed by the students, can be dissipated through intimidation. The student discontent is obviously in tune with the impatience of the population. Almost all of us can feel the wind of history stirring. And it is ridiculous to beat at such a wind with fists or billyclubs."



GEISEL

109,620 sold

Drive marks gains in sales

By Nelson Blackstock

Around 6:30 every Thursday morning these days you can find Alyson Kennedy and Chris Rayson at the same place: gate one at the big Republic Steel plant in Cleveland.

The sun is coming up earlier now. But even when it was pitch dark the workers at gate one could read the *Militant* headlines by the light coming off the nearby blast furnace.

As the shift changes and the workers file in and out of the plant some familiar faces appear. There's an occasional nod, a smile, a friendly greeting.

It's all over in a few minutes. Last week they sold thirteen *Militants* between them. Sometimes its more, sometimes less.

The two socialists make up one of five weekly steel sales teams in Cleveland.

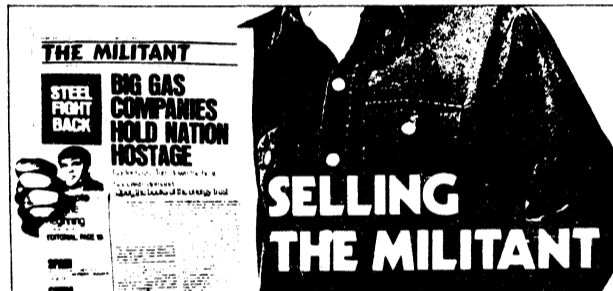
These teams and others like them in cities across the country are a major acquisition of the recently concluded fourteen-week *Militant* national sales drive. More on the Cleveland teams and how they work later.

With the drive behind us, it's time to evaluate the results.

The sales campaign got off the ground during the third week in February. Only recently we had wrapped up a fall subscription effort that netted nearly 21,000 new readers. While subscriptions were up, single-copy sales were quite low—averaging around 3,000 copies per issue.

When the sales drive began, Ed Sadlowski's campaign for president of the steelworkers union was in full sway. It was clear that Steelworkers Fight Back had important implications for the whole union movement.

The drive had two central aims: to boost the



overall circulation of the *Militant*; and to establish regular, weekly sales to industrial workers.

On both counts the campaign registered outstanding advances.

Some 109,620 copies of the *Militant* were bought during the drive. (That's copies sold by members of the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance taking part in the drive. Not included in the figure are subscription copies or newsstand sales. Also absent are the 3,620 *Militants* sold on campuses by YSA teams in outlying areas.)

As for sales to industrial workers, the Thursday morning scene at Republic Steel was repeated thousands of times at plant gates in dozens of states. One special issue on the new steel contract reached totally unprecedented numbers of steelworkers.

Local units of the SWP and YSA adopted weekly goals for the drive totaling 10,000. That number was actually hit and surpassed only twice—during two national target weeks in which socialists concentrated on sales. The drive came during a busy fourteen weeks for the SWP and YSA. There were major activities in the women's movement, in work around South Africa, and more.

While it would have been better to have made the national goal more frequently, the drive made great strides toward setting a pattern of regular weekly sales. Especially useful in establishing procedures for organizing sales were the two target weeks. During one of these weeks *Militants* sold nationally totaled 16,948—a record for such sales in recent years.

One of the most striking features of the drive was the big push to get out the special issue with the official union summary of the new steel contract and an analysis of its meaning. It was a week marked by trailblazing to steel centers—among others, teams from Atlanta sold 356 in Birmingham, and Los Angeles socialists sold more than 300 at Fontana.

National sales that week came to 9,347. Of these, 4,201 went to steelworkers. The experience showed these workers would buy the *Militant* in large numbers when it ran material important to them.

2,165 subs

An unexpected bonus of the sales drive was the number of subscriptions that came in—2,165.

Unlike some past *Militant* sales drives, this one was not accompanied by parallel national subscription goals. Nonetheless, *Militant* business manager Harvey McArthur reports that an average of 144 subscriptions arrived each week.

A member of the woodworkers union in Alpena, a small western Michigan town, wrote in asking for a batch of subscription envelopes. A few weeks later he mailed back eighteen introductory subscriptions he had sold to co-workers.

A Minneapolis sales team garnered twenty-six subscriptions during a weekend in the Minnesota Iron Range.

And 116 women bought subscriptions at the NOW convention.

"It looks like there's a big untapped market for *Militant* subscriptions out there," observed McArthur.

Perspectiva Mundial, the new biweekly Spanish-language socialist magazine, also printed the contract summary. It was the only place you could find it in Spanish. Where there are concentrations of Spanish-speaking workers, socialists also sold *PM*. In Houston, for example, Chicano workers bought forty copies of the magazine.

In recent weeks selling *PM* along with the *Militant* has become a routine in several areas.

Most *Militants* were not sold at plant gates, but in a variety of places, often tied in with campaigning for socialist candidates. Special emphasis was placed on sales in the Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicano communities.

Socialists sold the paper in housing projects, on street corners, in shopping centers, on campuses, at Equal Rights Amendment support demonstrations, and at a national rally in Atlanta to abolish the death penalty.

In the past months the SWP has set up many new branches. Selling the *Militant* has been central to establishing the presence of socialists in new areas. The new branches were frequently out front in attaining their sales goals. Indianapolis and Phoenix made it eleven of the fourteen weeks.

The *Militant* devoted many pages to the discussion on perspectives in the National Organization for Women preceding its national convention. At the convention itself 560 women bought copies of the paper, and 116 bought subscriptions.

We intend to continue to maintain regular sales during the summer—although not on the same level as past weeks.

It's essential, however, to keep up the regular plant-gate sales. The Cleveland example gives a good picture of how it's working well.

The watchword of the operation is regularity. Each week the same team returns to the same gate at the same plant at the same time. Four teams go to Republic. One to Jones & Laughlin.

Thursday afternoon Kathleen Fitzgerald and her partner hit the 2:30 shift change at Republic. She's been at it for seven or eight weeks now.

Her experience points to the advantages of regular sales. "In the beginning we sold only two or three copies," she says. "Now it's up to anywhere between nine and fifteen."

She has developed regular customers who will pick up a copy every time they see her.

"Many workers have become sort of friends with me. They make a point of speaking—'How are you today?' 'How's it going?' That includes some older white workers who never buy the paper. Nobody's ever been hostile."

"The workers move pretty fast, trying to make it in on time or get away as soon as they can. But a few will now pause briefly to exchange a few words about how things are going in the union."

The teams also carry leaflets for Militant Forums, election campaigns, and other socialist activities. This week they're bringing petitions to get their candidates on the ballot.

Fitzgerald reports that Cleveland socialists now have their sights set on getting these sales going at some auto plants.

Defend busing and quotas

Calif. teachers rebuff Shanker policies

By Jeff Mackler

LOS ANGELES—The state convention of the 30,000-member California Federation of Teachers (CFT), held here May 27-29, stunned supporters of Albert Shanker by passing several resolutions that directly challenge his conservative policies.

Shanker is president of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) and a leader of the right wing of the AFL-CIO officialdom.

On the last day of the convention, Alberto Valdivia, a delegate from the United Teachers of Los Angeles (UTLA), introduced a resolution calling on the AFT to initiate a national conference of public employee unions

Jeff Mackler is organizer of AFT Local 1423 in Hayward, California.

to develop a united labor strategy against cutbacks, layoffs, and antilabor attacks.

Over the opposition of top CFT officials, the convention delegates passed the resolution. (See box on this page.)

Debate on this resolution focused on a section calling for the AFT to propose "that all public employee unions, in alliance with the broad labor movement, unite to run independent labor campaigns for public office."

Virginia Mulrooney, executive director of the Los Angeles Community College Guild, presented an amendment to remove this portion of the resolution.

"This is the same kind of labor party resolution we have seen for the past several years," she argued.

Instead Mulrooney proposed that labor continue to be involved in "broad coalitions" that offer the possibility of "winning." In other words, keep supporting Democrats.

Phyllis Calech, a delegate from the Berkeley Federation of Teachers, voiced a different view of the Democratic party. Calech pointed to the strikebreaking role of Berkeley's Democrats during her local's strike two years ago.

Other delegates rose to score the antilabor record of the Democratic party at all levels of government. President Carter's slashing of education appropriations; the massive layoffs engineered by Democrats in New York, California, and elsewhere; and the arrest of strikers by Democratic mayors in city after city were all cited in the debate.

When the vote was taken, 40 percent



February 1977 demonstration to desegregate Los Angeles schools. California Federation of Teachers reaffirmed strong probusing stand.

of the convention's 250 delegates opposed the amendment to delete the labor party section. This was the largest vote in support of independent working-class political action in the history of the CFT.

An even greater break from past policy came when the convention voted to modify its position on seniority so that in the event of layoffs, "no 'protected group' under affirmative action shall be disproportionately affected."

Before this convention the CFT's position echoed that of the national AFT. It upheld strict seniority and ignored the fact that the minimal gains in employment won by Blacks and other minorities were being wiped out by the "last hired, first fired" policy.

Speaking in support of the resolution, I pointed out that in New York City the massive layoffs had reduced minority teachers from 11 percent to less than 5 percent in a single year.

"Those who have suffered the most

from past discriminatory policies in employment," I said, "must not now be allowed to again be the victims of racist practice. The CFT cannot be the champion of affirmative action in good times and ignore the principle now."

In a vote of 129 to 81, the convention took another stand for affirmative action by opposing the *Bakke* decision of the California State Supreme Court.

The *Bakke* ruling held that the admissions program of the University of California Davis Medical School represented "discrimination in reverse" because it set aside 16 of the 100 new admissions positions for "disadvantaged students."

AFT President Albert Shanker hailed the *Bakke* decision as confirming the national AFT opposition to minority hiring or admissions quotas.

Contrary to Shanker's view, the CFT delegates held that "past experience has demonstrated that without specific objectives, or quotas, there is little reason to believe that past discriminatory practices will not be reinstated."

Convention resolutions

The following is the text of two resolutions passed by the California Federation of Teachers state convention held in Los Angeles, May 27-29. The proposal for independent labor candidates in the National Conference of Public Employee Unions (in brackets) was deleted by a 60 percent to 40 percent vote.

Conference of Public Employee Unions

Whereas, the concerted, bipartisan attack on working people and their unions has focused with great intensity on public employees, and,

Whereas, this attack has been increasingly characterized by massive layoffs, arrest of strikers, drastic cutbacks in social services, and antilabor legislation and court action, and,

Whereas, the antilabor forces lead-

ing these attacks would prefer that public workers and their unions compete with each other for diminishing revenues, rather than uniting to develop a common strategy to fight back, and,

Whereas, the American Federation of Teachers opposes any attempt to counterpose the just needs of one sector of public workers to another.

Therefore be it resolved that:

1) The AFT work with the AFL-CIO to call a national conference of all public employee unions, including SEIU, AFSCME, NEA, to discuss steps to be taken to develop a united labor strategy.

2) The AFT propose at this conference that all public employee unions, in alliance with the broad labor movement, unite to run independent labor campaigns for public office.]

3) The AFT send this resolution to the 1977 AFT Convention in Boston.

Affirmative action and Seniority

1) Be it resolved that the CFT reaffirm its commitment to affirmative action in education admission policies and employment at all levels of public education—*Conversely*: in the event of a "reduction in force," we will not lose the gains of affirmative action, and,

Whereas the usual layoff procedure has been solely on the basis of seniority, and,

Whereas this policy would be injurious to those achievements under affirmative action programs, and,

Whereas the CFT has always supported both principles: to wit, affirmative action and seniority,

Therefore be it resolved that in the event of a "reduction in force," no "protected group" under affirmative action shall be disproportionately affected.

This convention marked the first time any state body of the AFT has adopted a clear position defending quotas.

As one delegate from the Alameda Federation of Teachers said, "It was the first time that many delegates realized that without specific quotas and timetables, affirmative action doesn't mean a damn thing."

On the eve of the convention the U.S. Civil Rights Commission issued a 252-page report stating that the desegregation plan passed by the Los Angeles Unified School District was "worthless" and in fact continued the policy of the school board of "resisting racial integration."

Originally the United Teachers of Los Angeles backed a plan for increased busing of students to desegregate the schools. This position was later reversed when racist white teachers introduced and passed a city-wide teacher referendum opposing the union's endorsement of busing.

Most of the UTLA delegates to the CFT convention felt that the UTLA leadership had failed in its obligation to educate teachers on the need to desegregate schools through busing.

The convention, partially in reaction to the failure of the UTLA to take a leadership role in the desegregation controversy, passed three resolutions defending school desegregation.

The first mandated the CFT to hold regular convention and area workshops to "help teachers deal with the specific problems relating to implementation" of desegregation plans.

The second affirmed CFT support to busing as necessary to achieve desegregation.

Finally the convention unanimously approved last year's convention resolution, "Desegregation and Equality in Education," for submission to the 1977 national convention of the AFT, to be held in Boston August 14-19.

Many delegates expressed their anger that Shanker had blocked passage of the CFT resolution at the AFT convention last year.

Instead the convention majority, made up of the Shanker-dominated, larger delegations, had adopted a resolution that placed busing at the bottom of the heap of appropriate methods to desegregate schools.

In other convention actions the CFT delegates unanimously approved a resolution opposing the extradition from California of American Indian Movement leader Dennis Banks.

The convention also approved a resolution opposing the apartheid regime in South Africa and all U.S. corporate or institutional investments in that country.

The California Federation of Teachers lost heavily to the more conservative California Teachers Association during the collective bargaining elections that took place under California law this past year.

A few delegates expressed the view that it would be appropriate for locals that lost to the CTA to bring the views of the CFT directly into the CTA by joining it.

But most of the members and leaders of the CFT in the state are committed to maintaining their affiliation to the CFT, even if it means isolation from the mainstream of California teachers.

A strategy of merger will prove to be key, however, if California teachers are to defend themselves from the deepening attacks from all quarters. This subject will be taken up in a future article.

Teachers at the CFT convention bought \$300 worth of socialist, labor history, and women's liberation literature from Pathfinder Press. Fifty single copies and ten subscriptions to the *Militant* were sold.

A proposal for labor political action in '78

The following proposal was widely distributed at the Michigan Education Association Representative Assembly held in Saginaw, Michigan, April 28-30. The Representative Assembly is the equivalent of a state convention for the MEA. The proposal was sponsored by seven activist members of the MEA and will be introduced as a formal resolution at the MEA Representative Assembly next fall.

Where Did We Go Wrong?

In 1974 the MEA endorsed [Republican] William Milliken for governor. Milliken won, but Michigan's teachers lost. We suffered three years of cutbacks in State funds and attacks on the right of teachers to strike.

In May 1976, 2,000 MEA teachers demonstrated in Lansing against the cutbacks and layoffs in education. The most popular chant was "Pink Slip Milliken." Where did we go wrong?

When the MEA supported Milliken in 1974, it did so because it thought he would be a better friend of education than [Democrat] Levin. Experience had taught us you can't always count on the Democrats.

Now many MEA members say we should support Milliken's Democratic opponent in 1978. How would that help us? We have had Democratic "friends" in office in the past. But the fact is whether there were Republicans or Democrats in office conditions did not improve for teachers except when they relied on their own strength.

- The Democratic majority in the legislature goes along with Milliken's cuts in education and the attacks by the courts and school boards—where there are plenty of Democrats, too—on our right to strike.

- Democratic governors in other states like Carey in New York and Brown in California are no better. Where the Democrats are in control, they are the ones who take the lead in cutting back on education and other social services as their way of "belt tightening."

- At the Federal level, the MEA endorsed Jimmy Carter who is now following the same policy. His budget for 1978 provides \$5 billion less in social services than in 1977. Far from moving toward the NEA's goal of 1/3 federal funding for public schools, the Carter administration is moving away from it.

What Kind of Political Action?

The MEA and NEA have become more involved in politics in the past few years. A good example is our role in defeating Proposal "C" in 1976. [Proposition "C" would have limited funds for social services and education throughout the state.]

Our record in electing candidates for office has also been impressive. In 1974 and again in 1976 over 80% of the candidates endorsed by the MEA were elected. The problem is that the officials elected with our support have not represented our interests.

An MEA endorsement of the Democratic candidate for governor in 1978 would make a substantial



Jailing of Michigan teachers during Garden City, Michigan, strike in 1974 was example of attacks spearheaded by capitalist politicians.

contribution to the election of that person, but it would in no way guarantee that teachers would fare any better than under Milliken.

There is an alternative. The MEA can run its own candidate for governor independent of either major party. This candidate would not be the typical office-seeker or politician looking for our support. The candidate would be chosen by the MEA and responsible to our membership. If elected, the person would work for the interests of teachers and better education and not *against* us.

If our candidate runs solely with the support of the MEA, she or he would make an impressive showing and defense of the need of education even though our resources would not be enough to win the election. To succeed in winning we would have to find allies. These we could gain by seeking support from the rest of organized labor.

The entire labor movement is hurt by the cutbacks in education and social services. Other unions recognize that the denial of the right to strike for teachers weakens their bargaining position. Most parents are working people and like ourselves suffer the belt tightening policies of the Democratic and Republican parties.

All unions would benefit from the election of a candidate chosen by and responsible to the labor movement. We now need to take a step in that direction so that teachers and other working people will be represented in politics. With the organizational strength of the unions, our efforts could rapidly give rise to a major party capable of winning the majority of voters in elections.

A Plan of Action

1. This proposal is being presented at the Spring 1977 RA so that the delegates may take it back to their local EA's [Education Associations] for discussion by the membership.

2. Between the Spring and Fall RA's in 1977, this

proposal should be discussed in local EA's, in Political Action Committees and at the regional level.

3. The Fall 1977 RA should adopt running an independent candidate for governor in the 1978 election as one of the goals and objectives of the MEA.

4. Following the adoption of this goal, the MEA would contact other labor unions in the state and invite them to a conference to be held in March 1978 for the purpose of choosing a common candidate directly responsible to labor. Delegates to the conference could be chosen on a basis proportional to the membership of each union.

5. In the event that other unions fail to respond to our initiative, the Spring 1978 RA would be mandated to choose an MEA member to run for governor. The MEA would then continue to seek the support of other unions for its candidate.

6. In addition the MEA would initiate a similar process on the local level to run independent labor candidates in state districts for the legislature and other offices.

Submitted by:

Tim Crane—Royal Oak Education Association, representative to region seven council

Adrienne Goode—Royal Oak Education Association, region seven minority-at-large delegate

Jeff Goodman—University of Detroit Education Association

Ronald Jameson—Schoolcraft Community College Education Association, Michigan Association of Higher Education board member

Tom Schuby—University of Detroit Education Association

Carelton W. Smith—Higher education organizer for MEA

Steve Williams—Plymouth Education Association.

New Orleans teachers vote to strike in fall

By Joel Aber

NEW ORLEANS—"No contract, no work" was the message teachers here sent to the Orleans Parish School Board May 25.

Elections chairperson Rosalind Jackson announced to the assembled teachers at the Rivergate Convention

Joel Aber is a member of the United Teachers of New Orleans. He is the Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor of New Orleans.

Center the results of the secret-ballot vote taken moments earlier—"863 yes and 12 no."

The assembly burst into wild applause.

The overwhelming vote to strike when school opens in August if we do not have a contract was a mandate to the leadership of the United Teachers of New Orleans (UTNO) to stand firm on the union's demands for a strong contract.

New Orleans teachers are among the

lowest paid in any large metropolitan school district in the nation.

Even with a master's degree and twelve years' experience, a New Orleans teacher receives only \$13,058, far behind teachers in such other large cities in the South as Dallas, Houston, Atlanta, Miami, and Nashville.

Sonja Ranson, a full-time New Orleans teacher, told the May 25 rally that her salary puts her below the poverty level and qualifies her family for food stamps.

On May 19, 15,000 angry teachers converged on the state capitol building in Baton Rouge to demand a \$1,500 across-the-board pay raise just to catch up with the past two years' increase in the cost of living.

Teachers in New Orleans may be forced to strike regardless of whether we receive a state pay raise.

Two years ago New Orleans teachers won the first binding agreement between a local school board and a teachers union in Louisiana history. That contract expired in May.

UTNO has drawn up a proposed new contract covering a wide range of

demands—salary improvements far beyond those being considered at the state level, fringe benefits, improved working conditions, and an expedited grievance procedure.

But the school board has made no effort to find new sources of revenue while teachers' standard of living and conditions in the schools deteriorated over the past two years.

School Supt. Gene Geisert has leaked word to the media that he has a "secret plan" to break the union if a strike comes.

UTNO supported and helped elect several of the current school board members, a decision that growing numbers of UTNO activists view as a mistake.

Although school board elections are ostensibly nonpartisan, the board members are bankrolled by the same rich businessmen who finance the state Democratic party in Louisiana.

UTNO president Nat LaCour points out to teachers that teacher unionism and big business are on a collision course. He notes the growing strength

of teacher unionism in this traditionally nonunion state. For instance, two new locals of the American Federation of Teachers have been chartered in Alexandria and Lake Charles, with a third of the teachers in each of those cities joining the union.

LaCour also points out that the Louisiana Association of Business and Industry, the corporate lobbying group that spent two million dollars last year getting Louisiana to pass a union-busting "right to work" law, is pushing antiteacher bills as its main priority in the current legislative session.

UTNO's membership and leadership are determined to stand tough in the event of a strike. Its leaders recognize big business as the major enemy.

Thus far, however, they have not developed a strategy to oppose big business *politically* either in school board elections or on the state level.

To do so will require a break with the Democratic party and reliance instead on the independent strength of teachers, their potential allies in the Black community, and the rest of the labor movement.

No more Miamis!

The outcome of Miami's June 7 referendum—repealing that city's law protecting homosexuals from discrimination in jobs, housing, and public accommodations—is a major defeat for gay rights. It is a defeat for all human rights.

The repeal of the antidiscrimination law is a blow against freedom from government interference in personal lives. It is a victory for a Bible-thumping minority seeking to legislate its view of "morality." And it creates an atmosphere of prejudice for right-wing forces to further their attacks on *all* civil and human rights.

In Miami Anita Bryant and her "Save Our Children" outfit mobilized the most reactionary, antigay, antilabor, antiwoman, anti-Black forces in highly visible actions. These were the same forces that had campaigned against the Equal Rights Amendment and abortion rights. The Ku Klux Klan Imperial Wizard added his support to the anti-gay rights crusade.

"There are three vast conspiracies of Communism that pervade the world," declared the KKK leader, "its three faces are socialism, Judaism, and homosexuality."

This defeat for gay rights comes in the context of other threats and setbacks: the defeat of the Equal Rights Amendment in Illinois, Florida, and Nevada; a new version of the anti-abortion Hyde amendment pending in Congress; victory for antiunion right-to-work laws in Louisiana and Arkansas; renewed attacks on desegregation and busing; the clamor to reinstitute the death penalty.

In light of the Miami defeat this year's Christopher Street Day June 26 demonstrations take on added significance as an important protest in defense of gay rights.

Already a response has begun. The evening of June 7, 1,500 rallied for gay rights in New York City. In San Francisco 5,000 people poured into the streets for a four-hour march, rallying around the cry: "No more Miamis!"

Women, Blacks, and trade unionists should add their voices to that declaration—no more Miamis!

Gay rights must be defended to thwart the right-wing offensive against all our rights.

Carter & Brazil

Newspaper accounts of the cool reception given Rosalynn Carter during her U.S. goodwill tour stop in Brazil have played up the supposed breakdown in relations between the two countries over human rights. Carter is trying to create the impression that he is taking some distance from military dictators such as Brazil's hated Gen. Ernesto Geisel.

Only a few weeks before Rosalynn Carter's stop there, student protests demanding democratic liberties rocked Brazil. (See article on page 6.) The failure of the big-business-owned press here to cover these demonstrations is an indication of Washington's true attitude toward the fight for human rights in Brazil.

Actually there is no "breakdown" in U.S. support to the Brazilian dictatorship. Carter wants no breakdown in the profits U.S. corporations reap from their \$4 billion in investments, which currently total one-third of all foreign holdings in Brazil. Carter will not permit a breakdown in the interest paid to the U.S. banks that hold nearly one-third of Brazil's outstanding foreign loans.

Like other Democratic and Republican presidents before him, Carter wants no breakdown in the Brazilian dictatorship's ability to function as a junior partner in policing Latin America.

That's why in 1964 President Lyndon Johnson dispatched U.S. air and naval forces prepared to prevent leftist forces from seizing power during the CIA-backed rightist coup that overturned Brazil's Goulart regime.

That's why Carter himself—during a 1972 trade mission while he was governor of Georgia—sought to "cement personal relationships on the basis of God" with Brazilian leaders, at a time when the Organization of American States was condemning "serious cases of torture, abuse, and maltreatment" of that country's prisoners.

Despite Carter's rhetoric, there will be no breakdown in U.S. support for Geisel as he moves against the students in the weeks ahead. That's why the *Militant* urges its readers to help break through the news blockade and get out the truth about the struggle now going on in Brazil. That—not Carter's demagoguery—can provide meaningful aid to the struggle for human rights in Brazil.

Anti-import drive

Although Frank Lovell is one of the sharpest writers on the *Militant*, and I learn much from his articles, his recent series dealing with the anti-import drive of the U.S. manufacturers and their lieutenants in the labor unions leaves something to be desired.

He is, of course, correct in pointing out that the scare tactics used by management and labor misleaders—demanding tariffs and import quotas allegedly to protect jobs of American workers—are merely red herrings designed to divert attention from the real issues at stake, namely, attempts to keep prices and profits artificially high. But Lovell is not entirely clear on what the position of socialists should be.

As internationalists, the Socialist Workers party should, in conjunction with its overseas co-thinkers, demand that workers in Taiwan, South Korea, Hong Kong, and so on get higher wages, even wages equivalent to American workers. The SWP should challenge the leaders of American unions (many of which sport "International" in their titles) to live up to their names and organize and fight for the workers who are superexploited, often by American capital, abroad.

This is the best way to attack the argument that cheap foreign products rob Americans of jobs. It would also undermine the narrow, nationalistic perspective of the American labor aristocracy.

Instead, Lovell, by stressing the idea that a four-dollar pair of shoes, produced at starvation wages by foreign workers, is somehow a birthright, merely reinforces the insular outlook of average American consumers. The idea that the American standard of living should be maintained at the expense of the living standards of foreign workers is implicit in Lovell's argument. The SWP should instead demand that workers throughout the world get "equal pay for equal day's work."

If worldwide wages in every industry were equal to those of U.S. workers, the old argument that cheap foreign labor leads to job losses in America falls by the wayside. Then, to counter charges that higher wages among foreign workers will mean higher prices for imports, the SWP should demand an end to all trade restrictions—no tariffs and no quotas.

Then the prices of all goods will be determined purely by supply and demand, and will fall as production increases. Once wages have been roughly equalized, it will be crystal clear to all that the demand for import restrictions has nothing to do with saving jobs but is designed to boost prices and profits.

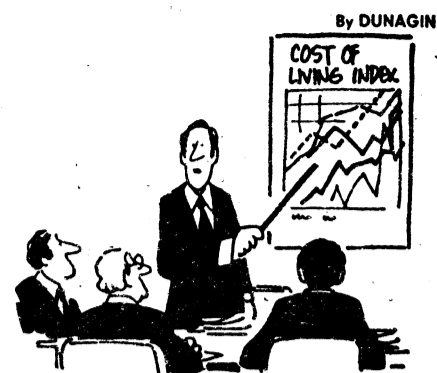
If the resulting squeeze on profits leads to threats by management to cut back production and lay off workers, then the SWP slogan of "No cutbacks, no layoffs" should be raised. This immediately raises the issue of property rights and workers' control of production.

But, until the labor movement overcomes international wage differentials, the capitalists can play the age-old game of divide and rule. The capitalists, while ostensibly competing, are essentially united. It is high time the workers of the world united.

Tom Fiddick
Evansville, Indiana

'Felt outraged'

As an American of Latin origin, I felt outraged when I heard about the



'The cost of living is a challenge, men... with the winter behind us, we need to find something else to blame it on.'

State Department decision to refuse a visa to our beloved comrade Hugo Blanco, who represents us all in the struggle for justice and humanist ideals in Latin America.

How can President Carter explain such a discriminatory act against one of the most respected Latin American fighters for human rights in his country and throughout the world? How can President Carter talk about "opening the doors of America to all visitors" while making exceptions to the rule with regard to the best representatives of progressive and socialist causes?

I entirely agree with Margaret Brundy, managing editor of Pathfinder Press, in saying that "failure to issue a visa for Mr. Blanco's visit would constitute proof that the U.S. continues to violate important human rights provisions of the Helsinki Accords."

Adrian J. Alpendre
Belleville, New Jersey

New low for FBI

Everyone knows about FBI spying, break-ins, and illegal wiretapping. But the bureau may have hit a new low in trying to blackmail Talal Sadi, a Palestinian student at Northeastern Illinois University.

Sadi was asked by the FBI to provide evidence that a certain U.S. charity was supporting Palestinian commandos in Jordan. If he cooperated, he'd get \$600.

If he didn't, he not only wouldn't get the money, but he would be deported for violating a minor technicality on his student visa—working part-time, a violation normally ignored.

Sadi refused to go along. The Immigration and Naturalization Service has begun deportation proceedings.

Brenda Brdar
Chicago, Illinois

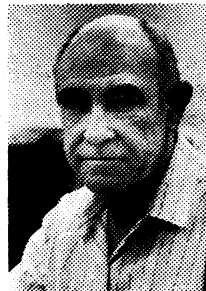
CP backs dictator

When President Carter demagogically called attention to torture in the Philippines recently, the *Daily World*, newspaper of the Communist party USA, took the opportunity to apologize for the Marcos regime.

In the May 31 issue of the *DW*, William Pomeroy tried to explain away criticism of repression in the Philippines as merely "an orchestrated campaign going on internationally and in the Philippines from religious sources, mainly Catholic, against the Marcos government on all counts. . . ."

This support for Marcos's martial-law regime is reminiscent of its support for Indira Gandhi's dictatorial measures in India.

Even Marcos himself admits that 50,000 people have been arrested for political offenses in four years under martial law. Amnesty International reported that nearly 70 percent of the



more than 100 prisoners it interviewed had been horribly tortured.

The *DW* tries to hedge a bit by saying at the end of Pomeroy's article that the Philippine CP "opposes negative, restrictive features of the martial law conditions. . . ."

But the fact is, as reported in the October 15, 1976, *DW*, the CP supported martial law in last fall's Philippines referendum. In answer to the ballot question, "Do you want martial law to be lifted?" the CP urged people to write "No" on their ballot. The CP suggested voters add the words, "But this time use martial law to make changes for the working masses, and not for foreign capital."

What's next for these Stalinists—support for the death penalty, as long as its used against only "bad" people?

Once again we see that when the Kremlin bureaucrats are cultivating an ally, the CP in this country obediently follows suit. Because the Philippine CP reached "a national unity agreement" with dictator Marcos in 1974, the *DW* labels the martial-law regime "a Philippine government that tends to loosen U.S. domination."

Carter should certainly be blasted for the hypocrisy of his "human rights" rhetoric. But the way to do that is not to defend dictators like Marcos.

May Cramer

New York, New York

'Lackey of the Crown'

I recently ran across this item by Maureen McKenna Armstrong. It appeared in the *Irish People*, a New York newspaper that supports the Irish freedom struggle. The subject is New York Gov. Hugh Carey's assertions during his recent visit to Ireland that the Irish Republican victims of British and Protestant violence are the criminals:

*Irish friends and Ireland's friends
Come listen for a while.*

*I'll sing for you a verse or two
Of a traitor to our Isle.*

*His name is Hughie Carey
A lackey of the Crown.*

*One goal in view has Traitor Hugh
To crush the Croppies down.*

*While British thugs roam Belfast
streets*

*With armored cars and guns
And young and aged are cruelly caged
Alas poor Ireland's sons,
Traitor Hughie Carey
Stands up in Dublin town
To rant and rave and dig a grave
To dump the Croppies down.*

*'Twas Lizzie started all the fuss
When Hughie met her here.
She said, "Lord Hugh, I'll knight you,
You'll be a British Peer.
Just say that you will serve me well
Serve Parliament and Crown.
Stop the IRA from the USA
Just pull those Croppies down.*

*Irish friends and Ireland's friends,
See Hughie's slavish smile,
Hear him wail out Lizzie's tale,
A traitor to our Isle.*

*And that's why Hughie Carey
Is now a British clown
With a fatted purse an Irish curse
Croppies will not lie down.
Y.M.*

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.

Meany's dilemma

Lacking confidence in their ability to organize workers, the union bureaucrats are preoccupied with getting new laws enacted that will further institutionalize the union movement and protect their privileges. But in the first six months of this year they have failed to devise a strategy for winning prolabor legislation.

After the unexpected defeat last March of the "common situs" picketing bill, which was strongly backed by the labor lobby as a measure of its political influence, top union officials who cluster around AFL-CIO President George Meany have been trying to find new approaches to the Congress and Carter. Both were elected last year as "friends of labor."

Meany has told his colleagues publicly that election promises mean little, as if this were a new revelation. The Democratic party platform promised a decent minimum wage, basic changes in federal labor law (repeal of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act and full coverage of public employees and farm workers, among other changes), the upgrading of the food stamp program, and other legislative goals of the union movement.

There is slim chance that any of these promises will be redeemed. "That's the case," Meany said, "not only at Capitol Hill, but at the White House as well."

One of the things that worries Meany more than it seems to worry the elected politicians is "the fact that so many voters took these pledges and promises at face value and voted for the candidates who said they were committed to carrying out the platform goals."

In private the talk is different. Union officials are anxious to "get along" with Carter and Congress, including some members who cultivate an antilabor reputation. They hope to avoid enemies in high places, promote the appearance that the two-party system works imperfectly but well, and find plausible reasons to support their "friends" in the Democratic party in future elections.

All this is no easy accomplishment. And that is why Meany and his closest associates are genuinely worried that union members who voted for the Democrats may have taken election promises seriously.

There was no shift in the AFL-CIO political position, but the May meeting of the Executive Council set out to find a "milder" approach to Congress and the administration. When the council's subcommittee met later in the month it decided to emphasize "gains" in Congress, if any could be found.

The labor lobby hopes somehow to separate its proposed prolabor legislation from any fight to repeal the antilabor "right to work" provision of Taft-Hartley. Some of these "experts" believe that their effort to repeal 14(b) threatens their entire legislative program. Their "friends" have told them that a big majority in Congress is anxious to favor labor, so long as it can remain probusiness at the same time and not offend the right-to-work lobby.

The Carter administration studiously keeps its distance from the labor lobby, but it too has intimated that it may support a bill to revise and strengthen labor regulations, providing this does not affect existing "right to work" laws.

The union bureaucracy is caught in a dilemma of its own making. It believes it cannot organize workers because of existing labor laws . . . yet it cannot change the laws because it lacks influence in the Democratic party . . . which it hopes to gain by organizing more workers . . . when a more favorable law is gratuitously enacted.

The problem is less complex than it appears. It can never be solved by the subservient union bureaucracy. But the union movement, twenty million strong, will solve it easily—simply by severing all ties with the Democratic party and electing union men and women to public office on a labor party ticket.

By Any Means Necessary

John Hawkins



Supreme Court lockout

For Black and other minority working men—and for working women in general—the recent Supreme Court ruling on seniority was a stab in the back.

The court ruling struck a cruel blow to the aspirations of a whole generation. This was the generation—especially of Black workers—who fought for and won the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

A main concern of those who marched in the massive civil rights demonstrations, sat in, protested on the job, and joined in the spontaneous urban rebellions was the right to employment and an end to racist practices that locked them out of jobs with higher pay and more security.

Title VII of the Civil Rights Act was a concession to this concern. It was supposed to lay the basis for ending job discrimination.

But ending job discrimination in reality required surmounting many obstacles. One of the most imposing of those obstacles was the seniority system.

When it came to promotions, training in crafts and trades, or even to protection against layoffs, minority and women workers found themselves in the same old bind—locked out from advancement and the first to be fired.

So with the law on their side, minority and women workers took the employers to court—and the union bureaucrats as well, since they helped enforce race and sex discrimination.

Through such court actions, demonstrations, and actions on the job, minority and women workers won some concessions. And following that example, Title VII was used to attack discrimination in other arenas.

Now in retrospective wisdom the court claims that things weren't intended to go so far. Congress did not expect seniority systems to be altered at all, the justices said.

Although the court ruled only on seniority systems in operation before the 1964 Civil Rights Act took effect, they don't intend to stop there.

In a separate ruling the court declared that discrimi-

natory seniority systems may still be legal—even those brought into operation after Title VII was enacted. The burden is on the victim, they said, to meet strict time requirements in filing a complaint. Otherwise, proof that the system discriminates amounts to nothing.

This latest Supreme Court ruling places all affirmative action in danger.

Racist and sexist employers and union bureaucrats will draw courage from it. They will step up their campaign against affirmative-action plans already in effect and will redouble their efforts to prevent any more from coming into being.

This decision gives them a powerful legal weapon to deepen their lockout against minority and women workers—leaving them in the dirtiest, hardest, most unhealthy, and lowest-paying jobs, and exposing them to the capricious ups and downs of an economy in crisis.

This decision threatens minority and women's equality in higher education. Many admissions programs won in the past few years will become target for hostile campus administrators.

The ruling is a preview of how the court will approach the *Bakke* case—where a minority admissions program at a California medical school was outlawed on the basis of the fraudulent "reverse discrimination" argument.

But the Supreme Court doesn't act in a vacuum any more than Congress did in the mid-1960s. It is subject to powerful forces outside it.

The victims of discrimination must make our outrage at this trampling on our rights strongly felt—not only in the courts through appeals to the justice system, but in the streets in massive numbers where we can shake some sense into the dense heads.

That's how we drove a stake through the heart of Jim Crow segregation. And that's the only way we're going to keep this new Jim Crow from rising up again.



He should speak again—Last January the pope said women should not be priests because priests should look like Jesus. In the three months following that proclamation, the Gallup poll found, sentiment among Catholics in favor of women becoming priests rose dramatically. In mid-February it was 31 percent. By mid-March it was up to 41 percent.

Sarcastic?—The April 29 *Los Angeles Times* featured a story about

Carter having forty-nine aides getting \$40,000 a year or more. Immediately next to this was an item reporting that Carter is preparing a welfare reform program.

Limited ideas—California's Governor Brown, a leading "new" politician, says the way to cut housing costs is to build smaller homes. He also advised environmentalists that we are living in a society of limits, including how much environmental improvement we should be expecting.

Some joke—"Psychiatrists are not a breed apart, but participants in the human comedy," says Dr. Herbert Modlin of the Menninger Foundation. He reported that the odds on a psychiatrist committing suicide are more than 50 percent higher than average.

US-6-1984?—Junk mail may be replaced by junk phone calls. One outfit has developed an automatic dialing system that can place 1,000 calls a dial, giving a taped sales pitch as well as recording the response

before hanging up and dialing the next random prospect.

The jolly tube—A sociologist reports that the average American spends as much as 2,000 hours a year glued to the TV screen, as against 40-50 hours—for the most active types—in direct sexual activity.

An American terrorist—Aron Kay of New York makes news by throwing pies at public figures. He does hit assignments against right-wingers for free. Other contracts, forty dollars.

The American Way of Life

Piecework that kills

NEWARK—When you see a trucker with a load of seven or eight spanking new cars, you're apt to regard him in a special way. That is, if you're like most people.

You think: Now there's the ideal American working-class guy. Look how he handles that rig. He knows what he's doing . . . he's got to . . . transporting all those cars. And I'll bet he's well paid—just about at the top of the heap.

You will be right on all counts, except the last.

The truck driver is not a producer of commodities. He's a transporter of goods in a vital service industry. The reason the "burly truck driver" is sometimes glamorized is because he has to do with wheels and speed. He's one of capitalism's "worker hero" symbols of progress.

He does know what he is doing. He has to. His personal safety and that of other motorists depend upon it. And so does his pay.

The car hauler is a worker *driven*—by time and by the condition of his occupation. He's under a piecework system.

Larry Stewart is a Nu-Car driver and a member of Teamsters Local 560. In 1976 he was the Socialist Workers party candidate for U.S. Congress from Newark's Tenth Congressional District.

Piecework came into being with the advent of the industrial revolution. Today's vaunted truck driver risks life and limb under this archaic form begun more than 150 years ago to make the worker enforce speedup upon himself.

The majority of workers in industry, union and nonunion, are paid by the hour. Not so the car-hauling truck driver. He earns his pay by the same pay method as the stoop-labor agricultural worker and those slaving away in sweatshops.

One of the largest carriers in the East is Nu-Car Carrier, transporting Ford Motor Company vehicles. It has three terminals in New Jersey. Drivers are members of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

Many of them have awakened to the fact that piecework, combined with "productivity" drives, is accountable for people maimed and killed.

About thirty Nu-Car rigs were recently found to be unroadworthy in a police spot check.

On April 28 a Newark driver, Kenneth Heyward, collided with a dump truck. He went to the hospital with a broken neck, paralyzed from the chest down. He died May 4.

Drivers know that accidents don't "just happen." They know the far greater safety hazards working by the piece than by the hour.

Nu-Car drivers say that Heyward's death could have been prevented. They are circulating petitions calling upon the Department of Transportation and the Interstate Commerce Commission to investigate the conditions of safety and equipment at Nu-Car Carrier.

Men also bitterly resent the harassment and infringement of their off-duty time at home—having to wait (without pay) for a telephone call from dispatch to shape. Here, "shaping" is to pick the next day's first trip in seniority order. Failure to respond results in being *assigned* a trip.

Drivers see by the invoices what the vehicle transportation costs are to the driver. They compare that cost with what they are paid for making the delivery.

The next time you see a Nu-Car driver barreling down the highway, just remember: He's not the high-paid worker lauded by Department of Commerce ads, nor is he the romantic figure of Hollywood and song.

He's just a guy trying to make a living the hard way.

If anything, though he makes "good pay" relative to many other workers, he may well be more exploited than you.

He's a pieceworker.

—Larry Stewart

iLa Raza en Acción!

Miguel Pendás



The real language crisis

Miguel Pendás was the Socialist Workers party candidate for school board in Denver in the May election.

DENVER—At a candidates meeting during the recent Denver school board election, the candidates were asked whether they supported bilingual-bicultural education.

It may have surprised many people to hear candidates who in no way support minority rights say that yes, they support bilingual-bicultural education. Not only did all the liberals answer yes, but so did right-wing incumbent Robert Crider.

It is important to understand why such people can support the bilingual-bicultural program, because it tells us a lot about the program itself. It was a great step forward two years ago when the Colorado legislature was forced by the pressure of the Chicano movement to pass a law mandating bilingual-bicultural programs in every school district where there are a certain number of "culturally or linguistically different" pupils.

However, the funding for this program has been so meager that in practice it is not real bilingual education.

State funding for the program by and large permits only a very short-term program, usually just in kindergarten. In Denver, for example, only three of the ninety-two elementary schools have bilingual education as far as third grade.

Of course, this is not bilingual education. This is why the right-wingers can support it. They see the bilingual program only as an effective means of making what one racist legislator called the "transition" to English.

But Chicanos also want to learn Spanish for its own sake; it is part of their cultural heritage. That alone justifies bilingual education for Chicanos.

Therefore, bilingual education should be provided all the way through school. It should also be provided for anyone who wants it—not just the pupils who do not understand English.

As the candidate most closely associated with a full bilingual-bicultural program, I was frequently asked why Chicanos and Mexicans don't blend into the "melting pot" of America and just learn English. For one thing, I replied, there is no such thing as a "melting pot" here, at least not for Chicanos. If there were, and everyone who came here just blended into the existing culture, we would

all be speaking Spanish. After all, this part of the country used to be Mexico.

But Chicanos have not been allowed to "melt in." Instead, they have been treated as second-class citizens who suffer from the worst educational levels, the highest unemployment, lowest wages, discrimination in housing and health care, and inadequate political representation. In addition, they have not been allowed to pursue their own language and culture.

An objection to bilingual-bicultural education for Chicanos that was heard more than once during the campaign was that if Chicanos get it, then everybody will want it—Italians, Poles, Irish, Germans, and so on. This would presumably create a national crisis.

Of course, the people who object on this basis cannot point out a single example of Italians, Poles, Irish, or Germans demanding bilingual-bicultural education.

The crisis is not that there might be too many languages. In Switzerland three official languages have existed side by side for many years. In the United States, the real crisis is now—when Chicanos and Puerto Ricans are denied their language rights.

Why seniority must be modified

By John Hawkins

Supporters of affirmative action to establish equality for minorities and women in education and on the job were dealt a blow by the recent Supreme Court decision upholding discriminatory seniority systems.

The court's seven-to-two ruling barred modification of seniority rules in force before the 1964 Civil Rights Act took effect—even if those systems perpetuate the effects of race and sex discrimination. In a second seven-to-two decision, the court placed strict time limits on the filing of complaints by victims of discrimination.

These rulings follow the court's now familiar twisted logic. The effects of race or sex discrimination no longer prove that the rights of minorities and women have been violated.

What's needed now is proof of *intent* to discriminate. Thus, declared the court, seniority systems are neutral.

But the truth is that seniority systems are not neutral. Although originally won in the fight to protect union activists from arbitrary firings, seniority has been used by employers, with the complicity of the union bureaucracy, as a means of dividing workers through race and sex discrimination.

Before passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, minority and women

workers were excluded from employment in many industries. Through affirmative-action lawsuits under Title VII of the act, some gains in hiring were won. But the newly hired minority and women workers came in at the bottom of the seniority lists.

These seniority lists were used to determine work schedules, promotions, departmental transfers, and training for higher-paying, more skilled jobs. They were also used to determine who would be and who wouldn't be laid off.

Lacking seniority, minority and women workers who were the last hired were also the first fired. During the 1974-75 depression, massive layoffs following "strict seniority" rules virtually wiped out many gains won in the previous decade.

In those industries where minorities and women had been hired prior to the 1964 Civil Rights Act, they were consciously segregated into jobs with the lowest pay scales and the most hazardous, unhealthy working conditions.

Departmental seniority systems were used to maintain this segregation. Transferring to a new department meant giving up all seniority and starting at the bottom of a new seniority list.

So while the 1964 Civil Rights Act

outlawed discrimination in hiring and promotion, seniority systems stood between minority and women workers and their goal of real equality on the job.

The only way to overcome this obstacle is through radically altering the seniority system so that minority and women workers are placed on an equal footing with whites and males.

Doing this requires compensating for the effects of past discrimination. In the course of the fight against the discriminatory layoffs during the last depression and the fight to break into better jobs, a number of solutions have been proposed. While none is the answer in every situation, they all point in the right direction:

- **Preferential seniority.** This proposal would automatically give minority and women workers a higher seniority rating, even though they are more recently hired. This would help compensate for past discrimination, make access to higher-paying jobs easier, and partially protect these workers from disproportionate layoffs.

- **Quotas.** The demand for hiring and promotion quotas is the heart of affirmative-action plans by which minorities and women have gained employment in previously all-white and all-male industries and workplace

departments. Applying the concept to layoffs—that is, maintaining a proportional quota of minority and women workers on the job during economic downturns—would also help defend them against layoffs.

- **Plant-wide seniority.** As opposed to seniority by job category or department, this proposal would help place minority and women employees on an equal footing with whites and males. It would eliminate the loss of seniority, and the consequent vulnerability to layoffs, that go along with transferring to higher-paying jobs under departmental seniority systems.

The Supreme Court's decision on seniority will make the fight to win any of these more difficult. It will stiffen employer resistance to such demands and encourage attacks on already existing modifications in seniority systems.

But this new attack on equal rights on the job for minorities and women can be beaten back. Doing that will require the mobilization of the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican movements, the women's movement, and their allies within the trade unions.

Without such a counterattack the courts, employers, and union bureaucrats will continue to deepen their offensive.

Blacks, women assess seniority ruling: 'A license to continue job discrimination'

By Gale Shangold

On May 31 the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that seniority systems that perpetuate the effects of past racial and sexual discrimination are not necessarily illegal.

The discriminatory systems can stand if they began before July 2, 1965, when the 1964 Civil Rights Act went into effect.

As long as there is no "intent" to discriminate, the court said, seniority rules are not in violation of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act.

The ruling "lays the basis for a full-scale attack on the principle of affirmative action," Socialist Workers party spokesperson Willie Mae Reid told the *Militant*.

It is "a severe setback to the Black and women's movements."

In interviews with the *Militant* or in other public statements, civil rights, labor, and women's leaders assessed the impact of the high court decision.

Betty Adams, assistant director of Washington, D.C., bureau, National Urban League:

We do not oppose the seniority system. But we have problems with it when it results in the denial of equal job opportunities for minorities and women.

So we feel the Supreme Court ruling is regressive and tragic. The decision represents a further erosion and weakening of the efforts to insure equal employment opportunity.

The issues here are very much related to the issues in the *Bakke* decision [a California Supreme Court decision against affirmative action in college admissions]. A conference held here last month discussed that decision and formed a coalition. The coalition is planning an educational campaign to clarify what the issues are.

The courts are influenced by public opinion. Our job is to clarify the issues and mobilize public pressure. I think you will be seeing more action in this area.

Juan José Peña, chairperson of the Raza Unida party in San

Miguel County, New Mexico:

This ruling has the same impact as the *Bakke* decision. It is going to reduce sharply the number of minorities working in the skilled fields. Minorities will be relegated to manual labor. And at the present time, even these jobs are in short supply. In other words, the end result for Chicanos is going to be unemployment.

Seniority can keep minorities out of skilled jobs since we have only begun to be hired for these kinds of jobs.

When the economy is on a downturn, and unemployment goes up, minorities are the first to go.

Jesse Jackson, president of Operation PUSH:

It seems that each week there is a new dimension to the all-out attack on affirmative action and quotas, those instruments designed to compensate for historic discrimination.

The ability to prove that discrimination has taken place, and therefore deserves corrective action, is becoming more and more difficult and expensive. The basis of proof is being shifted from the effects of discrimination to motivation or intention to discriminate.

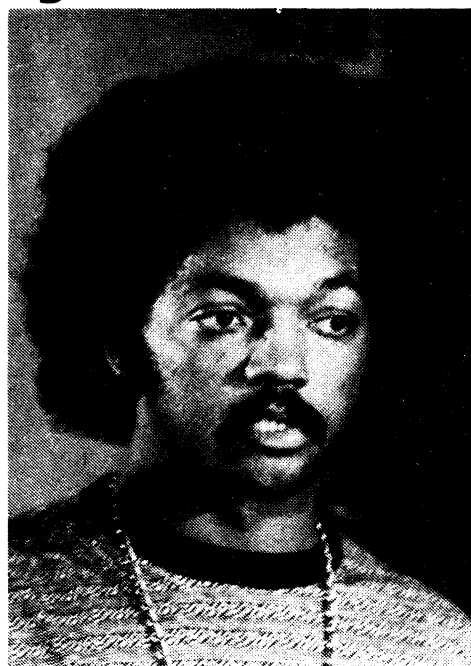
Pat Fitzgerald, president of Women Office Workers in New York City:

The court's ruling takes away some of the punch and some of the gains that we have made through affirmative action.

The Supreme Court decision denying benefits to pregnant workers, the fact that women only earn 57 percent of what men earn, and now this decision—conditions for women workers are getting worse.

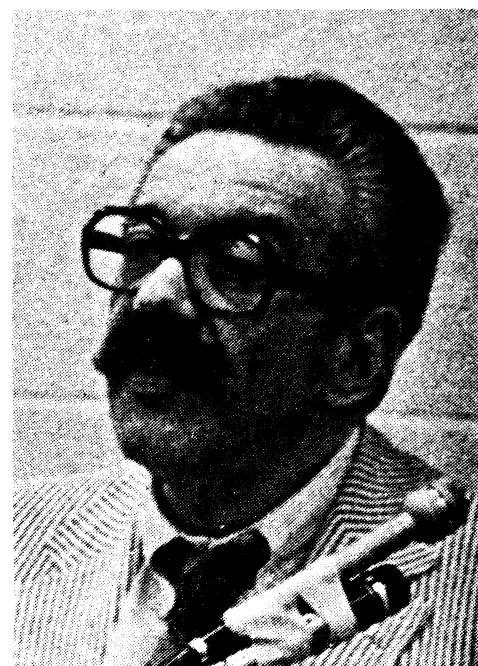
Jim Davis, member of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists and national chairperson of the Ad Hoc Committee of Concerned Steelworkers, a nationwide Black caucus in the United Steelworkers of America:

The Supreme Court ruling has the effect of condoning those systems that have been racist in the past and are still racist. I was not surprised because



Militant/Terry Quilico

PUSH President Jesse Jackson



Militant/Baxter Smith

NAACP labor director Herbert Hill

this is just one of the things that has been in the hopper.

Where I work, many that have been hired as a result of affirmative-action programs have been the victims of layoffs. Whatever quotas there were on the upswing were wiped out on the downturn. People were denied their rights over the years and now they have no way to catch up.

And if you can't prove intention to discriminate, then you can forget it. This ruling will just give the employers a license to continue their unfair practices.

Dee Alpert, employment compliance coordinator of the National Organization for Women:

It is clear that the Supreme Court is trying to undo as much of the civil rights law and precedent as it can. I think it is incumbent on civil rights and other groups to make sure the court doesn't do it.

Robert Chanin, general counsel and deputy executive director of the National Education Association:

We say that seniority is not valid if it has the effect of perpetuating discrimination. Regardless of background, when a layoff reduces the female or minority contingent beyond acceptable levels, seniority should be modified.

We were disappointed with the Supreme Court decision. Even if it had been won, it would not have gone far enough. We believe that affirmative action should be the basis for modifying seniority.

The court's decision on this is one of many that we have been unhappy with over the last year or two.

There is no question that despite this decision or related decisions, we are not going to back off from what we believe is our commitment to affirmative action. We will be filing a brief in the *Bakke* case.

Herbert Hill, labor director, NAACP:

The court in essence told Blacks and other minorities that they can't expect redress during this period from the judicial system. It signifies the end of the era that began with the *Brown* school desegregation case in 1954.

'We're treated like stepchildren'

Cleveland steelworker describes plight of small locals

By John Hawkins
and Thabo Ntweng

CLEVELAND—In late May a wildcat strike erupted at Patterson-Leitch, a small steel fabricating plant here. The walkout was sparked by the suspension of a union grievanceman and fueled by anger over speedup and inability to resolve grievances.

The workers at Patterson-Leitch, members of United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 14613, got no support from the international union.

Faced with a court antistrike injunction, they were forced to return to work. The company agreed to take no reprisals against the strikers, but they did not win any guarantee that the grievanceman's suspension would be reversed. Instead, his case was to be expedited through the grievance procedure.

The incident was typical of the problems faced by steelworkers in small shops—who make up the majority of the 1.4-million-member USWA.

A couple of weeks before the wildcat, we talked with Bill Waller, recording secretary and grievance committee chairperson of Local 14613. "We're treated like stepchildren," he said, describing the second-class status of the smaller USWA locals.

Waller said that Ed Sadlowski's program for small shops was one reason he became an organizer for the insurgent candidate in last February's union election. Local 14613 went three-to-one for Sadlowski and the Steelworkers Fight Back Slate.

Coordinated bargaining

"When I asked Sadlowski what he had in mind for the small shops," Waller recalls, "he said, 'Better service. I'm thinking about a coordinating body to get all the small shops together in an area and bargain at the same time.'"

Waller also liked Sadlowski's proposal to put more dues money back into local treasuries. "If we don't have any money in the treasury we can't really participate in the union," he said. "Right now we can't even afford to send our own people to conventions. So we have to give our delegate certificate to the staffman. That's how they get a lot of things through at those conventions—on the votes of staffmen who have the delegate certificates from a lot of locals."

Not having funds to operate with



Militant/Almeda Kirsch
Bill Waller, recording secretary of USWA Local 14613.

also hurts the union members in their struggle with the employers.

"I was an election observer at Reliable Steel," Waller said, "and I got a chance to talk to some of the guys there. They feel that they're helpless—their hands are tied—when it comes to approaching the company or fighting for an issue."

"Since you can't strike without the sanction of the international, you have to go to arbitration."

"Arbitration is a joke in the first place, but it can also blow you away financially. If you've got ten grievances that have to go to arbitration, you can't take them all at the same time. You have to do each one separately."

"The companies know that these small locals can't afford to do that. So they take advantage of you—they've got you by the gills."

Waller said that the small locals also get shortchanged in terms of service from the union staff. "They're appointed and think they have a free hand. And since they don't have to answer to the rank and file they can really mess you over—and get away with it."

One example Waller cited was a dispute his local had with the company over their cost-of-living clause. In their last contract, he told us, the local had won a 12 percent minimum wage increase plus cost-of-living allowances.

But the company later insisted that cost-of-living increases were to halt once the 12 percent level was reached. "The company froze it at 12 percent and the staffman upheld it," Waller said. "We filed a grievance and it got lost somewhere in the international. There was over \$200,000 involved for the guys in the shop."

Waller described another incident in which the company filed a grievance against a union representative in the plant.

"The company wanted a fitter to come in and weld one Saturday," he said. "We said, 'No way, especially when we've got welders laid off.' The guys went along with us and didn't come in."

"So the company filed a grievance against the union and sued the guy for \$3,500."

"When it went to arbitration the staffman acted like he was going to fight at first. But when the company started hollering about paragraph so-and-so, the staffman just looked at it and said, 'By Jove, you're right!'"

"I think—like Sadlowski said—that the staff has to be elected by the rank and file. They have to be educated on union affairs too, and know what the shop is all about."

"Our staffman has never even seen a welding rod."

Red-baiting

One of the biggest obstacles Waller had to overcome at his plant, he told us, was the red-baiting campaign leveled at Steelworkers Fight Back.

"Most of the guys at the plant are immigrants from Eastern Europe," he said. "And a lot of them run the other way when they hear the word *communist*."

"For example, Joe Hiltner, the president of the local, went for [machine candidate Lloyd] McBride because he was afraid of being labeled a communist."

"The guys in the shop had a lot of questions. But I'd tell them, 'Martin Luther King was labeled a communist too, remember?' And they'd say, 'Yeah, Bill, we remember. Everybody that

wants to do something is always a communist.'

"Then I'd tell them that if they wanted a better opportunity they'd better vote for Sadlowski whatever he is."

Waller thinks that if the election were run today and the voting supervised, Steelworkers Fight Back would win easily.

"First of all," he said, "where I was an observer, they didn't have any secrecy at all. When I got there, they were having a prevoting meeting—trying to pressure everybody into voting for McBride."

"They even had two separate boxes—one for McBride and one for Fight Back—and the local president stood right between them watching everybody vote."

"Then there's the contract they just negotiated in basic steel. I know guys must be mad about that—they didn't get a thing."

"Now the companies will use that basic steel contract against the rest of the steelworkers—especially since they only got a 3 percent pay increase. I know that's what they'll do when we go into negotiations next year."

'Ready to jump'

"I think there's still a need for something like a Fight Back committee here in Cleveland," Waller said, "something that can speak to and organize around the issues. Especially something to reach out and get the small locals involved."

If the small shops got together and bargained as a unit, Waller said, they could force higher wages in all the shops and do something about working conditions and unemployment.

"In my shop," he told us, "they laid off half the work force. Almost all the Blacks were laid off for over a year and then terminated. At one point there were forty or fifty Blacks at the plant, now there are only eight or nine. That's an issue we could do something about."

"Steelworkers I've talked to since the campaign are very dissatisfied with things. They're ready to jump—ready to do something."

"They're just looking around for some leadership, someone to call them together and get them organized. If we got the small shops together we could help do that."

USWA vice-president on red-baiting rampage

By Mark Zola

PITTSBURGH—On the eve of his inauguration as vice-president of the United Steelworkers of America, Joseph Odorcich sought to cap his career as USWA District 15 director with verbal and physical assaults on union dissidents.

Odorcich devoted nearly all of the May issue of *Labor Lines*, a newsletter he sends to all local presidents in the district, to attacking "kooks" who express disagreement with the basic steel contract signed in April.

Odorcich said that the 200 steelworkers who recently demonstrated at the international union headquarters "may be Company stooges paid to create strife and dissension."

He singled out Michele McMills, a leader of a rank-and-file group in Local 1397 and an elected trustee of the local, whom he described as "a college graduate who works in the Homestead plant as a laborer, could easily get a job as a college professor and whose

father is a high official of U.S. Steel."

Along with baiting dissenters as company agents, Odorcich declared that "the communists are also involved in this harassment of your great Union."

After a lengthy diatribe against the *Militant* and *Daily World* newspapers, Odorcich asked, "Isn't it interesting that here are the commies, Maoists and Trotskyites, and a college graduate with a parent high up in the U.S. Steel hierarchy in bed together, ripping and tearing at our Union?"

"I leave it to you to decide if this is not a cancer from within, and that we must be on guard so that we will not be destroyed," Odorcich said, parroting the language former USWA President David McDonald used to whip up goon attacks against his opponents in the union in the 1950s.

Sure enough, on May 22 Odorcich and about fifty union staffers attacked a picnic held by twenty supporters of Steelworkers Stand Up, an opposition



JOSEPH ODORCICH: Brands union dissidents as 'company stooges' and 'commies.'

caucus based at Clairton Coke Works.

The group had paid for a permit to hold their picnic at the USWA's Linden Hall. But Odorcich and his goons drove them from the grounds, beating one so severely he required hospital treatment.

Steffi Domike, a member of USWA Local 1557 at Clairton, described the incident: "Joe O. started throwing rocks at us. There were children in the car that was hit by those rocks. So I took pictures of him doing that."

"Then as we were leaving, they blockaded the car, jumped on it, went after the driver, took the keys, and started coming after me for the film. They forced me to surrender it."

"At the same time they were beating my friend up. Three big guys had him pinned on the ground and were kicking and pounding him and shoving his face in the ground."

Victims of the attack have filed criminal charges against Odorcich as well as internal union charges.

'We got a right to work'

Black woman fights victimization by U.S. Steel

By Carolyn Jasin
and Jack Marsh

CHICAGO—When Mozella Stevens first started working for U.S. Steel South Works she "didn't go there for any special treatment. But I don't want to be made an example of, either," she said.

U.S. Steel has made an example of her. Stevens was fired last Christmas Eve. Her firing has raised the issue of how women are treated in the mill as growing numbers of women enter the steel industry.

The reason Stevens, a thirty-nine-year-old mother of seven, wants to work is simple.

"My husband left me with all these kids," she explained. "I have a house to pay for, kids to

Carolyn Jasin is a member of USWA Local 1033 at Republic Steel. Jack Marsh is a member of Local 65 at U.S. Steel South Works.



MOZELLA STEVENS

raise, and bills to meet. I just have to work."

Stevens started at South Works in January 1974. "I was working for the city," she said, "but the job doesn't pay anything and you have to get it through the alderman, so you got to be selling tickets and going to meetings all the time."

Rather than work in Chicago's patronage machine, "I wanted a job that I got myself," she said.

Stevens first started at the ninety-six-inch plate mill, stamping identification numbers on hot steel and operating a forklift. She enjoyed the work.

"I was so excited about my job I went and got the general foreman to come watch me," Stevens recalled.

"He called me in his office later and told me he didn't like the way I performed on the job.

"You are going to break your neck the way you're going," he said. 'Mozella, now take it like it is a compliment. Maybe you are too feminine. You walk around here like a little lady. [Stevens is close to six feet tall.] Some women are cut out for these jobs: they look like men, act like men, and some even smell like men.'

"He was trying to brainwash me," Stevens said.

Stevens was taken off the job in late 1974, however, so she transferred to the new rod mill at South Works, still working as a laborer. She was the first woman working on the production end of the mill.

"They kept promising me that I would be broken in on some machines, so I could learn to operate something," Stevens recalled. "But they kept treating me like a little child, and they wouldn't let me do anything.

Stevens filed a complaint with the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission (EEOC), charging discrimination.

That's when all the trouble began.

The foremen began to give Stevens some of the hardest work in the mill, jobs that no woman had

ever done before. But she is a strong woman and she was ready to do anything they gave her, she said.

Seniority ignored

In mid-1975, when production dropped at the mill, Stevens was laid off. Some months later steelworkers began to be called back to work. But Stevens discovered that the company was skipping over her, calling back workers with less seniority.

Stevens contacted the union, United Steelworkers Local 65. Grievance committee chairperson Cass Tomasik got her job back, along with \$71 in back pay.

But "some of the men told me the foremen were out to get me and that I was going to catch hell when I got back," Stevens said.

Sure enough, Stevens got one of the closest things to hell at South Works—picking scrap in the grease pits. The job requires workers to dig for still-warm metal, cut off from red-hot plates, in inches of grease and oil underneath shearing machines.

Usually the "scrapman" gets heavy rubber boots and gloves. But "the foremen wouldn't give me any gloves or boots in some of the pits, and they ordered the gang leader not to let me and Holly [a young white woman] help each other."

After working in one pit Stevens had to be taken to the hospital with a fever and stomach pains. The other woman got sick too, but was able to transfer out.

The foremen also went out of their way to fill Stevens' file with complaints. She had a good work record: was never late for work, was sick only twice because of the job, and missed one day to go to her son's graduation.

"But they sent in all kinds of complaints that I was lazy," Stevens said. "One time I got written up for sweeping with one hand. I've been

sweeping for twenty years for my own family and I know there isn't any special way to sweep."

The foremen kept transferring Stevens around the mill, having her taken out of the plant by the security police, and asking her why she didn't quit.

"Some of the men in the plant just don't think women should be there, and they just don't have any sympathy for women. But I have to work to live, so what can I do?" Stevens asked.

Day of firing

The day Stevens was fired, the foreman took her to where one-and-a-quarter-inch-thick, 2,000-pound plates are moved off the hot beds with pry bars. She was assigned to the bed despite the 40-pound lifting restriction the company doctor had given her as a result of an earlier accident.

"After the foreman brought me out to the job, everyone stopped and just looked at me," Stevens recalled. "No woman has ever been told to work there before. I was ready to work whenever the men were, but the gang leader asked the foreman what he was doing bringing me out there.

"Finally the foreman told me to come into the office and said he was going to have me taken out again. I told him I was so tired of him I just didn't know what to do," Stevens said.

Stevens was fired for insubordination and use of "threatening" language. "I'm a woman and he's a man, and he's deathly afraid of me," she joked.

Simon Kent, Stevens' grievance committee-man, has gathered a petition of 120 names protesting the firing, arranged an interview with the local newspaper, and taken her case through the four-step grievance procedure. The decision is still pending.

But Local 65's other officers have done little, Stevens said. "To them I'm just another woman who lost her job and I ought to shut up and stay at home. Nobody has even bothered to come talk to me about it," she said.

During the grievance procedures the company would not let any witnesses for Stevens appear. The gang leader who first protested making Stevens lift the plate has been given a foreman's job and refuses to support her.

Kent, the grievanceman, told a local newspaper he is not optimistic about the outcome. "The problem is that 90 percent of the grievances in the fourth step are dropped by [international staff representative] Bob Hatch, and only 15 percent of the cases that are sent to arbitration come out with favorable rulings," Kent said.

Now, five months after she lost her job, Stevens has to feed her family on unemployment benefits. Her medical coverage has been cut off.

Stevens has filed another complaint with the EEOC and will go to federal court if she loses all the grievance hearings.

The foremen "kept telling me and all the women in the plant that we need to be home somewhere with your kids," Stevens said. "But we got a right to work and I'm going to try like hell to get back."

Steelworkers protest police strikebreaking

By Gary Prevost

BRIDGETON, Mo.—Five steelworkers were arrested in this St. Louis suburb June 6 as they demonstrated against police-sanctioned strikebreaking at Hussmann Refrigeration.

The 1,500 members of United Steelworkers of America Local 13889 have been on strike against Hussmann since May 1.

The main issue is wages. The base wage of \$4.65 an hour at Hussmann is much lower than other steelworkers make at comparable plants.

The union is asking for about a two-dollar-an-hour increase to match industry standards. The company refuses to offer more than forty-five cents.

The plant had been shut down throughout the first month of the strike. Last weekend, however, Hussmann advertised in major St. Louis-

area papers for scabs to start work Monday, June 6.

That morning, some 400 unionists gathered across from the plant's main gate for a spontaneous demonstration against the use of scabs. A previous court injunction had limited picketing to two people at a time.

State and local police herded the scabs into the plant and arrested five union members for expressing their anger.

Then, in a flagrant violation of freedom of assembly as guaranteed in the Bill of Rights, a new court order was swiftly handed down barring anyone except the two pickets from being within 100 yards of the plant.

The next day, June 7, about 100 strikers picketed the Bridgeton police department with signs such as, "Does Hussmann own the Bridgeton police?"

Steel notes...

BIRDS OF A FEATHER: Lloyd McBride admits that the USWA officialdom is backing and giving money to Lee Roy Patterson, right-wing candidate for president of the United Mine Workers of America. "He is the only one of the three [candidates] who hasn't attacked the Steelworkers for one reason or another," says McBride. But what McBride really considers to be an "attack" is the example set by gains in union democracy that miners have won over the past five years. Patterson, an old crony of former UMWA dictator Tony Boyle, stands for rolling back these reforms.

Business Week magazine (June 13) reports that the USWA tops—having already signed away the right of steelworkers to strike—want to prevent a coal strike this winter. It quotes "one new USW officer" as saying, "Under [incumbent UMWA President Arnold] Miller there'd be the biggest strike you ever saw."

WHERE ELECTION CHALLENGE STANDS: The challenge by Ed Sadlowski and other Fight Back candidates to vote fraud in the February 8 union election has been rejected by the three USWA tellers and by the international executive board. That exhausts the channels of protest within the union. Sadlowski's attorney Joseph Rauh, announced May 26 that the challenge would now be taken to the federal Labor Department.



Militant/Walter Lippmann

No more deportations!

Interview with Peter Camejo

Peter Camejo is the Southwest field organizer for the Socialist Workers party and was the party's 1976 candidate for president of the United States. He was the first person of Latin American descent to run for that office.



As a college student, Camejo was an activist in the civil rights struggles and later a leader of the anti-Vietnam War movement.

He is the author of the book 'Racism, Revolution, Reaction, 1861-1877'—an account of the rise and fall of Radical Reconstruction.

Question. What are the roots of what the government calls "illegal" immigration? Why do millions of people emigrate to the United States without permission?

Answer. The basic problem is poverty and unemployment in the colonial and semicolonial world. Countries like Mexico, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, and others are sucked dry by imperialist countries, especially the United States. Their economic development is blocked. Therefore, the people of these countries are relegated to permanent poverty and unemployment.

In Mexico, where more than one-third of the labor force is unemployed or underemployed, there is no welfare or effective unemployment insurance. The people have no way of getting land, so they can't farm.

Throughout Latin America today unemployed people have no way to survive.

So they do exactly what Jimmy Carter or Nelson Rockefeller, or you or I would do. You go where you can get food. You go where you can get a job. It's the most simple, human, rational thing to do.

For simply seeking to avoid starvation by entering the United States, they are called "illegals"—implying that they are criminals.

Q. Are you saying that there should be no borders?

A. Yes. There should be no borders.

In fact, there are no natural borders. These so-called borders weren't put there by nature or some divine power. There are no borders you can see. There are only lines on maps put there by ruling classes through violence for their own interests. A border has no other meaning except physical force—if you cross this line you're going to get clubbed.

But you'll notice there are not only no natural borders, but there are no borders for American corporations. The corporations don't think twice about taking a factory and moving it to Mexico. And they'll tell you very frankly, they do it to make more money.

But when working people move across the border for economic reasons, then it's a crime, we're "illegals."

The original border between Mexico and the United States is not where the border is today.

Q. How was this border moved?

A. In 1846 the United States declared war on Mexico and took over the northern half of that country by force and violence. Two years later Mexico was forced to sign a treaty—the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo—giving the United States what is today California, Texas, Arizona, New Mexico, Nevada, Utah, and part of Colorado.

So there's absolutely nothing sacred about these borders. The capitalists and their governments use them when it's convenient. When not, they ignore them or move them around.

The truth is that Mexicans have as much right to be in the Southwest as anybody else. This is northern Mexico.

Something else people forget is who the Mexican people are. They're primarily descendants of Spaniards and Indians. Of a population of 60 million about two-thirds are mestizos of mixed Indian and Spanish descent. The rest are largely pure Indian—people who have been on the continent thousands of years. And to think you've got these Anglo-Saxon and European johnny-come-latelies telling the Native Americans that since the Europeans are here now, the native people are no longer free to travel on this continent!

We socialists believe in the absolute right to travel, the right of any human being to go wherever she or he wants.

Q. You're saying, throw open the borders. Forget about where people were born.

A. That's right. Forget about all that. It's an irrelevant accident—where you happened to land on the planet.

Let me show you how ridiculous the whole thing is by citing the example of my own family. Because half of my brothers are "citizens" and the other half are "aliens."

I'm one of those Latinos who "invaded" the United States by having my birth take place here—in my case in Queens, New York. My mother flew in and out. That makes me a U.S. citizen—"legal."

But my older brother wasn't born here. So, in the mid-1960s, when he was living in the United States, the government deported him to Mexico.

In Mexico the CIA arranged to have the police there imprison him because of his political views. This happened in 1967. I went there to try to get him a lawyer. The CIA got in touch with the Mexican government and had me deported back to the United States.

So my family had deportations going both ways—my brother to Mexico because he wasn't born here, me out of Mexico because I was.

Q. But if there's no border, millions of people are going to come into the United States. And doesn't this mean more unemployment?

A. No.

If there are two people and only one job, the solution is to create another job. Carter says if there are two people for one job, let's see if we can deport one person. But there will still be two people and one job, even if they are farther apart.

People in the United States think that if more people come in, there's more unemployment.

The fallacy in all this is the idea that there are only a limited number of jobs to be done, that they're already all filled, and that everybody else . . . well it's just too bad for them. The whole idea is that the cause of unemployment is not that there are too few jobs, but too many workers.

This whole propaganda campaign about "illegal aliens" taking away jobs from "Americans" is designed to pit worker against worker. It aims to get one group of workers to blame another group of workers for unemployment, instead of placing the responsibility where it belongs: on the capitalists, their government, and their economic system, which places profits above human needs.

The capitalists do this all the time, in all kinds of ways. For example, right now we're supposed to be in the middle of an economic recovery. But the official unemployment level is still 7 percent.

You don't hear the government explaining that the way to end unemployment is to take drastic measures to create new jobs—measures like a shorter workweek at no reduction in pay or a crash program of public works projects. No. They don't say that.

Instead, they say that there are "too many" women and young people looking for work, or that there are too many "aliens"—Mexican workers, and others. High unemployment is supposed to be the workers' fault, not the capitalists'.

But there's a very good example of how easy it is to create more jobs when you really want to: Cuba.

When the United States ran Cuba through the dictator Batista, there was tremendous unemployment there, sometimes more than 30 percent.

But when the Castro-led revolution was victorious, and Cuban workers and farmers dumped capitalism for socialism, they said: Let's figure out how many jobs we have from the point of view of human needs, not profits.

And they saw they needed a tremendous number of teachers, schools, houses—thousands of new jobs. Today, everyone in Cuba has a job. In fact, there's a labor shortage—the government goes around begging people to work overtime because there's so much work to be done.

How did Cuba do it? The answer is that the work is there. *The jobs existed all along.*

And they exist here too—millions of jobs building schools, hospitals, housing, mass transportation. Cleaning up the environment. The list is endless.

So the question we should be asking isn't how to get rid of workers who don't have jobs. The question is, How are we going to put all those people to work, or rather, why don't we?

And the problem is capitalism. Eight million "illegal aliens" don't take up more jobs than eight million "legal" workers. The reason we don't have enough jobs for everyone in this country is capitalism, a social system that puts profits for corporations first.

Q. Over the past couple of months, there have been a lot of reports in the news media about Carter setting up a cabinet committee to deal with immigration.

Among the things they're talking about is making it illegal to knowingly hire undocumented workers; amnesty for people who've been here more than a certain number of years; and a strengthening of the Immigration and Naturalization Service and U.S. Border Patrol.

My question is: what is your analysis of this plan?

A. To understand Carter's plan, we have to look carefully at what the policy of the ruling class has been, because it hasn't been what it appears to have been.

You look at their statements and their laws and the statistics on how many are being deported and you'd say—they're trying to get these people out, and keep them out. But that isn't true.

In fact, they've been permitting Mexicans and others to enter the United States to provide a pool of extremely cheap superexploitable labor.

The position of undocumented workers in American society today is parallel to that of Blacks and other minorities—tremendous unemployment, low wages, and racist discrimination in all walks of life.

But looking at it more precisely, the position of undocumented workers most closely parallels the situation of Blacks in the South following the Civil War, when the states had so-called Jim Crow laws that stripped Blacks of all their rights.

In the South, Blacks did not have the right to vote. And today undocumented people don't have the right to vote.

Blacks did not have equal protection under the law. And undocumented workers don't have equal protection under the law.

Blacks did not have the right to organize or protest. And undocumented people can't do that either. Because if they call attention to themselves in any way, they will be deported.

That is, Blacks under Jim Crow suffered a caste system inscribed in law. They did not even formally have the same legal rights that the working class in general enjoyed.

It's not just a question of exploitation, which all workers suffer. And it's not just a question of race or national oppression, which Blacks and other minorities, including Latino and Asian immigrants suffer. It's an additional oppression—a legalized, de jure caste status of "illegals."

This is immensely valuable for the employers, tremendously profitable. They can force people to work for two dollars an hour or less, and if they workers complain, the boss calls the immigration cops.

The systematic discrimination against immigrants without visas puts a downward pressure on wages—another thing the bosses love. An employer can tell a "legal" worker, "Well, if you don't want the job at this pay, I know where I can get workers who will take the job for less and thank me for it."

But in order to enforce this caste status on immigrants without visas, the government has to

deport at least a few. They couldn't maintain low wages if no one's deported, because these people would no longer tolerate their condition. The immigrants would immediately organize and begin fighting. So it is a combined policy: on the one hand letting people come in and stay, on the other hand deporting some.

Leonard Chapman, former head of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, testified before Congress in March and said there were 6 to 8 million "illegal aliens." But he said that, at most, the INS can catch 160,000 a year in major American cities.

Of course, that represents tremendous suffering for countless families and for those workers. But looking at the overall figure of several million undocumented workers, it's a small percentage.

More significantly, Chapman explained how they pick who to deport from the cities. "We have concentrated our effort in the past two years on illegal aliens holding better paying jobs," he said.

That is, they use the relatively limited number of deportations they carry out for maximum impact in keeping the Mexican immigrants poor—that is, in keeping them as a superexploited caste.

Q. So what's new in Carter's plan?

A. There is a real shift taking place, in my opinion.

Continued on next page



...Camejo

The American capitalists and their government are on an offensive against the standard of living and rights of working people. The brunt of this offensive right now is falling on women and oppressed national minorities.

The capitalists need to attack us this way so they can compete better with their overseas rivals.

The campaign against immigrants without visas goes hand-in-hand with these attacks.

There are also other things that worry the capitalists. The migration from Latin America is growing, because the economic situation there tends to get worse and worse.

The ruling class is worried that unchecked migration could cause tremendous social and political problems.

This first came out in a report given to President Ford on immigration. Ford had some cabinet members do a study, and, interestingly, they came up with the same recommendations that Carter's come up with.

They fear that these immigrants will rebel. And if the Latino immigrant population keeps growing, the potential for rebellion grows with it, because these workers will begin to feel the power of their numbers. Also, the larger the population, the more powerful the explosion.

Ford's committee put it this way: "The ramifications of harboring large numbers of people in illegal status are undesirable and contribute to a breakdown in the institutions and systems upon which we depend for fair government."

They also have a legal problem. Under the old Jim Crow laws, Blacks are a permanent superexploited caste. But with undocumented workers, it lasts only one generation. The children of immigrants are no longer "illegals." They're citizens. And the new generation won't tolerate what their parents suffered.

So they really fear "a civil rights struggle of the 1980s," as Labor Secretary F. Ray Marshall put it. He's a key architect of Carter's plan.

This fear of the social implications of their past policy, along with certain economic changes, is what's driving the capitalists to a new policy.

The new policy will be to severely restrict the flow of immigrants.

Carter, Marshall, and the rest say they're not for closing the border. But what they mean by this is not what their words suggest.

They mean they won't physically close the border, because they can't. You can't just build an electrified fence between Mexico and the United States.

To begin with, many people come into the United States legally, as students or visitors, and then stay permanently—"illegally."

But the main problem is political. It would not be tenable to build a Berlin-type wall on the Mexican border. People wouldn't go for that.

But they are squeezing off the flow of immigrants. Let's look at some of the steps they've already taken.

First, they have just cut in half the number of people who are allowed to enter the United States from Mexico legally. This quota is now 20,000. It used to be 42,000. By the U.S. government's own

admission, up to a million Mexicans would like to come here each year.

The effect is that there is no quota. This quota is completely filled up forever. As far as legally entering the United States, the border is closed.

But they know people will come anyway, whether through the law or outside it, because they have no choice.

So Carter proposes to make it very hard for them to get jobs here. That is the only way to stop the migration. He wants to pass a law that makes it a crime to hire undocumented workers—some version of what's come to be known as the Rodino bill, after its sponsor, Democratic Rep. Peter Rodino.

This is a police-state measure. Its goal is to make every employer an immigration cop. But a Rodino-type bill will not work unless you can detect undocumented workers. That leads them to another measure borrowed from the police states—an internal passport. In fact, they have already started handing out such cards to "legal aliens"—immigrants who have work or residence permits. It has your picture and fingerprints. Also, it has a row of coded numbers that unlocks a computerized file on you in the INS offices. It's supposed to tell an immigration cop whether the card's phony—but it could just as well have all sorts of personal or political information.

This is the kind of card Carter is discussing forcing all U.S. workers to carry. That's a danger to the entire working class—every working woman and man, because it would be a ready-made system for all kinds of police-state abuses, like blacklists.

The idea of cards for "aliens" is borrowed from South Africa, since it is aimed only at one racial group.

The ban on hiring immigrants will create tremendous problems for all Latinos. All of us will have to prove we're not "illegal" every time we try to get a job.

Now, there are some problems with enforcing this ban. If fully enforced, it would mean driving out of the country several million workers. But this is not their goal.

In Texas there's a Rodino-type bill in the legislature. And it specifically exempts agriculture and domestic labor. The bill says it's illegal to hire undocumented workers except for agriculture or domestic labor. And the reason for that is that agriculture still relies in part on large numbers of low-paid workers.

That's why they have to keep some mechanism in their plan to bring in some foreign workers. That's why they are talking about reinstituting a bracero program or something similar—that is, contracting with other governments, like Mexico, to bring in temporary, low-paid workers.

Q. What kinds of things is the administration doing to get its plan accepted?

A. One thing they're doing is conducting an enormous propaganda campaign claiming that immigrants are to blame for unemployment, higher taxes, crime, lower wages, and disease. And that, if we throw out the "illegal aliens," everyone could have a job. This campaign has been successful in convincing most people, including Chicanos and other Latinos.

It's been successful because the labor movement hasn't fought it. The bureaucrats that head the

unions know these charges aren't true, but they repeat them and echo them just the same. They feel more akin to the corporate bosses than they do to the Mexican workers. That's the fact.

The blame for these social problems belongs on the capitalists, who own and run the system, not working people.

Carter has said the United States will help Mexico and the other countries create jobs. This is a public relations ploy meant for consumption at home and overseas.

He's trying to soften up the opposition to his plan by proposing an "amnesty," supposedly for humanitarian reasons. But the real reason is that it would be impossible to throw out the estimated six to eight million undocumented immigrants who live here. For one thing, it would probably cause economic chaos.

He also hopes that amnesty will allow him to win support for the overall plan of closing the border, especially from Chicanos and other Latinos. But the alternative of having an army of immigration cops doing a house-to-house search for all undocumented workers could evoke a massive political outcry, especially from Chicanos and Latinos.

Now, how they carry out this amnesty—what cutoff date, what requirements—is not the main point. They will try to get an enormous debate going over the date and so forth, to divert attention from the whole program, which is to close the border.

The purpose of this formula with a cutoff date, as opposed to a general amnesty, is simply to maintain the presence and tradition of police harassment and deportations.

Carter now has to put a brown face on his repression against Latinos. This is important for him, because there is bound to be more violence, more beatings, more murders, and more jailings as part of this program. In order to avoid the charge of racism, Carter seeks to buy off Chicanos to repress *mexicanos*. Leonel Castillo's recent appointment as head of the Immigration and Naturalization Service is only the start.

Q. So you're saying that Carter's amnesty plan is a fraud?

A. Yes. First of all, the word *amnesty* carries with it the connotation that these people did something wrong. So I don't like the term, because I don't believe these people have done anything wrong. Amnesty is part of the propaganda that immigrants are criminals.

We socialists support full human and civil rights for people without documents and for anyone else, for that matter. We think that everyone who is here should have full rights equal to everyone else's. And I'm not opposed to any concession that improves the status of undocumented workers.

But Carter's amnesty has a sinister purpose. His amnesty is aimed at trying to close the border. Instead of arguing whether part of Carter's amnesty is in our favor, we should organize a movement that demands citizenship for all. When the British migrated here, they were given citizenship. When the Germans and Irish came, they got the same. The Italians, Russians, and Slavs also got the same. Why not the same policy for the latest migration—Latinos?

We should forthrightly oppose Carter's plan and propose our own.

No deportations.

No computer cards.

End all checkpoints and harassment.

Full civil and human rights for immigrants, respecting the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Helsinki accords.

There's a lot more at stake here than meets the eye. The logic of the government's drive against immigrants is to intensify racist oppression and pit working people against each other.

Today immigrants are scapegoat number one for capitalism's problems. But they won't be the last. Already, as I mentioned before, the government's saying it's not only "illegals" who are responsible for unemployment, it's also "too many" women workers and "too many" young workers. Next it'll be "too many" Black and Chicano workers.

The capitalists figure, "Divide and rule." It's the oldest trick in the book.

What working people should do is unite against the Carter plan. This isn't just a question for Chicanos, or a question for the Southwest. It's a question for the entire labor movement and everyone else concerned about democratic rights—women, Blacks, students.

I think we should organize a highly visible protest movement against Carter's crackdown. What's needed is a campaign to reach the American people with the facts and arguments that they've never heard before about this issue.

'For a world without borders!'

The following statement was issued and distributed by the Baja California (Mexico) Liga Socialista and Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores, and the San Diego Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance, under the heading "Stop the Deportations!"

The Carter administration has launched a brutal attack on Chicanos and Mexicans trying to immigrate to the United States. The American government's purpose is to shift the blame for growing unemployment from the inability of the capitalist system to provide jobs to the Mexican immigrant. A racist hysteria is being whipped up by the government and the capitalist press against "illegal aliens."

The reality, of course, is that the entire American Southwest was illegally stolen from Mexico by force of arms in the Mexican-American War.

Mexican workers should have every right to immigrate to the United States. The United States should live up to the noble words inscribed on the Statue of Liberty welcoming "Your poor, starved, huddled masses yearning to breathe

free."

Instead Carter is planning to build a Berlin wall along the frontier to keep people out. The deportations are increasing. Plans are in the works for permanent computerized identification cards to be issued to all citizens. Harassment of the Chicano community by *la migra* (Immigration and Naturalization Service) and the police is on the rise. This must stop!

The López Portillo government has cooperated with Carter's schemes. López Portillo has called on Carter only to pay more for Mexican raw materials. While this will benefit the Mexican capitalists, it will do little to benefit the Mexican workers.

The Socialist Workers party, Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores, and the Liga Socialista, revolutionary socialist groups in solidarity with the Fourth International, call for an end to the attacks on Chicano and *mexicano* workers in the United States. The truth is that the workers of our countries, the workers of all countries, are sisters and brothers.

There should be no borders between us. *No to the internal passport! Stop the deportations! For a world without borders!*

'Cheaper to replace men'

Stearns miners on strike for their lives

By Nancy Cole

STEARNS, Ky.—On March 9, 1976, an explosion at the Scotia coal mine near Whitesburg, Kentucky, killed fifteen miners. Two days later, eight miners and three mine inspectors died in a second blast.

The sound from those explosions may not have traveled the 100 miles to Stearns, but the news of them reverberated throughout this small mining community.

The Blue Diamond Coal Company—a notorious antiunion outfit—owns both Scotia and the Justus mine in Stearns.

The Scotia disaster is believed to have resulted from inadequate (and illegal) ventilation that allowed methane gas to accumulate in the underground mine.

Three weeks later, the miners here in Stearns voted 126 to 57 to be represented by the United Mine Workers of America.

That was just the beginning of their fight for safe working conditions.

It took the National Labor Relations Board four months to certify the election results. Then the company refused to sign a UMW contract. Finally, in July 1976, Stearns miners voted to strike.

They've been out, and the mine closed, ever since. Blue Diamond broke off negotiations last January. The company then brought in hired gun thugs to provoke the strikers. And the state police and courts have come to Blue Diamond's aid.

Twenty-seven miners and four other men were indicted for the shootings of two company guards. UMW organizer Lee Potter was arrested May 27 on the same charges.

The UMW has been fined thousands of dollars and ordered to put up \$100,000 in bond to ensure no more "damage" is done to company property.

All this to block the miners' demand for a union safety committee with the authority to walk the miners out of any section of the mine they judge "hazardous to human life."

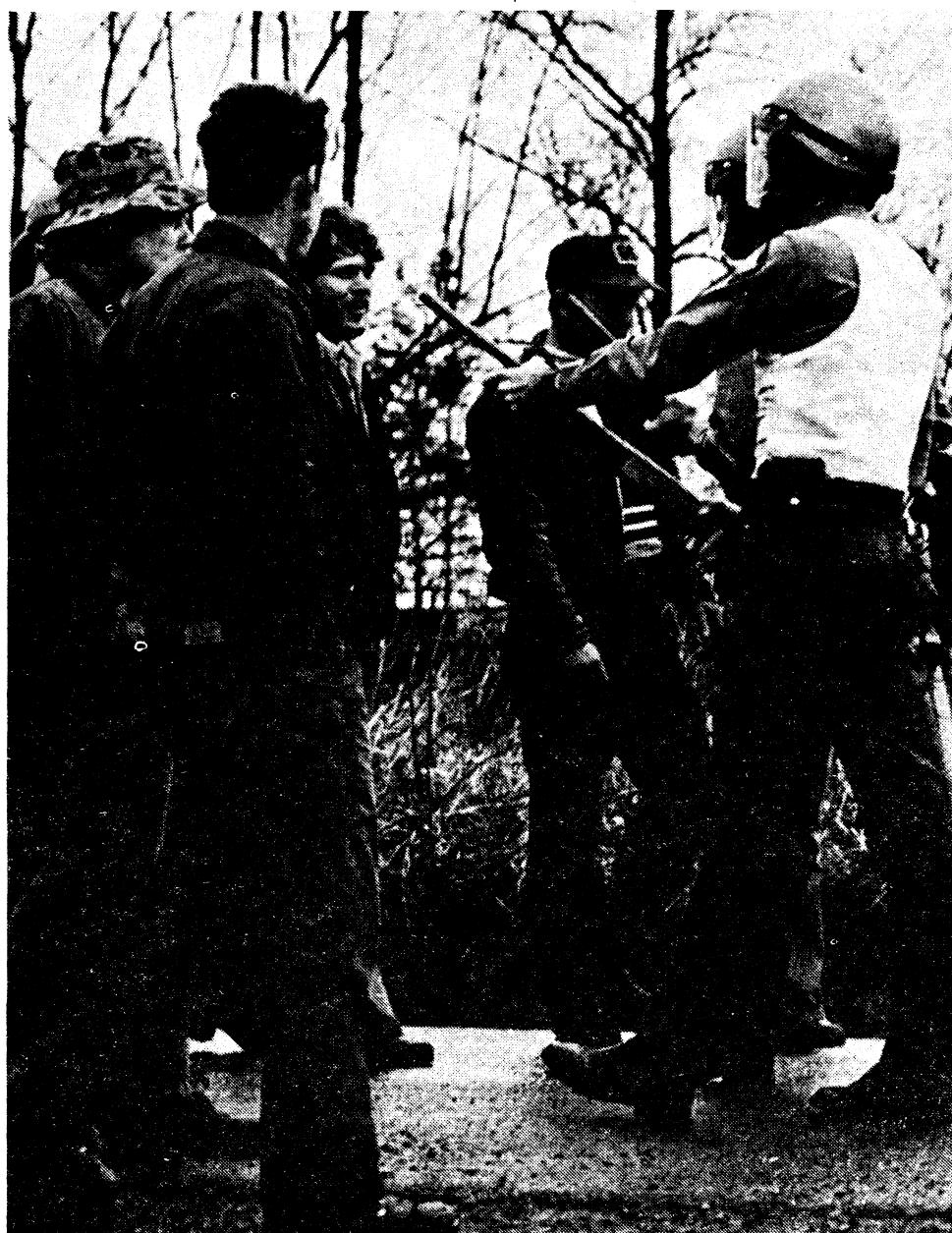
Blue Diamond Vice-president Frank Thomas says that such a committee would allow the miners to "take over the safety program under its own rule."

And that, after all, might mean enforcing the safety program.

Instead, Thomas promises with a straight face that Blue Diamond will abide by federal and state safety laws, and that ought to be enough for the strikers.

Stearns miners could laugh if it weren't their lives that are at stake.

According to the latest figures from the federal Mine Enforcement and Safety Administration (MESA), the



United Mine Workers Journal

Blue Diamond's hired gun thugs try to provoke Stearns striking miners

rate for injuries at the Justus mine in Stearns is almost 31 percent higher than the national average.

For disabling injuries, the rate is 72 percent above the national average.

Blue Diamond bought the Stearns mine in early 1976. It owns one other mine in Kentucky besides Scotia and several more in Tennessee.

Conditions at Stearns were bad before, the miners say, but they got even worse after Blue Diamond took over.

Striker Leonard Gibson recites a list of dangers common in the mine, including: sending a miner to work by himself, isolated from aid should something happen; inadequately supported tops; no brakes on cars; and low clearance.

"They'll plainly tell you," Carlis Taylor told the *UMW Journal*, "It's cheaper to replace men than it is equipment. My own foreman told me, 'When rocks start falling, try to get

that equipment out of the way.'"

In 1976 MESA cited Blue Diamond 917 times for safety violations in its three Kentucky mines. At the Stearns mine, during the six months before the strike, the company was cited 101 times.

Eight times, MESA was forced to issue temporary closure orders because the violations were so serious.

And when MESA closes nonunion mines, where there's no committee of workers to put the screws to them, things have got to be pretty bad.

The federal inspections are "a big joke," Gibson told the *Militant*.

The company knows when the inspectors are coming, and they make the necessary adjustments. Like shifting air to the section they know the inspector will be in so that he can get a "proper" reading.

"There's a saying: the air follows the inspectors," says Gibson.

"There will be barely enough air to breathe. Then all of a sudden you're freezing. When you get good air, there's an inspector on the way."

After the Scotia disaster, the miners here report that the inspectors were more observant for a while.

A week after the explosion, inspectors found two ventilation violations. A week after that, they cited five more ventilation violations. A week later, there were two more.

Then in April 1976 six additional violations compelled MESA to issue three closure orders for "unwarrantable" negligence.

Even with a few closure orders and fines, it's a lot more profitable for the mineowners to run dangerous mines. MESA does all it can to see that the laws are enforced "reasonably"—that is, with the least inconvenience to the mineowners.

For violations during the six months before the strike here, Blue Diamond was fined \$9,579. That's an average of \$95 for each violation. The company paid only \$3,333—or \$33 per violation.

The miners think there are better ways to enforce safety laws and prevent future Scotias. They think their lives should count for more than Blue Diamond's profits.

That's why they're on strike.

That's why they're determined to win.

Militant team in coalfields

A *Militant* subscription team is now visiting coal mines in the Morgantown area of West Virginia.

In addition to selling subscriptions and single issues of the *Militant*, the team is interviewing miners and getting firsthand information about conditions in West Virginia mines.

The team is headed by Ed Heisler, a member of the Socialist Workers Party National Committee, and includes Joyce Stoller, Marc Strumpf, George Dolph, and Steve Bride.

"Miners have been buying single issues of the *Militant* from us, reading them, then returning and asking to purchase subscriptions," Heisler reports. "This is the first time anyone has sold a paper right at the mines that deals with the issues miners face. The response has been great."

In the first five days of the tour the team sold seventy-eight subscriptions and seventy-seven single issues of the *Militant*.

Conn. ends unemployment benefits for many

By John Del Vecchio

BRIDGEPORT, Conn.—Workers in this state suffered a major setback last month when the state's general assembly passed legislation that completely disqualifies from unemployment compensation workers who quit or are fired.

In passing the legislation, the overwhelmingly Democratic state legislature fulfilled the wishes of the Connecticut Business and Industry Association (CBIA), the major employers' group in the state.

Since 1939 workers who quit or were fired endured a four-week "penalty period" before qualifying for unemployment compensation. When this new antiworker law becomes effective later this year, such employees will now be totally disqualified.

Some state legislators argued that hearings would be conducted to determine if a worker had been unjustly fired, and that if this were the case, the employee could then collect unemployment compensation. Trade unionists pointed out that this so-called protection would not help many workers, especially nonunion employees, who would not be familiar with their rights or able to present their own case effectively.

Labor spokespeople also pointed out that the appeals process would become even more logjammed under the new law, with resulting long delays in the processing of appealed cases.

The passage of the "quits and fires" law was a severe blow to organized labor in the state, which had strongly

opposed the CBIA's well-financed lobbying effort.

The state AFL-CIO, United Auto Workers, and other independent unions brought nearly 1,000 workers to rally at the state capitol against the legislation. This was one of the first real efforts to mobilize rank-and-file unionists into action on labor legislation.

The efforts of the labor unions were laudable, but unfortunately could be categorized as "too little, too late." Too much confidence traditionally has been placed in the Democratic party, and labor leaders counted too much on their "friends" in the party to squash this antiworker law.

To active unionists here in Connecticut, it is becoming more clear after the CBIA victory that what is needed is

the ongoing input and participation of rank-and-file workers in the labor movement. Only through their involvement and mobilization can the pro-big-business climate in the state be effectively dealt with.

It should also become clear that more independent political action by workers is needed. With the CBIA victory, we should have learned that unionists can't depend on their Democratic "friends."

After all, Democratic Gov. Ella Grasso, who has been strongly supported by labor throughout her political career, signed the "quits and fires" bill into law the day after its passage. This Democratic "friend" didn't even give the leadership of organized labor a chance to appeal to her to veto the legislation.

Radicalization of women: dilemma for ruling class



By Cindy Jaquith
and Mary-Alice Waters

Inspired by the independent power of the Black movement and the mobilizations against the Vietnam War, the feminist upsurge exploded onto the scene at the end of the 1960s.

Rather than a coordinated, organized "movement," the rise of women's liberation sentiment was expressed in heterogeneous ways: consciousness-raising groups, demonstrations, conferences, campus organizations, caucuses, and a literary outpouring of journals, newspapers, and books.

Women everywhere began thinking, analyzing, and studying the roots of their oppression, searching for answers to the question: Which way for liberation?

No one group or current had a monopoly on the answers. Nor could any one organization claim to



speak for "the movement." Various perspectives and strategies were put forward and tested in practice.

The lack of any influential women's organization in the leadership of the fight for women's rights was the result of a fifty-year hiatus in the independent women's movement. After the vote was won in 1920, the suffragist organizations vanished and the women's movement declined—along with other expressions of the radical ferment of the early twentieth century. When the new wave of feminism arrived on the scene there was no "traditional" women's group to meet it. Even the National Organization for Women (NOW)—today considered by some to be the "traditional" women's organization—was itself a product of the new radicalization.

This was quite different from the situation that existed in the Black and labor movements when the 1960s protests began.

The civil rights movement and Black ghetto rebellions bypassed entrenched, traditional leaderships in the Black community such as the NAACP and Urban League. But these organizations, led by conscious defenders of "working within the system," were able to ride out the storm. They were

strong enough to exert significant pressure on the more radical proponents of direct action. Throughout the 1960s, they sought to deflect the Black struggle out of the streets and into the "safer" channels of the courts and two-party system.

The labor movement was encrusted with a powerful, reactionary bureaucracy consolidated during the McCarthyite witch-hunts of the 1950s. The bureaucracy was a reliable bulwark. As the 1960s radicalization broke out, it could be counted on to work hard at isolating the unions from any involvement in the new movements for social progress.

The capitalists were not happy with the lack of a similar instrument in the women's movement—a leadership with enough authority to restrain militant feminists from "going too far." The wealthy interests that control this country and the government knew full well that the women's movement, if it fought consistently for its demands, would cut into their "right" to profit from the labor of women, as well as Blacks and other workers.

The bosses also feared the potential solidarity of feminists with their allies in the Black movement, the antiwar movement, and the working class. Were the new wave of young feminists to succeed in forging links with their sisters in the Black communities and in the work force, this movement could mobilize the social power of the working class behind women's demands.

Hoover memo

J. Edgar Hoover, in fact, had to wage a small fight within the bureau to stamp out the idea that this movement was not a serious threat to the system.

As he wrote in 1970 to agents who were "soft" on the question:

"The WLM [women's liberation movement] has also demonstrated its readiness to support or accept support from other extremist or revolutionary organizations such as the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), the Black Panther Party (BPP), the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), and others. . . .

"In view of the above, it is absolutely essential that we conduct sufficient investigation to clearly establish subversive ramifications of the WLM. . . ."

In the meantime, feminists began to batter down the doors traditionally closed to them in education, the media, the job market. Their struggles began to be taken seriously by the rest of the population. Polls registered sharp increases in the number of Americans supporting the goals of women's liberation.

Under this pressure, the U.S. rulers decided to

open up some safety valves.

Some of the doors that had been closed to women in education and on the job were opened up, primarily through successful affirmative-action suits.

In 1972, with the presidential elections approaching, "Tricky Dick" Nixon—hardly a friend of women—called on Congress to pass the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). Congress did so.

The desire of the U.S. rulers to defuse the feminist movement was linked to their fear of the general social unrest in the country. The continued exposure of government lies about Vietnam, the smouldering situation in the Black communities, the rebellion on the campuses, and the beginning of a radicalization among young workers all pointed to the undermining of faith in the capitalist system.

'Credibility gap'

This "credibility gap" practically became a household word. But it was only when Watergate broke that the American people learned how much the big protests of the 1960s had affected the rulers.

While the war was at the center of the turmoil in the early 1970s, other issues also came to the fore in the atmosphere of social crisis. Abortion was one such issue.

After legalization of abortion in New York in 1970, the right wing went on a crusade to overturn the liberalized New York law and defeat attempts to extend this law to other states. The stepped-up activity of the hypocritical "right to life" forces began to pose the abortion question as a national political issue. Popular sentiment for abortion rights was on the rise. Polls showed a jump in favor of legalization from 15 percent in 1968 to 50 percent in 1971.

The women's movement had begun to respond to the anti-abortion challenge with increased activities in defense of abortion rights. The Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC), a group formed in 1971, led the way by organizing public speakouts, news conferences, and demonstrations demanding women's right to choose.

While these actions remained relatively small, compared to the antiwar and ghetto rebellions of the 1960s, the ruling class clearly recognized the danger of abortion rights becoming another catalyst for uniting diverse and growing forces in action. Realizing the matter would have to be settled one way or the other, the government decided to make a concession. On January 22, 1973, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled abortion legal through the sixth month of pregnancy.

This tremendous victory had a far-reaching impact for women—sparing them from the dangers of back-alley abortions and permitting them greater freedom in planning out their lives. It helped demonstrate concretely that the women's liberation movement was fighting for the most basic needs of women. Since the court decision had the greatest impact on the lives of working-class women, especially women of the oppressed nationalities, it was a real blow to those who portrayed feminism as a white, middle-class fad.

Where to go next?

The legalization of abortion posed a question to feminists: where to go next? Under the momentum of this victory women were in a stronger position to organize—and win—struggles around other issues, as well as fights to implement the abortion-rights decision. And new struggles did break out, inspired in part by the self-confidence resulting from the Supreme Court's decision.

Only a few days after abortion was legalized, 1,000 women turned out in Richmond, Virginia, for hearings on the Equal Rights Amendment. Five hundred women packed the state capitol in Atlanta on February 7 to debate out the ERA. Both hearings were sharply divided confrontations between women who supported the ERA and the newly organized anti-ERA forces.

In March, the first of a wave of child-care demonstrations began, as the Nixon administration attempted to introduce devastating cuts in social services. One thousand marched in San Francisco; then 2,000 in New York, as the protests began to spread across the country.

These demonstrations were a first reflection of something new happening in the women's movement. The child-care marchers were overwhelmingly Black, Chicana, and Puerto Rican women. Most of them were workers who depended on day-care services to hold down their jobs while raising their children. The alternative for them, if the cutbacks went through, was to leave the work force, and probably join the welfare lines.

Through their protests these women succeeded in slowing down the pace of the cutbacks. They also demonstrated something else: working-class women were being influenced by the women's movement.

Most did not consider themselves feminists, but they were fighting for their rights as women, bringing powerful social forces into the struggle for equal rights.

In April 1973, women were in the forefront of yet another battle—they organized the April 1-7 meat boycott that swept the country as consumers everywhere rebelled against soaring meat prices.

Fight Inflation Together, Women's War on Prices, and countless other ad hoc committees grew up, organized primarily by housewives. Their picket lines, boycotts, and news conferences helped make the government's attacks on workers' standard of living a national political issue.

As the ERA battle began to heat up, child-care protests spread, and housewives started leaving their housework to fight against high prices, women's liberation groups faced important opportunities to unite with these new forces and expand the struggle for women's rights.

The leadership of NOW did not turn in the direction of these new struggles, however. Their eyes were increasingly turned not toward the power of women, but toward what they considered real "political power."

Women's Political Caucus

In the summer of 1971, prominent women leaders of NOW, along with figures like Gloria Steinem and Bella Abzug, had initiated the National Women's Political Caucus (NWPC). Its stated goal was to elect to office women candidates "who declare themselves ready to fight for the needs of women and of all underrepresented groups."

Labeling itself "nonpartisan," the NWPC from the start focused on getting Democratic and Republican candidates elected, arguing that this was the only practical way to ensure representation of women in government.

The theme of the 1971 NOW national conference was "Revolution: From the Doll's House to the White House." The delegates endorsed the NWPC and NOW leaders began to step up their activities in the political campaigns of Democrats and Republicans, both men and women.

While the NWPC's efforts may have been effective in helping elect some of these candidates, they were totally ineffective in meeting the real needs of women. Thus when the first national conference of the NWPC took place in February 1973, right on the heels of the Supreme Court abortion decision and at the outset of new struggles for the ERA and child care, there was virtually no discussion at all of these issues. Instead, the entire convention focused on structure.

Whether conscious or not, this orientation of NOW leaders toward the two-party shell game coincided well with the desires of the ruling class to get women out of the streets. As in the labor and Black movements, some "responsible" women leaders began to emerge.

The moves toward "working within the system," combined with the government's concessions on abortion, affirmative action, and other rights, led to a temporary decline in large-scale actions by the women's movement.

By the time the economic crisis erupted on a full scale in 1975, the ruling-class had regained the initiative. They began to take full advantage of the situation to try and retract some of the concessions they had been forced to make to women. We will look at how this happened in our next article.



Militant/Howard Petrick

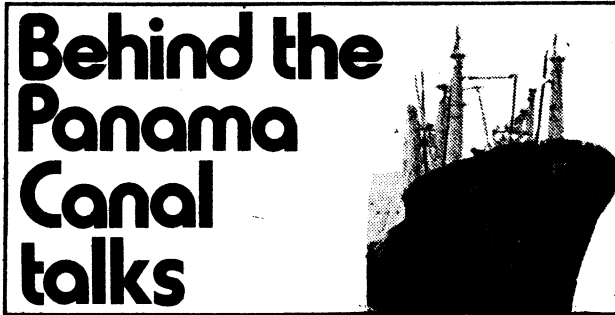
'Children are our priority' reads sign at 1973 day-care protest. Fight against child-care cutbacks propelled Blacks, Chicanas, Puertorriqueñas into motion.

Origin of United States intervention in Panama

By Judy White

This is the first in a series of articles on the historical and political background to the current negotiations over U.S. control of the Panama Canal. It is reprinted from Intercontinental Press.

On February 23 President Carter's representatives in the negotiations over the future of the Panama Canal returned to the United States saying that the ten days of talks with the Torrijos government had



netted "some progress" but that there were still "major problems" remaining unsolved.

These "major problems" revolve around Carter's unwillingness to give up the direct economic, political, and military control the United States government has exercised over almost 2 percent of the land of Panama—a strip of territory ten miles wide that divides the country in two—and the concomitant indirect control the United States exercises over the rest of the country.

Washington has held this power since 1903, when the newly independent Republic of Panama signed a treaty granting the United States control of the Canal Zone "in perpetuity."

The record shows that from the 1903 independence struggle to the present day American imperialism has totally disregarded the Panamanian people's right to self-determination.

Moreover, the Pentagon has used the Canal Zone as a training and staging area for repressive operations throughout Latin America and other parts of the world.

Intervention since 1846

Washington's interest in a canal was first codified in the Mallarino-Bidlack Treaty of 1846. That agreement between the United States and New Granada (Colombia) gave Washington a right of way and preferential duties across the Isthmus of Panama in return for a guarantee of Bogotá's sovereign rights over transit and the maintenance of neutrality in the area.

But Washington and New Granada were not the only powers eyeing the isthmus.

In 1848 Great Britain seized the Nicaraguan city of Bluefields, gaining control over the natural eastern access to a potential trans-Nicaragua canal.

The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, which Washington negotiated with London in 1850, stipulated that neither power would establish exclusive control over any transisthmian canal that might be built. Furthermore, the signers were pledged to joint protection of such a facility and to making it accessible to all powers who agreed to respect this arrangement.

Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century the United States helped Colombia maintain its rule over its isthmian territory. During the 1860s, U.S. troops intervened five times to smash separatist rebellions in Panama.

Washington had several reasons to be interested in a canal. Most important was to provide an inexpensive shortcut to facilitate domestic trade and travel between the east and west coast cities of the United States. Such a shortcut would also expedite trade with the Far East. Finally, it would increase the effectiveness of the U.S. Navy, which was centered on the country's east coast.

The Spanish-American War, fought in 1898, was the deathblow to the crumbling Spanish empire. "American imperialists took practically everything: Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Philippines (three thousand-odd islands), Guam, etc.," Marxist journalist John G. Wright pointed out. "What an extraordinary and choice selection!"*

"A single glance at a map is sufficient," Wright continued, "to make clear that here was no accidental colonial grab . . . but a painstaking, fully considered, consciously planned and executed

*"The Spanish-American War," in *America's Revolutionary Heritage*, edited by George Novak (New York, Pathfinder Press, 1976).

preparation of U.S. imperialism for its struggle to obtain the richest colonial prize in the world—the outlets of the Orient fronting the Pacific Ocean."

The territory gained by Washington placed it in a strong strategic position in the Gulf of Mexico, the Caribbean, and the Philippines. It provided coaling stations in the Pacific and a base of operations in the Far East.

As Wright said, "The American imperialists could not take the bull by the horns and set to the task of solving the question of the Panama Canal, that is, of a direct route to Asia, unless they had first seized Cuba and Puerto Rico, unless they had beforehand guaranteed their key harbors to the Orient, and had established their 'interests in the Far East' that must henceforth be so preciously protected."

Wright cited Harvard historian Archibald C. Coolidge to the effect that, after the Spanish-American War, "it [the United States] was now in a situation, as well as in a mood, to take up the canal question with an energy it had never before shown."

Historian A.L.P. Dennis said, "The lessons of the Spanish-American War were clearly before the American people: a canal was an urgent necessity both from a naval and commercial point of view."

To fill this need, President Theodore Roosevelt appointed experts to investigate possible routes. Two federal commissions recommended building across Nicaragua.

But other factors colored Roosevelt's decision to opt for the Panama route.

An abortive attempt

In 1878 Colombia had contracted with private French capital to construct a canal across the Panamanian isthmus. Three years later a team headed by Ferdinand de Lesseps, who supervised the building of the Suez Canal, began work.

But insufficient funds, landslides, floods, and yellow fever plagued the effort. By 1889 the French company, which had sold much of its stock to American speculators, went bankrupt and was taken over by Philippe Bunau-Varilla.

One of the Americans who had invested heavily in the project was William Nelson Cromwell. Cromwell was the legal representative of the French company and the virtual head of the Panama Railroad and other U.S. interests in Panama. He reportedly led an intensive lobbying effort to influence Roosevelt's decision.

Meanwhile, in 1901 Washington extricated itself from the prohibition against "exclusive control" of a transisthmian canal. The Hay-Pauncefote Treaty with Britain reversed all but the neutrality provisions of the 1850 pact.

The following year, the U.S. Congress approved the purchase of the Panama concessions from the French company for not more than \$40 million, and Roosevelt offered to pay Bogotá \$10 million plus an annual rent on the canal.

The Colombian Senate demanded a large increase in the cash payment the country was to get from Washington and unanimously refused to ratify the Hay-Herrán Treaty, which would have formalized the deal.

The failure of the French effort also had repercussions inside Panama.

(Next: How the United States Stole Panama)



'Imperialism' a mural by Diego Rivera

Leaders default on strike threat

NY state workers accept sparse contract

By Roger Rudenstein

NEW YORK—In a mail vote conducted in early May, New York state employees voted 48,703 to 15,153 to accept the wage settlement offered by Gov. Hugh Carey.

Theodore Wenzl, president of the 145,000-member Civil Service Employees Association (CSEA), claimed that the new contract was a "victory for the union."

Governor Carey claimed a victory for his side as well.

Not only was there no strike, Carey said, but the new settlement is "well within the state's financial plan."

Carey's plan for New York State is to slash education, welfare, child care, and other social services. He is now applying this plan to the wages of state employees.

State workers haven't had a pay hike since 1974, when they received 5.5 percent. Since then the politicians in Albany have refused demands for higher wages. They offered instead a small one-time bonus of \$250 in 1975 and nothing in 1976.

Union officials report that 70 percent of state employees make less than \$10,000 a year.

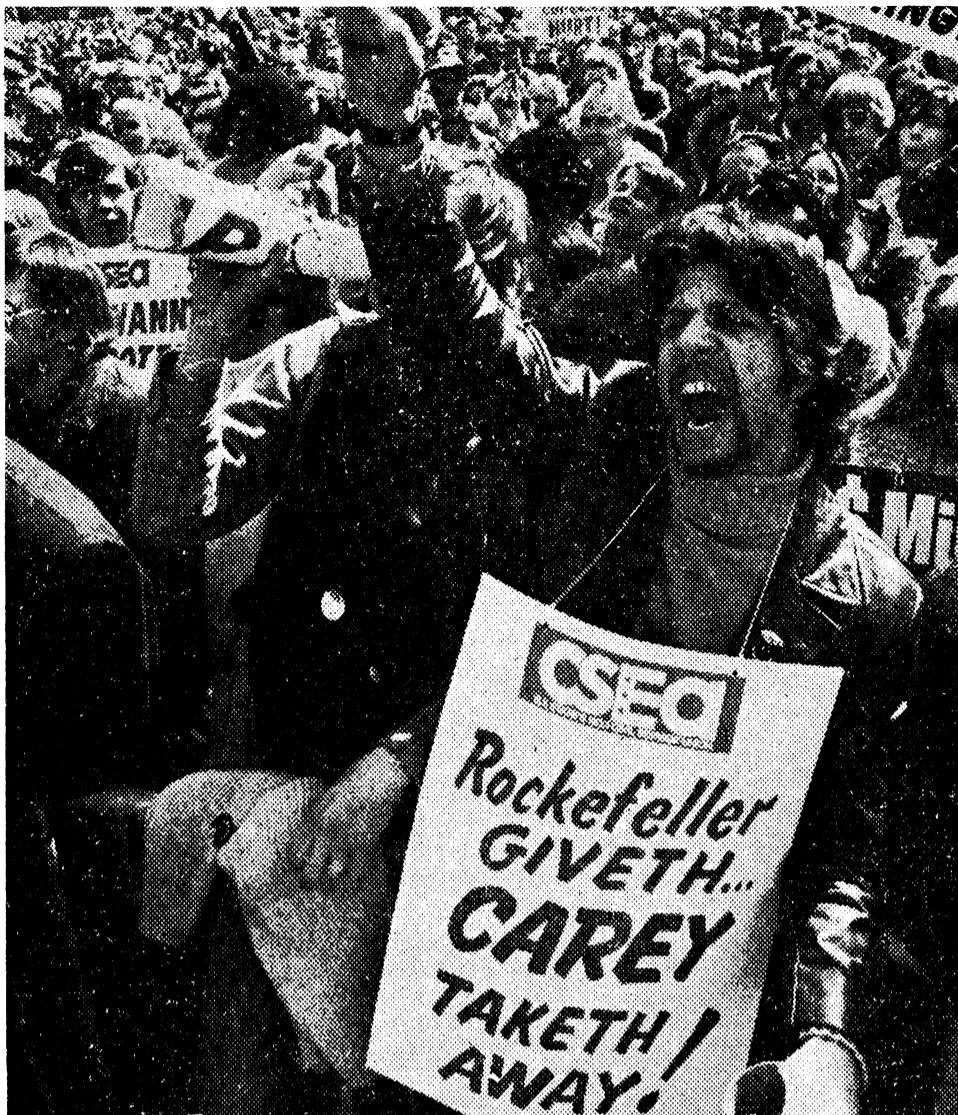
The new wage agreement will do little to improve the lot of state workers. It was touted in the *New York Times* and other papers as a whopping 14 percent raise over two years. But neither Carey nor Wenzl in their jubilant announcements mentioned it had a built-in kicker.

John Fairhall, a writer for the *Albany Times-Union*, described the kicker in an April 20 article titled "'Hidden' terms squeeze CSEA 'plum'." Fairhall noted that the agreement doesn't amend the salary schedule.

This is important because state workers are classified according to civil-service grades. Each grade has a so-called maximum salary level, which remains unchanged under the new contract. Current workers will get the 14 percent increase. But, Fairhall points out, "regulations won't allow any further increases past the maximum, not even the longevity increases [workers] would ordinarily receive."

In addition, workers hired after April 1, 1978, will not get any raise at all.

The disclosure of these hidden provisions caused a stir in the union. Some officials said that they wouldn't vote for the contract. A meeting of 2,000,



State workers demonstration in March 1975 combined contradiction of militancy and reliance on capitalist politicians.

called by the New York City chapter, voted against ratification. One thousand workers demonstrated at the union headquarters in Albany.

After this flurry of opposition, however, the contract was ratified by a mail vote of the membership. Why did the members approve it? The reasons lie in the CSEA's past record.

In 1975, under the impact of worsening economic conditions, with the state pleading lack of funds, the CSEA mobilized 25,000 workers to demonstrate in Albany for higher wages. CSEA leaders threatened a strike.

Support for a strike was high and prospects looked good for a showdown with Albany.

Instead of bringing the union out, Wenzl and the other CSEA officials

hesitated and postponed, pleading with the Democratic and Republican state politicians for a fair deal.

The result—state workers were forced to go without a wage increase for two more years.

When CSEA officials called a strike for April 18 this year, claiming they would "shut down New York," many union members were justifiably skeptical. They'd heard it before.

As the deadline approached some of the CSEA local leaders became worried about the state Taylor Law, which specifies fines and jail sentences for striking public employees.

Instead of appealing to the ranks of labor to back the CSEA against the antistrike law, CSEA officials in the Albany region announced plans to go

"underground."

Some claimed they would lead the strike by citizen's band radio from secret hideouts!

The day before the deadline the CSEA leadership called off the strike and urged the members to accept a last-minute settlement negotiated with Carey.

Instead of "shutting down New York" state workers were forced to make a choice: either accept the settlement with all its defects, or trust the union officials to lead a fight against Carey for a better deal. They voted to accept.

Like Victor Gotbaum and Albert Shanker in New York City, the CSEA misleaders place their faith in the Democratic and Republican politicians in Washington and Albany, not in the potential power of the union.

Unlike their counterparts in New York City, who are tied to the Democratic machine, Wenzl and his cronies have traditionally backed the Republicans. This difference is no difference for state workers.

State workers, like other workers, will win concessions only by mobilizing their independent strength in demonstrations and strikes. They will find reliable allies not among the capitalist politicians but among the victims of Carey's budget slashing: Blacks, Puerto Ricans, women, the elderly, and all who suffer from the cuts.

To do this state workers must first control their own union. One of the biggest problems in the CSEA is the lack of democratic control by the ranks.

For example, the New York chapter has not had a membership meeting in ten years.

Albert Meyer, an activist in the CSEA who is running for state executive committee, put it this way:

"The present leadership has not mobilized the ranks of our union. Instead of relying on labor's own independent power, they have relied on the enemies of state employees to help us out of this crisis."

"The only way state workers can fight back is to create a fighting union, democratically controlled by the ranks. Our union must fight for its members by involving state workers and all who suffer from the cutbacks in strikes and demonstrations to save and improve jobs, living standards, and social services."

High finance equals low pay for NYC unionists

By Lynn Henderson

NEW YORK—On May 28, New York City's Democratic party administration proudly announced that the city had survived its latest "financial crisis."

The municipal unions had agreed to lend the city \$385 million during June, on the terms demanded by Mayor Abraham Beame.

These loans are arranged through the purchase of city and Municipal Assistance Corporation (MAC) bonds by the unions' pension funds.

Back in September 1975, at the beginning of the "fiscal crisis," the union officials agreed to a schedule of bond purchases that committed them to loan the city a whopping \$13.5 billion by June 1978.

This made the municipal unions the city's largest creditor. In fact, since that time they have provided the city with the only new cash it has received.

This signals the success of the big New York banks in achieving one of their central goals in the so-called fiscal crisis. The banks have successfully abandoned their holdings in city bonds, at considerable profit, while the

unions have been maneuvered into purchasing them at considerable financial loss and risk.

The New York State Assembly's Office of Legislative Oversight and Analysis carried out a fifteen-month investigation into the role of New York City banks leading up to the fiscal crisis. The report has received little attention in the news media.

William Haddad, director of the investigation, charged that between October 1974 and March 1975 the city banks dumped between \$2 billion and \$2.5 billion in city bonds on the market at considerable profit.

"It appears," the report concluded, "that when the banks were no longer able to sell municipal securities from their own portfolios, they sounded the final alarm, citing saturation of the market and investor disinterest as factors in the crisis."

Eventually, 35 percent of union pension fund assets will be in city and MAC bonds.

The union bureaucrats are selling this policy to their memberships under the "equality of sacrifice" slogan. Everyone has to pull together to "save

the city," they claim.

But there is no equality of sacrifice.

Mayor Beame's new city budget extends the wage freeze for city employees, but provides hundreds of millions of dollars in tax cuts for the city's banks, big realtors and industrialists.

Even the unions' recent pathetic plea to at least be allowed to buy one-year and five-year city bonds instead of seven- and thirteen-year bonds was denied. Beame explained that the extra interest payments to the pension funds would endanger his promise to reduce real estate taxes in the 1977-78 budget.

The union misleaders in New York have voluntarily made the pension funds hostage to the fiscal crisis shell game. They tell union members to accept the continued wage freeze, more layoffs, and increased "productivity"—or face the consequences of default, which would wipe out their retirement security.

Municipal union leaders may have imagined that by becoming the city's largest creditors they would enter the secret world of high finance and acquire the power of bankers. They

forgot that all con games are based on making the sucker think he's the one turning a fast buck.

The real seat of financial power was again revealed when Mayor Beame asked the banks to extend the maturity dates on the city bonds they still hold in order to help balance the 1977-78 budget.

The bankers arrogantly responded that such action would be contingent on "resolution" of the city's civil lawsuit and legal charges against them for conspiring to dump city bonds in 1974-75.

Beame quickly caved in.

Despite occasional proclamations of their "faith in New York," the banks prove by their actions that they have no confidence in the city's future as a profitable investment. They anticipate a long-term decline in jobs and tax base.

This means a permanent crisis for working people in New York. It can never be reversed by trying to prop up a doomed financial structure—only by the independent mobilization of working people to fight for their own interests against the profiteers.

CBTU leaders duck Dem's strikebreaking

By John Hawkins

NEW YORK—Under the theme "The Challenge Ahead for Black Workers," 849 delegates and observers gathered here over the Memorial Day weekend for the sixth annual convention of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists.

The convention delegates, mostly lower-level union officials, needed little reminding of the urgent problems confronting Black workers. If any did, they got a sharp reminder from Atlanta public workers outside the convention auditorium selling T-shirts inscribed "Maynard's word is garbage"—a reference to how Mayor Maynard Jackson broke their recent strike.

The CBTU leadership, however, was not out to discuss the challenge ahead. While they treated the convention to an impressive array of invited speakers and periodic displays of militant rhetoric, they made sure that convention decisions remained within the framework of continued collaboration with the bosses and their two political parties, especially the Democrats.

The first day of the convention was consumed with speeches. Cleveland Robinson, CBTU first vice-president and president of the Distributive Workers of America, made opening remarks. Dennis Serrette, New York CBTU chairperson, followed with greetings from the host chapter.

Then Jerry Wurf, international president of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, delivered a wide-ranging address. Turning at one point to New York City's financial crisis, Wurf roared, "What's wrong with New York is bankers and corporations and all kinds of hustlers that are using the workers as scapegoats."

Wurf neglected to mention, however, that New York Mayor Abraham Beame is the political spearhead of this attack on the city's municipal workers. Nor did he breathe a word about Mayor Jackson's vicious crushing of the Atlanta sanitation workers' strike.

AFSCME locals in both cities went all out to elect these antilabor Democrats to office.

The afternoon session heard more

speeches. Leslie Harriman, Nigerian ambassador to the United Nations, and Drake Koka, an exiled leader of the Black Allied Workers Union of South Africa, urged the convention to support the liberation struggles in southern Africa.

Koka called for protests June 16 "to demonstrate solidarity with the Black students of South Africa." He also called on the American trade-union movement and the CBTU to boycott South African raw materials and commodities, and refuse to unload the racist regime's ships and planes.

The delegates also heard Benjamin Hooks, newly elected executive director of the NAACP.

The main speaker of the afternoon was William Lucy, CBTU president and international secretary-treasurer of AFSCME. Lucy reluctantly discussed the Atlanta strike defeat in his "Report from the President."

He revealed that he had promised Jackson not to make the mayor's strikebreaking an issue at the convention. In return the mayor would refrain from interfering in the gathering.

But, Lucy explained, each member of the CBTU Executive Council had received a letter signed by three Atlanta preachers urging them not to sully Jackson's image, along with a resolution to the same effect.

Piqued by this breach of promise, Lucy lambasted Jackson to the applause of the delegates and declared, "We will have a union in Atlanta."

But he stopped short of recommending action by the CBTU or explaining how AFSCME planned to rebuild the Atlanta union.

During workshop discussions the second day of the convention, several delegates suggested that the CBTU reexamine its political strategy in light of the Atlanta strike defeat.

In the organization workshop Larry Stewart, a New Jersey Teamster and member of the Socialist Workers party, pointed out that "the whole question of organization today is a political one. To hide that fact from ourselves is to be dishonest with ourselves and, moreover, with the people we're trying to organize."

"If we're serious about organizing



Militant/John Hawkins

CBTU President William Lucy

Blacks and the unorganized," he said, "then this convention has got to consider the independent political organization of labor, and not go along with the mainstream of the labor movement in hustling votes for the Democrats and Republicans."

Several delegates in the political action workshop expressed the same opinion. Many delegates also spoke of the need for demonstrations, boycotts, and pickets to implement the CBTU's stands, especially the fight for jobs.

A number of delegates in the organization workshop pointed to the need for the CBTU to broaden itself beyond union officials. They argued for making the CBTU a coalition of rank-and-file Black caucuses in local unions on a city-by-city basis.

Most of these suggestions, however, were eliminated from workshop reports presented to the evening plenary session. Instead, the reports dwelt extensively on how to carry out successful lobbying campaigns and Democratic party electioneering.

By the final day of the convention most of the delegates had departed. Those still there adopted some significant resolutions reflecting the concerns of Black workers.

The convention voted to back pregnancy disability benefits and to affiliate with the National Campaign to End Discrimination Against Pregnant Workers, a coalition of women's groups, civil rights organizations, and unions pushing for legislation to end such discrimination. It also went on record in support of the Equal Rights Amendment and expanded child-care.

Resolutions were also adopted in support of the Wilmington Ten, in defense of undocumented workers, for Black majority rule in Zimbabwe, and in support of the J.P. Stevens boycott.

But no plan of action was hammered out to implement these decisions.

On the key issue of unemployment the main activity outlined was a stepped-up lobbying campaign for passage of the Humphrey-Hawkins bill, a phony jobs bill that would not begin to dent unemployment.

A resolution on South Africa was tabled to be reworked by CBTU officers. The coalition leadership objected to a section that called "for the United States to break all diplomatic, military, economic, cultural and sporting relations with the South African government. . . ."

Continued on page 30

Behind conviction of Boston racist

'We proved Black rights can be defended'

By Maceo Dixon

BOSTON—When Dan Yotts was convicted for attacking a march for Black majority rule in South Africa, as reported in last week's *Militant*, it was extraordinary here in Boston. White racists generally go free after attacking Blacks in this city.

Yotts, an ex-cop, is a well-known leader of the local antibusing movement. He is a member of ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights) and the South Boston Marshals Association. He has been a columnist for the racist rag, the *South Boston Tribune*.

Yotts was one of thirty racist thugs who attacked the March 26 demonstration for Black majority rule in South Africa. Yotts repeatedly shoved Robb Wright, a leader of the Socialist Workers party and chief defense marshal at the March 26 demonstration. Wright filed assault charges against Yotts.

Yotts claimed that he had been in town shopping with his wife when he was attacked by the demonstrators. He tried to trump up charges that Wright had spread-eagled him against a car and beaten him with a bullhorn.

At the trial Yotts's lawyer, State Rep. Michael Flaherty (D-South Boston), tried to portray his client as a victim.

"Are you asking the court to believe that Mr. Yotts was running amok attacking 300 people in full view of mounted police, walking patrolmen, and a police captain, and they didn't arrest anyone?" he asked Wright.

"Yes," answered Wright, "I want the court to believe that and no one was arrested."

When Wright had asked Boston police officer William Smith to arrest the racist attackers, Smith had said he had "no authority to do anything."

Flaherty objected when Wright's attorney, William Homans, introduced testimony by this reporter to describe the racist character of the attackers. But the judge allowed my testimony.

I described the attackers to the court. The thugs had shouted, "Niggers go home!" "Bus 'em back to Africa!" "We're against Black majority rule—we're for white minority rule!"

The attackers had worn green shamrocks. A number of them had identified themselves as from "Southie," and some had worn "Southie" T-shirts.

The municipal court judge found Wright innocent and Yotts guilty. Yotts has appealed the ruling and asked for a jury trial.

After the May 31 trial Wright pointed to some lessons of the successful conviction of Yotts.

"It was the cool heads and strict self-discipline of the demonstrators that prevented the racists from breaking up the March 26 demonstration," Wright told the *Militant*. "It was the quick reaction by the victims in filing charges that put Yotts and his gang on the defensive."

"We proved that we have the right to hold legal, peaceful activities anywhere in this city in support of Black rights in South Africa and here," Wright said. "We have to continue to demand that Mayor Kevin White uphold the law to respect the rights of Black people."

800 segregationists rally

By Lee Artz

BOSTON—The racist South Boston Marshals sponsored an antibusing march of 800 demonstrators here May 22.

The "Family March Against Forced Busing," as it was called, heard Democratic party politicians urge the racists to continue resisting desegregation. Speakers included State Sen. William Bulger, State Rep. Raymond Flynn, City Councilor Albert "Dapper" O'Neil, School Committeewoman Elvira "Pixie" Palladino, and James Kelly of the South Boston Information Center.

The demonstrators included twenty-two segregationists from Louisville, members of the so-called

National Organization to Restore and Preserve Freedom.

Earlier in the day the Kentucky contingent poured red liquid into Boston Harbor to symbolize, they said, "the blood of innocent children that will be shed this year in accidents caused by forced busing."

Nancy Yotts, wife of the racist recently convicted for attacking antiapartheid demonstrators, announced that the National Association of Neighborhood Schools now has twenty-eight chapters and is campaigning for a constitutional amendment against busing.

This was the largest racist action since the "Father's March" in South Boston last spring.

Fed wants to keep mum

Stolen goods turn up in Detroit police, FBI files

By Diane Wang

Detroit police may have actually committed a 1971 burglary of the Socialist Workers party that they claimed they were trying to solve. Evidence released by the SWP June 10 shows that the Detroit red squad put material stolen from the SWP into police files only four days after the socialist headquarters was burglarized.

Unlike other Detroit police files recently obtained by the SWP through a local lawsuit, the records relating to the stolen SWP material were marked "RESTRICTED."

The SWP had already learned through its lawsuit against the FBI that some of the stolen documents ended up in the hands of the FBI.

How did the police and FBI get the socialists' files? Who stole the records—the cops? the FBI? some right-wing thug? an informer? That is still a question to be tackled when attorneys for the socialists question police and FBI officials under oath later this month.

On October 31, 1971, someone broke into the Detroit SWP headquarters. The burglar made off with mailing lists, financial records, and lists of members and contributors. The original, and only, copy of a letter of resignation from Norma Jean Lodico was taken.

The socialists called the police, but the cops never did catch the thief or recover the stolen files.

At least that's what the cops claimed.

Now police records made public by a suit against Michigan's state police show that just four days after the

burglary the cops took possession of at least some of the stolen SWP records.

The police files note that the records were "obtained from a confidential source." Revelations from other red squad and FBI files show this to be standard lingo for burglaries and other illegal tactics.

The stolen SWP files were not simply tucked away in the Detroit red squad records. Within weeks of the burglary SWP members and supporters of the socialist election campaign whose names had been on the stolen lists were visited and called by the FBI.

Two years later, in 1973, when Lodico was working as a librarian in the U.S. Interior Department, her letter of resignation turned up in a Civil Service Commission dossier. The Civil Service challenged Lodico to show that she did not advocate "the overthrow of the constitutional form of government of the United States by force or violence or other unlawful means." (A U.S. Senate investigation of intelligence agencies noted that the SWP has never broken any laws.)

When the SWP's lawyers asked the Civil Service Commission where it got the Lodico letter, officials answered, "From the Federal Bureau of Investigation."

The SWP is still trying to find out the full story behind the 1971 burglary. After seeing the Detroit police files, attorneys for the SWP's \$40 million lawsuit against government harassment subpoenaed police officials to answer questions about the Detroit theft and use of the stolen files. The sworn testimony will be taken June 29.

The FBI said that Special Agent

Zachary Lowe was best qualified to answer questions about how the FBI got the Lodico letter. Apparently, however, Lowe thought his answers could result in criminal charges. His lawyer informed the SWP's attorneys that Lowe planned to take advantage of his Fifth Amendment right against self-incrimination.

Attorneys for the SWP will question Lowe's former supervisor on June 30.

The socialists have also sent the evidence of police and FBI complicity in the Detroit burglary to the Justice Department, charging that the government has an obligation to investigate. The Justice Department Civil Rights Division is currently investigating a few of the FBI's most flagrant crimes.

Syd Stapleton, national secretary of the Political Rights Defense Fund, the group organizing support for the SWP lawsuit, commented:

"A political burglary, exactly like the one at the Watergate, has taken place with the knowledge and perhaps even the encouragement of the FBI and Detroit police.

"When crimes like this go unpunished, it becomes very plain that the government and the police are the last people in the world to take a stand for democratic rights.

"How many more burglaries and other crimes lie buried in police and FBI files?" Stapleton asked. "The American people have a right to learn—by inspecting the files of these agencies for themselves."

Political Rights Defense Fund



The Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance have sued the government for an end to spying and disruption. This lawsuit has exposed FBI and CIA attacks against democratic rights.

More than 400 notable supporters of civil liberties are sponsoring the Political Rights Defense Fund, the group organizing support for the lawsuit.

If you would like to be a sponsor of the Political Rights Defense Fund, return this coupon to PRDF, Box 649, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

☐ Please add my name as a sponsor of the Political Rights Defense Fund.

☐ Enclosed is a contribution of

\$ _____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Organization (for identification only) _____

Signature _____

Bigots pick up Miami cue, attack gay rights

By Diane Wang

Anita Bryant has threatened to spread her antigay "Save Our Children" campaign across the country. "It won't stop here in Florida," she vows. "We're setting up to go nationally."

It was not an empty threat. Recent stirrings in several cities show that bigots aroused by Bryant's crusade are eager to move against gay rights.

A group calling itself the National American Party for Manhood has started distributing leaflets in a Los Angeles suburb urging capital punishment for homosexuals.

Antidiscrimination bills recently died in the Minnesota and Washington legislatures.

A federal judge ruled May 27 that the navy has a right to exclude homosexuals. Vernon Berg had been discharged from the navy because he was gay a year after he graduated from the Naval Academy in Annapolis. Berg sued the navy on the basis of his right to freedom of association and right to privacy.

U.S. District Court Judge Gerhard Gesell ruled that "an individual's right to privacy does not extend to homosexual conduct. . . ." Gesell is the same judge who ruled that the air force could exclude homosexuals in the case brought by former Sgt. Leonard Matlovich.

Chicago

The May 15-17 *Chicago Tribune* tried to whip up an antigay hysteria with a front-page series supposedly targeting child pornography. The *Tribune* ignored the fact that most child porno-



graphy is made for heterosexuals. Instead the paper equated child pornography with homosexuality.

"A nationwide homosexual ring with headquarters in Chicago has been trafficking in young boys," began one sensationalized story.

The city council responded by inviting Anita Bryant to testify at special hearings on child pornography.

The hysteria also helped defeat the first gay rights bill discussed and voted on in the Illinois legislature. On May 21 a bill that would have prohibited discrimination against gays in public and university housing was defeated by a vote of 114 to 38.

In response to the attacks, some 150

supporters of gay rights picketed the Chicago City Council May 24. On May 28, 150 rallied.

An editorial in the *Chicago Gay Life* paper urged support for the gay rights campaign in Miami and unity in building Chicago's Gay/Lesbian Pride week. "The time to stop this anti-gay activity is now," the editorial urged, "before there is a chapter of the Save Our Children organization in Chicago. . . ."

Seattle

Pointing with approval to Bryant's campaign, the local CBS TV and radio station, KIRO, editorialized against gay rights for four days, May 16-19.

The editorials by KIRO President Lloyd Cooney attacked Seattle's Fair Housing and Employment Ordinance passed by the city council in 1975.

This spring has already seen defeats for gay rights in Washington. The state legislature defeated a gay rights bill. A court upheld the firing of a gay teacher in Tacoma for "immoral activity."

A May 19 picket at KIRO drew about 300 gay rights supporters.

Margaret Trowe, Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor, issued a statement pointing out that "the same reactionary forces that are attacking the rights of homosexuals are also attacking the rights of women and Blacks."

The Washington Coalition for Sexual Minority Rights has called a march and rally in Seattle June 25 to focus attention on the need for full social and civil liberties for homosexuals.

Atlanta

By Brian Riffert

ATLANTA—The Brookvalley Church of God and the Christian Broadcasting Network sponsored an antigay conference here May 28. "The 'Gay Movement' is rampant in metro Atlanta with over 200,000 involved," said the church's conference invitation. "'Gays' promise that Atlanta is their next target city."

A Memphis psychologist told the conference that homosexuality is due to satanic activity and Communist influence. In case superstition and red-baiting were not enough, he added a racist barb, warning that "Africa is on the rise while the West is morally declining."

The supposed psychologist suggested that "unrepentant" homosexuals be punished according to Biblical laws. The Old Testament calls for stoning homosexuals to death.

Some fifty persons organized by Atlanta's Gay Rights Alliance attended the conference and picketed outside. "Rights, not cures," the pickets demanded, "Full civil liberties for homosexuals."

The May 28 picket capped a week of activity in support of gay rights here. About 35 people attended a Militant Bookstore Forum for gay rights at the Metropolitan Community Church. A meeting at Emory University drew 40 people to hear a representative from the Boston Alliance for Human Rights. And about 250 people attended a benefit to raise money for a June 25 demonstration.

Pitt. socialist: unions should forge a labor party

By Susie Beck

PITTSBURGH—"The people of Pittsburgh are being blackmailed," charges Howard "Buddy" Beck, the Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor here.

Beck, a shop steward in Lodge 2321 of the International Association of Machinists, accuses the steel industry of holding "a gun" to the heads of Pittsburgh workers.

"Edgar Speer, chairman of U.S. Steel, says his company must get price increases and get rid of pollution control regulations or else there will be no steel produced in Pittsburgh by the end of the century," Beck says.

"And a recent meeting of coal companies here sent the American people a similar message," Beck goes on.

"They said they had to get big incentives for increasing coal production—including the lifting of strip-mining regulations and the curbing of the United Mine Workers' struggle for safe conditions in the mines—or else they will not produce

enough coal to meet the country's needs.

"These corporations," Beck says, "are giving us and our families an ultimatum of choosing between working and living under unsafe and cancerous environmental conditions or not working at all.

"These threats," the socialist candidate explains, "are in line with efforts by the corporations and the Democratic and Republican party politicians who serve them to drive down the standard of living of the American working people.

"The Democrats and Republicans say working people must lower our demands for better wages and job conditions or else we will be responsible for driving industry out of Pittsburgh. Their message is clear: 'Work harder, but expect less.'

"And the situation for Blacks and women is especially bad," Beck adds. "The hard-won gains of these groups have come under the sharpest attack.

"The rich have two parties to carry forward their antilabor, anti-Black,

antiwomen offensive. But who will represent the majority of us, the working people?" Beck asks.

He says his campaign as the SWP candidate will offer the workers of Pittsburgh a genuine alternative in the November 1 election.

By voting for the SWP, Beck says, "working people can show their support for the idea that they want a new kind of party to represent them—a mass independent labor party based on the power of the trade unions.

"Pittsburgh has a strong union movement with a long and rich tradition of struggles," he adds, "but our present leaders have chained the labor movement to the political parties of the bosses.

"Wouldn't it make more sense," Beck asks, "for the unions themselves to run a slate of labor candidates, candidates who are really *ours*, instead of wasting our dues and other resources on friends of big business like Democratic mayoral front-runner Thomas Foerster?"

Beck says such a party could fight for jobs for all by demanding a cut in

the work week with no cut in pay. It could demand genuine cost-of-living clauses to protect our wages from inflation.

"It could organize to fight discrimination against Blacks and women," the socialist candidate says.

"And it could answer the threats of the steel companies and coal companies by demanding that they be nationalized and placed under workers management to be run for human need instead of profit," he adds.

Beck will be the first socialist candidate on the Pittsburgh ballot in more than thirty years.

The SWP is also running for city council Tania Shai, a twenty-four-year-old teacher from the Homewood-Brushton section of Pittsburgh and a member of the National Organization for Women; Thomas Twiss, a twenty-eight-year-old member of the Union of Graduate Employees division of the Pitt Professional Union/AFT; and Ruth Robinett, thirty-one, the chairperson of the Pittsburgh SWP.

Be 'part of the process'

By Bob Kissinger

CHICAGO—Marie Cobbs has been working on the Committee for the Equal Rights Amendment here throughout the winter and spring. A thirty-nine-year-old hospital worker, she is a member of the committee's Black task force.

So when Cobbs went to the recent conference of the National Organization for Women in Detroit, she had a particular concern.

"I was interested to see what NOW would propose in order to defend the rights of Black women," she said.

"Throughout the convention I saw women, many of whom belong to the

na. The socialists invited Thomas to the meeting, along with several other *Militant* subscribers.

Thomas did more than just attend the Tyler meeting. Afterward she was interested enough to take the twenty-hour bus trip to Boston for the national conference of the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR) in November.

When she returned to Chicago, Thomas decided to also join the SWP. Now she is a member of the branch's executive committee.

"I've been involved in community organizations for years, from the Westside Organization to the PTA," Thomas explained. "But I've come to discover that for there to be real solutions to community problems there must be political solutions. That is, we have to oppose the Democrats and Republicans.

"I think the ideas of socialism will spread quickly among Black people if we take the time to explain them," she said. "I want to be part of this process."

Many people have decided they want "to be part of this process" recently. Some attended a series of classes for new and potential SWP members that the branch held at its headquarters and in people's homes.

The classes started out with "What is Socialism," and branched out into such topics as "Black Liberation and Socialism," "Liberalism, Ultraleftism, versus Mass Action," "Stalinism," "What is the SWP," and "The Transitional Program."

One person who attended the classes is Tony Travis, president of the Black Student Organization and an activist in the NSCAR campaign to get the U.S. out of southern Africa.

Others who have joined the SWP recently include John Milton, a founding member of the Westside Organization; Eleanor McKinney, a clerical worker with five children; Linn Norris, a high school student; and Lucho Castillo, a college student.

In fact, in the last seven months thirteen people have become provisional members in the Chicago Westside branch. Provisional membership gives people a three-month period to become familiar with the SWP before finally deciding to join.

If you are interested in joining the SWP contact the SWP branch nearest you, listed on page 31. Or write to the SWP National Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Texas march demands 'Free Oliver Lee Davis'



Waxahachie's 'first civil rights demonstration' May 29

By Bill Ruppert

WAXAHACHIE, Texas—Two hundred demonstrators came to this small town twenty miles south of Dallas May 29 to protest the racist frame-up of Oliver Lee Davis, a young Black man from Dallas.

The mile-long march was the first civil rights demonstration ever held in Waxahachie. More than sixty police watched as protesters sang "We Shall Overcome" and chanted, "Free, free, free Oliver Davis!"

Three years ago Davis was an all-city basketball star about to enroll in one of the twenty-three colleges that had offered him a scholarship.

But on August 23, 1974, Davis hitched a ride with two acquaintances. They did not tell him they were planning to rob a store near Waxahachie. All three were arrested. Although both Davis's acquaintances and the store clerk testified to Davis's innocence, he was convicted for the robbery.

Once in prison, Oliver was charged, along with three other prisoners, with sexually assaulting a white prisoner. Again, although the victim and two of the other accused prisoners testified to

Davis's innocence, an all-white jury found him guilty.

Davis was given a ninety-nine-year sentence on July 25, 1975.

The Dallas Black community was outraged. Thousands signed petitions demanding Davis's freedom. A defense committee was formed, with the support of prominent Black leaders. Mal Goode of the National Black Network News; Rev. Marshall Hodge of the Dallas NAACP; and State Representatives Paul Ragsdale, Eddie Bernice Johnson, and Sam Hudson are among the Davis defense supporters.

The Waxahachie march capped a week of activity organized by the Oliver Lee Davis Defense Committee. A motorcade of more than thirty cars wound its way slowly through the Dallas community May 21. Radio station KNOK, a popular Black station in Dallas, cosponsored the motorcade.

Sixty people attended a benefit rally at the Carver Heights Baptist Church in Dallas May 27 and raised \$1,100.

Attorney James Johnson has filed an appeal on behalf of Davis with the Texas Court of Criminal Appeals in Austin.

JOINING THE SWP

Socialist Workers party, being attacked simply because they proposed that NOW take a clear position in support of the struggle for Black women's rights.

"This is what tipped the scales for me," Cobbs said. "It just made me all the more want to be associated with the people proposing the resolution on women of the oppressed nationalities. That's why I joined the SWP."

Cobbs had worked with women who were SWP members on the ERA committee. That's why she dismissed attacks on the SWP at the NOW conference as red-baiting—she knew the socialists worked hard to win women's rights.

Edna Thomas, another new member, joined because of the SWP's work in the antiracist struggle. Thomas, a thirty-four-year-old mother of six, first heard of the SWP when she subscribed to the *Militant*.

George Basley, organizer of the SWP's Westside Chicago branch, explained that in last fall's *Militant* subscription drive the socialists had met many people like Hall. "The branch sold most of its subscriptions right around the headquarters. We recorded who the most interested subscribers were and made a point of returning to visit these people again with information about our political activities," Basley said.

That's how Thomas heard about a Chicago meeting for Juanita Tyler, the mother of the Black high school student framed for murder in Louisiana.

The Zionist bulldozer in Jerusalem

David Frankel of the Militant Washington Bureau recently returned from Israel where he spent several weeks prior to the elections.

By David Frankel

JERUSALEM—A stone wall, about twenty-five to thirty feet high, completely surrounds the Old City of Jerusalem. Built by the Turks 400 years ago, the wall dampens the noise from the traffic outside. Within the Old City, narrow, winding streets sometimes turn into stairways or covered arcades. Arab shopkeepers hawk their wares from cubicles that have been used for centuries.

Israeli forces conquered the Old City just ten years ago, on June 7, 1967. According to a propaganda brochure handed out by the Israeli government: "On 28 June 1967 Israel declared the city [of Jerusalem] united, granting its Arab citizens equal rights. Barbed wire and no-man's land gave way to new gardens and wide roads, and the people of Jerusalem mingled in an atmosphere of friendship and good neighbourliness."

Unfortunately, the real situation is not quite that idyllic. On the eve of the recent celebrations marking the twenty-ninth anniversary of the founding of the Israeli state, for example, the Old City was surrounded by troops with riot gear and M-16 rifles. I watched them at the Jaffa Gate, nervously toying with the clubs and guns, waiting for a chance to teach the Arabs a lesson in "good neighbourliness."

A bitter joke

To Palestinian residents of the Old City, the claim of the Israeli regime that they have equal rights must sound like a bitter joke indeed. Many of the Palestinians living in the Old City came there as refugees in 1948, having been driven out of their original homes by Zionist forces during the establishment of the Israeli state. Later, their lands were taken over by Jewish settlers and they were barred from returning. Today, the Israeli regime is attempting to repeat this process within the Old City by driving

out the Palestinians living in the city's Jewish Quarter.

The process of pushing the Palestinian population out of the Jewish Quarter began immediately after the conquest of the Old City. Amal Moghrabi, a young teacher who lives with her mother, two sisters, a brother, and an aunt in two small rooms, described her experience.

"They [the Israeli forces] entered the Old City on Wednesday, June 7, and on Saturday, at 7:00 p.m., after the Sabbath was over, they began to knock down houses. In the morning all the ninety houses around us were gone. One belonged to an old woman who couldn't talk or hear, and they blew up her house with her in it.

"We left our house that day because we thought it would be blown up. After two months we returned, but then they began to ask for our house, so we went to court."

The case dragged on until the end of 1976. "At the beginning they offered compensation, but then you must give up all claim to the house," Amal explained. "We all agreed to refuse any compensation or any house outside of Jerusalem."

"We hoped that the judge would be a good man, but he said we must leave because the place is a holy place for Jews. How could Arabs live on this holy land?" (Amal's house was about 100 yards from the Wailing Wall.)

In the end, Amal and her family got nothing for their house. "Because we lost our court case, they said we must give them rent for our own house for the last three months and pay the court costs. But we didn't give them one agora [penny]."

It was an eloquent commentary on the "equal rights" supposedly guaranteed the Palestinians who have had Israeli citizenship conferred upon them that Amal at first requested not to be identified. She changed her mind only after her anger was aroused by retelling her story.

A similar gesture of defiance was made by Hassan Mughrabi. Hassan and his family have suffered from frequent harassment by the authorities because of their political activism, but he dismissed the suggestion that it would be better to remain anonymous



Israeli bulldozer at work in Magharba Quarter of Jerusalem beside the Aksa Mosque, the second holiest place in the Islamic religion. The Zionists destroyed hundreds of Arab homes here to clear space around the nearby Wailing Wall.

with a smile and a wave of his hand.

Over lunch, Hassan described how the fourteen people in his family were thrown into the street in 1967. The family's house, which had been bought by Hassan's grandfather almost ninety years earlier, was destroyed with all the furniture inside. "Not only our house, but all the houses around it," he stressed.

A man with a loudspeaker came in the middle of the day and announced that they were demolishing the houses. The soldiers came behind him with the bulldozer. Some people tried to take their furniture out of the houses, but when they came down the rubble buried the furniture that had been put in the street."

When I asked how many people had lived in the houses around him, Hassan replied, "I have no idea how many were pushed out, but there were too many."

Catch-22

What about compensation?

"They gave us 2,000 [Israeli] lira for one or two years rent, and 1,000 lira for the furniture," Hassan replied. (This was worth about \$830 at that time.)

Hassan continued: "We were told that this was temporary compensation and that new houses would be built. Then they forgot about it. If people go now and ask what happened to the new houses, they are told that the legal time limit for such applications has expired. But before that, they kept telling people to wait, so they waited till the time limit was over."

For those who objected to this Catch-22 setup, other alternatives were available. "They also offered to loan me money to buy a new home," Hassan recalled, "but that would mean that me and my children would be dead before we would own our own home again."

Finally, "they offered land in Khana al-Akhmar that they had confiscated from other Arabs. They just want us out of Jerusalem. Maybe in five years there won't be any Arabs here."

Hassan, however, intends to stay in the Old City as long as he can.

Israeli authorities make no secret of their intentions. The government has established a Company for the Rehabilitation and Development of the Jewish Quarter in the Old City of Jerusalem.

"Since the company was established

it has had several managers," Yehiel Limor reported in the February 25 issue of the Israeli daily *Ma'ariv*, "but its goals have remained the same: to evict the Arab inhabitants and to populate the rebuilt quarter with Jewish inhabitants."

Some of the Palestinians living in the quarter have proved "stubborn," Limor reported. But in such cases, "It was enough that one of their neighbors be evicted—walls would be knocked down, staircases would be destroyed, and the entrances to the apartment would be blocked."

The racism behind this project was, if possible, made even more clear when an Arab family living in the Jewish Quarter since 1947 asked to buy one of the newly built homes there as a replacement for its confiscated house. Minister of Housing Avraham Ofer, who recently committed suicide under the pressure of a financial scandal, declared: "This is the Jewish Quarter, and only Jews shall live here!"

It is worth noting that Ofer was one of the most "dovish" officials in the Labor party government. But his exclamation, when applied to Israel as a whole, is a capsule description of Zionism, and it is the real basis for the conflict between Israel and the Arabs.

Israeli human rights crimes

By Peter Seidman

Two prominent defenders of Palestinian rights met with State Department and National Security Council officials May 31 to protest what they termed "a cover-up of human rights violations committed by Israel against the Palestinian people."

The two, Detroit attorney Abdeen Jabara and Dr. James Zogby, vice-president of the Association of Arab-American University Graduates, presented a "memorandum of response" countering a State Department "Human Rights Report" on Israel released in March.

The State Department report was issued to clear the way for U.S. military and economic aid to Israel. U.S. laws require that recipients of such aid not violate government-determined human rights standards.

Jabara and Zogby noted that the State Department admits in its report that Israel has been guilty of

the demolition of the family homes of "security" suspects, of summary deportations, of brutal attacks on Arab demonstrations, and of lengthy imprisonment of Palestinian administrative detainees without trial or charges.

The State Department's report, however, covers up even more brutal features of Israeli treatment of the Palestinians, Jabara and Zogby charged.

Their "memorandum of response" cites reports issued by Amnesty International, the International Committee of the Red Cross, and the United Nations Special Committee on Human Rights. These reports document a "systematic Israeli policy of torture and ill-treatment of Palestinian prisoners and detainees."

For a copy of the "memorandum of response," write: Abdeen Jabara, 658 Pallister, Detroit, Michigan 48202.

Begin moves into Old City

In early June Menachem Begin began moving his private residence from Jerusalem's Jewish sector into the Arab Old City that has become the target of the Zionist bulldozer.

As the leader of the victorious Likud bloc in Israel's recent election, Begin is slated to become the next prime minister.

His decision to move into this area demonstrates the commitment of Zionist leaders to press ahead with Israel's drive to build illegal settlements and expel Arabs from the territories it has occupied since the June 1967 war.

Claim antibusing 'mandate'

Segregationists win in L.A. school board voting

By Joanie Quinn

LOS ANGELES—School board elections held here May 31 registered a victory for antibusing forces.

Elected to the board was Bobbi Fiedler, executive director of the segregationist outfit Bustop. Claiming a membership of 65,000-70,000, concentrated in the affluent, predominantly white San Fernando Valley, Bustop's stated purpose is to prevent "forced busing of school children and to preserve the neighborhood school system."

Ousted by Fiedler was Robert Docter, one of two probusing members of the board. A low voter turnout of less than 30 percent in the school board

race gave Fiedler an edge, as busing foes mobilized for the election.

Probusing forces found little inspiration in the Docter campaign. Docter has defended the board's conservative record on all questions except busing. As a "loyal oppositionist," he has done next to nothing to help mobilize independent Black and Chicano community support for desegregation.

Yet in spite of the low turnout at the polls, the election of Fiedler—a leader of the city's antibusing organization—was a victory for the racists, a fact they were quick to seize on. Fiedler posed for cameras, cradling in her arms a giant paddle given to her by campaign supporters.

For supporters of desegregation, the paddle aptly summarized Fiedler's racist outlook on education.

Commenting on her victory, Fiedler stated, "I hope the judge [in the desegregation case now in court] will take the election as a mandate" against busing.

Fiedler went on to promise an effort in the 1979 elections to rid the board of all remaining proponents of school desegregation. Antibusing forces are coupling this strategy with plans for court appeals and an amendment to the California constitution to prohibit busing for purposes of desegregation.

Such an amendment was submitted the day following the election by State Sen. Alan Robbins, who was defeated earlier this spring in his bid for mayor of Los Angeles.

In the other runoff election for school board, Rita Walters, a young Black woman who advocated stepped-up desegregation, was defeated by incumbent Richard Ferraro.

Ferraro's margin of victory, however, was lessened considerably by recent revelations that he had been submitting and voting on contracts for a school equipment supplier who also has been supplying the funding for Ferraro's professorship at Pepperdine University.

Mark Allen's city council bid

Was CP's Berkeley campaign independent?

By Harry Ring and Anne Chase

(Second of two articles)

BERKELEY, Calif.—In our first article, we discussed how Berkeley Citizens Action, a left Democratic party formation, was defeated in the April 19 municipal elections by the Berkeley Democratic Club, a more traditional machine.

We also discussed the campaign of Mark Allen of the Communist party, who ran for the city council as an independent.

As in the 1975 campaign, when he also ran for the council, Allen's name had been put forward at the BCA nominating convention last January. Again, he won a majority of the votes. But both times he fell short of the two-thirds required for nomination.

At the January convention, incumbent Ying Lee Kelley was nominated along with Margot Dashiell and Veronica Fukson. All are active Democrats. The BCA's Third World Caucus brought in Allen's name for the fourth spot.

Ilona Hancock, a current BCA city council member, asserted the slate would be "unelectable" with a known member of the Communist party on it. She threatened to break with the BCA. Kelley and Dashiell also indicated they would decline if Allen was put on the slate.

Some BCA activists, seeking to break the grip of the "moderates" in the coalition, assailed Kelley and Dashiell for refusing to run on the same ticket with Allen.

No 'ultraleft' he

But Allen took the floor to ask that his name not be used to attack other nominees.

Finally there was a compromise. The BCA nominated only three candidates. It was generally understood that for the fourth place, the "moderates" would support their initial choice, Richard Wilms, and the "radicals" would opt for Allen.

Wilms soon dropped out, leaving Allen as a kind of unofficial BCA candidate.

Following this compromise, the CP's weekly *People's World* felt the need to deny a deal.

An April 9 article by *PW* Executive Editor Carl Bloice declared:

"Because candidate Allen has attracted support from a variety of places and because some of that support has come from more traditional Democratic quarters in the Black community, in recent weeks he has

been the object of a deceitful rumor campaign alleging 'deals' at the expense of the progressives. No deals have been made, Allen says, and there haven't even been any discussions which might have led to deals."

Throughout the campaign, however, Allen walked carefully to avoid any needless toe-treading. He urged people to vote the BCA ticket and was careful not to embarrass it or to sound too "far out."

Although his printed platform touched on a number of issues, in campaign appearances Allen usually limited himself to much the same issues as the BCA—rent control, tenants' rights, and traffic. He also came out foursquare against McDonald's moving into Berkeley.

A narrow horizon

Throughout the campaign, Allen avoided significant national issues of clear concern to Berkeley voters, such as the Equal Rights Amendment (which the CP opposes), abortion rights, and like issues.

Nowhere did Allen mention the need to develop an independent working-class party, let alone the need for socialism.

Allen's emphasis was completely on "local" issues. Apart from his political affiliation, he was scarcely distinguishable from a liberal Berkeley Democrat.

This is nothing new for the CP—either nationally or here in Berkeley.

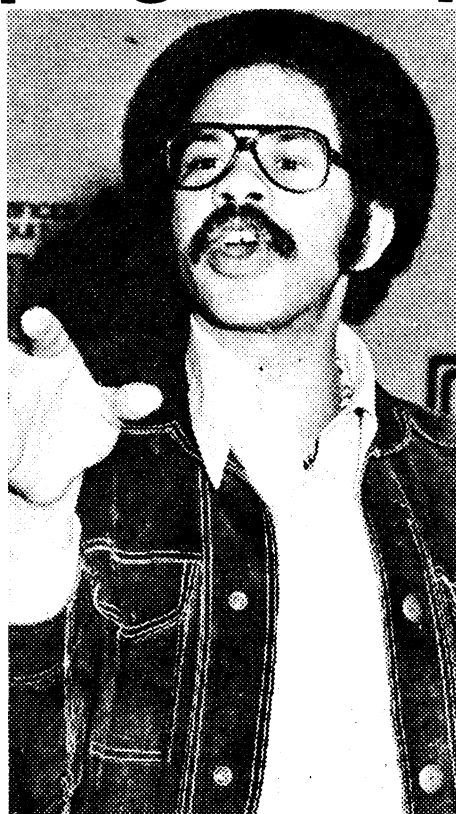
The CP has been a consistent supporter of the BCA and its predecessor, the April Coalition. To the extent that the CP has ever differed with the April Coalition or BCA, it has been from the right.

In justice to the CP, however, the Stalinists do have their eyes on something more than a bloc with Berkeley Democrats.

Because Berkeley politics—even Democratic party politics—tend to be more liberal than in most parts of the country, the CP sees its efforts here as a kind of pilot operation for what it would like to accomplish on a national scale.

For decades, the CP has worked to build a base among liberal Democrats. During the past few years, however, it has put a slightly more "independent" twist on its Democratic party orientation. And it also runs more candidates of its own.

CP leaders dream of ultimately being something more than vote-getters for assorted capitalist politicians. Instead, they would like to be accepted by such



MARK ALLEN

politicians in much the same way that the French and Italian CPs are working hard to be accepted.

They would like to be open partners in an alliance with "progressive" capitalist politicians.

As the *PW* assessment of the Allen campaign put it, "... what is needed is a realignment of forces which will bring working class, minority (especially the city's large and growing Black and Chicano) communities together with the Left, radical groups and neighborhood organizations to form a viable progressive force."

But the reformist CPs of France and Italy are huge parties, command-

ing the allegiance of hundreds of thousands of workers. They can be mustered into service by the capitalists to help keep the lid on demands for higher wages and better living standards.

The relatively tiny Communist party here is a far cry from that.

Nevertheless, the CP feels it has something to offer. It sees a particular role for itself in relation to young, Black, and working-class voters who are becoming disillusioned with the Democratic party.

By working to "unite" the "independent forces inside and outside" the Democratic party, the CP seeks to keep those inside from leaving and to lead those already outside back in.

That's what the CP was up to in Berkeley this spring.

An old political game

The CP tries to persuade those disillusioned with capitalist politics of the "practicality" of watering down program and of supporting "progressive" members of the racist, sexist, and antilabor Democratic party.

Discuss socialism in a campaign? That's for "sectarians" who don't comprehend the importance of being "electable."

But a long history of costly defeats—here, in Europe, and elsewhere—has demonstrated there is nothing more impractical than the treacherous practice of helping to bolster the political stranglehold of capitalist politicians and parties.

Will the Communist party gain ground in its drive to win acceptance by capitalist politicians? That remains to be seen.

But one thing can be predicted with certainty. To the extent that it does, such progress will be at the expense of the interests of all working people.



Moving?

The post office will not forward second-class mail—like the *Militant*—when you move.

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Actions in New Zealand, Quebec too

10,000 in London protest anti-abortion bill

By Gale Shangold

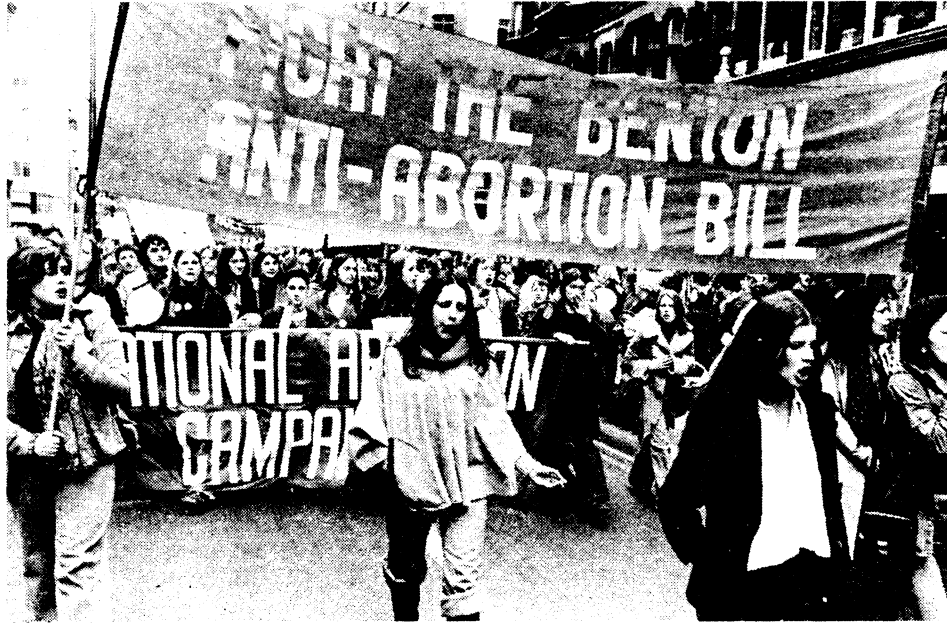
On May 14 more than 10,000 people marched through London in protest of the Benyon Bill. The Benyon Bill, pending in Parliament, would allow police scrutiny of abortion records and impose restrictions on doctors who sign consent certificates for abortions.

At the rally Phyllis Duncan, a member of the demonstration committee, said, "We are not at all convinced that Benyon's bill is going to die. We know that the Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child [the anti-abortion group] is organizing a lobby and trying to get it more parliamentary time."

According to the *London Sunday Times*, the demonstrators are also dissatisfied with the existing 1967 Abortion Act. This law lets doctors decide whether a woman can have her abortion paid for by the National Health Service.

A rally in Hyde Park followed the march. Speakers included Germaine Greer and Jo Richardson, a Labour party representative in Parliament.

Some 1,200 people marched in Auckland, New Zealand, in opposition to the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Contraception, Sterilization and Abortion. The May 13 action was one of the largest women's rights demonstrations yet



May 14 London march

Report/John Sturrock

in New Zealand.

The commission's recommendations would make it nearly impossible for a woman to get an abortion. She would first have to find a doctor willing to offer advice, as well as other specialists and "counselors." If she managed all that, then her case would go before a panel of two doctors, along with a nonvoting social worker, who have the final say.

Leading government officials have indicated that legislation based on the commission's findings is already being drafted.

Other protests against the recommendations included a rally of 600 in Wellington and 100 in Christchurch. Future actions are being planned.

In Montréal, Québec, 1,000 people marched in support of abortion

rights on April 2. It was the first major action for women's right to choose in several years.

The demonstrators demanded that the Québec government:

- Force the federal government to immediately repeal the Canadian anti-abortion law;
- immediately establish the necessary services so that all women can have access to abortion on demand throughout Québec;
- immediately provide that all abortions be fully covered by the Québec medicare plan, as other medical procedures are.

In addition, the demonstration called attention to the special discrimination faced by French-speaking women desiring abortions.

A visible women's liberation movement has had an impact on the Parti Québécois, the ruling party in Québec. On May 29 the PQ convention approved a resolution that would legalize abortion on demand. This was the first convention held since the party took office.

Premier René Lévesque, however, told the convention that a stand in favor of abortion could be damaging for the party in a predominantly Catholic province, so the government will not feel bound by it. Its only effect, he said, would be to open up a needed debate.

...Skyhorse-Mohawk trial begins in L.A.

Continued from back page

Apparently anticipating the possibility of Red Shirt's slipping up in relating his version of events, Samonsky cautioned the jury that the murder occurred nearly three years ago. "Some of the witnesses may not say what I say they will say," he asserted in his opening statement.

Paul Skyhorse made the opening statement for the defense. A slim, studious-looking man, he spoke quietly and earnestly.

He told the jury that police had reported finding a knife with fingerprints at the scene, but it had since been "lost." Other evidence is also "missing."

He acknowledged that he and Mohawk had been at the camp at the time of the killing and knew there was trouble. They stayed away, he explained, because Red Shirt was involved. They knew he was drunk and was violent when drunk.

"I never met or talked to George Aird. . . . My brother and I never killed anyone," Skyhorse told the jury.

Marvin Red Shirt was the prosecution's first witness. He offered his version of the events leading up to the murder.

Red Shirt said he spent most of the

day of the murder—October 10, 1974—drinking wine with some other camp residents.

That evening Red Shirt, Holly Broussard, Marcella Eaglestaff, War Lance, and two others piled into Broussard's car to go to a party in Topanga Canyon, forty-five minutes away. Red Shirt was at the wheel.

He apparently had some difficulty driving, getting into two minor scrapes along the way.

Red Shirt, Broussard, Eaglestaff, and War Lance climbed the long flight of stairs to the house where the party was supposed to be. The others stayed behind in the car.

No one was home, but the door was open, and they went in.

They left the house after about forty-five minutes, leaving War Lance behind. The car was gone, so the three called a cab to take them back to the camp.

George Aird was the driver.

Red Shirt didn't have enough money for the fare.

He testified that while the driver and passengers were standing around the cab, Mohawk and Skyhorse suddenly appeared and began cursing Aird.

Red Shirt said he punched the cabdriver in the face, badly hurting a

knuckle. It bled profusely, he said, and he had to go wash it off several times. In fact, he testified, he was in so much pain that he couldn't be sure of everything that followed.

According to his admittedly muddled story, Skyhorse and Mohawk dragged Aird into the camp office, took his wallet, tried to cut off some of his hair, and threw him out the door.

Eaglestaff was knocked down by the bleeding victim, getting blood on her clothes.

Red Shirt claimed the two men put a rope around Aird's neck and dragged him away.

Returning from rinsing his hand, Red Shirt found Mohawk kneeling alongside Aird's body, gripping with both hands a knife wrapped in a towel. Then, Red Shirt said, Mohawk stabbed Aird several times and handed the knife and towel to Skyhorse, who did the same.

According to Red Shirt, he obeyed Skyhorse's summons to stab Aird also. "I stabbed him only once. I dropped the towel and knife and took off."

The prosecution will have to answer a lot of questions.

For instance, there is no physical evidence linking either Skyhorse or Mohawk to the murder. But there is a great deal of evidence to connect Eaglestaff, Red Shirt, and Broussard.

Yet all are free. Red Shirt got only a five-year suspended sentence, despite his admitted role in the slaying. Why were Skyhorse and Mohawk charged with first-degree murder?

Douglass Durham's role as FBI provocateur raises further questions. When the media reported that Aird had been "scalped," Durham quickly moved to justify the murder. He also tried to dissuade AIM from entering the defense. Was Durham following FBI orders?

On the day of the murder, Mohawk and Skyhorse were in Los Angeles at a rally. They were driven from the camp by Blue Dove, a woman active in the Native American movement. "Blue

Dove" turned out to be a white woman named Virginia DeLuce, also an FBI informer.

Mohawk and Skyhorse weren't arrested until a week after the murder. They were picked up at an AIM conference in Arizona. They waived extradition, returning voluntarily to California. They weren't fleeing, and they didn't try to hide. That's hardly the way two murderers would act.

On June 6, the trial was recessed for a week. The prosecutor is ill.

'The whole thing was a setup'

An attempted further frame-up of Skyhorse and Mohawk has come to light.

Three prisoners in the Los Angeles County jail who had asserted that Skyhorse and Mohawk told them of killing cabdriver George Aird now admit they lied. They also concede they lied about a sexual assault by the two.

The three prisoners say they were put up to the lies by threats and promises from Los Angeles and Ventura County, California, cops and prosecutors.

In a sworn affidavit, Robert Granger, convicted of fourteen felonies and facing a life sentence, said his story was "a complete lie. . . . The whole thing was a setup to convict Skyhorse and Mohawk."

Prisoner Roy Richards described giving his invented statement to a Los Angeles County deputy sheriff who said he wanted to "get those fucking Indians."

Skyhorse and Mohawk have filed a \$2 million damage suit against the eight officials involved, including Louis Samonsky, the prosecutor in their case.

Life sentence for AIM activist

By Arnold Weissberg

Leonard Peltier, an activist in the American Indian Movement, was sentenced to life in prison on June 2. Peltier was convicted of frame-up charges last April of killing two FBI agents on South Dakota's Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in 1975.

Peltier will have to spend thirty years in prison before he is eligible for parole. He will appeal the guilty verdict.



In Review

Latin America's poetry of testimony

Latin American Revolutionary Poetry. Edited by Robert Márquez. Published by Monthly Review Press, 1974. 505 pages, \$6.95, paperback.

Today Latin American poetry corresponds in one way or another to the realities of our countries. That poetry which takes the social reality as a central theme generally places itself, though often times in a confused way, on the side of the oppressed masses.

Our "nonrevolutionary" poets have never tried to be openly reactionary; they have simply eluded the social reality from which they come, the contradictions of the society in which they live, the misery that fills every pore of the life of the masses of people.

They have spoken of flowers, love, jungles—and have abstained from speaking of the relationships of production in society. They do not deny the

Poetry

existence of the class struggle, but they declare themselves neutral in it. The Guatemalan poet Otto René Castillo criticized that "intellectual neutrality" in his poem "The Apolitical Intellectuals":

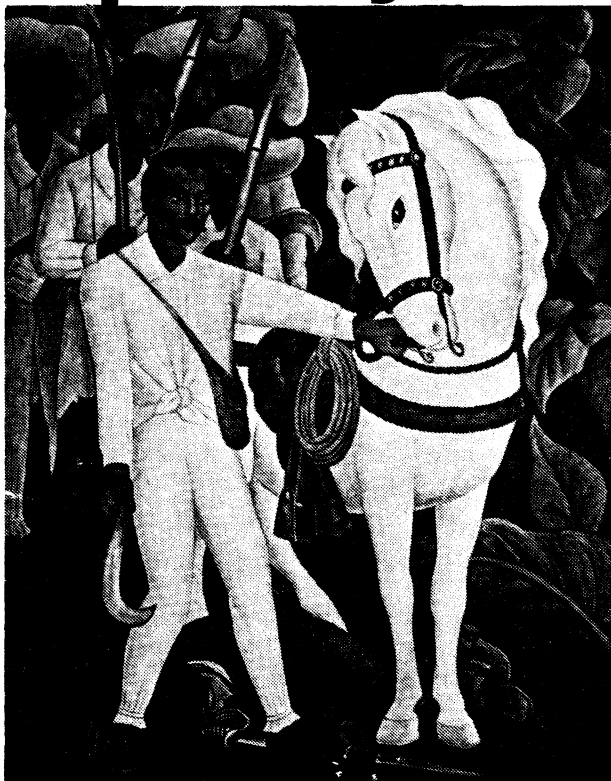
*On that day
the simple men will come,
those who had no place
in the books and poems
of the apolitical intellectuals
but daily delivered
their bread and milk,
their tortillas and eggs,
those who mended their clothes,
those who drove their cars,
who cared for their dogs and gardens,
and worked for them,
and they'll ask:
"What did you do when the poor
suffered, when tenderness
and life
burned out in them?"*

The title of this book is a little pretentious in speaking about "revolutionary" Latin American poetry. It is much more accurate to speak of it as Latin American poetic testimony. Latin American poetry is not revolutionary in and of itself. There has never been any such thing as "revolutionary" poetry anywhere in the world. In this case in particular, the revolutionary value of the poetry consists in expressing in an artistic way the reality of oppression and repression in Latin America.

Latin American poetry, as poetic testimony, gets its value from its expression of the real, dominant themes in the lives of the men and women.

The poetic testimony does nothing more than express the generalized feeling of the whole continent of the need for change, the need for improvement. It does not propose alternatives or avenues to reach them, and we should not expect it to.

Some poets, like the Guatemalan Castillo or the Salvadorean Roque Dalton, have struggled for alternatives and died for them. Others, like the



'Agrarian Leader Zapata' by Mexican muralist Diego Rivera.

Nicaraguan Ernesto Cardenal, have favored alternatives from their pacifist armchairs. But the value of their poetry does not come from this. *Canto Nacional* (National Song), one of Cardenal's most political books, is one of his lesser poetic achievements.

The value of the poems is that they shout to the world and to Latin Americans themselves the actual truth—not Pinochet's, or Videla's, or Geisel's, who speak of economic growth, of law and order, while the majority of their people die of hunger, are mercilessly repressed, and lack the most minimal freedom of expression.

Selecting Latin American poetry is difficult. But Robert Márquez has compiled a complete panorama of it. The selected poets, as well as the poems, are a good representative sample of what has been written.

In many cases the poems do nothing more than tell a history parallel to that in the history books, the history of the oppressors. "The Zero Hour" by Cardenal, for example, poetically describes the role of American administrations in the region:

*The American Minister Mr. Whelan
has gone to a banquet at the Presidential Palace.
You can see the lights of the palace anywhere in Managua.
The music is wafted from the banquet to the prisoners' cells
on the quiet breeze of Managua under martial law.
The prisoners can hear the music in their cells
mingling with the cries of men being tortured in the water-troughs.
Upstairs in the palace Mr. Whelan says: "Fine party!"
As that sonofabitch Roosevelt said to Sumner Welles:
"Somoza is a sonofabitch
but he's ours."
Lackey to the foreigners
and a tyrant to his own people*

Laura Ellsworth Seiler describes her experiences on a three-month organizing tour in upstate New York, while Miriam Allen deFord recounts her experiences as a "soapboxer" for the Boston suffrage association.

Included is an account of the picketing in front of the White House organized by the National Women's party, led by Alice Paul. When the United States entered World War I "to make the world safe for democracy," the pickets pointed out that while Wilson talked about democracy, he didn't even support women's right to vote.

Spurred by rising pro-war propaganda, crowds gathered to harass the women pickets. The police did not protect the women from physical attacks and finally intervened to arrest the picketers.

Ernestine Hara Kettler describes her arrest and imprisonment in the workhouse during the summer of 1917. She tells of the suffragists' attempts to protest their illegal arrests and the brutal prison conditions.

One of the most valuable aspects of the book is the picture that emerges of women's consciousness

*imposed by intervention
and kept there by a policy of
nonintervention:
SOMOZA FOREVER.*

The harsh tone should not surprise. The repression and oppression in the continent is intimately tied to the political and economic interests of American imperialism.

The many decades of numerous dictatorships and the development of new ones with their sequels of massive repression have influenced the poetry of the continent. It reflects a feeling of desperation and defeat, combined with a tremendous longing to be liberated from all the material and spiritual fetters that the present regimes embody.

Fantasy takes hold: a beautiful reality abounding with liberty surges by decree in the poem "The Statutes of Man (A Permanent Act of Law)" by the Brazilian poet Thiago de Mello.

ARTICLE XII.

*Be it decreed that nothing
will be ordered or forbidden.
All things will be permitted,
including playing with a rhinoceros
and walking in the afternoon
with an immense begonia in the lapel.*

PARAGRAPH I.

*Only one thing will be forbidden:
to love and feel no love.*

ARTICLE XIII.

*It is hereby decreed that money
will no longer be able to buy
the sun of dawns to come.
Cast out of fear's coffers,
money will become a fraternal sword
with which to defend the right to sing
and celebrate the day that's come.*

Even though idealist in his methods, the poet, significantly, does not forget to decree restrictions on the use of money to buy beauty and love.

Cuba has not eliminated money, but a new society is rising that is free of many of the sores that exist in the rest of the continent. Hundreds of the aspirations of Latin Americans are made into reality there. One of the most important Cuban intellectuals, the Black poet Nicolás Guillén, describes the changes that happened and, even more important, the conviction that what gains were made are nothing more than what everyone deserves.

*I have, let's see:
that I have learned to read,
to count,
I have that I have learned to write,
and to think
and to laugh.
I have that now I have
a place to work
and earn
what I have to eat.
I have, let's see:
I have what was coming to me.*

Latin American poetry, then, is not only of high artistic quality. Upon reading it carefully, we can begin to have a clear picture of the struggles and aspirations of the peoples of Latin America.

—Adolfo Esteva

(Translated for the "Militant" by Maura Rodríguez.)

From parlor to prison

From Parlor to Prison: Five American Suffragists Talk About Their Lives. Edited by Sherna Gluck. Published by Vintage Books, 1976. 282 pages, \$3.95, paperback.

From Parlor to Prison collects five oral interviews with women who were active in the early women's movement. The women, ranging in age from 79 to

Books

104, provide a glimpse of the suffrage movement at the height of its activities, in the first two decades of the 1900s.

around the depth of their oppression during the suffrage era. Contrary to those who see the first wave of feminism as narrowly focused on the right to vote, these five women recount the variety of issues raised during this period.

Sexual emancipation, freedom from the double standard, better working conditions and equal wages, women's control over their reproductive lives—all these issues were raised within the context of the massive suffrage movement.

Interestingly enough, two of the five women were active socialists. Both joined the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW); both were active in defending free speech and political prisoners. Kettler was a trade-union activist and, for a time, a member of the Socialist Workers party.

At the end of each interview the women try to relate today's struggle for women's liberation to the suffrage movement. *From Parlor to Prison* is a fascinating history because it gives not only the flavor of the suffrage era, but also dramatically illustrates the continuity between past and present struggles.

—Dianne Feeley

...CBTU

Continued from page 23

This, they said, would hamper Washington's current negotiations with the racist white minority regime. In the same vein the leadership pushed adoption of a resolution in support of United Nations Ambassador "Andy Young." The resolution urged President Carter and CBTU "members and friends" to support the ambassador's brand of shuttle diplomacy.

Unknown to the delegates, the executive council had submitted a resolution strongly condemning Atlanta Mayor Maynard Jackson for his strikebreaking. The resolution was not included in the packet distributed to convention delegates.

Lucy recommended that the delegates not act on the resolution. He proposed instead that the convention empower coalition officers to draft a "policy statement" and arrange a discussion with the mayor. The handful of delegates who remained concurred with his recommendation.

...Phila.

Continued from back page

with community organizations and parents in a campaign of education and independent action to oppose all the cutbacks and layoffs.

Despite the short time available to win support for the resolution nearly 300 teachers signed it.

The union leadership, however, squelched the right of the membership to hear the proposal at the meeting.

A mood of shock, anger, confusion, and frustration exists within the PFT. At the same time, the scope of the cutbacks is arousing a massive sentiment of opposition among working people—Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and whites—throughout Philadelphia.

Mobilizing this opposition in action—mass protests, pickets, demonstrations, community speakouts—is the only way the jobs of school employees and the educational rights of the city's working people can be defended.

Calendar

BALTIMORE

THE STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION IN AFRICA. Fri., June 17, 8 p.m. 2117 N. Charles St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (301) 547-0668.

BOSTON

FEMINISM AND SOCIALISM. Weekly class series. Thurs., June 16, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Fl. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (617) 262-4620.

BLACKS AND THE ORGANIZED LABOR MOVEMENT. Speaker: Robb Wright, member of CBTU, NSCAR, and BTU. Fri., June 17, 8 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Fl. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4620.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

GAY LIBERATION. Speakers: Ken Withers, coordinator, Boston Advocates for Human Rights; Gary Lovering, SWP. Fri., June 17, 8 p.m. 2 Central Sq. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 547-4395.

DALLAS

THE FIGHT FOR GAY RIGHTS TODAY. Speakers: Mary Jo Risher, lesbian mother; Marc McCrary, SWP; representatives from Texas Gay Task Force and Metropolitan Community Church of Ft. Worth. Fri., June 17, 8 p.m. 2215 Cedar Crest. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (214) 943-6684.

DETROIT

CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Trudy Hawkins, SWP candidate for mayor; Leslie Craine and Clarence Brown, SWP candidates for Common Council. Sat., June 11. Reception 7 p.m., program 8 p.m., party to follow. Downtown YWCA, 2230 Witherell, Rm. 601. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Detroit 1977 Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (313) 961-5675.

HOUSTON

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Series of weekly classes based on four books on the history of the Teamsters union by Farrell Dobbs. Every Wed., 7 p.m. 4987 S. Park. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (713) 526-1082, 643-0005, or 697-5543.

HOUSTON: EAST END

INTRODUCTION TO MARXISM CLASSES. Every Mon., 7:30 p.m. 4987 S. Park. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (713) 643-0005.

HOUSTON: NORTHEAST

INTRODUCTION TO MARXISM CLASSES. Every Fri., 7 p.m. 2835 Laura Koppe. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (713) 697-5543 or 526-1082.

KANSAS CITY, MO.

WHAT SOCIALISTS STAND FOR. A series of three classes on basic concepts of socialism. Wednesdays, June 15, 22, 29, 7:30 p.m. 4715A Troost. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

RECENT TRENDS IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT. MINNEAPOLIS TEAMSTER STRUGGLE 1934, ITS MEANING FOR TODAY. Speaker: Wendy Lyons, SWP National Committee. Tues., June 21; Wed., June 22; and Thurs., June 23, 7 p.m. 4715A Troost. Donation: \$1 for series; 50¢ for each class. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

LONG BEACH, CALIF.

REVOLT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. Speakers: Nike Ngwenyama, North American chairperson of Zimbabwe African Peoples Union; others. Fri., June 17, 8 p.m. 3322 E. Anaheim St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 597-0965.

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Revolutionary strategy in the labor movement. Wed., June 15 & 22, 7:30 p.m. 3322 E. Anaheim St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: SWP & YSA. For more information call (213) 597-0965.

LOS ANGELES

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Revolutionary Strategy in the Labor Movement. Speaker: Chris Hildebrand on *Unions and the Revolutionary Party*. Wed., June 15, 7:30 p.m. 1237 S. Atlantic Blvd., East Los Angeles. Donation: \$1. Ausp: SWP and YSA. For more information call (213) 265-1347.

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. The Emerging Revolt of U.S. Labor. Fri., June 24, 8 p.m. *Background and Perspectives for Developing a Left Wing in the Unions*. Sat., June 25, 1 p.m. & 3 p.m. Speaker for both classes: Tom Kerry, former SWP national organization secretary. East Los Angeles College, Student Union Lounge, 1301 Brooklyn Ave., East Los Angeles. Dinner to follow, \$2. Ausp: SWP and YSA. For more information call (213) 265-1347.

MILWAUKEE

UNDERSTANDING MARXISM. Socialist Summer

School. This week's class: *What Is To Be Done?* (Part 1). Thurs., June 16, 7 p.m. 3901 N. 27th St. Donation: \$1 for entire series. Ausp: SWP and YSA. For more information call (414) 442-8170 or 963-5551.

MINNEAPOLIS

YAHOO'S POINTED QUESTION. An original play for children and adults, inspired by Brecht's *Roundheads and Peakheads*. Weekends, June 2-July 27, at the Firehouse, Bethune School, Walker Church, Hillel House. Ausp: Unity Theater. For more information call (612) 331-7718, 331-9473, or 336-1896.

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) 891-5324.

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.

NEW YORK: QUEENS

WEEKLY CLASS SERIES ON BASICS OF MARX AND LENIN. Thursdays, June 16, June 23, June 30, 7:30 p.m. 90-43 149th St., Jamaica. Donation: \$.75. Ausp: SWP & YSA. For more information call (212) 658-7718.

NEW YORK

SACCO & VANZETTI: 2-hour color film with Gian Maria Volonte and Riccardo Cucciolo at the School for Marxist Education, 186 W. 4th St., 7th Fl. Fri., June 17, 7 & 9:30 p.m.; Sat., June 18, 4, 7, & 9:30 p.m. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Marxist Education Collective. For more information call (212) 989-6493.

PHILADELPHIA: GERMANTOWN

COMMUNITY SPEAK-OUT AGAINST THE SCHOOL CUTBACKS: FULL FUNDING FOR THE SCHOOLS NOW! Community speakers, teachers, and students all invited. Fri., 8 p.m. 5950 Germantown Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) 844-2874.

PHOENIX

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. History of the Fourth International, 1933-40. Speaker: Jot Kendall. Tues., June 14, 7:30 p.m. 314 E. Taylor. Donation: \$.50. Ausp: SWP & YSA. For more information call (602) 255-0450.

S. AFRICAN FREEDOM STRUGGLE. Speakers: Gear Kajoba, ASU graduate student from Zambia; Kobey McCarthy, SWP. Fri., June 17, 8 p.m. 314 E. Taylor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (602) 255-0450.

ST. LOUIS

TEAMSTER REBELLION. Second of two classes. Speaker: Dave Walters, SWP. Thurs., June 16, 7:30 p.m. Forest Park Community College, Rm. B413. Donation: \$1. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (314) 381-0044 or 725-1570.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TEAMSTER STRUGGLES OF THE 1930s FOR TODAY. Speaker: Wendy Lyons, SWP. Sat., June 18, 11 a.m. & 2 p.m.; Sun., June 19, 11 a.m. Cabanne Branch Library, 1106 Union Blvd. Donation: \$1 per class. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (314) 381-0044 or 725-1570.

ST. PAUL

THE NUCLEAR POWER DANGER. Speaker: Joe Vass, SWP. Fri., June 17, 8 p.m. 176 Western Ave. N. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 222-8929.

SAN DIEGO

THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM IN SOUTH AFRICA. A teach-in. Speakers: Anthony Ngubo, Black South African professor; Dr. Ron Karenga, Bert Corona, antideportation leader; others. Fri., June 17, 7:30 p.m. Neighborhood House, 841 S. 41st St. Ausp: Student Coalition Against Racism. For more information call (714) 239-0631.

SAN FERNANDO VALLEY

SOWETO: ONE YEAR LATER. Speaker: Sam Manuel, SWP candidate in recent election for mayor of Los Angeles. Fri., June 17, 8 p.m. 10510 Hadden, Pacoima. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 899-5811.

TOLEDO

CARTER'S WELFARE CUTS: WHY NOW? Fri., June 17, 8 p.m. 2507 Collingwood Blvd. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (419) 242-9743.

TWIN CITIES

JAZZ BENEFIT. Musicians: Paul Logos, Morris Wilson, Larry Loud, Art Reshick, Billy Shields, "Beaver" Shelby, Onyx, others. Fri., June 17, 9 p.m.-1 a.m. Rainbow Gallery, 1500 S. 6th St., Mpls. Ausp: Hill Family Defense Committee. For more information call (612) 222-7261 or 226-7440.

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THE MILITANT

Indian activists' trial opens

Free Skyhorse and Mohawk!

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—If the rule that a witness must come into court with clean hands applied in criminal cases, then the main witness against Paul Skyhorse and Richard Mohawk—American Indian Movement activists charged with murder—would surely be disqualified.

By his own admission, Marvin Red Shirt comes into court with his hands dripping with blood—the blood of George Aird, the man he accuses Skyhorse and Mohawk of murdering.

Red Shirt's testimony is enough to give credence to the defendants' charge that their trial is part of the government's drive to destroy AIM.

Courtroom security

Everyone entering the sixty-seat courtroom here is thoroughly searched. The judge won't allow any defense buttons to be worn. The spectator section is set off from the rest of the courtroom by a barrier of bulletproof glass.

The judge has expressed concern that buttons might "prejudice" the jury. But the possible prejudicial effects of these security measures—suggesting that the defendants are violent—don't seem to worry him.

At first presiding Judge Floyd Dodson seems confident and even good-

humored—until Skyhorse or Mohawk, who are acting as their own attorneys, challenge him on a legal point. Immediately you can feel the tension from the bench. Clearly Dodson is not accustomed to challenge by Indians.

Prosecutor Louis Samonsky probably feels he can use an assist from the bench. He will have a tough time selling his case to the jury.

In his opening statement, Samonsky, using a large diagram, described the locale of the murder—a place in Box Canyon, Ventura County, California, which he said is "sometimes known as 'AIM Camp 13.'" From then on he referred to it as "AIM Camp 13," despite the fact that there is no evidence to link it to AIM.

FBI provocateur

This name for the camp was given to the media shortly after the Box Canyon murder by AIM national security director Douglass Durham, who soon afterward was exposed as an FBI provocateur and informer. Durham said that "AIM Camp 13" was one of a series of guerrilla training camps. But there were no other camps, and this one was never used for guerrilla training.

Durham has since surfaced on the John Birch Society lecture circuit.

Continued on page 28



Militant/Harry Ring

Nearly 300 people marched and rallied at the Los Angeles federal building May 31 protesting the frame-up of Skyhorse and Mohawk. Michael Mora, chairperson of the Skyhorse-Mohawk Defense Committee, told the rally, 'Not just Paul and Richard are on trial here. The entire Indian nation is on trial. We must not let them fight alone.'

Blackmail by banks

Phila. schools face massive cuts

By Jon Hillson

PHILADELPHIA—School days will be anything but "dear old golden rule" days if proposed massive cutbacks and layoffs are implemented in this city's already deteriorating educational system.

The extreme "austerity package" was made public May 14, on the eve of the shutdown of the Philadelphia public school system for lack of funds.

School officials put together the cutback package in exchange for a \$31.5 million loan from a consortium of eleven city banks.

On May 31, the Philadelphia school board voted seven to one to accept the cutbacks and layoffs demanded by the banks for their "bail out" cash.

In addition to 6.5 percent interest, tax free of course, the banks demanded a \$173 million cut in the previously anticipated 1977-78 school budget of \$684 million.

Interest payments on tax-free municipal bonds and insurance payments already amount to \$50 million a year in the school budget. This welfare for the rich is not to be touched by the "austerity."

The new budget would do the following:

- Fire 9,731 employees, more than a third of the entire school work force. About 3,000 of those to be fired are teachers. The rest are aides, counselors, custodial and support staff, many of whom are Black and Puerto Rican.
- Eliminate all kindergarten classes.

- Abolish all guidance positions.
- Cut all transportation programs, except for mentally retarded and handicapped students.
- Eliminate all extracurricular activities, including sports.
- Abolish all lunch and breakfast programs.
- Close all school libraries.
- Slash all adult education and special vocational programs.

Approximately one-third of the system's bilingual teachers are slated for firing, along with its only two affirmative-action program coordina-

tors. Thirty-two schools are set for closing.

Blacks and Puerto Ricans comprise the majority of students in the system. Should the austerity measures be implemented, they will in effect be denied public education.

The devastating austerity program is a new stage in the offensive of Philadelphia employers against the city's working people and the social services on which they depend.

This wave of assaults started in early 1976 when Democratic Mayor Frank Rizzo shut down Philadelphia General Hospital, which served a mostly Black constituency and was the city's only public hospital.

The next focus of this attack was the Transport Workers Union. Mayor Rizzo, the state Democratic administration, and the news media united to break a six-week-long strike by transit workers. The workers were forced to accept conditions virtually identical to the original contract offer.

Days after the strike ended, transit fares were hiked a dime, to forty-five cents.

Emboldened by these victories, the employers have now targeted public education, the Black and Puerto Rican communities, and the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers (PFT).

The leadership of the PFT has relied upon the same strategy that led to the defeats of the hospital and transit workers—seeking to persuade "friends" in the Democratic party to "help out."

The recent events point to the futility of such "lesser evil" politics within the Democratic party.

John Bunting—chief spokesperson for the bankers' consortium and head of the First Pennsylvania Bank—was a key financial and political backer of Black lawyer Charles Bowser and his "reform" mayoral campaign against the Rizzo machine in 1975.

The PFT leaders have urged members to lobby state legislators to pass taxation bills increasing subsidies to Philadelphia schools. These bills all increase taxes on working people.

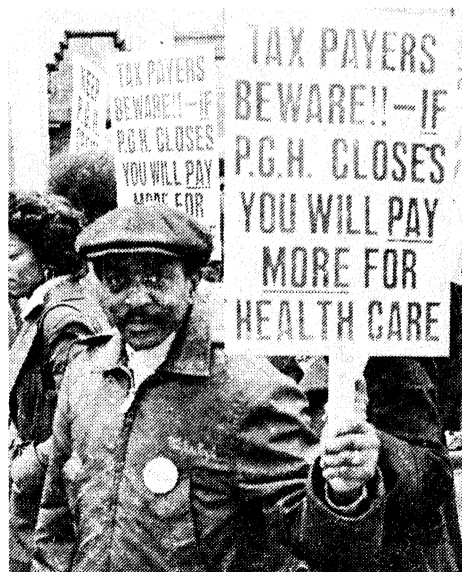
This represents exactly the wrong strategy for teachers, who need allies not among capitalist politicians but among working people, especially the Black communities in which they serve.

The PFT leadership has also conducted a not-so-subtle appeal to higher-seniority teachers to refrain from "rocking the boat" with protests against the layoffs. These white teachers make up a relatively privileged, conservative layer of the union.

Such an approach—pitting these teachers against younger, low-seniority, Black and Puerto Rican teachers—is self-defeating for the entire union.

Within the PFT a small group of teachers tried to bring an alternative to the membership at a May 18 local meeting. They circulated a resolution calling for the union to seek alliances

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Militant/Jon Flanders

Demonstration against the closing of Philadelphia General Hospital, February 1976. Potential exists for united labor-community action against the cutbacks.