

THE MILITANT

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

Drop charges against NY blackout prisoners! 4,500 jailed—Con Edison goes free



BROOKLYN—Cop terror during July 13-14 blackout of New York City

By Omari Musa

NEW YORK—"They ripped us off every day. People here just thought they'd get a little even," explained a young Puerto Rican couple, pointing to the remains of a supermarket on East Tremont Avenue in the Bronx.

A Black man who was passing by overheard their conversation with Catarino Garza, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York City, and stopped.

"We're pushed around by the cops, ripped off at the stores and can't find no jobs," he said. "I've been unemployed for three years."

"All it took was for the lights to go out this time. What next time?"

Everyone Garza talked to on his July 18 tour of New York's Black and Puerto Rican ghettos

An editorial on Blackout '77 appears on page 10.

expressed the same sentiment. The power of the massive social explosion triggered by the blackout had etched itself into people's minds.

Just five days earlier, hundreds of thousands of people—mostly Blacks and Puerto Ricans—had taken to the streets when the city's lights went out.

For twenty-five hours they opened steel-shuttered shops—grocery stores, clothing stores, shoe stores, furniture and appliance stores, jewelers—and entered by the thousands, as one participant put it, to "shop for free."

New York Mayor Abraham Beame moved swiftly to put down the upheaval. He called out off-duty cops and "auxiliary" police to beef up patrols.

Cops swept through the ghettos rounding up close

to 4,500 prisoners—mostly on charges of "looting." Jail cells were overcrowded, sometimes filled to many times their capacity, with lack of food, water, and medical attention the norm.

Fearing a continuation of the explosion the night after the blackout, New York Gov. Hugh Carey placed the National Guard on alert. Likewise, the New York office of the FBI held a large contingent of agents on duty.

Meanwhile the city administration launched a hysterical, racist propaganda campaign against the "looters." Beame decried "a night of terror" wrought by "vandals and looters."

The New York papers and national news media echoed the mayor's theme. Reporters depicted "orgies" of burning and looting, "avaricious" mobs, "hordes," "packs," "marauders." A quote from one cop told it all: "It's the night of the animals."

Having branded the thousands who participated in the explosion as "animals," the city administration proceeded to treat them as such.

So Garza made the first stop on his tour the Tombs—the Manhattan House of Detention. After an inmate rebellion in 1974, the Tombs had been closed by court order as unfit for human occupancy.

But city officials reopened this dungeon to house some of the prisoners taken in police sweeps.

(They also ordered prisoners locked in court-building detention cells, designed only to hold prisoners awaiting trial, not overnight. The day of Garza's tour, one prisoner died in an overcrowded Brooklyn Criminal Courthouse holding cell.)

Approaching the Tombs's imposing doorway, Garza spoke with a Puerto Rican woman.

"I'm trying to see my son," she told Garza. "He was picked up along with others in El Barrio [East Harlem]." Earlier her son had told her that the

prisoners were sleeping on the floor and had only bread and water to eat.

She explained that her son was still being held because she couldn't raise \$2,000 bail. "You need the money or a savings book with \$1,000. I don't have money like that."

Two other women walked up and complained about the runaround they were getting trying to see a relative. "We've been pushed from one office to another," they told Garza.

From the Tombs, Garza went to the Bushwick section of Brooklyn.

Three days before, Mayor Beame had also made a tour of Brooklyn—with a large entourage of reporters and federal and state aides.

Beame had gone to hear the complaints of shopkeepers and to console them with promises of aid in reopening their stores. He didn't speak of the merchant-arsonists who were burning their own stores to collect on fraudulent insurance claims, (at least two were caught in the act), or of the two who shot and killed two Blacks during the night of the blackout.

When Beame arrived in the Williamsburg section of Brooklyn, he received a jolting welcome.

"Hey, Beame, you bum!" one woman shouted at the mayor. "If you want to know what to do for us, give us jobs!"

The people Garza talked to agreed with that woman. He spoke with two bus drivers standing at Broadway and Linden. "The lights went out and people had an opportunity to let some of their steam off," they told him. "There's a lot of unemployment around here, they're out of work."

Everyone Garza talked to in Brooklyn said the problem was jobs. They live day-to-day with the

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SUMMERTIME, AND THE LIVING IS EASY: Teamsters union President Frank Fitzsimmons believes that "the Summer of 1977 will go down in history as an era when the affairs of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters were in fine order," according to the July 1977 issue of the *International Teamster*.

Fitzsimmons's fond hope comes only one short year after the union's central-states pension fund lost its tax-exempt status because, among other things, 70 percent of its outstanding loans were in real estate, and many of them were to "individuals known to be unworthy of trust," according to the Internal Revenue Service.

The fund won back its tax exemption last April after all the old trustees resigned.

Illinois Sen. Charles Percy said July 17 that the pension fund may have allowed half of its \$1.4 billion in assets to slip away through bad investments.

FLAG SALUTE REFUSAL OK: The California State Board of Education approved new rules July 15 that allow students to refuse to salute the flag. Students are also now permitted to remain silent during the pledge of allegiance.

GAY RIGHTS DEMO IN K.C.: Anita Bryant was scheduled to address a session of the Christian Booksellers' convention in Kansas City, Missouri, July 13. Five hundred gay rights supporters turned up outside to picket in the city's first gay rights action.

Lea Hopkins of the Christopher Street Association told a rally before the picket line, "This is a demonstration of gay pride, solidarity, and community support. . . . We refuse to be demeaned in any way and forced back into the closets. We are together, we are not alone, and we are not afraid any more."

The last issue of the 'Militant' before our summer break will be dated August 5. We will resume our regular schedule with the issue dated August 26.

CHURCHGOERS BUCK BRYANT: Antigay crusaders were handed a setback Sunday, July 10, when parishioners of the Miami Beach Community Church gave Rev. Garth Thompson a 126 to 87 vote of confidence. Supporters of Anita Bryant's "Save Our Children" group called for removing the United Church of Christ minister because he gave a sermon supporting the Dade County gay rights ordinance. Many Catholic and Baptist preachers had beseeched their congregations to vote down the civil rights policy.

Gay activists fear that the June 7 defeat of the Dade County ordinance could spur attempts to oust gays and their supporters from jobs. At Miami's first Christopher Street gay rights rally June 26, Helene Lynn, representing United Teachers of Dade, pledged to the 250 demonstrators that her union would defend any gay teacher whose job was threatened.

KKK DISRUPTIONS IN LOUISVILLE: Forty Ku Klux Klan thugs broke up a Louisville meeting discussing the death penalty July 15. Heckling and throwing eggs, the disrupters didn't permit either pro- or anti-death penalty speakers to make their remarks.

The meeting was chaired by Anne Braden, longtime Louisville activist for social justice, who was a prime target of the Klan. At the meeting, the thugs made physical threats against and assaulted a campaign supporter of Debby Tarnopol, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Louisville.

This was the fourth such disruption in two weeks, including an attack on an abortion rights group July 7. The Klan has apparently embarked on a systematic campaign of harassment and intimidation of groups and individuals fighting for social change. Plans are now under way to mount a countercampaign to defend democratic rights in Louisville.

KENNETH JOHNSON CONVICTED: Kenneth Johnson, a Black mental-health counselor in Buffalo, New York, was convicted June 22 of rape, robbery, and sodomy. Johnson had been acquitted of a rape charge in April, but the first jury couldn't reach a verdict on a second charge.

The prosecution never challenged Johnson's alibi, nor did it offer any physical evidence, such as weapons or clothing.

The two juries that heard his case were both entirely white, despite the fact that Buffalo is 40 percent Black.

Buffalo was hit by a series of rapes in November 1975. Police, under tremendous pressure to arrest someone, hauled in Johnson, even though he didn't fit the description from their own composite drawing.

K.C. SCHOOL BOARD FIRES 204: In a closed meeting

July 8, the Kansas City Board of Education voted to fire 204 paraprofessional teachers, cafeteria workers, and maintenance workers.

The fired workers had honored picket lines during this spring's seven-week teachers' strike. They were fired during the course of the strike, but were rehired under a court order issued by Judge Lewis Clymer. The judge had also ordered the teachers back to work, ending the strike.

Judge Clymer's order rehiring the workers was overturned by the Missouri Court of Appeals last month.

HANDS ON HEAD: The Hamill Manufacturing Company of Imlay City, Michigan, has agreed to allow assembly line workers to go to the bathroom without raising their hands and asking for permission.

The company also agreed to pay back wages to workers who had been suspended because they didn't raise their hands before they went.

United Auto Workers Local 481 still has 100 unresolved grievances with Hamill.

THE 'MILITANT' GETS AROUND: The June 29 issue of *An Phoblacht*, a newspaper reflecting the views of the Provisional Irish republican movement, reprinted Jenny Brookstone's "Garza slams Carey's 'betrayal' of Irish" from the May 13 *Militant*.

Catarino Garza, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York City, blasted New York Gov. Hugh Carey's attack on the Irish struggle against British domination.

THIS WEEK IN 'INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS': *Intercontinental Press* is a weekly socialist newsmagazine specializing in international coverage of the movements for social change. In its July 25 issue, *IP* carries an analysis of the Spanish elections from the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria (Revolutionary Communist League—LCR), a Spanish sister organization of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party.

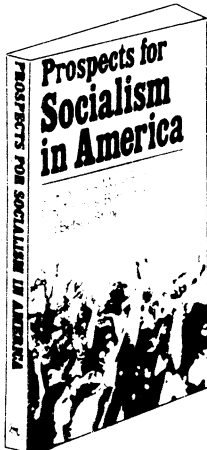
The July 25 *IP* also features a discussion article on the question of socialism and democracy issued by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, the world Trotskyist organization. It is a contribution to the ongoing debate over Soviet dissidents and "Eurocommunism."

An article from *Rouge*, a French revolutionary-socialist daily, discusses the rise of the antinuclear movement in Europe.

IP is seventy-five cents a copy, or twenty-four dollars for one year. The address is P.O. Box 116, Varick Street Station, New York, New York 10014. —Arnold Weissberg

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...Garza demands: 'Drop the charges!'

Continued from front page

statistics: more than half the unemployed are below age twenty-five; Black teen-age unemployment is between 40 and 65 percent; and jobless rates in the Black and Puerto Rican communities as a whole are at least two to three times as high as in the rest of the population.

Further down Linden, Garza spoke to a sister in front of her house. "The people here need jobs," she said. "People are hungry."

"I had a job. People kept me until they got caught up, and then they laid me off. Now I'm behind in my rent."

A brother walked over to give his opinions. "Television commercials are telling everybody, this is what you want," he said.

"Welfare doesn't cover getting it. So a poor man sees the lights go out, and he says, 'Here's my chance.'"

A Puerto Rican shopkeeper came out to talk with Garza. He pointed to some abandoned buildings nearby. "Why don't they get some money from the insurance to pull the bulidings down?" he asked.

His voice began to express his anger over the conditions. "You can't blame nobody," he told Garza. "They are hungry. They don't have jobs."

"You know how many people here are looking for jobs? And they don't want to give them jobs? If the lights go out again, everything will go."

Beame and other Democratic and Republican mayoral candidates here—along with Governor Carey and President Carter—are determined that next time everything will *not* go.

They understand all too well what was beneath the massive social explosion of July 13-14.

Three days after the blackout an "unnamed high police official" told the *New York Times*, "The point is, we have a lot of people, unemployed or underemployed. . . . We have created a large class of poor disaffected people. . . ."

"In a sense," he said, "the blackout was insignificant. It was simply the triggering incident. It means that the conditions that drove people to loot were always there, and it really doesn't matter if a looting spree is triggered by the shooting of a kid or a blackout."

But the answer of the capitalist politicians is to "get tough" with the "looters."

Beame called for "no sympathy." Poverty and joblessness are "no excuse for looting," declared U.S. Sen. Jacob Javits. Manhattan Borough President Percy Sutton, a Black mayoral hopeful,



Garza (right) talks with residents of Bushwick section of Brooklyn.



Next time Carter plans to get tough with 'looters' like those above.

warned not to "go easy on the looters."

New York Secretary of State Mario Cuomo, another contender for Beame's spot, declared, "There are no more liberals—liberals in the sense that they would spend a whole lot of time thinking about rehabilitation."

And according to the July 19 *New York Times*, "Mr. Carter asked Defense Secretary Harold Brown to see what steps might be necessary to insure that the National Guard is able to provide the maximum assistance possible to prevent or deter widespread looting [in the event of similar blackouts]."

"They're outlining a grim perspective," Garza told me. "Ten years ago we saw similar social explosions in cities all around the country. They were sparked by some of the same conditions."

"Today things have only gotten worse."

"Yesterday's answer was a phony 'War on Poverty.'"

"But today capitalism is in so much hot water that it isn't even making many promises. Just the opposite. They're telling us to tighten our belts."

"And when something like this happens, that gets them scared."

"They're getting ready for a head-on clash."

Garza pointed out that the furor around the "looters" was partially designed to take the heat off the real "looter"—Con Edison, the New York power monopoly. He called the city, state, and federal investigations into the causes of the blackout "a fraud."

In a radio statement issued two days after his tour, Garza scored Con Edison chief Charles Luce. Luce has said that Con Ed's costs resulting from the blackout will have to be paid out of higher customer rates.

"I think it should be the other way around," Garza said. "Con Ed should pay the people of this city for all the damage and suffering its incompetence and money-hungry attitude caused us."

"If the federal government isn't going to provide jobs with decent wages for the poor, then the rich can't expect poor or working people not to take something when they get the chance."

"Jailing people in dungeons like the Tombs shows what kind of justice the rich and their Democratic and Republican servants believe in," Garza said.

"Instead of putting people in prisons," he added, "give them jobs at decent wages doing socially constructive things, like rebuilding the ghettos of this city."

"That's what the Socialist Workers Party proposes."

Eyewitness report: blackout in Harlem

By Joseph Harris

NEW YORK—It seemed as if the whole of this city's Black and Puerto Rican central and east Harlem was seized with one idea as the lights flickered out at 9:34 p.m., July 13—to get back some of what had been taken from them during years of cutbacks and layoffs, and callous gouging by Harlem's merchants.

Minutes after the blackout hit, I left City College by car with a friend. When we arrived at 125th Street in the heart of Harlem, large crowds had already begun forming.

I asked him to stop so I could get out and see what was happening. He left, telling me to be careful.

Working in teams, those gathered on the streets began pulling open the heavy awnings and gratings that guarded the more opulent clothing, jewelry, and shoe shops.

"This is just like the sixties," one youth said as he observed the happenings on 125th Street. His statement capsulized the overall mood.

Almost immediately the police came. The cops displayed none of the restraint for which liberal commentators have been showering them with praise. With billy clubs swinging and guns drawn, they tore into the crowds, beating and shoving people to the pavement.

I saw one cop chase an unarmed, empty-handed Black youth more than thirty yards with gun drawn. After overtaking him, he aimed his pistol with both hands—firing position—two yards from the brother's face. "Run now, sucker!" he taunted, before yoking the youth around the neck and throwing him into a waiting police car.

Cruising police cars began urging people to go

home. But more and more people would shout back, "We are home! You go home!"

* * *

Mounted police of a bygone era were noted for their charges into workers' demonstrations. During the blackout, New York City cops added the advances of modern technology to this time-honored means of stifling revolt.

Along 125th Street, marked and unmarked police cars raced up and down the sidewalk aimed at everyone in their way. This cat-and-mouse-game continued all night, with patrol cars—lights blazing and sirens blaring—chasing people on the streets.

I saw one young brother slip on the glass-strewn pavement and strain to regain his balance just in time to avoid being hit.

The cops' recklessness led to numerous crashes into parked cars and bus stops. Each crash brought a round of applause from the crowds gathered on the streets.

Cops would often set up rat traps around stores. Not able to mount permanent guards, they periodically rushed up and forced those caught inside to run a gauntlet of billy clubs and baseball bats.

I saw one youth, surprised in a drugstore at 115th Street and Second Avenue, beaten so badly he was unable to walk. His back was covered with blood.

* * *

On 125th Street between Park and Lexington avenues is Tri-Lex Pawnshop, one of east and

central Harlem's biggest. After ripping away the heavy grating, people set about searching the back storerooms for goods.

"Anybody want TVs," someone cried, uncovering a stash in the dim candlelight. "Some guitars and record players over here," someone else announced.

After almost everyone had left, an older Black woman, surveying the damage at Tri-Lex, said, "I'm glad they hit that damned place. They've been ripping people off for years. You bring them something worth \$100, and they give you \$5."

One youth who began running down the street with two saxophones stopped and told me, "I had to pawn my sax five years ago in Brooklyn. Now I'm gonna start playing music again."

* * *

"All right, stop right here," barked one of two cops who took a young brother by surprise carrying a box full of liquor. "What you got in the box?" asked one, peeking in. "Oh, you've been looting, huh?"

"No officers, I found this around the corner," the brother replied.

"Do you know the penalty for looting?" asked the cops. "You like to drink?"

"Oh, no, officer. I don't drink. This here is for my mother."

Outraged by the brother's defiance the cops clubbed him down with blows to the backs of his legs, back, and arms. They left him lying in the street and went in search of their next victim.

A few minutes later though, the youth got up, and noticing the cops were gone, picked up his mother's present and proceeded along his way.

Behind Carter's labor law 'reforms'

By Andy Rose

The Carter administration's package of amendments to the National Labor Relations Act is "a veritable bouquet of pro-labor proposals," said *Time* magazine.

If so, it's the cheapest bunch of faded plastic flowers Carter could possibly have come up with.

The administration itself carefully—and truthfully—denied that its proposals are pro-union.

Labor Secretary Ray Marshall said the amendments were merely "designed to perfect the implementation of the basic law." He said that both business and labor would "benefit from the reforms that will lead to a more smoothly functioning NLRB [National Labor Relations Board]."

Here's what Carter proposed in a July 18 message to Congress:

- Enlarge the NLRB from five to seven members.
 - Establish a deadline for the board to schedule union-representation elections after a union has signed up the required 30 percent of the employees in a workplace.
 - Require the board to seek court enforcement of its orders within thirty days . . . unless an employer files an appeal within that time.
 - Grant double back pay to workers who the board rules were illegally fired for union activity.
- Carter said adoption of such proposals would make labor law enforcement "fairer, prompt, and more predictable."

That is debatable. But what is certain is that none of these steps will hinder in the slightest employers who crush unionization efforts by threatening, intimidating, and firing union supporters; by dragging recognition disputes through the courts for years; and by refusing to bargain after a union wins a representation election.

One final item in Carter's reform package might appear to be a stronger weapon against these union-busters:

- Deny federal contracts for three years to companies that "willfully and repeatedly" violate labor laws.

Even as proposed by Carter, this provision is full of loopholes. No existing contracts would be canceled. Nor would lawbreaking corporations be denied government funds if the "national interest" was deemed to be at stake. This will be especially handy in continuing profitable Pentagon contracts to companies that flout the labor laws.

The J.P. Stevens Company—a "willful" and "repeated" lawbreaker if there ever was one—got \$14.2 million from the Defense Department alone in fiscal 1975. If Carter really intended to aid the exploited Southern textile workers by punishing



MEANY & CARTER: Happy days are here again?

this labor-law violator, *no new law is needed*. The administration could order all contracts with Stevens canceled tomorrow.

But Carter will not do so.

And the AFL-CIO officials who are promoting the J.P. Stevens boycott and who hail Carter's NLRB reform proposals do not even *ask* him to do so. Raising such a demand could provoke a confrontation with the Democratic administration, which is the last thing they want.

Labor Secretary Marshall said that Carter's labor law reforms would be "one of the major domestic accomplishments" of the administration.

He didn't explain that Carter's real accomplishment lies in giving the union bureaucrats an excuse to mend their fences with the administration—at no cost to Carter's antilabor social and economic programs, and with no gains for the workers.

Criticizing Carter and the Democratic majority in Congress was an extremely uncomfortable position for AFL-CIO President George Meany and the rest of the officialdom. If they persisted in mentioning the broken promises and antiunion actions of the Democrats, how could they justify the lavish outlays of union funds for Democratic campaigns in the past elections?

Even worse, how could they justify supporting these same politicians in the next election?

This dilemma explains why the union officials were so anxious to contrive a "compromise" with the administration out of the shattered fragments of their legislative program after it had been kicked apart by the Democrats.

The "compromise" legislation came especially

cheap for Carter, since it will promptly be bogged down in Congress and may never be adopted at all.

Time magazine reported: "A coalition of business lobbyists, backed by a war chest of more than \$1 million, is planning what the U.S. Chamber of Commerce describes as 'a long and bitter battle' against the labor-reform proposals."

The most publicized union concession in negotiating the "compromise" legislation with Carter was dropping efforts to repeal the "right to work" laws that bar the union shop in twenty states. But that is only the most *recent* union proposal to be abandoned.

Full employment, for example, was supposed to be at the top of the list of Carter's promises and labor's demands. That will, of course, not be allowed to interfere with the AFL-CIO's rapprochement with the Carter administration, and chances are no one will be so indiscreet as to even mention it.

But millions of workers still need jobs and a lot of other things that were never included in Meany's legislative program. Such as comprehensive free health care, more and better schools, an end to all forms of discrimination and segregation, a clean environment, and freedom from the threat of war.

These social advances will never be won by compromise politicking with the Democratic and Republican parties. The pathetic handful of reforms Meany is now hailing shows what that strategy leads to. But when the unions break with the capitalist parties and launch an independent labor party, the workers' political demands will be within their grasp.

Gov't memo calls for wiping out OSHA

By Arnold Weissberg

Top officials in the Carter administration have proposed drastically weakening the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA), which is responsible for enforcing federal job safety and health rules.

In a memorandum to the president reported in the July 14 *New York Times*, three key advisers—budget director Bert Lance, Council of Economic Advisers head Charles Sullivan, and presidential assistant Stuart Eizenstat—urged Carter to substitute "economic incentives" for strict enforcement of safety rules.

According to the *Times*, the memo declared that Carter should consider eliminating all federal safety regulations and replacing them with payments to injured workers and economic penalties against employers whose businesses have poor safety records.

The proposal was hit by the national AFL-CIO, which said it would "gut OSHA."

William DuChessi, president of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers, called it "nothing more than

fees for an industrial hunting license."

The proposed scheme would require either voluntary disclosure of accidents by employers or a vast inspection program. Since employers would have to pay for accidents, voluntary reporting is unlikely, to say the least. And since the whole point of the plan is to eliminate inspections, its real impact would be to void federal safety regulations.

If the safety regulations were abolished, the memo said, OSHA could devote its efforts to health regulation enforcement. This is merely a cover-up for the Carter administration's real purpose—to do away with both job safety and health regulations.

For example, the White House Council of Wage and Price Stability recently urged similar "economic incentives" to deal with brown lung, a disease caused by breathing cotton fibers.

The three advisers claimed to steer a neutral course between business and labor. Business groups, the memo said, want "simple abolition" of OSHA, while labor wants "more detailed safety standards" backed by a bigger

crew of inspectors.

But the truth is that the proposal concedes practically everything to the employers.

OSHA has been under fire from the employers ever since it was set up in 1970. It has been a favorite target of the ultraright, which has accused it of bureaucratic inefficiency, trampling on the Constitution, and stifling "free enterprise."

In fact, OSHA—far from having it in for employers—has been extremely lax in defending workers. It employs only 2,700 inspectors. They are supposed to check up on 5 million workplaces and 65 million workers. In 1976, OSHA got around to only 75,000 workplaces.

Even when it found violations, OSHA went easy on the bosses. Only 50,000 businesses were cited, and the fines totalled \$10.3 million—about \$26 per violation.

OSHA's inadequate enforcement of job safety laws is a life-and-death matter for workers. According to official records, 5,300 workers died on the job in 1975 alone and another 4.8 million were injured.

The proposed destruction of OSHA is part of the profit drive by the employers and their government. The Carter administration agrees that job safety is an unnecessary expense for business.

Although OSHA has been weak in protecting workers, tearing it apart certainly won't make the workplace any safer. OSHA needs to be defended against this latest assault. It should be beefed up and mandated to enforce safe work practices to the letter.

This attack shows that the Democratic and Republican officeholders have no interest in protecting the safety of working people. Many unionists—notably the United Mine Workers of America—are concluding that they can only rely on their own elected safety committees, with the power to shut down an unsafe job.

A massive public outcry is urgently needed to protest the Carter administration's proposed attack on OSHA. Unions throughout the country should make clear that working people are not willing to be the sacrificial lambs on capitalism's altar of profits.

Gov't harasses Sadlowski backers

Probe of steel vote blasted as 'sham'

By Andy Rose

Supporters of Ed Sadlowski, insurgent candidate in last February's election in the United Steelworkers of America, charge that the federal Labor Department is whitewashing vote fraud and harassing Sadlowski campaign activists.

Sadlowski filed a challenge to the election with the Labor Department June 17 after exhausting all internal union appeals. The department has sixty days to complete its investigation and will announce its findings sometime after August 16.

Joseph Rauh, the noted labor attorney who is handling Sadlowski's challenge, charges the department with conducting only a "sham investigation." In a June 30 letter to Labor Secretary Ray Marshall, Rauh said that the department has "turned its back on those who had the courage to challenge the steelworkers' 'Official Family.'"

Carl Rolnick, head of the Office of

Labor-Management Standards Enforcement, replies that his office is carrying out an "adequate, fair, impartial, and objective investigation."

Reports received by the *Militant*, however, confirm that the department's actions are anything but impartial and objective.

John Sarge is a member of USWA Local 1742 at Hughes Tool Company in Houston. He was an active Sadlowski supporter and an election observer on February 8. Sarge told the *Militant*: "I met with Labor Department agents Victoria and Barrows on July 8. They said they wanted information concerning three events—the assault on Jack Russell at Armco Steel on July 22, 1976, while we were distributing literature there; the shooting of Ben Corum at Hughes during a literature distribution on July 26, 1976; and the election procedures at Hughes.

"I explained what I had seen at Armco. A group of people knocked literature out of John Askins's hands, then returned to the local union hall. Union staffers came to the gate and tried to intimidate us, saying they wouldn't put up with any of this literature from Chicago.

"Then Jack Russell returned and told us of the assault on him at another gate. At this point the staff got more aggressive and we decided to leave. One staffer followed us across the street to our cars and tried to start a fight."

The Labor Department investigators, Sarge said, "spent most of the time trying to justify the staffers' actions. It was obvious they had gone over the staffers' story before talking to people on the leafleting team that was attacked.

"They wanted me to say that people distributing literature had used racist remarks toward one of the staff, and that the car I was in tried to run over one of the staff. This was all false, and I said so."

Sarge said he told what he knew about the shooting of Ben Corum and also tried to explain "what I thought were violations in the voting at Hughes. The tellers didn't demand any identification from people casting ballots—in a local of more than 2,500—and McBride literature was posted within thirty or forty feet of the ballot box.

"The Labor Department agents said these were not violations.

"They would not let me give any information about threatening phone



Rally during steel election campaign

calls to Sadlowski supporters before the election, or about visits by staffers to workers who had volunteered to be Sadlowski poll watchers.

"They wouldn't even listen to what I had witnessed at locals where I was an observer on February 8. They said they could only investigate the specific charges in the challenge filed by Sadlowski. But it seems they just decided beforehand what they would listen to and what they would not."

In the Cleveland area, Labor Department investigators took a different line. They visited or called Bill Waller, recording secretary of Local 14613, five times about false charges of vote fraud in his local. The local had gone for Sadlowski by a two-to-one margin, and Sadlowski certainly had not challenged the outcome there.

Waller was a prominent organizer for the Sadlowski campaign in northeast Ohio. The federal agents told him they had heard a report that his local used two separate ballot boxes in the election—one for Sadlowski votes and one for Lloyd McBride, the machine candidate.

Waller denied this and signed a statement explaining how the election was conducted and where the ballot box was positioned.

A few days later the investigator called Waller again, repeating the charge about two ballot boxes and

raising the claim that Waller had forced his co-workers to vote for Sadlowski. The investigator said the information came from an interview Waller had given the *Militant*.

"The *Militant* interview had one important error," Waller said. "I never said that Reliable Steel, where I was an observer, had two separate ballot boxes. All I said was that I heard reports that this happened in other locals.

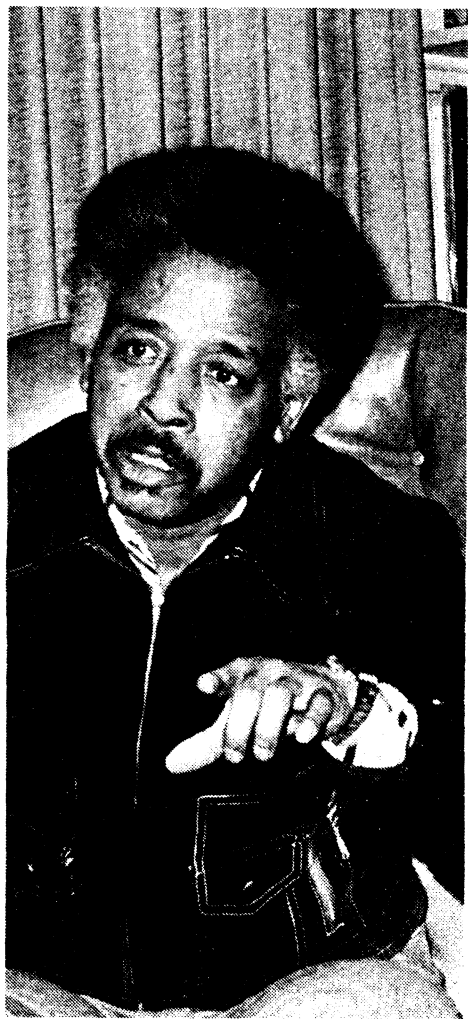
"But how the investigator twisted that—if that was where he got it—into a report that our local had two ballot boxes, I don't know."

The investigator later distributed copies of this *Militant* interview to Waller's co-workers at the plant.

Waller told the *Militant*, "They got the article from a McBride supporter. I know this because this guy told me he gave it to them. He also told me that the Labor Department was 'after' me."

Ominously, this harassment of Waller was taking place while he and other officers of Local 14613 were preparing to defend the union in a court case stemming from a walkout by members over working conditions.

Meanwhile, other Sadlowski supporters in Cleveland say, documented cases of voting irregularities by the McBride forces have not been thoroughly investigated.



BILL WALLER

Militant/Almeda Kirsch

Coleman Young attacks Detroit city workers

By Steve Beumer

DETROIT, July 19—Negotiators for the city administration and the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees announced

Steve Beumer is a Detroit bus driver and member of Amalgamated Transit Union Local 26. He is currently a Socialist Workers Party candidate for Detroit City Council.

agreement on a new contract July 18 after an earlier agreement was rejected by the union membership.

The new pact—details of which were not revealed—must now be submitted to a membership vote.

Eight thousand city workers represented by AFSCME Council 77 had struck for one day on July 6. It was the largest city workers' strike in Detroit history.

Members of other unions—including

1,300 bus drivers in Amalgamated Transit Union Local 26—refused to cross AFSCME picket lines.

The strike was provoked by the Democratic city administration of Mayor Coleman Young. Young's negotiators handed the union an ultimatum to accept a 4 percent wage increase in the first year of a three-year contract (the union had asked for 7 percent), elimination of cost-of-living allowance (COLA), and drastic cuts in benefits.

Young, who is seeking reelection this year, has put top priority on proving the city's financial stability to potential buyers of Detroit municipal bonds. In June he assured New York business tycoons that he "would take a strike" rather than give city employees more than a 4 percent pay raise.

Young's Economic Growth Council conducted a "study" that branded city workers as "overpaid and underworked." But AFSCME failed to reply strongly to the antilabor barrage. The

union was hobbled by the leadership's unfounded faith in the good will of the mayor.

The settlement accepted by the AFSCME officials in ending the July 6 strike contained major concessions by the union. They agreed to the 4 percent wage increase and to severe weakening of the COLA formula.

AFSCME members were especially angered when they learned that the 4 percent wage hike would not be paid until the end of the fiscal year—June 30, 1978.

In voting down the pact, union members withstood a flurry of propaganda by news media and union officials.

AFSCME head Lloyd Simpson declared, "All the criticism printed in the newspapers about the high municipal salaries is justified. In good conscience, we had to do something about the inflated wages in some catego-

ries. . . . We recognize that the city has limited financial resources."

The *Detroit News* praised Simpson's position as "highly responsible."

Truck drivers strike

DETROIT—Thirteen hundred truck drivers for the city, members of Teamsters Local 214, struck at midnight July 18 after the local membership rejected the city's contract proposal.

Walter Sacharczyk, Teamster business agent, said that the city's offer to Local 214 was even less than what was offered to AFSCME.

—S.B.

Socialists vs. gov't

Judge rules for CIA and NSA secrecy

By Diane Wang

Five years ago this summer, White House-sponsored burglars broke into the Democratic Party national headquarters at the Watergate Hotel. As Nixon's role in that scandal unravelled, Americans found out some shocking things about what "their" government had been doing.

Political burglaries, it turned out, were a common practice.

Four years ago, on July 18, 1973, the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance took a step that allowed the American people to find out even more. The socialists sued the FBI, CIA—a dozen agencies altogether—for \$40 million in damages and an injunction against political spying and harassment.

Over the past four years, the suit has been in what is called the "discovery" process, that is, gathering evidence.

The socialists have discovered plenty: Ninety-two burglaries of the SWP national office. Illegal wiretaps. Visits to socialists' landlords and neighbors to stir up trouble. Poison-pen letters. Political informers.

Much of this evidence has been about the FBI, although some has come from other agencies, such as the CIA.

In June U.S. District Judge Thomas Griesa ruled on two issues that affect the preparation of the lawsuit.

CIA evidence

First, Griesa cut off further discovery of evidence about CIA crimes. The socialists had asked details about CIA burglaries, wiretaps, mail openings, and domestic spying that had already been revealed through the suit. The CIA refused to produce this detailed evidence, and an agency official questioned under oath refused to answer.

After hearing the CIA's arguments and evidence in secret, Judge Griesa concluded, "The release of these materials would threaten continuing CIA operations and relationships which have value to the national security in a variety of important ways." His decision also included a secret portion, which neither the socialists nor their attorneys are allowed to see.

The socialists have decided not to appeal the judge's decision on the CIA. Syd Stapleton, national secretary of the Political Rights Defense Fund, which is publicizing the lawsuit, explained:

"It's clear that a legal appeal of this issue would take years and most likely go to the Supreme Court. That would be a long, drawn-out process, involving arguments against a decision we are not even allowed to see. We had to weigh all this against the fact that the CIA has already admitted to a whole

series of activities—such as burglaries and the use of informers—that we will be able to challenge during the trial.

"We could have decided to divide the CIA from the other agencies and treat it as a separate case. That would mean we could have a trial of our case against the FBI, while the CIA issues were on appeal. But we know that the FBI and CIA attacks against the socialists were really just two sides of one program. So we prefer to continue our legal action against both agencies as one case.

"Rather than delay the trial of our case against the government for years," Stapleton said, "we are going to take the evidence we already have and push ahead."

Evidence in hand

The socialists already have more evidence about CIA crimes than was documented by either the Rockefeller Commission or congressional investigations. Evidence from the lawsuit has poked holes in those official reports, showing that they were simply sophisticated cover-ups.

For example, the Senate committee said CIA spying inside the United States—prohibited by the CIA's charter—began in 1967. The Rockefeller Commission said the CIA stopped keeping records on legal political activities of American citizens in March 1974.

But CIA files produced for the lawsuit included material on the SWP going back to 1949. The CIA had reports on the socialists' opposition to the Korean War. In the early 1960s the spies collected reports on the YSA from New York, Berkeley, and Boston.

Ironically, the CIA's Boston field office reported on a 1961 rally protesting the murder of Congolese leader Patrice Lumumba—a target of CIA assassination squads.

And CIA spying inside the United States continued after the supposed March 1974 cutoff date. In sworn statements, the CIA has admitted its use of informers right up to today, as well as continued collection of information on SWP and YSA members.

Former CIA Director George Bush admitted other CIA crimes in a sworn affidavit for the suit. He said that CIA agents had burglarized and wiretapped SWP members who traveled overseas.

The CIA has also admitted having broken into places where SWP members were staying, copied their materials, and opened their mail.

Other documents show that the CIA has collaborated with foreign governments to keep tabs on political dissidents.

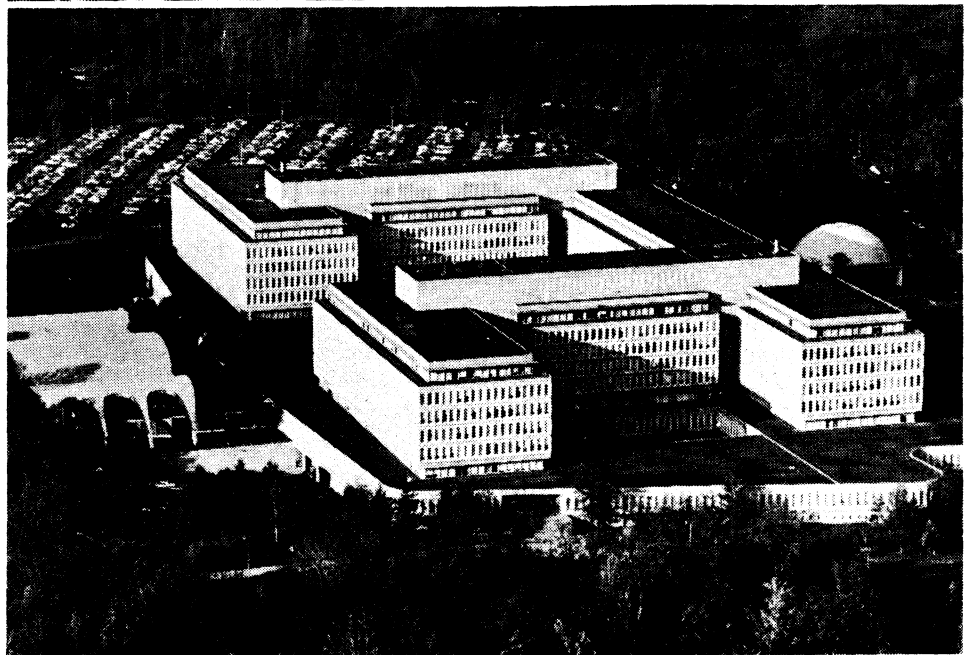
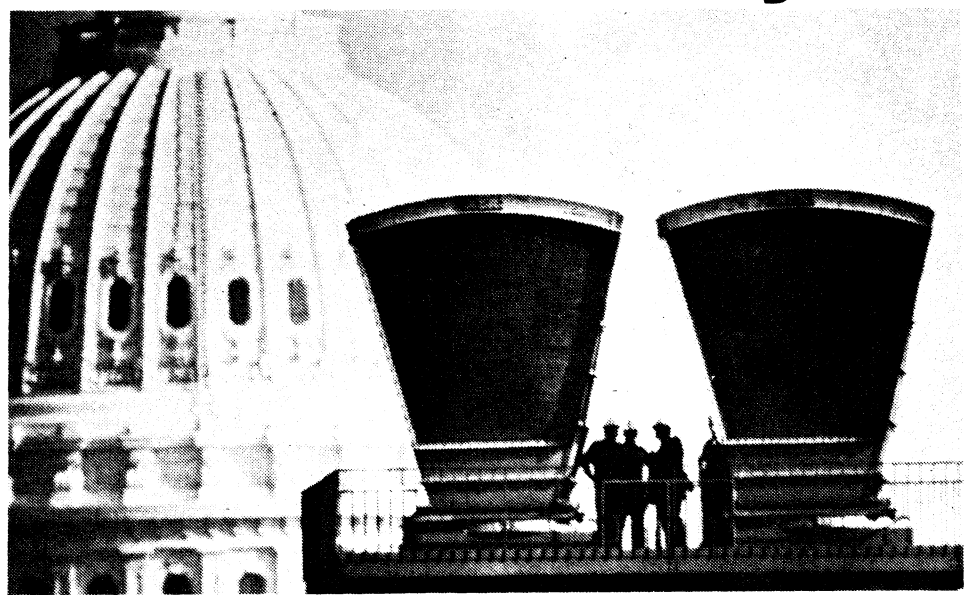
Superspies' secrecy

The second issue Griesa ruled on was secrecy for the National Security Agency, a supersecret, multi-million-dollar arm of the Defense Department. The NSA is even more tight-lipped than the CIA.

Among its other tasks, the NSA apparently intercepts nearly all airborne communications in the world through sophisticated electronic equipment. Since more than two-thirds of all long-distance calls inside the United States are airborne, the NSA is also able to monitor domestic calls.

The NSA puts the intercepted information into computers. In the past other political police agencies, such as the FBI and CIA, have given the NSA "watch lists" of names and organizations about which they want information monitored and stored in the NSA computers.

The NSA's tactic in the SWP and YSA lawsuit has been to stonewall. The agency refused to confirm or deny anything having to do with watch lists or electronic surveillance.



(Above): Microwave towers near capitol—Big Brother is listening. (Below): CIA headquarters in Langley, Virginia.

At one point Judge Griesa suggested that the NSA might produce a witness to at least confirm, deny, or object to questions. Couldn't the NSA say, Griesa asked, that "they have not been tripping the plaintiffs in supermarkets"?

But while the government lawyer didn't think the NSA had been guilty of that ("Certainly not to my knowledge, Your Honor"), he said the superspies would not even answer that question. Later, the NSA did file a document denying the use of burglaries, informers, and similar tactics. But it still refused to answer any questions about electronic surveillance and "watch lists."

As with the CIA, Griesa heard the NSA arguments and evidence in secret. His decision: "The need for secrecy far outweighs any utility that disclosure would have in the present litigation."

Since no evidence whatsoever about NSA activity has been produced, the judge's ruling essentially means that the NSA is so secret that it cannot be brought to court for any wrongdoing.

"The courts have never ruled whether the NSA has a right to eavesdrop on American citizens," Stapleton pointed out. "This is an important issue that we are not willing to drop."

However, an appeal of the ruling on the NSA, like on the CIA, could take years, Stapleton explained. Therefore, the socialists are trying to work out a way to appeal the judge's ruling, while letting the rest of the case continue toward a trial—which will undoubtedly be held before the NSA issue is resolved.

Fortifying secrecy

Commenting on Judge Griesa's rulings on the CIA and NSA, Stapleton said:

"Secrecy has taken another big step forward in the United States, deepen-

ing the threat to democratic rights posed by spy agencies such as the NSA and CIA. Any ruling that federal agencies are above the Bill of Rights is a green light to the agents who have hidden their crimes behind claims of 'national security.'"

Particularly disturbing, Stapleton said, was the government's procedure in seeking the ruling. The government's arguments to the judge were submitted *in camera*, that is, in secret. Evidence to back up their claims was secret. And part of the judge's opinion is also secret. The socialists' attorneys were given only highly censored versions of the government's arguments to answer in court.

"The government's eagerness to forget or cover up the CIA's and NSA's illegal workings make it all that more urgent that we pursue our suit against them," said Stapleton. "We all have a right to see these secret records and bring these political police agents to account."

Going to trial

The SWP and YSA hope to soon finish gathering evidence about all government agencies other than the NSA, Stapleton said. In the case of the FBI, the socialists' attorneys have stepped up demands for evidence. "We hope that the issue of whether we can see new evidence about FBI political informers, for example, will be settled within a few months."

"Once we have exhausted the potential for getting significant new evidence, we will be going to trial," Stapleton said. "The SWP's lawyers are fighting a whole range of delaying tactics by the government. But we hope to force the government to speed its production of documents to us so that we can rapidly move the case toward a trial. It is hard to predict a date, but we hope to be prepared by next spring."

Political Rights Defense Fund

The Political Rights Defense Fund is organizing support and raising funds for the Socialist Workers party's lawsuit against government spying and disruption.

Will you help? Return this coupon to: Political Rights Defense Fund, Post Office Box 649, New York, New York 10003.

Enclosed is my contribution of \$ _____

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Discuss national march on D.C.

300 New York gay rights activists meet

By Kipp Dawson

NEW YORK—In the wake of the big gay rights demonstrations, many activists are discussing the need for a national march on Washington, D.C., this fall to demand gay and lesbian rights now.

This idea was enthusiastically backed by participants in the July 15-16 conference here organized by the Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights.

CLGR spokesperson David Thorstad asked for a straw poll on proposing such a march to gay rights coalitions around the country. More than 300 hands shot into the air in nearly unanimous approval. Applause filled the room.

Thorstad is a leader of New York's Gay Activists Alliance (GAA). He had signed a proposal for such a march, along with other elected CLGR spokespeople: Michael Maggi of the Socialist Workers Party, Cheryl Adams of the New York National Organization for Women; Ernest Castro of Gay People at Columbia; Eleanor Cooper of Lesbian Feminist Liberation (LFL); and Father Leo Joseph of the Church of the Beloved Disciple.

Other signers included Leon Harris, president of the Greenwich Village-Chelsea branch of the NAACP; Sandy Gold of the Gay Teachers Association; and Tony Austin of the National Student Coalition Against Racism.



CLGR leader David Thorstad speaking to morning plenary session

The CLGR is a coalition of groups and individuals who came together in response to the June 7 defeat of Miami's gay rights ordinance. It includes GAA, LFL, the Church of the Beloved Disciple, Gay People's Union at New York University, Gay People at Columbia, the Gay Teachers Association, Greenwich Village-Chelsea NAACP, Socialist Workers Party, Village Independent Democrats, and others. The CLGR was also endorsed by the recent northeast regional conference of NOW.

The conference was called to help build an August 20 gay rights march on the United Nations, which the CLGR has initiated.

A Friday night rally featured Mary Jo Risher and Leonard Matlovich, nationally known gay rights spokespeople. They and speakers from Black, women's, and gay organizations received ovations when they called for a united response to attacks on gay rights. (See article below.) Greetings were also received from gay rights

groups in France, Québec, and English Canada.

On Saturday, two plenary sessions and nearly twenty workshops and caucus meetings discussed and debated how to build such a response.

Workshops and motions passed by the conference as a whole focused on

Continued on page 30

Actions set in other cities

The New York conference heard reports on local activities from members of gay rights coalitions in Chicago, Washington, D.C., Philadelphia, and Boston.

Among activities planned in these and other cities are:

- A July 23 march in Philadelphia, called by Philadelphians for Gay Rights.
- A Baltimore gay rights rally on July 23.
- A July 23 rally in Los Angeles sponsored by the Coalition for Human Rights.
- A September 23 action in Washington, D.C., called by the Ad Hoc Committee to Fight Anita Bryant and Dialogue for Human Rights.

Rally speakers urge unity against antigay drive

Following are excerpts from some of the speeches given at the July 15 forum of 200 people that kicked off the gay rights conference sponsored by the Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights (CLGR).

Leon Harris, president of the Greenwich Village-Chelsea NAACP.

At the last meeting of our Greenwich Village-Chelsea NAACP a resolution was passed that our branch go on record in expressing support to effect legislation guaranteeing human rights for lesbians and homosexuals in our community.

In some respects [your] fight is similar to the struggle of minority group people for equal treatment in America. Both groups' battles are against deep, ingrained prejudices. The racists and heterosexualists are bedfellows in bigotry. It is because we suffer this kinship in discrimination that I appear before you and wish you well in your fight for our common rights.

Lisa Gold of Gay Teachers Association.

I'm a teacher. I've been teaching for twelve years. When I first started to teach, I was positive that were I to come out, I would immediately lose my job.

That situation does not exist today. We have a guarantee from the executive director of personnel for the board of education stating in very plain language that the board will not discriminate against gay teachers and will not fire teachers for being gay. We have the support of both the United Federation of Teachers and the New York State



Harris



Gold



Risher



Austin



Matlovich

Teachers Association in resolutions supporting the rights of gay teachers.

David Thorstad, an elected spokesperson for CLGR and former president of the Gay Activists Alliance.

For the first time in history, our movement is on the verge of building a genuine, grassroots national movement to fight for lesbian and gay rights.

One of the most important tasks we have is to force the New York City Council and the political establishment in this city to answer the defeat of gay rights in Miami by ending its own infernal and infuriating refusal to pass a gay rights bill.

Now is also the time to take our demand for freedom to Washington, D.C. All the talk in the world about "human rights" is a hollow and hypocritical hoax so long as lesbians and gay men are denied their rights. The sentiment is growing throughout the country for a national march on Washington to serve notice on the government that gay people are not going to allow ourselves to be used as scapegoats for ills of society for

which we are not responsible; that in the face of persecution, we are coming out of the closets, not going back into them; that we want our rights, and we want them now!

Mary Jo Risher, a lesbian mother who, with her companion Ann Foreman is fighting a 1975 Dallas court decision that denied Risher custody of her son Richard.

In the [Dallas] courtroom in 1975... homosexuality was on trial. And homosexuality is on trial with every gay person who goes into the courtroom today. The majority of us face just what Ann and I faced, and that's the loss of a child.

I'm going to ask you, are we going to let the courts of this land take away our children because of the alternative lifestyle that we live?

We're also asking society: Why are your rights to privacy upheld, and ours go into the courtroom for the public to view?

This case is so important to me, not only because I want Richard back, but because I don't ever want to see a homosexual parent, male or female, to ever have to go through

what Ann and I had to go through in that Dallas courtroom.

Carolyn Pope of Lesbian Feminist Liberation.

We've got to start calling bigots, "bigots." We've got to start pinpointing our enemies and making it hurt... starting with Jimmy Carter.

Use your imagination. Can you imagine him coming out with a bold gay rights statement? Can you imagine [New York Gov.] Hugh Carey—who promised us an executive order defending gay rights to get our support in the past election—can you hear him now coming out strongly for human rights? Okay, how about [New York Mayor] Abraham Beame? Can you hear him coming out as much in favor of gay rights as he came out against Con Edison [after the New York black-out]?

We don't have to do that much thinking to find out who we've got to put pressure on, who we've got to drive out and show them for what they are. Because a bigot on gay rights is a bigot on human rights, is against the poor, is against the Blacks, is against the Puerto Ricans.

Tony Austin, coordinator of the National Student Coalition Against Racism.

Many people don't realize the interrelationship between the fight for gay rights and the fight against racism. Because of this we see some people willing to draw a line between the two struggles. This undercuts all struggles for human rights.

When NSCAR helped to build the May 17, 1975, Boston probusing demonstration, gays participated in NSCAR and had their own contingent. We're proud of that support, and in turn want to extend our support to this Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights.

I want to say in regards to David Thorstad's comments about a national march on Washington, D.C., that we in NSCAR say right on! We'll be right with you!

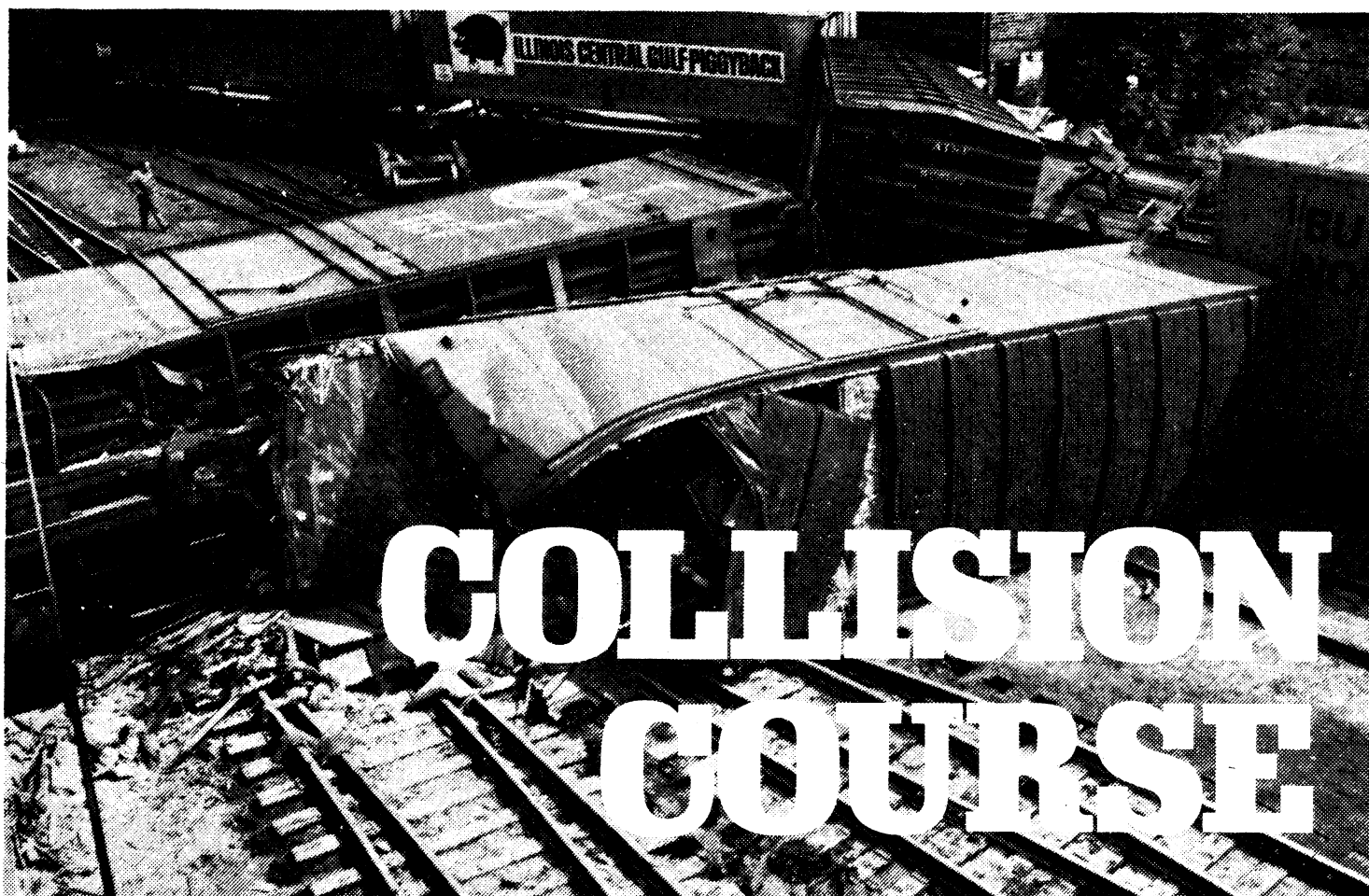
Leonard Matlovich, former air force sergeant who was discharged in 1975 when he announced that he was gay.

This society taught Black people they are less than human. It teaches gays we are less than human.

Everything I am and what I hope to be I owe to Black Americans—they showed me the way to liberation.

Blacks used to hate themselves so much they would use acid and lye to conk their hair. What have you done as a lesbian or gay to convince people you're something you're not?

I hope that [the gay rights protests] in the last month are dress rehearsals for the future. But instead of 500,000 people in the streets, we want two million massed on the White House lawn.



COLLISION COURSE

Railroads demand wage cuts, attack union safety rules

By Ed Heisler

In January the United Transportation Union announced its demands in upcoming negotiations with the railroads.

The UTU is the biggest of the twenty-one different rail unions. It represents 190,000 train crew workers, including all conductors, brakemen, switchmen, firemen, and some engineers. Current rail union contracts are open to renegotiation on January 1, 1978.

The UTU, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers (BLE), and most other rail unions are asking for a 45 percent wage increase over a three-year period, plus a modest improvement in the union's cost-of-living clause.

In June the National Railway Labor Conference, the employer bargaining group representing most of the railroads, responded with demands of their own.

They are proposing wage cuts, drastic changes in union work rules, reductions in the size of railroad train crews, and other measures to reduce the living standards of railroad workers.

Beatrice Burgoon, director of the Labor Department's Office of Labor-Management Relations Services, described the employers' demands as "the most sweeping attempt on crews and work rules since 1959."

This threat by the railroad owners signals an end to "labor peace" in the industry.

'Project 70's'

When Al Chesser took over as UTU international president in January 1972, he announced a program dubbed "Project 70's," using the company-inspired slogan, "Better Jobs Through Industry Growth."

This program of open collaboration

with the rail bosses supposedly marked a historic step forward for the union—a step that would result in unheard-of benefits for UTU members.

In a pamphlet widely circulated to union members at that time, Chesser told rail workers that "the time has come to change our outlook."

"We want an end to the warfare that has characterized this union too long," he said.

Chesser sat down with some railroad presidents to discuss his proposal for labor-management cooperation.

Under the deal worked out at that time, rail workers received badly needed wage increases, earlier retirement, and higher pensions. In return, the top UTU brass made concessions on work rules. Later that year, they also permitted the railroads to eliminate most firemen.

Until now, the companies have not pushed for further major work-rule changes or other union concessions.

So Chesser and other UTU bureaucrats have been preaching labor peace with the employers.

Government handouts

During those 1972 talks, the employers pressed Chesser to help them get the one thing they wanted most: billions of dollars in government handouts to build up their capital funds at taxpayers' expense.

The companies asked for official union backing for their scheme to rob the public treasury. And they got it.

Chesser supported their appeal for federal aid. He even bragged about the hard bargain he had struck.

"I . . . told these gentlemen," Chesser said, "that at that time we had no intention of supporting any carrier [railroad] program as long as we, as employees, were being subjected to the kinds of treatment that we were receiving at the hands of their officials."

Chesser pointed to some of the serious problems UTU members faced:

- "Deliberate contract violations."
- "Refusal to hire new employees and working present employees excessively long hours."
- "Harassing employees because of on-duty personal injuries."
- "Intimidation of employees."
- "Unwarranted and frivolous investigations" of alleged minor infractions of company rules.
- "Refusal to correct hazardous conditions."

- "Seniority rules and craft lines ignored."

Chesser warned, "We will no longer stand for the type of harassment and cheap practices that have prevailed, and still give of our time and effort to promote the programs of management. . . . We are ready and willing to give that aid and assistance upon being furnished proof that the hostility and vindictiveness of the past have been laid to rest."

Easily persuaded

It didn't take very much convincing—much less *deeds* by railroad management—to persuade Chesser that the employers had changed their ways and were now looking out for the best interests of rail workers.

Within weeks after Chesser's brave words, he and other UTU bureaucrats began to lobby in Washington, D.C., for every piece of legislation the companies wanted.

The UTU officials supported the Regional Rail Reorganization Act of 1973, which set up the United States Railway Association. USRA was responsible for planning and financing the restructuring of seven major "bankrupt" railroads in the northeast into the Consolidated Rail Corporation, or Conrail.

The rail bosses also rammed through Congress—again with Chesser's backing—the Railroad Revitalization and Regulatory Reform Act of 1976. This law allocated \$2.1 billion for Conrail. It also authorized \$1 billion in loan guarantees for plant and equipment, as well as hundreds of millions of dollars in handouts to other railroads for track improvements and other work.

In a second printing of the "Project 70's" pamphlet, published in 1976, Chesser assessed the "progress" of the project.

'Just great'

According to him, things were just great. The following gains had allegedly been made by the membership.

- 1) "Settlement of the fireman-manning issue."

"We have concluded a historic agreement which disposed of the fireman-manning issue," Chesser said, calling the agreement "an example of what can be done when both sides work to find solutions."

The issue was certainly disposed of.

How? By disposing of firemen. They lost their jobs under the agreement!

- 2) "Improvement in labor-management relations."

Chesser was vague on just how relations had improved. He had to be, because nothing had.

All the major problems facing rail workers remained.

Contract violations have not ended. Workers are still forced to work overtime when it isn't necessary.

UTU members are still harassed and intimidated by the companies, with thousands suspended and fired each year for the slightest rule infractions. (Union militants are often victimized in this way by selective enforcement of company rules.)

And most rail yards are still unclean and dangerous to work in.

Nothing has changed for the better.

- 3) "Establishment of ConRail and USRA to help the industry."

These programs certainly have helped the industry, but not the workers. In fact, some track gangs rebuilding Conrail's right-of-way are being forced to work an eighty-hour week at straight-time pay! Many track workers have lost their jobs.

That's progress?

Conrail laid off 1,200 shopmen this spring in order to impose speedup. In addition to these attacks, Conrail is threatening to abandon hundreds of miles of track. This will cause many other rail workers to lose their jobs.

Any more "progress" of this sort and we'll all be out in the street looking for work.

Benefits for some

While railroaders are suffering under USRA and Conrail, some UTU officials are doing OK. James Burke, an international UTU vice-president, was appointed to USRA's board of directors. He's collecting a cool \$300 a day for "expenses," while continuing to draw a fat salary and expense account from the UTU.

- 4) "Joint labor-management safety committees."

These committees are a joke. Railroad fatalities and injuries remain very high. Railroading is one of the most dangerous jobs around.

The union membership needs—but still does not have—safety committees controlled by the union. Such committees should have the power to shut down any unsafe operation until the dangerous condition is corrected.

But today, if a UTU member or other rail worker refuses to perform work because of an unsafe condition, that worker risks being suspended or fired for insubordination. Safe working conditions will have to be *imposed* on the railroads by democratically elected union safety committees.

- 5) "Three Presidential appointments of UTU officers to high national positions."

This really has Chesser and the other UTU brass excited. Chesser would like to get a comfortable job with the government or a railroad when he retires in 1979. His predecessor, Charles Luna, is now a member of the board of directors of Amtrak.

He's become a boss!

These appointments have not increased the power of the union membership, only the pay of past or present UTU officials.

All in all, "Project 70's" was a plan to help the bosses, not railroad workers. Sen. Henry Jackson (D-Wash.) spelled it out when he told delegates to the 1975 UTU convention, "The whole railroad industry has benefitted from Project 70's, the pioneering program of labor-management cooperation that Al Chesser designed."

"Project 70's" is a fraud. The railroad owners got just what they wanted out of the incompetent and company-minded union bureaucrats, while UTU members got nothing from the deal.

But today the companies feel that they no longer need the help of the union brass on Capitol Hill or anywhere else—except to impose conditions dictated by them on the workers.

Ed Heisler is a member of the Socialist Workers Party national committee. A railroad worker and UTU activist for ten years, Heisler was a leader of the struggle between 1969 and 1972 to win the right of union members to vote on their contracts.



What do the railroads want in the negotiations now opening up? The sun and the moon if they can get it.

Company demands today

They want major cuts in the size of train crews. Current union rules require most trains to have a crew of four, including an engineer, conductor, and two brakemen on road trains, or two switchmen in yard service.

Now the railroads are demanding "the unrestricted right, under any and all circumstances" to set the size of crews in order "to put an end to hiring new people." In most cases, they want to cut one crew member off each job. This would eliminate many thousands of jobs.

According to the railroad owners, full train crews are terrible because they are too costly and "lock personnel into positions in which they cannot realize their full potential."

This jargon simply means having three people do the work of four—good old-fashioned speedup and more work, with no regard for safety.

Wage cut

The companies are also proposing a drastic cut in the wages of all workers.

Currently, road train crews are paid on a mileage and time basis. They receive a full day's pay for a 100-mile trip, that is, 100 miles equals eight hours' pay.



AL CHESSER: UTU president

Many road crews are on longer runs. If they travel 150 miles, they are paid for a day and a half—twelve hours' pay at the straight-time rate.

When runs are completed in less than eight hours, rail workers are guaranteed a full day's pay.

But under the carriers' new proposal, road crews would only be paid for actual time worked. According to the June 27 *Business Week*, this "would, in effect, reduce wage rates."

The employers also want to end the long-established practice of paying all yard crew employees eight hours' wages when called to work, even if their assigned tasks are finished in less than eight hours.

The companies now want the right to send workers home and pay them only for actual time worked.

If they succeed, the railroads could use this rule to penalize union militants by working them only thirty minutes or so, and then sending them home after having made only three or four bucks for the day.

As if that weren't enough, the rail bosses are insisting that all new employees be paid only 80 percent of full union wages. New workers could receive full pay only after having put in 1,000 actual days of work. *That's more than three years.*

The companies also propose other pay-cutting measures, such as the elimination of all special pay allowances.

Work rules

The bosses are demanding major changes in union work rules. These changes would require road crews to perform work normally assigned to yard crews and vice versa. They would also eliminate jobs.

To top everything off, the railroads want to cut the number of paid holidays, as well as health and welfare benefits.

The union bureaucracy appears to have been stunned by these proposals after all their hooting and hollering about "labor-management cooperation."

In his initial response, UTU President Al Chesser called management's proposals "beyond the understanding of the thousands of loyal railroad employees."

He expressed "surprise" at the demands and said, according to *UTU News*, "that he could not believe the carriers were sincere."

Chesser said he would have to "wait" until after his initial bargaining conference with the carriers on July 7 "to accurately appraise the carriers' sincerity in the position they have taken."

Sincere & serious

The railroads are "sincere" and deadly serious. They are cocky and confident of their ability to deliver major blows against the wages, jobs, and working conditions of UTU members.

Chesser found that out during his July 7 meeting with them.

The bosses ignored his appeal to stop "this employer-employee war." Instead, they are gearing up for a war. The companies know that Chesser and his followers have no stomach for battle. He's a pushover, not a fighter.

Soon after this meeting, Chesser called a news conference. He attacked the industry's stand as "the most regressive, antiquated, asinine demands ever served on a labor union in the history of labor relations."

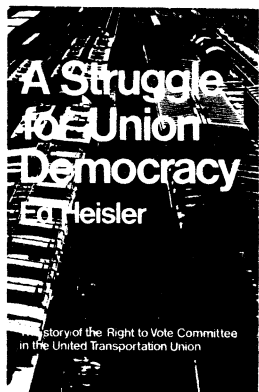
He charged rail management with being "inept." And in an effort to scare the railroads, he even announced that the UTU brass is asking Congress to consider nationalizing the railroads.

Congress won't. And it certainly won't put the railroads under the democratic control of rail workers—the only real solution to the problems facing UTU members and other rail employees.

At the news conference, Chesser expressed his fear that a nationwide rail strike might happen next year. Peaceful labor relations would be "torn up" if the carriers persist in their demands, he said.

But Chesser has already indicated a willingness to reduce crew sizes through local negotiations, rather than as part of a national agreement.

Continued on page 30



A Struggle for Union Democracy: The story of the Right to Vote Committee in the United Transportation Union, by Ed Heisler. 46 pp. \$75.

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Striking coal miners extend picket lines

By David Frankel

WASHINGTON—Striking coal miners in Stearns, Kentucky, have begun to expand their picketing activities against the Blue Diamond Coal Company.

On July 18, state troopers attacked an informational picket line on a road near Stearns. Striking miners had been trying to convince truck drivers not to carry coal they suspected was going to Blue Diamond, Mahan Vanover, a picket captain, told the *Militant* in a telephone interview.

Vanover said that the troopers "got a little rough," and six miners were arrested and charged with misdemeanors.

On July 14, thirty to forty Stearns miners set up an informational picket line at a Sterling Coal Company tippie in Stearns. The tippie, a coal-loading facility that serves ten area mines, was shut down by truck drivers, who declined to cross the picket line.

The Stearns miners suspected that Blue Diamond had been buying Sterling coal in order to fulfill its contracts. Miners have been on strike against Blue Diamond's Justus Mine for a year.

Jay Kolenc, an international organizer for the United Mine Workers, said in a telephone interview that the strikers established "informational picket lines just asking for help and assistance. . . . The men there just asked for help, and they got it."

A similar account was given by Chuck Shuford, another UMW staffer helping the Stearns miners. "They just told the drivers they were asking for help," Shuford said. "Nobody else dumped that day."

A United Press International dispatch on the picketing said that it resulted in the closing of the ten mines that send coal to the Sterling Coal Company tippie.

Asked about the possibility for further informational picketing at

various Blue Diamond operations, Kolenc said, "There's a good possibility that informational picket lines might be set up."

Meanwhile, in related developments, UMW President Arnold Miller met with the head of the coal operators association July 18 in Washington in an attempt to resolve a dispute over medical-benefit cuts imposed by the operators.

Many of these benefits are paid out of a union trust fund that is administered jointly by the UMW, the operators, and a third, "neutral" party. The operators pay a royalty to the fund based on coal tonnage mined.

When money for hospitalization benefits ran out, the operators refused to reallocate funds within the trust to pay for them.

This was an admitted attempt to cut down on miner militancy. The June 20 *New York Times* quoted an industry spokesperson as saying, "To reallocate now would be to ask the industry to subsidize and condone wildcat strikes."

Miller demanded a meeting with the coal operators to reopen the national contract. The contract allows for reopening to resolve national disputes.

Joseph Brennan, head of the Bituminous Coal Operators Association, refused. He also refused to reconsider the benefit cuts.

"He hasn't agreed at this point," Miller said. "But I ain't through with him yet." Miller did not specify what further action the union might take to force restoration of the cuts.

However, the UMW international executive board is scheduled to meet July 21 and 22 and is expected to discuss shutting down the mines for ten days in memory of miners killed in mine disasters.

The board meeting is also slated to vote on the challenge to Miller's reelection by defeated right-wing candidate Lee Roy Patterson.

New painters contract: longer workweek

By Roland Sheppard

SAN FRANCISCO—On July 1, 6,000 painters in the San Francisco Bay Area were informed by the local newspapers that we were in a "no contract, no work" situation—in effect, on strike.

The three Bay Area district councils of the painters union were negotiating separately, each on the basic premise that "what is good for the union employer is good for the union painter in their common battle against the nonunion contractor and nonunion painter."

The union negotiators from District Council 8, centered in San Francisco, had as their main "demand" that the workweek be lengthened from thirty-five hours with a seven-hour day to an eight-hour day and alternating forty-hour and thirty-two-hour weeks. The other two district councils had already given up this concession three years ago.

The employers readily agreed to lengthen the workday, and then refused to settle until they got more concessions from the union officials.

Painters Local 4 voted on the contract at a July 11 meeting of about 150 members. The package, with an eighty-cents-an-hour increase now and partial cost-of-living increases every six months for the next three years, was

presented as a victory.

Since 1968 the union officials have been treating contract negotiations as a hockshop, in which they sell previously won working conditions in return for wage increases for a declining number of members.

After the concessions given up in this contract, the union has very little left to sell except the label. A few more such "victories" and there will be no union left—it'll go down the drain.

I and other painters argued along these lines at the Local 4 meeting. The response was that if we did not give the concessions, the nonunion contractors would win out in competition with the union contractors. This argument only confirmed that the union is going down the drain.

With the membership not informed or organized for a fight with the employers, and with the officials having already publicly given up these concessions, most members felt they had no choice but to accept the contract.

The bankruptcy of business unionism carried out by the present officials has led the painters union to its present situation. The only way out for union painters is to develop a new leadership with a strategy for organizing all painters against the attacks on our standard of living.

BLACKOUT '77

Drop the charges!

"There are many things in life that are not fair, that wealthy people can afford and poor people can't."

—President Carter

The day after this statement arrogantly denying poor women the right to Medicaid funding for abortion, the lights went out in New York. And hundreds of thousands of poor people saw it as a chance to "make things in life a little fairer." They saw a rare chance to get a few of those things that "wealthy people can afford and poor people can't."

New York's capitalist politicians, horrified by these violations of private property, turned loose the cops to beat the ghettos back to submission.

Close to 4,500 people were arrested in twenty-five hours and crowded into tiny cells in 100-degree heat.

These people aren't criminals. The *real* looters are the tiny clique of bankers and big businessmen who have condemned millions to a life of misery and despair with their people-be-damned drive for profits.

Drop the charges!

Con Ed's con game

Who bears responsibility for the massive New York City blackout July 13?

Who should bear the costs?

Con Edison's \$200,000-a-year board chairman Charles Luce called it an "act of God." And on July 19 he told New York legislators that the *company's* blackout expenses would have to be passed on to its customers—higher rates for no electricity!

You won't find many New Yorkers who will agree to blame the deity and absolve Con Ed. No doubt recognizing this credibility breakdown, President Carter, Gov. Hugh Carey, and Mayor Abraham Beame have each ordered their own "blue ribbon" investigation.

Beame's panel is made up of three corporate lawyers.

Carey has designated the state Public Service Commission. That's the body that has allowed Con Ed to double its rates in the past five years, to levels 17 percent above the national average.

Carter's report will come from the Federal Power Commission. Last year congressional investigators found that the FPC has "consciously disregarded . . . mismanaged and betrayed" its mandate to "protect the consuming public from exploitation." The study said the FPC has served industry rather than consumers by relying on "often inaccurate and incomplete" data from the energy corporations.

Working people will never learn the truth about the blackout from these panels dominated by the energy industry. Whether they finally pin the blame on equipment failures, individual workers, or even "poor management," they are sure to cover up the real cause—Con Edison's insatiable drive for higher profits.

Con Ed has gotten rate increases totaling more than \$675 million in the past two-and-a-half years. This money has gone not to improve or maintain services but to pay off stock and bondholders. Last year Con Ed raked in \$301.4 million in profits (up from \$274.7 the year before) and paid off \$170 million on its bonds.

Meanwhile, Con Ed's generating system is aging, inefficient, and polluting. It's cheaper to leave it that way. Equipment will not be replaced or upgraded until it is profitable to do so.

Once the blackout crisis began, the utility was unable to draw on the generators that are supposed to provide a reserve. Why? Workers were not on duty to operate them. Con Ed has been cutting back its work force—and Luce says it will continue to do so.

Whatever the technical details of the blackout, it is certain that we can only uncover the truth through an independent investigation by committees of unionists and consumers with full power to inspect all Con Ed's books and records. There will be found the proof of unsafe and inefficient procedures, hidden profits, and secret payoffs to regulatory agencies, inspectors, and politicians.

Revealing the truth about Con Edison's responsibility for the blackout will reinforce the conclusion—which many working people are already drawing—that this vital utility cannot be left in the hands of private-profit interests. It should be taken over by the government—nationalized—and run by democratically elected committees of Con Ed workers and the other working people who depend on its services.

'Best of the left'

I've enclosed a five-dollar check for a six-month subscription to the *Militant*, plus a free copy of *Prospects for Socialism in America*. I am also sending a check to the *Militant* prisoner fund.

I love reading the *Militant* so much that I feel prisoners in their repressed state should have as much opportunity as possible to read this "best of the left" paper.

Keith Brilhart

State College, Pennsylvania

Protest neutron bomb

This "enhanced radiation" warhead, better known as the neutron bomb, has me more concerned than the atomic bomb or "H" bomb. This bomb is made to order for local use to destroy enemies of capitalism.

For President Jimmy Carter, who has talked so much about cuts in nuclear weapons systems, it looks like a double cross for the peace-loving people.

Another thing it shows is that capitalism is more interested in buildings than in people, especially if they are their buildings. Of course, every Marxist has known this.

Every rank-and-file worker in this country must protest this neutron bomb. Carter is the president, and he can approve this bomb. We must let him know we are against it. The way it looks now, Congress is in favor of the bomb.

During the wars, there was a big protest against the use of poison gas. I don't see any difference between poison gas and the neutron bomb.

Grady W. Vandiver

Morongo Valley, California

Radicalization in Palestine

There is a mass radicalization of Palestinians living in Israeli-controlled territories, *Militant* reporter David Frankel told an audience at the *Militant* Forum in Washington, D.C., June 25.

Frankel, who has recently returned from a month-long tour of Israel, said that some of the radicalizing Palestinians are turning to the Israeli Communist Party for leadership. Many others, however, are moving to the left of the CP, to the Revolutionary Communist League (Israeli section of

the Fourth International).

Frankel said the radicalization was caused by the Israeli government's systematic discrimination against Arabs, especially the confiscation of farmlands.

Joining Frankel at the meeting was Lynne Barbee of the Middle East Research and Information Project.

Barbee showed slides of the massive Israeli police presence used to intimidate Arabs, as well as the new settlements the government is building on confiscated Arab land in Jerusalem and the West Bank.

Lee Oleson

Washington, D.C.

Type, type. . .

The other day I stole some time from the office and wrote the following poem, which I would like to share with other readers of the *Militant*. I think that some of them would enjoy it. It has no title yet, but it is dedicated to other office workers who, like me feel alienated on the job.

*type, type
I am the type
that types all day
without my brain
a vehicle
for someone's words
no period comma
of my make
a human pen
I type all day
the boss's thoughts
his awkward prose
his stupid voice
I'd like to do it
on his face
with clattering
electric keys—
a business poem
across his nose*

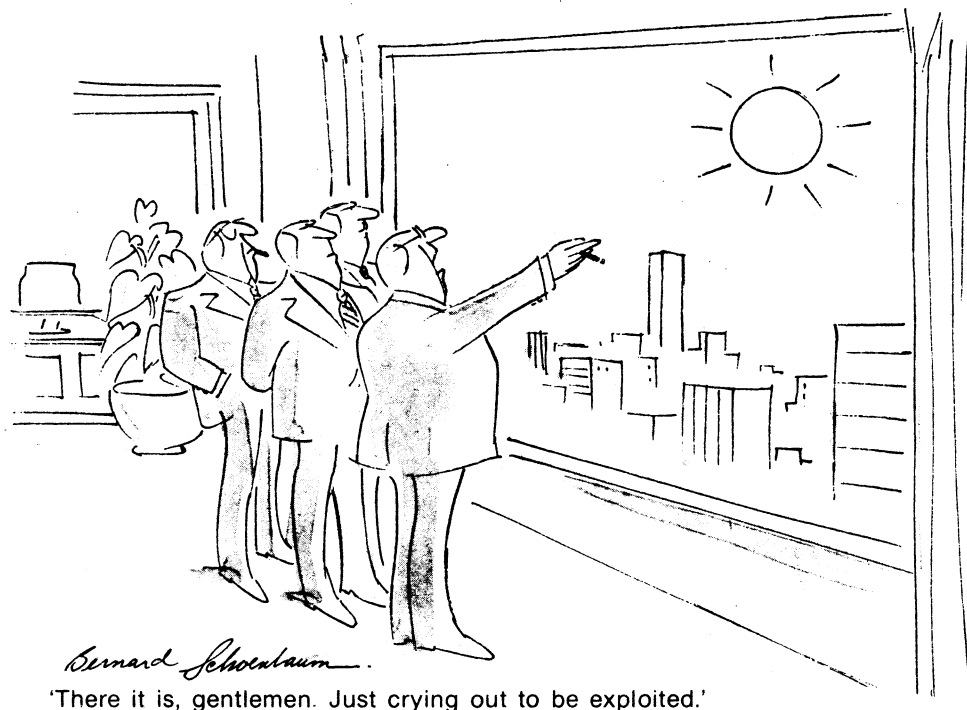
If you do print this poem, you can use my whole name. My boss won't be offended. He doesn't read the *Militant*.

Kathleen Neese

New York, New York

Chicano conference

Several of your recent issues stated that our organization is officially supporting the San Antonio conference organized by Mr. José Angel Gutiérrez. I am sending this letter to inform you that your paper is in error. This organization has not taken any official stand regarding this issue. As you must know, southern California as a



There it is, gentlemen. Just crying out to be exploited.

National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



Labor party jitters

whole has not yet supported this conference because of several questions which remain to be resolved.

Your paper has printed several issues listing our support when it has not been given; I therefore hope that in your next issue you, in fairness to our organization, will notify your readers that San Diego State University MEChA is not, as yet, endorsing the San Antonio conference.

Gerardo T. Reyes
President, MEChA
San Diego State University
San Diego, California

Waiting for sales team

Sure am glad you are writing about the coal mines, the nuclear plants, and, of course, all the articles about women.

If the sales team comes here again, some people can stay here with us. We are an hour from Morgantown.

Is there an SWP in Morgantown?
D.B.

Thornton, West Virginia

High journalistic plane

Please send me a one-year subscription to the *Militant* and a free copy of *Prospects for Socialism*. I am a member of the Socialist Labor Party, and I find your paper very informative and useful as a propaganda tool for Marxism.

Specifically, I appreciate displaying a picture of the author writing the article, in that it appeals to my human interest. The picture makes the author come to life and substantiates to the reader that Marxists are humanists.

I applaud you for putting Marxism on a high journalistic plane.
F.P.

Venice, California

Feeling high

After reading a copy of the *Militant* today, I felt high. High because I haven't read such honest reporting that gets down to the bare fact since last spring—when I first saw a copy of the *Militant*.

Time for a subscription now.
B.G.

Memphis, Tennessee

Taking the cure

Please note my new address and send the paper regularly. It's a fine medicine!

N.C.S.
Denver, Colorado

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.

The flurry of labor party excitement in the Minneapolis Central Labor Union soon subsided. It began last May 25 when MCLU president Virgil Moline spoke at a meeting of the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly, urging support for a proposal to "study" labor party prospects. A motion to that effect was adopted, and Moline promised that the need for a labor party would be raised at the Minnesota AFL-CIO Executive Council meeting on June 23.

The state executive council met as scheduled, but there was no report of any kind about the union movement organizing a labor party.

Whatever excitement was generated by this incident was largely a misunderstanding. Moline must have been surprised by the response from the ranks of the unions.

What is the purpose of talking about the need for a labor party when you have no intention of trying to organize one?

Moline had a purpose in mind.

He said he wanted "to start something right now to let them [meaning he Democratic Party, which in Minnesota goes by the name Democratic Farmer Labor Party] know that we're dissatisfied with the situation."

He was trying to scare the politicians in the Democratic Party. He had no intention of mobilizing the union ranks.

That's why he must have been taken aback when some local unions adopted labor party resolutions and the members began talking about how to organize a labor party.

Many union members still take seriously what the officials say, hoping they will find ways to solve such problems as unemployment and inflation.

Minnesota AFL-CIO President David Roe said, "I'm satisfied that the DFL-controlled legislature met the needs of the people in a number of key areas. . . ." These included a state minimum hourly wage rate of

\$2.30, raised to reach parity with the federal minimum, and a new provision under the minimum-wage law to prohibit management from forcing restaurant workers to pool tips.

These "gains" were not, of course, the full goals of the union movement. But they suffice to satisfy the comfortable officials for the time being, especially when there is talk of a labor party.

All those workers who would like to see a labor party organized ought to get together for that purpose. They will have to do it themselves, because the present union officials cannot and will not.

The labor party will be organized in the struggle for a massive public works program, for a universal six-hour day, for low-cost public housing, for free public education, against all forms of race and sex discrimination, and to clean up the environment.

The tipping system won't figure very big in all this. Instead, unions will again fight for union wages for all, including waiters and waitresses. And in the course of this the union movement will be transformed, recruiting millions of new members and developing new leaders.

The one person in the Minneapolis union movement who is really serious about building a labor party is Jim Carson, a member of the executive board of the Minneapolis Federation of Teachers. He is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, the only working-class candidate. He's also the only candidate from the ranks of a union.

Carson campaigns for the rights of Blacks, Native Americans, Chicanos, and all other oppressed people. He is in complete solidarity with the women's liberation movement. This is what makes him a champion of the labor party idea.

Those workers who want to build a mass labor party based on the unions ought to look up Jim Carson at his campaign headquarters. He knows how to do it and is off to a good start.

Capitalism Fouls Things Up

Arnold Weissberg



It'll be no one's fault

Washington is full of regulatory agencies. There's the ICC, the FDA, the CAB, OSHA, and on and on. The history of these regulatory agencies is a history of collusion with the industries that are supposedly being regulated.

The Nuclear Regulatory Commission's job is to make sure that nuclear power plants are safe. However, NRC officials take a different view of the commission's function, acting as advocates of nuclear power. Safety is, at best, a secondary consideration.

This was driven home in a June 29 *Los Angeles Times* article by staff writer Paul Steiger, who revealed that the NRC has been pushing a California nuclear plant, despite the fact that it's being built only four miles from an earthquake fault.

Pacific Gas and Electric Company, California's largest utility, began construction on its Diablo Canyon reactor in 1968. Construction went ahead, despite warnings that there might be faults in the area.

Three years later, geologists discovered the Hosgri Fault, located on the ocean floor, running a mere four miles away. According to Steiger's account, the Atomic Energy Commission (forerunner of the NRC) only heard about the fault two years later.

In 1974, the U.S. Geological Survey began to calculate the forces that an earthquake in the Hosgri Fault could generate.

Diablo Canyon's construction permit specified that it had to withstand forces up to 40 percent of gravity, or .4g. The NRC decided it could really withstand .5g. But that still wasn't high enough, because it looked like the USGS estimate on the Hosgri Fault would come in at between .6g. and .7g.

So top NRC officials began a campaign to pressure the USGS into keeping its estimate low, Steiger reported.

The attempt failed, and the NRC conceded a figure of .75g., 50 percent higher than even the most generous

estimate for Diablo Canyon.

But that didn't dampen the NRC's enthusiasm for the project. "We have a poor basis for this action at this time," Richard DeYoung, deputy director of NRC's division of project management, wrote in a memo on a proposal to deny Diablo Canyon an operating license.

"Such arbitrary conservatism would not be an adequate basis in this case because of the large financial loss involved and the severe impact such action would have on the nuclear industry," DeYoung concluded.

PG&E had already sunk more than \$1 billion into Diablo Canyon. DeYoung's first concern wasn't safety, but protecting the utility's investment, and the billions of dollars invested in nuclear power by other corporations.

Last March the head of the state's energy commission asked the NRC how Diablo Canyon could be speeded up. The NRC reply? It explained how to apply for an interim permit.

Although interim permits have been issued before, they generally restrict operation to 5 percent of capacity. This one would allow full power for two years.

The NRC also tried to squirm out of the problem by a new analysis of the plant's construction, Steiger wrote.

This idea bore fruit. PG&E suddenly discovered that its Diablo Canyon plant can actually withstand a force of .75g.

The NRC will open hearings on an operating permit for Diablo Canyon in October.

There's no nail biting over the outcome.

Meanwhile, opponents of the plant, who have been fighting it for nearly fifteen years, are planning further actions against the plant. The Abalone Alliance, an antinuclear group based in California, has called for a sit-in at the Diablo Canyon site August 6, Hiroshima Day.

The Great Society

Harry Ring



The American way—What's wrong with communism, we're told, is that it's "materialistic," putting economic concerns before moral ones. Not like, for instance, the manufacturers of children's nightwear that was taken off the market for containing a cancer-causing chemical. The manufacturers have since applied for authorization to sell the banned material abroad.

Who's "we"?—Scientists told a Senate committee that both human and cow's milk are now a major source

of disease-causing contaminants. Dr. William Weil, of Michigan State, testified, "As we have contaminated our environment we have contaminated our bodies, and in doing that we have contaminated human milk."

Cost-cutter—To economize, President Carter returned five presidential helicopters to the Pentagon. They were six-seaters that he didn't use anyway. He kept eight others that, AP reports, "seat about a dozen and are more comfortable. The big models offer

Carter a reclining, deep-cushioned easy chair. Some have built-in liquor cabinets."

Bargain day—"Heublein's ninth National Auction of Rare Wines at New Orleans was a sobering reminder that outlandish wine prices inevitably come down. Prime example is Chateau Lafite-Rothschild 1846 which in 1971 sold for a whopping \$5,000 but fell to this year's more realistic price of \$1,250."—*Los Angeles Times*.

Un-American—The director of California's Food and Agriculture Department filed suit against a Los Angeles grocery chain for allegedly selling milk below cost. He said it "tends to disrupt the orderly marketing of milk . . . necessary to assure an adequate and continuous supply of fresh, wholesome milk to consumers."

A question—Could there possibly be a more perfect symbol of capitalism than the neutron bomb, which destroys people while leaving property intact?

Women in Revolt

Alice Paul

The following is a guest column by Dianne Feeley.

Alice Paul, a leader of the women's suffrage movement and author of the Equal Rights Amendment, died on July 9 at the age of ninety-two. Although she spent her last few years in a nursing home, Paul closely followed the battle for the ERA until her death.

Alice Paul was born in January 1885 in Moorestown, New Jersey. Like other suffrage leaders, including Lucretia Mott and Susan B. Anthony, she was brought up in a Quaker household.

Possessed with a keen sense of justice, Alice Paul was first drawn to the settlement-house movement. Led by women such as Jane Addams, Lillian Wald, and Florence Kelley, this movement set up social centers for immigrants. What Paul remembered of those years, more than anything else, was that they were always burying the children.

During a stay in England she became involved in the suffrage movement, led by Emmeline and Christabel Pankhurst.

When she returned to the United States she discovered a suffrage movement that had sunk into the doldrums. Two million women had won the vote

in six states, but suffrage had not been debated in the U.S. Congress since 1887. Paul believed that suffragists had to turn their energies toward passage of a federal amendment.

She arrived in Washington in December 1912 as head of the Congressional Committee of the National American Women's Suffrage Association. She had three dollars, a list of suffrage supporters, and two co-workers, Lucy Burns and Crystal Eastman.

One of the most famous of the demonstrations Paul helped organize took place in March 1913, the day before Woodrow Wilson's inauguration. When Wilson arrived in Washington he drove to his hotel through empty streets. When he asked, "Where are the people?" the response was, "Over on the avenue, watching the suffrage parade."

This action put suffrage back on the political map, and—because the cops allowed right-wing hoodlums to attack the demonstration—the subsequent investigation kept the demonstration on the front pages of newspapers for weeks.

The suffragists associated with the Woman's Party were the first to picket the White House. During World War I, Wilson went around the world speaking about America's war to make the world

"safe for democracy." The suffragists exposed the hollowness of his rhetoric with picket lines demanding democracy for women. They were promptly arrested.

The section of the suffrage movement led by Paul remained uncompromisingly against the war, unlike the wing of the movement led by Carrie Chapman Catt, who urged support to the war.

Three years after suffrage was extended to women in 1920, Paul and the Woman's Party launched a campaign to win passage of the Equal Rights Amendment. It was to be the new wave of American feminism—growing out of the student rebellions, the civil rights struggle, and antiwar movement of the 1960s—that would take up and fight for passage and implementation of the amendment.

In the last few years of her life, Alice Paul became a living link between the first wave of American feminism and the second wave. Last year, on our way back from the May 16 ERA demonstration in Springfield, Illinois, all the women on the ERA Freedom Train signed our names to one of the posters and sent it to her. We hoped, of course, that we could pass the ERA before she died. The challenge to win the ERA remains before us today.

Willie Mae Reid



La Lucha Puertorriqueña

Grand jury claims another victim

The July 4 weekend was the first weekend that Pedro Archuleta had to spend in prison. The judge must have wanted Archuleta to always remember the two hundred and first anniversary of the United States.

Archuleta is the latest victim of a government campaign to harass supporters of the Puerto Rican independence movement. He was sentenced to prison for refusing to answer questions before a New York grand jury that is supposedly investigating a mysterious organization called the Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional Puertorriqueña (FALN—Armed Forces of Puerto Rican National Liberation).

The police say they have received messages from the FALN claiming responsibility for numerous bombings. One of the explosions killed four people at Fraunces Tavern in New York City in 1975.

Other bombings have occurred on the eve of mass protest activities by Puerto Ricans.

For example, explosions that the FALN takes



PEDRO ARCHULETA

credit for occurred in 1974 on the eve of the largest proindependence meeting ever held in the United States, when tens of thousands filled Madison Square Garden. Just before the counter-bicentennial was celebrated July 4 last year in Philadelphia, the FALN was alleged to have set some explosions. Ten thousand people marched that day in support of Puerto Rican independence.

A succession of federal grand juries in New York and Chicago have been investigating the organization for more than two years and have turned up nothing about it. However, they have shown an interest in activities of the proindependence movement. People who don't cooperate with their fishing expeditions are jailed for refusing to answer.

In mid-1976, Lureida Torres, staff member of *Claridad*, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party newspaper, was imprisoned for several months. In March of this year the two full-time staff members of the National Commission on Hispanic Affairs of the Episcopal Church, María Cueto and her secretary Raisa Nemikin, were jailed.

Now, Pedro Archuleta, a Chicano activist from Tierra Amarilla, New Mexico, and a founder of La Clinica Del Pueblo de Rio Arriba (The People's Clinic), has been jailed. Archuleta, as director of the

Catarino Garza



People's Clinic, was a member of the Episcopal commission and acted as a liaison for obtaining funds for the clinic.

He is also among the people subpoenaed by a Chicago grand jury conducting the same investigation. In Chicago, the grand jury has been stymied temporarily. It has been challenged on the grounds that the process for selecting jurors there discriminates against Latinos and women.

Archuleta issued the following statement before being imprisoned: "Grand juries are a principal form of repression today because their powers have been taken over by the FBI, who are major suspects in the killing of Martin Luther King and others."

"I will not be used to help the FBI or the federal government smash the Chicano struggle in the Southwest, or the Puerto Rican movement for independence, or any other movement for liberation. I will not become a stoolie for this system. . . ."

The Grand Jury Project, in its magazine *QUASH*, urges people to write to María Cueto and Raisa Nemikin at Room M-593 Metropolitan Correctional Center, 150 Park Row, New York, New York 10007. Letters to Pedro Archuleta can be sent to the same address.

10,000 at NY Int'l Women's Year meeting: strong support for ERA, abortion & gay rights

By Gale Shangold

ALBANY, N.Y.—“I am concerned about what is going to happen to women—especially the abortion issue,” explained a woman from Brooklyn. “I have never been to anything like this before. I wanted to become more involved, and I thought this would be a good place to start.”

The International Women's Year conference held here July 8-10 was a new kind of experience for many of the participants. By the end of the conference, 10,000 people had registered—more than three times as many as were expected.

The New York women's meeting was one of fifty-six government-sponsored conferences being held around the country, leading up to a national IWY conference in Houston, November 18-21.

“I used to be interested in women's rights,” said one conference participant. “But then, I went my own way.”

“What brought you back?” I asked.

“The Supreme Court's decision that states can refuse Medicaid funds for abortion,” she replied.

“I think the Supreme Court did a very tragic thing, telling women that they don't have control of their own bodies,” said a young Black woman from Manhattan. “I know what it means to have a child that you did not expect. After all, raising a child takes a lot of time and effort, heartbreak, and pain.”

Another woman told me, “I am a lesbian woman, and I don't expect to need an abortion. But that is not the point at all. I think my sisters should have the right to choose whether or not they want to have a child. That is the issue.”

On Saturday women's rights supporters and antiwomen forces both mobilized to attend two workshops on abortion-related topics. Five hundred people attended each one. More were turned away at the door.

Resolutions in support of the 1973 Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion, against the Hyde amendment prohibiting Medicaid-funded abortions, and against sterilization abuse were discussed.

Cathy Sedwick, a Black leader of the Young Socialist Alliance, received thunderous applause when she spoke in favor of the resolution condemning the Hyde amendment.

“It is clear that women are going to be seeking abortions. And it is up to us to make sure that these abortions are legal and safe,” Sedwick said.

Women were jubilant when the right-



Overflow crowd at abortion workshop voted by large margin in favor of safe, legal abortion.

Militant/Gale Shangold

to-choose resolutions passed overwhelmingly in both workshops.

The 150 women who had been turned away from one of the workshops held an impromptu rally. Led mainly by Black women, they chanted, “Let us in! Open up!” A petition was circulated, so that those outside the room could go on record in support of abortion rights too.

The recent attacks on abortion rights contributed to the large turnout at the IWY conference.

But women were also concerned about the whole range of recent assaults on their rights. A Feminist Caucus convened twice, with 1,000 women at its second meeting. Support for the Equal Rights Amendment, gay rights, and abortion rights were the basis of agreement among caucus members. Members of the National Organization for Women initiated the caucus.

“We won unions, the eight-hour day, and grievance procedures only after struggling,” said Liz Gonzales. A member of the National Conference of Black Lawyers, she spoke in the Women in Unions workshop.

“But more recently, we are losing a lot of the things that we had won. And affirmative action for women and minorities could be lost this fall if we don't win the *Bakke* decision in the U.S. Supreme Court.”

Resolutions protesting the *Bakke* decision, supporting the J.P. Stevens boycott, and defending pregnancy benefits were among those passed by the workshop.

Unions represented at the IWY conference included United Auto Workers; Communication Workers of America; Newspaper Guild; Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union; National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees District 1199; and Civil Service Employees Association. The New York Metro Postal Workers union brought two busloads of women.

Right-wing women attempted to break up the Lesbian Households workshop. They succeeded only in precipitating a debate over gay rights. One woman took the floor in the workshop to say that her daughter is a lesbian. “I've never been more proud of her,” the mother said. “I never thought that I would ever say this.” She received a standing ovation.

Toward the end of the conference many women felt frustrated because the election of delegates to the Houston conference consumed so much valuable time.

“What we should be doing is organizing to do something about all these attacks, instead of just getting these delegates to Houston,” said one woman.

Dianne Feeley of NOW-New York proposed at the second Feminist Caucus meeting that the caucus organize a public action on Sunday in support of abortion rights, gay rights, and the ERA.

Some NOW leaders in the caucus spoke against the proposal, arguing that to organize any kind of action would be a diversion from what they mistakenly saw as the most important task—campaigning for the feminist slate of delegates.

Members of the Hispanic caucus protested the fact that there was no Spanish translation, and facilities for their caucus's activities were inadequate.

During Sunday's final plenary session, the pro-women's rights resolutions were passed by at least a three-to-one margin. Unfortunately, there was discussion on only a few of the resolutions before they were voted on as a bloc.

Three hundred fifty *Militants*, 150 *Young Socialists*, and more than \$200 of Pathfinder literature were sold at the conference. And more than 100 people signed up to find out more about socialist ideas.

When women's rights supporters left the conference Sunday night, they felt confident that many new women are eager to join in the struggle for their rights.

Women plan protests for August

By Cindy Jaquith

At a July 14 news conference, the San Francisco chapter of the National Organization for Women and other groups announced plans for an August 27 rally in support of legal abortion, the Equal Rights Amendment, affirmative action, and equal rights for gay men and lesbians.

“This news conference sends two strong messages,” said Patricia Macholl, chair of San Francisco NOW's political action committee. “First, to women and supporters of women's rights in the Bay Area, we say join us in the fight to defend women's rights. We had the power to win abortion rights in 1973, and we can defend our rights in 1977.”

“To [Senator] Edward Brooke's committee, meeting on Capitol Hill to finalize plans on the Hyde amendment, we say: We will fight against your plans to deny poor women the right to control their reproductive lives. . . . We will not be fooled by these divide-and-conquer tactics. . . . We view the Hyde amendment as an attack on the rights of every woman in this country.”

The Hyde amendment, currently in House-Senate conference, would cut off Medicaid funds for most abortions.

The August 27 rally will be held at 12 noon, McClaren Hall, room 150, University of San Francisco.

NOW chapters and other women's rights groups are planning activities around the country on August 26 and 27 to commemorate the anniversary of women winning the vote. In New York City NOW is sponsoring a march and walk-a-thon for the ERA on August 27. A rally will take place in Central Park.

Labor endorsement for the march includes National Union of Hospital and Health Care Workers District 1199; Betty Roberts, president of District Council 1707 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union; and United Store Workers union. Performers Ruby Dee and Ossie Davis have also endorsed.

In Chicago, an ad hoc coalition of groups has called for an August 6 abortion rights rally at the federal building. The call grew out of a successful picket line of 200 people July 6, protesting moves by the Illinois state legislature to cut off public funds for abortions.

Meanwhile, Boston-area women are mobilizing for a July 27 public hearing on whether the state of Massachusetts should cut off abortion funds. An abortion rights rally and news conference will take place in Boston outside the state house before the hearing begins.

Women active in planning for the July 27 hearing include members of several chapters of NOW, Planned Parenthood, American Civil Liberties Union, League of Women Voters, and church organizations.

Child care & women's rights



Militant/Martha Harris

By Cindy Jaquith
and Mary-Alice Waters

When Jimmy Carter delivered his "president for the rich" speech July 12, he aimed his fire at women's right to abortion.

"There are many things . . . wealthy people can afford and poor people can't," he bluntly declared. "But I don't believe that the federal government should take action to try to make these opportunities exactly equal. . . ."

Carter's reminder to women that inequality is the law of capitalism is brutally underscored today for the 300,000 Medicaid recipients who face loss of government funds for abortions. But his maxim applies with equal force to another vital issue for women—child care.



In many ways the child-care question epitomizes the injustices of class society and the special ways in which the law of inequality bears down on working-class women and their families.

Child care also plays a pivotal role in the political debate with those forces who oppose women's liberation, who have traditionally charged that feminists are *anti-children*. From the anti-abortion "right to lifers," who accuse women of wanting to "murder" children, to the "Save Our Children" bigots of the antigay crusade, the enemies of women's rights are united in their opposition to extension of government child-care facilities.

The rulers of this country also fear the dynamic of

the demand that society bear responsibility for the welfare of all children. This is not a new issue. The battle over social responsibility for children is intertwined with the development of the capitalist system, the changes in the traditional role of women, and the resulting impact on the family system.

Nineteenth century

In the nineteenth century, the industrial revolution brought the first large waves of women off the farms, out of the homes, and into the factories and mills. American industrial might was built on the blood and bones of Black slaves and women and children factory workers.

But the superexploitation of female and child labor also posed a dilemma for the nineteenth-century capitalists. Taking women out of the home fourteen hours a day, six or seven days a week, undermined the ability of working-class women to provide basic care for the young and old.

Under the pressure of the labor movement and its allies of that period, the employers were forced to make some concessions. Restrictions were placed on child labor. The workday was shortened, giving women especially more time to take care of their double day's job—family chores and outside work. And, over time, the right to free, public education was granted to all. Previously, the right to an education—like care of infants today—was a privilege enjoyed only by the children of the rich.

During the Great Depression of the 1930s, the working class squeezed further concessions out of big business. The Social Security system and unemployment insurance were established to head off a mayor social explosion of the unemployed. These reforms were another step toward removing part of the crushing economic burden from the individual family unit and placing it where it belonged—on the government.

'Women's place'

During the depression, women workers were among the first to lose their jobs. The capitalist

myth that "women's place is in the home" served as the rationale.

A decade later, however, women's "place" was back in the work force. The abrupt shift was the result of World War II.

Faced with the need to draft millions of male workers to fight its war overseas, the ruling class opened up the job market to women, particularly in the defense industry. The scope of this change required the owners of industry to set up a vast system of child-care centers.

The Kaiser Shipbuilding Corporation, for example, ran child-care centers at the workplace around the clock. In two-and-a-half years, the federal government spent more than \$51 million to establish day care, supplemented by \$26 million in local government funds.

Politicians, private industry, and the capitalist media beamed their praise on women who worked. Day care was portrayed as healthy and beneficial for children.

Then, as abruptly as women had been brought into the work force and child-care centers constructed, the bosses reversed their pitch, as men returned from the war. Child-care centers were closed. They were suddenly discovered to be very harmful. Women lost their jobs. The myth of the "feminine mystique," glorifying the role of woman as "homemaker," was used to roll back women's new expectations that they, too, had a right to work and a right to decent care for their children.

Women were pushed out of the work force in massive numbers immediately after the war. But as the long-term postwar economic expansion accelerated, businesses began once again to hire women.

However, the expansion of child care did not keep pace with the growing numbers of working women.

Rise of women's struggle

The contradiction between the lack of child care and the number of women working came to the fore as women began to radicalize in the 1960s. Feminists argued that equal job opportunities could only become a reality if massive child-care facilities were available.

The vast resources of society, not the limited means of the individual family, should be used to provide the best possible life for all children from the day they are born, the women's movement said. This meant *quality* child care, not the overcrowded, understaffed custodial centers that were the norm.

This demand was in harmony with one of the central thrusts of the 1960s radicalization—the fight for the extension of social services to eradicate the inequities caused by class and racial exploitation. The demands for equal education for Blacks through desegregation, for open admissions to the universities, and for government-funded medical care also hit at the capitalists' prerogative of placing profits above human needs.

The women's struggle wrested some modest increases in child care from the government. But a tremendous gap still exists between the number of working women with children and the child care available.

In 1975 there were 28 million youth under eighteen whose mothers worked; 6.5 million were children under six.

Yet there are at most only a million places in child-care centers today, half of them in private institutions.

Day-care cutbacks

As city after city has reduced spending on social services in the wake of the 1974 depression, child care has been one of the first rights under attack. New York City, where the ruling class has driven its "austerity" offensive the furthest, has shut down 20 percent of its day-care centers since 1974.

Each time he gives the ax to child-care funds, New York Mayor Abraham Beame has lectured the victims that such "luxuries" are no longer possible in these trying times.

But to the many families dependent on child care, it is not a luxury, but a right and a necessity. It is precisely this kind of expectation that the rulers must try to roll back today in their campaign to educate workers that "there are many things wealthy people can afford and poor people can't."

For the Carters, Beames, and big business, the drive against child care is more than an economic question. It is also an ideological confrontation with the new social attitudes toward women and the family.

Role of family

The child-care issue poses in a sharp way the role of the family in perpetuating class divisions and reinforcing sex and race discrimination.

The family is basically an economic unit. Its traditional role is to care for the young and old, to feed, clothe, and house its members.

If meeting the needs fulfilled by the individual family were to become a social responsibility, this would be intolerable to the rich minority that rules. Its entire existence is based on expropriating the wealth produced by working people for its own profit, not for human needs.

The family system allows these profits to remain concentrated in the hands of a few. The children of the Rockefellers and DuPonts inherit the banks, factories, and stocks, while the children of working-class parents inherit poverty, inferior educations, and low-paying jobs.

Under such a system the individual has nowhere to turn but his or her family. Economic necessity compels family members to live together regardless of personal choice. Children have no alternative if they are to survive. Women are often financially dependent on the male head of the household.

At the same time, in the absence of a viable alternative, the family under capitalism is the only refuge from the brutal realities of everyday life.

The family is both built on the oppression of women and serves to reinforce that oppression. Women are the free domestic servants whose labor takes the place of social institutions that could better provide for such needs as child care, laundry services, food services, and care for the sick.

Women's role in the home is used to justify their unequal pay on the job and the denial of jobs altogether during times of high unemployment. As the example of World War II illustrates, the U.S. rulers turn child care on and off like a faucet to regulate the flow of women into the work force.

Force burden on workers

Today, in a drive to keep their profits high, the capitalists are determined to place more of the economic burden on the working-class family, cutting back not only on child care, but on welfare, unemployment benefits, Social Security, and medical care.

Coupled with these attacks is a propaganda campaign to reinforce the idea that the family, and especially individual women, are responsible for whatever happens to their children. It's a Catch-22 situation. If a mother works, she's accused of "abandoning" her children. If she stays at home and survives on welfare, she's accused of "getting a free ride from the taxpayers."

But these reactionary arguments are in basic conflict with the aspirations of women today to be equals on the job and in all spheres of life. They stand in stark contradiction to the expectations of the working class to a secure a qualitatively better life for its children.

While the government attacks on child care seem less immediate than the recent assaults on abortion rights, the Equal Rights Amendment, or affirmative action, the demand for a massive expansion of child care facilities remains central to the program the women's liberation movement must put forward.

Feminists need to counter the antichild campaign of the government with the clear demand for free, twenty-four-hour quality child care available to all.

Advancing such a program can expose the hypocrisy of the "right-to-life" abortion foes, the "Save Our Children" bigots, and the rich man's president, Jimmy Carter. It can show who are the real defenders of the right to life—and the right to a better life.

Gov't official: quotas 'impossible'

In our July 22 article in this series, "Affirmative action: major battleground for women's rights," we pointed out how the government and the employers are trying to freeze women and Blacks in the lowest-paying jobs, resisting efforts to implement affirmative-action programs.

Recently the deputy administrator of the Labor Department's apprenticeship office confirmed this objective. Asked if the government would meet the demands of women's groups for apprenticeship quotas, James Mitchell did not mince his words. It's "absolutely impossible," he said, according to the *New York Times*. "That's our position, and I don't care if it's on the record or off the record."

Two women's groups, Advocates for Women and Women in Construction, have demanded that Secretary of Labor Ray Marshall give women 40 percent of the slots in apprenticeship programs supervised by the government. This would correspond roughly to the number of women in the labor force.

Currently, 2 percent of the places go to women.

800 rally for Filipina nurses

By Debbie Benjamin

ANN ARBOR, Mich.—Chanting and singing, more than 800 people demonstrated outside the Veterans Administration hospital here July 17, demanding that a federal judge overturn the guilty verdict against nurses Filipina Narciso and Leonora Perez.

The two nurses were convicted of poisoning patients at the VA hospital in the summer of 1975. They were found guilty on the basis of circumstan-

A rally in defense of nurses Filipina Narciso and Leonora Perez will be held at noon July 27 at Detroit's Kennedy Square.

tial evidence, even though witnesses and even a recovered victim described a man—not the nurses—as a suspect.

The nurses' defense also pointed out that a VA hospital nursing supervisor who killed herself last February had confessed to the crime. Moreover, at the time of the poisonings, hospital security was so lax that any hospital worker, student, visitor, or patient had access to the victims.

The supporters who rallied July 17 included VA hospital workers and patients, and members of the Philippine Nurses Association.

Released on \$75,000 bond, Perez told the rally, "I have lost my faith in the American system." Narciso warned, "I don't know how many other innocent people will be convicted. What happened to me and Leonora could happen to anyone."

Judy Polachek, a nurse who resigned from the hospital to protest the conviction, agreed. "If PI [a nickname for Narciso] and Leonora can be victimized for doing their jobs, then the same thing can happen to me."

But, Polachek urged the crowd, "united we should be able to force a new investigation of the case."

In the first investigation of the poisonings, VA hospital administrator S. Martin Lindenauer had

encouraged the FBI to avoid bothering "his doctors" and to concentrate on nurses as suspects.

The FBI followed Lindenauer's advice and harassed Narciso and Perez during their investigation.

Kathleen Robinson, an alternate juror who sat through the three-month trial, expressed dismay at the verdict. "I know that when the trial ended there was no thought of convicting them," she said.

Trudy Hawkins, a nursing student who is running for mayor of Detroit on the Socialist Workers Party ticket, pointed out what is behind the case against the two Filipina nurses. "Being women, nonwhite, and noncitizens makes them perfect targets for such charges," Hawkins said. "These two sisters are the victims of a frame-up campaign by the FBI and the hospital administration."

"Last March prosecutor Richard Yanko said the evidence in this case would be technical, complicated, and confusing. Those are code words for frame-up!" Hawkins charged.

Frank Burns, a former co-worker of the nurses, and others also spoke.

Attorneys for the nurses have moved to have the case dismissed for lack of evidence. Attorneys have also asked Federal District Judge Philip Pratt to declare a mistrial.



LEONORA PEREZ and FILIPINA NARCISO

New smear in AIM trial in L.A.

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—With its case shot full of holes, the prosecution is trying to muster antigay sentiment as a club against American Indian Movement activists Paul Skyhorse and Richard Mohawk.

Skyhorse and Mohawk are charged with the 1974 murder of a cabdriver. The case is based on the unsubstantiated word of two people, who admittedly beat and tortured the cabdriver. In return for immunity from prosecution, the two have insisted that Skyhorse and Mohawk killed the driver.

After his two principal witnesses were thoroughly discredited, prosecutor Louis Samonsky summoned Carmel Fish to testify that she had seen Skyhorse at the murder scene.

But on the stand Fish insisted that she had not seen Skyhorse. The only time she had said otherwise was when the prosecution extracted a statement under duress while she was held in a Wisconsin jail.

The prosecution is now trying to prove that Fish is lying because she fears the defendants. With as little concern for logic as for truth, the prosecutor shouted that Fish is "rightly afraid" of Skyhorse, because he is "a vicious attacker of people and a homosexual menace."

Samonsky introduced into evidence a secretly recorded, largely inaudible tape of a whispered conversation between Fish, Skyhorse's former wife, and David Marufo, a friend of Fish. Judge Floyd Dodson admitted the tape as evidence, even though Marufo is now dead and cannot testify or be cross-examined.

Samonsky also moved to enter as evidence a transcript of a police interview with Fish at the time of the killing. There she reportedly said she had discussed with friends a rumor that Skyhorse had made a homosexual attack on another Native American.

Even according to the police transcript, the rumor was heard fourth-hand. And, the defense says, the alleged victim of Skyhorse's attack is prepared to testify that the accusation is false.

Dodson has suggested that a hearing be held to determine if there was substance to the rumor. Such a hearing, he said, would not be held before the

jury. But it would be held in open court.

The purpose, clearly, would be to vilify the defendants.

This move follows a similar prosecution attempt to frame Skyhorse and Mohawk earlier in the trial. The prosecutor announced in open court that a prisoner at Los Angeles County jail had sworn that Skyhorse had forced him to commit a sexual act, threatening, "We'll kill you like we did the cabdriver." Other prisoners supposedly witnessed the threat.

But in a matter of days each of the prisoners involved, including the "victim," gave the defense sworn affidavits that they had lied in exchange for special consideration by prison officials and the prosecutor's staff.

The defense has filed a million-dollar damage suit against the perpetrators of this frame-up.

Judge upheld

LOS ANGELES—The California Court of Appeals refused July 11 to set aside an arbitrary decision to continue the trial of Skyhorse and Mohawk after the prosecution and defense had arrived at an agreement for ending it.

The agreement had provided that the defendants would be freed after pleading no contest to a lesser charge without any admission of guilt. To the astonishment of all, presiding Judge Floyd Dodson vetoed this prosecution proposal.

The American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California made the unsuccessful appeal of Dodson's ruling. ACLU attorney Mark Rosenbaum told the appellate court that Dodson had a financial interest in keeping the trial going.

Defeated for reelection as judge, Dodson had "retired" before his term expired, got onto a panel of retired judges assigned to handle "overload cases," and drew the Skyhorse-Mohawk trial.

Dodson is being paid \$49,000 a year to preside in the trial, which, it has been predicted, may run as long as a year-and-a-half.

—H.R.

By José G. Pérez

July 17 marks the anniversary of the 1936 uprising led by Francisco Franco and other generals against the Popular Front government of Spain. This anniversary comes at a time when there is renewed interest in the Spanish civil war, because powerful protests have forced Franco's heirs to dismantle much of the fascist apparatus and legalize the largest working-class parties.

Today, working people in Spain and other countries are again discussing what happened during the 1930s. Was the republican side simply outnumbered and outgunned? Or were there other reasons for the terrible defeat that plunged Europe into the Second World War and Spain itself into four decades of totalitarian dictatorship?

The story of the civil war actually begins in 1930, when growing social struggles forced the resignation of dictator Miguel Primo de Rivera and, the following year, the abdication of King Alfonso XIII and the establishment of a republic.

The working class, although a minority of the population, had been the main protagonist of these struggles. The Spanish capitalists had long since made their peace with Spain's royalty, although at the last moment they abandoned Alfonso XIII when they saw his reign was doomed.

The initial government of the republic was a coalition between the social-democratic Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE—Spanish Socialist Workers Party), often called simply the Socialist Party, and capitalist republican parties.

SP leaders justified this bloc with capitalist parties on the grounds that Spain would now have to undergo a long period of capitalist development. Only after decades of capitalist rule would Spain be thoroughly modernized and thus ready for socialism, they said.

Social and political problems

The socialists supported the capitalists in setting up a strongly centralized government that curtailed the rights of the workers. But the central social and political problems facing Spain went untouched:

- One of the most important questions was the land question. Two-thirds of the land was held by large landowners, while five million peasant families eked out a living on small plots, sharecropped, or worked for a wage on the large estates. Cultivation techniques in use were backward and inefficient. A radical land reform was needed, but the Spanish capitalists, whose interests were intimately tied with those of the landlords, wanted no such thing.

- Spanish industry only got off the ground at the turn of the century, boomed during the First World War, then sank into stagnation. Compared to the industry of nearby powers such as Germany, England, or France, Spain's manufacturing was at a pitiful level. The pressure of the more advanced imperialist economies meant that it was impossible to fully develop Spanish industry under the capitalist system.

- The Catholic church hierarchy was a tremendously powerful political, social, and economic force, and the sworn enemy of democratic rule. For centuries it had ruled with and through the monarchy, to its tremendous benefit, and it wanted to protect its privileges.

The republican capitalist forces—whose economic interests were tied to those of the landlords, which were in turn the main base of the church—had no interest in waging the necessary campaign against this reactionary bastion.

- The army was a top-heavy institution that had taken over many of the functions of local civilian governments. The officer corps came from the reactionary elite, which also posed a political threat to democratic rights.

- Spain had a major colony at the time of the republic: Morocco. Located just south of Spain across the Mediterranean Sea, Morocco was ruled by the Foreign Legion and mercenaries. It was a ready-made base for counterrevolution.

The republican regime made no move to apply its democratic rhetoric by granting independence to Morocco, which would have made it impossible for Franco to use it as his base.

National question

- Spain also has oppressed nationalities within its borders. The two most important are the heavily industrialized Basque country and Catalonia. These are peoples with their own language, culture, history, and territory. The republican government refused to respect the right of oppressed nations within Spain to determine for themselves what kind

Spanish Civ



Workers stationed at a barricade in Barcelona during Civil War

JULY 17: 41 YEARS AFTER FASC

of government they would have, and what kind of relations they would maintain with the other peoples of the Spanish state. This meant that right-wing demagogues could appeal to the nationalist aspirations of the oppressed Basques and Catalans for their own purposes.

On each of these questions, the socialist-capitalist republican government made, at best, a few cosmetic changes. In the meantime, the government took an openly repressive stance against workers' struggles and against peasants who were mobilizing to seize land.

In January 1933, after two years of government promises of land, the peasants of the village of Casas Viejas in southern Spain seized a neighboring duke's land and began to till it. The republican government sent the Civil Guard against the peasants with the order: "take no prisoners." Later, they tried to cover up the massacre.

Reactionaries seized on the massacre to demagogically attack the government and eventually succeeded in forcing the calling of new elections. The masses, feeling betrayed by the Socialist Party and confused by the demagoguery of right-wingers, denied the socialists their votes. The governing parties were overwhelmingly defeated at the polls.

The reactionaries' victory was met by stiff resistance from the workers. The clericalist José Gil Robles began organizing an ultraright movement, but this clerical-fascist movement was stymied by repeated countermobilizations of workers, who

prevented provocative fascist rallies.

The SP's defeat at the polls had just been preceded by the victory of fascism in Germany. The impact of these events led to the crystallization of a broad radical current in the Spanish Socialist Party.

When some of Gil Robles's partisans were named to the cabinet, the socialists answered by calling a general strike, which was supported by the Communist Party, the Trotskyists of the Communist Left, and other groups.

Revolution in Asturias

In the province of Asturias, the workers seized power and held it for two weeks in October 1934. A Workers Alliance with representatives of the different working-class parties led the insurrection and proclaimed a Workers and Peasants Republic of Asturias. It distributed land to the peasants, confiscated the factories, and tried reactionaries before revolutionary tribunals.

The workers were finally conquered by the Foreign Legion under the command of Francisco Franco.

Although the insurrection of October 1934 was put down, this was not a decisive defeat for the workers. Over the following year there were repeated mobilizations for amnesty for political prisoners and a renewed upsurge among the oppressed nationalities. Facing increased discontent, the government felt forced to call new elections for February 1936.

il War



T UPRISING

For these elections, a new edition of the 1931-33 coalition was put together under the name "Popular Front." It included several capitalist parties, the Communist Party, Socialist Party, and the Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista (POUM—Workers Party of Marxist Unification). The anarchists—by far the biggest organized force in the workers movement—didn't join the Popular Front, but gave it backhanded support.

(The POUM originated as the fusion of two different groups of dissidents that left the Communist Party: the Left Communists, who were part of the international current led by Leon Trotsky, and the Workers and Peasants Bloc, which identified with the policies promoted by Russian Bolshevik leader Nikolai Bukharin. Although the POUM was frequently called Trotskyist, both the POUM leaders and Trotsky agreed that the POUM's policies weren't Trotskyist.)

The program of the Popular Front was procapitalist, rejecting nationalization of the land to distribute it to the peasantry, nationalization of the banks, self-determination for the oppressed nationalities within Spain, and independence for Morocco.

The Popular Front swept the elections. The workers and peasants viewed this as a tremendous victory, and this sentiment spurred a new wave of struggles.

The capitalists, seeing that the reformist leaders couldn't control the workers, decided it was time to smash the workers movement. The uprising of July 17 was not a putsch carried out by one section of the

officer corps: it was a carefully weighed decision of Spain's biggest capitalists, planned for months and carried out through the armed forces.

The revolt started in Morocco at dawn. After securing Morocco, Franco radioed to other garrisons to join him. Over a three-day period, virtually every garrison did.

The conspiracy for the uprising was organized under the noses of the Popular Front government, and would have been impossible except for the unwillingness of the government to move against the reactionary forces: the Catholic church hierarchy, the officer corps, and the colonial administration.

As soon as Franco revolted, the government knew about it. Yet the news was suppressed for twenty-four hours, as the fascists consolidated their positions. When the government finally did notify the public on the morning of July 18, it said the situation was under control and refused insistent demands from the workers for arms.

By that afternoon the extent and success of the rising was already clear. The fascists had seized the city of Seville and major portions of the country. There were clashes between workers and troops in many areas, because the government's assurances didn't satisfy the workers. So the government issued another news release:

"The government acknowledges the offers of support it has received [from workers organizations] and, while being grateful for them, declares that the best aid that can be given to the government is to guarantee the normality of daily life. . . ."

President appeals to Franco

Manuel Azaña, head of the capitalist Republican Left Party, who had become president of the republic with the support of the workers parties, tried to negotiate a face-saving agreement with Franco.

But the workers weren't ready to give in without a struggle. In his book *Homage to Catalonia*, George Orwell describes the revolutionary offensive that defeated the fascist insurrection in Barcelona:

"It was the kind of effort that could probably only be made by people who were fighting with a revolutionary intention—i.e. who believed that they were fighting for something better than the *status quo*. . . . Men and women armed only with sticks of dynamite rushed across the open squares and stormed stone buildings held by trained soldiers with machine-guns. Machine-gun nests that the Fascists had placed at strategic spots were smashed by rushing taxis at them at sixty miles an hour. Even if one had heard nothing of the seizure of land by the peasants, the setting up of local soviets, etc., it would be hard to believe that the Anarchists and Socialists who were the backbone of the resistance were doing this kind of thing for the preservation of capitalist democracy, which especially in the Anarchist view was no more than a centralized swindling machine."

Not only in Barcelona, but in Madrid, Valencia, and other cities, the workers crushed the insurrection.

Thus the civil war began not only with a counterrevolutionary uprising of the army, but also with a revolutionary uprising of the workers. Spain was at the crossroads: socialism or fascism.

The politics of war

All wars are the continuation of politics by other means, and this is above all true of civil wars, where a society is split into irreconcilable camps. The differences between social classes become impossible to contain within the normal framework of politics.

In Spain, the contending social classes were the capitalists and the workers. Such a struggle can seem inherently unequal when looked at solely on the military plane: the capitalists have command of the army and its equipment, as well as the aid of capitalists throughout the world.

But such a view is deceptive, as Russia demonstrated during its civil war after the Bolshevik revolution and Vietnam demonstrated only a few years ago. The capitalists are a tiny minority. The power of a revolution lies in its ability to win over the overwhelming majority of the nation to its side—not only the industrial workers, but also the peasants and the oppressed nationalities.

Dual power in Catalonia

Immediately after the fascist uprising, there was a situation of dual power in a number of areas on the republican side of the barricades—two contending forces trying to govern the same society. The

workers had thrown up their own militias, seized control of telephone exchanges and key industries, and maintained order as they reorganized all means at their disposal to carry out the war.

The old capitalist government still existed, however, although greatly weakened. It remained the government, even if in name only, by consent of the workers organizations.

This situation of dual power was most sharply expressed in Catalonia, where the trade unions and workers parties set up the Central Committee of Antifascist Militias of Catalonia, under the leadership of revolutionary-minded anarchists and POUM members.

Since the capitalists had fled to fascist territory, workers took control of the factories. Communication, transportation, and industry were reorganized under the control of elected committees.

After smashing fascist forces within Catalonia, the workers' militias marched into Aragón, a neighboring agricultural region initially seized by the fascists.

The worker-soldiers organized a social revolution in every town they took from the fascists. Power was turned over to elected village committees. Land, supplies, and machinery were confiscated and given to the peasants. Land titles, mortgages, debt documents were thrown into bonfires.

As a result of these policies, the Aragón campaign of the Catalan militias was immensely successful—the most successful campaign carried out by the "republican" or "loyalist" side during the civil war.

Unfortunately, the policy followed in Barcelona and Aragón was the exception rather than the rule. In Madrid, the Communist and Socialist parties were in the leadership, and they did everything in their power to subordinate the workers' militias to Azaña's cabinet. Within a couple of months of the uprising, Azaña reinforced the capitalist government by bringing Socialist and Communist ministers into it, who were more than happy to cooperate.

Even in Barcelona, the government was able to reestablish its authority by bringing into it the most important workers organizations.

Republican counterrevolution

The program of the reorganized Popular Front governments was the program of counterrevolution.

In Barcelona, the first step taken by the government was dissolution of the Central Committee of Antifascist Militias of Catalonia, as well as all the local antifascist committees.

In Madrid, the first step of the central government was to reconstitute a capitalist army and police force to replace the workers' militias and patrols that had been formed in the first weeks of the struggle.

There was an onslaught against freedom of expression and of the press, directed against the left. Under the slogan of "state control" and "municipalization" of industry, the power of workers' committees that controlled production was undercut.

How was it possible for a handful of capitalist politicians to impose their program on an armed, mobilized, and organized working class? To answer this question we have to examine the policies of the main workers organizations:

The Communist Party followed an unwaveringly procapitalist program. Its policy was based not on winning the civil war and the needs of the Spanish workers and peasants. Rather, it was designed to serve the narrow-minded foreign policy tactics of the Soviet bureaucracy.

Stalin was angling for a deal with the British and French imperialists against the German imperialists. He felt it necessary to show in practice that the Soviet Union wasn't interested in revolution. So, for example, *l'Humanité*, newspaper of the French Communist Party, reported early in August of 1936:

"The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain requests us to inform the public, in reply to the fantastic and tendentious reports published by certain newspapers, that the Spanish people are not striving for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but know only one aim: the defense of republican order, while respecting property."

Nonintervention Agreement

In the service of seeking an alliance with the British and French capitalists, Stalin signed a Nonintervention Agreement and refused the republican material aid during the initial crucial months of the civil war. Later, aid was doled out through an eyedropper: enough to hold off the fascists, but not enough to win. The reason was that an early defeat of the fascist forces would have led straight to

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...Spain

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socialist revolution.

The Communist Party entered the civil war as a small minority of the working class, but grew quickly. Its major recruitment was not among the workers, however, but among rich peasants, and even capitalists.

The CP also enhanced its prestige through the aid the Soviet Union finally began sending to the republican side. The Stalinists used this aid as a factional club against their opponents in the workers movement. Militias composed of revolutionary-minded workers were denied Soviet weapons and supplies.

Stalinist dungeons

In addition, the CP set up a private political police parallel to the capitalist police force that it was helping to revive. It was a division of labor: the dirtiest work was handled by the Stalinists, led by the skilled GPU (Soviet secret police) agents sent from Moscow. Many of the best revolutionists were tortured and murdered in the Stalinist dungeons.

The Socialist Party was divided into two broad currents. The right wing followed a policy indistinguishable from the Stalinists—although for different reasons—and was in a political bloc with the CP until the defeat of the republic. They represented the continuity with the policy of 1931-33.

The left-wing socialists, the anarchists, and the POUM were centrists—they vacillated between a revolutionary policy and the policy of the CP-SP right wing; they were revolutionary in their words, but, at best, indecisive when push came to shove.

The anarchists had two organizations—the small, conspiratorial, Federación Anarquista Ibérica (FAI—Iberian Anarchist Federation) and the union led by the FAI, the Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (CNT—National Confederation of Labor). The CNT, the largest trade-union federation in the country, was overwhelmingly predominant in Catalonia.

The anarchists were opposed to a centralized state power of any kind, whether that state defended private, capitalist property or socialized property.

For this reason, they never saw their way clear to dispersing the capitalist government and setting up a workers state—even when they were leading the embryo of a workers state in Catalonia, the Central Committee of Antifascist Militias. Having no alternative political perspective, they ended up joining the Popular Front government.

The left socialists

The left-wing socialists were very critical of the counterrevolutionary policies of the Stalinists and the right-wing social democrats. Quotes from Lenin's *State and Revolution* graced the pages of their newspaper *Claridad*.

But they never followed the criticisms to their logical conclusion, which would have meant adopting a perspective of organizing, coordinating, and centralizing factory committees, militias, and other working-class organizations so they could be a power that could direct a revolutionary struggle against Franco and build a new Spain. They saw the need to centralize the struggle against Franco, but looked to the bourgeois republican Azaña to accomplish this rather than to the workers' organizations. Their central leader, Francisco Largo Caballero, became head of a new Popular Front cabinet in September 1936.

The POUM was a relatively small party, but in Barcelona it quickly grew in the first weeks after July 17 due to the leadership role it played in defeating the fascists. Possibly the most radical of the parties with mass influence, the POUM also wavered during the decisive months and was to pay the price much sooner than the other workers organizations.

War in whose interests?

The question of coalition governments is decisive in a situation such as that which existed in Spain. The real question was: In whose interests should the war be fought? The capitalist ministers in the government symbolized that the republican side would try to keep the struggle strictly within the limits of the interests of the landlords and capitalists.

What this meant is graphically illustrated in the first few lines of Felix Morrow's article "The Civil War in Spain," included in the book *Revolution and Counterrevolution in Spain*.

"Fascist soldiers and workers' militiamen, entrenched near each other. In a lull in the fighting they shout arguments back and forth:

"You are the sons of peasants and workers,"

shouts a militiaman. 'You should be here with us, fighting for the republic, where there is democracy and freedom.'

"The retort is prompt; it is the argument with which the peasantry has answered every reformist appeal since the republic came in 1931:

"What did the Republic give you to eat? What has the Republic done for us that we should fight for it?"

"In this little incident, reported casually in the press, you have the essence of the problem of the civil war."

The capitalists, through their army, had declared war on the workers with a clear program: death to the unions, death to the workers parties, death to democratic rights. The workers, despite the Popular Front government, declared war on their capitalist enemies. But the program imposed by their leaders was: respect property, let us convince the capitalists that they don't need a Franco to safeguard their profits.

How to defeat Franco

The slogan of the bourgeois republicans and Stalinists was: "Let's finish Franco first, and make the revolution afterward." But the actual experience of the war itself had demonstrated that the only way to "finish Franco" was through mobilizing the tremendous power of the worker and peasant masses by combining the struggle against Franco with a revolutionary struggle against the system of exploitation and oppression.

The question of what program was needed to fight the fascists dominated every sphere of activity, including military.

This was illustrated in the Basque country, which was the only section of the country where the capitalists didn't immediately sign up with Franco. Due to their historical links with British imperialism, the Basque capitalists were reluctant to throw in their lot with the Italians and the Germans.

The Popular Front government put the Basque capitalists in charge of organizing the defense on the northern front. And the front remained totally inactive until it was taken, without serious resistance, by Franco's forces. No attempt was made to defend the industrial cities of the Basque country. The cities—including militarily strategic factories—were handed to Franco untouched.

Policy toward Morocco

Another example: Morocco. For the first several months, Franco's armies were dependent on supplies from Morocco. The republic didn't use the most obvious weapon—declaring Morocco independent and aiding an independence movement there. Why not? Because this would have upset French and British imperialism, which had colonies nearby.

When the army revolted, one sector of the armed forces remained loyal to the republic: the navy. This was due to the fact that the rank-and-file sailors were largely workers rather than peasants. But the navy wasn't used against the supply lines. Why? Because the Popular Front hoped for help from Britain and France, and if Franco's supply lines were cut, the German and Italian fascists might intervene more directly. Britain and France were following a policy of appeasement toward Hitler.

As it turned out, Franco got all the help he needed from Germany and Italy. The French and British "democracies" adopted a policy of selling no war

supplies to either side—which meant, in fact, boycotting the antifascist side, since Franco already had suppliers.

With the mass workers organizations trapped in the Popular Front, the capitalist politicians, with the help of the Stalinists, went on a campaign to wipe out the revolutionary gains of the first weeks of the civil war.

The turning point came in Barcelona in May 1937. Having already taken back many of the early gains, the capitalists and the Stalinists decided it was time to take back the telephone exchange held by anarchist workers—the symbol of the workers' revolutionary gains. The cops attacked the telephone exchange, and the anarchist workers fought back. Thousands poured into the streets and erected barricades as in July, and, by all accounts, most of the city immediately came under their control. The workers could have seized power in Barcelona during May—if there had been a leadership willing to organize the task.

But there was no leadership. The anarchist leaders had been housebroken through months of collaboration in Popular Front governments; the POUM, which at the end tipped the scales for demobilization, simply declared the battle won since the telephone exchange was still in the hands of the workers, and told everyone to go home, since the government had agreed there would be no reprisals.

With Stalinists in the leadership, the government unleashed a campaign of reprisals. The telephone exchange was taken as soon as the barricades were down. Hundreds of workers—anarchists mainly—were executed.

Cabinet reorganized

Since the anarchists and left socialists were no longer effective in controlling the masses, the cabinet was reorganized and the CNT and left socialist ministers excluded.

This was quickly followed by new attacks. The POUM was declared an illegal party, its leaders arrested on the charge of being fascist agents. Andrés Nin, the best-known leader, was taken to a private CP prison and then secretly executed.

Workers' control of industry was dismantled. The agricultural cooperatives were broken up. The government took control of all radio stations previously run by the unions and political parties. Press censorship became complete. It became a crime to criticize the Soviet Union. It also became a crime to denounce anyone as a fascist unless a court had already convicted the person of being a fascist. The revolutionary divisions were sent into combat without air or ground support.

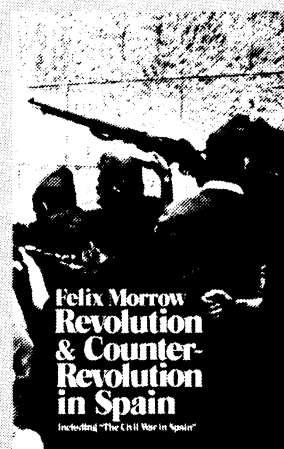
Although Franco did not consolidate his rule over all of Spain until the end of March 1939, the last twenty-two months of the civil war were a history of demoralization, betrayal, and defeat. At the very end, the "loyal" officers that the Stalinist-capitalist bloc put in command of the troops overthrew the government and handed over what was left of republican Spain to Franco.

The Spanish civil war was a turning point in modern history and is rich in lessons for today. The central lesson is the need for a party armed with a program based on the organizational and political independence of the working class and determined to lead the masses into putting that program into practice.

On the Spanish civil war



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40 writers' open letter

Iranians say: 'we want free speech!'

From Intercontinental Press

[The following open letter was sent to Amir-Abbas Hoveyda, prime minister of Iran, on June 13, 1977, by forty prominent Iranian writers, poets, critics, and social scientists.]

[The translation is by the exiled Iranian poet Reza Baraheni. Baraheni, a former political prisoner who was jailed and tortured for 102 days by the shah's political police, was a founding member of the Writers' Association of Iran. Subheads have been added by the *Militant*.]

* * *

His Excellency Amir-Abbas Hoveyda
Prime Minister of Iran

You know very well that every now and then, on different occasions, high-falutin meetings are held, and sometimes with the participation of Your Excellency, to recommend ways through which the situation in book publishing may be improved. And you know better than anybody else that the echo of such discussions and recommendations, like that of all other affairs of the government, falls silent with the last meeting held, and no one sees any signs of follow-up or solution. Official governmental reports indicate that only those involved in censorship, bookselling, and in the technical problems of printing and publishing, participate in such meetings and seminars, with each participant using the opportunity to defend his own interest. Thus, the discussions held do not go beyond a token reference to such problems and difficulties as printing, distribution, high wages and the cost of basic materials.

Unfortunately, writers, poets, translators, scholars, composers and others who are either actively or potentially qualified in the area of intellectual and artistic creation, and should, quite rightly, be at the center of this circle, are not allowed at these meetings and seminars. Therefore, the discussion of the subject has never gone below the surface, and the roots of the problems concerned have not been taken into consideration.

The publication of books, and in general, the propagation of all works of thought and art, constitute parts of a larger problem, called the national culture, and any attempt to resolve this problem necessarily depends upon the efforts and the active participation of those who are in the forefront of cultural, artistic and intellectual creation, and those whose works contribute to the continued life of the indigenous and national values of culture. Our concerns and consultations on why such an active and comprehensive participation does not exist in our society, led us to the writing of this letter to Your Excellency.

Cultural decline

Mr. Prime Minister! Culture and artistic and intellectual creation in our society have stagnated, and it can even be ventured that troublesome signs of cultural decline are in sight, taking on ever-expanding dimensions day by day. We do not believe that this condition is the outcome of ordinary technical and financial factors, as claimed by official and governmental circles. This condition has resulted from three factors: firstly, the extraordinary restrictions imposed upon crea-



IRANIAN SOLDIER TEACHING SCHOOL: 'The essential condition for cultural and intellectual creativity is . . . freedom.'

tive and free thought of writers, poets, intellectuals and all those who are actively or potentially qualified in the fields of art and thought; secondly, it is due to the extraordinary control and censorship which government agencies exert; and, thirdly, the difficulty in the area of the publication of books has resulted from the extraordinary limitations imposed on all sorts of readership, particularly among the youth and intellectuals in relation to the study of books.

These limitations, pressures and other elements of control built up against artistic and intellectual creation, not only do not come from legal regulations and principles, but are, on the contrary, based absolutely on the whims of various agencies and persons, and are the consequences of their indifference to the official laws and human freedoms. We can venture to claim after a study of the Fundamental Law which embodies the democratic and the Constitutional regime of the country, and after a look at the present situation, that for a long time now all those articles of the Fundamental Law which guarantee the protection, growth and promotion of the basic roots of cultural impulses and drives, intellectual creativity and political and social development and maturity, have been suspended by the government and its agencies. Iranian writers and intellectuals have been deprived of all legal, judicial, political and social rights, and, when confronted with the violence of government agencies and censorship, they have neither official protection nor a place of shelter. We can cite numerous examples dealing with persons who have been incarcerated for years or are still in incarceration, whose sole crime is the writing, translating, or even the reading of a book.

Freedom

The essential condition for cultural and intellectual creativity is the existence of political, social and juridical guarantees for freedom of thought, freedom of communication and of association, and the freedom of printing and publishing of serious books, periodicals and press. These freedoms have been accorded by our Fundamental Law, the Supplementary Fundamental Laws and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The existence of these freedoms for hundreds of years has led to cultural movements, and popular, social, political and intellectu-

al development and maturity among different nations of the world. Now, because of the suspension of freedoms and the resultant intellectual stagnation we have been degraded to consumers of these other nations' material and spiritual products, and, consequently, we are suffering from total cultural sterility.

Mr. Prime Minister! Social and economic development can never be accounted for solely on the basis of the accretion of statistics and data relating to an increase in the national income through the sale and export of the country's natural resources and an increase in the per capita income, accompanied by an unbalanced distribution of wealth. Social and economic development is directly related to intellectual creativity, the development of cultural institutions, and the expansion of scientific, literary and artistic activities. True development is primarily a social and cultural phenomenon. The growth of industries, the untrained overpopulation of cities through peasant migration and the growth of a compradore economy can never substitute for that development. Unfortunately, the signs of intellectual decline and decadence, scientific sterility and cultural freezing and sluggishness have clearly manifested themselves in our contemporary society. This decadence and its deep impact on the social condition of the country have become a great source of concern for all Iranians interested in their national and indigenous fate.

If we are to remain on the face of the earth as a free and honorable nation, relying on our own labor and our own culture, and if we are to preserve the national and cultural heritage of our past which shines with exceptional brilliance in the world, we have to move forward, eliminate all the existing restrictions and establish with our intellectual and creative work a healthy and genuine relationship with all the social groupings in the country.

Demands

In order to realize this aim within the framework of the Iranian Constitution and within the framework of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, we, the undersigned, request the following:

1. The Writers' Association of Iran, a copy of whose charter is enclosed, and for which official registration has been requested, be activated as a

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Appeal by Reza Baraheni

[The following letter to Iranian Prime Minister Hoveyda, urging him to meet the demands raised by the forty Iranian intellectuals, is being circulated by Reza Baraheni. Those who wish to add their names to it may write to Baraheni, c/o Abjad Publications, 150 West 225 Street, Bronx, New York 10463.]

* * *

His Excellency
The Prime Minister of Iran
Amir-Abbas Hoveyda

It has come to our attention that the Iranian writers are striving to revive the Writers' Association of Iran, which was forced to go out of operation early in this decade under conditions of extreme censorship. In an open letter of June 13, signed by forty prominent writers, the following demands are raised:

1. That the Writers' Association of

Iran be activated as a gathering place for the dialogue of Iranian intellectuals.

2. That all existing obstacles to the creation of centers or clubs for the gathering of members of the Association in Teheran and other cities of the country be removed.

3. That legal facilities be provided for the publication and unhampered distribution of an organ by the Association.

We admire the courage and forthrightness of the writers of the Open Letter to Your Excellency, and we hope that by meeting their legitimate demands you will take some of the basic measures required for the restoration of freedom of the press, freedom of speech and freedom of the publication of books without any government censorship and official restrictions.

British bosses battle Grunwick strikers

By Ernest Harsch
From Intercontinental Press

In mid-June, a strike at a small photo processing plant just north of London that had been carried on for nearly a year suddenly captured the spotlight. The strike at the Grunwick plant became a focus for employer and rightist attacks on workers' rights to organize unions and effective picket lines.

In response to the strikers' call for mass pickets and the growing support they are receiving from other unions, the major capitalist newspapers have launched a slander campaign, charging the strikers with "violence." Police have attacked the strikers and their supporters, arresting more than 250 by the end of June. The Grunwick conflict has also been reflected in heated debates in Parliament.

The dispute at Grunwick began in August 1976. Most of the employees are women and Asian immigrants. Their wages are far lower than those of workers in other, unionized film processing plants. Overtime is compulsory, holidays restricted, and discipline strict. A statement by the strike committee declared that Grunwick boss George Ward was "an employer who pays poverty line wages and forces us to work in feudal like conditions."

After a fellow worker was fired, more than 200 employees walked off their jobs. In addition to demanding higher wages and better working conditions, the strikers demanded recognition of the Association of Professional, Executive, Clerical and Computer Staffs (Apex), a union that many of them had joined. Ward refused to recognize the union and fired all the strikers.

Although the strikers continued picketing, the moderate leadership of Apex decided in October to try to win union recognition under the procedures of the 1975 Employment Protection Act. The government's arbitration service ruled that the union should be recognized, but Ward still refused and is taking the case before the High Court.

Forces on the right have rallied to Ward's aid. In November, the National Association for Freedom sought a court injunction to bar a decision of the postal union to boycott all mail to Grunwick, which receives most of its business through the mail. Although the union backed down and ordered its members to deliver the mail, the postal workers have decided to resume an unofficial boycott.

Tory members of Parliament have sought to cover up the Grunwick management's union-busting activities



Cops confront pickets outside Grunwick plant

Militant/Jon Flanders

by raising a hue and cry about the "rights of nonunionists."

The police moved in to harass and intimidate the strikers. A number of pickets were arrested, including Jayaben Desai, a leading Asian woman militant in the strike.

In face of Ward's intransigence and these antilabor attacks, the Grunwick strikers called for mass picket lines beginning June 13. The call gained the early support of the Working Women's Charter Conference, which pledged to bring its members to the picket lines. The strikers won a massive response. On some days more than 1,000 supporters showed up to join the pickets.

It was with the beginning of the mass picketing that the press campaign against the strikers began. The June 25-July 1 issue of the London *Economist*, for example, referred to "1,500 excitable fanatics" and "the extreme left's rentacrowd."

The *Economist* also noted the broad support the strikers won, although in depreciating terms: "Trade unionists have travelled south from Scotland and Ulster; members of parliament have travelled north from Westminster; anybody who wanted to shout and make intimidatory noises, as a lot of Trotskyites do, went there by tube."

The police escalated their attack, beating, kicking, and pulling the hair of strikers and conducting arbitrary arrests. There was also at least one case in which agents provocateurs, masquerading as pickets, threw bottles at scabs. When questioned by strike stewards, one disappeared and the other jumped into a police car.

On the ninth day of mass picketing, the first major section of the trade-union movement, the Yorkshire mine workers, turned out in force in support of the Grunwick strikers. Led by Arthur Scargill, they swelled the picket lines to 2,000 persons.

Court ruling backs union

Eighteen thousand people demonstrated to show their support for the striking workers at Grunwick July 11. The next day, Britain's High Court ruled that the company must recognize Apex, the strikers' union.

The massive support demonstration revealed the growing climate of labor militancy in Britain. Eleven thousand people joined the Grunwick picket lines, including 3,000 Yorkshire miners, nineteen Labour Party members of Parliament, and contingents from most of Britain's major unions. Their number grew to about 18,000 as they marched.

Officials dispatched about 4,000 cops—nearly one-quarter of the entire London force—to the demonstration site. The police again attacked the Grunwick supporters, arresting about seventy of them and injuring forty.

The day after the High Court's decision, Grunwick boss George Ward announced that he would still refuse to recognize the union. Ward said he would appeal the High

No sooner had the miners reached the back gate than they were attacked by police of the Special Patrol Group. Scargill and other miners were arrested.

Among other prominent strike supporters who were detained were Len Gristie, the London organizer of Apex; Karamat Hussein, a Labour Party councillor; and Audrey Wise, a Labour Party member of Parliament.

The Grunwick strikers have so far received no support from the main leadership of the Labour Party. In fact, the Labour government's only response to the police attacks has been to call for a judicial Court of Inquiry into the dispute. The *Economist* pointed out that the strike "is frightening and embarrassing the government and the TUC [Trades Union Congress]." It also noted that the TUC "has no stomach for a fight."

The Grunwick strikers, however, are more determined. In response to the Apex leadership's "mediation" efforts and its attempts to limit the picketing, Jayaben Desai declared, "I have no faith in the legal position. I only believe in the power of the trade union movement. Nothing happened for 44 weeks. We played cricket. The mass picket brought the issue to a head, and the mass picket will win it."

Court's ruling to the House of Lords.

But Prime Minister James Callaghan, apparently feeling the need to forestall further embarrassment to his Labour Party government, urged Ward to "consider the consequences" of his appeal. Callaghan called on both sides to "draw back."

The pressure the Labour government is under was further revealed July 13, when leaders of Britain's Trades Union Congress (TUC) told Callaghan they would not renew their two-year-old "social contract" with the government. The "social contract" is a program of voluntary wage restraints.

The TUC leaders, most of whom originally favored renewing the "social contract" for a third year, told Callaghan that rank-and-file workers would not stand for any ceiling on wage increases.

Inflation in Britain is currently at an annual rate of more than 17 percent, while the "social contract" called for limiting wage increases to 4.5 percent during its second year.

...Iran

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gathering for the dialogue of Iranian intellectuals.

2. All existing obstacles to the creation of centers or clubs for the gathering of members of the Association in Teheran and other cities of the country be removed.

3. Legal facilities be provided for the publication and unhampered distribution of an organ by the Association.

Mr. Prime Minister! We hope that through meeting these demands, the principle of participation, which is one of the proclaimed but unrealized goals of the government, will be achieved on a genuine basis, and that all Iranians will be able to communicate their opinions with others, free of all fears and intimidation, and in a healthy atmosphere, removed from extremist

tendencies and within the framework of the Constitutional Laws of the country. We hope that the people of Iran will once again become creators of culture, and scientific and cultural values, and not only their consumers.

Mr. Prime Minister! We, the signatories of the letter, accept, individually and collectively, the responsibility of signing this letter and having it signed by others, and we will be answerable to government agencies.

Ahmad Abdullahpour, Dr. Fereydoun Adamiyyat, Shams Al-Ahmad, Seyyed Abdullah Anvar, Darioush Ashouri, Dr. Mehdi Bahar, Bahram Beyzaie, Dr. Simin Daneshvar, Mahmoud E'temadzadeh (Behazin), Dr. Mahmoud Enayat, Kamran Fani, Hooshang Golshiri, Ali-Asghar Hadj-Seyyed-Djavadi, Dr. Manouchehr Hezarkhani, Siyavash Kasraie, Ali Katebi, Islam Kazemiyeh, Ali-Asghar Khobrehzadeh, Abulfazl Khoda-

bakhsh, Qassem Larbon, Mohammad-Ali Mahmid, Dr. Hossein Malek, Djamal Mirsadeqi, Ne'mat Mirzazadeh (Azarm), Nasser Mo'azzen, Assadullah Mobashsheri, Rahmatullah Moqaddam Maragheie, Baqer Mo'meni, Cyrus Moshfeqi, Dr. Homa Nateq, Dr. Nasser Pakdaman, Dr. Baqer Parham, Mohammad Qazi, Dr. Mostafa Rahimi, Dr. Gholamhossein Sa'edi, Tahereh Saffarzadeh, Mohammad-Ali Sepanlou, Nasser Taqvaie, Fereydoun Tonokaboni, Mohammad Zohari.

Mr. Prime Minister! The original signatures are in the keeping of the members of the Association. Since you know better than anyone else why the Association has not been able to find a place and an address for itself, and since each and every one of the signatories are sufficiently well known in our society, your response to one of them will be considered as a response to all, and will reach the others.



Le Monde Diplomatique

Background to coup in Pakistan

'Workers took matters into their own hands'

From Intercontinental Press

The demonstrations and strikes that swept Pakistan from the March 7 general elections until the recent military coup were among the largest in the country's history. Originally called to protest the widespread vote fraud carried out by Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party, the actions grew into a massive upsurge against the entire repressive regime.

The development of the upsurge and the forces involved in it have been analyzed by a "special correspondent" from Pakistan, whose report appeared in the June 4 issue of the *Economic and Political Weekly*, published in Bombay, India.

According to the author, there were "three distinct tendencies" evident during the conflict. One was the attempt of the regime itself to retain power through the use of election rigging and massive repression. The second was the campaign by the opposition Pakistan National Alliance (PNA), "led largely by the orthodox parties," to unseat Bhutto and establish its control over the mass movement.

"Third," the writer said, "and most crucially, there has grown a largely spontaneous nationwide uprising of historic proportions, which (a) has not necessarily been loyal to the orthodox parties; (b) has had the appearance of being led by the PNA because of the extreme repression and subjective weaknesses of the Left; and (c) was beginning belatedly to acquire organizational unity when the martial law was enforced specifically to suppress it."

The upsurge began in Karachi in March and then spread to the interior of the provinces of Punjab and Sindh, as well as to the city of Lahore:

It is indicative of the general orientation of the spontaneous mass movement that, just as it culminated in the total strike in Karachi city, it had started also with a strike of the dockworkers in Karachi ports. Early arrests of key PNA leaders did not make much difference to the intensity of the protest movement precisely because, in numerous actions such as the general strikes of the second and fourth weeks of



Mass protests against Bhutto regime (above) threatened capitalist rule. Fear of this led Army Chief of Staff Gen. Mohammed Zia ul-Haq (right) to stage military coup.

March, the working people took matters into their own hands and sought to consolidate their movement against Bhutto's regime of terror.

Butto's massive repression, in which more than 100 persons were killed in the first three weeks of unrest alone, was unable to stem the spread of this movement.

While terror was so extreme that the Federal Security Force was firing indiscriminately into peaceful processions even of women, the protest movement spread to far corners of the country, such as the little towns of southern Punjab.

In April, Bhutto announced a series of "Islamic reforms" designed to placate the orthodox religious parties within the PNA. The writer explained the reasons for this maneuver:

Despite what Western correspondents report, Bhutto knew that he was faced with not one but actually two protest movements, and these two movements intermeshed only on the surface and only intermittently. There was, one, the movement centred in the mosques and fighting for religious orthodoxy. But there was also the mass movement against authoritarianism, and against the breaking of the socialist promises, favouring a more egalitarian and progressive society as well as establishment of truly participatory institu-

tions of people's democracy. . . . It was the latter movement—that of the working and pauperised masses—that he needed desperately to suppress. The "Islamic" reforms were designed to pacify the opposition of the mosques, precisely because the regime needed to concentrate wholeheartedly against the working class that was rapidly coalescing in a strike movement. . . .

After Bhutto's celebrated "Islamic reforms" came the most intense period of working class agitation. The focus shifted once more from Lahore back to Karachi, the city of the young Pakistani proletariat, so full of the vulgarities of the capitalist formation, but also of the immense energies and militancy of those who move the material forces of society with their own hands. The whole city, this heartbeat of dependent capital, was immobilised. From factories to restaurants, from the port and airfield to little primary schools in remote neighborhoods, everything was closed; nothing moved, neither ships nor limousines nor rickshaws. It appeared that the whole country would come to a standstill within a matter of days; even trains were stopped by peasants in the interior. It was at this precise point, afraid clearly of the insurrectionary potential, that the regime moved.

On April 21, Bhutto assumed emergency powers and imposed martial law on Karachi, Hyderabad, and Lahore. "The urban centres were handed over to the Armed Forces at this precise



time so as to destroy this revolutionary activity in its embryonic stage," the author stated.

Assessing the prospects facing the workers movement, the writer commented that "the Left has perhaps been overly cautious and its organizations might have been less engaged than necessary, but it has the strength of having saved its cadres for deployment in a more extreme situation. That polarisation itself is being institutionalised in military as well as civilian spheres seems to suggest that the country is settling down to prolonged tensions. . . .

"The next few weeks may be the most crucial in our history, not because the question of power may itself be resolved decisively but because there may well be a chance for the progressive and democratic forces to establish a base of permanent strength from which to wage a great struggle for the emancipation of all oppressed people in our country, the working class as well as the national minorities, women as well as the peasants. . . ."

Turkey: rightist bloc upsets new gov't

By Peter Seidman

Bülent Ecevit, whose Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (CHP—Republican People's Party) won a large plurality in Turkey's June 5 election, was forced on July 3 to abandon his attempts to form a government.

Ecevit's setback came after the rightist "National Front" coalition, led by Süleyman Demirel, was able to wield a solid parliamentary bloc that defeated the new premier in a "no confidence" vote.

Ecevit and Demirel were rivals in the Turkish election. They are both former premiers.

Ecevit presided over Turkey's 1974 occupation of 40 percent of Cyprus.

Demirel, who had been premier until the June 5 vote, heads the historically most proimperialist of Turkey's major capitalist parties, the Adalet Partisi (Justice Party).

These two politicians disagree only over how best to preserve capitalist rule in the face of a growing workers' and peasants' radicalization.

Ecevit favors responding to this

radicalization mainly by promises of small concessions and other political means, while the right looks more toward direct repression.

During his campaign, Ecevit promised to defend democratic rights and restore "order" by clamping down on "extremists." This pledge was interpreted by voters as meaning that a CHP government would not tolerate the rightist terrorism that had been encouraged under Demirel.

More than 200 people in Turkey have been killed in the past two years by the Gray Wolves, a commando organization of the Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi (MHP—National Action Party), a fascist-like party belonging to Demirel's National Front coalition.

The prospect that Demirel's rightist coalition may now assume power is disquieting to some observers in the world capitalist press. The London *Economist*, for example, wrote that Ecevit's defeat "opens up the bleak prospect of another spell of indecisive and ineffective government for Turkey."

These observers hoped that Ecevit's demagoguery would buy time for Turkish capitalism, which has been hit hard by the world recession and is thereby in a weak position to confront a radicalizing workers and peasants movement.

A series of reports by *New York Times* correspondent Steven Roberts shed light on what the imperialists are worried about.

"... Traditional values and attitudes are rapidly breaking down," Roberts wrote May 23. "This disorder is compounded by the weakening of family, community and other traditional restraints."

Since 1950, the urban population has jumped from 18.7 percent of the whole to 43.3 percent. In this situation, the power and confidence of the workers have been growing rapidly. "An organized working class has started to show its strength," Roberts pointed out, "and trade unions won wage increases of more than 28 per cent last year."

Other social layers are also demanding change, Roberts reported. On June 3 he described a protest in a provincial

capital in eastern Turkey. "Some women held veils over their faces as they chanted, 'Water, electricity, roads, water, electricity, roads!'"

"As Turkey prepares to vote in critical national elections on Sunday, these marches symbolize one of the most difficult problems that will face a new government. After centuries of silence and subservience, Turkish peasants are starting to raise their voices and demand a better life."

The fact that the rightist parties held firm June 3 against Ecevit's attempts to form a liberal government indicates that important sections of Turkey's ruling class, confronted with this radicalization, are afraid of even temporarily granting more democratic rights and relaxing intimidation of the mass movements.

On the other hand, the bourgeoisie will inevitably face a stiffening challenge from these movements if it continues to rely principally on police violence and fascist gang terror to try and hold the radicalization in check.

President Carter and the Panama Canal

By Judy White

From Intercontinental Press

(Last in a series)

Previous articles have described how the United States stole the Panama Canal and how it has used the Canal Zone to extend and strengthen its domination of Central and Latin America.

Various commentators are of the opinion that with Carter's assumption of the presidency the possibility has risen of Panama gaining "eventual sovereignty" over the Canal Zone. The new president is in a position to "remedy an injustice," said the *New York Times* editors February 14.

However, Carter's central aim in the current round of canal talks has more to do with refurbishing the image of the White House than with the

by Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger this summer, is that to ignore Panama's demands for full sovereignty would create conditions for another "Vietnam," replete with guerrilla warfare. . . . [New York Times, November 5, 1975]

Although Kissinger's reference to guerrilla warfare did not reflect the forms the struggle for self-determination has taken in Panama, it constituted recognition of the fact that Washington must take into account certain social pressures it cannot control. These include world public opinion and the mass movement in Panama for recovery of the canal.

Thus, Carter's course in the negotiations flows in part from the dilemma of wanting to remove the bad image of Yankee imperialism while at the same time retaining the substance of the U.S. grip on Panama.

Jingoists in full cry

There is still another factor that affects Carter's stance in the negotiations. He has to reckon with the domestic right-wing opposition to the signing of a new treaty.

The chief standard-bearer of this opposition has been Ronal Reagan, who sought to displace Ford as the Republican party presidential candidate in 1976.

"When it comes to the Canal," Reagan stated during his campaign, "we bought it, we paid for it, it's ours, and we should tell Torrijos and company that we are going to keep it."

David Binder reported in an article in the November 5, 1975, issue of the *New York Times* that "as many as 37 Senators and 246 House members have gone on record against the negotiations in one fashion or another."

In recent months the *Congressional Record* has been filled with statements from superpatriots:

- Rep. Larry McDonald: "our own government's determination to give away our rights and property, by turning over the American-purchased Canal Zone and the American-financed and American-built canal. . . ."

- Rep. Daniel J. Flood: ". . . one of the historic foreign policies of the United States is the regional understanding known as the Monroe Doctrine. . . . a major blow against it is now in the making at the Panama Canal in the form of the projected surrender of U.S. sovereign control over its indispensable protective frame of the Canal Zone."

- Rep. Philip M. Crane: ". . . those who are prepared to turn the Panama Canal over to the radical Government of Panama which is closely tied to Fidel Castro and in turn to the Soviet Union are forgetting an important historical lesson."

The Panama Canal lobby is said to number about 100,000 supporters and to have been behind the injection of the canal issue into the 1976 election campaign. It has "active support from a nonprofit public information corporation formed recently in the Canal Zone by Michael James, an employee of the Panama Canal Company, and William R. Drummond, president of the Canal Zone police lodge," Binder reported.

The role to be played by Panamanian President Torrijos in Carter's operation appears minimal.

The general has used radical, nationalist demagoguery to undercut the movement for self-determination, while at the same time cooperating closely with the United States in its military and business operations.

"I would rather enter the Zone than enter the history books," Torrijos said to the 60,000 persons congregated to celebrate the anniversary of his coming to power, "but the goal is not to enter but rather to enter where and when we choose."

Panama prefers to recover the canal through negotiations, he continued, "but if all roads are closed to us, the Panamanian people are brave enough to eliminate the intruders by force."

However, in the last couple of years Torrijos's demagoguery has worn thin with the Panamanian masses. Demonstrations that focused on ending the U.S. presence in Panama accused the president of being too soft in the negotiations. They also protested the regime's economic policies.

Torrijos has responded by forcibly deporting his critics, among them Miguel Antonio Bernal, a professor of law at the National University of Panama.

Bernal has continued to be an effective critic of Torrijos from his exile, however. His analysis of the secret conceptual agreement between the United States and Panama appeared in an article in the October 28, 1976, issue of the Mexico City daily *El Sol de México*:

And it is this problem of "joint defense" that is most worrisome in the negotiations being carried out by the two countries. In addition to introducing a term that never appeared in any of the earlier treaties signed by Panama, it carries with it the recognition, legalization, and acceptance of a North American military presence on Panamanian territory with all the dangers that this involves for the peoples of the Latin American continent.

Torrijos has also tried to discredit his left critics by creating amalgams between them and "other enemies" of the Panamanian masses.

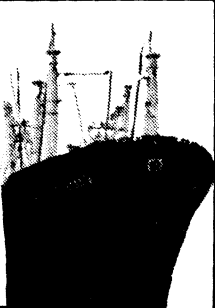
When opposition to sudden price increases for milk and rice broke out in September 1976, Torrijos tried to present the demonstrations as a campaign to "destabilize" the regime. He accused the CIA of promoting the campaign.

Moreover, various articles in the American bourgeois press have reported dissatisfaction with Torrijos among other figures in the Panamanian National Guard, the country's business community, and church leaders.

According to Alan Riding in the October 10, 1976, issue of the *New York Times*, "General Torrijos may no longer be able to fulfill his part of the bargain. . . ." He might not be able to "guarantee tranquil ratification" of a treaty falling short of granting the Panamanian people the right to full self-determination.

What would then happen to Torrijos is uncertain. What is certain, however, is that the struggle for an end to the American presence in Panama will continue. Seventy-odd years of history have shown this.

Behind the Panama Canal talks



Panamanian people's historic aspiration to gain full control over their own territory and resources.

Looking ahead to the 1980 presidential race, Carter is posing as an enlightened leader, sensitive to injustices wherever they may occur.

Evidence is abundant that Carter differs little from his predecessors in concern for the prerogatives of American imperialism in Panama.

February's round of negotiations terminated with what Washington's representatives called "some progress" but with "major problems" still unresolved. Still under discussion are such items as the duration of the projected new treaty and the stationing of U.S. military forces after it expires.

Moreover, negotiations under both Ford and Carter have been governed by a "conceptual agreement" reached in secret with the Panamanian government. Signed sometime prior to September 1975 and made public in the October 1975 issue of the Panamanian magazine *Diálogo Social*, the agreement stipulates that the canal is to be eventually turned over to Panama but that there will be some sort of "joint defense."

Torrijos's sellout

Gen. Omar Torrijos agreed to let Washington maintain its bases in Panama and committed his government to participating along with the Pentagon in joint military training and in whatever military operations it mounts in the country.

To facilitate protection of American interests, the agreement states that all U.S. records and installations are inviolate, and that Americans working on the canal or in its "defense" have full freedom of movement within the country, with exemption from Panamanian civil law for "actions carried out in the course of fulfilling their official duties."

Meanwhile, those who support Carter's "statesmanlike" stance argue that the canal is of dubious financial value and that its usefulness is dwindling as technology makes the facility obsolete.

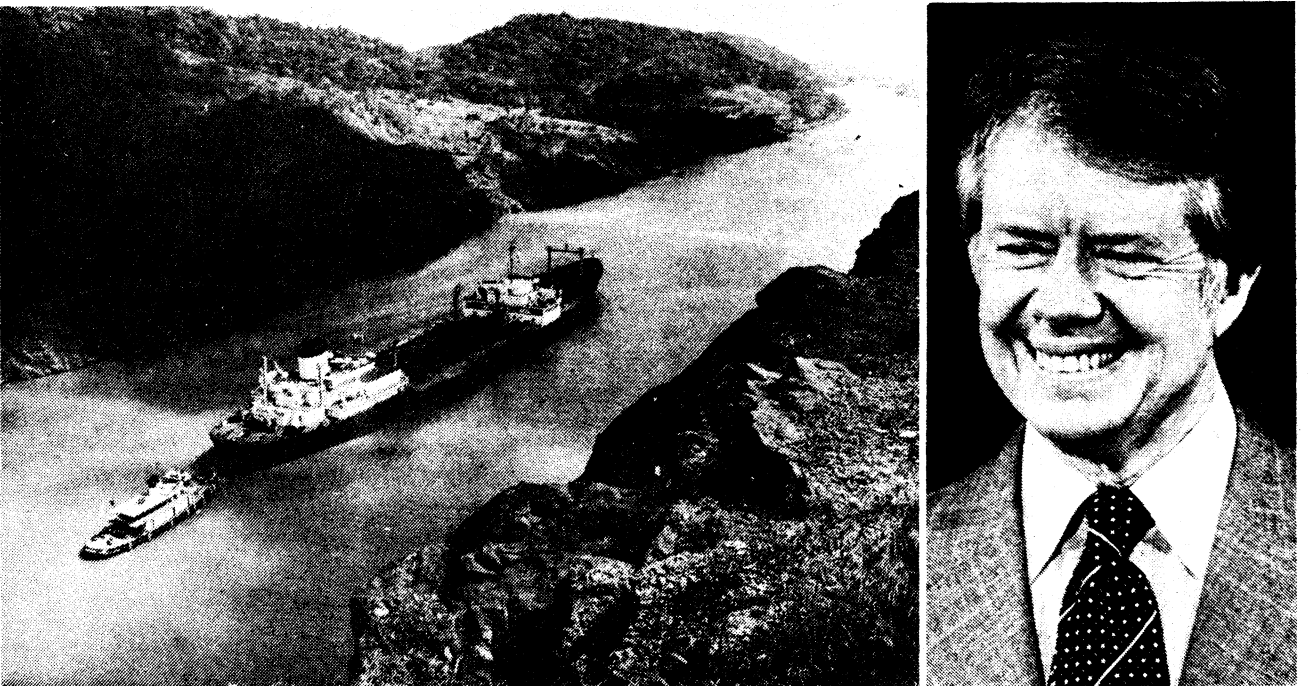
The statistics cited by supporters and opponents of a new treaty are contradictory. They often mask the fact that canal income has always been used to subsidize governmental costs in the Canal Zone and that many U.S. shippers transport their goods under the flags of other countries. However, it is undoubtedly true that the development of a two-ocean U.S. Navy, supertankers too big to pass through the canal, and transportation via trucks have cut down the importance of the canal.

Protreaty forces also discuss the "practical" side of the Pentagon's apparatus in Panama.

"Its functions of training Latin American military personnel, including Panamanian National Guardsmen, in such arts as counterinsurgency could be easily carried out elsewhere," Alan Riding observed in the July 24, 1976, issue of *Saturday Review*.

Those favoring a treaty also argue:

The rationale for negotiating a new treaty, as outlined



Carter doesn't differ from previous presidents in his concern for preserving the interests of U.S. imperialism in Panama.

'Perspectiva' finds eager customers

By Nelson Blackstock

The city of Pacoima is situated in California's San Fernando Valley, just north of Los Angeles. Like many cities in the United States today, Pacoima has a growing Spanish-speaking population.

It's among these people that socialists have discovered eager buyers of *Perspectiva Mundial*, the new biweekly socialist magazine.

Salm Kolis, organizer of the San Fernando Valley branch of the Socialist Workers Party, says they found out almost by accident how easy it is to sell *Perspectiva*.

"We had been ordering only a small bundle of *Perspectiva*," Kolis said. "And often we wouldn't sell most of them. Then we began to take a few copies along with us on our regular *Militant* sales at shopping centers. In the course of selling the *Militant*, you run into a certain number of people who do not speak English or would prefer to read Spanish. We show them *Perspectiva*, and in a surprisingly high percentage of cases they quickly hand us fifty cents to get a copy."

It wasn't a matter of organizing any special sales of *Perspectiva*. All they did was combine sales of the two periodicals, taking along copies of

Perspectiva when they went to sell the *Militant*.

More recently, the San Fernando Valley SWP branch began organizing door-to-door sales in housing projects. Since they knew that among the tenants were Chicanos and *mexicanos*, they took along *Perspectiva*.

"The first day we sold fifteen, all we had with us," Kolis said. "So we increased our bundle of the next issue to thirty."

On the next trip to the projects they sold twenty-six. Now they've raised their bundle to fifty.

Do you have to speak Spanish to sell *Perspectiva*?

"No," Kolis said. "As a matter of fact, nobody on these sales to the housing projects speaks Spanish. All you need to do is show people the magazine, and *Perspectiva* sells itself."

"Of course, it is much better if you can speak Spanish. Some of our members who don't know the language intend to learn it. But not knowing it is no barrier to selling *Perspectiva*."

The socialists are so pleased with the results of these sales, Kolis reported, they are now planning a bilingual forum on government harassment and deportation of immigrants from Mexico.

Perspectiva Mundial

Una nueva revista quincenal de noticias que imprime una perspectiva socialista revolucionaria para los lectores de habla hispana.

En la presente edición:

- Un comentario y crítica sobre el libro "Eurocomunismo" y Estado de Santiago Carrillo.
- En defensa de los "saqueadores" en el apagón de Nueva York.
- 25 000 policías rompen huelga de los trabajadores de la Universidad de México.
- Además, noticias y análisis sobre la situación en España, Eritrea, Brasil, los incendios en las prisiones de EE.UU., la lucha contra las deportaciones y otros artículos de interés.

Pida una copia en su librería más cercana que vende literatura socialista. O envíe 50 centavos a: Perspectiva Mundial, Box 314, Village Station, New York, N.Y. 10014. Para una suscripción envíe cheque o giro postal de \$5.00 para 6 meses o \$10.00 para un año. Para ordenar paquetes escriba para información.

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Blacks protest Crown Heights vigilante patrol

By Ken Miliner

BROOKLYN—Five hundred people, mostly Blacks, demonstrated in front of a police station in Brooklyn's Crown Heights on July 9. They were protesting vigilante-style attacks on Blacks by the Crown Heights Patrol.

The patrol is run by the Crown Heights Community Council, an organization dominated by the Lubavit-

Ken Miliner, a longtime activist in the Black liberation struggle, is organizer of the Brooklyn branch of the Socialist Workers Party.

cher branch of the Hasidim, an orthodox Jewish sect whose world headquarters is in Crown Heights.

The population of Crown Heights is 65 to 70 percent Black and 30 percent Hasidic.

The demonstration was organized by the Coalition of People of African Descent.

Demonstrators carried signs reading: "End Racial Discrimination," "Love, Peace, We want an end to violence," and "Mayor Beame: where are you when we need you?"

The demonstration was organized to protest weeks of vigilante actions by the racist Crown Heights Patrol.

One June 18, four days after the son of a Hasidic rabbi was killed in a stabbing incident, a car driven by a Hasidic man struck a Black youth on a bicycle. The driver then jumped out of his car and started to hit the youth.

When two Black youths came to the rescue, a crowd of Hasidim gathered. Police say they had to take the Blacks into a nearby stationhouse for protection. More than 200 Hasidim then staged an angry demonstration outside, chanting "A life for a life."

The next day, vigilantes assaulted Roger Lee, a sixteen-year-old Black youth.

A crowd of shotgun- and knife-wielding Crown Heights Patrol vigilantes later returned, as a crowd gathered at the scene of the attack. One vigilante threw a bottle of lye, which fortunately missed spectators.

At the July 9 demonstration, Father Heron Sam, rector of St. Marks Church, described the cops' response to the vigilante attacks. He said police

officials explained that they were powerless to stop the attacks because of orders from New York's Mayor Beame.

The demonstrators then marched from the police station to the synagogue where Hasidic worshippers were observing the sabbath.

Heavy police contingents surrounded the synagogue, but a group led by the Revolutionary Youth League, a Maoist sect, tried to break through the cops' lines. Quick action by other demonstrators prevented the crowd from following.

But had the cops decided to use the RYL provocation to attack the demonstration, the media, cops, and city officials would have been quick to try to discredit the protest as "anti-Semitic" rather than anti-vigilante.

Leaders of the anti-vigilante protests have correctly made this distinction in official literature, explaining, "We are not anti-Semitic—they [the Hasidic vigilantes] are anti-Black."

But some protest literature did provide an opening for the false charge that demonstrators were "anti-Semitic." One demonstration-building leaflet protesting attacks against Blacks displayed a caricature of a Hasidic man beating a Black youth.

Racist misleaders of some Jewish organizations are quick to jump on such formulations to slanderously brand all fighters for Black rights as anti-Semitic.

It is important to avoid giving these misleaders any ammunition. New York's large Jewish community (23 percent of the population) could be a powerful ally of the Black community.

The government's offensive against working people, which is directed most heavily against Blacks, other oppressed nationalities, and women, has also given rise to anti-Semitic activities by right-wing groups. Both Blacks and Jews concerned about fighting these attacks need to do everything possible to overcome the division fostered by misleaders in the Jewish community.

One step toward this would be for Blacks in Crown Heights to invite Jewish groups and individuals, as well as trade unions, women's organizations, and others, to join in the further actions that will be necessary to halt vigilante attacks.

Houston SWP HQ attacked



A cement block was thrown through the window of the northeast Houston Socialist Workers Party campaign headquarters during the night of July 2. No one was in the office at the time.

Sharing the concern of University of Houston Political Science Professor Alan Stone that "attacks like this have a chilling effect on everyone's exercising of free speech," a number of other prominent people protested the July 2 attack.

These included: Gertrude Barnstone, former Houston School Board member; Isaiah Lovings, president, DeWalt branch, NAACP; Ovide Duncatelle, Black activist; Jesus Luna, Texas Farm Workers; Prof. Arturo Rosales, University of Houston Political Science Department; and Peggy Hall, National Organization for Women.

CARTER'S ENERGY PROGRAM

Still priming the profit pump

By David Frankel

Three months ago, Jimmy Carter went on national television to declare the "moral equivalent of war." If the American people refused to "put up with inconveniences and to make sacrifices," the president insisted, lack of energy could lead to "a national catastrophe."

Since that televised speech, the White House has continued to press its campaign. Cabinet officials have featured the energy crisis in their speeches, a speakers bureau has been formed, and Hollywood stars have been signed up to plug Carter's energy program in radio and television commercials.

Nevertheless, considerable skepticism about Carter's program and the energy crisis as a whole remains. As Abraham Lincoln noted, you can't fool all of the people all of the time.

Billions for energy trusts

Higher prices—that is the heart and soul of Jimmy Carter's energy plan.

To begin with, Carter proposes that the price of natural gas sold in interstate commerce be raised from \$1.45 per thousand cubic feet to \$1.75.

Consumers are already paying the energy trusts *eight times* what the wellhead price for natural gas was in 1971. Carter himself admits that this one proposal will cost consumers another \$15 billion by 1985, but his figure is almost certainly too low.

James F. Flug, director of the Energy Action Committee, estimates that each ten-cent rise in the average price of natural gas means \$2 billion a year more in profits for the oil industry. That is \$6 billion a year under the Carter plan, or a total of \$42 billion by 1985.

Of course, as always, the oil industry wants more. Its program calls for total deregulation of natural gas prices—a position that has strong support in Congress.

When a House subcommittee voted in June in favor of deregulating the price of all new natural gas, Carter wrapped himself in the mantle of a consumer advocate. His press secretary called the decision an "\$80-billion rip-off of the American

public." The House Commerce Committee rejected a decontrol proposal July 14, but it is now being considered by a special House energy committee and will almost certainly be raised on both the House and Senate floors.

Meanwhile, the other rip-offs approved by Carter are moving quietly ahead in Congress.

Under the existing system, the price of crude oil from old wells is frozen at \$5.25 a barrel. "New" oil—that is, oil from more recent wells—can be sold for as much as \$11.28 a barrel.

"What the Carter plan does for the industry—perhaps the most important thing—is quietly create a third category which would not be subject to price controls at all, and could rise to the so-called 'world' or uncontrolled price of more than \$13 a barrel," J.P. Smith reported in the April 23 *Washington Post*.

Under the Carter plan, all new wells drilled at least two-and-a-half miles away from any existing well would fall within the uncontrolled category. This will be bringing the oil companies an additional \$1 billion a year by 1980.

"A second important plus for the industry," Smith continues, "is a provision under which the price of new oil would automatically rise each year with inflation. . . .

"A third technical change involves the 'decontrol' of gasoline prices, which are currently tied by law to the controlled price of crude oil. Experts estimate this gasoline decontrol could result in a 3-cent-a-gallon jump in gasoline prices when it takes effect, which under the President's plan it would do this coming fall."

Wellhead tax

Although not a direct subsidy to the oil industry such as the proposals listed above, Carter's call for a wellhead tax to raise the price of all crude oil produced in the United States to the world market level will also benefit the energy monopolies.

These trusts have invested billions of dollars in high-cost energy programs, particularly in the nuclear field. The availability of any form of cheap

energy tends to undercut the value of such investment. Conversely, higher oil prices will serve to guarantee the profitability of new energy sources.

The cost of guaranteeing this investment, of course, will be passed on to the working class. Barry Commoner, in an article in the May 29 *Washington Post*, takes up Carter's promise that the poor would be reimbursed for higher energy costs.

"Recognizing that the resultant increase in the price of energy would place an especially heavy burden on low-income families . . . the plan envisages a system of rebates to relieve this burden. However, the complex bureaucratic machinery that would be created to administer such schemes would only encroach on the funds available for other government social programs—given that Carter plans to balance the budget—on which the poor must heavily depend. Thus, the plan's acknowledged cost to the poor would only be transferred from one pocket to another, with the likelihood that the poor will only suffer in the process."

In Ford's footsteps

Like most of his other economic policies, Carter's energy program is simply a continuation of the policies followed by the Ford administration.

The Ford-Kissinger policy was summed up by *New York Times* reporter William Smith in a February 18, 1975, dispatch. "One economist wryly noted that the only country pushing for higher oil prices besides Kuwait at the moment was the United States through President Ford's oil tariff and the proposal for a floor under oil prices to support new energy sources."

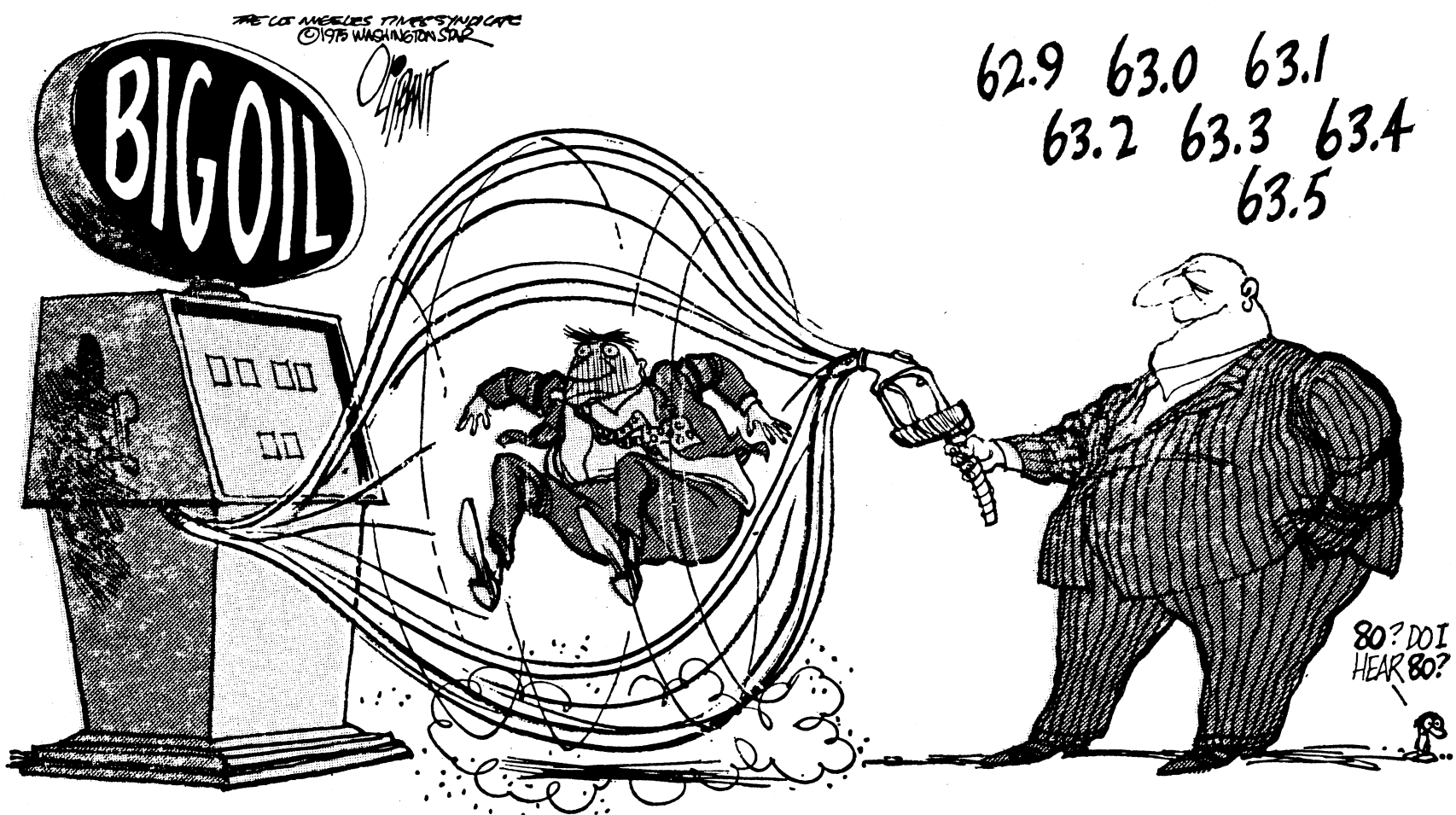
While the American imperialists tried to blame the 1974 depression on the Arab oil-producing countries, the fact is that they were helped far more than they were hurt by the price increases demanded by OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries).

American industry is far less dependent on imported oil than its competitors in Western Europe and Japan, and the lion's share of Middle Eastern oil is refined and marketed by American corporations. As oil prices rose, it didn't take long for the superior position of American imperialism to be reflected in economic figures.

Since the jump in oil prices, the dollar has strengthened by about 11 percent against other major currencies. U.S. exports, which had been capturing a continually smaller share of the world market for the fifteen years before 1973, expanded from 19 percent to 20.5 percent of the total. In the decade prior to 1973, the average growth rate of the American economy lagged behind the average of the rest of the imperialist powers, but since 1973 U.S. growth has been above the average.

Finally, American corporations and banks have been the recipients of by far the greatest percentage of "petrodollars" flowing back to the imperialist countries. Contracts with American companies for supplies and services from Saudi Arabia alone have totaled \$27 billion, and another \$30 billion in Saudi money has been invested in the United States, according to a report in the July 10 *Washington Post* by William Greider and J. P. Smith.

But the American people have no interest in sacrificing so that giant corporations can increase their profits.



So Carter must dress up the drive for higher energy prices and Washington's continuing imperialist offensive in world trade in terms of "energy conservation" and "energy independence."

An artificial crisis

Beginning in 1972, the giant oil companies began a media blitz warning of an impending energy crisis. They wanted to panic-peddle the American people into believing that within a matter of years the world would run out of oil and natural gas.

But reading some of their more sophisticated propaganda closely, another message came through: *not* that there was any shortage of resources per se, but that the corporations were simply demanding higher profits for making those supplies available.

One Mobil Oil advertisement put it this way: "The price a producer gets for the natural gas he sells into interstate commerce has been artificially depressed to uneconomically low levels. This has sent demand soaring, while at the same time reducing the incentive to risk money in the search of new supplies of gas. Inevitable result: shortage."

The same argument was put more succinctly in an article in the June 4, 1973, issue of *U.S. News & World Report*. "There'll be enough gas and oil if people pay the price," it said.

And just last month John Swearingen, the chairman of Standard Oil of Indiana, was quoted in *Newsweek* as saying: "What we call an energy crisis in America is really an economic crisis. We can provide ample supplies of energy . . . if the price of those supplies is permitted to go high enough."

Pay or die

This January, in the midst of one of the coldest winters this century, Mobil reprinted the 1972 advertisement quoted above, along with similar ones run over the past years, in major newspapers throughout the country. While hundreds of thousands of workers were unemployed as a result of the stoppage of natural gas supplies to the factories where they worked, and with some people actually freezing to death, Mobil advised the public: "Yesterday, nobody listened. Today, there's a natural gas crisis."

Of course, the gas producers had an obvious interest in making sure that their forecasts were fulfilled. And in fact, it did not take long for investigators to uncover huge surpluses of natural gas that were being held off the market in states such as Texas and Oklahoma.

Carter himself said on February 23 that he thought it was "understandable" that "natural gas is withheld from the market" by producers looking for the highest profits. He said he would do the same thing himself if he were running an oil company.

But in presenting his energy program, Carter had to adopt a different tack. "I know that many of you have suspected that some supplies of oil and gas are being withheld. You may be right," he said, "but suspicions about the oil companies cannot change the fact that we are running out of petroleum."

How much oil?

The assertion that the world is rapidly running out of oil is central to Carter's claim that we face a crisis. In his April 18 address to the nation, Carter argued that if current consumption rates continue, "we could use up all the proven reserves of oil in the entire world by the end of the next decade."

Such dire predictions may prove useful to Carter in pushing through his energy program, but they have little to do with reality. Worldwide reserves of oil—that is, oil that can be recovered "from known reservoirs under existing economic and operating conditions"—are currently estimated at 599 billion barrels, or about thirty years' supply.

But that figure is merely a fraction of the true resources available. To begin with, only 30 percent of the oil in known reservoirs is in the "proven" category. Recovery of a much larger percentage of the oil in these reservoirs is feasible. But that would require more expensive production methods that the energy corporations simply won't use without the promise of higher prices and profits.

More important is the oil that has not yet been discovered. *Washington Post* reporters Greider and Smith, for example, point out that "every year since the 1930s when the Arabian American Oil Co. (Aramco) began producing in Saudi Arabia, the consortium of American oil companies has discovered more oil than it pumped that year."

Saudi Arabia alone is almost a third the size of the United States, and vast areas of the country remain unexplored.

An article in the June 27 issue of *Newsweek* reported that "there is general agreement that there is a minimum of 1 trillion barrels of oil—nearly



twice the world's proven reserves—still waiting to be discovered and used, and a rough consensus puts the total at 1.6 trillion barrels. As far as natural gas is concerned, the sky may be the limit. . . . Some estimates range upwards of 230,000 trillion cubic feet—enough for 5,000 years."

The truth is that the gloomy figures Carter cites to "prove" that the world faces an energy catastrophe have been entirely cooked up by the energy corporations themselves. That's where almost all government estimates of oil and gas reserves come from, including the special CIA study that Carter made such a ballyhoo about when he announced his energy program this winter.

Of course, these profiteering corporations have an enormous stake in underestimating true reserves, thereby justifying their price-gouging. But the full truth about their reserves will not be known until committees of workers in those industries and consumers force the companies to open their books to public inspection.

Phony conservation rhetoric

All this is not to downplay the importance of conserving limited resources. The earth's natural wealth is the heritage of future generations and must be preserved. Socialists have a particular interest in speaking out against the rape of the earth and its resources by profit-hungry corporations.

But Carter's talk about conservation is phony. What he is talking about is sweetening the pot for big business, while working people pull in their belts another notch.

Carter had not a word to say about mass urban transportation and railroads, for instance. Not only is investment in these areas desperately needed, it would also be a far more efficient way of conserving fuel than the measures in Carter's plan.

If Carter were really concerned with the world running out of energy, one would also think that he would suggest the type of massive development program for solar energy that was undertaken to produce the atomic bomb. Enough solar energy falls on the United States every twelve hours to provide its energy requirements for a year, yet the Carter plan envisages only 1.6 percent of U.S. energy requirements being met by solar energy in 1985.

Instead, the Carter plan stresses development of nuclear power and coal. Along with attacks on environmental and safety standards that are implicit in this will also come attacks on the workers in these industries.

The coal companies, which have long been hammering away against restrictions on strip mining and against safety rules in underground mines, will get aid and comfort from Carter's program. And the *Washington Post*, in a July 5 editorial, picked out the militancy among coal miners as one of the obstacles to the Carter plan.

The *Post* editors said that "concern arises from the chaos within the United Mine Workers. The results of the union's elections last month are now under challenge from one of the losers, promising an indefinite paralysis at the top. Among the miners, the epidemic of wildcat strikes continues. . . . Beyond that, it seems very likely that the whole union will go out in December when the present contract expires."

* * *

Rape of the environment, hardship for American workers, and an increasingly aggressive international economic offensive whose costs will be borne by workers and peasants in the rest of the world—that is the essence of Carter's energy program.

Standoff in L.A. County workers' negotiations

By Walter Lippmann

LOS ANGELES—County workers here have forced the board of supervisors to a standoff in contract negotiations.

The board was forced to back off on its most provocative proposals: elimination of salary step increases, cuts in medical and dental benefits, and imposition of "management rights" clauses in contracts.

Modest wage increases were negotiated in the two-year agreements: 5.25 to 6 percent the first year and 4 to 7.5 percent the second. But inflation will have to hit 10 percent before the workers reach the 7.5 percent ceiling.

The county succeeded in cutting workers compensation benefits by 25 percent. And permanent employees hired after July 1 will pay twice as much as present employees into the county retirement system and will receive one-third less yearly cost-of-living adjustments when they retire.

Welfare eligibility workers won a quarterly caseload maximum.

A coalition was organized of most of the organizations representing county workers. They pledged

Walter Lippmann is a member of the eligibility worker bargaining committee and of the state executive board of Service Employees International Union Local 535.

that none would sign contracts until all were prepared to sign, and that they would urge their members to honor each others' picket lines.

But the coalition was composed solely of top union officials. Rank-and-file members were excluded from most meetings.

No real strike preparations were made. The officials pinned all their hopes on those members of the county board of supervisors they viewed as "friends of labor."

These officials opposed calling mass union meetings and insisted that balloting take place by mail.

The coalition leaders waited until contracts expired June 30 to set a strike deadline. Momentum had been growing for a July 1 strike, but their announcement of a July 12 date brought a sharp decline in strike sentiment.

The rank-and-file bargaining team representing 17,000 clerical workers considered the county's "last offer" to be totally inadequate. They voted eighteen to two to call on their members to reject the agreement and strike.

But the mail ballot written and sent out by union officials gave only one line to the bargaining team's strike recommendation, followed by a glowing four-page account of the offer.

Worse yet, the ballots would not be counted until seventeen hours after the announced "strike deadline" on July 12!

The bargaining team for welfare eligibility workers fought to elect their negotiators, to control the literature issued in their name, and to issue truthful contract information.

They called for and built a series of noontime demonstrations and three mass meetings. The second meeting, with 1,200 present, adopted a resolution for a united meeting of all county workers to oppose the cutbacks. This call was pigeonholed by coalition officials.

The third meeting, called on the eve of the original strike date, broke up in chaos when it was announced that the clerical ballots would not be counted until the following night, that only 550 of the 4,000 eligibility workers were present, and that therefore a strike could not be called at that time.

The workers were especially incensed that Harry Gluck, acting general manager of Service Employees International Union Local 660, refused to come to the platform to explain the officials' actions.

These events have resulted in widespread dissatisfaction with the unions. Many members are dropping out.

Others are becoming convinced that a new union leadership—one that will represent and mobilize the ranks—must be organized.

Nazi scum in Skokie

How to fight back

By Peter Seidman

Erna Gans is one of the 5,000-7,000 Jews who fled to Skokie, Illinois, having survived Hitler's death camps during World War II. Both her parents and two of her brothers died in Nazi ovens.

Today Gans is deeply shaken. Members of the American Nazi Party are doggedly pursuing a legal battle to carry out an anti-Semitic march in Skokie, a suburb of Chicago whose population of 70,000 is estimated to be 35 to 50 percent Jewish.

Gans undoubtedly speaks for most of Skokie's population—as well as countless others who hate the anti-Semitic, antilabor, and anti-Black Nazi bigots—in opposing the projected demonstration.

"The First Amendment," she says, "doesn't give anyone the right to tell me they want to kill me. The overwhelming belief is that we must not be silent, we must oppose [the Nazis] publicly."

Another Skokie resident, Daniel Fagan, agrees with Gans. He survived the concentration camp at Czestochowa, Poland.

"If there is a [Nazi] march," Fagan says, "there will be bloodshed in the streets of Skokie. You cannot control people who lost their whole families in the camp. You cannot control them. The National Guard, the police, they won't be able to control the people. The feelings are too high."

Under pressure from these widely shared feelings, Skokie city officials have been seeking to ban the Nazis from demonstrating.

When Nazis announced plans to hold a rally in a village park last April, they were blocked by a Skokie ordinance requiring them to post \$350,000 liability insurance in order to obtain a park permit.

The Nazis countered by announcing they would hold a picket in front of the village hall instead.

Legal battle

At that point, Skokie officials launched a legal battle that has brought the issue all the way to the Supreme Court.

Skokie asked an Illinois circuit court for an emergency order halting the village hall picket on the grounds that it would incite violence.

The court issued such an order, but the Nazis appealed the ruling. The Illinois Supreme Court upheld the lower court's emergency order.

The Nazis then appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court, which ruled in their favor June 15. The Court said that if Illinois sought to restrict anyone's First Amendment rights, it must provide "strict procedural safeguards," including "immediate appellate review."

Immediately following this ruling, Nazi leader Frank Collin announced that his group would demonstrate in Skokie on July 4. Collin compared his followers to civil rights protesters of the 1960s who simply wanted to "march where our concept of white power is most opposed."

The Nazis did not march July 4.

The Illinois appellate court delayed consideration of the U.S. Supreme Court's order until after that date. On July 12 the appellate court finally ruled that while the Nazis could march in Skokie, they could not display swastikas, because doing so would pose a "grave and serious threat to the peace of the citizens of the village of Skokie." The court said swastikas were "fighting words" unprotected by constitutional guarantees of free speech.

The American Civil Liberties Union, which is



Nazi leader Frank Collin says his group will march through Chicago suburb of Skokie 'come hell or high water.'

representing the Nazis in court, says that it will appeal the court's ruling.

Meanwhile, the village of Skokie passed a new ordinance banning Nazi-type paramilitary uniforms or "symbols that are offensive to the community." Such demonstrations would be punishable by up to \$500 in fines and six months' imprisonment.

Skokie will also now require sponsors of any march expected to attract more than fifty participants to post a \$350,000 bond. This requirement would hold not only for the Nazis, but for anyone who wanted to demonstrate against them.

The appellate court specifically left these ordinances alone. The Nazis also plan to challenge these in the courts.

Collin insists that his gang of racist scum will march into Skokie by the end of the year, "come hell or high water, Supreme Court or no Supreme Court, arrest or no arrest, violence or no violence."

Ban the Nazis?

This legal battle has provoked a serious debate in radical, labor, Black, and Jewish circles. What is the best way to fight the Nazis? Should those who have historically had the most to gain from all extensions of civil liberties now support government restrictions of these rights—even if the immediate targets are Nazis and other right-wing, racist hate groups?

Rev. A.I. Dunlap, a leader of the Martin L. King Movement Coalition in Chicago, answers "no." Dunlap's coalition attempted to lead open housing marches into Chicago's all-white Marquette Park area last year.

These marches were brutally attacked by racist mobs. Nazis openly participated alongside other bottle- and rock-throwing thugs in opposing the rights of Black people to live wherever they wanted.

Despite this, Dunlap opposes court orders barring the Nazis from marching in Skokie.

"I don't agree with their principles," he says, according to Phyliss Hudson in a May 3 article in the Chicago *Defender*, a mass-circulation Black community daily. "But they should have the right to go where they want."

"What would have happened if the court had told Dr. King he couldn't march into Cicero [during open housing demonstrations in the Chicago suburb during 1966]?" Reverend Dunlap asks.

The Illinois chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union agrees with Dunlap.

The ACLU says the court-ordered ban on the Nazis is purely and simply "against the free-speech guarantees of the Constitution."

Of course, the ACLU's position—by ignoring the fact that Nazis use their marches as a staging ground for violent attacks—offers no guide for action to the outraged residents of Skokie such as Daniel Fagan. Even today, Fagan sometimes wakes up screaming in the middle of the night with nightmares of the Nazi death camps.

Fagan rightly hates what the Nazis stand for and wants to make sure that such scum will never again repeat their crimes against humanity.

Illinois Communist Party leader Ishmael Flory wrote a letter to the *Defender* in May objecting to Dunlap's views as they were reported in that paper.

Flory said that Dunlap is wrong to fear that the government might use its restrictions in the case of

the Nazis to later limit the rights of antiracist protesters. It is "odious and ridiculous" to compare the rights of the Nazis with the rights of Martin Luther King, Flory wrote.

"Martin Luther King marched for the establishment and defense of democracy, against racism, which basically is against the U.S. Constitution and the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights."

"On the other hand," Flory wrote, "the Nazis would have been marching to establish racism, to spread racism, manifested at the moment in a march against the rights of Jewish people, all of which is contrary to the U.S. Constitution and the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights."

"Following Rev. Dunlap's logic can only lead to support of the forces that, under various names, would destroy democracy and the basic human rights promised and projected in the above mentioned important U.S. and U.N. documents."

The Communist Party's newspaper, the *Daily World*, editorialized June 28 that "by allowing [the Nazi] march to proceed the Supreme Court shows that it has forgotten that millions died to save civilization from fascist racism. Did they die in vain?"

The editorial said that "prohibiting the growth of nazi organizations was agreed upon after W.W. II. Our government must live up to its own agreements."

Andrew Pulley, another Chicago Black leader and candidate for Congress on the Socialist Workers Party ticket in 1976, argued that the Communist Party's position fosters dangerous illusions in the government that weaken the anti-Nazi struggle.

In a letter that was also published in the *Defender*, Pulley noted that an ordinance such as the one in Skokie had recently been proposed for Chicago by Ald. Bernard Stone. It would ban rallies and the distribution of literature by "hate groups."

Another of Stone's proposals would empower the Department of Streets and Sanitation to deny permits for parades and assemblies to groups that, in the city's opinion, "promote violence, hatred, abuse, or hostility."

"Although ostensibly directed at the Nazis," Pulley warned, "ordinances of this type pose a serious threat to the movement for Black rights and for all working people."

Pulley asked, "How many times was Martin Luther King accused by former Mayor Daley of promoting 'abuse and hostility' when he organized open-housing demonstrations in this city?"

"How many times were antiwar demonstrators falsely accused of the same thing?"

This shows, Pulley says, that "supporting a ban on the Nazis and their literature simply plays into their hands."

Such a ban "would not seriously affect [the Nazis'] ability to carry out their violent aims."

Even Democrat Edward Hanrahan said during his recent mayoral campaign that he would support such a ban.

"As mayor I would never let any hate group of any kind use public property to spread their hatred against other people," Hanrahan piously exclaimed.

But Hanrahan can hardly be considered a reliable ally in the fight against right-wing terror. As Cook County state's attorney in 1969, he organized the raids during which police murdered Black Panther Party leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark.

Pulley blasted Hanrahan's obvious hypocrisy. "We know the 'hate groups' Hanrahan is talking about. He's not concerned with racist thugs. . . ."

"He's concerned with limiting OUR RIGHTS to protest injustices in this racist society."

Pulley explained that a free-speech ban also "allows [the Nazis] to win sympathy from some by clamoring for their 'free speech' and allows them to appear as victims rather than the criminals they are."

This is clearly the pattern in Skokie.

Instead of letting them get away with this, Pulley wrote, the Nazis "must be isolated and exposed."

"We must demand that Nazis and others that carry out violent attacks against blacks and other working people be arrested and prosecuted."

The real issue in the Skokie debate, Pulley wrote, is not the Nazis' right to free speech, but the need to counteract their violence "by visible protest—demonstrations, rallies, and other public actions."

In a telephone interview with the *Militant*, Pulley emphasized that victims and potential victims of fascism and ultraright terror "have the right—and the obligation—to block these forces in the most effective way and by any means necessary."

As a recent example, Pulley cited the demonstrations organized in Boston by prodesegregation forces to counter the racist violence of antibusing bigots.

Pulley pointed to the danger of relying on groups such as the right-wing Jewish Defense League in

the struggle against the Nazis.

"Involving organizations like the JDL," he said, "cuts across building a united mobilization of Jews, the labor movement, and the Black community to counter Nazi violence. In the long run, hit-and-run actions by small groups like the JDL offer no meaningful defense against the rise of massive fascist movements.

"At the same time," Pulley went on, "it is the obligation of all those who hate what the Nazis stand for to unite massively with Skokie's Jewish community against this Nazi provocation. To default in this responsibility is to allow rightist outfits like the JDL to appear as the only serious champions of the efforts by Skokie's Jews to defend themselves.

"This is why the Black community and the labor movement must be mobilizing today in solidarity with Jews in Skokie," Pulley said. "The united movement we build now will stand us in good stead in the future."

Government offensive

Reliance on such united actions, rather than on the government, is the only sure way to build a movement capable of standing up to Nazi attacks or to future, even more dangerous right-wing movements in this country.

By urging the people of Skokie to rely on Supreme Court or other government-imposed bans on the Nazis, Flory fosters the illusion that this branch of the U.S. government—which has handed down one ruling after another against the rights of Blacks, women, and working people—is a genuine ally in the fight against reaction.

But in fact, the Nazis, and similar groups such as the Ku Klux Klan, have had wind put in their sails by the government's sharpening offensive against the democratic rights and standard of living of working people that has been under way since the depression of 1974. This offensive by the courts, Congress, and the White House has created a climate that encourages stepped-up activity by right-wing groups.

The strategy behind the current stage of this pro-big-business offensive is to foster divisions inside the working class—pitting white against Black,

male against female, older against younger, more privileged layers against those less favored—in order to weaken the ability of the oppressed in this country to unite in a common defense.

In this sense, the Klan and the Nazis are only a peripheral element in the growing class polarization that the government's and the corporations' offensive is precipitating.

Organizations such as the antibusing ROAR, Phyllis Schlafly's STOP ERA, or Anita Bryant's anti-gay rights Save Our Children are more typical germ carriers for a massive right-wing movement in the United States than the widely hated American followers of Adolph Hitler.

But Nazi provocations such as the one in Skokie help pave the way for more dangerous right-wing movements. And they test the strategy and tactics, as well as the combativity, of those fighting on behalf of the oppressed.

It is the strategy of massive countermobilization against racist and anti-Semitic attacks that will best meet this urgent challenge.

There is a burning need for such a mobilization to show in practice that the Nazis don't own the streets of Skokie. Such a successful action by Skokie's Jewish community—along with its potential allies in the Chicago-area Black community and labor movement—would be a welcome blow against the government's offensive and the rightist and racist scum that it precipitates.

More on this subject

- **Countermobilization, A Strategy to Fight Racist and Fascist Attacks**, by Farrell Dobbs
24 pages, 75 cents
 - **The Fight Against Fascism in the USA, Forty Years of Struggle Described by Participants**, by James P. Cannon, Farrell Dobbs, Vincent R. Dunne, Joseph Hansen, Malik Miah, and others
56 pages, \$1.35
- Education for Socialists publications.
Order from: Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014

Nazis threaten Cambridge SWP

By Lisa Potash

CAMBRIDGE, Mass.—A telephone answering machine in the campaign offices of the Socialist Workers Party here recorded the following message July 15:

"We are the American Nazi Party, and we are going to get you before the week is up. You got that? You're not going to be living. The place is going to be bombed out, and we're going to get you."

The same day, threatening anonymous phone calls were also received at two Boston campaign offices of SWP school committee candidate Hattie McCutcheon and city council candidate Diane Jacobs.

McCutcheon is a young Black woman who is well-known for her leadership in organizing students in the probusing movement.

McCutcheon and Jacobs have made the ongoing defense of school desegregation a central feature of their campaigns.

At a June 16 news conference, the SWP denounced these threatening calls as "a new escalation of racist threats and violence that have been a standard weapon of the foes of school desegregation in this area."

On May 17, 1975, for example, uniformed Nazis attempted to storm a Boston SWP campaign headquarters the evening after a massive probusing demonstration in which the socialists actively participated.

In 1976 the Boston office of the NAACP was bombed.

At the news conference, leaders of the SWP demanded that city authorities take action to ensure that these latest threats not be carried out.

Cambridge SWP organizer Carol Henderson Evans denounced the casual manner with which city police and fire officials responded to the SWP's request for protection.

"Responsibility for allowing such an attack," Evans said, "will rest with Mayor Velucchi in Cambridge and Mayor Kevin White in Boston."

Two good examples



Militant/Mary Hendrickson

TWO SUCCESSFUL COUNTERMOBILIZATIONS AGAINST FASCIST AND RACIST FORCES: In Minneapolis, a 1946 united antifascist picket line of 1,500 unionists, NAACP members, Jewish organizations, and Socialist Workers Party members was attacked while protesting a scheduled appearance by Gerald L. K. Smith, an aspiring fascist of the time. But the protesters were well prepared to defend themselves against Smith's goons. When the fascists retreated into

their meeting room, the demonstrators followed (top photo). Smith was unable to go ahead with his meeting after his thug attack backfired.

In Boston, the May 17, 1975, probusing march of 15,000 people (bottom photo), built by the NAACP and the National Student Coalition Against Racism, was a powerful countermobilization to violent racist attacks against Blacks during the preceding year.

Frame-up witness: 'Davis is innocent'

By Tom Fiske

DALLAS—A key witness in the frame-up trial of Oliver Lee Davis has come forward with new testimony that shows Davis is innocent.

Davis, who is Black, was convicted in 1975 of sexual assault against two white prisoners in the Ellis County jail in Waxahachie, twenty miles south of here. Despite testimony by four witnesses that put Davis away from the scene, an all-white jury convicted him and sentenced him to ninety-nine years.

Three other Black inmates who pleaded guilty to the same charges are now free.

The witness offering the new testimony is Alvin Lee Bailey, one of the prisoners who was attacked. Bailey states in a sworn affidavit filed with Davis's attorney that Davis was in his own cell during the assault and had, in fact, offered Bailey aid after the assault.

During a recess in the trial, Bailey says, he told the district attorney Davis was innocent. The district attorney, however, said that he would not bring Bailey's testimony to the courtroom.

In a taped interview with KNOK radio Bailey said, "I can't hold my head up any more. That man is innocent. I've had a long time to think about it. I've lost sleep about it. This man they've got up there for ninety-nine years is innocent."

Bailey's new testimony has made headlines in major Dallas newspapers and has placed the Waxahachie district attorney's office on the defensive.

It also confirms the real reason behind the Davis frame-up. At the time of the assault Davis was in jail on a trumped-up robbery charge.

While in the Ellis County jail, Davis refused to buckle under the racist indignities meted out by Sheriff Wayne McCulloch and his deputies. McCulloch hated the "uppity" Black youth and vowed to get him.

The new testimony has rekindled the anger of the Black community here over the Davis frame-up. When Davis was arrested on the trumped-up robbery charge in 1974 he was widely known here as the star basketball player at Skyline High School. Twenty-five colleges had offered him scholarships.

'THE CROWNED CANNIBALS'

The Crowned Cannibals—Writings on Repression in Iran by Reza Baraheni. Introduction by E.L. Doctorow. New York: Vintage Books, 1977. 281 pp. Paperback, \$3.95.

History moves at an uneven pace in different parts of the world. Two hundred years after the American colonists declared their independence from the British crown, Iran groans under the tyranny of a corrupt, ignor-

Books

ant, and superstitious king. Yet the destinies of the two countries, so geographically distant, have forcibly intersected in the construction and maintenance of that regime. Its horrible realities are the theme of Reza Baraheni's *The Crowned Cannibals*.

The monarchical form of rule has towered over Iran for 2,500 years; it is probably the oldest surviving institution of its kind on earth. In the remarkable essay entitled "Masculine History" Baraheni recounts in chilling detail some of the highlights of its brutality through the ages. He also explains the economic basis for the longevity and durability of the despotism and the peculiarities of its social structure in the persistence of the Asiatic mode of production. Whereas the earlier autocrats actually practiced cannibalism to intimidate everyone around them, their descendants are content to devour the liberties of the people and the flower of their culture through censorship and the systematic suppression of intellectuals and artists.

This somber past saddles a crushing burden of backwardness upon contemporary Iranian life from the plight of the peasantry and nomads at the bottom of the heap to the relations between the sexes. Recently a new phenomenon has been grafted upon the trunk of the monarchy—the imperial West greedy for oil and with no concern for the detrimental influences upon the development of the nation.

CIA-enthroned shah

The current Pahlavi dynasty did not come by its sovereignty in any legitimate way. Its original head, Reza Khan, who served British interests after the Russian Revolution, had to flee the country in 1941. Then in August 1953, after Dr. Mossadegh moved to nationalize the oil resources, the CIA once more imposed the rulership of Reza Khan's young son upon Iran. Washington conspired with the army command to depose the legally elected government and reinstall the shah on the throne he has since occupied as supreme lord and master of the land.

This coup, engineered for the benefit of the oil magnates and the Pentagon, set the pattern for subsequent State Department-CIA counterrevolutionary operations in Guatemala, Cuba, Vietnam, and Chile. Now the Iranian regime, which has bought \$10 billion in arms since 1972, plays a pivotal role in Washington's diplomatic and military plans in the Middle East. It is not



IRAN'S ROYAL FAMILY: 'Whereas the earlier autocrats actually practiced cannibalism to intimidate everyone around them, their descendants devour the liberties of the people and the flower of their culture.'

by chance that former CIA head Richard Helms was posted by Nixon as U.S. Ambassador to Iran and that President Carter has appointed as the next envoy William Sullivan, who directed the daily bombings of Laos between 1964 and 1969 and has been ambassador to the Philippines since 1973 during a period of intensifying repression.

These circumstances make the publication of *The Crowned Cannibals* a significant political event. It presents a damning bill of particulars indicting the repression raging in Iran. Baraheni says in print and out loud for the whole world to hear what may only be whispered to a trusted confidant within the realm of the shah for fear of being caught up and taken away by SAVAK, the secret police. Iran has the highest rate of death penalties in the world and the estimated number of political prisoners ranges from 25,000 to 100,000.

'Tongue of oppressed'

Both the literary talents and personal experiences of the author equip him for the task of flinging this documented exposure squarely at the crowned head who orchestrates the dance of death. Born in Tabriz in 1935, Baraheni lifted himself from the abject condition of a poor working-class family to become a professor of English and dean of students at the University of Tehran after gaining his doctorate at the University of Istanbul, Turkey. He is a novelist and poet, the founder of modern literary criticism in Iran and the translator of Shakespeare, T.S. Eliot, Camus, and Fanon. His writings

have appeared in six languages. He has taught and lectured at universities in the United States where he lives with his family in exile in constant danger of assault by SAVAK's hit squads.

The writings in his book have a diversified character, encompassing several modes of composition. They open with the statement on terror in Iran, part of which he delivered to the congressional subcommittee on human rights in September 1976, and close with a set of poems, "Masks and Paragraphs." These contents are fused into a cohesive whole by the incandescence of his passion for justice and his bitter indignation at the atrocities committed in the name of the shah's spurious "White Revolution."

Here is an excerpt from a poem dedicated to the still imprisoned sociologist Vida Hadjebi Tabrizi:

*I stand in front of a nonexistent statue in my room
And talk to you as if
We lived in post-revolutionary days
And we were to choose a suitable name
For a very rich wine
To honor the four years you spent in the Shah's jail
You said a peasant taught
Was better than a peasant untaught
I agreed that a worker unbought
Was better than a worker bought
Then we said Cheers!
And thought of all the good days
We could have spent together
Instead of rotting down there in jail.
[Page 259.]*

As a victim of SAVAK, Baraheni is

especially qualified to testify about the workings of its torture industry. In 1973 he was kidnapped, tortured, and jailed for 102 days at the Komité, one of SAVAK's stations in Tehran. The story of his incarceration is told in the section called "Prison Memoirs." His record of what goes on in that inferno is as bizarre as it is bloodcurdling.

Among the outrageous characters he encountered was a Captain Qatri, who was in charge of the electric shock machine. He "tells me that he used to paint when he was in the United States, but now he writes poetry. He even shows me some of his poems. Not bad at all, for a torturer. Why not publish them under the title *Love Poems of the Shah's Torturer?*" Qatri later asked him to translate for his wife, who was a student in the College of Translation, an article on Buddha by another prisoner, the famous Muslim theologian Ali Shariati.

Baraheni belongs to the Turkish-speaking Azerbaijanis and is thereby highly sensitive to the national question. Persians comprise less than half of the 34 million inhabitants of Iran; the rest are Azerbaijanis, Kurds, Arabs, Baluchis, and smaller ethnic minorities. All are compelled by law to learn the one official language, Persian. A telling sidelight on the privileges of the imperialists and the chauvinism of the rulers is the fact that the 3,000 American children brought to Iran by parents working for the Grumman Corporation can go to an English-speaking school. Yet millions of children born to the oppressed nationalities do not have a single school in which they can study everything in their native languages. Baraheni divulges what a mental handicap this was in his own education; only by dint of assiduous application was he able to master Persian as he later did English. He has since aspired, he says, "to be the tongue of my oppressed nationality in the language of the oppressor."

Women as shoes

Phalocracy has gone hand in hand with autocracy in the Masculine History of Iran. The subjection of women has not substantially changed since the monarchy was founded by King Cyrus two and a half millennia ago. Baraheni's description of the abuse of women by the ruling male sexual force and the effects this has had upon the psyches of women themselves is one of the most distinctive—and distressing—features of the book.

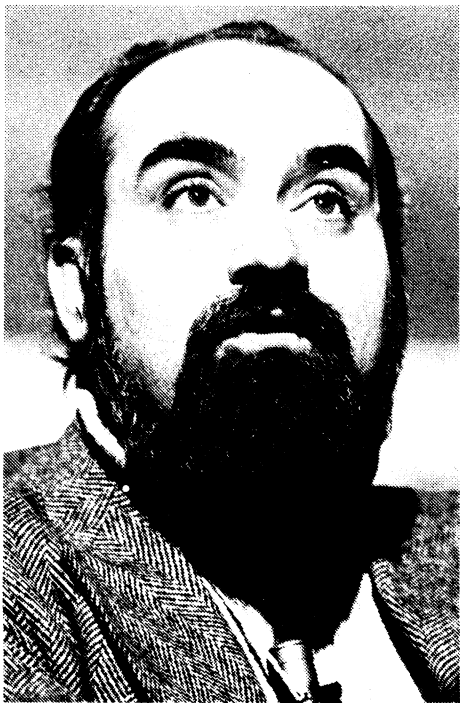
The prevailing derogation of the female sex was impressed upon him at an early age. "My father used to call my mother *bashmagh*, the Turkish word for 'shoes,' in the presence of other men. It sounded very funny: 'Tell shoes to bring a cup of tea for Mr. Mohammad.'" A man will not dare use the proper name of a housewife when walking into someone's house, although he may be quite aware of her name.

"Even a poor worker, who belongs to the most oppressed class of society, becomes a bourgeois as soon as he sets foot in his own house. His orders rain down upon his wife and daughter in the same fashion as the orders of the factory owner had fallen on him. Repression and oppression multiply oppressors."

All the women Baraheni saw in the cells of ward 3 in the Komité prison

were educated women: university students, teachers, intellectuals, and artists. These politicized women were in revolt against the patriarchal traditions and customs suspended like a sword over the female part of the population, against the trashy imported Hollywood notions of femininity, and the court-sponsored women's liberation movement introduced by the shah's twin sister Princess Ashraf. Their strivings to arrive at a new identity for themselves alarm the authorities.

"The reason that Iranian prison cells house an increasing number of women is that they, these women, are in search of an identity on the basis of equal rights with men in everything, and the government is aware that the politicization of women will lead to an even further politicization of men, which in turn will eventually lead to



Militant/Lou Howort

REZA BARAHENI: 'Presents a damning bill of particulars indicting repression in Iran.'

still greater tremors in the domain of Iranian monarchy."

The deep-rooted disdain for women and the unbridled egotism of the dominant male were crassly expressed by the shah when he said of women, in an interview with Oriana Fallaci: "You've never even produced a good chef. . . . You've produced nothing great, nothing!"

Exile's view of Iran

In Iran as in Russia poets have been trustees of the conscience of the masses, voicing their inarticulate feelings and grievances. Baraheni carries on that function. At the same time his orientation-in-exile stands out in contrast with the reactionary attitudes taken by many dissidents who have left the USSR, such as can be found in the latest productions of a Solzhenitsyn. He looks forward to a thoroughgoing reconstruction of Iranian society through the awakening, resurgence, and independent action of all its oppressed elements.

This is how he views the present situation:

Although she has witnessed the rise of a bourgeoisie during the last fifty years, Iran has not yet been able to oust the Shah and attain independence either from the venal monarchy or from world imperialism. At this moment in history the Iranian people are caught in a bizarre situation—a state of high tension in which the weight of the past traditions presses down on the new that are striving to be born. The prominent features of this situation are:

(1) the existence of a compradore system in which Iranians act as agents of foreign companies, pretending they are carrying forward the industrialization of the country;

(2) a superstitious monarchy glutted with wealth and luxury, standing on the peak of the pyramid of the ruling classes;

(3) the existence of a potentially explosive situation among the workers and students, without a political party that will bring them together under the rubric of an objectively conceived set of demands;

(4) the rapid migration of the peasantry to the urban areas and their desperate and usually unsuccessful efforts to join the ranks of workers, which generally results in their becoming either soldiers in the army or unskilled laborers on the verge of pauperism;

(5) a landlordism and waterlordism based on the Asiatic Mode of Production not yet entirely gone, with an industrialism not yet arrived;

(6) a racism based on Persian chauvinism, with 60 percent of the country's population (Turks, Kurds, Arabs, Baluchis) deprived of the use of their own national and ethnic cultures and languages;

(7) the existence of inhuman inequalities between men and women, a condition in which women could be considered second-class citizens;

(8) the costly militarization of the country topped off by the amalgamation of a primeval apparatus of repression and bestiality with a sophisticated and modern structure of torture, repression, inquisition and censorship.

Freedom fighters face terror

The terror from above has bred a clandestine guerrilla movement that has incurred heavy losses. While Baraheni pays tribute to the courage and devotion of these freedom-fighters, he doubts the efficacy of their methods:

The Shah's terrorism can hardly discourage these young men and women, whose average age does not exceed twenty-two and who are generally university students from all over the country. They have chosen the Revolutionary Path of the Intelligentsia, and their movement resembles the kind of student movement that appeared in Russia from 1860 to 1885 (which subsided only when Plekhanov and Lenin appeared on the political scene). But their losses have been far greater than those of their Russian counterparts and their successes fewer. They have yet to prove that they can assassinate the counterpart of the Czar in Iran; it is not even clear at this point whether such a deed could radically alter the political situation in Iran, in whose history, which is not completely devoid of regicide, no great radical changes ever came about as a result of assassination. It is quite clear that there will be no radical changes until the economic structure of the country is altered. The foundation for such a revolution is the underprivileged majority of society, not the intellectuals. This I say with all due respect to the heroic and costly attempts of these young men and women.

After having himself been rescued from the clutches of the torturers, no individual has been more effective than Baraheni in bringing the facts about the real situation in Iran to the attention of the English-speaking public. He has done so as an honorary chairman of the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI). Together with PEN, Amnesty International, and other civil liberties organizations, CAIFI has succeeded in generating enough pressure to force the release of several other prominent opponents of the regime. The circulation of *The Crowned Cannibals* should help reinforce the worldwide campaign on behalf of the thousands of political prisoners still held in the shah's jails.

These prisoners are as much the responsibility of Americans as they are the concern of Iranians. Not only has the Pahlavi butcher been put and kept

in power by Washington; the leading members of the secret police have been trained and equipped by U.S. advisers. In one instance alone, on June 5, 1963, American-trained counterinsurgency troops of the Iranian army and SAV-AK massacred more than 6,000 people!

U.S. sinking deeper

The Middle East is rightly considered among the main flash points of international tensions. Baraheni warns about the grave consequences that may ensue from U.S. complicity with the shah:

The reason most of my countrymen would tell you that they carry a grudge against the United States is that the U.S. government has given its unconditional support to a monarch who has terrorized a whole nation, plundered its wealth and bought billions of dollars' worth of military equipment which neither he nor our nation knows how to use. Iran is a dangerous quagmire in which the United States is sinking deeper and deeper. The future will speak for itself. But if Iran becomes the new Vietnam, we can be sure that it was the inhumane and irresponsible policies of the U.S. government, the excessive greed of American arms corporations and the extreme stupidity and adventurism on the part of the present Iranian authorities that led to the creation of that crisis in the history of humanity.

This warning deserves to be heeded.

—George Novack
From Intercontinental Press

Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran

. . . is a civil liberties organization publicizing the cases of victimized Iranian artists, intellectuals, and political prisoners.

Of the eleven prisoners CAIFI has championed in the last years, five have been released—thanks to the international pressure brought to bear on the shah's regime.

Currently CAIFI is campaigning on behalf of Vida Hadjebi Tabrizi, a woman sociologist arrested in 1972, and Ghлом Hossein Saedi, a noted playwright not allowed to leave Iran.

CAIFI

853 Broadway, suite 414
New York, New York 10003

☐ Enclosed is my contribution of \$ _____

☐ Please send me the *CAIFI Newsletter*, published quarterly. 50¢ each.

☐ Please send me brochures and protest cards about _____ Vida Hadjebi Tabrizi; _____ Ghлом Hossein Saedi.

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Twelve choose SWP in St. Louis

By Elizabeth Jayko

ST. LOUIS—Twelve people joined the Socialist Workers Party here this spring.

The SWP has been in the news consistently in St. Louis because of its candidates for mayor and comptroller. Not only did many people hear about the SWP; some were convinced that the party is the most serious and dynamic socialist group in the country.

Tim Kaminsky, a twenty-four-year-old auto worker, was formerly a member of the International Socialists, but quit that group and joined the SWP. "I was attracted to the SWP because of its ability to publicize the ideas of socialism," he explained.

JOINING THE SWP

"Everybody hears about socialism through the publicity in election campaigns."

Kaminsky also thinks "the SWP's involved in real things like Steelworkers Fight Back and the National Student Coalition Against Racism."

The St. Louis socialists' involvement in day-to-day struggles of working people, Blacks and women is another major reason people joined the SWP.

Take Dywond Belle, one of five new Black members in the St. Louis local. Belle is a sixteen-year-old student at Soldan High School and a member of the Young Socialist Alliance. The Black liberation movement was the main reason he joined the socialists.

"My intention at first was not to join," Belle said. "But I became more conscious of what was happening in our society, and it made me angry. The SWP had the best idea of how to change things. Other groups' plans would never unite the people, would never unite the Black movement."

The SWP's ideas about the Black liberation movement also helped convince Jimmy Barnes, a twenty-four-year-old unemployed worker. He first heard of the SWP during the spring municipal election campaign. He was interested by a leaflet about the socialists' call for an independent Black political party.

During the election a leading Black Democrat, Rep. William Clay, conducted a write-in campaign against the official Democratic Party candidate, who was white.

The socialists agreed with Clay that the Democratic Party is racist. However, SWP candidate for comptroller, Mary Pritchard, said that the Black community should call a conference to form their own independent political party. Clay didn't like the idea.

But Jimmy Barnes did. He joined the SWP soon after the April 5 election.

The SWP campaign also made the fight for women's rights, especially passage of the Equal Rights Amendment in Missouri, a central issue. That was the reason Elizabeth Curry joined the party.

When Curry joined in May, she was a fifteen-year-old student at Hanley Junior High School, active in the YSA. "I wanted to work more for the women's liberation movement," Curry said. "More than anything in the world, I wanted to spend most of my life working for the ideas of the SWP."

Bob Allan felt the same way about socialist ideas. When he joined, Allan was an unemployed college graduate who had studied socialist ideas in

Continued on page 30

Calendar

BOSTON: FENWAY-SOUTH END INTRODUCTION TO SOCIALISM CLASS. The need for a revolutionary party. Wed., July 27, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave., fourth floor. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

CHICAGO: SOUTH SIDE IN DEFENSE OF ABORTION RIGHTS. Speakers: Sharon Scoby, chairperson, Black Women's Task Force, board member of National Alliance of Black Feminists; Jenny Knauss, Ad Hoc Committee for Abortion Rights; Dolores Griffith, trainer in family planning and sex education, abortion counselor; Suzanne Haig, SWP; Julia Alexander, Ad Hoc Committee for Abortion Rights. Fri., July 29, 8 p.m. 1515 E. 52nd Pl., third floor. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 643-5520.

CINCINNATI SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Labor history and today's struggle. Speaker: Wendy Lyons, SWP. Sat., July 23, 1 p.m. & 4 p.m.; Sun., July 24, 1 p.m. 970 E. McMillan. Donation: \$1. Ausp: SWP & YSA. For more information call (513) 751-2636.

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN SUMMER BUFFET. Meet Wendy Lyons, midwest regional organizer for SWP; and Carol Knoll, SWP candidate for city council. Cold buffet and refreshments. Sat., July 23, 7:30 p.m. 3226 Glendora. Donation: \$3. Ausp: SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (513) 751-2636.

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.

INDIANAPOLIS GAY RIGHTS: A DEBATE. Speakers: State Rep. Donald Boys; Mike Sedberry, Gay People's Union; Eileen Woess, SWP; others. Fri., July 29, 8 p.m. IUPUI campus lecture hall 101. Donation: \$1. Ausp:

Militant Forum. For more information call (317) 545-3428.

LONG BEACH, CALIF. SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Capitalist wars and the working class. Speaker: Fred Halstead. Wed., July 27, 7:30 p.m. 3322 E. Anaheim. Donation: \$1. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (213) 597-0965.

FEMINISM AND SOCIALISM. Speaker: Sara Matthews. Sat., July 30, 3 p.m. 3322 E. Anaheim St. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (213) 597-0965.

LOS ANGELES: SAN FERNANDO VALLEY STOP THE DEPORTATIONS—WHAT YOU CAN DO TO PROTECT THE RIGHTS OF UNDOCUMENTED WORKERS. Speaker: Peter Camejo. SWP 1976 presidential candidate. Thurs., July 28, 7:30 p.m. Pacoima Senior Citizens Center, 10943 Herrick, Pacoima. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 899-5811.

MIAMI SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Classes on a revolutionary strategy for labor. Every Mon. & Thurs., 8 p.m. Miami Dade Community College, North Campus, Rm. 1210 Scott Hall. Donation: \$.50 per class. For more information call (305) 271-2241.

NEW YORK BRITISH OUT OF IRELAND. Speakers: Bernadette Devlin McAliskey, Independent Socialist Party; Fergus O'Hare, People's Democracy; Anne Farley, Movement for a Socialist Republic, section of the Fourth International. Fri., July 29, 7:30 p.m. Columbia Teachers College, Horace Mann Auditorium, 120th St. and Broadway. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 982-8214.

PHOENIX SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Socialist strategy in the labor movement. Tuesdays, 7:30 p.m. 314 E. Taylor. Donation: \$.50. Ausp: SWP & YSA. For more information call (602) 255-0450.

RICHMOND, VA. DEFEND THE WILMINGTON TEN. Speaker: Imani Kazana, National Wilmington Ten Defense Committee; slide show. Fri., July 29, 8 p.m. 1203A W. Main. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (804) 353-3238.

SAN ANTONIO HOW THE UNIONS WERE BUILT. A weekly discussion series based on experiences in the Teamsters union in the 1930s. Fridays, 8 p.m. 1317 Castroville Rd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: SWP & YSA. For more information call (512) 432-7625.

...gay

Continued from page 7

reaching out to involve the many potential supporters of gay rights in an ongoing campaign.

Through heated debate in workshops and caucuses, and a democratic discussion and vote in the final plenary, the conference rejected several proposals which would have watered down the central focus of this campaign and threatened the unity and purpose of CLGR.

The conference rejected a proposal from members of Youth Against War and Fascism and the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee, for example. These groups insisted that the conference "prove" its antiracism by endorsing a demonstration in support of people arrested on charges of "looting" during New York's blackout.

Nelson González of the SWP and others urged the conference to reject the motion. González noted that while he and many other conference participants are active in antiracist struggles and support these prisoners, the CLGR should focus its limited resources on the big job of winning support for gay rights, not attempt to substitute itself for the many other struggles against injustice. The Black and Hispanic workshop had earlier voted to reject the proposal for similar reasons.

The conference gave a strong vote of approval to the report from the Black and Hispanic workshop, which called on the CLGR to undertake an active campaign to win support from Black

and Latino organizations. The CLGR is already distributing a Spanish-language leaflet for the August 20 demonstration.

The nearly fifty people at the trade-union workshop decided to become the core of an ongoing trade-union committee in the CLGR. Participants came from the United Federation of Teachers; Nation Education Association; United Steelworkers of America; District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; United Auto Workers; Local 69 of the Restaurant Workers union; Painters Union; Coalition of Labor Union Women; American Association of University Professors; Social Service Employees Union; and others.

The trade-union committee set plans for writing leaflets, participating in union conventions, pushing for gay rights measures in union contracts, winning trade-union endorsement for CLGR activities, and supporting efforts to unionize gay bars.

More than a third of the conference participants were women. Workshops to discuss outreach to women's and lesbian organizations were well attended and spirited.

Other workshops discussed organizing students; building support for Intro 554, New York City's proposed gay rights bill; organizing the August 20 march and the proposed national action; and fundraising.

The CLGR can be contacted at its new office, 17 West Seventeenth Street, eighth floor, New York, New York 10011.

...joining

Continued from page 29

school and wanted to get politically active.

"I was excited when I found the Socialist Workers Party," he said. "I was excited about the fact that running a socialist candidate would get out socialist ideas in the mass media."

Joining the SWP is also the best way to learn more about socialist ideas. That's what Greg Zensen thought. He's a student at St. Louis University who was looking for an alternative to the Democratic and Republican parties. "I had some vague ideas about socialism and agreed with what I knew of it. I joined to learn more about the party."

Greg Relaford, a student at the University of Missouri-St. Louis, considered the Progressive Labor Party, a small, sectarian group, before joining the YSA on campus.

"PLP was always shouting about what they wanted, but they never talked about real issues, always general things."

Relaford was a member of the YSA's midwest regional team this past spring, traveling to various campuses to win new members to the YSA. Right after returning, he joined the SWP.

"I wanted to be a revolutionary. I've been interested in Marxism since high school, and I've always wanted to do something. To me, socialism is the best way for humanity."

...UTU

Continued from page 9

Charles Hopkins, the railroads' chief negotiator, responded positively to Chesser's suggestion, saying that the companies might agree to some national "guidelines" followed by local pacts.

According to the July 11 *Wall Street Journal*, Chesser also said that the union tops would be willing to discuss proposals to change the present pay system, while insisting that "we aren't going to take any pay cut."

Management isn't worried about Chesser's empty threats. They know that the UTU bureaucrats are incapable of mobilizing the union ranks for the coming showdown.

But the one ingredient in this battle that the railroads *are worried about* is the union membership.

The bosses, along with the UTU bureaucrats, hope that union members will knuckle under. They want to head off any attempts by the rail workers themselves to forge a powerful movement that could fight and win.

According to the June 27 issue of *Railway Age*, a management magazine, "The hope is that both sides, management and labor, can keep the drums muffled—with blaring trumpets nowhere to be heard."

I wouldn't put money on that. It's a safe bet that the union members will be heard.

...Gutierrez

Continued from back page

Because he's [Castillo] a Chicano. So how can he be racist?

So we must understand and be careful about this guy.

You know, the FBI and CIA worry a lot about threats to national security. Threats to national security—that's you and me. That's why Corwin writes such a memo to Kissinger and Ford. Because in their eyes we are basically un-American.

And the people who are writing these memos, who consider us un-American, they're the ones hiring Castillo.

And what have these people made out to be the "illegals" situation? A police problem. But the "illegals" situation—if you want to call it that—is not a police problem.

I come from Crystal City. What the hell am I doing here in Houston? Why am I teaching here?

Well, I can give you all kinds of excuses, and they won't amount to a hill of beans as far as you're concerned, except one: I need the money. I came here to get a job.

Now, many of you come from the Valley. And you're going to college for what? To get yourself better equipped to get a better job than wherever you came from.

What happens to many of our people from the Valley? We move from place to place to get a job, to get better wages. Would you agree that that should be criminal? That it's a crime? You probably would

not agree. Hell no!

If you have to feed your family, if you have to get something in your *panza*—at least menudo, frioles, or tortillas—what's wrong with that? I ask you: If people from Mexico, or people from any place else are coming here in search of a job, what's wrong with that?

Well, I think we ought to go a little bit further in explaining why it's not a police problem.

Who in those countries is causing all those problems of unemployment and underdevelopment and subdevelopment, and all these other words that people use in describing all these poor countries? Here's how I found out.

The first time I went to Mexico was in 1972. They gave free beer on the plane and when I landed in Mexico I was half asleep, and I didn't realize I had already landed. Then I got off, and I knew I wasn't in Mexico City. Because I saw Holiday Inn, Kentucky Fried Chicken, Burger Boy.

I said, "What the hell is this?"

Someone answered, "This is Mexico City."

I said, "No, man, this is San Antonio."

Then I wondered, "Who owns these things?" Well, American corporations do. Then I went down to the banks: Bank of London, Bank of Tokyo, all these banks. Bank of London is one of the biggest banks in all Mexico. Can you dig that?

You went to all these places in Mexico City, and nothing but gringos all over the place. Burger Boy. Pizza Hut . . . that's progress. Turn on the radio, rock music. Look at the billboard, you know what they got behind the beer? Blonde, blue-eyed women.

Well I don't say all Mexicans have to be dark-eyed and brown. There are some blonde, blue-eyed Mexicans. But not all of them. But what was the standard of beauty on those billboards?

What I'm saying is that there is something else besides the imperialism that we see with people gobbling up countries and land. They do that too. But they do it through very subtle means. Cultural imperialism. Like the music, and the billboards, and the styles. They do it through the invasion of capital. And it is to the advantage of this country to keep those other countries down. They get more money out if they save money on labor and they get their resources cheap. They're making lots of bucks.

So why complain that those people are so hungry that they come over here? Because when it comes to corporations and multinational interests there are no "wetbacks." There are no "illegals."

So I ask you, who's causing the problems over there? *Same ones that cause the problems over here.*

That's why the immigration issue is not a police problem; it's an economic one. But more important. Let's get away from all this mumbo jumbo about economics and politics, and let's just talk about some real gut stuff.

Each one of you has got a relative in Mexico. You can't have been in Houston that long. How can you tell me that this is a police problem? Even if you argue with your wife, or you don't talk to grandma, they're still family, they're still culture, they're still heritage, they're still *us*. And if you feel that way as an individual, you think I'm any different? All of us got family. We're all in this together.

New from Pathfinder

The Politics of Chicano Liberation

Edited with an introduction by Olga Rodríguez

The war of the grapes, the lettuce boycott, La Raza Unida Party's challenge to "Anglo power," the racist campaign of the Immigration Service against Mexican workers and its harassment of all Chicanos in the U.S., bilingual-bicultural education, and the economic crisis of Chicanos are discussed. This book analyzes the development of the Chicano people in the U.S. as a native oppressed nationality, forged over time by racist practices in white society. How are the conditions of exploitation and oppression changed and eventually ended? This book provides some practical proposals for Chicano liberation. 160 pages, cloth \$8.00, paper \$2.45

The Crisis of the French Section (1935-36)

By Leon Trotsky

The Bolshevik-Leninist Group (GBL), the French section of the International Communist League, entered the French Socialist Party to win over leftward-moving Socialists to the movement for the Fourth International. When the GBL members

became an obstacle to the plans of the Socialist leaders for a coalition with the Stalinist Communist Party, they were expelled, precipitating a crisis which eventually spread to include broader political issues as well.

This book contains valuable lessons for today about the nature of revolutionary parties and Marxist politics. 300 pages, cloth \$13.00, paper \$3.95

Puerto Ricans in the U.S. The Struggle for Freedom

Edited with an introduction by Catarino Garza

More than one-third of all Puerto Ricans live in the United States today. They come to escape the grinding poverty and oppression of their homeland, but find instead virulent racism, inequality in education and employment, and language and cultural discrimination—in some respects, conditions worse than those they fled.

Catarino Garza is a well-known Puerto Rican activist in New York City and a leader of the Socialist Workers Party. This book examines the oppression and exploitation of Puerto Ricans in the United States and presents a program of struggle for their liberation. 64 pages, cloth \$6.00, paper \$1.25

The Struggle for Socialism in the "American Century" Writings and Speeches, 1945-47

By James P. Cannon

At the end of World War II, U.S. imperialism intended to conquer the world—economically if not militarily. The bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki was more to signal the ruthlessness of U.S. imperialism in beginning the cold war than to end the shooting war with Japan.

This volume traces Cannon and the Socialist Workers Party from the last tumultuous months of World War II, through the postwar labor strike wave, to the beginning of the cold war and the McCarthyite witch-hunt.

Much of this volume centers on a debate within the SWP over the validity of socialist revolution as a realizable prospect in the United States, and Cannon's reaffirmation and development of Leninist methods of building a revolutionary socialist party in the United States. 480 pages, cloth \$15.00, paper \$4.95

The Mao Myth And the Legacy of Stalinism in China

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Chicano leader speaks out against 'la migra'

José Angel Gutiérrez is a founding leader of the Texas Raza Unida Party and judge for Zavala County. Last May, in response to a new crackdown on Mexican immigrants being planned in Washington, Gutiérrez issued a "Call for Action," urging others to join with him in sponsoring a national Chicano/Latino conference to discuss immigration and related issues. A list of some of the endorsers of the call appears in the box below.

In response to Gutiérrez's call, and after consulting with activists and coalitions in other states, the San Antonio-based International Committee on Immigration and Public Policy has scheduled a national Chicano/Latino conference for that city October 28-30. Further information on the national conference is available from the committee at 1927 West Commerce Street, San Antonio, Texas 78207. Phone (512) 227-1220.

Over the summer, Gutiérrez has been teaching at the University of Houston. On July 5, he gave a talk on "Directions for Chicano Politics" at a forum sponsored by Mujeres Unidas, a Chicana organization there. Following are excerpts from the section of the talk dealing with immigration and deportations.

I think that there's a very important thing that's happening right now, something that's facing our community not only as Chicanos but as members of the entire Latino family in the United States.

A year ago a professor at Harvard by the name of Corwin was commissioned to do a study, a position paper on the question of immigration. And he saw problems.

It was such a big thing that the Washington, D.C., people—the person inside the White House, Mr. Peanut Farmer himself—decided to move on this issue.

Basically, this study said that the number of

Latinos is so immense, so large—just the ones that are being born here, and then you add those coming in, not only from Mexico, but from Central America and from the Caribbean, and then you add the Puerto Ricans, and even those Cubans that are somewhat progressive, you add all those together—so large that what you've got is one hell of a lot of brown bodies.

That's what they're worried about.

Because if population projections hold true, you're going to find that Chicanos and Latinos in general are going to replace Blacks as the number one population of minorities in the United States in seventeen or eighteen years.



JOSÉ ANGEL GUTIERREZ

Militant/Harry Ring

And in certain areas of the Southwest we are such an abundant number that we are a majority, and there's more areas like that all the time. Not only a majority of the population, but of the eligible voters and of those that actually vote. So what's going to happen?

In essence, the border is going to move. And not only in the Southwest, but also in the Midwest.

As Corwin said, in a matter of a few years we're going to have the creation of Raza states—and they call it that. And that's going to mean a Chicano Québec.

Now, many of us are not familiar with this business of Québec. Québec is a place near the Niagara Falls in Canada. And they got a bunch of French people that the Canadian government thinks are very silly.

They want to speak French. They want to eat French food. They want to marry among the French. They want to separate from Canada. They want to run their own government and control their own destiny.

Now Corwin is saying that before the Mexicans find out about Québec, that they better stop the creation of this Chicano Québec in the Southwest.

You know what else they say in this memo? They say that the most extreme case already happening in the creation of these Raza states is Crystal City, Texas—where Raza Unida Party started.

It makes me wonder why, after all these years, we've suddenly had a very prominent man from Houston—Mr. [Leonel] Castillo—appointed to be the head cop of *la migra* [Immigration and Naturalization Service]. I have no question about his capabilities, but I wonder, capable for what? Because he already sent 100 cops to San Diego to stop border crossing, and he already allowed Braceros into Presidio, Texas.

This man, I think, has contributed to one particularly important thing at the moment. And that is we can't accuse Mr. Carter, or *la migra*, or the Department of Justice of being racist. Why?

Continued on page 30

Endorsers of Gutierrez's 'Call for Action'

Following is a list of endorsers of a "Call for Action" sent out by José Angel Gutiérrez in May. Organizations listed after names of individuals are for identification purposes only.

TEXAS GENERAL: Esequiel de la Fuente, El Centro de Salud, Crystal City; Alpha Hernández, Oficuna de la Gente, Texas Rural Legal Aid; Juanita Luera, Centro Aztlan, Laredo; Antonio Orendain, Texas Farm Workers Union; **PADRES:** José Pompa, Goliad RUP; V. Peran, Centro Aztlan, Laredo; Jorge Zaragoza, Texas Farm Workers Union.

AUSTIN: Amparo Aguilar, Raza Unida Party (RUP); Democratic Association of Iranian Students, University of Texas; Esteban Flores, Austin Friends of the Farm Workers; Dr. Armando Gutiérrez, vice-chairperson, Texas RUP; Robert Maggioni, Chicano Legal Defense Fund; María Elena Martínez, chairperson, Texas RUP; Mexican American Youth Organization, University of Texas; Organization of Arab Students, University of Texas; Fernando Pasaya, director, MAYO, University of Texas; Paul Vélez, regional director, American GI Forum.

HOUSTON: Leonel Cantú, Chicano Law Students Association, University of Houston; José García, chairperson, IMAGE; Jana Pellusch, alternate committeewoman, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 4227; Bill Piscella, member, executive council, Houston Teachers Association; V.C. Quintilla, speaker of the house, University of Houston Student Association; Ruperto Reyes, Jr., Association for the Advancement of Mexican-Americans; Juan Ibarra, Chicano Law School Association.

SAN ANTONIO: Sister Mario Barón, member, Las Hermanas; Roy Botello, Civil Rights Litigation Center; Bob Brischetto, sociologist; Lupe Cásarez, CASA-HGT; Rosie Castro, Civil Rights Litigation Center; Mario Compeán, coordination, International Committee on Immigration and Public Policy; Brother Ed Dann, Mexican-American Cultural Center; Cecilio García-Camarillo, Caracol; Hector López, president, student government, Our Lady of the Lake College; Mexican American Students Organization, St. Mary's University; MASO, University of Texas; Fr. Roberto

Peña, president, PADRES; Nacho Pérez, International Committee on Immigration and Public Policy.

CHICAGO: Centro de Servicios Legales Para Inmigrantes; Sister Gabriel Herbers, Alliance to End Repression; Millie Lenard, Committee for Gay Rights; Ray Romero, president, La Alianza, Northwestern University Law School.

MIAMI: Jean Claude Charlemagne and Salvecir Guerrier, Haitian Refugee Information Center; Ray Greenwood, Florida Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression; José Molina, president, All People's Neighborhood Organization; Rev. J.V. Mompremier, Christian Community Service Agency; Pierre Elie Valcourt, president, Rescue and Services Organization; Rev. August Vanden Dosche, staff association, Southeast Division of Church and Society, National Council of Churches; Bettye Wiggs, Community Relations for Haitian Refugees Concerns, National Council of Churches.

NEWARK: Wray Bailey, American Friends Service Committee Newark Justice Program; Agapito Díaz, executive director, Puerto Rican Congress of New Jersey; Steve Negler, executive director, New Jersey American Civil Liberties Union; Ramón Rivera, La Casa de Don Pedro; Jeff Siegal, National Lawyers Guild; Carolyn Thorbourne, coordinator, Black Studies, Upsilon College; United Black Workers Caucus, United Auto Workers, Mahwah, New Jersey.

KANSAS CITY: Albert Gandara, former editor, *Tres Colores*; Josephine López, American GI Forum; Alfredo Parra; Roberto Parra, human relations commissioner.

COLORADO: Everett Chavez, former director, Mexican American Education Program, University of Colorado; Irene Blea Gutiérrez, instructor, University of Colorado at Boulder; Rev. Joseph Holbrook, Evangelical Concerns of Denver; Ricardo LaFore, deputy director, Colorado Migrant Council; Josefina Pérez, staff member, West Side Action Center, Denver; Roberto Salazar, land-grant attorney.

NEW MEXICO: Pedro Antonio Archuleta, Tierra Amarilla; Isabel Blea, Las Vegas RUP; Antonio "Ike" De Vargas, chairperson, Rio Arriba County RUP; Larry Hill, legal counsel, Las Cruces RUP; Juan José Peña, chairperson, San Miguel County RUP.

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA: Confederación de la Raza, San José; Coalition for Fair Immigration Laws and Practices, San José; Raúl Tovar, Comité Popular de Educación; María Vargas, Raza Educators of Berkeley; Froben Lozada, director, Chicano studies, Merritt College; Miguel Angel, Chicano studies, Laney College; Gladys Barón, acting editor, *El Mundo*; Frank Brado, Concilio de Organizaciones Latino Americanas; Carlos Coral, chairperson, Merritt College Raza Student Union; Carlos Barón, Teatro Latino; Tony Valladolid, Centro Legal de la Raza.

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA: Bert Corona; Raúl Wilson, Padres Unidos; Ramona Ripston, executive director, Southern California American Civil Liberties Union; Ron Karenga, New Afro-American Movement; Sister Teresita Basso, Hermanas; Vahac Mardirosian, executive director, Hispanic Urban Center; Tony Romero, Student Body president, East Los Angeles College; Nash Rodriguez, Steelworkers Fight Back; Peter Camejo, national field organizer, Socialist Workers Party.

BOSTON: Efraín Collado, Puerto Rican Student Union, University of Massachusetts; Herman Hernández, Public Education Program.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: Josephine Butler, D.C. Statehood Party.

NEW YORK: Hispanic Women's Caucus, New York International Women's Year Conference; Gloria Steinem, feminist; Olga Rodriguez, member of national committee, Socialist Workers Party.

UTAH: Robert Archuleta, chairperson, Crossroads Urban Center, Salt Lake City; Chicano Students Association, University of Utah; Comité de la Gente Unida, Salt Lake City; C. B. Cordova, United Steelworkers of America Local 485, Kearns; Abelardo Delgado, Chicano Studies, Utah University; Arturo Estrada, president, ADELA; Adolfo Flores, television commentator, Salt Lake City; Ken Morgan, Communist Party; Priscilla Roybal, Utah Migrant Council; Filbert Salazar, Guadalupe Center, Salt Lake City; Roy Belarde, SER Program, Salt Lake City.

ARIZONA: Margo Cowan, Manzo Area Council; Mestro Martínez, MECChA, Arizona State University; Raúl Grijalva, member Tucson school board; Sister Corina Padilla, Bishops Spanish Speaking Council.