

THE MILITANT

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

U.S. HANDS OFF PANAMA CANAL!

The following statement was issued by Catarino Garza, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York City.

Ever since President Theodore Roosevelt stole the Panama Canal in 1903, American policy there has bared imperialism's most arrogant, racist, and militaristic face toward Latin America.

Now President Carter is hoping that his new Panama Canal treaty can put a toothy smile on that face.

Carter aims to do that by removing clauses in the old treaty that ensured U.S. domination "in perpetuity" over the canal. Such outright colonial control is bitterly hated by the Panamanian masses—and throughout all of Latin America.

But Carter's new agreement simply continues U.S. domination by more "modern" means. One clause guarantees Washington's "right" to intervene to ensure the canal's "neutrality" forever.

Some right-wing politicians are mounting a campaign against Carter's new treaty. But this debate is an empty one. The capitalist politicians on both sides only disagree over how best to protect U.S. economic and military interests in Panama.

Working people in the United States have no interest in which of these quarreling packs of scoundrels comes out on top. Both sides will target our wages, jobs, and democratic rights, as surely as they do the right of self-determination of our Latin American brothers and sisters.

That's what Eisenhower was doing, while he launched the overthrow of the Arbenz government

in Guatemala in 1954.

That's what Kennedy was doing, while he organized the Bay of Pigs invasion against Castro's Cuba in 1961.

That's what Lyndon Johnson was doing, while he sent troops into the Dominican Republic in 1965.

That's what Nixon was doing, while he worked to overthrow the Allende government in Chile in 1973.

And that's what all these presidents—Democrats and Republicans alike—have done, while keeping Uncle Sam's heel on the neck of the Puerto Rican people.

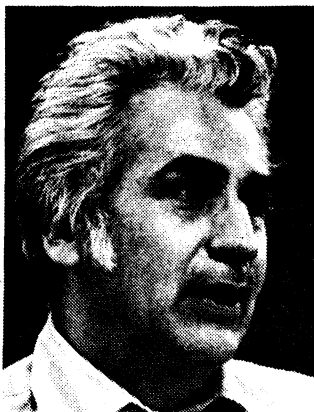
In contrast to the intrigues of these big business politicians, my party, the Socialist Workers Party, offers a simple one-point plan:

U.S. Hands Off Panama!

Let the Panamanian people run their own country without the threat of intervention from Washington!

Recent polls claim that some 70 percent of the American people are opposed to the United States "giving up" the Panama Canal.

This shows the massive confusion that the Democrats and Republicans have created over this issue.



GARZA

These capitalist politicians were able to create the same confusion in the early days of the Vietnam War. But by educating the American people about the injustice of U.S. policy in Vietnam, the antiwar movement in this country was able to win over a majority to its position.

That movement—through rallies, picket lines, and massive street demonstrations—grew strong enough to tie Washington's hands in Vietnam.

INSIDE: Carter still wields big stick in Panama. How the United States stole the Canal. See pages 4-5.

The government still fears the power of that antiwar sentiment to this day. As soon as voices of protest were raised against U.S. intervention in the Angolan civil war, for example, Washington was forced to pull back from its intended course.

I pledge to use my candidacy to begin such an educational campaign now, so that Washington will have to think twice before sending U.S. troops to "ensure the Panama Canal's neutrality." I urge every socialist, every trade unionist, every Black and Latino activist, and every women's rights fighter to join me in this task.

Our struggle is against the warmakers here at home, not against our Panamanian brothers and sisters struggling for freedom from foreign domination.

Dawson 5 trial puts spotlight on racism in Georgia

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DAWSON FIVE: (From left) J.D. Davenport; Henderson Watson; James Edward Jackson, Jr.; Roosevelt Watson; Johnny B. Jackson.

A new Miami? Calif. gays under fire

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ASKS 'CONSIDERATION' OF WILM. 10 PARDON: The National Wilmington Ten Defense Committee announced August 15 that U.S. Attorney General Griffin Bell has asked North Carolina Gov. James Hunt to "give serious consideration" to pardoning the imprisoned civil rights activists.

Bell's request came in response to a letter to him from sixty members of Congress, asking the Justice Department to intervene in the case.

Imani Kazana, national coordinator of the defense committee, commented that "the Justice Department would not make such a request if it did not have the evidence to back it up."

The Wilmington Ten, nine of whom are still imprisoned, were sentenced to long prison terms in 1972 after conviction on trumped-up arson charges.

RIGHT TO IGNORE FLAG SALUTE UPHOLD: A federal judge has overturned a New Jersey law requiring public school students to stand during the pledge of allegiance. The August 16 decision said the law violated students' right to free expression as guaranteed in the First Amendment.

The decision was the result of a suit filed by Deborah Lipp, a junior at a New Jersey high school.

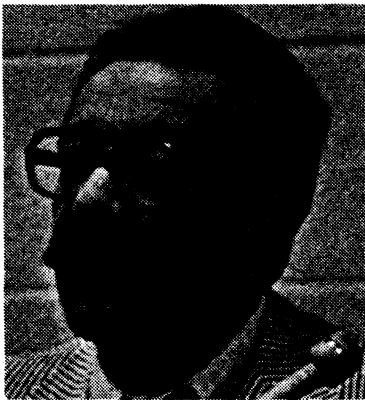
HERBERT HILL LEAVES NAACP POST: Herbert Hill, labor director of the NAACP, has resigned from that post. He will take a teaching job at the University of Wisconsin at Madison.

Hill has become a target of many union bureaucrats because of his consistent defense of affirmative-action programs and hiring quotas aimed at achieving equality for Blacks.

He defined the purpose of his post as "to sharply defend the interest of Black workers."

Hill had worked as an organizer for several unions before coming to the NAACP. But, he said, he meant what he said about Black rights, despite opposition from longtime acquaintances: "These people are no longer my friends. I take these ideas and values much too seriously. I cannot be friends with the enemies of Black progress," he told the *New York Times*.

The first volume of his latest book, *Black Labor and the American Legal System*, will appear this fall.



NEW LOOK AT BIRMINGHAM BOMBINGS: A Birmingham, Alabama, grand jury has begun a new investigation into the thirty-eight bombings that ripped Black homes and churches during civil rights struggles there in the 1960s.

The most horrifying attack—in September 1963—was a dynamite blast that tore through a Black church. The bomb killed four Black girls and injured nineteen other people.

No one has ever been arrested for the murders, although police have indicated recently that they knew who did it.

Birmingham Blacks are not confident that the new investigation will bring the killers to justice. Past investigations have come to nothing.

"We have adopted a wait-and-see attitude," said Rev. James Crutcher, now pastor of the bombed church.

ARMY DENIES BENEFITS TO SLOVİK WIDOW: The army has turned down an appeal for widow's benefits from Antoinette Slovik, whose husband Eddie was the only GI shot for desertion in World War II—and the first since the Civil War.

Mrs. Slovik, who suffers from epilepsy and arthritis, would have collected \$68,000.

Slovik was scapegoated as a warning to other GIs after a rash of desertions during the Battle of the Bulge in 1945. He admitted he was terrified of battle.

Seeking more than benefits, Mrs. Slovik had also sought to clear her husband's name.

\$500,000 FOR FBI LEGAL DEFENSE: Right-wingers and ex-FBI agents have collected a half-million dollars to defend John Kearney, a former FBI supervisor, who will go on trial this fall for illegally opening mail.

Kearney is accused of opening mail of relatives of suspected members of the radical Weather Underground.

Despite the extensive evidence of illegal FBI break-ins,

wiretapping, and other crimes, Kearney is the only agent to have been indicted.

FOUR TONS OF URANIUM AND PLUTONIUM GONE: The federal government admitted August 4 that it can't find some 8,000 pounds of plutonium and enriched uranium. The two government agencies in charge of keeping track of the materials claim that the deadly nuclear fuel is caught in machinery or simply unmeasurable for other reasons.

The largest single loss to date was 381 pounds of enriched uranium, believed by some to have been stolen by Israel.

Twenty pounds of plutonium, or forty pounds of enriched uranium, is enough to make an atomic bomb.

Plutonium is one of the most toxic substances known to science. Inhalation of a piece the size of a dust speck causes lung cancer. How many specks are in the hundreds of missing pounds?

AFTER THE LIGHTS WENT BACK ON I: The Federal Power Commission declared August 4 that Con Ed was unprepared for the crisis that led to the July 13 New York City blackout. The commission added that the utility also failed to act quickly enough to prevent the total loss of electrical power.

The FPC noted "obvious flaws" in Con Ed's power transmission network.

The commission came up with a series of corrective measures. However, as FPC Chairman Richard Dunham commented, "These recommendations will require additional funds."

Guess who'll be asked to come up with the money?

AFTER THE LIGHTS WENT BACK ON II: People arrested for looting during the blackout got more severe treatment than people arrested for similar crimes at other times, a survey has found.

For example, 20 percent of the alleged looters were turned over to a grand jury, which means they will be accused of a felony. Normally, 5 percent of burglary suspects go before a grand jury.

Also, 31 percent of normal burglary suspects' cases are dismissed. Only 4 percent of the alleged looters' cases have been dismissed.

Seventy percent of those convicted have gotten jail sentences, compared to a normal 30 percent.

CHICANO LIBRARY GETS MORE SPACE: The University of California at Berkeley has announced that the Chicano Studies Library, which had been operating in one-third of the space it needs, will get more room. The library, founded as a result of the 1968-69 Black and Chicano students' strike at Berkeley, has developed into one of the most comprehensive research centers on contemporary Hispanic-Americans.

The university's decision came after months of pressure organized by students, faculty, and other library users and supporters.

NEW TRIAL FOR OLIVER LEE DAVIS DENIED: The judge who sent Oliver Lee Davis to jail for ninety-nine years has turned down Davis's request for a new trial. The young Black man was convicted on phony robbery charges in Waxahachie, Texas, near Dallas.

After serving a year in prison, Davis was framed up again, this time charged with sexual assault on another prisoner. One of the "victims" of that "attack" has since admitted Davis is innocent.

Davis's attorney has filed a request for a new trial with the state appeals court.

HIT UNIVERSITY APARTHEID CONNECTION: About 300 people turned out for a rally at Southern Illinois University in Carbondale July 27 to protest university investments in corporations doing business with South Africa. The action was organized by the Coalition Against Racial Exploitation, and supported by several other campus groups.

Further actions are planned for the fall.

GOD WATCHES OVER THE BOTTOM LINE: Answering criticism of his World Evangelistic and Christian Education Fund's secret \$23 million, Rev. Billy Graham declared the money was safe because "we are accountable to God."

Besides holding 2,600 acres of prime North Carolina real estate valued at \$3.6 million, the fund owns \$19.3 million in shares of such corporations as Exxon, IBM, General Electric, and AT&T.

—Arnold Weissberg

Spotlight on racism

Dawson 5 face 'monster' in Ga. courtroom

By Don Davis

DAWSON, Ga.—Oppression is a hideous monster that likes to hide in dark corners, covered by a blanket of lies.

But this month a spotlight is being thrown on that monster in this small town twenty-one miles south of President Carter's hometown of Plains.

From the moment the Dawson Five trial began here August 1, it was clear that it would not be just a trial of five young Black men for murder—but a trial of the system of racial oppression here in Terrell County.

Death penalty

Defense attorneys first went after the racist death penalty. Sixteen prominent experts on capital punishment had come to Dawson. Defense attorney Millard Farmer first called on Dr. Hugo Bedeau from Boston's Tufts University.

Bedeau explained that the death penalty today is the only remnant of a barbaric tradition of physical punish-

Aug. 16—Judge Walter Geer today rejected defense motions to drop charges against the Dawson Five. He ordered the trial of the five Black youths to begin August 29.

Geer said there was not sufficient evidence to prove police misconduct, despite testimony that the cops threatened the five defendants with castration, shooting, and electrocution.

The judge has not yet ruled on whether the confessions obtained by the threats would be admissible in court.

Defense attorney Millard Farmer commented, "We're disappointed in what he did, but it's no surprise to us. It shows total apathy to the rights of people."

ment that has included maiming, castration, and branding.

The death penalty remains, he said, because its victims are "out of sight, out of mind."

"If we saw people walking around with their hands lopped off, or a 'T' for thief branded on their foreheads, society would demand an end to such barbarous punishment."

As reporters from national publications and television networks furiously scribbled notes, the prosecutor rose to demand that Bedeau's testimony be removed from the record. The prosecution, which had refused earlier defense requests that the death penalty be ruled out, now announced that it would not seek to electrocute the Dawson Five.

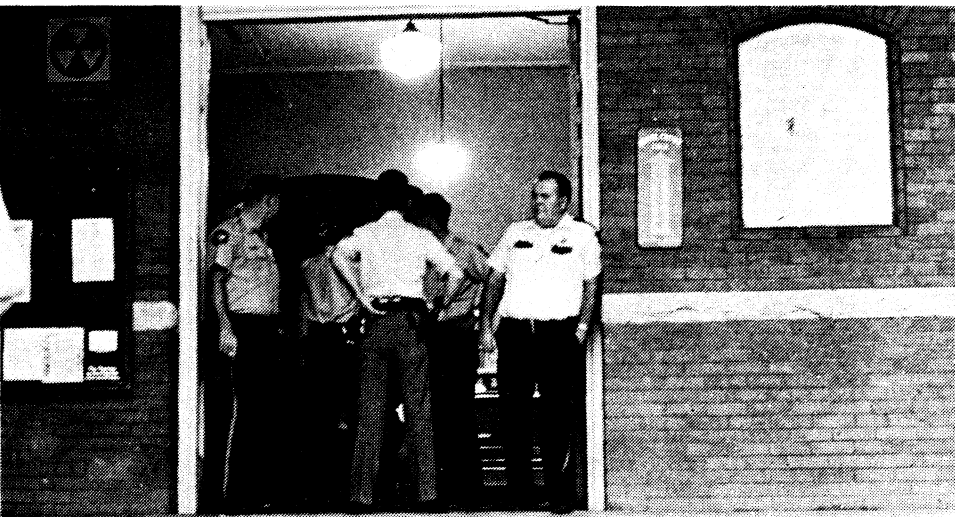
"I think they were just waiting to see what we would have," Farmer said. "When they saw we were going to put on a three-day seminar on the death penalty, I think they just said, 'Wait. Don't do it. We give in on this one.'"

The monster had been forced to back off by the spotlight focused on one of its ugliest sores.

The spotlight then came to rest on the monster's use of high bond.

After the Dawson Five were arrested in January 1976 on charges of killing a white ranch foreman, bail was set at \$100,000 each. Nationwide appeals raised bail money for two, but the other three stayed in jail eighteen months. It took three hearings to get the bond for these three lowered to \$60,000 in June.

This time—under the spotlight—the prosecutors said they would go along with whatever bond the judge set. The sheriff testified that the three youths had been model prisoners and would



Militant/Don Davis

OUTSIDE TERRELL COUNTY COURTHOUSE: frame-up victims Roosevelt Watson and James Edward Jackson, Jr. (top); Dawson cops; and defense supporters (bottom).

pose no threat if released.

Then why had they been in jail for eighteen months?

Before reporters could ponder that question too long, the judge had lowered the bail for all five to the \$200,000 already put up for two.

Official fears

The defense then began its argument that the charges against the five should be dropped because the cops had violated the defendants' constitutional rights. The prosecutor rose again to object.

He said this testimony might prejudice people in the courtroom who later would be jurors in the case. (The jury would not be selected until pretrial motions were argued.)

Judge Walter Geer, taking the hint, ordered anyone eligible for the jury to leave the courtroom.

Farmer objected. "The people of Terrell County have a right to know what's going to happen to these kids," he said.

But the monster won a partial victory. On Tuesday morning deputies barred anyone on the county jury list from the courtroom. Nonetheless, the courtroom was again filled with Blacks, including many too young to be on the jury.

They would see the monster kicked around some more.

Forced confessions

The defense called to the stand Army Sgt. William Rucker, a military intelligence interrogator at Ft. Huachuca, Arizona. From November 1974 to September 1976 he had been chief investigator for the Dawson Police Department.

Rucker testified that in January 1976 he and other policemen searched unsuccessfully in a swamp for the gun used in the killing for which the Dawson Five are charged.

He said he was driving away in a patrol car along with Deputy Sheriff Jack Hammack and one of the defendants, James "Junior" Jackson, then sixteen, when Hammack turned onto a dirt road and stopped.

"Jack Hammack took his pistol out, pointed it between James Jackson's eyes and pulled the hammer back," Rucker testified. "He said, 'Okay, nigger, where did y'all throw the gun?' James Jackson was nervous and his eyes got big and he said nothing. Jack Hammack said again, 'Nigger, I'm going to throw you out of this car, and shoot you, and bury you in the woods if you don't tell me where the gun is.'"

Jackson then directed the cops to a

nearby spot, but the gun was not found.

Rucker said, "I asked James Jackson why he said that. He said the only reason that he had said that was that he was scared. He thought he was going to be shot."

Jackson took the stand two days later and related the same story. He also stated that a Georgia Bureau of Investigation agent told him he was "going to get me the electric chair."

Codefendant Roosevelt Watson, twenty, also testified Thursday that a GBI agent told him "he was going to put me in the electric chair."

Watson said he denied involvement in the shooting repeatedly but confessed later because the agent "had his pistol out, playing with it."

Watson said the GBI agent, Jerry Culbertson, "told me he'd put a bullet to me. . . ."

Watson testified that another cop threatened to castrate him.

Standard procedure

Even before Watson and Jackson took the stand, the defense had shown that such tactics are standard procedure for south Georgia cops.

On Tuesday, after Rucker had described the threat against Jackson, defense lawyer Tony Aham asked him "Did you think it was unusual for this to happen in Dawson?"

"Not in Dawson," Rucker replied. He said he had seen cops slam Black prisoners' heads into walls, beat Blacks with pistol butts, and pour mace into the eyes and mouth of a drunken Black man.

Even dogs owned by Blacks were not safe. Rucker said two officers often rode through Black areas throwing poisoned wieners to dogs.

In addition, Rucker said he had been ordered to keep records on every Black who bought a gun or joined a club in Terrell County. When a Black minister moved here and began urging Blacks to take political action, Rucker said he had been ordered to find some gossip "to try to get him run out of Terrell County."

The white racists, clinging desperately to power in this county, which is 60 percent Black, also told Rucker to try to intimidate Blacks trying to register to vote.

"The mayor and police chief told me if ever Blacks get a foothold in the door that would mean their jobs. They said they would make sure no Blacks ever get in a position where they would be a threat to their security," Rucker testified.

'No shock'

Rucker's testimony "wasn't no shock," according to Lucius Holloway, seventeen, a local defense supporter.

"They do it all the time," Holloway said.

Defense attorneys sketched in the rest of the monster's features: more than half the Blacks in Terrell County have below-poverty level incomes; the schools remain segregated, with nearly all whites going to private academies; the town's only public pool was turned into a private, whites-only club; no Black ever has been elected to office; the only newspaper espouses white supremacy; and in the 1960s civil rights activists were threatened, shot, and fired from their jobs, and churches were bombed.

"Terrell County," a defense motion stated, "is simply a modern version of the plantation system."

"I feel like it will change," Holloway told the *Militant*. "A lot of young folks, they're staying with their grandparents, and their grandparents say it's never going to change. But the young ones, they're probably going to come on through. It'll come through."

Carter's canal treaty: U.S. still

By Peter Seidman

On August 10 U.S. negotiators announced agreement on a new Panama Canal treaty with representatives of the Panamanian government of Brig. Gen. Omar Torrijos Herrera.

Already, some right-wing demagogues such as U.S. Rep. John Murphy (D-N.Y.) are denouncing Carter for the "surrender of American-owned property in Panama to a revolutionary despot."

But the truth is that Carter has offered only peanuts to Panama's blustering head of state. And while hoping to shake hands over the new treaty, Carter continues to wield behind his back the big stick of American military might passed down from Teddy Roosevelt, the president who stole the canal in the first place.

Now the treaty must be approved by a two-thirds vote of the U.S. Senate and a majority of Panama's voters in a national plebiscite. What are its terms?

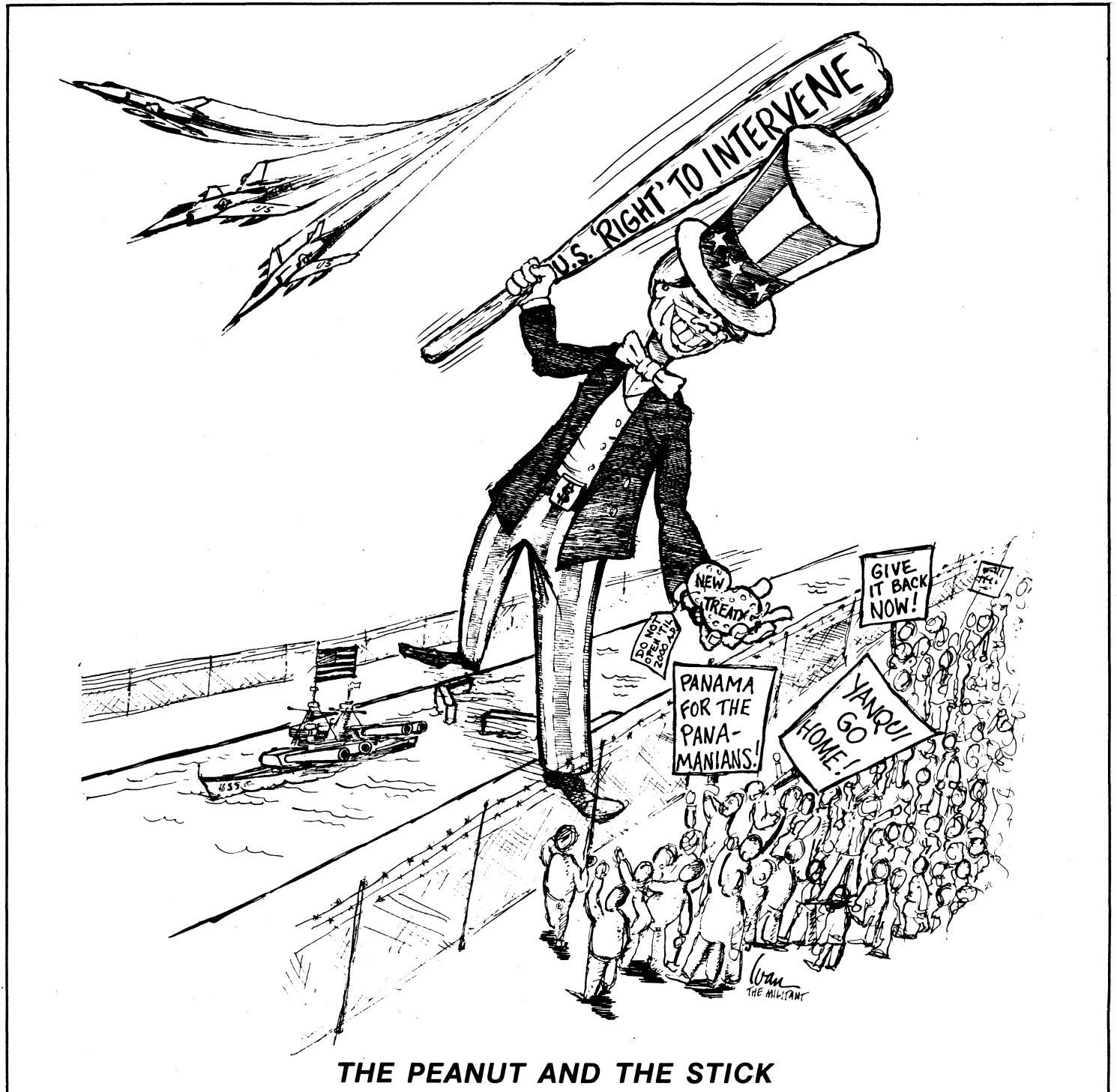
- The United States has agreed to up its annual payments for use of the Canal Zone from \$2.3 million per year to an annual rate of \$50-70 million, depending on toll revenues, through the end of the treaty, in the year 2000.

- While not actually part of the proposed treaty, Washington also agreed to an economic package of loans, guarantees, and credits, totaling somewhere between \$295-345 million for Panama. This is a far cry from the \$8 billion that Torrijos initially asked for.

- The United States also agreed to close down eleven of its fourteen military bases in Panama. But Washington will be able to maintain 9,300 troops in Panama until the year 2000.

- At the end of the twenty-three-year pact, control of the Canal Zone will pass to Panama. Some 65 percent will be transferred right away. By 1990 Panama will play the dominant role in the administration of the canal.

Washington's success in forcing a companion accord down Panama's throat was key to finally reaching agreement on the other parts of the new treaty.



THE PEANUT AND THE STICK

This accord—which U.S. negotiators considered a "must"—guarantees Washington the right to intervene militarily to ensure the "permanent neu-

trality" of the Panama Canal forever.

U.S. negotiator Sol Linowitz said, "there are no limits prescribed" as to the "actions the United States may

take, before or after the year 2000, to maintain the 'neutrality' of the canal."

Carter added, "... we will have the right to assure the maintenance of the

Canal Zone: 'We stole it fair & square'

By Peter Archer

"We bought it. We paid for it. And they can't have it."

That's what Ronald Reagan had to say about the Panama Canal during his bid for the Republican presidential nomination last year.

Another California politician, Sen. S.I. Hayakawa, perceived the situation a little more accurately. "We stole it, fair and square," he commented.

Yes, the United States stole the ten-mile-wide Canal Zone from the Panamanian people and betrayed their struggle for national independence.

In 1821, Panama was annexed by New Granada, the name at that time of the country now called Colombia. Twenty-five years later, Washington signed a treaty with the Colombian government giving the United States right of way and preferential duties across the isthmus.

Imperialism had a big stake in Central America. Control of the isthmus immensely aided trade between East and West Coast cities. It also facilitated trade with the Far East and increased the readiness of the U.S. Navy, which at that time was mainly based on the East Coast.

Colombia maintained its rule over

Panama during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Its domination was aided by the United States, which intervened in Panama five times during the 1860s to put down independence revolts.

Throughout this period, various imperialist powers tried to negotiate the construction of a canal across the isthmus. During the 1800s, an attempt by a French company to build a canal failed, but not until after some 20,000 workers had died of malaria and yellow fever.

In 1899 a civil war broke out in Colombia. One faction, led by Gen. Benjamín Herrera, invaded Panama and joined forces with the proindependence movement there.

Phillipe Bunau-Varilla, a French adventurer and profiteer deeply involved in schemes for the construction of the canal, saw an opportunity in the conflict for American imperialism to extend its influence throughout all of Central America and carry through the canal project. In 1903 Bunau-Varilla hurried to Washington, hoping to persuade the American government to give support to the revolt. By doing so, he explained to President Theodore Roosevelt, a maneuver could be carried out to gain U.S. control of

the canal zone.

Bunau-Varilla found Roosevelt receptive to the idea. Earlier that year—in a burst of anger against the Colombian government for refusing to help him gain control over the isthmus—Roosevelt had snapped, "I do not think that the Bogotá [capital of Colombia] lot of jackrabbits should be allowed permanently to bar one of the future highways of civilization."

American troops landed in Panama, and U.S. ships refused to carry Colombian troops to aid in putting down the revolt. On November 3, 1903, Panama declared its independence.

But Bunau-Varilla and Roosevelt were already conspiring to betray the Panamanian independence forces. While a delegation from Panama was on its way to Washington to discuss terms for a canal treaty, Bunau-Varilla had already drawn up a treaty, which Roosevelt agreed to on November 18.

The treaty declared that "the Republic of Panama grants to the United States in perpetuity the use, occupation and control of a zone of land and land under water for the construction, maintenance, operation, sanitation, and protection of

said Canal. . . ."

The United States was granted sovereign power over the Canal Zone.

Thus the Panamanians, when they reached Washington, were confronted with an accomplished fact. When they protested the harsh terms of the treaty, Bunau-Varilla replied in a letter, "If the Government is thinking about not adopting this little resolution, I do not want to be responsible for the calamities that could follow."

Reports had been received that two Colombian gunboats were heading toward Panama. The clear implication of Bunau-Varilla's letter was that if the treaty was not signed, the United States would cease its aid to Panama, leaving the newly independent state helpless before the Colombian invaders.

So the Panamanian government signed the treaty under duress in February 1904. A French company, which had contracted the construction of the canal in 1878 with the Colombian government, was paid \$40 million to complete their work. The Panamanian government was paid \$10 million.

On August 15, 1914, the first ship went through the canal.

wields big stick

permanent neutrality of the canal as we may determine necessary. Our warships are guaranteed the permanent right to expeditious passage without regard to propulsion or cargo."

This is a Catch-22 clause. It is designed to preserve U.S. imperialist interests in Panama, while defusing the mounting protests by the Panamanian masses against the old agreement, which granted U.S. control over the canal "in perpetuity."

Opposition in Panama

Opposition groups in Panama were quick to denounce the fraudulent new agreement.

A dispatch in the August 11 *New York Times* reported that some groups have "already begun mobilizing to campaign against the treaty," despite the fact that "the Communist Party of Panama has traditionally supported the Torrijos regime and is unlikely to break loose now."

"In a statement protesting that the Government had accepted a 'possible' treaty rather than a 'just' treaty," the *Times* reported, "the Trotskyist Socialist Revolutionary League noted that there was probably no better time to take on the United States than now."

"There is no guarantee that the Americans will withdraw from our territory in the year 2000," the league said. "Today we have the eyes of the world on us, today we have international support, today imperialism has been weakened by Watergate and Vietnam."

Newsweek reported August 22 that Torrijos had "some troubles of his own with the pact at home."

"He is already unpopular in some quarters," the magazine said, "because of high unemployment, inflation, a declining growth rate and charges of human-rights violations. Last week a student group called the Revolutionary Socialist League came out against the treaty, and despite a national holiday to mark the agreement, there was little jubilation in Panama City."

The skepticism of Torrijos's critics is well-founded. Despite his posturing against U.S. control of the canal, the general is no genuine opponent of the imperialist enclave that forms a fifty-mile-long wound in the national consciousness of the Panamanian masses.

Torrijos has exiled militant anti-imperialist fighters—such as Miguel Antonio Bernal—to undercut mass opposition to his policies and to keep the anti-U.S. sentiment under tight control.

The extra funding Torrijos boasts he has now won can, at best, ease imperialism's stranglehold on Panama—not break out of it once and for all.

Over the past six years Torrijos has opened Panama's doors to more than seventy foreign banks and enacted laws seeking to make the country an important Latin American insurance center. But these and other foreign imperialist investments have not benefited Panama's economy.

In fact, Panama's growth rate took a nose dive during the 1974 world depression, slowing from 8 percent per year in the early 1970s to zero last year. Foreign debts have risen to \$1.3 billion.

Torrijos has also cooperated fully with Washington's efforts to turn the Canal Zone into a base of operations against the Latin American masses.

Under the pretext of "defending" the canal, the United States maintains some 23,500 military personnel and their dependents in Panama.

Washington launched its 1965 invasion of Santo Domingo from the Canal Zone. It was the training ground for the Bolivian assassins of Cuban revolutionary leader Che Guevara and for many of the rightist forces who spearheaded the 1973 military coup in

Chile.

During the Vietnam War, Washington trained Green Berets in the Canal Zone before sending them into combat.

Despite changes in shipping technology—such as the development of supertankers too big to pass through the Panama Canal—96 percent of the ocean-going vessels in the world still can use this strategic waterway.

And while the portion of coast-to-coast U.S. trade reliant on the canal has dropped some 5 percent over the last thirteen years, this trade still amounts to about \$5 billion a year.

Today, for example, oil from the Alaska pipeline is beginning to be shipped through the canal.

So Washington is not likely to look kindly on any struggles by the Panamanian people to break out of imperialism's orbit. This would no doubt be viewed as violating the canal's "neutrality," provoking a bloody U.S. intervention.

Mastodons and foxes

Henry Kissinger, Gerald Ford, and Carter—as well as the U.S. joint chiefs of staff—are all confident that the proposed treaty protects Washington's ability to defend its "national security" in such an event.

Nonetheless, right wingers are mobilizing for a campaign against Senate ratification. Their motives are, of course, the opposite of those who oppose the treaty because it grants Washington the right to intervene in Panama's affairs.

The right-wing treaty critics are like mastodons—giant lumbering beasts from a prehistoric epoch—seeking to push American politics to the right by raising the most war-like and jingoistic demands. For example, former Nixon speechwriter Patrick J. Buchanan wrote in the August 16 *New York Daily News*:

"No rhetoric can disguise the reality. The United States has been bluffed and bullied out of the Panama Canal. . . .

"Sixty years ago . . . Gen. Torrijos would have been fortunate to make it to the foothills or the jungle before his successor was sworn in—with a U.S. Marine holding the Bible.

"Let us be honest with ourselves and not cloak this weakness in a suit of virtue. We are giving up the canal because the U.S. leadership no longer has the vision, dynamism and will to ask of the American people the sacrifices needed to maintain our position in the world."

Buchanan, the mastodon, reveals a certain truth—although in a distorted way.

Today, the rising militancy and nationalist consciousness of the peoples of Latin America—along with deep antiwar sentiment here in the United States—have forced the imperialist rulers in Washington to function more like foxes than the crude and stumbling beasts they were in the past.

New York Times columnist James Reston was sensitive to these shifts when he answered some of the right-wing charges August 17. "We are negotiating under the duress of history," Reston wrote.

"The Canal issue is much wider than Panama. It involves this country's relations with all of Latin America and with other developing nations as well. Also, the President has been making a great issue of colonialism and human rights, and the treaty debate, when it comes, will provide the opportunity for a careful exploration of all these questions."

Genuine defenders of human rights need to be clear, however, that neither the mastodons nor the foxes in Washington have any business meddling in the Panama Canal.

World news notes

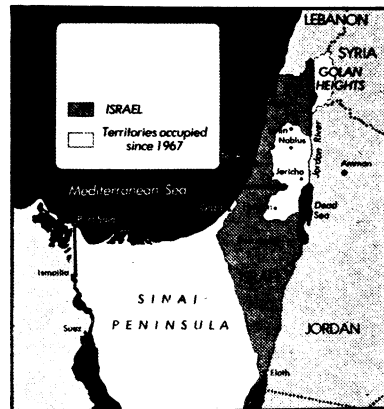
Spanish hotel workers on strike

More than 30,000 porters, waiters, cooks, and other workers went on strike August 14 against 3,000 hotels in Spain's Costa del Sol. According to press dispatches, union leaders announced a fifty-nine-dollar-a-month pay raise the next day, but workers remained on strike. Cops brutally dispersed a meeting of 4,000 workers near Torremolinos August 15.

Waiters on Costa del Sol make an average basic wage of \$200 per month.

Israel tries sugarcoated expansion plan

The Israeli government announced August 14 that it is extending public services to the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip and promised to give Arabs there "equal rights, the same as those enjoyed by residents of the State of Israel." It did not mention that Arab residents of Israel are also second-class citizens. Aryeh Naor, secretary of Israel's cabinet, denied the move is a step toward annexing the Arab territory occupied in the 1967 war. "You can't annex what already belongs to you," he said.



Italian Communist Party Youth declining

L'Unità, newspaper of the Italian Communist Party, reports that the CP youth organization is down 15 percent in membership. The CP's support to the Italian capitalist government's austerity program and law-and-order campaign may explain the decline.

In mid-July French philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre and others issued a manifesto accusing the Italian CP of cooperating in the government's political repression.

Claudio Velardi, a leader of the Italian CP youth movement, admits that the party's opposition to the student revolts this spring may have hurt the youth organization. "Now one of our greatest strengths is recreational activity," he says, "but we place more emphasis on political work."

Irish not so jubilant about queen's visit

Queen Elizabeth spent most of her silver jubilee visit to Northern Ireland August 10 and 11 on board the royal yacht. She made only two trips ashore to greet carefully screened audiences.

Some 2,000 Irish people protested the queen's visit August 10. Demonstrators carried black flags behind a green banner that said, "E.R. [Elizabeth Regina] Queen of Death, '69-'77—1,800 dead." British troops fired plastic bullets into the crowd to disperse the protest.

South African police battle Black students

Johannesburg police raided five schools in the Black township of Soweto August 16, arresting 175 students and shooting one. The cops were trying to prevent students from using classrooms for political meetings.

At the beginning of August police responded to a Black student boycott with house-to-house searches in Soweto, mass arrests, and shootings, which resulted in the death of four people.

Chile's DINA disappears in camouflage

Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet announced August 12 that the National Intelligence Directorate (DINA) had been terminated. The dreaded agency had been responsible for the disappearance and/or death of thousands of prisoners in Chile.

U.S. officials hailed the announcement as a "very positive move" and proof of President Carter's success in working through existing military regimes instead of against them. However, it appears that DINA's functions will now be carried out by Chile's new National Information Central and military intelligence.

The worker's paradise?

The Soviet Union's press agency *Tass* announced August 3 that the Gorky auto plant will begin producing a new luxury car. The GAZ-14 will feature three rows of seats, an eight-cylinder engine, air-conditioning, stereo radio and tape-player, and a top speed of 110 miles per hour.

Charge race, sex discrimination

Militant rail workers clash with union tops

By Baxter Smith

WASHINGTON—It's not on the club-car menus of its passenger trains, but Amtrak is serving old wine in a new bottle these days.

"What else can you call it but discrimination," says Vince Benson, the former grievance committee chairperson of Lodge 1906, Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks (BRAC).

Benson and other militant Black officers of the lodge were removed from office last February by the BRAC international leadership. The top union brass didn't like their aggressive campaign against Amtrak's racist and sexist practices.

Lodge 1906 represents about 550 office workers, most of them Blacks and women, at Amtrak's corporate headquarters at L'Enfant Plaza here.

- *Discrimination in promotions.* While Blacks and other minorities make up 33 percent of the work force at Amtrak headquarters, only 5 percent hold positions as managers or professionals. There are no women in any major policy-making positions.

Amtrak set up a phoney category of jobs called "professional employees." In reality these are not managerial positions but clerical and accounting jobs with higher pay.

Amtrak arbitrarily set up these job categories to exclude Black workers from better jobs. The company hires white workers off the streets or appoints white clerks to fill these jobs, ignoring the seniority and job qualifications of Black workers.

- *Discrimination in discipline.*

Black workers have been singled out by white supervisors for the harshest disciplinary measures. Ninety-four percent of all employees disciplined at Amtrak headquarters from 1973-1976 were Black.

- *Discrimination in health and safety.* Amtrak has refused to correct many health and safety infractions in the areas with the largest numbers of Black employees.

For a while there was an office ritual every morning or so, a sort of mouse-ical chairs. Like a wave, starting at one end of the large office and moving to the other, startled employees would leap onto chairs and desks before the path of scurrying rats.

When the top union officialdom refused to fight for better working conditions, the local leadership filed complaints with the federal Occupational Safety and Health Administration, leading to a Labor Department lawsuit against Amtrak.

In response to the deteriorating job conditions, the local began a work slowdown in late 1975. This culminated in a walkout in February 1976 that, according to Benson, pushed management back on some issues.

When the top union leadership failed to lift a finger against Amtrak's discriminatory practices, the lodge filed twenty-seven complaints with the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission. This was more than one-third of all complaints filed on the entire Amtrak system nationally.

In reaction against the lodge's aggressiveness in combating racism and

sex discrimination by Amtrak, the union's international officers moved into action. Not against Amtrak, but against the lodge officers.

On February 22, BRAC President Fred Kroll placed the lodge under trusteeship and removed all of the lodge's duly elected officers.

The international raised trumped-up charges that the lodge had failed to pay per-capita dues to the international on time and failed to hold new elections for lodge officers within a designated period. Benson was later accused of embezzling \$20,000 in union funds.

The lodge's books were impounded, and new officers were appointed by the international union.

Shortly after the trusteeship was imposed, BRAC President Kroll had his flunky, who was sent in to oversee the lodge's affairs, call a special meeting of the lodge. About 120 workers showed up, most of them Black.

Kroll also put in an appearance to defend his undemocratic seizure of the lodge. He attacked the officers who were removed and talked about what a fine job he was doing for the union membership.

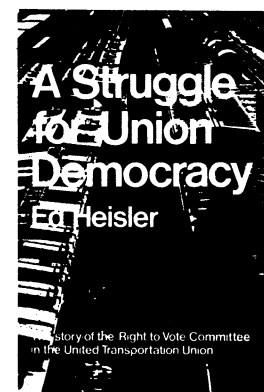
Because of the large number of Black workers present, Kroll also gave a little pitch about how he had always been a firm supporter of Black rights. The workers were unimpressed. All members of BRAC's International Executive Council are white.

In July the Local 1906 Defense Committee filed a motion in federal

district court for an injunction lifting the trusteeship. The committee is charging that the trusteeship violates the union constitution and federal statutes.

The defense committee is encouraging community and union support. It is also trying to get a motion before the city council to hold hearings on Amtrak's racism.

For more information contact Local 1906 Defense Committee, Post Office Box 23351, L'Enfant Plaza Station SW, Washington, D.C. 20024.



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

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.

Calif. steel ranks beat decertification attempt

By Robert West

OAKLAND—Can dissatisfied union members resolve their grievances by switching to a different union?

That was the question at B.W. Norton Manufacturing, an East Bay can shop where a majority of workers for a time favored leaving the United Steelworkers of America and joining the Teamsters.

The members of this shop had come into conflict with the policies of the international union for some time. It is one of the more vocal shops in USWA Local 1304, an amalgamated local with more than a thousand members.

Just a few months ago the international placed the local under receivership, citing financial problems. At the same time the international threatened to increase dues significantly and to cut back union-sponsored benefit

plans to compensate for the alleged financial problems.

Fed up with this treatment, Norton workers petitioned to the National Labor Relations Board. An election was quickly scheduled with three choices—USWA, Teamsters, or no union. The NLRB abandons its usual snail's pace when there is an attempt to decertify a union.

Later the Teamsters withdrew from the ballot, saying their international union has a "no raiding" agreement with the USWA. This left the USWA and no union as the only choices.

Hostility to the USWA gave the employer a chance to organize for a no-union vote. Many discussions took place in the shop over this question.

At first it seemed that the union supporters were a minority. But as union supporters began to raise their voices, the majority swung back to the

USWA. On July 13 the workers voted thirty-four to thirteen to remain in the USWA.

Pressure from the ranks also forced the international to agree not to raise the dues and to give assurances that union services for the members would be returned.

The international representative was visibly surprised by the depth of resentment about the international taking over the local. He called in the subdistrict director for a meeting with the members, where he was also given a dose of union democracy in action.

Members here consider it a victory that they turned back a company effort to exploit differences in the union ranks. It was also a demonstration of power by the ranks when the international backed off on the dues increase. Union members here have become more aware of the influence they can

have on their union by organizing themselves at the shop level.

Other shops in Local 1304 are also considering decertifying the USWA. Dissatisfaction runs deep. A recent union meeting was adjourned by the administrator because of the uproar caused by his proposal to increase dues for other shops.

But changing unions is not usually the best answer. At Norton the workers almost lost their union because the company took advantage of divisions among the membership and valid resentment against the USWA.

Union members here are organizing to democratically control their local. That is the only way to have a union that really represents the membership. It will be settled by organizing workers around issues of concern to them, not by scheduling an NLRB decertification election.

Pa. state employees protest cutbacks

By Mark McCulloch

PITTSBURGH—Hundreds of state social service employees walked off their jobs July 18 in a one-day protest strike in the Pittsburgh area. The strikers are members of Service Employees Local 668, Pennsylvania Social Services Union (PSSU).

The walkout came in response to layoff notices issued by the state government to hundreds of social service workers. Many of the layoffs were issued out of seniority and violated the PSSU contract.

The strike was strongly supported in most of the Pittsburgh-area offices, slowing or halting their activities.

The current round of cutbacks in personnel and services was sparked by Pennsylvania's annual budget crisis.

The Democratic and Republican parties differ over the extent of the cutbacks and tax increases that they feel they can impose on Pennsylvania workers at this time.

Some argue for drastic cuts in all

social services, coupled with a small tax increase or no increase. Others propose small cutbacks, paid for by increases in the regressive state income tax.

Meanwhile, the major corporations will see only tiny increases in their stated rate of taxation. And they will easily evade even these. Several years ago, Pennsylvania politicians of both parties helped guarantee the current unequal tax structure by making a graduated income tax *unconstitutional* in Pennsylvania.

The newly elected leadership of PSSU in Allegheny County has sought to counter the attacks of the state government. On June 28 they sponsored a public rally attended by about 250 PSSU supporters and other labor and community groups.

Speakers from the PSSU, Postal Workers Division 84, the Pittsburgh Federation of Teachers, and the Pitt Professional Union blasted the proposed state cutbacks.

One factor that has weakened the bargaining position of state welfare workers is the division between PSSU and the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, which represents the clerical workers in the same shops. During the two most recent state-employee strikes, the AFSCME leadership has forced inadequate settlements on their members, leaving PSSU isolated.

To overcome this divisive ploy, the leaders and members of PSSU will need to demonstrate and build solidarity with the ranks and local leadership of AFSCME at every opportunity, even if they continue to meet with rebuffs from the top AFSCME leadership.

This will not be easy. But failure to overcome the divisions can prove suicidal in the struggles ahead. Some signs that cooperation is possible have been seen at Mayview Hospital, where workers in both unions joined a walk-out this spring.

By Diane Wang

A little after midnight on August 22, 1927, the state of Massachusetts murdered Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti in the electric chair.

In New York City's Union Square 15,000 people screamed and wept. Strikes erupted and demonstrators attacked symbols of America in France, South Africa, Portugal, Argentina, Australia, England, Mexico, Switzerland, and Scandinavia.

Rage swept the world, because working people everywhere knew that Sacco and Vanzetti were innocent. The two were framed and murdered solely because they were Italian immigrants and radicals.

Fifty years ago

The anti-immigrant campaign in the first decades of this century was even more vicious than today's attempts to blame unemployment and other social problems on "illegal aliens." For example, the *New York Times* of that time wrote:

"... these sneaking and cowardly Sicilians, the descendants of bandits and assassins, who have transported to this country the lawless passions, the cutthroat practices, the oathbound societies of their native country, are to us a pest without mitigations. . . ."

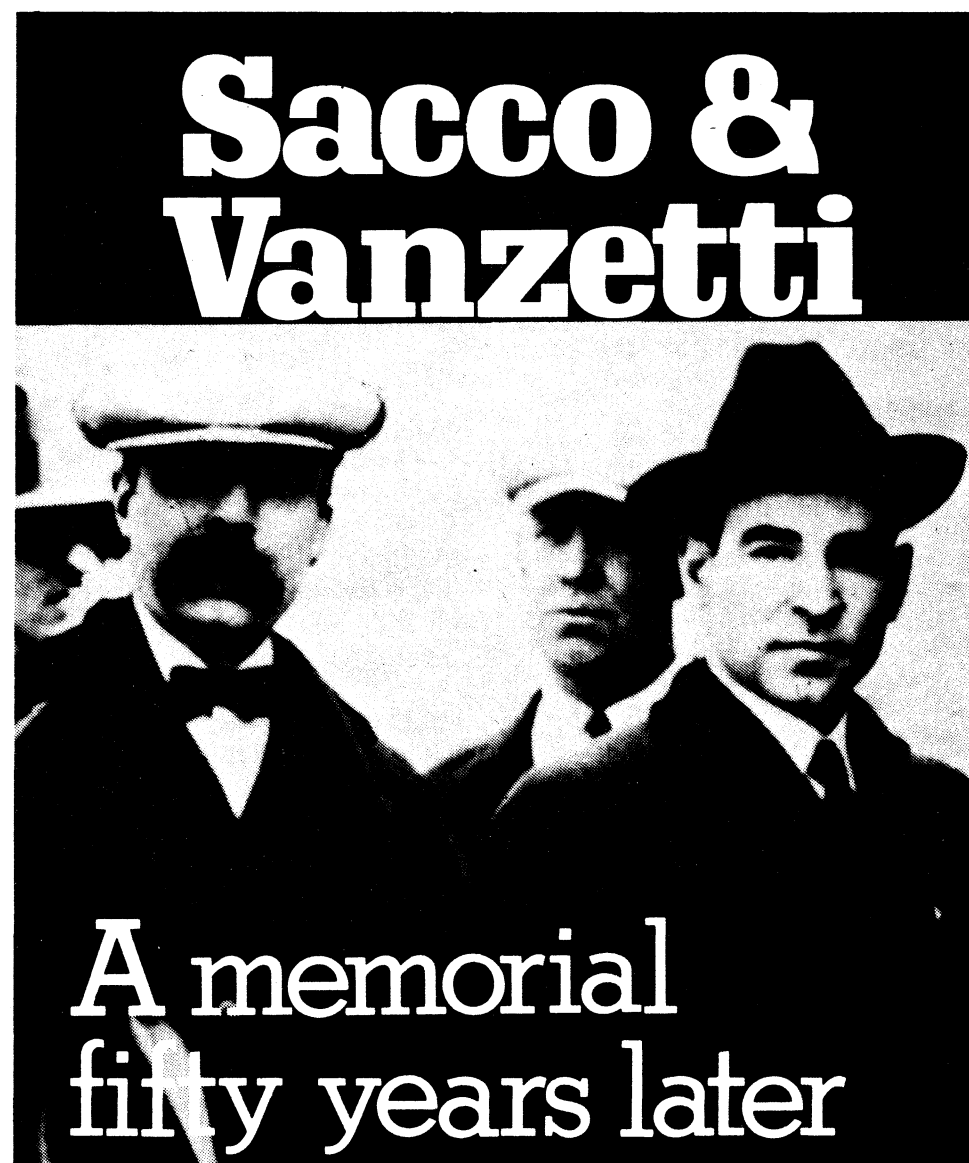
During World War I a patriotic fever had been whipped up by Washington to cripple the Bill of Rights. Almost 2,000 people were tried for their ideas or national origin under the Espionage and Sedition Acts. Hundreds, such as socialist leader Eugene V. Debs, were imprisoned for opposing the imperialist war.

In raids organized by Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer on November 7, 1919, labor offices around the country were attacked and hundreds of people arrested. Some 250 Russian immigrants were put on board a ship tagged the "Soviet Ark" and deported to Finland.

On January 2, 1920, another series of raids targeted the Communist Party and Communist Labor Party. More than 4,000 people were arrested in thirty-three cities. Of course, not all the victims were CP or CLP members. Some were trade-union leaders; others were just non-English-speaking immigrants. Still others were merely passersby.

The January Palmer raids happened only four months before the arrest of Sacco and Vanzetti.

Just prior to their arrest two other Italian workers, Andrea Salsedo and Robert Elia, had been arrested and held in the Department of Justice office incommunicado in New York for eight weeks. On May 3 Salsedo was pushed or driven from the fourteenth



BARTOLOMEO VANZETTI (left) AND NICOLA SACCO

floor office. His friend Elia was rushed out of the country before he could testify.

Vanzetti was sent to New York by Boston friends to look into this sinister incident. On his return he urged the Italian anarchists to hide their literature and get ready for more raids.

It was while borrowing a car to dispose of their literature that Sacco and Vanzetti were arrested for a payroll robbery and murder.

Prejudice and perjury

The trials that followed were based on falsified evidence, prejudice, and perjury. Italian witnesses who swore they had seen Sacco and Vanzetti elsewhere at the time of the robbery were discounted and humiliated.

The prosecutor focused on the defendants' opposition to World War I and on their anarchist politics.

A ballistics expert said the bullet from the murder victim could have come from Sacco's pistol. But in a later affidavit the expert said, "I do not

intend to imply that I had found any evidence that the so-called mortal bullet had passed through this particular [Sacco's] Colt automatic pistol.

Judge Webster Thayer asked a friend, "Did you see what I did with those anarchistic bastards?"

So on July 14, 1921 Sacco and Vanzetti were declared guilty.

A six-year international campaign sought to save the two. On the legal front, in 1926 the defense proved its case with affidavits from two government agents and a private eye who had worked on the prosecution case. The three detailed how the Department of Justice had instigated the frame-up.

Lawrence Letherman, a former agent, swore: "The Department of Justice in Boston was anxious to get sufficient evidence against Sacco and Vanzetti to deport them, but never succeeded in getting the kind and amount of evidence required for that purpose. It was the opinion of the department agents here that a conviction of Sacco and Vanzetti for murder

would be one way of disposing of these two men."

In addition, Celestino Madeiros, a Portuguese criminal, confessed.

On the even more important political front, mass defense protests were organized. The International Labor Defense, founded in 1925 and headed by James P. Cannon, issued an appeal for solidarity. Its newspaper, the *Labor Defender*, carried an appeal by Eugene V. Debs:

"There is yet another voice to be heard and that is the voice of an outraged working class. It is for labor now to speak and for the labor movement to announce its decision, and that decision is and must be, *Sacco and Vanzetti are innocent and shall not die!*"

"It does not matter what the occupation of the worker may be, what he is in theory or belief, what union or party he belongs to, this is the supreme cause of us all. . . ."

Yet, despite the legal proofs, despite the protest meetings held throughout the country and around the world, Sacco and Vanzetti were murdered.

Martyrs' memorial

This year Massachusetts Gov. Michael Dukakis proclaimed August 23 "Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti Memorial Day." More interested in erasing the stigma on the capitalist judicial system than that suffered by the two victims, Dukakis declared:

"We are not here to determine whether these men were guilty or innocent, but to remind all civilized people of the constant need to guard against our susceptibility to prejudice, our intolerance of unorthodox ideas, and our failure to defend the rights of persons who are looked upon as strangers in our midst."

There is a more appropriate memorial for the two martyrs. As the International Labor Defense proclaimed in 1927:

"The workers' monument to Sacco and Vanzetti must be a warm and living movement of labor for the defense of the victims of capitalist class justice. . . . There are other Saccos and Vanzettis in the United States."

Today this appeal for solidarity could be made just as well for many other victims of capitalist "justice": the Filipina nurses, the Dawson Five, Gary Tyler, the Wilmington Ten, Oliver Lee Davis, Skyhorse and Mohawk, the five Puerto Rican nationalists.

Defense of these brothers and sisters is the most fitting memorial we can raise today to Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti.

Miners' wildcat strike over health cuts grows

By Nancy Cole

Despite a televised appeal by United Mine Workers President Arnold Miller, more than one-third of the union's working coal miners remain on strike, protesting cuts in their medical benefits.

The wildcat strikes began during the week of June 20 after the UMWA health and retirement fund announced that miners and their families would have to begin paying up to \$500 a year for health care.

After a suspension of the work stoppage during the miners' two-week vacation period, the strike resumed July 11. The strike involves up to 80,000 miners.

The health fund is run independently of the union by three trustees—one representative from the union, one from the mineowners' bargaining arm, the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA), and one "neutral" trustee.

The fund is financed by payments from the coal operators, based on each hour worked by UMWA members and each ton of coal mined.

The BCOA charges that frequent unauthorized strikes by coal miners have gutted the health fund. A reallocation of the fund's money to avoid the health cuts would condone such wildcats, the BCOA says.

The international UMWA leadership does not support the strikes and has repeatedly ordered the miners back to work. Miller capped this with a TV back-to-work appeal in Charleston, West Virginia, August 13.

There is strong sentiment among many of the striking miners that Miller is partly responsible for the medical cuts. He has proven unable to get the BCOA to restore the cuts, they say. Yet he has also refused to support and lead the strikers in their attempt to pressure the BCOA.

Some miners have called for Miller's resignation. Miller was elected to a second term only days before the health cuts were announced.

The union's national contract expires December 6. Miller contends that the only way to restore the health cuts is through negotiations for the new contract.

On August 5, nearly 1,000 strikers marched in Washington, D.C., demanding that the federal government intervene to force the BCOA to reinstate the medical funds.

"No cards, no coal!" they chanted on the Capitol steps, referring to their hospital cards.

At the White House, the marchers demanded a meeting with President Carter. When it was refused, the miners responded, "Tell Carter he can fire his cookstove with peanuts."

Demonstrators did meet with Secretary of Labor Ray Marshall and West Virginia Democratic Sen. Jennings Randolph.

The protesters also picketed the BCOA offices and UMWA headquarters.

"As we see it, this is a disciplinary action by the BCOA and against the wildcats," said District 17 President Jack Perry. "The BCOA will literally cause some of our people to die."

Many of the strikers view the issue of health benefits as a life-and-death issue over which they are willing to stay off the job indefinitely. But there

are other miners who feel just as strongly that the wildcats are irreparably damaging the union.

District 5 President Lou Antal told the *Pittsburgh Press* August 15 that he was calling on UMWA members to "ignore these troublemakers" and continue to work.

"Our district has long been the bulwark of the UMWA," Antal said. "Once again it is time for us to show all other UMWA districts that we won't follow, nor will we be intimidated, by persons who would irresponsibly destroy our union and our health and retirement funds."

One observer in the coalfields told the *Militant* that the intensity of divisions within the UMWA over the wildcat strikes was unprecedented. "I've never seen miner fighting miner—instead of the coal operators—such as is happening now," she said.

Unquestionably, this confusion within the union could not have developed if the UMWA leadership had been willing to give decisive leadership to the miners in their just fight against the mineowners.

Calif. bigots plan antigay ballot initiative

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—Right-wing State Senator John Briggs filed an antigay initiative with California state officials August 3. If approved by the voters, the initiative would permit local school boards to fire teachers for homosexuality.

The proposed initiative drew immediate, sharp fire from the Coalition for Human Rights, a Los Angeles-based gay rights coalition. Spokespersons said they would mount a major campaign against the reactionary measure.

Initially Briggs had filed the measure as a senate bill. He attempted to provoke a confrontation with San Francisco's large gay community in June by announcing this antigay bill from the steps of San Francisco's city hall.

Apparently Briggs, who also recently announced his bid for the Republican nomination for governor in 1978, has decided there is more political hay in a referendum.

To win a place on the ballot, the referendum petition must be signed by

312,404 registered voters in the state.

Don Sizemore, an "independent campaign consultant" to the Senator, said in a telephone interview that Briggs believes "we can probably raise about a million signatures for this."

The initiative is being formally sponsored by a group called "Save Our Children," the same name used by Anita Bryant in her Miami antigay drive.

Sizemore said support would be organized through a series of breakfast meetings across the state with "religious and community leaders." He said such meetings are slated for Los Angeles, San Diego, Fresno, and "two or three" in San Francisco.

According to Sizemore, "Save Our Children" plans to put the measure on the ballot for the June 1978 primary election, not the November general election.

The bigots apparently assume they have a better chance in a primary election where there is traditionally a smaller turnout and, usually, minimal participation by independent-minded voters.

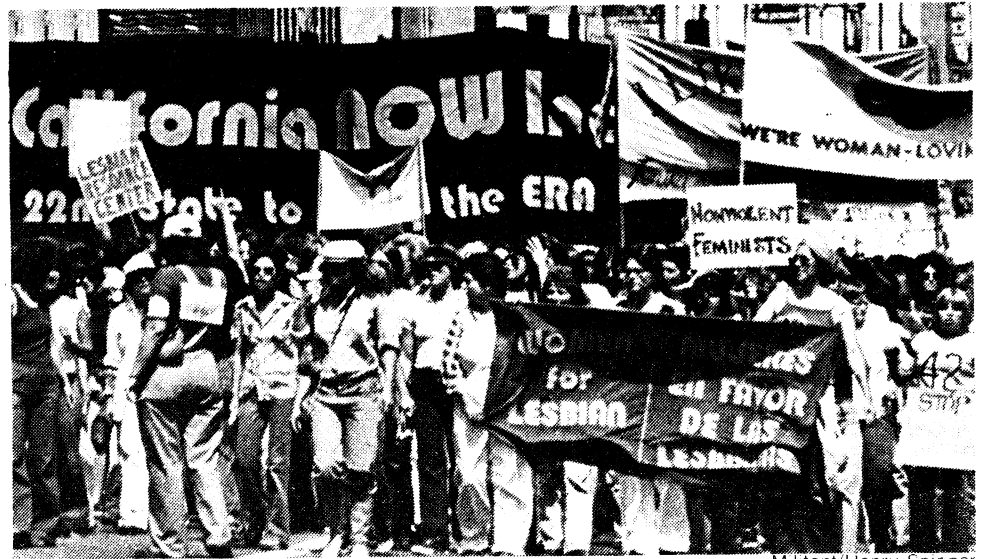
The proposed initiative is sweeping in scope. It would cover teachers, teachers' aides, school administrators, and counselors. A local school board could fire anyone it deems guilty of having "engaged in public homosexual activity or public homosexual conduct."

What does homosexual "conduct" consist of?

According to the text of the initiative, it "means the advocating, soliciting, imposing, encouraging or promoting of private or public homosexuality directed at, or likely to come to the attention of, schoolchildren and/or other employees."

This means that anyone—gay or nongay—who advocates gay rights would be subject to dismissal.

Branding the measure an "obscenity," Shelley Mandell of the Los Angeles National Organization for



More than 220,000 people demonstrated for gay rights June 26 in California. Above: women's contingent in Los Angeles march.

Women pointed to this provision at the August 3 Human Rights Coalition press conference. "It will affect gays as well as nongays," she said. "You discriminate against one group, and it's a very short while before you discriminate against another."

Earlier, in a press statement announcing the antigay campaign, Briggs asserted his measure would "preserve morality" from the "dangerous influence" of "flagrant homosexuals."

Declaring that those he speaks for are fighting "the forces of moral decay," Briggs said, "This issue goes beyond Miami, beyond even California. It is a national issue."

Speaking for the Human Rights Coalition, Ivy Bottini responded that the intent of the measure was to "create a climate of fear and suspicion that reeks of McCarthyism."

"The public cannot afford to ignore this issue!" she said. "We cannot allow the infringement of anyone's human or civil rights. There can be no real freedom for anyone until there is freedom for everyone. We plan to act.

We will fundraise; we will organize; we will go into the courts; we will campaign in every corner of the state."

In an interview later, Bottini said she feared that if the Briggs forces are successful in creating a repressive atmosphere against gays, this will be extended into the minority communities and be directed particularly against women.

"I think that with this initiative," Bottini said, "the reactionary forces are testing the water to see if the American public will fall for smear tactics. If they will, then the momentum can be carried over to get rid of a lot of the civil rights gains that have been made in the past ten years or so."

This view was echoed by coalition leader Morris Kight. He told the *Militant*: "Ours is not a well society. For one thing, the slightly submerged anti-Semitism is potentially dangerous. The enormous amount of hatred for Blacks and Spanish-speaking people is a reality. Once Briggs or anyone else gets by with such a blatant assault on the personal rights of 10

Continued on page 22



JOHN BRIGGS

Interview with lesbian mothers

Foreman, Risher: 'We could move mountains'

By Diane Wang

A nurse with two sons, former president of her local Parent-Teacher Association—that's a thumbnail sketch of Mary Jo Risher. Her friend Ann Foreman used to work in a bank. She has a daughter.

Now—because of a vindictive ex-husband, a narrow-minded jury, and the two women's personal courage—Risher and Foreman have become what they call "reluctant symbols" of the fight for lesbian rights.

Just before Christmas in 1975, a Dallas jury ruled that Risher was no longer a fit mother for her nine-year-old son Richard. The jury ignored the testimony of neighbors, friends, relatives, teachers, doctors, and professional psychologists—all of whom described the stable, loving, and wholesome home Risher provided her son.

Because Risher had established her household and shared her life with Ann Foreman, the jury placed Richard in his father's custody.

Risher's was the most prominent case in which homosexuality was used by the courts to take the custody of a child away from its mother.

Risher and Forman are appealing the court's ruling and fighting not just to get Richard back, but to score a victory for all lesbian mothers. Their effort has won the support of lesbian and gay groups, as well as the National Organization for Women (NOW).

Just before a rally for gay and lesbian rights in New York I talked to the two women. What do they think of



Ann Foreman (left) and Mary Jo Risher at July 15, 1977, gay rights rally in New York City.

Anita Bryant's antigay crusade, the "Save Our Children, Inc.?"

"Well, we make no bones about it," answered Foreman. "We're on a campaign to save our children."

Risher agreed, "Don't let the courts take our children."

Of course, the issues in the case go beyond child custody. The jury based its decision solely on her homosexuality, Risher explained. So, her legal defense must challenge the use of homosexuality as a classification for victimizing people, she told me. "This case is not only going to help protect the rights of parents, but the rights to jobs and housing."

Were you feminists before this happened to you? I asked.

"I've always been a feminist by nature," Foreman said. "We've both always felt people should have their rights."

"I believe in equal rights for women," Risher answered. "I wasn't out in the feminist world. But as this case has been thrown on us, I've become more in tune with the rights, or lack of rights, of all minorities—Blacks, Chicanos—"

"—women," Foreman added. "You could go on and on and on."

"Ann and I are not only getting Richard back, but the case is making people aware of all the alternative

lifestyles and of minorities," Risher said.

"Human rights," Foreman summed it up. "What Mary Jo and I want are human rights."

Risher and Foreman are visiting some twenty cities to publicize Gifford Guy Gibson's book about their case, *By Her Own Admission*.

Have you noticed a change in attitude since the defeat of the gay rights ordinance in Miami? I asked.

Radio and TV commentators and other people they've met during their current tour have seemed friendly and supportive, the two said.

The stopovers in cities have been so brief that it's been difficult to know exactly what local gay and lesbian rights groups have been doing, Foreman said. But her general impression is that what has happened in Dallas is happening elsewhere—"gay groups are uniting and trying to get together with the feminists."

"If we could bottle up all this energy, we could move mountains and finally have human rights," Foreman said, "because I think the bigots would be a minority."

Nearby, Barbara Love, coauthor of *Sappho Was a Right-on Woman*, was soliciting support for Risher's case. "If they lose, we all lose," she pointed out. "They're putting their lives on the line for us. If we don't stand behind them, who will?"

If you want to "stand behind" them, write to Mary Jo Risher and Ann Foreman, Post Office Box 3141, Dallas, Texas 75221.

Blacks conquer right to use Boston beach

By Lee Artz

BOSTON—This city's Black and Puerto Rican communities have successfully asserted their right to use the public facilities at South Boston's Carson Beach. Since 1975 the beach has been the "turf" of white racists.

After two weeks of rioting by whites at the beach, James Kelly, leader of the racist South Boston Information Center, called on his followers to "avoid the section of the beach that Blacks have occupied."

This is an important concession to the right of Blacks and Puerto Ricans to use the beach—a concession won by residents of the nearby Columbia Point housing project. Their determination to stand up against the racists has forced the city administration and police to defend their right to use Carson Beach.

The battle of Carson Beach began in 1975. In the wake of the May 17 march of 15,000 people that year in defense of school desegregation, the Boston NAACP and National Student Coalition Against Racism sponsored a picnic of 800 Blacks on Carson Beach.

After several hours the picnickers were driven off by a mob of whites, aided by the cops. Nonetheless, the Black community had flexed its muscles.

The fierce heat of the summer of 1977 reopened the battle. Black children from Columbia Point had been forced to play in the streets under fire hydrants to stay cool.

After several children were accidentally hit by passing cars, Black and Puerto Rican parents decided to use the beach.

The first group went to Carson Beach on July 22. Two days later, a screaming mob of 150 whites attacked, hurling rocks and bottles.

Cops pushed the Blacks and Puerto Ricans off the beach but didn't arrest any whites. One Black woman was injured.

But the Columbia Point residents weren't frightened off. They returned later in the week. On July 28 and 29 several hundred whites, screaming, "Get the niggers of the beach," confronted a group of about forty Blacks.

This time the cops surrounded the whites. Metropolitan District Commission Supt. Laurence Carpenter warned the mob: "If you do not leave this area we will arrest everybody we can put our hands on."

Twenty-six whites were arrested.

Earlier MDC Commissioner John

Snedeker had asserted that "Carson Beach is a public facility open for all. Blacks and whites can go to the beach any day of the week. The MDC will not back off one inch from guaranteeing that right."

The racists escalated their rhetoric, even to the point of threatening the cops. "It's time we take off our gloves and start to retaliate against police and Blacks," said Robert Lunin of the South Boston Marshals, another racist group.

The big confrontation came on Sunday, July 31. About 1,500 agitated whites menaced Black youngsters who arrived at the beach in small groups.

At 2 p.m., the cops declared the mob an "unlawful assembly." Police boats cleared the water, and a line of 400 jump-suited cops—visors down on their riot helmets, nightsticks in hand—moved in on the white mob.

The next day, Mayor Kevin White visited Carson Beach, calling on the "decency" of white South Bostonians. After he left, more whites rioted and were arrested.

Gov. Michael Dukakis called the rioting a "disgrace" and warned that physical and verbal abuse of Blacks would not be allowed. "That beach is going to remain open, unless it is absolutely impossible," Dukakis said.

The turnabout in the attitude of the cops and city administration was no accident, coming only weeks after the social explosion during the blackout in New York City. Black and Puerto Ricans here have been subjected to the same kinds of racist treatment as their sisters and brothers in New York.

The city apparently felt it was better to keep the racists at bay than to risk a major ghetto blowup.

The victory by Boston's Black and Puerto Rican community has demoralized the racists. City council member Louise Day Hicks, a leading opponent of Black rights, declared that Carson Beach should be kept "peaceful."

Hattie McCutcheon, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Boston School Committee, said that "the elected officials on the city council,

school committee, and in the state legislature have once again shown their unwillingness and inability to fight for our rights. It has taken the determination and power of the Columbia Point residents to assert their human rights and force the police to uphold the law."

The *Boston Globe* noted that Leon Rock, former NAACP youth director, and Maceo Dixon, Boston Socialist Workers Party organizer and a leader in the fight to desegregate Boston's schools, were the only Black leaders on the beach.

McCutcheon called on "the NAACP, the leaders of the struggle at Columbia Point, the All-African People's Revolutionary Party, Alianza Hispanica, Roxbury Multi-Service Center, Freedom House, and other Black and Hispanic organizations and individuals to hold a broad meeting to support the Carson Beach bathers and fully desegregate the entire beach.

"We need to lay out a plan to fully desegregate Boston," McCutcheon said.



Cops arrest racist at Carson Beach

Militant/Maceo Dixon

Find bomb in Atlanta socialist office

By Don Davis

ATLANTA—A homemade pipe bomb packing the force of a stick of dynamite was found August 1 in the westside Atlanta headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party.

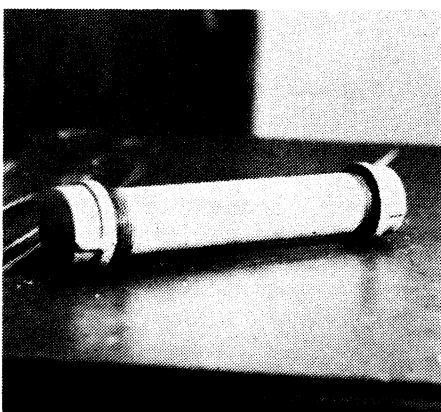
SWP organizer Al Budka discovered the device under an overturned carton of phonograph records in the front section of the headquarters, which houses the Militant Bookstore.

Officers from the fire bureau bomb squad inspected the device. They said it would have destroyed the bookstore area and damaged the neighboring paint and key shop and apartments above, killing or injuring people in the building.

The bomb was a twelve-inch length of pipe sealed at both ends. It contained explosive "pistol powder," authorities said. A partially burned fuse was stuck in one end.

Vince Eagan, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Atlan-

ta, and Laurie Perkus, SWP candidate for city council president, denounced the attempted bombing at a city hall news conference the next day.



"We see this as a clear attempt to intimidate us and keep us from running on a socialist platform," Eagan told reporters. "This is a

serious threat, not only to our democratic right to seek office, but also to the right of Atlanta voters to hear all sides in this campaign."

In an August 2 statement, Atlanta Mayor Maynard Jackson said he was "shocked and dismayed" at the attempted bombing.

"Incidents like this could have a chilling effect on everyone's right to exercise free speech as guaranteed by the Bill of Rights. To allow this matter to go unanswered could open the way to violence and intimidation. Whether one agrees or disagrees with the ideas of the Socialist Workers campaign is beside the point.

"Without question, however, their right to run for elective office without the fear of intimidation must be respected and protected," Jackson said.

A letter calling the attempted bombing an "outrage" was signed by a broad range of Atlanta com-

munity leaders and activists. The signers urged that "an investigation be opened and the criminals brought to trial."

Among the signers of the letter were: Clinton DeVeaux, president, and Gene Guerrero, executive director, of the American Civil Liberties Union of Georgia; Leamon Hood, international representative, and Virginia Ramsey, Grady Hospital chairperson, of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Atlanta Lesbian Feminist Alliance; Feminist Women's Health Center; Vicki Gabriner of the Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case; State Representative Hosea Williams, Atlanta president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; city council members Panke Bradley, James Howard, and Arthur Langford, Jr.; Victor Host of the Gay Rights Alliance; and attorneys Roger Mills and Morgan Stanford.

Carter's workfare

"The program for better jobs and income."

It was unveiled August 6 as Carter's new welfare plan.

He might better have called it "The program for forced work at starvation wages."

Gone with the word "welfare"—which Carter says has a stigma attached to it—are the programs that make up welfare: food stamps and Aid to Dependent Children.

In their place is a "work incentive" plan. It forces men and women, including single parents with young children, to work at the minimum wage or face a cutoff of public aid.

It works like this:

- If you received food stamps before, but your income is above the poverty level (estimated at \$6,400 for 1978), you're now out of the picture.

- If you're aged, blind, disabled, or a single parent of a child aged six or younger, you're eligible for income payments of \$2,500 for an individual and \$3,750 for a couple. Any additional income reduces your payments by fifty cents for each dollar of income.

- If you're a single parent with children between the ages of seven and thirteen, you're required to work part-time to receive payments.

- If you're single or part of a family with two parents or children above thirteen, you're eligible for benefits only if you accept any job available. The income supplement for a family of four would be limited to a whopping \$2,300.

The plan includes the creation of 1.4 million public-service jobs—all at the minimum wage (Which Carter hopes to boost a generous fifteen cents by the time the plan is implemented).

There's no question that the welfare system as it stands now is a degrading and inadequate setup, desperately in need of change.

But Carter's plan is a far cry from what's needed. Rather, his aim is to cover for the government's refusal to free up enough tax money to really serve the needs of Americans.

Plus, the new scheme has the added advantage—from the point of view of this country's rulers—of creating a new layer of superexploited workers. They can then easily be substituted for higher-paid unionists in government jobs and other work situations.

The current system is "antiwork and antifamily," Carter says. "It is unfair to the poor and wasteful of taxpayers' dollars."

But while lofty statements about keeping families together are fine for the presidential pulpit, the single parents of children over six, who will now be forced to work, may find it hard to swallow.

Of the 11.2 million people in the main welfare program, all but 700,000 are children or their mothers. Where are Carter's proposals for expanded child-care facilities?

And what about the "prowork" ethic of Carter's scheme? The new "subsidized" workers will be working side-by-side—doing the same jobs in many cases—as others making union-scale wages. Where is the fairness in that?

Carter's welfare bonanza is supposed to have a little something for everyone. A pledge of financial payments for the cities. A minimum "national income" for the liberals. A mandatory work requirement for the conservatives.

The only ones left out are welfare recipients—and the rest of the working class for whom this scheme poses a serious threat.

Republican Rep. John Anderson, in agonizing over whether to support this "costly" welfare plan, commented that he favors "getting people off the welfare rolls and into working jobs where they become taxpayers instead of tax-eaters."

But who are the real tax-eaters?

Carter's welfare proposal comes to \$30.7 billion for millions of people. His war budget, which benefits none but a handful of capitalists, is \$120 billion.

In 1976 less than \$6 billion was spent at all levels of government on food stamp programs aiding 18.4 million Americans. But for just one military department alone, Congress approved \$1.1 billion for nuclear weapons.

In New York City, \$1.1 billion of the current budget goes for public assistance. But that same budget allocates \$1.3 billion simply to pay off the interest on city bonds held by a few rich bankers.

The money is there. Working people—the real taxpayers—should demand that their tax money be spent to provide jobs at union-scale wages for everyone who needs work. Those who are unable to work should be guaranteed an income equal to union-scale wages.

Letters

Need knowledge on nukes

If you aren't planning it already, how about a pamphlet on nuclear energy, including the centerfold article in the July 22 *Militant* ["Nuclear power—a socialist view"]. Ignorance about nuclear energy seems to be something the entire establishment and the press want to keep.

People need a fact booklet that can be mass distributed.

R.R.

Rochester, New Hampshire

A criticism

I am a *Guardian* newspaper sustainer, and a subscriber to the *Militant*. I tender this criticism of the *Militant* and Socialist Workers Party.

The *Guardian* and the *Militant*, ostensibly through the theories of Mao and Trotsky respectively, manage to arrive at final positions on current revolutionary issues that are as alike as those of *Newsweek* and *Time*! Yet each dismisses the other as "petty bourgeois intellectuals," "anarchists," "opportunists," "sectarians," and so forth. Either Marxist notions of the unity of theory and practice are inoperative, or the principals in this drama are acting in an unprincipled manner. Surely the SWP remembers and regrets the antagonistic relations with the Communist Party during the 1950s when great portions of revolutionary zeal were squandered. I note positively that your criticism of the CP has become much more objective. Please do not repeat earlier errors with respect to the thousands of American "Maoists."

With respect to revisionism, I must say that Lenin's arguments on the subject remain 95 percent cogent to this day. Yet the thought that *material conditions in the U.S. in 1977 are much more nearly those of modern Italy and France than those of prerevolutionary Russia or China* continues to bother me. Am I missing something that Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Trotsky, and Mao also missed? Of course, this issue is being decided by forces far beyond any harnessable by the U.S. left, so time will tell. Meanwhile, it seems to me that a little healthy skepticism is called for.

Willy Chaplin

Minneapolis, Minnesota

Different view of 'Rocky'

Regarding the Oscar-winning film *Rocky*, I have been under the impression that I was a minority of one in condemning its blatant racism as well as its subtler sexism. The *Militant* has not seen fit to deal with the racist nature of this film, a film which is a perfect complement to the attacks on affirmative action, busing, welfare rights, and so on. Finally a columnist of the *Boston Globe*, Ken Hartnett, in the July 23 issue, has seen fit to tell it like it is.

Hartnett sees the film as propaganda designed to increase the perception that the blame for the plight of poor white ethnic communities should be placed on Blacks, who supposedly get special privileges not available for poor whites.

He points out that "no Black voices were adding their cheers" to the screaming adulation of Rocky at the end of the film. The character of Appollo Creed was a disgusting, revolting caricature of Ali. The crowd screeched with delight in the theater where I saw the film every time Rocky landed a punch on the caricature of the

Black champion, whose ribs were smashed.

The pitting of one section of the oppressed against another is an integral part of the divide-and-conquer strategy of the oppressor class. The fact is that Blacks are doubly oppressed and exploited by virtue of their being both Blacks and workers.

A film like *Rocky* doesn't help poor white workers to see the commonality of struggle with Blacks against a common enemy, but just the opposite.

Gary Cohen

Cambridge, Massachusetts

Gay rights

More than sixty supporters of gay rights attended a rally and candlelight vigil on the steps of Pittsburgh's city-county building July 19 to express their outrage at the current assault on human rights for gays. The rally, sponsored by the Metropolitan Community Church, was publicized largely by word of mouth, but the enthusiasm of the protesters demonstrated the potential for further and larger actions of this type.

Speakers at the rally emphasized the need for unity in the coming struggle, pointing out the task of bringing together both gays and nongays, Blacks and whites, and men and women to defeat the reactionary forces seeking to strip away homosexual rights.

Andy Pollack

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

A piece of history

The students of Kent State are waging a battle for all of us. It is a battle to hang on to just a bit of their own history through the preservation of the landscape that is its symbol. It is, of course, our history also, and one made ever more precious by the threat of the advancing bulldozer.

The fight for the grassy knoll is not the task of the Kent students alone, but of people around the country. It is the fight of people who want to remember the Joe Hills, the Eugene Debses, the Jim Cannons, and the John Browns. It is the fight of people who want to remember that with Kent State goes Jackson State, Black nationalism, feminist consciousness, gay liberation, workers' control, and third-world struggles here and around the world. It is the fight of people who want to remember the vital authority of these popular movements and the proud resistance they showed to events like the invasion of Cambodia. Remember Cambodia for just a moment, and we come to the heart of the beast. VIETNAM.

Young people in college today scarcely know the word, professors, for the most part, do not speak of it, and now the administrators and courts are trying to plow it under. Piece by piece, our history is escaping us.

VIETNAM. Say it over again. VIETNAM. The word is steeped in meaning, for the Vietnamese, of course, but for Americans as well. Vietnam meant the birth of meaning for one whole generation and a lesson in the power of history and the omnipotence of the human spirit to another. Vietnam meant people mobilized en masse in the struggle for self-determination and against tyranny, not just in Vietnam but in the streets, colleges, and factories of America. The country still rattles in the shock wave of the lesson that was Vietnam and the powers-that-be are moving on Kent State to bury the evidence.

National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



High wages, high profits?

"The new and improved wage and benefit package developed by General Motors and the UAW places total compensation and benefits for GM hourly employees among the best in American industry."—GM industrial relations staff, December 1976.

High wages are no solution to the problems of the working class, but they are certainly better than low wages. Neither are high wages a bar to profits, as antiunion employers claim. But employers try to boost profits by paying the lowest possible wages. The largest U.S. corporation, General Motors, appears to have the best of both worlds—high wages and high profits.

GM reported profits of more than \$1 billion for the second quarter this year, breaking all previous records. After GM's quarterly report, United Auto Workers Vice-president Irving Bluestone observed that in the twelve months ending June 30, 1977, GM recorded after-tax profits totaling nearly \$3.2 billion, the most profitable year in the corporation's history.

The auto union implied, in Bluestone's statement on the matter, that GM superprofits "could displease and upset consumers." Among those displeased and upset consumers are auto workers who must pay out about \$6,000 or half-a-year's take-home pay for a car.

It turns out that "the best" wages are not very good when measured against what they will buy.

If it's hard for an auto worker to buy a new car, textile workers—who are among the worst paid—must try to find an old jalopy that still runs. And the millions of unemployed workers can walk or hitch a ride.

The hard facts of transportation needs are that in spite of high prices, workers still must travel by car because there is no adequate train or bus service.

Those high wages that GM boasts about are twice

deceptive. It's false company publicity to make it appear as if GM is generous. The truth is that auto workers, like most other workers today, are forced to do extra duty. They produce half-again more than they did twenty years ago, and their wages buy scarcely more than they bought then.

In 1957 the Big Three—GM, Ford, Chrysler—built 6.7 million cars and trucks. In 1976 they built 10.9 million. That's a 62 percent increase.

In those twenty years the work force increased only 7.7 percent.

This is what accounts for the huge profits of the auto corporations—increased productivity (speedup) and inflation (high prices).

The auto union accuses GM of using sleight of hand "percent-of-sales computation" to hide the real return to shareholders and speculators. Corporate profits during the past year, says UAW, "represent a stupendous 22.3 percent rate of return on investment, far more than GM's own 20 percent profit target."

In the first half of this year GM's after-tax profit was \$2 billion, 17 percent higher than the previous first-half record of \$1.709 billion in 1976. By any standard of computation that is a lot of money to turn over to a small group of people who do no work and produce nothing.

Consumers have good reason to be displeased and upset, as the UAW suggests. Auto workers would be better off if they appealed, through their union, to other consumers to join them in demanding that the secret bookkeeping of the auto monopoly be opened for public inspection, that lack of mass transportation be investigated, and that the high prices of automobiles be reduced.

Social demands such as these are as necessary for the future growth of the union movement as the demand for higher wages and shorter hours of work.

History is about to offer another lesson for those who care to listen. Give them Kent State and you give them a piece of your very soul, the substance of who you are, the history that nurtured you and made you grown. Give them Kent State and they have won. It is our Auschwitz; true it is but one of many in our bloody history, but it is ours none the less.

The grassy knoll must survive. It is a small piece of land, but like Vietnam it is rich in meaning, and it must be remembered. The right to remember is at heart the right to learn. To survive, we must learn.

Michael Klein

Political Editor, 'Hudson Valley Chronicle'
Hudson, Ohio

Organizing J.P. Stevens

Representatives of the J.P. Stevens Corporation, the gigantic nonunion textile manufacturing firm, opposed two speakers from the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) in a debate held July 12 at the University of Pittsburgh. Nationally, this was the first time that Stevens officials have attempted to defend their union-busting policies in such a public format. Company cameras were on hand to record excerpts from the debate for future company use. Local television stations broadcast reports of the debate, as well as some of the reactions of the overwhelmingly prounion audience of about 300 people.

The first speaker for the union, Health and Safety Director Eric Frumin, noted that Stevens workers were regularly subjected to cotton-dust levels of twelve times the already high federal tolerance levels. He warned that more than 30 percent of the Stevens work force would suffer from byssinosis, the dreaded "brown lung" disease. James Franklin, corporate public relations director for Stevens, cynically replied that "byssinosis is a somewhat mysterious disease" that could be "caused by heavy smoking."

Continuing in this vein, right-wing Baylor University Prof. Lee Polk portrayed the union drive as an outside dues-grabbing effort.

Rev. William Somplatsky-Jarmon replied by documenting the numerous violations of the rights of workers at J.P. Stevens, including the wire-tapping of the hotel rooms of union organizers. He noted it was Black workers, the most victimized by Stevens's racist policies, that "most readily supported the union."

Afterwards, dozens of members of the audience signed up to support the boycott of J.P. Stevens products.

Some successes have been achieved in the boycott in the Pittsburgh area. In April, the University of Pittsburgh, under pressure from boycott supporters, agreed to halt all purchases of J.P. Stevens products.

Mark McColloch

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

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

Women in Revolt

Willie Mae Reid



Either way, women lose

The following is a guest column by Nancy Cole.

A year ago, women—all women—had a constitutionally guaranteed right to abortion.

That was before the Hyde amendment picked up steam in Congress. Before "fresh face" Carter used his first months in office to broadcast his stale anti-abortion sentiments. Before those guardians of the Constitution on the Supreme Court blasted a hole in their 1973 ruling legalizing abortion.

Who would have guessed that within one year a right won through the momentum of a massive, resurgent women's movement could be so seriously jeopardized?

It is a bipartisan attack, carried out with speed and enthusiasm by all three branches of government. It has enraged and alarmed all supporters of women's rights. It deserves an emergency response to tell those enemies of women in no uncertain terms: We know your goal is to outlaw the right to choose for all women. We will fight to maintain for our Black, Chicana, Puerto Rican, and other working-class sisters the right to Medicaid-funded abortions!

Who could better lead that fight than the largest feminist group in the country, the National Organization for Women. But when the August issue of NOW's paper, *Do It NOW*, arrived, there were no banner headlines alerting NOW members and calling on them to act in defense of abortion rights.

Instead, it devoted less than one-fourth of the bottom of page 1 to a story by NOW Vice-president for Action Arlie Scott, titled: "NOW Opposes Abortion Restrictions."

"Pro-choice Senators voted for the final version of the appropriations bill because the Packwood motion [to allow funds for abortions with no restrictions] had already failed and the term 'medically necessary' (which can be interpreted broadly to include the mental and emotional as well as the physical well being of the woman) was the least restrictive language the Senate would accept. . . .

"NOW and pro-abortion organizations are lobbying for the 'medically necessary' Senate language as the least offensive of the alternatives."

Scott concludes with a disclaimer of sorts, that is, that NOW still opposes any restrictions on abortion rights.

But by supporting the "lesser evil" Senate bill, NOW and other abortion rights groups have rescued the politicians. These so-called friends of women can now safely sidestep the issue of a woman's right to choose and still be counted as supporters of women's rights.

No matter which side wins the vote on the House versus Senate wording, women lose, and foes of abortion win.

Neither version concedes that poor women have a right to abortion. The House grudgingly offers an abortion for any woman able to prove she'll die without the operation. The Senate expands the women's "life" to include other aspects of her health.

But there's hardly a basis, especially with abortion opponents on the offensive, to assume that "medically necessary" will be "interpreted broadly," as the NOW leadership claims.

In arguing against anti-abortion opponents of the "medically necessary" provision, its sponsor, Sen. Edward Brooke, proclaimed, "There are many health conditions that are even worse than death itself."

So this is the choice offered women! The diehard House says only if you're going to die. The humane Senate adds to that medically certifiable diseases worse than death itself.

Thanks, but no thanks.

The vast majority of the 300,000 women who obtained Medicaid-funded abortions during the last year did so because they thought they had a right to control their bodies and lives.

Feminists, supporters of human rights, and fighters for Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican liberation have a responsibility to say NO to both congressional bills and to demand that abortion rights for all women be restored.

The following is the first in a series of articles assessing the lessons and significance of the recently completed four-volume series by Farrell Dobbs on the Midwest Teamsters struggles in the 1930s.

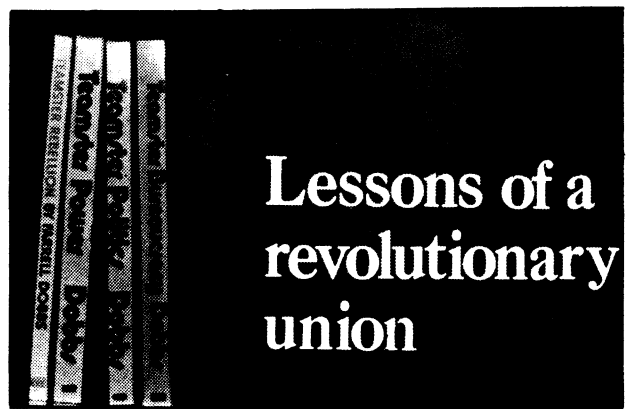
Dobbs was a leader of the Minneapolis Teamsters strikes in 1934 and was subsequently elected an officer and staff director of General Drivers Local 574 (later 544). He was the key strategist of a victorious eleven-state organizing campaign among over-the-road drivers. Later he became a general organizer of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters staff.

Dobbs has been a central leader of the revolutionary socialist movement for more than four decades. He ran for U.S. president four times on the Socialist Workers Party ticket, and served as national secretary of the SWP from 1953 to 1972.

These comments on the Dobbs series are by Frank Lovell, a member of the SWP Political Committee and director of the party's trade-union work. Lovell has been a union activist in the maritime, building-trades, and auto industries.

By Frank Lovell

Teamster Bureaucracy is the final book of the four-volume series by Farrell Dobbs on the Minneapolis Teamsters. It brings his account of class-struggle politics in the union movement of the 1930s



Lessons of a revolutionary union

to the end of that period, marked by the advent of World War II.

As the Roosevelt administration prepared to enter the war in 1941, the revolutionary socialists who organized and led General Drivers Local 544 in Minneapolis were indicted on false charges of "conspiracy" because of their opposition to the war. Eventually they were put in jail. The union as a membership-controlled organization defending the interests of the working class was destroyed.

The earlier volumes described how the 1934 Minneapolis strikes were won, how the International Brotherhood of Teamsters was transformed from a one-horse craft union into an industrial union organizing over-the-road truck drivers, and how IBT Local 544 sought to rebuild the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party as an instrument of independent working-class political action.

This book begins with Roosevelt's preparations for war. It describes how the Socialist Workers Party and the Trotskyist leadership of the Minneapolis Teamsters helped build the antiwar movement of that time, exposed the aims of the ruling class in this country and in Nazi Germany, and tried to rally the union movement in defense of working-class needs here and throughout the world.

Real story of World War II

It is the most exciting story yet told of World War II, the real antiwar story that has to be known in order to understand the tales you often hear about "labor's heroic wartime sacrifices."

Dobbs tells how the Soviet Union was victimized by the Stalinized bureaucracy, what distinguished the Soviet Union from the capitalist countries, why China and the rest of the colonial world was the prize of the warring industrial nations, what the economic motive of U.S. imperialism was, and why Roosevelt deceived the American public about his war aims.

The way the trade-union bureaucracy was put to the service of the war machine (and willingly served) is explained in carefully documented detail.

Those world-shaking events were explained at the time in the *Northwest Organizer*, official organ of the AFL Teamsters Joint Council in Minneapolis, and in the *Socialist Appeal*, then the weekly publication of the Socialist Workers Party. Dobbs uses both papers, and the *Militant*, to show the response of class-conscious leaders in the trade-

union and socialist movements, and to explain how they arrived at their positions on world politics.

The great value of this book and the three earlier volumes is their presentation of the political and organizational problems of revolutionary socialists in the unions, and the methods of solving those problems.

For present purposes it is enough to say that one of the main ingredients in any solution to problems of the unions and other working-class organizations (such as consumer cooperatives or a labor party) is the continuous struggle for democracy within them. The workers must retain control of their organizations in order to use them for their own class needs.

Knowledgeable union members and most officials, then and now, agree that the Dunne brothers and Dobbs and other Trotskyists in the Minneapolis Teamsters built a strong union in the pre-World War II period and trained incorruptible leaders. They were different. And what was different about them showed up in conflict with the other two main political currents represented in the leadership of the modern union movement prior to and during the Second World War.

Stalinists and social democrats

These other political currents were Stalinism and Social Democracy, both commanding powerful CIO unions. The social democrats were also entrenched in the old AFL unions, where the Stalinists were weaker but held some pockets of control, as in the New York Painters.

In most of the big industrial unions—auto, rubber, maritime, electrical manufacturing, steel—the Socialist Workers Party attracted members and at times influenced their political development and internal politics. But the Trotskyists were unable in any of them to develop a leadership team in support of a class-struggle program as was done in Minneapolis.

In the National Maritime Union and the United Electrical Workers, both large and influential CIO unions, the Stalinists held sway and retained their dictatorial control until after the war. The membership was not consulted and had nothing to say about union policy.

In the Steel Workers Organizing Committee—and later when the United Steelworkers of America was constituted—the class-collaborationist bureaucracy under the command of Philip Murray kept the organization in its grip, depriving the steelworkers of any voice in decision-making.

The auto and rubber unions were different from most other CIO unions, mainly because they originated in open mass struggles against the corporations. They were the direct products of the CIO sitdown strikes, and had this class-struggle origin in common with the Minneapolis Teamsters movement. The leadership in both the auto and rubber unions was forced to answer to the membership even during the war, and did not have a free hand as in most other unions.

In the United Auto Workers the leadership was split into two factions, one controlled by the Stalinists under the wartime nominal direction of Nat Ganley, an officer of UAW Local 155 in Detroit, and the other operated more loosely by the social democrats and led by Walter Reuther, then a member of the UAW International Executive Board.

The social democrats were in official control of the United Rubber Workers union through its president, Sherman Dalrymple, and his caucus of office seekers and hangers-on. In this union the Stalinists had little influence, but an opposition caucus of militants developed in which the Trotskyists participated.

The democratic forms of organization endured in the UAW and the URW throughout the war. The leadership in both unions was under constant attack from the membership because of the officials' wartime no-strike pledge and support of Roosevelt's wage controls.

Should Trotskyists have compromised?

Despite the militancy of the membership in these unions and the opportunities for class-struggle actions, the Trotskyists did not succeed in forging a new leadership capable of winning the support of the vast majority of the membership.

Was this because the Trotskyists in Minneapolis were more experienced and understood Trotskyist methods of organization better than SWP members in other industries?

Or was it because, as has been argued by some reviewers of earlier Teamster books, the Dunne brothers and Dobbs paid close attention to strictly union problems and therefore succeeded in spite of their revolutionary politics?

MINNEAPOLIS TEAMSTERS VICTORY OR DEFEAT

As the United States entered World War II, the struggle union movement was jailed. Should they have compromised? Were their battles in vain?



1934: Minneapolis strikers win union recognition demands



1943: Leaders of Teamsters union and Socialist Workers Party (far right) to begin serving prison terms for their revolutionary activities

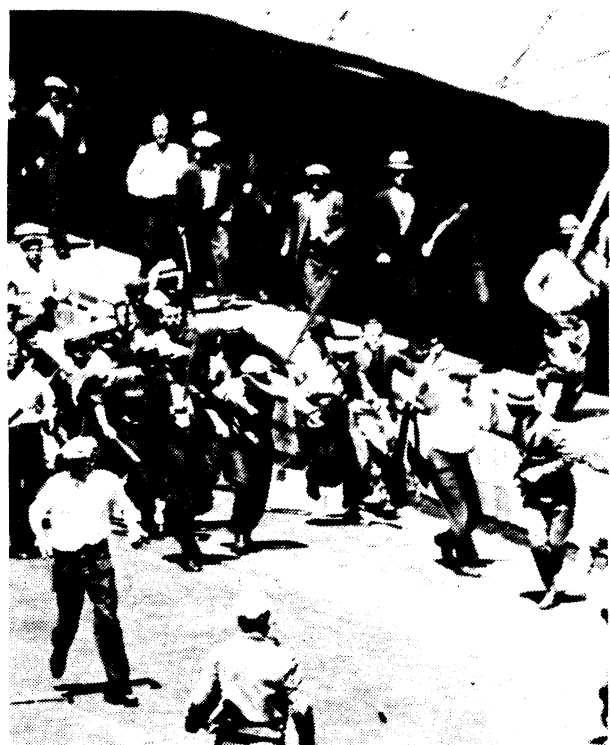
In the end it was their uncompromising opposition to World War II and their persistence in class-struggle principles against government regimentation and the stifling of union democracy that led to the jailing of the Trotskyist leaders and the crushing of the union they organized.

Wouldn't it have been better if they had compromised to save the union? Both the social democrats and Stalinists made their peace with Roosevelt and supported the imperialist war. The unions they led survived the war, even gained in membership and property.

Wouldn't it have been better if the Trotskyists

A POLIS TEAMSTERS: A STORY OF DEFEAT?

World War II, the class-
was crushed, its leaders
promised their principles?



attacks by courts, cops, and scabs.



ty turn themselves in to federal marshals (two men at
vary ideas.

ad managed to secure their positions of influence,
specially in the Teamsters union, which today is
angster-ridden and coming under new attacks
om the government?

James Hoffa helped destroy the Minneapolis
eamster local and later became president of the
3T before being railroaded to jail by the Kennedy
dministration. Shortly before his disappearance,
offa said that he learned from Dobbs about union
rganizing. But he thought the socialist ideas of
obbs were a handicap and had to be defeated
hen they got in the way of the union.

Hoffa claimed that the ideas and methods of the

Trotskyists were defeated by the superior tactics of
IBT President Daniel Tobin, who sent him and
other "enforcers" to Minneapolis. "We won," said
Hoffa.

Hoffa is no longer present to make further
contributions to the discussion; so it is not possible
to learn from him what his "victory" was worth.
But the question he introduced is another side of the
broad debate over principle versus expediency—in
union practice a matter of working-class solidarity
and struggle as against collaboration with the
employer and subservience to government control.

Principle versus expediency

All these questions are taken up in detail and
argued with examples from the experiences of the
Minneapolis Teamsters. Within the context of the
broader questions, Dobbs discusses the merits of the
politics of Social Democracy and Stalinism, both
practicing collaboration with the employing class in
opposition to the class-struggle politics of Trotsky-
ism.

The Trotskyist tendency was small in numbers
and poorly understood in the early 1930s. The
Stalinists were then the dominant tendency within
the radical labor movement, having inherited the
authority and prestige of the Russian revolution.
The social democrats were entrenched in the union
movement, such as it was, embodying the conserva-
tive instincts of relatively privileged layers of the
working class and reflecting the social pressures of
the employing class.

It is true that the Trotskyists in Minneapolis were
unique. They had been leaders in the Communist
Party and were experienced in the union movement
prior to their expulsion in 1928. Their knowledge
and prestige in the radical movement, combined
with the power of the Trotskyist program, gave
them decisive advantage over the local Stalinists
and social democrats.

They were thus able to establish a strong local
branch of the Trotskyist organization, and this was
the necessary beginning of their successful union
work.

In most other sections of the country, the
Trotskyists were weaker organizationally and less
experienced than their radical opponents. Conse-
quently, they were less able to discover and develop
opportunities for work in the major industrial
centers in the early years of the CIO.

Politically conscious workers who found their
way to Trotskyist ideas came under heavy attack
from the Stalinists in the unions, especially when
the Stalinists had them outnumbered and could
gang up on them, which was most of the time.

Another reason the Trotskyists were unable to
win supremacy in the big CIO unions was the deals,
worked out separately by the Stalinists and the
social democrats, to support Roosevelt and the
Democratic Party in the 1936 presidential election.

This strengthened the union officials in their
positions of authority and gave them greater
control over the membership. It also slowed the
momentum of independent action by the unions,
scuttled the movement for a labor party, led to the
defeat of the Little Steel strike in 1937, and prepared
the way for government regulation of the unions.

Rearguard actions

By 1941 CIO strikes were still taking place in the
auto, coal, and steel industries. Dobbs says, "...
these were essentially rearguard actions. The
momentum of the general union upsurge of previous
years had been broken, due to leadership defaults in
the movement nationally. Politically, the workers
remained entrapped in the Democratic Party; the
capitalists were unhindered in using the govern-
mental power against labor; and that power was
being employed to crush all opposition to the
imperialist drive toward war."

The leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and
the Minneapolis Teamsters were under no illusions
about their chances of reversing the course of
political events at that late date. They were
confident, however, that they could continue the
fight for union democracy and win allies even if
they were defeated in the initial stage of the
imperialist war. This proved correct.

They faced an overpowering array of force. The
awesome power of the federal government was
massed against them, including the secret police
operations of the FBI and the chicanery of the
courts.

The state and city governments were also
deployed against General Drivers Local 544. Anti-
union labor laws in Minnesota were used to protect
the employers and prevent the union from negotiat-
ing contracts after it was driven out of the AFL and

had affiliated with the CIO.

In spite of this uneven relation of forces, the
Minneapolis Teamsters stood up to the challenge
and succeeded in winning support in the CIO over
the opposition of the Stalinists.

And after the trial and conviction of the Trotsky-
ist leaders they were able to conduct a national
defense campaign during the war that won the
support of unions, the NAACP, the American Civil
Liberties Union, many prominent academicians,
and others who opposed the police-state methods of
the Roosevelt administration.

"While the eighteen of us were in prison," Dobbs
writes, "we had ample time to second-guess our-
selves on the handling of the fight that had broken
out in 1941. Could a way have been found to
postpone the showdown with Tobin, we wondered,
until objective conditions took a turn for the better?
*Our conclusion was that it could not have been
accomplished in a principled manner.*" (Emphasis
added—FL.)

Present state of unions

The question remains, did the Trotskyists lose
and did the union movement suffer? The answer is
in the comparison of the relative positions of the
main political currents in the union movement
today, and in the present state of the unions.

The Stalinists are left with little influence. The
Communist Party USA is without honor and can
attract few young people, workers, women, or
oppressed minorities. It is a shadow of what it was
in 1941, and is seen now as a puppet apologist for a
brutally dictatorial regime in another country.

The social democrats appear to have fared better
over the years. They have prominent representa-
tives in well-paying jobs, and seem to be in
positions of power as the top leaders of the AFL-
CIO unions. But their political strength is measured
by their puny political parties, Social Democrats
USA and the Democratic Socialist Organizing
Committee. Both are captives of the capitalist-
controlled Democratic Party.

The union officials who gather annually to
receive the "Eugene V. Debs Award" ignorantly
imagine that they are honoring the great socialist
leader, little realizing the contempt he would heap
upon them.

They are powerless as heads of the largest and
potentially most powerful unions in the world,
unable to stir without the consent of their master in
the White House.

They are despised by the workers they claim to
represent, dimly aware of what one of their peers
recently told them: "We're perceived as a middle-
class lobby protecting our own ass."

The Trotskyists were not destroyed in 1941 as
some thought and hoped they would be. The
Socialist Workers Party is bigger, has a younger
membership, and is better organized and far more
experienced today than it was then. In competition
with Stalinism and Social Democracy it measures
up well, certainly in a much stronger position than
in 1938 when the SWP was founded.

The SWP does not have as much influence in any
union today as the Trotskyists in Minneapolis had
in the 1930s. But with a new resurgence of the union
movement the SWP will be able to win influence in
the coming battles against the employing class.
This is the Trotskyist heritage, passed on to union
militants today in the pages of these books about
the Minneapolis Teamster movement.

In contrast to its political opponents, the SWP is
the only party that can record its past with pride. It
does so in the certain knowledge that those who will
study can learn how to rebuild and strengthen the
present-day unions.

Dobbs concludes, in his afterword in *Teamster
Bureaucracy*: "... the principal lesson for labor
militants to derive from the Minneapolis experience
is not that, under an adverse relationship of forces,
the workers can be overcome; but that, with proper
leadership, they can overcome."

Books by Farrell Dobbs on the Teamsters

Teamster Rebellion—
192 pp., cloth \$10.00, paper \$2.45;
Teamster Power—
255 pp., cloth \$10.00, paper \$2.95;
Teamster Politics—
256 pp., cloth \$10.00, paper \$2.95;
Teamster Bureaucracy—
304 pp., cloth, \$12.00, paper \$3.95.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New
York, N.Y. 10014.

Carter proposes bill for 'la migra' crackdown

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—It remains to be seen whether Congress will enact President Carter's proposed crackdown on undocumented immigrants.

An important factor will be how successful the antideportation movement is in mobilizing public opposition to the reactionary plan.

Announced by Carter August 4, the legislative package would create a special category of undocumented workers with absolutely no rights. It would seal the borders to thousands more desperately in need of work.

For sugarcoating, it would offer the possibility of legal status to undocu-

mented people who can prove satisfactorily that they have been here since before January 1, 1970.

If Congress approves, the U.S. Border Patrol—the hated *migra*—would be doubled from two thousand agents to four thousand.

Immigrants who came in "illegally" since the beginning of this year would be subject to immediate deportation.

The Carter package would also establish civil penalties for employers who "knowingly" hire undocumented workers. Carter suggested a fine of \$1,000 per worker. This extremely light fine shows that the provision's aim is

not to penalize employers but to keep low-paid immigrants at the mercy of the government.

Under the plan, immigrants here before January 1, 1970, would—if they proved that fact—be given permanent-resident status.

According to Immigration Director Leonel Castillo, no more than 500,000 people are expected to be eligible for this.

Those who can prove entry prior to January 1, 1977, would be permitted to stay and work for five years. Then they would have to get out. During those five years they would be denied all political rights and all federally

financed welfare or Social Security benefits.

These workers would be left to the tender mercies of the worst sweatshop employers in the country.

The Carter proposal to Congress did not include his reactionary plan, "leaked" last winter, to enforce the ban on undocumented immigrants by requiring all U.S. workers to carry "counterfeit proof" identity cards, a system associated with police states.

According to Harry Bernstein, labor reporter for the *Los Angeles Times*, Carter has dropped that scheme, "at least for now."

Chicano-Latino conference site picked

By Mark Schneider

SAN ANTONIO, Tex.—The International Committee on Immigration and Public Policy has announced the location of the national Chicano/Latino conference scheduled to be held here October 28-30. The conference, called in response to President Carter's crackdown on undocumented immigrants, will be held at Our Lady of the Lake University in this city's Chicano community.

The conference grew out of a Call for Action issued last May by Texas Raza Unida Party leader José Angel Gutiérrez.

The conference will open Friday night, October 28, with a rally, followed by Saturday workshops and a plenary session, and a closing plenary on Sunday.

For further information or to contribute badly needed funds, write the committee at: 1927 West Commerce Street, San Antonio, Texas 78807. Phone: (512) 227-1220.

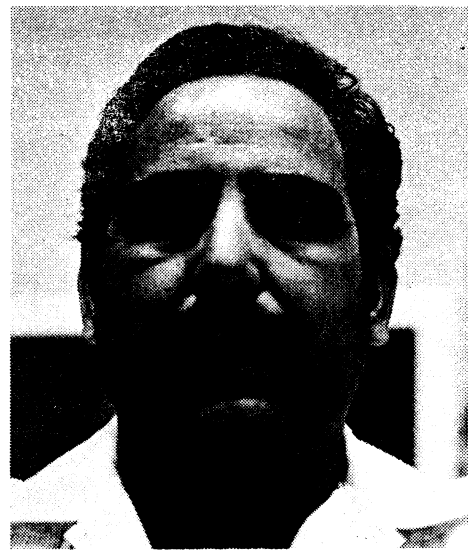
Steel Fight Back leader, Manzo defendant aid undocumented fight

By Joanne Tortorici

LOS ANGELES—Nash Rodríguez, candidate earlier this year for secretary of the United Steelworkers union on the Steelworkers Fight Back slate, spoke in support of the October 28-30 San Antonio conference against deportations at a panel discussion here July 27.

Sponsored by the Student Coalition Against Racism, the meeting was held at California State University in Los Angeles. It drew some eighty-five people.

"You'll continue to see me at meetings like this," Rodríguez said.



NASH RODRIGUEZ

Militant/Harry Ring

"I lend my name—of my organization and myself. Because I am in total sympathy with what the cause is all about," he said.

Other speakers at the meeting were Evangelina Pérez, state chairwoman of La Confederación de Mujeres de La Raza Unida Party; Jesse Ramírez, Comité Popular de la Gente; Laura Garza, Student Coalition Against Racism; and Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers Party.

Twenty-five people remained afterward to attend an organizing meeting to plan publicity for the San Antonio conference.



MARGO COWAN

Militant/Harry Ring

A week after the initial meeting, about thirty-five people attended a showing of *The Unwanted*, a film about the plight of undocumented workers.

TUCSON, Ariz.—Margo Cowan, head of the Manzo Area Council, spoke at a July 29 meeting here called to establish a committee to fight for the rights of undocumented workers.

Cowan and three other Manzo employees were indicted last fall on trumped-up charges of transporting and conspiring to aid "illegal aliens." Charges against the four were dropped earlier this year.

The sixty activists at the meeting voted to send a caravan to the national Chicano/Latino conference scheduled for October 28-30 in San Antonio, Texas.

Cowan was elected cochairperson of the Tucson committee, along with Isabel Garcia, a University of Arizona law student.

Cowan and Garcia spoke on a panel at the meeting, along with Kathy Montaño, another Manzo defendant, and Leslie Nixon, a local Legal Aid Society immigration lawyer.

Nixon said that the term "illegal aliens" is used by the government as a label "to set undocumented people off as something foreign and evil."

"The only hope of change in the immigration laws," Nixon said, "is going to be actual community pressure."

Welfare and 'aliens': who's ripping off who?

By Joanie Quinn

LOS ANGELES—As part of the drive to scapegoat undocumented workers for U.S. capitalism's economic woes, Los Angeles County is suing the federal government for \$50.7 million it claims was spent on health care for *mexicanos* without papers last year.

This move by the county is calculated to whip up anger at undocumented workers. This, more than any reasonable expectation that the suit can be won, is the county's aim.

County officials admit the impossibility of estimating accurately—much less proving—how many undocumented workers were treated last year and at what cost.

But, as the anti-*mexicano* hysteria deepens, the amount the county *claims* to have spent on health care rises. Three years ago, for example, the bill *claimed* by the county was only \$7 million—about 15 percent of its current claim.

Last year the county laid the legal groundwork to cut services available to workers without papers.

The county counsel wrote that "the county has no authority to provide nonemergency health-care services to illegal aliens who admit or otherwise indicate that they are not lawfully present in the United States. . . ."

In other words, the county can refuse nonemergency treatment to anyone who "indicates" they are in the country illegally.

What constitutes an "indication"? Is it lack of papers? Inability to speak English? In fact, the county has the absolute power to turn away anyone who cannot absolutely prove their legal right to be here.

How does the county define the kind of nonemergency care it can refuse? According to the county attorney, "the courts would probably determine that most elective abortion, routine pre- and post-abortion care, and routine prena-

tal care don't involve medical emergencies."

This sets the precedent to deny an expanding range of services to workers without papers.

And all on the basis of the lying propaganda that undocumented workers are a drain on taxpayers.

What are the facts?

A 1975 study, sponsored by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, established that nine out of ten undocumented workers came here to work. While 77 percent had Social Security withheld from their earnings—and 73 percent had income tax withheld—only 27 percent used hospitals or clinics, only 4 percent collected any unemployment insurance, only 1 percent collected food stamps, and less than .5 percent collected welfare.

In Los Angeles County undocumented workers pay an estimated \$171,984,000 in federal, state, and local

taxes every year.

Clearly the country is not being ripped off, but is, in fact, doing some ripping off.

Two days after the county's suit was announced, the L.A. City Council moved to round out the attack on undocumented workers by unanimously moving to bar employment of "illegal aliens on city-contract jobs where they have an adverse effect on lawful resident workers."

The careful wording of this proposed ordinance gives further insight into the real aim of the campaign against undocumented workers here.

This city's ruling rich have no objections to undocumented workers taking jobs at substandard wages that nobody else wants.

They just don't want these workers to start getting any ideas about their rights to a decent job, medical care—or maybe even a say in what happens to all their tax money.

Confirm charges of torture in Israeli jails

By Steve Wattenmaker
From Intercontinental Press

An extensive dossier documenting the regular use of torture in Israeli jails appeared in the "Insight" section of the June 19 London *Sunday Times*. Based on five months of research in Israel and the occupied territories, the article concluded:

Torture is organized so methodically that it cannot be dismissed as a handful of "rogue cops" exceeding orders. It is systematic. It appears to be sanctioned at some level as official policy.

A subsequent issue of the *Sunday Times* carried an official Israeli government reply to the allegations. Finally, in the newspaper's July 10 edition, the reporters responsible for the original article answered Israel's rebuttal:

Israel's reply to our investigation dealt with the central points by flat denial, rather than with detailed evidence; it raised side-issues; it devoted great energy to attacking two of its own citizens [attorneys Felicia Langer and Lea Tsemel] who were by no means our principal witnesses; it contained a number of untruths.

Lest anyone get the wrong impression that the bourgeois paper had taken sides with the Palestinian people, the *Sunday Times* editors reminded their readers on July 10:

We are not "anti-Israel." We believe strongly in her right to peace and security. We have said so consistently over many years. But no State is above criticism.

Stung by Israel's accusation of "selective and misleading reporting,"

however, the Insight investigators took pains in their final article to refute Israel's defense point by point.

In the original story they had charged Israel with using torture primarily to force confessions from political detainees who otherwise could not be convicted. For the sake of its international reputation, Israel was reluctant to admit holding political prisoners without charge, they had written.

The *Sunday Times* reporters had also quoted six attorneys who defend Palestinian prisoners in security cases. These lawyers' "unanimous opinion is that the military courts collude in and knowingly conceal the use of torture."

The July 10 article was in the form of excerpts from Israel's answer to these charges, followed by the investigators' comments on those responses:

Israel: "Torture is a crime under Israeli law."

Insight: So it is in most countries that use it.

Israel: "We possess a judicial system which . . . is both fair and of extremely high calibre."

Insight: True. That is what makes its reluctance to confront the issue of torture the more disturbing. For example, we cited a specific case where the Supreme Court dismissed a string of torture allegations solely on the basis of brief statements taken by the police which the plaintiffs could neither see nor challenge and medical reports by doctors who were far from independent. The plaintiffs' lawyer was not even allowed to be in court. We found that



ma—and the military courts have reduced this to a minimum.

In most cases before then, it now consists of a "reconstruction report" by police who have photographed the defendant at the places mentioned in his confession. The police then say the picture was taken as the defendant pointed out to them what he did. Or the "something" may be the finding that a third party named in the confession does exist. Military courts do not require truly independent evidence.

Tel Aviv fared little better when trying to discredit the stories Palestinian torture victims told the *Sunday Times* investigators.

One of the most appalling accounts of torture discussed in the original article was the case of Omar Abdeld-Karim, who was arrested in October 1976. Karim stated that for five months he had been beaten and subjected to prolonged electric shocks and sexual assaults. *Sunday Times* investigators were able to confirm much of his story.

Karim was released and deported to Jordan in February 1977. He did not recognize his family and was unable to walk. Although he was only thirty-five, a *Christian Science Monitor* reporter said that "he looked like an old man."

Israel's defense? Karim was ill before his arrest.

Insight: Not true. He was fit, happy and holding down a job as a carpenter. He did have old rib fractures, and occasional pains in his chest and back; for these he sometimes went as an out-patient to an orthopaedic hospital. By contrast, he left Israeli hands a stretcher case . . . What happened to him? We challenge Israel to release the reports on Karim's condition made by the International Red Cross delegate Bernard Mürner.

"This process of assertion and rebuttal could go on for a long time," the *Sunday Times* editors said. They therefore proposed to the Israeli government "a simple solution": Provide the International Red Cross with immediate access to all prisoners from the moment of their arrest, and turn over to an international inquiry the confidential reports on the condition of prisoners that the Red Cross has already filed with the Israeli government.

Tsemel's account of bias

[Two Israeli attorneys, Lea Tsemel and Felicia Langer, who are well known for their defense of Palestinian political prisoners, were singled out by the Israeli reply to the *Sunday Times* story on torture as biased and unreliable sources.

[The July 10 edition of the *Sunday*



LEA TSEMEL Militant/David Frankel

power of attorney in writing. They are accompanied by interrogators and are not allowed to talk to their clients.

I am named in the Embassy statement as one of the lawyers who makes a statement to the police does so under pressure. This is not so. In many cases I and other lawyers do not claim torture has been used even though our clients have complained of it—because we are afraid it might be worse for the client.

Only after I have warned the client that there is no chance of winning the "small trial" to check his confession and that this could expose him to severer punishment, and only if he still wants to complain of being tortured despite this, do I bring it up in court.

One of the mitigating circumstances affecting punishment is that the defendant "co-operated with the interrogators." This is why, though lawyers are sure their clients have been ill-treated, they have to change their tactics after losing the "small trial." In the last stage of pleading before sentence, they point out that as the court ruled that the accused "co-operated" with his interrogator, this should be in his favour.

Israel prisons are not open to lawyers' inspection. When we are allowed to see our clients after they have been interrogated the meeting takes place in a special "lawyers' room," we do not have access to the cells or to interrogation centres. I have never visited [the secret interrogation prison at] Sarafand, which is not mentioned in the Embassy's reply. . . .

Lea Tsemel
Jerusalem

Times printed long letters by both Langer and Tsemel defending the accuracy of their information. Tsemel's letter, excerpts from which are printed below, also adds new facts to the case against Israeli torture.]

* * *

The practice in the occupied territories is not to allow lawyers or Red Cross representatives access to prisoners until after 18 days, which usually means until after the interrogation is over and the marks of ill-treatment have had time to fade.

In Jerusalem lawyers are allowed to see clients while they are under interrogation but only to obtain

procedure remarkable. The Israelis do not deny it.

Israel: "All Israel prisons are open to inspection."

Insight: Not true. Most of Israel's prisons are open to inspection. But the prisons we cited—Ramallah, Hebron, Nablus and Gaza—have special cells, sometimes called X-cells, where prisoners under interrogation are held by the security forces. Those cells and their inmates are not open to inspection, even by the International Red Cross. Nor does the Red Cross—or anyone else—inspect the special interrogation centres.

Israel: "All the people mentioned were convicted terrorists."

Insight: Not true. Many were never charged, let alone convicted of anything. In its repeated assertions of this point, moreover, Israel seems to us to come perilously close to implying that if the complainants were terrorists then ill-treatment or torture would be justified.

But our main criticism was of the military courts—run by soldiers and not by Israel's judiciary—which deal with security offences in the occupied territories. We said: "Most convictions in those courts are based on confessions by the accused; most of those confessions, the lawyers are convinced, are extracted by ill-treatment or torture; almost without exception, the courts reject that contention."

In its response, Tel Aviv relied primarily on pious assertions that the Zionist state is governed by a rule of law so strict and sacred that obtaining convictions through torture was unthinkable. For example, the government statement said, it is impossible to obtain a conviction based on confession alone. Corroborative evidence is needed.

"Technically correct," the *Sunday Times* writers answered, "but in practice not true."

Israel admits two sorts of corroboration. Truly independent corroboration is needed in cases like rape or when one group of accused has turned State's evidence. But for acceptance of a confession, all that is needed is "something"—in Hebrew *dvar*

U.S. lawyers: 'A policy of torture'

By Arnold Weissberg

Reports of Israeli torture received further confirmation from a delegation of ten U.S. lawyers, representing the National Lawyers Guild, which visited the Mideast in July.

The lawyers charged the Israeli government with "implementing a policy of torture of Palestinian prisoners, maintaining inadequate detention facilities, demolition of houses of Palestinians, deportation of prominent Palestinians, the establishment of illegal settlements in occupied territories, and the deterioration of health care in occupied territories."

John Quigley, head of the team and a professor of international law at Ohio State University, told an August 1 news conference at the United Nations, "We came away convinced that the Israeli government implements a policy of torture for the annexation of the occupied areas."

The spreading plague of protectionism

By Jon Britton

From Intercontinental Press

Americans will be paying more for color television sets and shoes. Thousands of Japanese, South Korean, and Taiwanese workers will lose their jobs. These are the first results expected from recent agreements negotiated by the Carter administration to curtail imports into the United States.

The pacts, known as "Orderly Marketing Agreements," reflect a growing protectionist trend, as U.S. and West European capitalists, backed by flag-waving labor bureaucrats, seek to boost the profits of industries hard hit by foreign competition.

The agreement with Japan, signed May 20, calls for a 40 percent reduction in the number of color TV sets exported to the United States over the next three years.

Recent import figures show why U.S. manufacturers were clamoring for protection: Some 2.7 million sets were shipped in 1976, more than double the level for any previous year and nearly triple the one million shipped in 1975. In the first quarter of this year, the number of sets exported to the U.S. from Japan jumped again, by 40 percent over the same quarter last year.

The agreements with Taiwan and South Korea, signed in June and running four years, will slash imports

Business Week does not give an estimate of the number of jobs Asian workers will lose from the trade restrictions. But in this period of sluggish economic growth it is likely to be substantial.

Voluntary agreement?

Why did Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan voluntarily agree to slash exports of these products to the United States?

Part of the answer is provided by the May 9 *Business Week*, which points out that such "talks are usually conducted with a pistol on the table in the form of a threat by importing countries to cut off access to their markets."

Carter negotiated the recent agreements after getting recommendations from the U.S. International Trade Commission (ITC) that he impose a tough quota system to restrict shoe imports and that he order sharply higher tariffs to keep out Japanese color TV sets.

Business Week observes that "under the Trade Act of 1974, ITC's recent recommendations for tariffs or other import restrictions . . . leave President Carter little choice but to negotiate orderly marketing pacts with major suppliers or face a series of battles with an increasingly protectionist-minded Congress."

Another factor making exporting

competition from Japan, which suddenly looms as a powerful threat, not only overseas but also in domestic markets. The new thrust fits earlier predictions that Japan's future lies in the export of high-technology products. "Our industry is now competing with 'Japan Inc.," declares Wilfred J. Corrigan, president of Fairchild Camera & Instrument Corp. "It's better to address the problem now than wait until it gets too big."

There may be still other factors motivating countries like Japan to voluntarily limit exports in particular commodities. Who knows what military aid or other under-the-table compensations Robert Strauss may have offered the Japanese government in his secret negotiations?

International competition

The new protectionist agreements come at a time of intensifying international competition among imperialist monopolies and of stagnating production, following the end of the long post-World War II boom. Throughout the boom, American technology was exported to other countries, especially to Japan and West Europe, gradually closing the wide gap in labor productivity that had existed.

What happened in steel is typical of trends in a whole series of industries. As the accompanying chart shows, the amount of labor required to produce steel in Japan has dropped dramatically, boosting Japanese productivity from a distant last place among the big imperialist producers only twenty years ago to first place by a comfortable margin today.

Countries that have imported American technology while keeping wages down can wind up with a big competitive advantage. According to the February 12 issue of the *London Economist*, the Japanese industry's labor cost per ton of steel produced is now only 35-40 percent of that in the U.S. and half that of West Germany or Britain.

Japan is not immune to competition either. The July 11 *Business Week* reports that "Japanese steel producers, who have dominated the West Coast and Gulf import markets with cut-rate sales, are now being undersold. An increasing amount of imports from such nations as South Korea, Taiwan, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and the Philippines is hitting the Western U.S."

In fact, the steel industry illustrates well the rising pressures in the United States and West Europe for protection of domestic industry from foreign imports. Here is how the *Economist* of February 12 sums up the situation:

The deep recession in world steel continues. Orders are shrinking. Mills are working well below capacity. Cut-price imports are disrupting markets. More and more workers are being laid off. Several companies in Europe face bankruptcy—or a bail-out nationalisation.

Protection—against Japan, South Korea, South Africa, Spain—is a common plea: tentatively in the United States, loudly in Europe. Even in Japan the industry is sharing out its miserable orders. Everyone is thinking that the recession will pass, and a protectionist covering could then be rolled back. But the short-term crisis hides a secular change in steel production: the rise of third-world countries with the determination and money (if not yet the skill) to do a Japan and build up an exporting steel industry. To whom, then, will the established exporters export? They must begin the painful job of chopping and changing their industries now.

The *Economist* predicts that although Brazil will not achieve its goal of self-sufficiency by 1980, "perhaps a

bit later than planned [it] will turn from being a major steel importer to become a major exporter."

Seeking steel restrictions

In June a series of "exploratory talks" concerning the problems facing the world steel industry began under the auspices of the twenty-four-country Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, which includes all the imperialist powers. U.S. Steel Corporation and other major producers hope that these talks will result in an agreement restricting steel exports to the United States. Donald Nordberg, writing in the June 15 *Christian Science Monitor*, reports that Albert Monnett, an executive of U.S. Steel, warned the annual meeting of AISI May 26 that "the U.S. could become as vulnerable in steel as it is in oil."

In this regard, Nordberg continues, "he echoed warnings by steelmakers in the industrialized nations that the Western world should not allow itself to depend on steel producing in the developing countries."

In other words, the propaganda line first applied against the Arab oil-producing countries is now being extended to the semicolonial world as a whole.

Intensifying competition, overproduction, price cutting, declining profit rates, and rising bankruptcies are ineluctably driving U.S. and West European capitalists towards increased protectionism—trade restrictions in one form or another—to suppress competition and boost prices and profits.

As protectionist pressures mount, the more far-seeing capitalists are increasingly frightened of bringing about an all-out trade war in which new, sky-high tariff walls are erected, choking off world trade. The economic and political consequences would, they fear, be catastrophic for the profit system.

At first glance Orderly Marketing Agreements seem to offer the capitalists a means to have their cake and eat it too. That is, the agreements seem to provide protection for threatened domestic industry and at the same time—since the import restrictions are mutually agreed to—avoid retaliatory actions by the country or countries against whom the restrictions are aimed.

"Such agreements at least avert the dangers of 1930s-style trade wars," the May 9 *Business Week* states hopefully. Richard Levine, writing in the June 15 *Wall Street Journal*, says that Robert Strauss has defended "the orderly marketing agreement as an 'imaginative' tool with which to fend off strong protectionist pressures." And Carter, Levine says, "was hailed as a strong free-trade advocate for his decisions to reject the recommendations of the trade commission on shoes and color-TV sets and to seek marketing agreements."

New Cartels

But doubts persist. According to Levine:

. . . questions have been raised by free-trade supporters about where such an approach was leading. Fears have been expressed by liberal Democratic economists and others that the marketing agreements are little more than a form of "creeping cartelization," a means of dividing world markets.

The doubters are right. The inter-governmental deals are just that, a new form of cartel. Here is how Lenin



Sen. Daniel Moynihan (D-N.Y.) addresses April 13 crowd of 10,000 at anti-import rally organized by textile union bureaucrats.

of shoes from those countries by around 25 percent the first year and allow for modest increases in succeeding years. In 1976 a record 200,000 pairs of shoes were exported to the U.S. by the two countries.

Robert Strauss, Carter's international trade negotiator, played down the inflationary consequences. He was quoted by the May 21 *Los Angeles Times* as claiming that the agreement with Japan "cannot conceivably have an inflationary impact until . . . very late 1978 or very early 1979, under the most adverse circumstances."

But according to the July 4 *Business Week*, the agreements on color TV sets and shoes "are expected to cost the U.S. consumer hundreds of millions of dollars each year."

And Hobart Rowen, in his column in the June 23 *Washington Post*, points out that "in the shoe case, the inflationary impact of the agreement will hit hardest at low-income groups, because the affected shoes are cheap ones, not Italian Guccis or continental Ballys."

countries willing to sign such agreements is the possibility of redirecting their export drives to other countries. This is precisely what Japanese producers did in the case of steel. The U.S. steel industry's mouthpiece, the American Iron and Steel Institute (AISI), complains that an export-limiting deal between Japan and the Common Market countries "stepped up competition in the U.S. market by diverting 1.5 million tons of Japanese steel from Europe to [the United States]."

Another possibility for exporting countries is to reallocate resources to capture markets for different products entirely. The July 11 *Business Week* reports, for example, that Japan is readying a massive government-backed assault on the world semiconductor and computer markets, long dominated by U.S. giants such as Texas Instruments and IBM. And the threat is being taken seriously:

. . . this week officials of some of the most prestigious U.S. semiconductor companies swallowed their pride and trekked to Washington to seek help in dealing with

explained the rise of cartels in the age of monopoly:

Capitalism long ago created a world market. As the export of capital increased, and as the foreign and colonial connections and "spheres of influence" of the big monopolist combines expanded in all ways, things "naturally" gravitated towards an international agreement among these combines, and towards the formation of international cartels.

This is a new stage of world concentration of capital and production, incomparably higher than the preceding stages. . . .

The capitalists divide the world, not out of any particular malice, but because the degree of concentration which has been reached forces them to adopt this method in order to obtain profits.*

Since 1916, when Lenin wrote these words, the "world concentration of capital and production" has gone much further. More and more the leading role in dividing markets among the giant monopolies is being taken over by the capitalist governments. This is the real significance of the Orderly Marketing Agreements.

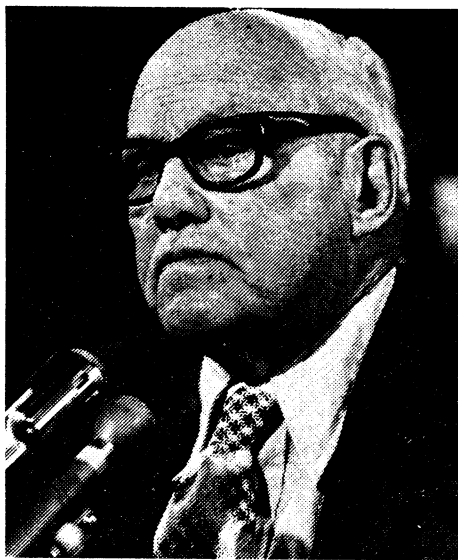
The resort to these pacts also points up the sharpening contradiction between socialization of production on a world scale and the continued existence of the national state, which actively constricts those productive forces.

The hope that these agreements will avoid retaliations and an escalating trade war is similarly misplaced. "... there is an additive quality to such agreements, like any quick fix. It tends to spread," *Washington Post* columnist Rowen correctly observes. "Treasury Secretary W. Michael Blumenthal, the President's chief economic spokesman, warns that their proliferation would mean 'you will have *de facto* quotas in a lot of instances.'"

As the rise in world market demand for goods in one industry after another slows in comparison to the capacity to produce, the spread of these "de facto quotas" will choke off trade no less effectively, if perhaps more slowly, than unilateral imposition of quotas or tariffs.

Retaliation

Retaliation is not avoided; it simply takes a different, more indirect form. In response to the Japan-West Europe agreement on steel mentioned earlier, for example, U.S. steel producers won



GEORGE MEANY: thinks imports cause unemployment.

an order a year ago by then-President Ford establishing a three-year limit on specialty steel imports.

Also there are growing indications of possible West European retaliation against Japan-U.S. agreements, as well as against the onrushing flood of Japanese imports in general. On June 30, leaders of the nine Common Market countries, after a two-day summit, announced that they were instructing "the Community's Commission in Brussels . . . to recommend measures to deal with five 'sensitive' industries," according to the July 1 *Washington Post*.

British Prime Minister James Callaghan, the summit's host, identified the "sensitive" sectors as footwear, textiles, ship building, steel and electronics. European firms in these industries have complained loudly of competition from Japan.

In effect, today's move lays the groundwork for protective barriers, such as quotas or tariffs, against imports.

Indeed, it may take unilateral imposition of tariffs or quotas to "protect" certain of these threatened industries—such as footwear and electronics. Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan will be much less willing to sign away a large chunk of their potential markets in Europe after agreeing to drastically limit exports of shoes and color TV sets to the United States.

Such quotas and tariffs, in turn, are likely to bring retaliation by the exporting countries in the form of protectionist barriers against other goods.

If such a process should be set off in steel, the situation could easily get out



ED SADLOWSKI: says profit drive, not foreign workers, eliminates U.S. jobs

of hand. The February 12 *Economist* warns:

Wholesale protection would preserve the European and American industries in all their present glory. But it would almost certainly lead to a much wider trade war. About half of all manufactured goods traded contain some steel.

As long as markets stagnate and competition intensifies—the prospect for the foreseeable future—government-negotiated protectionist agreements will no doubt proliferate, further constricting world trade and diverting competition in other directions.

Eventually the "protection" the agreements provide will prove insufficient, or governments of exporting countries will simply refuse any longer to be a party to them. The imperialists will then have no choice, within the framework of their profit system, but to resort to unilateral actions to protect their profits where they are most secure—at home.

Cost to workers

Meanwhile, workers of all countries will suffer the terrible effects of the protectionist plague: loss of jobs, soaring prices, a declining standard of living.

The response of the union bureaucrats to this prospect has been to identify the interests of the workers with those of the bosses and to join with the employers to press the government for more protection.

Around such demands, the bureaucrats can be quite militant, and can even seek to mobilize masses of workers—in a carefully controlled

manner of course. For example, on April 13, a demonstration of 10,000 took place in New York's garment district, organized by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union. Similar demonstrations and rallies were reported in about 150 cities and towns across the United States. Their purpose was to pressure Carter for more restrictions on textile imports.

That same day, AFL-CIO President George Meany and the heads of the two needle-trades unions met with Carter. They urged him to slice in half the 6 percent growth in annual textile and garment imports allowed under the Multifiber Textile Arrangement. (According to *Business Week* this five-year agreement, due to expire at the end of 1977, is the oldest and largest—involving forty-one countries—of the trade-restricting pacts.)

Prior to the imperialist economic summit in June, both industry and unions ran virtually identical ads in major newspapers with the same message.

The Abel-McBride leadership of the United Steelworkers union have followed the same class-collaborationist policy. Last year they joined with the steel barons to demand import quotas and tariffs to protect "our" industry and for joint labor-management efforts to increase productivity so "our" corporations will be more competitive.

Ed Sadlowski, the insurgent Fight Back candidate who ran for president of the union against Lloyd McBride, took the opposite position. Speaking in Cleveland to a steelworkers rally last November 30, he refused to absolve the steel profiteers of responsibility for layoffs by blaming imports:

Foreign imports do not have the impact the American steel industry says they do. You can't [blame] a Japanese worker for taking an American worker's job. That's the boss's game. He'd like you to think that.

Sadlowski also rejected the idea of the union cooperating with productivity drives that eliminate jobs:

For every American worker whose job has been lost by foreign importation, five American workers' jobs have been lost because of BOF [Basic Oxygen Furnace—an advanced steelmaking process] shops.

The Fight Back campaign in steel pointed the direction a union leadership must take if it is to offer an effective answer to the unemployment and inflation that are the bitter fruits of protectionism.

**Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, by V.I. Lenin (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House), pp. 112, 126.

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Brutal eviction ends 9-year battle for Int'l Hotel

By Milton Chee
and Alberto Pumarada

SAN FRANCISCO—The nine-year fight to save International Hotel for its primarily elderly, Filipino tenants came to an end here with their eviction early on the morning of August 4.

A combined force of police and sheriff's deputies stormed the hotel, despite a mobilization of 3,000 demonstrators. Nearly forty tenants and 100 supporters were dragged out of the building. In the melee, one person was arrested and at least five others injured.

International Hotel is located in the buffer zone between Chinatown and the financial district. The eviction eliminates the last vestiges of Manilatown, which had served as the center of the Filipino community and the port of entry for thousands of Filipino workers brought in during the 1920s and 1930s as field hands.

Eviction became imminent in late July after the state supreme court lifted an earlier stay. On the evening of August 3, the gathering of a police and

Milton Chee is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for San Francisco Board of Supervisors District 4 and a member of Transport Workers Union Local 250A.

sheriff's strike force in front of city hall alerted the hotel's supporters. Within two hours, about 3,000 people gathered and linked arms, forming a picket line around the hotel some twelve people deep.

At 3:00 a.m. the assault began. With the aid of a fire department hook-and-ladder truck, the police reached the roof of the building. A phalanx of horse-mounted police waded into the crowd, indiscriminately clubbing the demonstrators. The line of defenders withstood three successive forays by riot police on foot.

Under the threat of stepped-up police violence, demonstration leaders called on the crowd to move away from the building. By 4:30 a.m. the first police had entered the hotel.



Sheriff Hongisto may have shattered some illusions in Democratic Party liberals when he led attack on International Hotel.

By 8:00 a.m. the nine men in hardhats began to board up the empty structure.

The building's owners, the Four Seas Corporation, want to raze the building for real estate development. Tenants and their supporters had demanded that the city buy the building and turn its management over to the tenants themselves.

The long struggle starkly poses the need for low-cost housing for the poor, the communities of the oppressed minorities, and those who are on fixed incomes, such as the elderly and disabled.

The hotel's defenders point out that 2,300 housing

units have been demolished in Chinatown in the last ten years. A thirty-block residential area near downtown has been razed to make room for a convention center. Vast stretches of the Black-populated Western Addition in the city have also fallen victim to urban "renewal."

Meanwhile, no new public housing has been constructed. More than 5,500 people are on waiting lists for the available housing.

More than the thousands of other evictions carried out each year by the San Francisco Sheriff's Department, the hotel eviction dramatized how the government and the Democratic and Republican parties stand on the side of wealthy property owners against tenants.

Both Democratic Party Mayor George Moscone and Democratic Sheriff Richard Hongisto had expressed support for the International Hotel tenants. Moscone had claimed that he had attempted every legal maneuver possible. Hongisto spent five days in jail for contempt of court in failing to carry out an earlier eviction order.

Yet the city's Democratic administration spent \$250,000 on the extensive operation that culminated in the final eviction. That sum was about one-third of what the tenants' demands would have cost.

The eviction, like the cutbacks in education and city services, was carried out by Democratic Party liberals. Hongisto said, "It was the most distasteful job I've had since I've been in office." Yet he bragged that he was the first officer to enter the building.

One of the last tenants removed from the hotel, seventy-nine-year-old Felix Ayson summed up the struggle:

"I am crippled. I am deaf. I am very old. Now they're putting me out of here. Do you think our mayor has a place for me? No. No, because I was happy here. I had friends. I had people who cared about me. Where am I going?"

"We can't afford what it will cost to be happy. They say it's the law. I believe it is a very good life and a very good law for the rich people. But it is a very bad law for the poor like me."

French cops attack big antinuke protest

By Arnold Weissberg

Police attacked a demonstration of 30,000 antinuclear protestors in France July 31. One demonstrator was killed by a police grenade and some 100 others were injured, including at least two who lost hands or feet due to exploding tear gas canisters.

The action was held at Creys-Malville, near the Swiss border, where the French government is building a huge, 1,200 megawatt breeder reactor. Local opposition to the project has been fierce, and the "Super-Phénix" is a symbol in the growing battle over nuclear power.

The government launched a campaign of violence-baiting weeks before the demonstration, trying to scare protesters away and to put the blame for the cop violence on the antinuclear movement.

This pressure provided an excuse for the CFDT, one of the two largest French trade union organizations, to withdraw its support. The CFDT is led by members of the Socialist Party.

The CGT, the other big labor federation, never supported the demonstration, using the possibility of "provocations" as an excuse for its inaction. The CGT is led by members of the Communist Party, which supports development of nuclear power.

With the giant Communist Party favoring nuclear power, and the growing Socialist Party taking a hands-off attitude, the task of organizing the protest fell to environmental groups and smaller radical organizations that oppose nuclear power.

The Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire, (Revolutionary Communist League, sister group of the Socialist Workers Party), was actively involved in bringing people to the demonstration.

The withdrawal of the CFDT triggered a debate over violence in the antinuclear movement. Les amis de la terre (Friends of the Earth),

one of the most important environmental groups involved, published a letter in *Rouge*, the daily paper of the LCR, restating its wish for a legal, peaceful demonstration.

However, the absence of the two biggest workers parties helped give the government a free hand, and the demonstration was banned on July 28.

After the police attack, the government used the participation of thousands of antinuclear activists from Germany and Switzerland as a pretext to launch a hysterical antiforeigner campaign, blaming the violence on "German anarchists."



Demonstrator hurt in police attack is carried away

Hit New Jersey, Mass. atomic plants

By Sam Chetta

NEWARK, N.J.—One hundred fifty opponents of nuclear power picketed the offices of Public Service Electric and Gas Company here July 28. PSE&G is the state's largest utility. It operates one nuclear power plant and plans seven more.

The protest was organized by the Safe Energy Alternatives Alliance, which represents fifteen antinuclear groups.

Richard Falk, professor of international law at Princeton University, and Rev. Arthur Jones of the New Jersey Council of Churches, presented PSE&G with a list of grievances. They said they found the meeting unsatisfactory.

New Jersey already has the highest cancer rate in the country. The new nuclear plants will add to that toll with inevitable leaks of radioactive materials.

PSE&G's Salem 1 nuclear power plant has sprung four leaks since last December.

Marching with the protesters was Rich Ariza, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor. Ariza calls for shutting down all nuclear plants now operating.

By Bill Rayson

BOSTON—Seventy foes of nuclear power picketed Boston Edison Company July 26, protesting the company's construction of the Pilgrim II nuclear power plant, to be located only twenty-five miles from downtown Boston.

The picket, organized by the Clamshell Alliance, a leading New England antinuclear group, received wide coverage in local media.

The protesters raised three demands: an immediate halt to construction of Pilgrim II; publicity about evacuation plans for the Boston area in the event of a major nuclear accident; and permission for the Clamshell Alliance to insert antinuclear information in the monthly bills of the utility's customers.

Edison regularly sends out pronuclear propaganda to all its customers.

A company spokesperson said it would need "at least a week" to consider the demands.

Judge gives go-ahead for Hyde amendment, Congress debates form of '78 anti-choice bill

By Nancy Cole

The 1977 Hyde amendment is in effect, and the House and Senate are quibbling over how to word the 1978 ban on Medicaid-funded abortions.

That's where abortion rights stood as Congress recessed for one month August 5.

See page 11 for Women in Revolt column on the House versus Senate anti-abortion bills.

The Hyde amendment is a rider tacked onto the 1977 appropriations bill for the departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare (HEW). Originally proposed by Rep. Henry Hyde (R-Ill.), the amendment outlaws the use of Medicaid funds for abortions, except where the life of the woman would be "endangered."

On August 4 Federal Judge John

Dooling, Jr., lifted the court order that had for ten months prevented the ban on abortions for poor women from going into effect. Dooling himself issued that order when Congress approved the Hyde amendment last fall. He based that decision on the 1973 Supreme Court ruling giving women the constitutional right to choose abortion.

But the high court turned its back on the 1973 landmark ruling June 20 and declared that states can deny public funds for abortion as they see fit. It also ordered Dooling to reconsider his order holding back implementation of the Hyde amendment.

Judge Dooling stepped into line and lifted the order.

HEW Secretary Joseph Califano, an outspoken opponent of abortion rights, immediately decreed an end to federal funds for abortion except "where the attending physician, on the basis of his or her professional judgment, has

certified that abortion is necessary if the life of the mother would be endangered if the fetus were carried to term."

Some states have agreed to continue to pay for abortions for poor women, at least until the matter is settled by Congress and the courts. Among these are New York, Minnesota, Maryland, and the District of Columbia.

Even in these few states, women may not be aware that public funds are available and may turn to alternative back-alley abortionists. "We had five women on Medicaid scheduled to come in this morning, but only three showed up," commented a worker in a D.C. abortion clinic shortly after the ban was announced.

The Hyde amendment, because it is part of an appropriations bill, expires September 30. Before Congress adjourned, it agreed to restrict abortion for poor women but not on exactly how to formulate the ban.

The House wants to retain the wording of the 1977 amendment, okaying funds for abortion only in the event the woman's life is endangered.

The Senate clearly rejected a move to allow funds for abortion without restriction.

Sen. Edward Brooke then proposed an amendment he claimed would be more favorable to women's rights. Brooke's wording would not prohibit funds for abortion where it is "medically necessary" or for the "treatment of rape or incest victims."

That amendment passed. After a House-Senate conference to work out common language, the House again voted for its version August 2 by a 238 to 182 vote.

On August 4 the Senate stuck by its supposedly more progressive restrictions by a sixty to thirty-three vote.

The bill will again be sent to a joint conference after the congressional recess.

Chicago, Kansas City

Protests demand end to attacks on abortion

By Suzanne Haig

CHICAGO—Despite intermittent rain, 300 women and men held a picket and rally for abortion rights at the federal building here August 6.

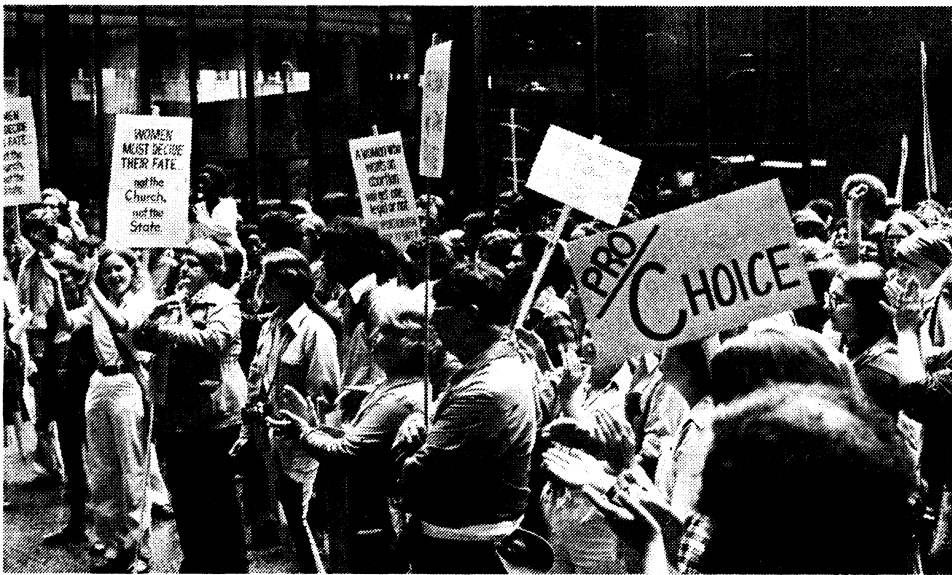
The action protested the federal Hyde amendment, which cuts off Medicaid funds for abortion, as well as two state anti-abortion bills. One is a state "Hyde amendment." The other would require parental consent or a court order for a teen-age woman to obtain an abortion.

Adjacent to the rally were seventy anti-abortion picketers. They billed their action as a "mass demonstration celebrating life" to counter the "litany" of death—their description of abortion rights forces.

The pro-abortion rights rally was organized by the Ad Hoc Committee for Abortion Rights, a coalition including the National Women's Health Network, South Suburban National Organization for Women, Phoenix NOW, National Alliance of Black Feminists, Socialist Workers Party, Abortion Rights Association, and the Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights.

It was the third and largest abortion rights protest organized here since June.

Speakers included Dr. Quentin Young, head of the Department of



August 6 rally at federal building in Chicago

Militant/Nancy Cohen

Medicine, Cook County Hospital; Norma Quintana, Puerto Rican Rights Committee; Arnita Boswell, founder, League of Black Women; Rosa Marie Alvarez, Puerto Rican Socialist Party and Latin American Women Against Abuse; and Brenda Eichelberger, National Alliance of Black Feminists.

"The attacks on the abortion rights of the poor and the young come at a time when women are still struggling for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, adequate child-care facili-

ties, maternity benefits, and affirmative action," rally chairperson Barbara Williams said.

"The poor and young are but the first victims in a continuing campaign on the part of anti-abortionists and women haters to roll back the gains that have been made. Today's rally is but the beginning of our fight to protect the rights of all women to obtain safe and legal abortions.

"We will need teach-ins, picket lines, and more rallies to demonstrate our

opposition to anti-abortion legislation."

By Mimi Pichey

KANSAS CITY, Mo.—Chanting "Keep abortion safe and legal," "We must not lose our right to choose," and "Women must decide our fate, not the church and not the state," fifty supporters of abortion rights picketed the federal building here July 30.

The prochoice picket was called to protest recent attacks on abortion rights. After the June 20 U.S. Supreme Court ruling giving states the right to deny poor women abortions, Missouri Gov. Joseph Teasdale was among the first to order a cutoff of Medicaid funds.

The action was sponsored by the local chapters of the National Organization for Women, National Women's Political Caucus, National Abortion Rights Action League, and Kansas City Women's Liberation Union and Free Choice Coalition.

Participants in a counterpicket of anti-abortionists waved coathangers outfitted with baby clothes and sang, "All we are saying is give life a chance."

The so-called prolife forces here have organized recently to try to prevent construction of a women's health clinic in Overland Park, Kansas, a part of the greater Kansas City area.

Women's rights actions set for Aug. 26-28

Women around the country are marking the August 26 anniversary of women's suffrage with marches, rallies, and fund-raising events to win the Equal Rights Amendment and defend women's rights that are under attack. Contact the National Organization for Women office in your area for more information about activities planned.

CHICAGO: ERA walk-a-thon will gather at 9:30 a.m., August 27, at the Gill Field House, Sheridan Road and Broadway Boulevard. After a 10:30 a.m. kick-off rally walk will begin and return at 2 p.m. for entertainment.

CLEVELAND: Walk-a-thon for Equal Rights will gather at 9 a.m., August 27, at the Art Museum fountain and walk to Edgewater Park.

DENVER: Defending Women's Rights

speakeout at 7 p.m., August 26, at St. Thomas Episcopal Church Hall, 2201 Dexter. Speakers include Peg Ackerman, Colorado NOW state coordinator, on "Why NOW supports Lesbian Rights," and Jean Jackson, Colorado delegate to International Women's Year conference, on "Why Single Parents Need Child Care." Other speakers to be announced.

LOS ANGELES: Fundraising walk-a-thon for the ERA will rally at the Venice Beach Pavillion at 9 a.m., August 27, and begin the walk at 10 a.m. Rally for Women's Rights will be held at Lafayette Park at Sixth and Hoover at 2 p.m., August 28. Speakers include: Ramona Ripston, executive director of Southern California ACLU; Yolanda Nava, Comision Femenil; Linda Ferguson, cochairperson of the National Conference of Black Lawyers; representatives from Cong.

Yvonne Burke's office, NAACP, Coalition for Human Rights, Lesbian Feminists, and the Raza Unida Party.

MADISON, Wisconsin: "Protest Attacks on Women's Rights." Rally at state capitol, 11:30 a.m. August 26, will launch a sit-in in capitol building.

NEW ORLEANS: "More than the Right to Vote: Stop the Attacks on Women's Rights." Rally at Jackson Square, 1 p.m., August 27. Speakers include: Nicki Van Hightower, Houston women's rights advocate; Juanita Tyler, Gary Tyler Defense Fund; Connie Goodly, United Teachers of New Orleans; and Sybal Taylor, vice-president of the Louisiana AFL-CIO.

NEW YORK CITY: "A Day for Women's Rights." March will assemble at Columbus Circle at noon, August 27. Special contingents are being organized by lesbian and gay

rights activists, abortion rights defenders, Black, Latina, and Asian women. March will go to Central Park bandshell at Seventy-second Street for a rally. Speakers include: Ginny Apuzzo, Bella Abzug, Jill Freeman, Betty Friedan, Dorothy Haener, Ruby Jones, Willie Mae Reid, Dr. Helen Rodriguez, Gloria Steinem, and Eleanor Smeal. Walk-a-thon follows at 2 p.m.

PHOENIX: Walk-a-thon will gather at 8 a.m. in Madison Park and march to Encanto Park for a rally for equal rights from 11 a.m. to 2 p.m., August 27.

TACOMA, Washington: "Defend Women's Rights." March will assemble at noon, August 27, at Broadway Plaza near Sears and march to Wright Park bandstand for a 1 p.m. rally.

'GAY AMERICAN HISTORY'

Gay American History: Lesbians and Gay Men in the U.S.A. By Jonathan Katz. Published by Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York. 690 pages, \$9.95 paperback. Also available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.

Gay American History is undoubtedly the best-researched and most complete historical chronicle ever published about the social conditions facing gay men and women in the United States.

This book is organized in six sections: Trouble: 1566-1966; Treatment: 1884-1974; Passing Women: 1782-1920; Native Americans/Gay Americans: 1528-1976; Resistance: 1859-1972; and Love: 1779-1932. In addition, there are 100 pages of notes and bibliography.

Jonathan Katz made a special effort to ensure that lesbians were more than superficially mentioned in the book. Seventy-seven selections are

Books

marked with a women's symbol in the table of contents to indicate they relate especially to women.

After reading Katz's work, you can't help but ask, "Why didn't I know more about this before now?"

In the book you will find contemporary accounts of the hanging and burning of people on the slightest evidence of homosexual activity. You will feel outraged when reading Thomas Jefferson's recommendation that sodomy be punished by castration rather than death. Or that George Washington court-martialed a junior officer for attempted sodomy.

Unfortunately, the oppression of gays is not a part of standard history texts. Gays aren't regarded as legitimate human beings with a history, let alone a history worthy of scholarly research.

Some of history's bigots could well be Anita Bryant's mentors. John Winthrop, the first governor of Massachusetts Bay Colony, gave a flavor of the colonial times in his history of New England:

"One [William] Plaine of Guilford being discovered to have used some unclean practices, upon examination and testimony, it was found, that being a married man, he had committed sodomy with two persons in England, and that he had corrupted a great part of the youth of Guilford by masturbations, which he had committed, and provoked others to the like above a hundred times; and to some who questioned the lawfulness of such filthy practice, he did insinuate seeds of atheism, questioning whether there was a God, etc. The magistrates and elders (so many as were at hand) did all agree, that he ought to die, and give divers reasons from the word of God. And indeed it was *horrendum facinus*, he a monster in human shape, exceeding all human rules and examples that ever had been heard of, and it tended to the frustrating of the ordinance of marriage and the hindering the generation of mankind."

So William Plaine was executed in New Haven in 1646 because the magistrates and elders ("as many as were at hand") extracted a confession of sodomy from years previous in lands far away.

But if the section on "trouble" for gays is horrifying, the "treatment" described by Katz is even worse.

Katz documents the "treatments" in a chronological survey including: castration, hysterectomy, vasectomy, and lobotomy. And it doesn't stop with that. There are various drug therapies, including the administration of hormones, LSD, sexual stimulants, and sexual depressants. Other documented "cures" are shock treatment, both electrical and chemical, and aversion therapy, including nausea-inducing drugs.

The collection provides fascinating insights into the political and social attitudes of those administering therapy.

One selection excerpts a case study by Sigmund Freud of a lesbian. Describing her hostility toward men, her attitudes toward her father, and her envy of the social position of men, Freud concluded,



Militant/Eric Simpson

'Gay American History' is a valuable contribution to the growing movement for gay and lesbian rights. Above, June 25, 1977, demonstration in Albuquerque answers Anita Bryant's 'Save Our Children' antigay crusade.

"Really she was a feminist . . . and rebelled against the lot of women in general."

Another psychoanalyst, Thomas V. Moore, in 1945 described his point of departure in diagnosing homosexuality: "A human being comes into the world to use his powers . . . in the service of God and the social order."

Katz's section "Resistance: 1859-1972" chronicles the broad scope of rebellion among gay men and women, placing it in its historical context.

Katz begins with excerpts from Walt Whitman's poems and Whitman's influence on the two leading English pioneers of homosexual emancipation, John Addington Symonds and Edward Carpenter. Katz also documents some of the exchanges between English and American homosexuals that indicate the influence of Americans in helping to initiate developments abroad.

The book contains a number of appeals for social justice, giving a picture of earlier times. Around the beginning of the twentieth century, for example, Earl Lind wrote two autobiographical works giving arguments for the legal and social acceptance of homosexuals. Katz reprints excerpts that give a fascinating insight into the social attitudes toward gays at that time and a glimpse of one aspect of the gay underground in New York.

Katz includes a great deal of material on the radical and socialist views of many early leaders of gay rights organizations. He also includes excerpts from writings of Emma Goldman, an anarchist organizer and feminist. She defended Oscar Wilde, the homosexual British author, in her speeches and was an outspoken opponent of all laws and customs that oppressed gay men and women.

The earliest documented homosexual rights organization in the United States was the Chicago Society for Human Rights, founded in 1924. Katz reprints some of its early statements and a brief history of the group by one of its principal leaders.

Katz also describes the American reaction in the 1920s and 1930s to *The Well of Loneliness*. This book by Radclyffe Hall was an attempt through fiction to win sympathy for lesbians from heterosexuals. The book sparked a famous censorship case when it was ruled obscene by the courts, and copies were seized by police. It was unavailable for many years.

Katz went to great lengths to include a number of original interviews that shed new light on the formation of the Mattachine Society, Bachelors for

[Henry] Wallace, *One* magazine, and the Daughters of Bilitis—the first major expressions of the homosexual rights movement in the post-World War II period.

Henry Hay was one of the founding leaders of Mattachine. He came from a radical political background, including membership in the Communist Party. (The CP was never involved as an organization, being a supporter of the laws oppressing gays in the Soviet Union. Hay left the CP to devote time to the Mattachine Society.)

Hay describes the early activity of the small group of Mattachine activists, their statement of purpose, and some of the defense cases in Los Angeles.

Several other leaders of the Mattachine Society were members of the Communist Party. During the 1950s, as McCarthyism intensified, a witch-hunt developed inside Mattachine as well. Mattachine's lawyer was called before the House Un-American Activities Committee and refused to testify, citing the Fifth Amendment. At the next Mattachine convention in Los Angeles in 1953 there was a bitter fight over whether or not communists could be members of Mattachine. In the course of the fight the old, more radical leadership withdrew.

The group became "primarily concerned with legal change, with being seen as respectable—rather than self-respecting," as Henry Hay put it.

The story of the founding of San Francisco's pioneering chapter of the Daughters of Bilitis has been covered in other books, including *The Gay Crusaders* by Kay Tobin and Randy Wicker. But Katz's interview with Barbara Gittings on the organization of the New York chapter is new material.

The concluding section, "Love: 1779-1932," collects a number of letters, poems, and essays throughout American history. Some of the letters and poems are quite moving. After reading them, readers may well feel that these were people just like themselves. Only deeply ingrained attitudes, institutions, and customs made their expressions of love "sinful," illegal, and—if discovered—even lethal.

Jonathan Katz has done a service in producing such a rich collection. He has gone a long way in providing a new sense of history for gays.

Out of this understanding that we have been unjustly oppressed for so long, it becomes all the more urgent to say today that 200 years is too long to suffer.

—Michael Maggi

'We're strong & capable'

A talk with Kitty Cone, activist in disabled movement



By Harry Ring

BERKELEY, Calif.—In many respects Kitty Cone seems like a typical product of the radicalization of the 1960s.

Born in the North, she moved to Augusta, Georgia, as a teen-ager. She could not abide the racism there and became active in fighting it.

Later, back North, she continued her antiracist activity. Then she became involved in the anti-Vietnam War movement.

She also became a socialist, joining the Young Socialist Alliance and later the Socialist Workers Party.

(She's no longer a member of the SWP, she explains, because personal problems made it difficult to maintain the responsibilities of membership. But, she emphasizes, "I still support the party and try to convince people to vote for it and to join it.")

In one important sense, Kitty Cone is not a typical radical. She's confined to a wheelchair.

Now thirty-three, she's a victim of muscular dystrophy, and has been reliant on the wheelchair for the past fifteen years.

Recently she was in the news. She was one of the organizers and leaders of the sit-in by disabled people at the HEW office in San Francisco. The action was part of a national demonstration that forced the Carter administration to issue regulations dealing with the rights of the handicapped.

I've known Kitty since she first joined the SWP and knew of her energies and organizing talents. But I hadn't been previously aware of the extent of her involvement in the handicapped movement, and asked her for an interview to talk about it.

Center for Independent Living

She invited me to her office at the Center for Independent Living, a big, bustling Berkeley service center for the disabled. Kitty is a staff member, and explained that many people at the center had played central roles in building the HEW action.

Kitty got involved with the center a couple of years ago when her motorized wheelchair broke.

"You take it to a private dealer for repair," she explained, "and you wait two, three months to get it back."

Someone told her about the repair service at the center. "They repaired it in one day," she recalled, "and I said, 'This place is really far out.' I started doing volunteer work."

Funded by public and private agencies, the center is operated by the disabled. In addition to various social services, it's become an effective lobbying and organizing center for the handicapped.

I asked Kitty how she had become actively involved in the disabled movement.

She explained that Berkeley has a very large disabled community, and many are involved organizationally in the movement. It started her thinking.

"Before," she said, "I looked on my problems as 'personal.' When I came here, I realized that all the frustrations I felt weren't just my problems."

"I began to realize I was discriminated against in all kinds of ways. About 10 percent of the population needs physically accessible housing. But it's available to maybe 1 percent.

"We're discriminated against in employment. An awful lot of disabled people are on welfare. That's not to mention the kinds of prejudiced attitudes that even a child encounters.

"Most disabled children go to segregated schools. They don't have contact with nondisabled children. This begins to set up the communication barriers that result from segregation."

Education for the disabled, she said, is generally inferior. And that applies right through the college level.

"And the job problem," she said, "is enormous." "First of all, you can only work in places that are physically accessible, which limits it at the outset. Then there's the extreme prejudice of the employers."

And that's only the beginning of the job problem, she explained.

High cost of disability

Disabled people have fantastically high expenses. Wheelchairs cost a fortune.

Many disabled people have medical expenses that run into the thousands of dollars every year. So there's a real fear of going off welfare and losing Medicaid benefits.

Then there's the frustration and anger of coping daily with all the enormous, needless physical barriers.

Kitty launched into a discussion of the recent civil rights fight.

Back in 1973 Congress passed a statute, Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act, which said that

recipients of federal funding cannot discriminate against an otherwise qualified handicapped individual.

Four years later, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare—the principal agency affected—had no regulations to implement the law.

A set of regulations had been developed under the Ford administration. But these regulations were not yet in force when the Carter administration came in.

Start from scratch

Then leaders of the disabled community from around the country were summoned to Washington and told by HEW that a task force was being assembled to begin studying the regulations again!

Shortly afterwards, they were advised that major changes were being considered. Key revisions provided for the granting of waivers where compliance was too "costly."

In response to this drive to gut 504, Kitty said, the disabled decided to mobilize public support for their cause.

Involving disabled activists in the fight was not difficult.

"The main reason," Kitty explained, "is that a lot of the people had campaigned for Carter. He had made a very specific statement in support of 504."

"So a lot of people got into this thing called Disabled for Carter-Mondale. They were really mad," she said.

The American Coalition of Disabled Citizens put the administration on notice. They said if the regulations were not signed by April 4, in their original form, demonstrations would be held across the country.

Demonstrations did occur April 5 at eight regional HEW offices. The biggest, longest sit-in was at the HEW office in San Francisco.

One for the records

The offices were occupied April 5 and the people stayed until April 30. It was, Kitty said proudly, the longest sit-in in a federal building in U.S. history.

Throughout, there were between 100 and 150 in the building, including handicapped and some attendants to help them function.

"It certainly wasn't comfortable," she observed, "But after a while people didn't notice the discomfort because there was such a sense of solidarity."

"We were so organized," she continued. "Everyone was on a committee. We had the medics committee, the food committee, the press committee, the morale committee."

"We had an outreach committee, with their bag of dimes, calling unions, church groups, everyone."

"We had a demonstration committee that built four support rallies outside the building. Each one drew 300-500 people."

"We had a fund-raising committee which must have raised nearly \$10,000, which sent twenty-four of us by plane to Washington."

"We had a seminar where we educated ourselves about 504 and what was wrong with the changes they wanted to make."

Proselytized workers

"During the day we talked to the HEW employees, explaining why we were there. They loved us. The local of the American Federation of Government Employees that represents the workers in the building sent letters to Carter and Califano saying they supported our demands and our presence in the building."

The delegation that went to the capital conducted an eight-day blitz. They tried persistently to see Carter or Califano. Both ducked them, literally sneaking out back doors.

They picketed the White House and vigiled in front of Califano's swank home. They held press conferences and visited members of Congress. Support mounted.

"We flew back with a feeling that the regulations would be signed in a matter of days," Kitty said. "And they were signed April 29. It was fantastic! We got 90 percent of what we were fighting for. The changes they made which we didn't like were minor compared to what we got."

Kitty concluded:

"I think we showed anybody who thinks disabled people are weak and frail that we are strong and capable. We gained a lot of pride and self-confidence. More than that, we learned so much so fast—practically everyone in that building became an organizer."

"Something else, that's difficult to talk about. We built these incredible bonds of personal commitment to each other. I think that for many of us it was the first time we ever felt proud of being disabled. That sounds corny. But a lot of us feel proud of our strength and what we were able to do."

Prosecutor presses frame-up of Skyhorse and Mohawk

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—The prosecution has withdrawn its offer of an agreement to end the frame-up murder trial of American Indian Movement activists Paul Skyhorse and Richard Mohawk.

Under the offer, which had been accepted by the defense, Skyhorse and Mohawk would have pleaded no contest to lesser charges, without any admission of guilt, and would have been freed immediately.

But presiding Judge Floyd Dodson, who seems adamant in his determination to railroad the defendants to prison, refused to approve the agreement.

Following Dodson's action, the defense took the matter to the state court of appeals and supreme court, asking that his refusal be set aside.

On August 2, while the Supreme Court was considering the question, prosecutor Louis Samonsky disclosed

he had advised the court that he is no longer party to the agreement.

Samonsky said he changed his mind because he feared that word of the proposed agreement might get to the jury and this might lead them to think he has a weak case.

Which, from his vantage point, is not an unreasonable assumption. But then the evidence itself points even more strongly to the weakness of his case. So far the only "proof" submitted has been the unsubstantiated word of those originally charged with the murder. They were set free after agreeing to testify against Skyhorse and Mohawk. There is substantial evidence implicating them, but not a shred of physical evidence against Skyhorse and Mohawk. Only hearsay, innuendo, and the word of self-admitted perjurers.

In an initial response to the prosecutor's action, defense counsel Leonard Weinglass commented:

"Another broken treaty."

Chicano activist charged in Ariz.

By Dan Fein

PHOENIX, Ariz.—Jesse Lopez, a Chicano activist in neighboring Glendale, is being framed up on charges of bombing Glendale Community College. He will be tried in superior court September 1.

Glendale police say they have information that four persons were in the car allegedly involved in the bombing. Out of these four, only two were charged—Jesse Lopez and Tino Rivera.

The prosecutor offered Rivera five years probation in return for testifying against Lopez. Rivera has been in a mental institution three times and has a record of three felonies.

Why do the authorities want to get Lopez?

In 1971 he was a participant in the Raza Unida Party in California. After moving to Glendale, he organized the MEChA, a Chicano student group, at Glendale Community College. He was elected vice-president of MEChA at



Militant/Glenn Campbell

JESSE LOPEZ

GCC in 1974. He organized the Chicano Service Program at GCC and twice ran for city council in Glendale, stressing the fight against racism.

In the eyes of the reactionaries who run Arizona, all this is reason enough to lock up Jesse Lopez.

The Human Rights Defense League here is organizing support for Lopez.

200 protest sexist ruling on rape by California court

By Chris Hildebrand and Joanie Quinn

LOS ANGELES—Taken to its logical conclusion, a July 20 opinion by the California State Court of Appeals would legalize rape of woman hitchhikers.

Reversing a rape conviction on technical grounds, Justice Compton commented for the court:

"It may not speak well of the prevailing standard of morality in society, but . . . the lone female hitchhiker in the absence of an emergency situation, as a practical matter advises all who pass by that she has less concern for the consequences than the average female.

"Under such circumstances it would not be unreasonable for a man in the position of defendant here to believe that the female would consent to sexual relations."

In other words, she asked for it.

Many women here compared Compton's statement to a similar ruling earlier this year by a Wisconsin judge that a man had responded "naturally to the provocation of a woman by raping her."

Adding insult to injury, the California justices blandly added that no threat of "great bodily harm can be implied from simple amorous overtures and the driving to a secluded location."

Two hundred angry women picketed in a central business district of Los Angeles July 25 to express their

outrage at Justice Compton's statement.

The picket was sponsored by a coalition of women's groups, including the Feminist Women's Health Center, several chapters of the National Organization for Women, the American Civil Liberties Union, Women's Rights Project, the National Lawyers Guild Women's Caucus, and several rape hotlines.

"He [Compton] really should have given a warning to men that a woman hitchhiker is not offering a service," said Joan Robbins of the Rape-Crisis Hotline. "Instead he warned women they should not hitchhike!"

Participants in the picket distributed a leaflet to the lunchtime crowds linking the judge's comments to the generalized attack on minority and women's rights.

"We see Judge Compton's statement as part of the overall reaction against women's demands for equality and control of our bodies," the leaflet stated.

"Other instances of backlash against women and minorities," it continued, "are the Bakke [anti-affirmative action] decision, antigay legislation, cutoff of federal funding for abortions, and several states' refusal to ratify the ERA.

"The judge's message is: That women who hitchhike are asking for sex or rape. The logical extension of this is for women to stay at home."

...gay

Continued from page 8

percent of the people, it becomes easier to extend it another bit and another bit."

Opposition to the Briggs measure will be a central focus of a gay rights demonstration already scheduled here August 20. Initiated by the Human Rights Coalition, the march and rally will also protest increased harassment of gays by Los Angeles police.

If successful, the Briggs referendum would, in effect, nullify a 1975 California statute legalizing all private sexual acts between consenting adults. Adoption of the law had been seen as a victory for gay rights.

Shortly after that law was passed, a "Coalition of Christian Citizens" tried to put a measure on the ballot to have it nullified. But they fell far short of the necessary goal of 312,000 signatures.

If an immediate, effective campaign is mounted against the Briggs measure it can meet the same fate.

...iron range

Continued from back page

cern that the confrontation in the iron range will wreck an experiment that has brought the companies welcome union help in efforts to cut costs through heightened productivity."

Raskin says that in addition to threatening the ENA, the strike could "touch off anew all the explosive elements involved in last February's bitter election battle."

Those "elements," led by Sadlowski, demanded a union that fought for the interests of workers.

Sadlowski and James Balanoff, who succeeded him as head of the union's large Chicago-Gary district, "are giving unreserved support to the ore strikers," the *New York Times* says.

"The companies think they bought an insurance policy against all strikes when they signed the Experimental Negotiating Agreement," Balanoff is quoted as saying. "They're wrong about that. The ore miners have a legal right to do what they're doing under the contract."

Such unqualified strike endorsement has not come from the top officials of the steelworkers union, who appear to be embarrassed by the walkout.

Indeed, there have been some ominous sounds out of the international offices of the USWA in Pittsburgh

Calendar

Aug. 26 ♀ forums

ATLANTA

STRUGGLES FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS TODAY: A SYMPOSIUM. Speakers: Laurie Perkus, SWP candidate for city council president; others. Fri., Aug. 26, 8 p.m. 471-A Flat Shoals Ave. Donation: \$1. Aisp: Militant Bookstore. For more information call (404) 688-6739.

BOSTON: CAMBRIDGE

THE ASSAULT ON THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT. Fri., Aug. 26, 8 p.m. 2 Central Square, Cambridge. Aisp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 547-4395.

MIAMI

THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT: WHAT WE HAVE GAINED. WHERE WE ARE GOING. Speakers: Eva Sanchez, Chicana feminist; Christine Diennan, president of Dade NOW. SWP representative; others. Mon., Aug. 29, 7:30 p.m. Center for Dialogue, 2175 NW 26th St. Donation: \$1. Aisp: Militant Forum. For more information call (305) 271-2241.

RICHMOND, VA.

THE FIGHT FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS. Speakers to be announced. Fri., Aug. 26, 8 p.m. 1203 W. Main St. Donation: \$1. Aisp: Militant Forum. For more information call (804) 353-3238.

where Lloyd McBride, union president, has officially sanctioned the strike, but has also talked about the need for a change in attitude on "both sides" if there is to be a settlement.

"There is little attempt at the parent union's Pittsburgh headquarters to disguise its unhappiness at this initial breach in the no-strike pattern of the last 18 years," writes Raskin. He quotes an unnamed "key strategist" for the union as describing the strike as "madness, a no-win deal for both sides."

Actually, the inflexibility of the steel bosses drove the iron ore workers out on strike.

A victory for the union would give considerable encouragement to steelworkers and other unionists throughout the country in their fight for decent wages and working conditions.

"This is a strike about human dignity," a thirty-year-old strike leader told a reporter.

"We've got to strike, we've got to show the companies we mean business," said another young steelworker, Lee Hall.

The iron ore workers are determined, but they are up against one of the most powerful industries in the world. The fight of the iron ore workers should be the fight of the whole union movement.

INS harasses Balto. Chicano

By Gordon Fox

BALTIMORE—José Luaces's restaurant here, the Spanish Mesón, has recently become a target for harassment by *la migra*, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS).

Migra agents have raided Luaces's restaurant three times in as many months, supposedly in search of "illegal aliens." Each time they have had to leave empty-handed.

The raids have taken place during peak business hours, Luaces told the *Militant*, causing him to lose a substantial number of customers.

"People think I'm selling dope, or I'm selling something stolen, or I'm doing anything but selling food," Luaces said. "And they don't want to come back."

An INS official, Robert Short, told the *Baltimore Evening Sun*, "We have to go there at busy times when everyone is working."

"Most of our checking is done by acting on anonymous tips," Short said. "If we check it out and nothing happens, we usually drop it."

But *la migra* doesn't always "drop it." In Luaces's case, INS stepped up its harassment after the first raid. On one occasion, ten INS agents burst into the restaurant and interrogated the waiters and kitchen staff.

Baltimore has a fairly small and dispersed Hispanic population. Most are U.S. citizens.

Why then is INS subjecting Luaces to such harassment? "Maybe they have too much time," Luaces said, "and they have to make a show of protecting the city from 'illegals.'"

"The immigration law has to be changed," he continued. "There is plenty of work to be done in this country. We should be helping people."

The daily press in Baltimore has given sympathetic coverage of Luaces's case. As a result, an appeal by Luaces to the Carter administration has met with some response. Luaces and other small-business owners who have faced similar harassment in other cities have scheduled a meeting with Immigration Director Leonel Castillo.

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Jon Hillson
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Strike by iron range steelworkers solid

By Bob Fleming

HIBBING, Minn.—Iron ore mines and production plants in northern Minnesota and Michigan are shut down tight by a massive walkout by the United Steelworkers of America.

The strike, which began August 1, is the first major walkout in the steel industry since 1959. It involves some 1,250 local issues.

Morale on the picket lines is high, and local union leaders say they are prepared to stay out as long as it takes to win a just settlement.

"The strike is solid," one local union leader said. "I don't think I've ever seen it this strong."

The strike involves about 18,000 iron ore workers, including some 14,000 workers on the Mesabi Iron Range in Minnesota and 4,000 on the upper peninsula in Michigan.

Plants and mines owned by corporations such as U.S. Steel, Republic, and Inland are shut down by the strike.

The mines on the Mesabi range produce 60 percent of the iron ore mined in the United States, and a prolonged walkout could have widespread effects on the steel industry.

Some of the companies claim they have enough ore stockpiled to last four months, but accurate figures remain secret.

The strikers are a determined and militant group. In Minnesota, iron range workers voted by margins of three and four to one for Ed Sadlowski, who ran for president of the steelworkers union earlier this year on a program of militancy and union democracy. Most of the local union presidents here were Sadlowski supporters.

Sادلowski lost, but the ideas of his campaign—especially opposition to the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement—continue to have widespread support on the range.

'Let it rust'

Before the strike vote, former Sadlowski supporters distributed stickers, which were then pasted on lunch boxes, company machinery, and walls. One popular sticker read, "Shut It Down and Let It Rust."

The vote was overwhelmingly for a strike.

The walkout is "legal" under the Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA). The ENA prohibits rank-and-file votes on contracts and bars a nationwide strike, but permits local strikes over local issues.

Earlier this year, the iron ore unions banded together around local issues and prepared for a possible work stoppage if their demands weren't met.

The steel companies, instead of offering concessions, went into a U.S. district court in Pittsburgh last month and asked for a temporary injunction against the strike. The companies said the strike was illegal under the ENA, and claimed the issues were "economic," not local, in nature.



Strike over local issues involves 18,000 workers, members of United Steelworkers of America.

Judge Daniel Snyder refused to grant the injunction because he said federal courts lacked jurisdiction. However, he said, he thought the strike was a violation of ENA. The companies have said they plan to file suit against the steelworkers union, asking for millions of dollars a day in damages.

An examination of the issues shows that the strikers deserve unconditional support.

A key issue is incentive pay, which workers in basic steel receive under the basic steel contract, but iron ore workers don't get. Incentive pay is based on departmental and plantwide production, and ore workers say they would receive sixty to ninety cents more an hour if they got an incentive-pay plan.

The steel companies have refused to even consider the question.

Grievances piled up

The strike is also over many shop and mine conditions. Since the ENA was signed in 1973, conditions in the iron ore industry have deteriorated for workers because the companies figured that strikes were largely outlawed. The bosses ran roughshod over the workers here, and grievances piled up.

The union bureaucracy was complicated. Pete Benzoni, director of District 33 of USWA in Duluth, sat on the grievances instead of fighting for workers' demands. Benzoni was defeat-

ed for reelection by Linus Wampler, a Sadlowski supporter and now chief spokesperson for the strike.

Among the local strike issues is a demand for seniority in the assignment of jobs. Much of the work inside the steel plants involves maintenance, and some jobs are dirtier, noisier, and more unpleasant than others.

Workers want a seniority system so that they aren't arbitrarily assigned to the worst jobs, which up to now has been the case.

Another demand is for ventilating systems to reduce the dust in sections of the production plants. The union has also asked for lunchroom facilities at some mines where the dusty conditions make it difficult to eat.

Workers are asking a twenty-minute paid lunch break. Currently at some iron ore facilities, workers get a half hour for lunch, but it is unpaid.

Another sore point for some workers is that they are forced to report in fifteen minutes before their shift actually starts to give them time to travel to the open pits where taconite is mined.

Workers have demanded that they either be paid for that fifteen minutes or not have to report early for work.

Some workers have no afternoon break, and the unions are demanding one.

Other demands are for rain gear for those who work outside and warmer

protective clothing in the winter when temperatures can dip to twenty below.

The union has also pressed for air conditioning in the tractor cabins of the earth moving machinery. Temperatures in the cabins in the summer can go over 100 degrees.

Medical care

At the Minntac plant in Mountain Iron, Minnesota, where 3,200 workers are employed by U.S. Steel, a critical issue is the demand for a dispensary with a medic and nurse on duty. Workers also want an ambulance.

The nearest hospital is in Virginia, Minnesota, four miles away. That distance would be too far should there be an emergency.

The company purchased two fire engines in case of a plant fire, but has refused to buy an ambulance.

"Workers should be more important than property and profits," one iron range worker said bitterly.

He described how dangerous it was to work in the plants. A week before the strike, a worker at Minntac was killed when he was run over by a railroad car filled with taconite near an open pit.

The strike has the steel trusts worried. A. H. Raskin, veteran labor analyst for the *New York Times*, reported August 11 that "industry spokesmen privately tell of their con-

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