

THE MILITANT

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

CHICANOS BATTLE GAS MONOPOLY

—PAGE 8

Puerto Rican activists framed in FALN case

—PAGE 4

Carter's welfare plan: new war on the poor

—PAGE 26

LABOR NEWS

Steelworkers

IRON RANGE STRIKE IS
TEST OF STRENGTH. PAGE 6.

Auto

BEHIND 'HEAT WILDCATS'
IN DETROIT. PAGE 7.

Teachers

AFT CONVENTION DEBATES
QUOTAS. PAGE 32.

Miners

60-DAY TRUCE IN HEALTH
CUTBACKS WALKOUT. PAGE 7.

JUDGE THREATENS STEARNS
STRIKERS. PAGE 25.

ABORTION DEBATE IN CONGRESS

How a socialist
would answer
enemies of
women's rights

Speech by Willie Mae Reid
—PAGE 13



Judge orders FBI: open informer files

Major ruling in socialist suit

A federal judge in New York has ordered the FBI to give its files on eighteen political spies to attorneys for the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

Proceeding in unusual secrecy, U.S. District Court Judge Thomas Griesa issued the order in a closed hearing two months ago. His ruling only became public August 19 when

Justice Department lawyers argued against it in the U.S. Court of Appeals.

The socialists have demanded the informers' files as part of their \$40 million lawsuit against government harassment and disruption. The demand to see the files was the first step in a major challenge to the government's use of informers as political weapons. See page 4.

THIS WEEK'S MILITANT

- 3 Attack on Puerto Rican movement
- 4 Socialists' attorneys to see files
- 5 Bert Lance runs into trouble
- 6 Iron range strike: test of strength
- 7 Behind Detroit 'heat strikes'
- 9 N.M. Raza Unida candidate
- 13 Abortion debate in Congress
- 14 Louisville rightists step up violence
- 15 Devlin pays tribute to 'Militant'
- 23 Civil liberties victory
- 24 Little action at SCLC meet
- 25 Judge threatens Stearns strikers
- 32 Teachers union debates quotas
- 2 In Brief
- 10 In Our Opinion Letters
- 11 National Picket Line American Way of Life
- 12 Great Society Women in Revolt Capitalism Fouls Things Up
- 28 In Review
- WORLD OUTLOOK
- 19 Panama Canal treaty debate
- 20 Immigrant workers' upsurge in France

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5,000 SEEK 75 GM JOBS: Five thousand job seekers from as far away as Chicago and Tennessee showed up to apply for seventy-five jobs at a General Motors plant in Muncie, Indiana, August 18. Rumor had it that the plant was about to hire as many as 1,500 persons. Many showed up the day before and spent the night in sleeping bags.

Not only did they not get jobs, but thirty cops were called in to quell the "disorder," and six of the unemployed were arrested.

The International Socialist Review, which would normally appear as a supplement in this week's issue, has been postponed one week.

DIVINE RULE: Despite its passage of laws outlawing race and sex discrimination, the U.S. Congress still runs its own affairs under the order of divine rule. In addition to total exemption from any civil rights laws, congressional employees have no job security and no grievance machinery, and less than half have written vacation or sick plans.

A survey recently conducted by the House Commission on Administrative Review found that only 6.8 percent of the House work force are Blacks, and they're at the bottom of the pay scale. Of the 57.2 percent employees who are women, 68 percent are paid less than \$15,000, compared with 35 percent of male workers. Twenty-four percent of the men make more than \$30,000 while only 1.6 percent of women make that much.

The commission timidly suggested that Congress adopt some kind of affirmative-action program, but stressed that any such plan shouldn't "restrict the prerogatives of individual members to hire whomever they desire for their personal and committee staffs."

THE MILITANT GETS AROUND: The recent *Militant* interview with Peter Camejo on Carter's plan for undocumented immigrants is reprinted in the July 22 issue of *El Papel de la Gente*. The issue also includes an article by Arnold Weissberg on deportations, one on the Coors strike by Miguel Pendás, and one on the fight of East Los Angeles Chicanos against discriminatory auto insurance rates by Chris Hildebrand. Serving the Riverside-San Bernadino area of Southern California, *El Papel* bills itself as "the largest Spanish bilingual newspaper in the West."

FRUITS OF EXPLOITATION: Tejon Agricultural Partners, a California grower, will pay fifty-three farm workers a total of \$100,000 as payment for violations of California's farm-labor law. It was the largest such

New managing editor

Steve Clark, a member of the Socialist Workers Party National Committee, is replacing Nelson Blackstock as managing editor of the *Militant*.

Clark, twenty-eight, was an activist in the anti-Vietnam War movement while a student at Oberlin College from

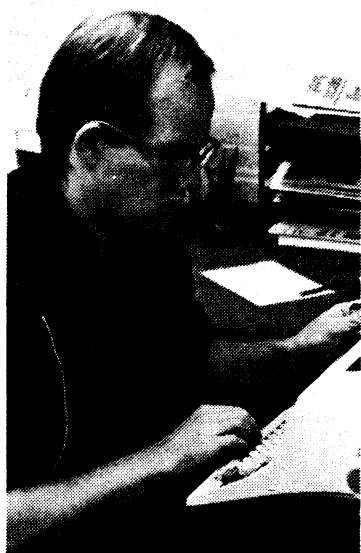
1966-70. After moving to Chicago, he served as staff coordinator of the Chicago Peace Action Coalition from 1971-1973.

In 1970 Clark joined the Young Socialist Alliance, and during the next year, the SWP.

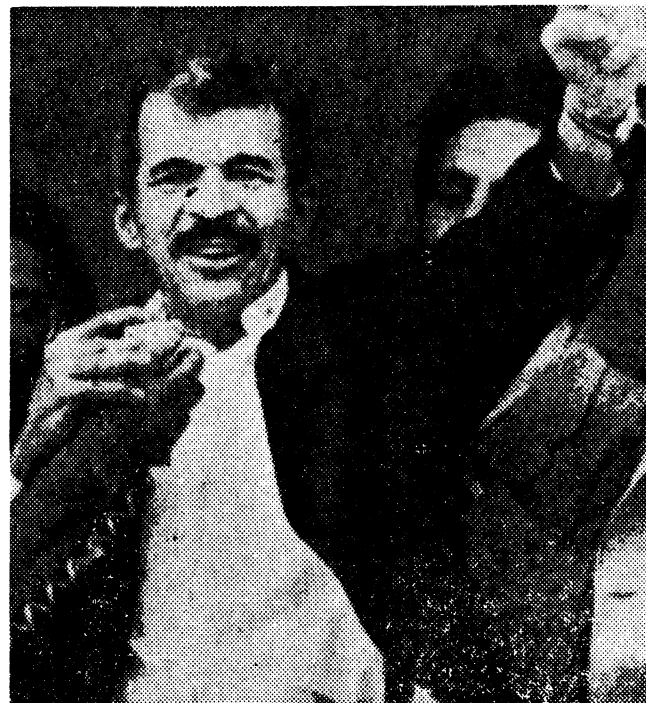
He moved to New York City in 1973 to become part of the national office staff of the YSA. During 1974 and part of 1975 he edited the monthly newspaper, the *Young Socialist*. In 1975 he was elected YSA national secretary.

Since joining the *Militant* staff two years ago, Clark has written on desegregation, international struggles, and the election campaigns of the Socialist Workers Party.

Blackstock is taking on the assignment of helping expand the circulation of the socialist press. The business offices of the *Militant*, *Intercontinental Press* and the Spanish-language *Perspectiva Mundial* have been consolidated. The new combined circulation department will explore ways to increase the readership of all three socialist publications this fall, as well as coordinate an ambitious subscription campaign for the *Militant* and *PM*.



500 greet Puerto Rican Nationalist



Raphael Cancel Miranda, one of five Puerto Rican nationalists held in U.S. prisons for more than a quarter-century, returned to Puerto Rico for a few hours August 20 to attend the funeral of his father. Some 500 supporters of Puerto Rican independence greeted Miranda at the funeral. If he were released from prison as his supporters have demanded, Miranda said, he would 'continue the struggle for the liberty of my country, the same as always.'

settlement in the law's two-year history.

The United Farm Workers Union and the state Agricultural Labor Relations Board charged Tejon with threatening and intimidating workers prior to two union representation elections.

Tejon photographed workers meeting with the UFW and spied on prounion workers, among other things. The UFW lost both votes.

The company has been ordered to hold a new election.

ALLIED'S NEW ALLY: Some time ago Allied Chemical was fined \$13.5 million for damages resulting from Kepone, a poisonous chemical. Ralph Rhodes, who used to work for the federal Environmental Protection Agency, was one of the people responsible for seeing to it that Allied obeyed antipollution laws. Rhodes went to work for Allied June 20 as an adviser to the director of the company's environmental program.

BEAME DROPS HOT POTATO: In an effort to avoid saying anything meaningful during an election year, New York Mayor Abraham Beame backed off from his plan to proclaim August 23 "Sacco and Vanzetti Day." Fifty years ago, Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, two Italian immigrant radicals, were framed up on murder charges and executed.

The simple ceremony honoring the two martyrs originally planned for New York's city hall might have been "construed in poor taste," said a spokesperson for Beame. The mayor recently called for the return of the death penalty.

—Nancy Cole

Sept. 10 will kick off 'Militant' sub drive

Saturday, September 10, has been set as the official launching date for the *Militant-Perspectiva Mundial* subscription drive this fall. *Perspectiva Mundial* is a Spanish-language socialist biweekly.

Socialists around the country are now mapping plans to go all out canvassing for new subscribers. They aim to get a good jump on the 18,000 goal on that date.

If you want to help get new readers for the *Militant*, contact the socialists in your area listed in the Socialist Directory on page 31 of this issue.

If there is no office near you, then contact the circulation office to get your subscription blanks and posters: Circulation Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014. Telephone: (212) 929-3486.

Use FALN bombing as excuse

NYC cops target Puerto Rican activists

By Nelson González

NEW YORK—On August 4, twenty cops, accompanied by FBI agents and bomb-sniffing dogs, knocked down the door of the South Bronx apartment of Vicente "Panama" Alba.

Without warrants, they searched the vacant apartment and then waited until Alba's friend, David Pérez, appeared to pick up his dog. They arrested Pérez and announced they were also seeking Alba.

The raid came shortly after two explosions in midtown Manhattan killed one person and injured seven. According to police, the mysterious Puerto Rican terrorist group FALN took credit for the bombings.

Removed from Alba's apartment as "evidence" of a connection to the explosions was literature demanding freedom for the five Puerto Rican Nationalist prisoners and some stickers with an FALN logo widely distributed at Puerto Rican demonstrations.

The police also claimed to have found a couple of guns, but no sign of explosives. Alba and Pérez say the

cops made up the weapons charge.

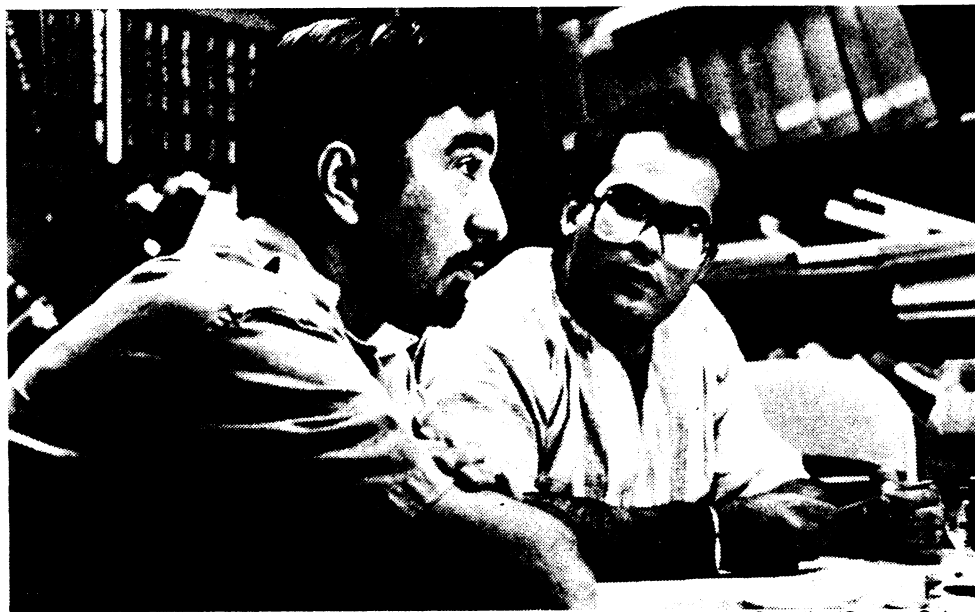
Pérez was booked on charges of illegal possession of a shotgun and a handgun and released on \$1,500 bond.

Alba went into hiding, but voluntarily turned himself into police a few days later. He was charged with the same offense and released on \$500 bond.

Both are scheduled to stand trial September 13.

In an interview with the *Village Voice*, Alba explained why his first reaction was to hide: "Because I was scared for my family and my life. Because I know they killed [Black Panther leader] Fred Hampton in bed and because they killed Sacco and Vanzetti then said they were sorry 90 or 100 years later."

Alba's fears were certainly not unfounded. Democratic Mayor Abraham Beame is running in a crowded primary election with lots of "law and order" competition. During a visit to the site of the FALN bombing, Beame called for reinstating the death penalty as a "deterrent to terrorism."



Guardian/George Cohen

David Pérez (left) and Vicente 'Panama' Alba. 'Evidence' against them included literature on five Puerto Rican Nationalist prisoners.

Three new grand jury victims ordered to jail

NEW YORK—"We have killed no one, bombed no one, committed no crime," declared three Puerto Rican brothers before appearing in federal court here August 22.

Nevertheless, the three were ordered jailed for refusing to turn over information to a federal grand jury supposedly investigating Puerto Rican terrorism.

They could remain in jail until the grand jury's term expires May 8, 1978.

The three are Julio, Luis, and Andres Rosado. Two of them were formerly associated with the National Commission on Hispanic Affairs of the Episcopal Church.

Maria Cuento and Raisa Nemikin, both employees of that commission, and Pedro Archuleta, a

former member, have been in prison since last spring for their refusal to testify before the grand jury.

The three Rosado brothers were ordered to provide fingerprints, palm prints, photographs, handwriting samples, and voice samples.

All three deny they are members of the FALN, the terrorist group credited with a series of bombing in the name of Puerto Rican independence.

They also claim no knowledge of the bombings.

They refused to cooperate with the grand jury because they charge it has targeted the Puerto Rican independence movement for destruction under the guise of investigating "terrorism."

The pressure is on to come up with some "terrorists."

Pérez and Alba deny membership in the FALN, but they are both activists in the movement to free the five Puerto Rican Nationalists, the longest-held political prisoners in the United States.

The *Voice* article by Pablo "Yoruba" Guzman notes, "Pérez's arrest has had the effect of rallying scattered elements of the Puerto Rican movement to his defense."

In the August 12-18 *Claridad*, newspaper of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, columnist José Velázquez describes the stepped-up attempts to harass and isolate the Puerto Rican movement in this country. The ultimate "fishing expedition," he writes, is the arrests of Alba and Pérez.

"If the government is going to put people in jail because they support the struggle for the freedom of the five political prisoners and the independence of Puerto Rico," declared a statement from the Committee for the Freedom of the Puerto Rican Nationalist Prisoners, "then they are going to have to build many prisons for the many tens of thousands of Puerto Ricans, Latin Americans, and North Americans who know and support our just cause."

The Puerto Rican Solidarity Day Committee raised \$330 in bail money for Alba and Pérez. The arrests are an "obvious attempt by the police to use the bombings to frame up independence supporters," committee spokesperson Rosa Borenstein told the *Militant*.

Socialist Workers Party mayoral candidate Catarino Garza sent a letter to Beame charging that Alba and Pérez are the latest victims in the New York City police department's repeated violation of the rights of Puerto Ricans.

Garza called on Beame to make it plain that he "will not tolerate any more violations of those rights and will take action against any police official that violates those rights."

When Pérez and Alba appeared in court August 9, supporters picketed outside.

A similar appeal is being made for their September 13 trial at 9:30 a.m. in Bronx County Court, 215 East 161 Street.

For more information, contact David Pérez and Vicente Alba c/o New York Committee to Free the Five, Box 164, 161 East Houston Street, New York, New York 10002.

Lesbians and gays rally

750 declare 'human rights begin at home'

By Michael Maggi

NEW YORK—"Human rights begin at home—gay rights now!" chanted the 750 people who marched to the United Nations building here August 20.

The recently organized Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights (CLGR) organized the demonstration around four demands: "Lesbian and gay rights now," "End custody discrimination against lesbian mothers and gay fathers," "Human rights for everyone," and "Pass a New York City gay rights bill now!"

The march on the United Nations was "to alert the world that gay men and women are still denied basic civil and human rights," explained CLGR spokesperson David Thorstad.

The rally heard Stuart Russell of the Association pour les Droits des Gai(e)s du Québec and Winfried Kuhn, a student from West Berlin. Besides bringing messages of solidarity to the gay rights movement in the United States, both speakers described antigay discrimination in their countries.

Jim Houghton, a leader of Harlem Fight Black, denounced antigay discrimination. He linked the fight for human rights for gays to the struggle

Blacks have waged for desegregation, jobs, housing, and against police brutality.

Melvin Chappell, youth director of the Greenwich Village-Chelsea NAACP, reminded the crowd that Black and gay rights face many of the same enemies. In Florida, for example, the Ku Klux Klan grand dragon endorsed Anita Bryant's antigay crusade.

It was only a massive civil rights movement that won gains for Blacks, Chappell reminded the crowd.

Noreen Connell, president of the Manhattan National Organization for Women, represented NOW on the speakers platform. The New York NOW chapter endorsed the CLGR march and has invited gay and lesbian activists to be part of the August 27 march for women's rights.

Karolyn Pope, spokeswoman for Lesbian Feminist Liberation, placed the blame for the erosion of democratic rights on politicians from Jimmy Carter in Washington to Mayor Abraham Beame in New York.

Margaret Henry brought greetings from the Socialist Workers Party. "The coalition is just beginning to build the

unity necessary in the movement to carry on the fight for lesbian and gay rights," said Henry. "This fall we should carry the coalition activities onto the campuses and into the communities to continue actions such as this one today."

Other speakers included Barbara Love, a national board member of the National Gay Task Force and a CLGR steering committee member; Jeanne Manford, a founder of the Parents of Gays of Greater New York; Joe Zogby of the Gay Teachers Association; Joe Kennedy from the Gay Activists Alliance; Andrea Gruen, speaking on the issue of lesbian mothers; Father Leo M. Joseph of the Church of the Beloved Disciple; and Ardy Human of Dignity-New York.

The CLGR is continuing its fight for gay rights. The coalition's committee on Intro 554 (New York's gay rights bill) will meet August 30 at the Church of the Beloved Disciple, 348 West Fourteenth Street. A coalition meeting scheduled for 7:30 p.m., September 27, at New York University's Loeb Student Center will discuss strategy and action proposals for the fall gay rights campaign.

For more information contact the Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights, 17 West Seventeenth Street, New York, New York 10011.

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Judge rules in SWP case

Socialists' attorneys to see FBI informer files

By Diane Wang

NEW YORK—A federal judge here has ordered the FBI to turn over complete files on eighteen informers to attorneys for the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

If upheld by higher courts, the decision will be a blow to the government claim that the dirty work of its police spies, including burglaries and provocations, must be kept secret no matter how criminal or unconstitutional those activities are.

The ruling came as part of pretrial proceedings in the socialists' \$40 million lawsuit against government harassment.

U.S. District Court Judge Thomas Griesa actually issued the order about two months ago. At that time, however, he made his decision in a closed session and ordered the ruling kept secret. Only the government lawyers, the socialists' attorneys, and one SWP representative were to know the decision.

Griesa's order only became public August 19 when the Justice Department argued against the decision in a public hearing before the U.S. Court of Appeals in New York.

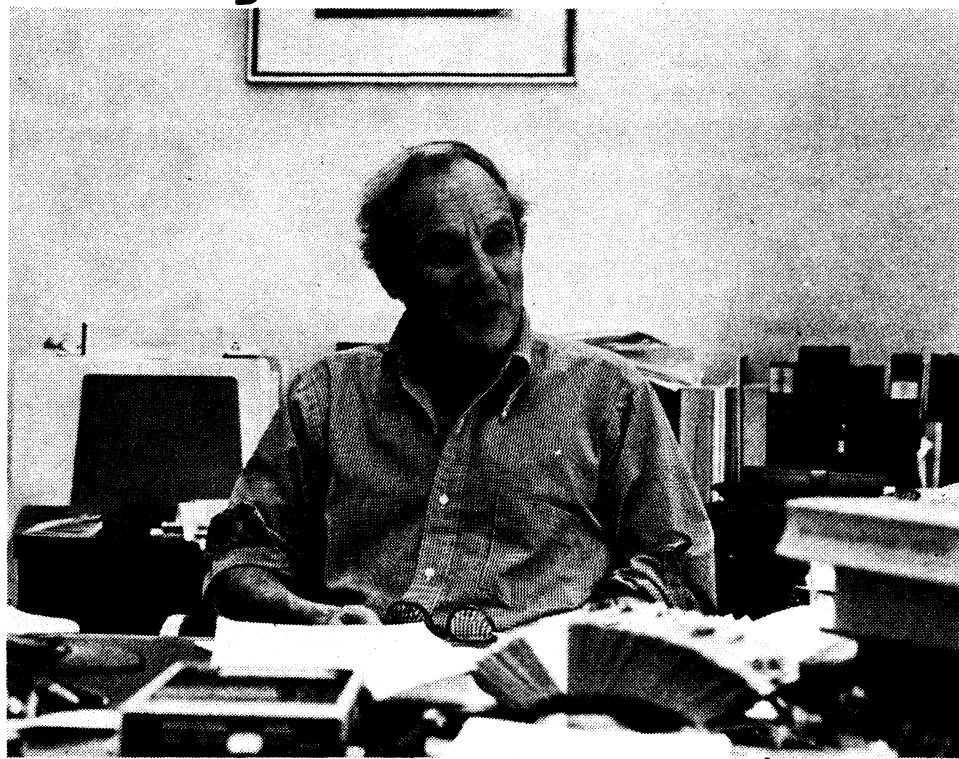
Uncovering the truth

The socialists had demanded files on nineteen informers a year ago, as a first step in uncovering facts about the FBI's use of political spies.

The SWP and YSA already have FBI files on seven informers who were previously identified publicly. The government has also given the socialists summaries about informers' activities. And several months ago the government agreed to turn over one of the nineteen files when that informer became publicly known.

But attorneys for the SWP and YSA have pressed for the complete files of the remaining eighteen informers.

In their legal brief requesting the



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

LEONARD BOUDIN: 'Informers are used not as an attempt to enforce the law but to fight political issues.'

files, the socialists charged that the informers are "offensive weapons employed to attempt to manipulate . . . to sow and exploit discord."

'Implications beyond case'

At the August 19 hearing, Daniel Murdock, a chief assistant United States attorney, argued the government's case. Murdock is not the government lawyer regularly assigned to the SWP and YSA suit. Apparently he was there to show how important the government considers this secrecy issue.

Murdock claimed that the informers would be in danger from the SWP if the files were turned over. "Those eighteen are the ones the plaintiffs

have the most interest in harassing, embarrassing, and humiliating," he charged.

Contrary to Murdock's claim, informers face no retaliation from socialists other than loss of their membership in the SWP or YSA.

It is true, as one FBI official admitted previously in the lawsuit, that informer activity "has always held an unsavory connotation." In that sense, informers might well be embarrassed if exposed.

And some informers who have become publicly known have expressed worries, not about the socialists', but about the government's reaction.

Murdock went on to the heart of the government's argument. "The implica-

tions go beyond this case," he explained. If the informer files are turned over to the socialists' attorneys, "no one in his right mind would become an informer."

The August 23 New York *Daily News* echoed Murdock's complaint. "If the ruling is sustained by the U.S. Court of Appeals," said the editorial, "it would make it next to impossible for the FBI to function against terrorism, subversion or organized crime. Not a person in the country would be willing to volunteer information. . . ."

In other words, if informers and provocateurs can't work in secrecy, they might feel inhibited about compiling political blacklists or carrying out burglaries and disruption operations.

Informers as weapons

In his argument before the three-judge appeals panel, Leonard Boudin, the socialists' attorney, zeroed in on what the case is all about—the government's "attempt to destroy a minority political party."

After almost forty years of "investigation" and dirty tricks, the government has been forced by this lawsuit to admit that the socialists have been guilty of no violence or crimes.

So the government's use of political informers is "not an attempt to enforce the law," Boudin insisted, "but an attempt to fight political issues, whether it was done against Martin Luther King, Jr., in the South or the SWP here. . . ."

Boudin charged that informers don't just collect names and gossip for government blacklists, as poisonous to democratic freedoms as that work is. Even more, political spies are the weapons used in the FBI's Cointelpro disruption program against dissenters.

Judge John Dooling, Jr., asked Boudin whether evidence about informers could be produced in some other way. That would be impossible, Boudin replied. The FBI, he pointed out, has consistently falsified statements ever since the lawsuit began in 1973.

To cite just one example, the government had previously submitted a summary of FBI informer Timothy Redfearn's activities (without actually naming Redfearn, of course). That summary said nothing about how Redfearn obtained his materials.

It was only after Redfearn was caught in July 1976 with materials stolen from the Denver SWP office that his FBI file became public. It turned out that there were previous political burglaries that the government's summaries had covered up.

Fighting for secrecy

The Justice Department appeal August 19 was only the latest in the government's year-long fight to keep the informer files under wraps.

The U.S. Justice Department filed massive legal briefs warning of a breakdown in its entire informer network. FBI Deputy Associate Director James Adams testified to this point in court.

And in an effort to avoid turning over all of the files to the socialists, the FBI prepared detailed summaries of the twenty-five file drawers of material for Judge Griesa.

The government backed up its court arguments with a public campaign. Last September the Justice Department announced it was ending its thirty-eight year "investigation" of the socialists. Instead of operating against the SWP and YSA, it would only maintain cases against individual SWP and YSA members, the government said.

When that maneuver failed to silence

Carter's 'open' government

"It is time for us to take a new look at our own government, to strip away the secrecy."

"I welcome the scrutiny of the American people."

"Each time our nation has made a serious mistake the American people have been excluded from the process."

Remember him? That was candidate Jimmy Carter speaking last fall. He sounded ever so sincere when he promised to end Watergate-style coverups.

But since Carter took over in Washington, he has continued his predecessor's policies of shielding the government from public scrutiny.

The lawsuit by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance against government harassment shows how little has changed.

The suit was filed four years ago, when Nixon was still president. Since then the suit has pried some 100,000 pages of government documents out of secret files. The evidence has revealed FBI burglaries, Cointelpro disruption programs, and other political police crimes. But attorneys for the socialists have had to fight a legal battle every step of the way.

Carter's newly appointed Justice Department has also been unwilling



CARTER

to turn over evidence for the suit.

The decision to appeal Judge Griesa's ruling in an effort to cover up the FBI's political spy network (see article above), is one example. That decision had to be approved in Washington at high levels of the Justice Department.

In addition, when attorneys for the SWP and YSA filed questions for the government, Carter's Justice Department sent them back unanswered with flippant objections.

Deadlines for turning over evidence have also been broken.

Syd Stapleton, national secretary

for the Political Rights Defense Fund, which is organizing support for the suit, commented on the record of the Carter administration:

"Every indication is that the government hopes to stall. They seem to think that if they refuse to provide information the lawsuit will somehow go away.

"Of course, it won't," Stapleton said. "We will fight this footdragging in the courts and do all we can to put public pressure on the Justice Department to turn over the facts."

Officials for three major foundations—the Field Foundation, the Stern Fund, and the DJB Foundation recently wrote a complaint to Attorney General Griffin Bell.

"We note with surprise and regret that since Mr. Carter assumed the Presidency and you the responsibility for the Department of Justice we have been unable to detect any change of policy for dealing with cases such as the *Socialist Workers' Party* case and similar cases recently filed or in preparation, on behalf of La Raza Unida, the Black Panthers, and other groups. The Department's attorneys continue to use every available means to resist discovery of evidence. . . ."

The foundation officials urged the government to stop spending so much money on fighting disclosure, "as the unseemly performance of its lawyers seeks to mask the lawless acts of its agents." —D.W.

'Unsavory' characters

Informer activity "has always held an unsavory connotation," admitted an FBI official in the course of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance lawsuit. A look at some of the unsavory characters and tactics the government has used shows why it is so important to pry open the informers' files.

Take this FBI memo about plans to disrupt the Communist Party, for example. Dated August 28, 1956, the memo says:

"... These informants will raise objections and doubts as to the success of any proposed plan of action by the CP leadership. They will seize every opportunity to carry out the disruptive activity not only at meetings, conventions, et cetera, but also during social and other contacts with CP members and leaders. ..."

Timothy Redfearn was exposed as an FBI informer inside the Young Socialist Alliance last summer after he admitted burglarizing the Denver YSA and SWP office. He had been spurred on to steal documents by hopes for a big FBI payoff.

Robert Merritt operated on behalf of the local police and FBI in several Washington, D.C., gay organizations. As part of his job he tried to incite violence inside the groups. He also recalls spreading rumors that certain gay activists were informers. (In FBI jargon that is known as "putting a snitch jacket" on someone.)

William O'Neal, planted in the Black Panther Party by the FBI, is an example of other ways informers set up victims. He provided the floor plan of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark's apartment for the police attack that ended in the murder of these Panther leaders.

Gary Rowe was the FBI's man in the Ku Klux Klan. He helped the Klan beat prodesegregation Freedom Riders who visited Birmingham, Alabama, in 1961. He also participated in the 1965 murder of civil rights worker Viola Liuzzo.

Howard Godfrey got \$10,000 to \$20,000 from the FBI to set up an arsenal. His right-wing Secret Army Organization harassed and shot at anti-Vietnam War activists in San Diego.

Eustacio (Frank) Martinez worked for the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms as an informer inside the Chicano movement. In one 1970 stunt, he paraded with a shotgun in front of the headquarters of the Chicano Moratorium Committee, which was organizing Chicano opposition to the Vietnam War. He succeeded in provoking a police raid on the office.

No wonder the government wants to keep the workings of its political spy network secret!

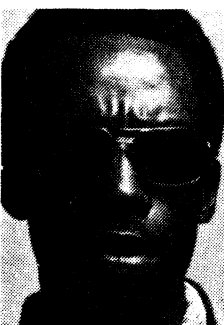
—Diane Wang



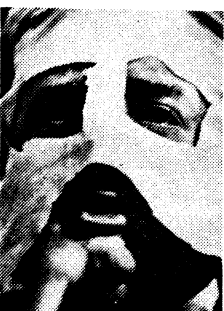
REDFEARN



MERRITT



O'NEAL



ROWE

critics, the FBI retreated another step. In November each of the sixty-six informers the bureau admitted having in the SWP and YSA were told to quit.

"We suggest that you remove yourselves from the SWP and YSA," read the FBI message to informers. "You are not to report to the FBI information concerning the SWP, YSA, their chapters, leaders, or members. ..."

In January (the same day informer Redfearn was sent to prison for burglarizing an SWP office), the Justice Department issued new guidelines that were supposed to legitimize informers' activities.

Actually, these "new" guidelines differed little from the instructions informers were already operating under.

The SWP and YSA have maintained their demand to see the eighteen files. They insist that the FBI name its sixty-six informers to guarantee that the operatives are actually out of the groups and that the government "investigation" has been closed.

Judge Griesa's order to turn over the files to the SWP and YSA attorneys is an interim decision. The socialists will press demands that informer files be made public, not just shown to lawyers in the case.

The court of appeals has not yet announced a decision on the government appeal. Government lawyers have indicated that if this court upholds Griesa's ruling, they will appeal to the Supreme Court.

Political Rights Defense Fund



The Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance have sued the government for an end to spying and disruption. This lawsuit has exposed FBI and CIA attacks against democratic rights.

More than 400 notable supporters of civil liberties are sponsoring the Political Rights Defense Fund, the group organizing support for the lawsuit.

If you would like to be a sponsor of the Political Rights Defense Fund, return this coupon to PRDF, Box 649, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

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State _____ Zip _____

Organization (for identification only) _____

Signature _____

Bert Lance runs into trouble with the press

By Dick Roberts

Bert Lance, it turns out, is a typical small-time capitalist, like his friend, the former peanut farmer. The only trouble is that Lance is head of the U.S. Office of Management and Budget.

This is an unpardonable combination, apparently.

You aren't supposed to have a small-time operator running the budget of the biggest, most rotten, and most corrupt government on the face of the earth.

"Bert Lance should return to private business," the pages of the liberal *New Republic* declare.

"Where were you during the cover-up of the first scandal of the Carter Administration?" asks William Safire from the editorial columns of the *New York Times*. Safire, it will be recalled, used to work for Richard Nixon and sided with Nixon during the Watergate cover-up right down to the end.

And Tom Wicker, from a less conservative corner of the *Times's* editorial page, declares that Lance may not meet the "high standards of personal conduct and reputation that Jimmy Carter pledged his Administration would demand of all its officials."

Leaving Jimmy Carter's pledges aside for the moment, here are the goods on Lance:

1) In order to gain control of the National Bank of Georgia, Lance borrowed money to buy the shares of stock in the bank. The two biggest loans were \$2.6 million from the Manufacturers Hanover Trust Company in New York in 1975, and \$3.4 million from the First National Bank of Chicago last year.

In order to get these personal loans, Lance promised that his Georgia bank would deposit funds in the New York and Chicago banks.

He even got Jimmy Carter to go to Manufacturers Hanover in June 1975 to speak for him. (Just before that Carter had borrowed \$708,000 from Lance's bank.)

Carter, then governor of Georgia, with a promising political career ahead, may have persuaded the giant New York bank to favor Lance. As collateral for the loan, Lance was required to put up shares in the Atlanta bank.

2) Lance also let his family and friends overdraw their accounts in Atlanta. This is the part that galls my colleague Diane Wang on the *Militant* staff. "I'm overdrawn six dollars," she says, "and they've practically closed down my account—leave aside the rude letters."

Lance's wife LaBelle, on the other hand, was overdrawn "generally in the \$25,000 to \$110,000 range," the U.S. comptroller's office reported in a 100-page memorandum clearing Lance of any legal wrongdoing.

3) Lance flew Carter around Georgia in the bank's private plane, free of charge. Had Carter paid for the rides, no violation of the election laws would be involved. It was a "bookkeeping oversight" said Jody Powell, Carter's campaign manager and now White House press secretary.

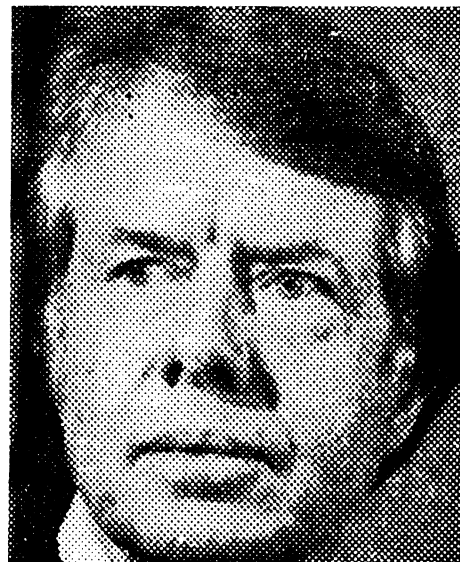
Subsequently Lance's business practices ran into trouble. When he got appointed to Washington, Lance repaid Manufacturers Hanover as promised. But this required taking out the even bigger loan in Chicago. Once again Lance pledged stock in his Georgia bank as collateral for the personal loan.

Now, however, trouble brewed. The value of the Georgia bank stock dropped from sixteen dollars a share to nine dollars, and that meant that Lance's collateral could no longer repay the loan.

What would Carter do? The presi-



LANCE



CARTER

dent had promised no hanky-panky in his administration.

The press brought these weighty matters to our attention.

"The question is not really whether Bert Lance is a criminal who violated specific laws," Tom Wicker explained. "It is whether ... the business community and all the myriad individuals and groups with a vital stake in the Federal Budget now can have confidence in [Lance's] judgment, ethical sense and his basic competence for his job."

Take the case of Lockheed Corporation. Here is a company that certainly does have a vital stake in the federal budget. Lockheed's very life depends on selling billions of dollars worth of missiles and bombers to the Pentagon. Lockheed's annual sales alone are more than 500 times the total debt of Bert Lance.

Moreover, Lockheed (with major plants in Georgia) flew Jimmy Carter around not just five times but many times and anywhere Jimmy wanted, not just in Georgia but all over the world. Are you going to let some two-bit huckster like Bert Lance undermine Lockheed's confidence in the White House?

It is true, as *New Republic* recalls, that Carter gave "all those lectures during the campaign on the wickedness of Washington." But Lance is the one person to whom Carter kept a promise.

Virtually every other high official Carter appointed did come out of the ruling Washington establishment. Many of them were trained by David Rockefeller's secretive Trilateral Commission in New York. They were men such as Vietnam War murderer Cyrus Vance (secretary of state) and nuclear atomaniacs and neutron bomb lovers such as James Schlesinger (energy czar) and Harold Brown (secretary of war).

But Bert Lance is a down-home boy.

Iron Range strike: long test of strength

By Andy Rose

The strike by iron ore workers in northern Minnesota and Michigan—now entering its second month—is likely to be a long, hard test of strength.

On one side are such profit-hungry steel corporations as U.S. Steel, Bethlehem, Republic, Inland, Armco, and National. They own most of the iron mining industry and control the rest.

On the other side are some 18,000 angry workers in the iron ore mines and processing plants. The strikers belong to the United Steelworkers of America. They are young, militant, and determined.

"Morale is beautiful," says Carl Miller, president of USWA Local 6860 in Eveleth, Minnesota. "We are prepared to stay out as long as necessary."

The mines and processing facilities have been completely shut down since the strike began August 1, with the companies making no attempt to operate them.

Negotiations have been deadlocked since the companies forced the strike by refusing to discuss one of the key demands of the USWA locals—for an incentive-pay plan to bring their wages up to the same level as workers in basic steel. Iron ore workers say they would receive sixty to ninety cents an hour more if they had an incentive-pay plan.

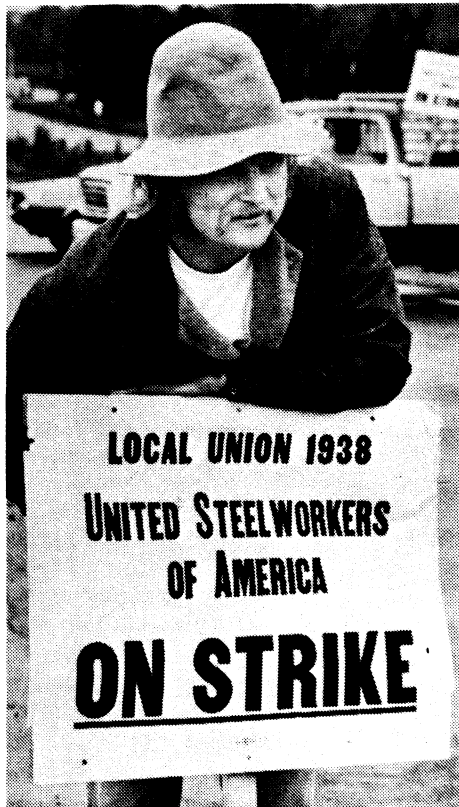
The steel companies claim that incentive pay is an "economic" issue that must be settled in national negotiations under the Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA). The ENA prohibits a nationwide steel strike but allows local unions to strike over local issues.

Incentive pay is only one of some 1,250 unresolved local issues at stake in this strike. Others include forced overtime, seniority agreements, safety standards, health hazards, and many other aspects of working conditions.

The USWA international union has agreed that all of these, including incentive pay, are legitimate local issues. USWA President Lloyd McBride has sanctioned the walkout as "legal" under the ENA.

After three weeks on the picket lines, the strikers became eligible for \$20 a week from the USWA's \$93 million strike fund.

The steel companies tried—and failed—to obtain a court injunction against the strike, claiming it violates the ENA. They have threatened to file a civil damages suit against the USWA for the \$1 million or so per day they are losing in the strike.



But so far the companies have not done so. They are waiting. With unknown but reportedly large amounts of iron ore stockpiled, they figure they can wait longer than the iron ore workers.

These giant corporations—among the most powerful in the world—will not find it easy to beat down the strikers on the Mesabi Iron Range. The strikers are in many ways representative of a new generation of American workers—workers who are not afraid to stand up to the employers, or to conservative union officials.

The iron mining and processing industry has grown rapidly in the past half decade, with new plants built and old ones expanded. Thousands of young workers were hired. Today the average age at some of the big plants is under thirty.

These workers are determined to win improvement in their dirty and hazardous working conditions. "The company gets away with too much," a twenty-three-year-old millwright apprentice told a Minneapolis reporter shortly before the strike. "I don't know what we'll get out of it—maybe we'll get nothing. But at least we'll show that we're not afraid to strike."

A thirty-one-year-old production worker said, "We don't want a strike. Who does? But I'm going to be working for another thirty years. We deserve better than what we've got."

Continued on page 30

Steel notes...

MASS LAYOFFS EXPOSE ENA FRAUD: Job security—that was the big promise when I.W. Abel, former president of the United Steelworkers, signed the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement in 1973. In return for giving up the right to strike, Abel claimed, steelworkers would be safeguarded from the scourge of periodic mass layoffs. Industry and worker would both prosper.

Just five months ago, Abel signed a new three-year basic steel contract under the provisions of the ENA. He claimed the contract scored "breakthroughs" in job security.

Abel has certainly secured his own future—he's retiring to Arizona on a fat pension paid for by the dues of USWA members.

But for thousands of rank-and-file steelworkers, the promises of the ENA are being exploded by a new round of mass layoffs. On August 18 Bethlehem Steel announced it was cutting production 10 percent and laying off 7,300 workers in New York and Pennsylvania. Bethlehem's action comes on top of hundreds of layoffs and thousands of short workweeks scheduled by U.S. Steel and Inland at Chicago-area plants. The future of the Bethlehem workers is bleak, because the company apparently plans permanent shutdowns of several facilities.

WHY BETHLEHEM DID IT: Bethlehem claimed it was "forced" to cut back because of "the impact of imported steel on the domestic market, de facto government price control, the rising costs of labor, materials and services and ever increasing costs of environmental and other government regulations."

This is a cover-up. But Bethlehem chairman Lewis Foy pinpointed the real reason when he said the actions were "to preserve the corporation's financial strength and to enhance the prospect of future profitability. . . ." The company will save an estimated ten dollars a ton in its average steelmaking cost by wiping out these jobs.

The drive for profits—that is the only motivation the steel corporations know. It is the reason the erosion of jobs has continued—and even speeded up—since the ENA was signed. Giving up the right to strike, with the avowed purpose of helping the companies stabilize their profits, has only weakened the union's ability to protect jobs in the only way jobs can be protected—through struggle against the companies.

THE TRUTH ABOUT IMPORTS: Both Bethlehem Steel and USWA President Lloyd McBride put top blame for the layoffs on competition from imported steel. Both demand that the government curb steel imports. The truth about the relation between imports, jobs, prices, productivity, and profits was spelled out in a feature article by Dick Roberts—"Crisis in the Steel Industry"—in the August *International Socialist Review*. Copies are still available for fifty cents from the Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

A VOICE IN THE WILDERNESS: One official of the USWA has spoken out against the fraud of blaming imports for layoffs. Jim Balanoff, District 31 director, called it "outrageous and deceiving" for the companies to "bring up that old bogeyman, foreign imports." He charged that "it is the steel industry's economic policies causing these layoffs." Balanoff is a close ally of Ed Sadlowski and was elected last February on the Steelworkers Fight Back slate. Pointing to the latest round of steel price hikes, Balanoff declared, "It is absolutely criminal the way the industry is raising prices and throwing Americans out of work."



BLACK UNION MILITANT KILLED IN CHICAGO: The following report is from Andrew Pulley, a member of Local 1834 at Pullman Standard in Chicago: "On June 21 police found Don Baptist near a Chicago expressway. Severely wounded by a bashing blow to his head, he was pronounced dead on arrival at the hospital."

"Don worked at Youngstown Sheet and Tube. He was a well-known Black union militant in USWA Local 1011. He was a member of the Ad Hoc Committee of Concerned Steelworkers and also helped distribute the newsletter of STRUTS, a Black steelworkers group based at U.S. Steel South Works."

"Don played a role in the decision of his local to demand as part of their contract that Youngstown Sheet and Tube halt all further purchases of chrome from the white-minority regimes in South Africa and Rhodesia."

"Who killed Don Baptist? Police have yet to answer this question. His money, watch, and ring were all found on his beaten body, so robbery was not the motive. His car was in perfect shape, so no car accident was involved."

"Perhaps Don was murdered by the cops. There has been a rash of killings by cops in recent weeks. Or maybe some right-wing adversary wanted him dead."

"The union ought to do everything possible to uncover the truth, and pressure the police to mount a serious investigation and bring the killer to justice."

Q&A ON COORDINATED BARGAINING: The latest issue of *Steelworkers Voice*, newsletter of the Subdistrict 4 Council of Steelworkers in Pittsburgh, features questions and answers on coordinated bargaining. Is coordinated bargaining possible for steelworkers in small shops? Is it true that some small companies can't afford to pay higher wages? What can small USWA locals do now to strengthen their bargaining position?

For some thought-provoking reading on the problems of small-shop steelworkers, write for a copy from the Subdistrict 4 Council of Steelworkers c/o Chuck Leonard, 71 Berry Street, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15205. You can subscribe to *Steelworkers Voice* for one dollar.

—Andy Rose

New attack on right to strike

In response to the militant walkout by iron ore workers, top officials of the United Steelworkers have sent up a trial balloon about further restricting the right of steelworkers to strike.

The August 24 *Wall Street Journal* reports: "Hoping to ease the companies' fears that the iron-ore walkout will offer a precedent for even more local-issue strikes over disputed issues in the next round of bargaining in 1980, some USW bargainers have weighed proposing an amendment of the ENA [Experimental Negotiating Agreement] itself. These union officials believe the pact should provide that if company and union bargainers are unable to agree whether a demand is a legitimate local issue, the question should be submitted to the same arbitration panel that is charged under the ENA with settling unresolved industry-wide issues."

This proposal, if implemented, would strip away the last bit of bargaining muscle from steel locals. The companies would be free to stonewall on local issues, confident they could get any dispute bogged down in arbitration without facing a strike.

Steelworkers have the right to decide what are strikeable issues—not arbitrators.

It is significant that the union tops confided their proposal to a big-business newspaper, not to the members.

One of the most popular demands of Ed Sadlowski's campaign was that the steel union ranks be allowed to vote on the Experimental Negotiating Agreement. The latest maneuver to take away the right to strike even on local issues makes that demand even more timely.

—A.R.

Board pledges 'no cuts or no contract'

Striking coal miners accept 60-day truce

By Nancy Cole

Striking coal miners began returning to work August 23 after a two-month-long wildcat. The strike involved up to 85,000 miners, nearly one-half of the working members of the United Mine Workers of America.

Many miners agreed to end their strike after the UMWA International Executive Board held a special meeting in Charleston, West Virginia, August 22. Leaders of West Virginia's District 17—the union's largest district and the center of the strike—had demanded the board meeting.

By the following day, half of the strikers were reportedly back at work.

The twenty-four-member board voted unanimously to call on the miners to return to work for sixty days while attempts are made to settle the issue in dispute—the cuts in health benefits for all UMWA miners.

If the cuts have not been restored within two months, the board resolution stated, UMWA President Arnold Miller will terminate the union's contract with the Bituminous Coal Operators Association.

In that event, "there will probably be a nationwide strike," said Jack Perry, president of District 17.

Miners first started walking off the job on June 20 after the UMWA health and retirement fund announced that miners and their families—some 800,000 beneficiaries in all—would have to pay up to \$500 a year for medical care. Previously they paid nothing.

The fund also cut subsidies to fifty coalfield clinics, which are dependent for survival on the payments.

The health fund is run by a board of trustees, including a representative of the BCOA. It is financed by royalties paid by the coal companies on each ton of coal mined and each hour worked by UMWA miners.

The BCOA claims that unauthorized strikes depleted the funds, necessitat-



Striking miners in Washington August 6 to protest cuts in health-care benefits

ing the cuts. The striking miners contend there are other reasons for the lack of money, including delinquent payments by the mineowners.

Strikers also charge the BCOA is trying to discipline miners for their frequent unauthorized work stoppages.

The UMWA requested that funds from the retirement fund be temporarily reallocated to cover the health costs, but the BCOA vetoed this move.

Miller and other union leaders repeatedly ordered the miners back to work, contending that the issue could only be settled at the bargaining table. The current contract expires December 6.

The strikers have demanded a federal investigation of the administration of the fund.

On August 19 Secretary of Labor Ray Marshall called a news conference to announce that the government will conduct a routine check on the fund but would take no further action to restore the cuts.

Claiming the financial problems of the union fund weren't the "responsibility" of the Labor Department, Marshall nonetheless took the chance to make clear his opposition to the strike:

"Since the health and welfare fund derives its revenues from the production of coal, these work stoppages are

only making a bad situation worse," he said.

The August 22 meeting in Charleston was planned only for the executive board and District 17 officials. But more than 400 angry miners pushed their way into the room and insisted on staying.

After the board meeting, striking miners from District 17 met and voted to return to work for the sixty-day period.

"We're not too hopeful of their doing anything, but at least it's a start," said District 17 member Hayes Holstein. "We're going to go ahead and try for sixty days, and then we come out again."

Intolerable conditions trigger auto wildcat

By Robert Miller

DETROIT—Workers at Chrysler Corporation's Trenton engine plant brought production to a halt for nearly a week in a demonstration of solidarity with workers fired for allegedly leading a heat walkout July 24.

During the summer heat wave, spontaneous strikes broke out at several Detroit-area auto plants to protest intolerable working conditions.

Resentment had been growing among the 4,500 Trenton workers since they learned of Chrysler's plans to victimize workers accused of fomenting the July 24 wildcat.

On August 8 Chrysler announced that six workers, including chief steward Robert Paolucci, would be fired. Seven others were given disciplinary layoffs, and forty-one more received written warnings.

That afternoon some 200 employees walked out and began picketing the plant gate. Production ceased entirely the next day and was not completely resumed until August 15.

Many of the angry strikers had also left the Trenton plant on July 24. They said the temperature inside the plant then had reached 120 degrees. "We're not animals. We couldn't take it," Paolucci said.

Chrysler moved quickly to halt the picketing by obtaining a court order and summoning riot-equipped police. Chrysler charged that the walkout was illegal.

In response, workers said that Chrysler had reneged on promises to

ease high temperatures in the plant, that passes to leave work were hard to obtain, and that Chrysler had disciplined the workers without prior notification.

Role of union leaders

Robert Smith, president of United Auto Workers Local 372, called a meeting on the second day of the walkout. He urged members to return to work and said the strike was illegal.

"We told them we would ask the international union for strike approval if they went back," Smith told reporters. "They told us to go to hell."

The international also ordered the Trenton employees back to work. Not until the evening of August 12, however, did strikers vote to end the walkout and have the union negotiate for the rehiring of disciplined workers.

The militant strike at the Trenton plant followed similar actions at auto plants throughout Detroit.

In late July, three workers at the Lynch Road assembly plant received telegrams from plant management informing them that they had been fired for allegedly participating in and leading an unauthorized work stoppage; 359 other workers received notice they would be disciplined.

This attempt to single out individual workers for a walkout involving most of the plant prompted the Lynch Road Shop Committee to vote unanimously to call a protest meeting at UAW Local 51 offices on July 20.

Nearly 1,000 workers gathered out-

side the union hall to demand an end to all victimizations and disciplinary measures. The afternoon shift at the plant, which employs a high proportion of young and Black workers, refused to enter the plant until their fellow unionists were rehired.

The wildcat strike was not able to win rehiring of the victimized workers. But organizing on their behalf continues among the 4,000 employees at Lynch Road.

The lead in defense organizing has been taken by supporters of the United Coalition, a predominantly Black group of rank-and-file members that was formed after a 1972 wildcat at the plant. Coalition members are seeking to win widespread support for the fired workers and mobilize the full power of the union for their defense.

One worker killed

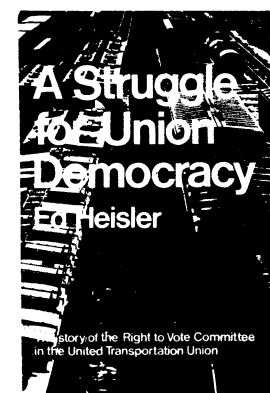
During the July heat wave, temperatures in some plants rose as high as 130 degrees. The drive of the auto corporations for profits, and their indifference to the safety of workers, led to the death of Grant Schneider, a twenty-one-year-old Ford foundry worker killed by heat prostration. Many other workers had to be carried from the plants because of the heat.

The 6,000 employees at Dodge Truck were forced off their jobs by heat on July 4 and 5. Chrysler responded by denying vacation pay for the July 4 holiday and by firing eleven workers.

Trudy Hawkins, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Detroit,

called for an end to the victimizations and declared her solidarity with the struggle to win rehiring of the fired workers.

"The capitalists deny people the right to work under safe conditions," Hawkins said, "since money is more important to them than the welfare of their employees. That's why the workers, and not the capitalists, must run the plants."



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.

Chicanos battle gas

By Bruce Kimball
and Pedro Vásquez

CRYSTAL CITY, Tex.—A big Texas gas supplier is threatening to pull the plug on the inhabitants of a small, poverty-stricken town.

This may sound like the plot of a melodramatic movie. But for the people here in Crystal City, the threat is very real.

LoVaca Gathering Company has announced that on August 27 it will cut off deliveries of gas to this small Zavala County city unless it comes up with \$720,000 to satisfy LoVaca's corporate greed.

The \$720,000 represents the sum of rate increases LoVaca has charged Crystal City from 1973 to 1977, *in violation of the company's contract agreement*. Crystal City has refused to collect or pay that increase, an almost unprecedented step in resistance to utility hikes (see fact sheet).

Crystal City is in one of the poorest areas of Texas. More than 65 percent of its residents have incomes below the federal poverty level. When the rate increases went into effect in early 1975 so many people here were unable to pay the 700 percent hike that the city quickly reversed its decision to cooperate with LoVaca. Even to this day, residents are still paying off back debts accumulated during the two months the higher rates were charged.

So far, the utility company has been prevented from turning off the gas by legal challenges and public pressure.

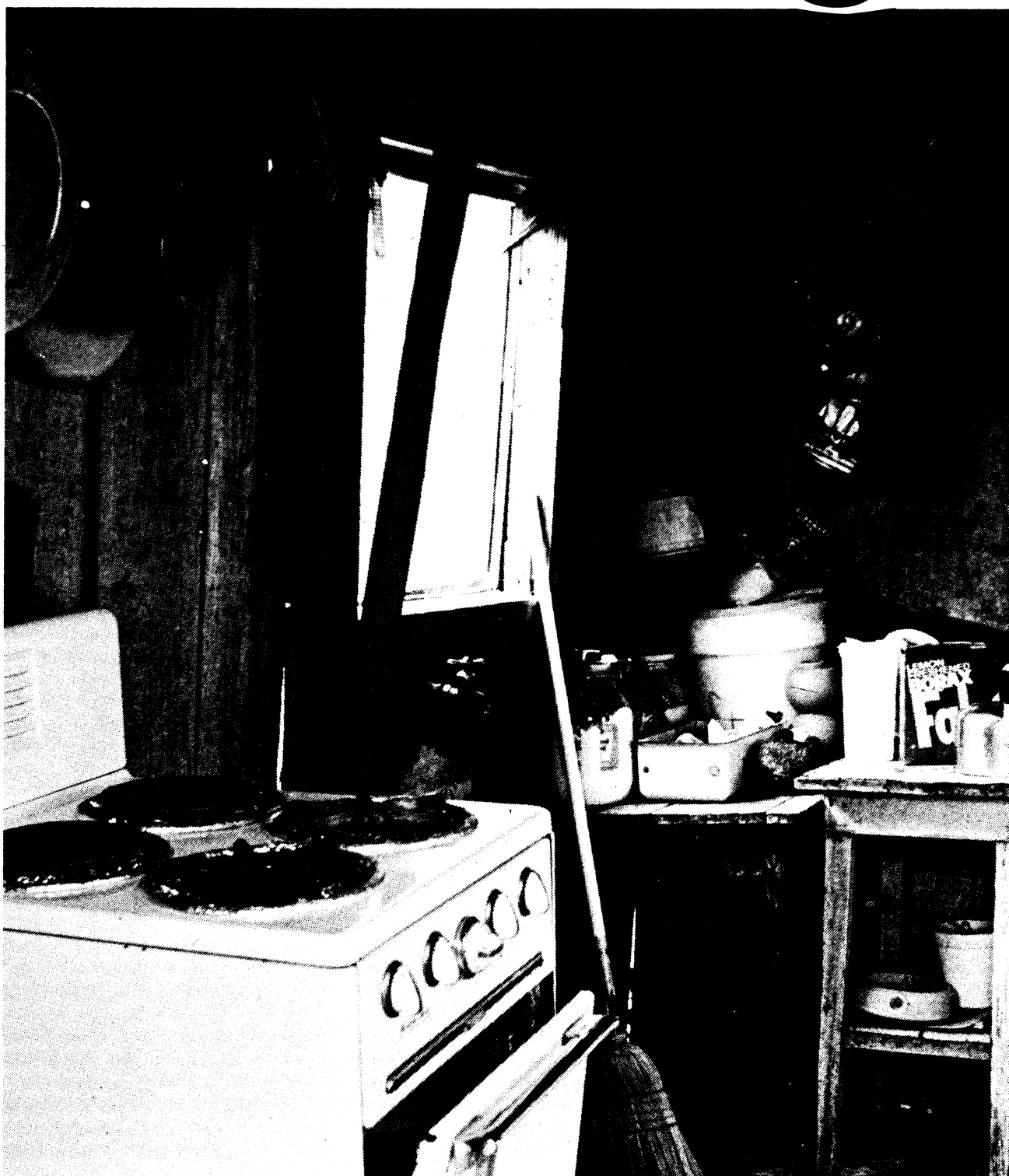
But the state courts and the Texas Railroad Commission have unanimously backed LoVaca's right to unilaterally increase prices and to cut off customers who are unable to pay.

This green light has led to a stepped-up campaign by LoVaca to force Crystal City to pay up or lose its gas supply. LoVaca is also growing more desperate in its drive to smash the town's resistance, since the utility wants to increase prices even further September 1.

LoVaca obviously fears that Crystal City's refusal to pay the price increases could have a "snowball effect" on other towns and cities, challenging the company's profits.

Faced with such high stakes, LoVaca has conducted a massive media campaign, attempting to turn Crystal City residents against city officials. A large ad appearing in the August 18 *Zavala County Sentinel* said, "It is with genuine regret that the company is taking this action concerning the Administration of The City of Crystal City because we realize that it is the citizens of Crystal City who will be inconvenienced. We urge you to start making plans as soon as possible to shortly cease using your gas appliances and any equipment which uses natural gas."

Other forms of pressure have also been used. José Mata, Zavala County commissioner and president



Militant/Howard Petrick

Lo Vaca's threatened gas cutoff would make the lives of Crystal City's poor even harder.

of Ciudadanos Unidos, a local affiliate of the Texas Raza Unida Party, told us that LoVaca has also put pressures on the local bank, which has made several loans to the city.

Unfortunately, the Raza Unida Party here has

been weakened since 1975 by a split between Ciudadanos Unidos and a group called the Barrio Club. The Barrio Club has since won control of the Crystal City Council, although the Ciudadanos Unidos still occupies the key Zavala County posts.

Crystal City lawsuit

By David Salner

SAN ANTONIO—A last-ditch effort to block LoVaca's August 27 cutoff of Crystal City's gas supply has been mounted in U.S. District Court here. This lawsuit, filed on August 15 by the Winter Garden Project of Texas Rural Legal Aid Inc., also calls on the Texas Railroad Commission to open new hearings on rate increases.

The LoVaca Gathering Company and Texas Railroad Commission are the major defendants in the legal action, although the Crystal City administration has also been named for legal reasons.

"We are attempting to represent consumers," Paul Rich, project attorney, told the *Militant*. "This is a class-action suit on behalf of poor people on fixed incomes. They have been denied the opportunity to effectively participate in the process that led to confiscatory increases on the part of LoVaca, with the blessing of the Texas Railroad Commission."

At the opening hearing August 17, presiding Judge John H. Woods repeatedly interrupted Rich's opening statement with questions such as: "Irreparable injury is not the sole criteria—what gives us

the jurisdiction to interfere with LoVaca's business?"

In other words, if LoVaca needs to sacrifice some poor people so that it can increase its profits—what's the beef?

Despite these interruptions, Rich presented a powerful case. He charged that the people of Crystal City had been denied due process, since they had not been given a voice in deciding on the rate hikes. The increases were in violation of LoVaca's contract, but the railroad commission gave LoVaca the go-ahead nonetheless.

Rich contrasted the hardships that would face the people of Crystal City with LoVaca's steadily climbing profits (see fact sheet).

Many migrant workers, Rich said, will be returning to Crystal City in November to face a winter-time without heat and other gas-fueled necessities unless LoVaca is barred from cutting off service.

"The fact that people are injured by it [the cutoff] is not the only thing to consider," Judge Woods responded. He later announced that he would rule on the case by August 24.

Bob Watts, counsel for LoVaca, spelled out what some of the "other considerations" might be. He said an injunction against the cutoff would mean that "other customers would view this as a mandate not to pay the rate increases."

This is a serious danger, as the capitalists and their government representatives see it. They fear that more of the heavily Chicano south Texas towns supplied by LoVaca will follow the example of Crystal City's Raza Unida Party administration.

How far would this "snowball effect" go? Perhaps outraged community groups would begin to raise the idea of open hearings or of an independent commission representing Blacks, Chicanos, and other working people, who represent the bulk of LoVaca's consumers.

They might even demand that LoVaca open its books. Or they might raise the idea of nationalizing LoVaca under their own control, if the utility refuses to provide gas at reasonable rates.

Fear of this "snowball effect"—as well as sheer greed for the \$720,000—is behind LoVaca's threat to pull the plug on Crystal City August 27.

LoVaca Fact Sheet

SAN ANTONIO—LoVaca Gathering Company, a subsidiary of Coastal States Gas Producing Company, is the sole supplier of gas to about 400 Texas towns and cities, including San Antonio. More than 4 million individual consumers are entirely dependent on LoVaca for energy.

- In 1973 Crystal City and other customers had a contract with LoVaca that set gas prices at thirty-six cents per 1,000 cubic feet.

- That same year, the Texas Railroad Commission approved LoVaca's request to sidestep its contractual obligations and begin a series of rate increases.

- In response, the Raza Unida Party-led city council in Crystal City voted to continue paying the contractual rate, but no more than that.

- The towns of Carrizo Spring, Eagle Pass, and Uvalde also refuse to pay the increases to LoVaca, although they collect them from the residents. (Unlike Crystal City, these cities have not yet been faced with a cutoff date.)

- Rates here in South Texas have skyrocketed from an average of six or seven dollars per month to nearly forty dollars per month. In San Antonio an average of 156 people are forced to plead their case every day with the city public utility office.

- In September 1975 a district court approved LoVaca's right to cut off gas to customers not paying the disputed debts.

- In March 1977 LoVaca and three of its suppliers were found to be fudging their figures to justify another rate increase. Faced with the growing scandal, the railroad commission was forced to deny permission for this increase.

- On August 15, 1977, LoVaca announced \$3.9 million in profits for the first six months of 1977, compared with \$1.7 million for a comparable period in both 1976 and 1975.

(Lo Vaca earnings were not included in an August 4 report when Coastal States reported six-month profits of \$40.7 million, compared with \$29 million in 1976.)

Under pressure from LoVaca's threats, resistance by city officials has begun to weaken. On August 18 a special meeting of the Crystal City Council laid out new terms that the city would be willing to meet to prevent a shutoff.

City officials agreed that they would begin charging the new gas rates set by LoVaca. They also offered the utility the rights to any gas or oil found under a thirty-three-acre city park, as well as control over the city's gas pipe-line system.

Not satisfied with these concessions, LoVaca continues its squeeze for more blood. Don E. Newquist, vice-president for public affairs of LoVaca, said on August 16 that he is pessimistic that Crystal City and LoVaca can reach an agreement unless the city comes up with a "front end" cash payment in the range of 20 to 25 percent of the \$720,000 debt.

Many people here say that such a payment would bankrupt the city.

What if Crystal City's resistance actually leads to a shutoff? Many residents believe that it would be no worse than paying LoVaca's full rates. That would be equivalent to a shutoff, since many would not be able to pay the bills.

As José Mata told us, "The general opinion of the citizens is that there's no way people can afford to pay. Whether they cut the gas, or just charge the rates they want, it will be the same thing. A large percentage of our citizens won't be able to afford those rates."

The residents of Crystal City, led by the Raza Unida Party, have fought courageously in the past against the Democrats and Republicans, the representatives of big business. Today they are fighting against one of the corporate monopolies that controls Texas politics.

Their refusal to buckle to LoVaca's demands has provided an example for others in Texas to follow. It has gained numerous allies for them—alleys who stand ready to support and defend them. That support for Crystal City is urgently needed now.

N.M. Raza Unida candidate

'I like telling people what I think'

By Harry Ring

LAS VEGAS, N. Mex.—Isabel Blea is a somewhat shy, soft-spoken person who definitely does not fit the picture of a backslapping politician. Yet La Raza Unida Party of New Mexico has nominated her as its candidate for governor.

At its recent state convention, the *partido* also elected her state chairperson.

In an interview here, Blea discussed how and why she became active in La Raza Unida and why she's running for governor.

Blea has been working on a master's degree in bilingual education at the University of New Mexico's Highlands campus here, and she is considering going for a Ph.D.

Now thirty-two, Blea grew up in Clayton, a town of about 3,000 in northeastern New Mexico. She has three children.

When she came to school at Highlands, she was already active in Raza Unida, having joined in Clayton.

She decided to become a bilingual teacher, she explained, "because I didn't like the kind of education children were getting in Clayton. They call it bilingual education, but it's not that, really."

"I thought maybe the way to change it was to get my credentials and go back and be a teacher. I've applied for a teaching job there," she continued, "but I haven't received an answer from them."

Why not?

"Well, I did get in a few scraps with the superintendent there about their treatment of little *chicanitos*.

"They were forbidding them to speak Spanish in school. I didn't think the children were getting a proper education, and I told them so."

"That was when Raza Unida had just barely begun there. I got into it right away. And I thought that, being part of Raza Unida, it was my business to go to the city council and the school board and tell them what I thought."

Blea knew very directly what it meant to be a *chicanito* in the Clayton school. "When I went," she said, "I didn't know any English at all. They should have taught me the subjects in Spanish until I learned English. There were quite a few in the same situation, and a lot got really behind."

"Now," she continued, "most kids do know English when they go into school. So I think they should teach them Spanish. Most of the bilingual programs don't really do that. They keep them at the kindergarten level in Spanish. They should learn to speak, read, and write Spanish well."

Why did she get involved in Raza Unida?

"At that time I was thinking mostly of the discrimination that Chicanos suffer—in employment, school, just about every place."

"I knew something about the evils of capitalism. But since then I've learned a lot more, and I've seen that the only way we'll get equality is through socialism. And I don't want equality just for Chicanos. I want equal opportunity for everybody."

Why was she selected as state chairperson and nominated for governor?

"I really don't know why they chose me," she replied.

Part of it may be, she added, because she's been quite active in the *partido*, having previously served two terms as state secretary and previously as county secretary in Clayton.

"And," she adds, "I've always been very critical of the *partido* when I think it's wrong, and I state what I think. I guess that's why."

Previously, the idea of a woman becoming chairperson or running for office might have evoked debate. But it didn't at the *partido*'s state convention, because "earlier we had already had a big argument—or discussion, I'd say—within the *partido* on women taking leadership roles. And the *partido* had already agreed that women should be taking more of a leadership role." Had she helped initiate the earlier discussion?

"Yes. I remember one meeting—I wasn't the only woman there, but I was the only one that was for this idea. The people weren't against women taking leadership roles. But I wanted a statement in the principles we were drafting saying that women should be taking leadership roles and that we should have a position on the women. They didn't agree with that."



Militant/Cindy McCarver

ISABEL BLEA

"Well, at the next meeting I had some more supporters, and finally it was agreed. The section that was written on women is very good."

"Chicanas—and women in general—are beginning to see that they have been oppressed and are trying to do something about it," she said.

She feels her campaign for governor will contribute to dealing with the problems of Chicanos generally, and the problems of Chicanas in particular.

"That can come about," she said, "just by raising the issues. Like I went to the International Women's Year conference, which wasn't something real radical. But I did raise the issue of child care."

The resolution before the body, she explained, called for a sliding scale of nursery fees. Blea proposed an amendment that child care be provided by the government without charge.

The amendment didn't pass, Blea said, "But quite a few people agreed with me."

She said she looks forward to the campaign and the opportunity it will provide to get onto television and into the newspapers, "to bring out the things I think are wrong with this society, with this system."

Although she doesn't particularly relish public speaking, she said, "I do like telling people what I think. Especially those that don't agree with me. Some people will listen. Some may not agree with me. But at least it's something that might make them think a little. And after a while, maybe they will agree with me."

Does she have confidence that people will ultimately come to see the need to change the world?

"I think the world will make them see what they have to do. For example, the way prices are rising while wages are standing still, people aren't going to be able to live. They're going to have to do something. I think that's what's going to make people start listening and changing their views."

RUP ticket

The New Mexico Raza Unida Party is fielding a slate of six candidates in the 1978 elections:

Juan José Peña for U.S. Senate;

Isabel Blea for governor;

Manual Archuleta for lieutenant governor;

Larry Hill for attorney general;

Enrique Blea for U.S. Congressional District 1; and

Mario Holguin for U.S. Congressional District 2.

August 26

August 26 marks the fifty-seventh anniversary of women's suffrage. It was not until a militant and massive movement finally triumphed in 1920 that women were granted the legal recognition that they too are citizens, capable of thinking and voting their opinions.

In 1970 women by the tens of thousands chose August 26 to demonstrate their determination to complete the unfinished business of their suffragist sisters—to win total equality.

Since that resurgence of feminism, August 26 has been a time to celebrate victories along the way to equality.

This year, the anniversary is a good time to reflect on where the struggle for women's rights stands.

The Equal Rights Amendment—a simple constitutional statement of equality first introduced into Congress *three years after the vote was won*—is still not law. Nineteen months remain until the deadline for ratification by thirty-eight states will relegate the amendment to history.

The enemies of women are embroiled in a drive against the ERA, as well as abortion rights, affirmative action, and child care. Their target is the rebellion of women. And pulling the trigger are Congress, the Supreme Court, President Carter—and the Republican and Democratic parties that run all three.

The suffragists constructed a movement that relied on the masses of women and refused to subordinate the demands of women to the needs of capitalist parties and politicians. They withstood intense pressures and repression. And they won.

Theirs is an example for today.

Recognize China

Secretary of State Cyrus Vance is now in China to discuss "normalization" of relations with the Peking government.

Actually, Washington should have recognized the government of mainland China nearly thirty years ago. That was when the victory of the Chinese revolution expressed the will of that country's workers and peasants to be rid once and for all of Chiang Kai-shek's corrupt capitalist regime.

Since that time, the remnants of Chiang's army, which fled to the island of Taiwan, have continued to make the ridiculous claim that they are the legitimate government of China.

American working people have nothing to gain from Washington's continued role in lending credence to this counterrevolutionary charade. We have no interest in the Pentagon's encirclement of China's real government, using outposts in Taiwan, Japan, the Philippines, and throughout Southeast Asia.

On the other hand, we have much to gain from the increased trade, travel, and cultural exchanges that would be opened by U.S. recognition of China.

Peking demands that Washington break all diplomatic and military relations with the phony Taiwan government and withdraw all U.S. military personnel and material from the island.

The Carter administration should immediately meet these just demands—and with no strings attached.

Reverse Bakke

The Carter administration's announcement that it will argue in favor of minority-admissions programs when the U.S. Supreme Court hears the *Bakke* case this fall is a blow to opponents of affirmative action.

As such, it is also an aid to those of us fighting to reverse *Bakke*.

Defending the minority-admissions plan at University of California Davis Medical School will mark a departure from the Carter administration's hard-line opposition to affirmative action quotas.

Why the change?

Since the Supreme Court announced it would review the *Bakke* decision, an outpouring of sentiment for its reversal has come from Black, Latino, Asian-American, and women's rights groups.

In addition, Carter is under increasing pressure to make a show of meeting at least some of the needs of the oppressed minorities—in order to blunt the mounting criticisms of his administration and to head off a repetition of the social explosion triggered by the New York City blackout.

These same realities are at work on the Supreme Court too.

Now is an extremely good time for supporters of affirmative action to redouble their efforts to reverse the *Bakke* decision.

Letters

Reader from afar

I was really happy when I came across a copy of your newspaper last December.

I was impressed, hence I wish to be one of your regular readers from here. Kindly send me your subscription form for six months or one year by air mail.

I would also appreciate some of your magazines and books on socialism.

M.K.A.

Kano, Nigeria

Required reading

This letter is to inform you of the fact that I will soon be released on parole. Please to not forward the *Militant* to this address for me any longer.

I wish to thank you for the subscription that you sent to me during this incarceration. It was beautiful reading news issues not patterned after those of the bourgeois capitalist presses. The *Militant* will definitely be required reading once I am released.

A prisoner

Stormville, New York

Freud on homosexuality

Michael Maggi's review of *Gay American History* in last week's *Militant* quotes Sigmund Freud on the case of a lesbian feminist. Since some bigots try to use Freud as proof that homosexuality is "sick," I thought readers would be interested in the following letter from Freud to an American woman, written April 9, 1935:

"I gather from your letter that your son is a homosexual," Freud wrote.

"Homosexuality is assuredly no advantage, but it is nothing to be ashamed of, no vice, no degradation, it cannot be classified as an illness; we consider it to be a variation of the sexual function produced by a certain arrest of sexual development. Many highly respectable individuals of ancient and modern times have been homosexuals, several of the greatest among them (Plato, Michelangelo, Leonardo da Vinci, etc.). It is a great injustice to persecute homosexuality as a crime, and cruelty too. . . .

"By asking me if I can help, you mean, I suppose, if I can abolish homosexuality and make normal heterosexuality take its place. The answer is, in a general way, we cannot promise to achieve it. . . .

"What analysis can do for your son runs in a different line. If he is unhappy, neurotic, torn by conflicts, inhibited in his social life, analysis may bring him harmony, peace of mind, full efficiency, whether he remains a homosexual or gets changed. . . ."

Diane Wang

New York, New York

Role of art

Art, in itself, is not "revolutionary," as Adolfo Esteva correctly points out (*Militant*, July 15, 1977). It doesn't organize the masses, and it doesn't bring about social change. It can, however, deal with subject matter that is "revolutionary."

Be it poetry, painting, or song, art is only capable of "reflecting" a particular stage of class struggle as seen through the eyes of the artist. I believe it can be a tool in the same sense, but to a much lesser degree, as the *Militant*.

James F. York

Denver, Colorado

Herb Magidson

Herb Magidson, a man who supported and participated in many progressive causes, died suddenly of a heart attack here in mid-July. He was in his early fifties.

Herb was a well-to-do businessman, who at the same time had a deep social consciousness.

In the early sixties he became very concerned about the Vietnam War, and he founded Individuals Against the Crime of Silence. The group drew up a declaration protesting the war and began asking everyone to sign it.

From Los Angeles, the declaration spread and was signed by literally tens of thousands of people throughout the country. Then it went international.

As the antiwar movement began to develop, Herb played a valuable and nonsectarian role in helping to build it. He took the position that whatever people did to protest the war, he was for.

He supported all the major antiwar coalitions and here in Los Angeles gave the National Peace Action Coalition a lot of help. Not that he always agreed with NPAC's methods of fighting the war, or, for that matter, with other groups he supported.

He made his home available to help raise funds for the antiwar movement. And he contributed his own money.

I remember what an important role he played on the West Coast, when we were working to win support for the Fort Jackson 8—Andrew Pulley and seven other GIs who were court-martialed for opposing the war.

Herb was a political-minded person but didn't really have a thought-out ideology. He was a sort of gut humanist, but in the best sense of the word. He was genuinely concerned about people.

One of his last efforts was to help the defense of Paul Skyhorse and Richard Mohawk, the American Indian activists being framed for murder.

You got a sense of all the people Herb touched by the attendance at his funeral. There were Blacks there, Chicanos, Asians, and people from a whole spectrum of political views.

At the funeral a very moving tribute was read from Ralph Schoenman who had worked with Herb when Schoenman was secretary of the Bertrand Russell Foundation. Schoenman made the point that Herb's purse, heart, and mind were open to every worthy cause.

The last time I saw Herb was when there was a big picket at the Newport Beach tennis tournament protesting South African racism. As usual, Herb was there on the line for the entire afternoon.

Leo Frumkin

Los Angeles, California

'Two justice systems'

I am doing time here because I am Black and poor.

Most poor people are not capable of defending themselves from the state or of claiming their rights and benefits.

Lawyers for the poor grow inured to the daily injustice of ill-prepared trials—quick guilty pleas and the unending stream of clients who are not people, but cases or numbers.

We have two justice systems in America. There is your first-class justice system for the rich, and we have a second-class justice system for the poor.

But there cannot be second-class justice. For if justice is not equal, it is injustice.

A prisoner

Ohio

National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



Losing in the primaries

Some people more equal?

Possibly the whole question of gay rights could be solved by the government with a minimum of difficulty if it were to legislate the fact that gays are nonhuman. After all, this seems implied by the actions of the president, who is too busy to concern himself with human rights for this segment of the population.

Think of how much energy could be saved!

Seriously, it is infuriating to see Jimmy Carter and other members of his entourage champion human rights, while ignoring the denial of rights to people in the United States. Perhaps if I were a politician I could more easily reconcile this discrepancy, but as it is, I cannot.

Or is it that some people are more equal than others?

J.C.G.

State College, Pennsylvania

Pornography and rape

An article on pornography and rape appearing in the June issue of *War Cry*, published by the Tucson Rape Crisis Center, suggested that pornography featuring violence against women causes rape and that we should make pornography a crime.

I disagree with both ideas.

Pornography does not cause rape. Pornography and rape are both caused by the same thing—a society divided into classes of exploiter and exploited and the use of the patriarchal nuclear family to restrict human sexuality.

To make pornography a crime is to institute censorship. Who will decide what to ban? The profitable business of pornography won't be eliminated by censorship. Instead, gay newspapers and feminist publications will be the victims. The government will go after "permissiveness"—a word to describe people who disagree with the establishment.

The article should have pointed out that there are already laws against rape and child abuse and against photographing these vile actions, not that the real crime is distributing the photograph.

Alberta Dannells

Tucson, Arizona

Dirty tricks afoot?

I have recently moved and left a forwarding address. It is quite interesting to note that all my mail, including other newspapers and magazines, has been forwarded along to me at my new address, except for the *Militant*. It makes me think that perhaps the post office would rather that I didn't receive the *Militant*.

I would just like to add that I enjoy very much reading the *Militant* and look forward to its arrival every week.

W.B.
Minneapolis, Minnesota

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.

Primary elections seldom attract much attention or many voters, but they always cost money. Candidates draw from the usual sources. Business concerns expecting fat government contracts, and union officials seeking favors, contribute. The September 8 New York City primary is no exception.

Of the seven hopefuls in the Democratic Party race for mayor, the four front-runners had each collected more than a half-million dollars three weeks before election day. Mario Cuomo, backed by New York Gov. Carey, got the most—\$765,407. Incumbent Mayor Beame, endorsed by the Democratic Party machine, gathered and spent \$666,250; former Congresswoman Bella Abzug, \$556,535; and Rep. Edward Koch, \$500,531.

None of these candidates has ever done anything to advance the cause of organized labor, nor does any of them promise to. Of course, they all say they want to help poor people, provide jobs for unemployed workers, and be fair to everyone—so long as none of this interferes with private profits.

They also agree that Mayor Beame and the city bankers did about all that could be done to solve the city's "fiscal crisis." City workers had to be laid off, public services reduced, school funds cut, welfare slashed, and rents raised.

Why would any union contribute money to these candidates? How is it possible for workers to win anything in such a field? It is not possible, but that doesn't stop treacherous union officials from laying bets.

Cuomo picked up \$25,000 from the United Industrial Workers of North America, an affiliate of the Seafarers' International Union. The Communications Workers union gave him another \$25,000, and say they will be "the arms and legs" of his campaign. The Machinists also support Cuomo, as do the Steamfitters, Painters, and Printing Trades Council. It appears as if he will have the most union support at election time as his chances of winning improve.

Bella Abzug picked up \$10,000 from District 1199 of the hospital workers union. She is also supported by the Fur and Leather Workers, the Motion Picture Operators union, and the Marine Engineers Benevo-

lent Association.

Koch could claim support of only one local of the Furniture Workers, but hopes to get more union money if he can look more like a winner.

Mayor Beame, despite his antiunion record in office, has the endorsement of the AFL-CIO Central Labor Council, Joint Council 16 of the Teamsters union, and the personal endorsement of John DeLury, who heads the badly hit city sanitation workers union.

The two largest unions of city workers—the 100,000-member District Council 37 of state, county and municipal workers, and the 70,000-member teachers union—have held off endorsing any candidate. Albert Shanker, teachers-union president, said that an endorsement decision would be made in late August, before the primary. District 37 Director Victor Gotbaum announced a neutrality policy in the primary, but says a choice will be made in the event of a runoff.

Shanker and Gotbaum like to think they are "influential leaders" in New York politics, but they play the same game as other union officials. They try to pick winners among the capitalist candidates, hoping somehow to cash in. Beame is one of their past winners, and he paid off with fake promises. So they pretended to be wiser, but whatever they learned wasn't much.

The basic political philosophy of all these subervient union officials was expressed last June by Teamster official Barry Feinstein, who is head of the New York State Public Employees Conference. When asked on a TV show why he and other union officials had endorsed Beame after the mayor laid off more than 40,000 city workers and snatched more than \$500 million from their pockets, Feinstein said:

"We are convinced that Abe Beame will, for the next four years, maintain the open-door policy between the municipal labor unions and his own office, so that we can work together in what will be very difficult times ahead."

They have no reason to expect anything different from any other mayor . . . so long as they serve him as well as they have served Beame. Their campaign contributions are a token of their willingness to serve, regardless of who is elected.

The American Way of Life

Profiting off porn

As a political issue, pornography is unusual. The question of censorship aside, *pornography: pro or con* is a lopsided debate. Almost nobody openly defends porn per se—and yet it flourishes.

What pornography lacks in political clout, it makes up for in economic power. Its supporters maintain a low profile, voting with their wallets and keeping more silent than Nixon's "silent majority."

With all the hush-hush and embarrassment that goes along with this business, its economic side tends to be hidden as well. Those who profit most are most anxious to conceal the fact. But a couple of investigative reporters for the *New York Times* conducted a search of real-estate records and turned up some interesting information.

First of all, they found that only four realty concerns are landlords for about a quarter of mid-Manhattan's lucrative "sex industry." These four firms lease buildings to thirty "massage" parlors, book-and-peep-show shops, prostitution hotels, and theaters that display X-rated movies or "live acts." Among these landlords are some of New York City's major real-estate operators—one firm runs an office-building empire valued at \$450 million.

When the reporters questioned these wealthy gentlemen, those who didn't immediately slam the telephone down made two recurring points. First, the "sex merchants" are among the few who can afford the high rents in the middle of Manhattan Island. And second, they said, while they abhor porno as much as the next guy, they're powerless to do anything about their tenants' operations.

Most of the pornographers pay more than \$100,000 a year in rent—about double the rate charged to other

tenants for comparable space. And the unfortunate, helpless landlords stoically submit to their distasteful predicament.

Enter Abraham Beame, running for reelection as mayor of New York. Naturally he would prefer that voters forget his role as the cutback artist who has slashed city services to the bone. So a few months ago he set himself up as an "antismut" crusader—an act of great political courage, considering how the masses are howling for smut.

Anyhow, he formed a blue-ribbon panel of notables and named it the Committee to Clean Up Times Square. No sooner was the committee announced than one of its members—one Seymour Durst—was revealed to be a major porno landlord. Beame huffed and puffed and demanded Durst's resignation.

Durst owns some buildings that house X-rated movie theaters. When approached by the *Times* reporters, he "insisted that he had no control over the use of the theater and that he was not making any profit from the theater rentals of \$80,000 and \$70,000 a year."

Pornography, like prostitution, exploits and degrades women for profit. Both are social problems generated by the sexual repressiveness of capitalist society, and neither can be repressed out of existence by police methods. Censorship against pornography, and imprisonment of the triply exploited prostitutes are false and dangerous solutions. These institutions can only be eliminated by cutting off their social roots—the profit system that turns sex into a commodity. And none of the hypocritical "prodecency" zealots—from Abraham Beame to the orange juice peddler of the same initials—are about to join that fight.

—Cliff Conner

The Great Society

Harry Ring



Only in America—The compassionate state of Connecticut has dropped a \$34.15 damage suit against a woman killed in a car crash. Suit had been filed against her estate to cover the cost of cleaning up the oil spilled in the accident.

Unlucky star—What with the revelations about the dangerous lead content in the paint on those McDonald glasses, fast-food competitor Arby's made an unfortunate choice. They're offering zodiac glasses. The first one? Cancer.

What's so dumb?—A concerned federal survey team found U.S. students have serious deficiencies in their knowledge of the politics and geography of other countries. Example: 40 percent thought Israel was an Arab country.

Cream and sugar, to go—A Portland dock security guard was accused of ripping off 8,850 pounds of coffee beans worth \$30,000.

Alibi of the week—A Newark cop went to light a bar companion's cigarette with his lighter, a replica of a

pistol. But, the cop explained, he mistakenly drew his real pistol. When he pulled the trigger to ignite the lighter, the gun went off in the man's face, killing him. The cop was acquitted of manslaughter.

Protecting their investment—Only one MD in five smokes, as compared to one in three twelve years ago.

Just saving ink—According to U.S. *News and World Report*, members of Congress spent \$2.5 million on over-

seas travel, not the \$1.4 million officially reported. "Certain costs," the magazine reported, "have been omitted from the record altogether while others appear to have been significantly—and systematically—understated."

Water's his bag—Los Angeles may be facing a water shortage, but not because of skimping on executive salaries. The manager of the waterworks is the city's highest paid official, knocking down \$73,056 per annum. Which would be OK if he had a divining rod.

Capitalism Fouls Things Up

Arnold Weissberg



'A blatant travesty'

The following is a guest column by Nancy Cole.

"I would have preferred a stricter strip mine bill," apologized President Carter. But at least this one would enhance "the legitimate and much-needed production of coal and also assuage the fears that the beautiful areas where coal is produced were being destroyed."

The bill-signing ceremony in the Rose Garden August 3 was supposedly the culminating event in the ten-year battle by environmentalists for federal legislation to curb the greed of the strip-mine operators.

On July 26 a congressional subcommittee had held a hearing on the dangers of strip mining. Jack Spadaro, speaking for the Appalachian Coalition, told members of Congress: "Damage to homes and property by flooding, landslides, sedimentation, and blasting have become commonplace in the mountainous and hill regions. . . . The people of Appalachia who live along the creek banks and up the hollows, on the ridge tops and in the small towns are being continually subjected to severe, and even life-threatening, disasters caused by strip mining."

Environmental groups have long fought to regulate the strip-mining industry and to force it to

restore the ravaged land after coal has been extracted.

But despite the presence of 300 at the White House celebration—which reportedly did not include even one representative from the coal industry—not everyone thinks this bill was what environmentalists were fighting for. The Appalachian Coalition labeled it "a blatant travesty" at a Washington news conference.

In the August *Mountain Life & Work* they explain why.

First, it exempts until 1979 all "small operators"—those who strip-mine 100,000 tons of coal or less each year. That's 80 percent of all strip mines—an industry that can ravage an area of land and move onto new territory in a matter of months!

The bill also legitimizes the removal of mountaintops as a mining technique.

It imposes no slope limitation, thus giving the go-ahead to continue mining on the steeper slopes where the environmental impact is greatest.

The overall effect of the bill, the group explains, "encourages the expansion of strip-mining as a means of expanding coal production." The goal of really effective legislation, the Appalachian Coalition says, would be to phase out strip mining altogether and replace it with "less socially and

environmentally destructive methods."

It is no coincidence that the controversy is finally being "settled" with a federal law just when Carter is busily preparing his energy package requiring increased coal production. According to the *New York Times*, this strip-mine bill is "significantly weaker than versions approved by large majorities every year since 1972 by one or both houses of Congress, but vetoed by President Ford in 1974 and 1975."

In 1976, 56 percent of the 671 million tons of coal mined in the United States was from strip mining.

With Carter's go-ahead, the coal operators now plan to boost production by nearly 500 million tons during the next eight years, and some 60 percent of that is to come from new Western strip mines.

The White House "plan would require a huge expansion of strip mining operations on public and Indian lands, located in sparsely populated, arid, ecologically-fragile regions," wrote James Cannon from the Council on Economic Priorities in the *Los Angeles Times*.

So Carter and his obedient Congress had no intention of "curbing" the coal operators. And they can rest assured that the restraints in the bill that did slip through will be adequately unenforced by the courts.

Women in Revolt

Willie Mae Reid



Cuba, ERA, and CPUSA

The following guest column is by Joanne Tortorici.

This week, women all over the nation are celebrating the right to vote—a right won late in this country's history, and then only by our long and hard struggle.

Our social position, though, is still as second-class citizens. And even gains more recently won, such as the right to a safe, legal abortion, are under attack by the grinning President Jimmy Carter and his friends in Washington, D.C.

Women are still not considered equal under the law. The Equal Rights Amendment, passed in Congress five years ago, would go a long way toward changing that. So far, thirty-five of the thirty-eight states needed have ratified the amendment.

Last year, however, the ERA suffered defeats in North Carolina, Illinois, Oklahoma, and Missouri. Georgia, Virginia, and Florida have also voted it down. And Idaho, Nebraska, and Tennessee, which had already approved it, reversed their positions.

If the amendment is not ratified by thirty-eight

states by March 22, 1979, it will automatically be scrapped.

What happens to women's rights in the United States is being watched with great interest all over the world. The June 26 issue of *Granma*, Cuba's national daily newspaper, ran an article expressing concern over the ERA's perilous situation. Journalist Marcelino Valdés Stable documented the inferior position of women in this country. For example, the article pointed to the widening gap between women's and men's wages here.

Valdés Stable went on to name some of the women's organizations that have been formed in the United States to fight for women's rights. "Discrimination of women in the United States has reached unbearable limits," Valdés Stable said, "and that is why women's groups in the United States . . . are struggling resolutely to allow women to occupy their rightful place in society and to make equal rights for women in the U.S. a reality."

Ironically, in the very same issue of *Granma*, Valdés Stable also reports on a visit to the island by a delegation from the Communist Party USA.

At a press conference in Havana on June 17,

CPUSA National Secretary Arnold Becchetti—after kicking up a little dust to cover the Soviet Union's criminal treatment of political dissidents—threw in a few words about women's rights.

Reporting on the press conference Valdés Stable writes, "As for women's rights, Becchetti said that the CPUSA had a program on equal pay for equal work. . . ."

And what of the ERA?

Not surprisingly, Becchetti had nothing to say. Because while U.S. women—and just about everyone else with any progressive sentiments—have lined up behind the ERA, the CPUSA has come out against it!

Women in this country are glad to have Cuba's support in our fight for ratification of the ERA.

And we would be glad to see the CPUSA drop its reactionary position and join our ranks.

But with or without that support, on August 26 U.S. women will go ahead and celebrate our suffrage. But only with a hard look ahead at the battles we still must win to achieve real equality, and with the cries of those women who have been crushed by this system ringing in our ears.

Abortion debate in Congress

What I would have said

By Willie Mae Reid

Last fall, opponents of women's right to abortion tested the political waters in Congress and found them quite comfortable.

They succeeded in passing a rider to the appropriations bill for the Departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare. The Hyde amendment, as it is known, denies Medicaid funds for abortion, except where the life of the woman is endangered.

Liberals in Congress, such as then Rep. Bella Abzug and Sen. Birch Bayh, opposed this flagrant discrimination. But when President Ford vetoed the

Willie Mae Reid was the 1976 Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president. She is currently the director of women's liberation work for the SWP.

full bill as too costly, these same liberals voted to override the veto—with the Hyde amendment intact.

When the appropriations bill came up again this summer, these "practical politicians" tried a different approach. In the House, congresspeople such as Democrat Elizabeth Holtzman maneuvered to substitute a motion to ban abortions *under all circumstances* in place of the old "endangered life" Hyde amendment. Holtzman said this would "ensure" that the Supreme Court would find the amendment unconstitutional.

In the Senate, when a motion to allow funds for all abortions failed, liberal Republican Sen. Edward Brooke proposed that abortions be allowed if they are "medically necessary" or in the case of rape or incest.

That amendment passed the Senate. After a joint conference the bill returned to both the House and Senate. In both cases, Democrats and Republicans who say they support the unrestricted right of women to abortion lobbied for the Senate "medically necessary" version.

Not one of these so-called supporters of women's rights took a principled stand for the right of all women to abortion. The opponents of abortion couldn't have written a better scenario: liberals and conservatives debating over how much to restrict poor women's rights.

No matter which version wins when Congress reconvenes in September, the enemies of abortion win, and women lose.

There are no workers' representatives in Congress today to speak up for the needs of poor women or for any of the working class.

But if I had been there in the chambers of the House of Representatives on August 2 when our "representatives" debated how to retreat on our rights, I would have said something like this:

Today we're debating how to go about restricting the right to abortion. It's not the first time this body has considered such a course. And I guarantee that if you vote to send poor women back to illegal, butcher abortionists, it will not be the last!

Women will not allow this fundamental right to be so seriously eroded. We believe we have the right to control our lives free from the religious, mystical, and otherwise reactionary whims of a Congress made up in its majority of rich, white men.

The discussion in these hallowed halls, both this year and last fall, has been instructive. It's unfortunate that more Americans are not able to view firsthand the goings-on here, rather than having to depend on the piecemeal quotes and paraphrases meted out by the news media.

How well some of you so-called representatives have voiced your scorn for women. How graphically you have shown your contempt for the working-class men and women who elected you to office.

Earlier this summer, Rep. Eldon Rudd compared government-funded abortions to financing face lifts and hair transplants.

Today, Rep. Henry Hyde stood here and told us that it is not poor women who suffer discrimination when they are denied the abortions that rich women can easily get. "It is the unborn rich who are penalized by that double standard," he declared. If you're the unborn poor, Hyde says, "you have a fighting chance to survive!"

So the rich suffer because they have rights that the poor don't enjoy. And what about the women forced to go through with an unwanted pregnancy or to search out a cheap, dangerous abortion? Where is their "fighting chance," Mr. Hyde?

Rep. Silvio Conte is appalled by the "serious abuse" of the Medicaid program. "It is apparent," he pontificates, "that a significant number of people are using abortion as a form of birth control at federal expense, or as a matter of convenience."

Women will die

Women have abortions because they are pregnant, Mr. Conte, not because it's a federally financed convenience. Without Medicaid funds available, 300,000 women wanting abortions will have to resort to alternatives. An estimated five women will die each week as a result of home-remedies or back-alley operations.

Why should Black, Chicana, Puerto Rican, and other poor working-class women be penalized because we are kept at the bottom of an economic system that thrives on our exploitation and oppression?

President Carter got to the heart of where he stands on this issue with his recent statement that there are some things the wealthy can afford and

the poor can't. It isn't the government's concern, he said, to make things "fair."

That's what is at stake here today. By turning your back on poor women, this House of Representatives is saying that it exists only to protect the interests of the wealthy who run the Democratic and Republican parties.

Today the members of Congress who say they support abortion rights have urged that the House accept the Senate's anti-abortion bill, which allows for abortions only if it is "medically necessary" or in the case of rape or incest.

That is supposed to be better than what the abortion foes want, which is a ban on funds for abortions except where the life of the woman is endangered.

Liberals such as Rep. Elizabeth Holtzman and Louis Stokes have referred to diseased and deformed fetuses and maimed and crippled women that would make a full-term pregnancy undesirable.

But none of these politicians are discussing a woman's right to abortion—just the most "humane" way to restrict that right.

'Throwback to dark ages'

How can this Senate bill be tagged a "lesser evil"? It is, no less than the House version, a throwback to the dark ages before the 1973 Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion. It would have women return to the days when abortion laws gave doctors, lawyers, and judges the right to control women's bodies and lives.

It is like offering us a choice between electrocution and the gas chamber. For opponents of the death penalty, which is the "lesser evil"?

Some of you defend your stand to women's rights activists by arguing that the "medically necessary" clause provides a loophole women can use.

But what makes you think that government officials, like avid abortion foe HEW Secretary Joseph Califano, are going to allow anything to slip by?

And look at the Justice Department. Just yesterday it ruled that last year's Hyde amendment must be applied in its strictest sense. No abortions for rape and incest, Attorney General Griffin Bell said, because the bill doesn't specifically say so.

What about the Supreme Court? In June, it ruled that the state has a legitimate interest in promoting childbearing. Is it going to back women who try to find a "loophole" in this bill?

You're doing no service to women by pushing one restriction versus another. You've only confused women and tried to divide the women's movement.

You call on women to support, and even hail, the first round in an assault on all women's right to choose abortion. Make no mistake about it: this is just the beginning. If the enemies of women succeed in restricting the rights of poor women, they'll use it as a wedge in their drive to outlaw abortion for all women.

The women's movement must not continue to rely on its Democratic and Republican "friends" in this room, who try to convince abortion opponents with words and when that doesn't work, with "practical" compromises.

The foes of abortion in the House, Senate, White House, and Supreme Court have highfalutin' moral excuses for opposing funds for abortion. But they would fast reconsider those lofty ideals if women marched in Washington, D.C., in massive numbers, demanding their unrestricted right to abortion.

No more politicians and judges oppose abortion now than did in 1973 when it was legalized by a court with four Nixon nominees. But at that time there existed the potential for a powerful women's movement, and it had this country's rulers scared.

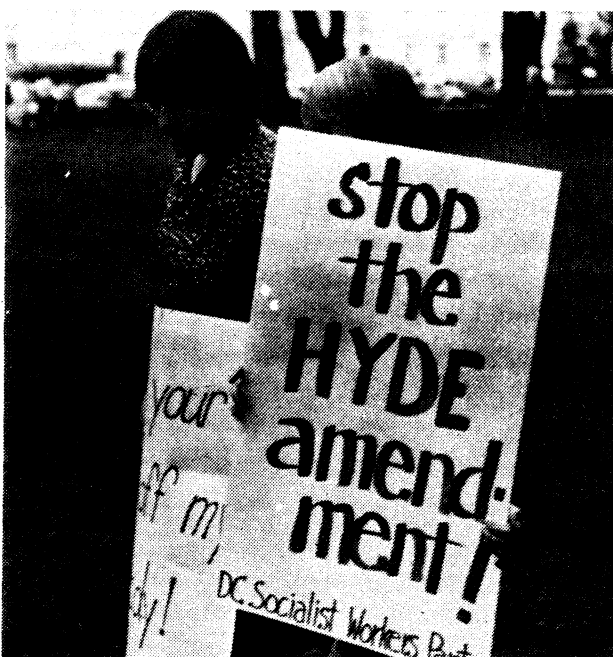
I say women should scare them again. I vote "no" on both the Senate and House anti-abortion bills. And I call on my sisters around the country to also vote "no"—with their feet in the streets.



Militant/Maceo Dixon



Anti-Hyde amendment demonstration in Wash. D.C. last June



Militant/David Frankel

Louisville right-wingers step up violence

By Charlie Thomas

LOUISVILLE—Right-wing violence continues to escalate here. On the night of August 17, civil rights activist Anne Braden's car was fire-bombed, and a window of the Socialist Workers Party campaign office was broken by what police believe was a pellet gun.

These attacks coincided with an announcement by federal and local officials that a cache of ninety-seven fragmentation hand grenades, twenty-six sticks of dynamite, and 17,000 rounds of ammunition was seized at a Bullitt County dump, directly south of here. Police say warrants were issued in connection with an investigation of local "radical antibusing groups."

The attack on the SWP headquarters followed a threatening call received there August 5. The caller said that the National Socialist (Nazi) Liberation Front thought "SWPers should be bull-whipped and shot." This same group

took credit for the 1975 bombing of the Los Angeles offices of the SWP.

At a well-attended press conference August 18, Debby Tarnopol, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, blasted the inaction of Louisville Mayor Harvey Sloane and Jefferson County Judge Todd Hollanbach. She demanded they conduct a full-scale investigation into these violent attacks.

Less than a week earlier Leroy White, a fifty-two-year-old Black postal clerk, was kidnapped, pistol-whipped, and threatened with death by three white men who said they were members of the American Nazi Party.

"They said they wanted to eliminate Jews and niggers, just like Hitler," White said.

And a week before that, three whites stabbed a thirty-four-year-old Black here, telling him they wanted to "get a nigger."



DEBBY TARNOPOL: Demands full investigation.



ANNE BRADEN: Car bombed by right-wing terrorists.

Gov. Brown sheds crocodile tears over new Calif. death penalty law

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—California has reinstated the death penalty.

It became law August 11, after the legislature voted by the necessary two-thirds majority to override Gov. Jerry Brown's veto of the measure.

At first glance the successful override seemed unusual. It was the first time the legislature has reversed the influential governor, and only the third time a California governor has been overridden in the past thirty-one years.

Yet, responding to the override, Brown told reporters, "I'm not surprised."

For good reason.

When Brown vetoed the death-penalty measure last June he piously announced it was "a matter of conscience."

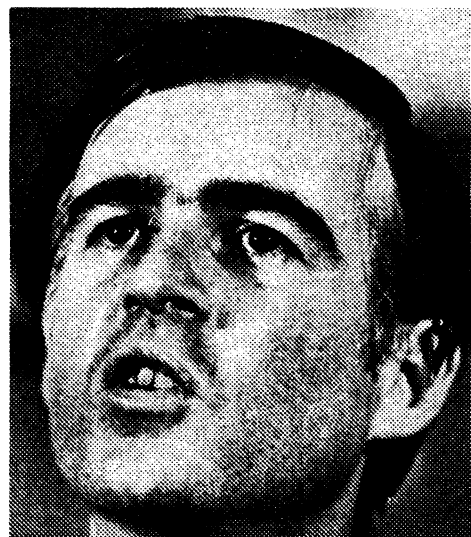
At the same time, his lieutenants made clear that Brown would not lift a finger to ensure that the veto was sustained.

In a June 1 interview, Gray Davis, Brown's top aide, put it this way: "If there is a message, it is, 'Search your conscience and your constituency and make the best judgment you can. . . . If any legislator indicates that his conscience dictates that he should vote for imposition of the death penalty, we

will certainly not ask him to change his view."

Clearly, the good governor is more concerned with his prospects for reelection in 1978 than with his "conscience."

Elected to his first term by liberal-minded voters, Brown has moved steadily to the right. Apparently assuming he has the liberal vote sewn up, he is now openly bidding for reactionary and racist support.



BROWN: A man of conscience . . . but within limits.

It took five years to get the death penalty back on the California books. After the U.S. Supreme Court invalidated executions in 1972, right-wing forces carried a prodeath referendum in the state. In 1973 the legislature enacted a bill, but it failed to meet Supreme Court standards.

The present statute is intended to meet the high court guidelines. It does so by providing that if a jury finds "mitigating circumstances" it can opt for life imprisonment without possibility of parole.

California was, for a number of years, a center of opposition to the death penalty. In 1960 the mass effort to save Caryl Chessman from the gas chamber assumed national and international proportions. The last California execution took place in 1967.

Speaking unsuccessfully against the present measure, state assembly member Barry Keene declared:

"The argument has been made that these are not human beings, that these are animals. This kind of rationalization allowed killing of 'witches' in Salem, the starving of prisoners at Andersonville, the killing of Indians at Wounded Knee, lynching of Blacks in the Deep South, and the extermination of Jews in Germany."

The point is well taken.

Ten L.A. cops sue to bankrupt PLP

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—In an ominous development, ten city cops here have filed a \$1 million damage suit against the Progressive Labor Party.

The suit—clearly aimed at establishing a precedent—also names two PLP national leaders and twenty-eight people arrested for assault in a demonstration here.

The PLP has responded with a \$238 million suit against the ten cops, Police Chief Davis, and various city officials.

Pretrial hearings were slated to begin August 18 in the case of those charged with assaulting the cops. Nine face felony charges, and eighteen face misdemeanor charges.

The complaint was dropped against the twenty-eighth person arrested, Constance Milazzo. Officials disclosed that she is a police undercover agent who had infiltrated the group.

The charges and subsequent damage

suits stem from a June 18 demonstration in downtown Los Angeles in support of undocumented workers. The action was sponsored by the PLP and the Committee against Racism, a group associated with it.

The police assert they were assaulted while trying to make an arrest and that the ten cops now filing the suit were injured by demonstrators.

The cops' suit is being sponsored by the Police Protective League, which says it is trying to promote such actions nationally.

In a July 8 interview with the *Los Angeles Times*, Jerry Trent, a director of the cops' association, spoke frankly about the purpose of the "damage" suit.

"Trent said," the *Times* reported, "that one purpose of the present suit was to deplete the financial resources of the PLP, resources which he claimed have allowed party members to travel

around the United States stirring up trouble."

Another purpose, he said, was to discourage people from beating up on cops.

The PLP's countersuit declares that the ten cops are "motivated solely by a desire to severely and adversely affect the lawful political activities of the Progressive Labor Party and the Committee Against Racism," and that the cops had in fact assaulted the demonstrators "without legal cause."

In a telephone interview, defense attorney Antonia Hernandez said that pretrial discovery motions would be made to establish the record of police surveillance of the defendants. Also, she said, the defense would seek a record of any previous acts of aggression and violence by the cops involved.

The court will also be asked, Hernandez said, to make undercover police agent Milazzo available for interview by the defense.

Employee fights Amtrak's antigay blacklist

By Michael Maggi

Anita Bryant says that discrimination is not the issue in her antigay crusade. Try telling that to Thomas Shelton, an Amtrak employee. He was denied a promotion and a \$2,500 raise because Amtrak keeps a record of its employees' sexual orientation.

Shelton won a job-discrimination complaint against Amtrak from the Washington, D.C., Human Rights Commission in mid-July.

United Press International reported that top Amtrak personnel officers compiled a list of eighty-five suspected homosexuals. Kenneth Housman, Amtrak's personnel director, denied the list ever existed. "You can't discriminate against gay people. We know that," he said. "There isn't any list of gays in this company. . . . There never has been."

But according to UPI, three different Amtrak management sources reported otherwise.

One Amtrak manager said that a personnel officer came to him with a long list of employees and quizzed him on whether "a bunch" of them were gay.

Names on the list, the manager recalled, were marked with either an "F" or an arrow. Apparently that indicated who Amtrak judged to be "fags" or "straights."

Amtrak sources said that the list was compiled about the time that Shelton, a reservations and information clerk, was scheduled for promotion to seating-space controller. Shelton had been an acting controller for four months and had been told he would be given the job permanently.

Suddenly, without explanation, Shelton's promotion was reversed. The reason was not too puzzling, however. "I'm gay, and I'm fairly open about it at work," Shelton explained. "I see no other reason for them turning down my promotion."

Two other Amtrak employees said a supervisor told them that Shelton's promotion was denied because his name was on the list.

Shelton won his promotion because he was willing to stand up for his rights. But at least eighty-four other people may still be on Amtrak's gay list.

Devlin, others pay tribute to 'Militant' at rally of 1,700

By Arnold Weissberg

Nearly 1,700 people jumped to their feet, chanting "British troops out now!" as Irish revolutionist Bernadette Devlin finished her speech at a rally August 12 climaxing the twenty-ninth national convention of the Socialist Workers Party.

Devlin, along with other rally speakers, paid tribute to the important role of the *Militant* as a guide to action and source of news for political activists in the United States and around the world.

Greetings to the rally came from leading figures in many social struggles in this country (see box).

Devlin said that although the Catholic civil rights movement is in a downturn right now, the oppressive conditions Catholics live under in Northern Ireland ensure a new rise in that struggle.

And when that happens, Devlin said, "this time things are going to be different." That difference, she added, will "have a great deal to do with the SWP, a great deal to do with the *Militant*, a great deal to do with *IP* [*Intercontinental Press*, a weekly sister publication of the *Militant* that specializes in world news]."

Leaders of the Irish struggle have learned a lot from the *IP* and the *Militant*, Devlin said. While wrestling with the problems of how to deal with some growing divisions in the Irish Republican movement, Devlin told the rally, she "came upon a copy of *IP* and discovered that this guy Gerry Foley had it all figured out."

Foley, an *IP* staff writer, has written extensively on Ireland.

Diane Sarge, a Houston steelworker, is the SWP candidate for mayor of that city. She told the crowd why she was in the race: "Working people can do a damn sight better job running society than capitalist politicians can," she said.

Sarge told how important the *Militant* has been in getting out news of her campaign to working people in Houston plants and in the Black and Chicano communities. She said the *Militant* plays a key role in explaining why working people need to break with the two big-business parties and forge a party of and for themselves—a labor party.

The *Militant* is read with interest in the Houston steel plants, Sarge said. One reason is that last

spring it was the only place workers could read the official union summary of the basic steel contract—since the union bureaucrats weren't interested in letting steelworkers see what they had agreed to.

One of the important achievements of the SWP convention was a fusion between the SWP and the Revolutionary Marxist Committee, a Detroit-based group of more than forty revolutionists. Shelley Kramer, an RMC leader, told the rally that the *Militant* had played a vital part in bringing the group toward the SWP.

Kramer said the RMC began studying the *Militants* of the 1930s, searching for the roots of the American revolutionary tradition. Their review spurred them to take a fresh look at today's *Militant*, where they got an "all-sided view of the SWP."

What the *Militant* had to say about how to defend the interests of working people and the most oppressed in society had a big impact on their thinking, Kramer explained.

Next month, Kramer will join the *Militant's*
Continued from page 17



MACEO DIXON



BERNADETTE DEVLIN



SHELLEY KRAMER



MANUEL ARCHULETA



DIANE SARGE



HOLLY HARKNESS

Militant photos by Lou Howort

Socialists launch fall subscription drive

By William Jasper

Expanding the readership of the *Militant* will be a top priority of the Socialist Workers Party in the months ahead.

Delegates to the recent SWP national convention voted to launch a fall subscription drive to sign up 18,000 new readers of the *Militant*. This will be combined with efforts to continue and expand *Militant* sales at plant gates.

There will be a parallel push to boost sales of the new Spanish-language *Perspectiva Mundial*, including the first subscription drive for this biweekly socialist news magazine. The goal is to get 500 new *PM* subscribers.

These plans were outlined in a report to the convention by Nelson Blackstock, former managing editor of the *Militant* and the new circulation director for the socialist press.

The report discussed perspectives for the three publications currently produced and distributed by SWP members. In addition to the *Militant* and

Perspectiva Mundial, this includes *Intercontinental Press*, a weekly magazine devoted to world political developments.

The report began by reviewing the *Militant's* circulation gains over the past year. Last fall nearly 21,000 new readers bought introductory subscriptions. Earlier this year more than 100,000 copies of the paper were sold in a single-copy sales campaign. A pattern of regular sales at plant gates—especially at steel plants—was established during the drive.

This fall's campaign will expand on these gains—with its emphasis both on getting new subscriptions and on plant-gate sales.

The drive is set to last ten weeks, beginning September 10. An introductory subscription of ten weeks of the *Militant* for two dollars will be offered—a three-dollar savings off the new single-copy price of fifty cents. (See story on price rise on page 17.)

A three-month subscription to the biweekly *Perspectiva* will sell for two dollars.

A joint *Militant-Perspectiva* subscription blank has been designed for the drive. One side features a description of *Perspectiva* in Spanish.

In his report to the convention, Blackstock examined the role of the three socialist periodicals and their prospects for the future.

During discussions on previous days of the convention, the current political situation in the United States had been characterized as a "preparatory period," one in which victims of the employers' offensive are searching for ways to fight back.

"It's in the *Militant* that week after week we develop and publicize our proposals about what can be done," Blackstock said. "It's central to all our plans this fall."

In discussing perspectives for growth of the *Militant*, Blackstock referred to SWP founder James P. Cannon.

Cannon wrote that the *Militant* should aim to become a big socialist weekly—big in both size and

Continued on next page

Rally greetings: 'The Militant is out'

Messages of solidarity and greetings to the rally for the *Militant* came from around the country.

Richard Mohawk and Paul Skyhorse, American Indian Movement activists on trial in Los Angeles for a murder they didn't commit: The conspiratorial forces that have kept us confined for nearly three years now have had a friendly and willing ally in their efforts to undermine the aspirations of the American Indian Movement. That friend to the reactionary elements has been the mainstream media. When they were not totally ignoring our case, the mainstream media were consistently distorting the facts.

We are grateful to the alternative presses for their fair and objective reporting of our case. It is to the credit of the *Militant* that it was among the vanguard in sending reporters to Ventura, where the trial began, and participating in our defense. We appreciate the coverage given to us by Dave Brown and Harry Ring.

In the proud warrior tradition, victory will be ours!

From Morris Kight, leader of the Los Angeles Coalition for Human Rights and for many years a leading national figure in the gay rights movement: I think the *Militant* has fulfilled a unique function for its entire history in

reporting on unpopular causes. It has been a mainstay of political consciousness in this country. I'm proud for the *Militant*.

Harry Edwards, associate professor of sociology at the University of California at Berkeley, and an activist in the struggle for Black rights: Your coverage of significant political and social developments critical to the interests of national and international progressive communities has been invaluable in the struggle against political oppression and economic exploitation. I look for a continuation of this tradition and more, given the even greater challenges ahead.

Veteran journalist I.F. Stone: Despite American freedom of the press, the spectrum of discussion on public questions is seriously limited because the voices of Marxist opposition are so few and so little read. Yet we cannot understand what is happening in the rest of the world without understanding the viewpoint of the major currents elsewhere moving in a socialist direction. Nor can we find our way to a better America without the perspectives of radicalism.

In this narrow and precarious sector of opinion, the *Militant* has distinguished itself by a competence and a magnanimity which are rare amid the fierce sectarianisms of the left.

Not the least accomplishment of the *Militant*



Clockwise from top left: I.F. Stone; José Angel Gutiérrez; Ed Richard Mohawk; Paul Skyhorse; Leonard Weinglass.

...subscription

Continued from page 15
circulation.

A big *Militant* is needed in order to adequately serve the various audiences socialists seek to reach, Blackstock explained. For example, the paper must include some material aimed primarily at newer readers, designed to get them into reading the paper and to hold onto them.

Socialists today are located all over the country and are involved in many types of political activity. The *Militant* tries to cover all this in a balanced way.

"Through what we publish in the *Militant*, the paper itself has become part of the equation in some of the big ongoing struggles today," Blackstock said. "The *Militant* reports the facts, often reporting things you can't read anywhere else. At the same time, the *Militant* puts forward the socialist point of view."

To illustrate this, Blackstock pointed to the role the *Militant* has played on three important fronts—the women's movement, the antideportation fight, and the trade unions.

"The *Militant* keeps on top of the key issues facing women. It early recognized the meaning of the Hyde amendment, which denied abortions to the women who could least afford them.

"When women in NOW decided to put out a resolution aimed at reorienting their organization toward the needs of Black, Latino, and other oppressed women, the *Militant* reported that. It followed the discussion as it unfolded in local NOW chapters. It was on hand at the convention with a special issue."

"During this process it became clear that the only place where you could really find out what was going on was in the *Militant*. Some of our friends told us that. And, perhaps more significantly, some who were not so friendly said the same thing."

Over the years, the *Militant* has won the respect of a relatively broad layer of Chicano activists and leaders. No other publication follows in such detail the Chicano movement on a national scale, Blackstock said.

This proved important in helping to rally a response to the government's stepped-up attacks on undocumented immigrants.

Fight Back

The most striking example Blackstock pointed to was what the *Militant* was able to do during and after the Steelworkers union election campaign last winter and spring.

"We picked up some important new readers because the *Militant* turned out to be the only place you could get an accurate picture of the Steelworkers Fight Back campaign of Ed Sadlowski.

"You could find out what the candidates were saying in our press. And you could also read an

analysis that made sense out of the whole thing, put it in the broader framework of the labor movement today and where it needs to go."

During the campaign, the *Militant* was on sale at plant gates from coast to coast. After the election the *Militant* printed an official union summary of the new basic steel contract, along with its own analysis of what it meant. More than 4,000 steelworkers bought copies of that special issue.

"While the *Militant* puts forward solutions to questions activists are grappling with in many arenas, it does something even more important," Blackstock told the convention. "It ties all the struggles together into a common strategy—one that's aimed at uniting all the working class and its allies into a coherent battle plan designed to win."

'Perspectiva'

The significance of *Perspectiva Mundial* has to be viewed in the context of a swiftly growing Spanish-speaking minority in the United States, Blackstock said.

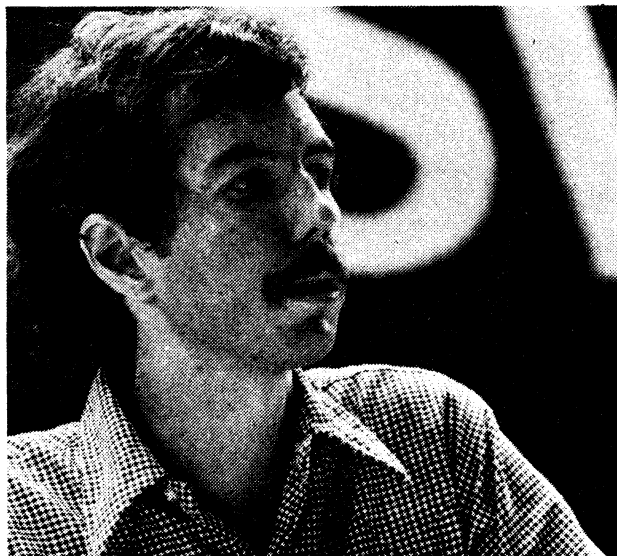
Perspectiva covers both international affairs and questions of immediate concern to Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and other Latinos living in the United States. This fall *Perspectiva* will continue to closely follow the antideportation movement, for example.

"Our immediate goal, as far as *Perspectiva* is concerned," Blackstock said, "has got to be to build a circulation base for it. We know one is out there. All that has to be done is to tap it."

The key is to tie *Perspectiva* into the everyday sales work done on the *Militant*. That means taking *Perspectiva* along on sales in areas where there are Spanish-speaking people.

The Latino membership of the SWP is growing, the convention learned. And *Perspectiva* will be invaluable in winning more Spanish-speaking members to the party.

Turning to *Intercontinental Press*, Blackstock noted the magazine's unparalleled reputation for accuracy.



NELSON BLACKSTOCK

Militant/Lou Howort

"It keeps its readers on top of what's happening in hot spots in the class struggle on every continent," he said.

Publications from throughout the world pour into the *IP* office, and the magazine carries translations from a broad spectrum of sources. It's frequently the first place in the world where you can find translations from *samizdat*, the writings of the Soviet dissident underground.

IP's Gerry Foley is an internationally recognized writer on Ireland. Bernadette Devlin paid tribute to Foley's insight on the Irish struggle in her speech at a rally at the close of the convention.

Since its birth in 1963, *IP* has carried every single resolution of the Fourth International.

IP should be able to find new subscribers among readers of the *Militant*, the report stated. While *IP* often serves as a valuable news service for the *Militant*, only a small portion of the material in *IP* ever finds its way into the pages of the *Militant*.

The business offices of the *Militant*, *Intercontinental Press*, and *Perspectiva Mundial* have been consolidated into a common circulation office.

The new circulation setup will explore new ways to increase the readership of socialist periodicals.

One of the things all socialists regularly do is take part in getting the *Militant* into the hands of new readers. Subscription drives and single-copy sales campaigns have been particularly effective in broadening the readership of the paper. This will continue to provide the bedrock of *Militant* circulation, and the new circulation office will provide more effective national coordination of this work.

"Through the fall subscription and sales campaign, thousands of people will learn for the first time about the SWP and our proposals for what to do about the problems they face," Blackstock said. "Our *Militant* sales drives and our election campaigns are similar in some respects: They are the main ways we reach out and introduce new people to our ideas."

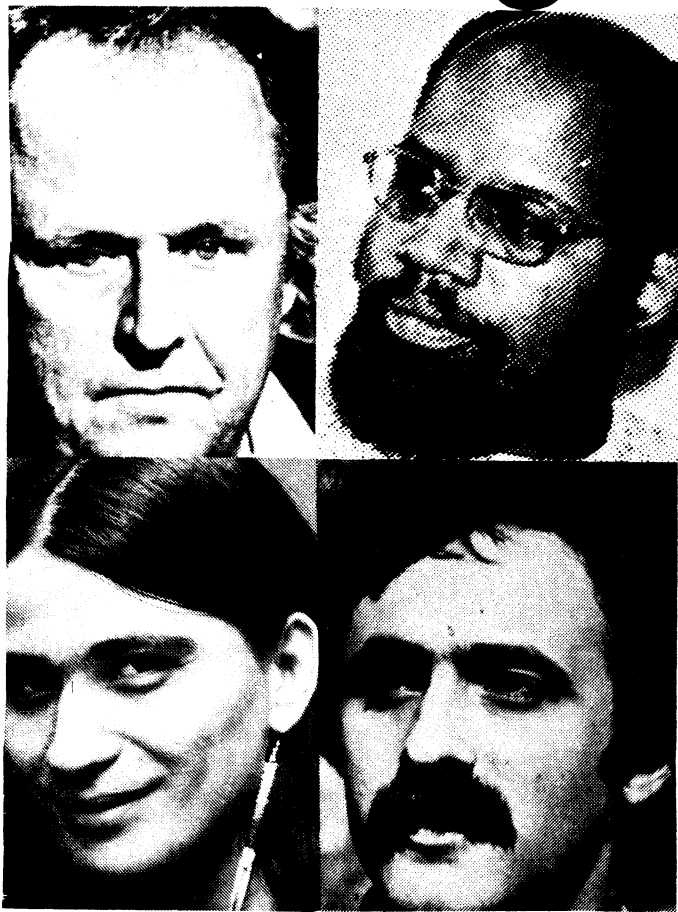
The SWP will be looking for new subscribers where it concentrates in its political work: in the Black community; in the Puerto Rican and Chicano communities; among activists in the women's movement; and in the trade unions.

Socialist steelworkers at the convention decided to sell at least 200 subscriptions to their co-workers during the drive. Auto workers vowed to sell a similar number, and the teachers vowed to top them both.

The Young Socialist Alliance will also be participating in the drive. In areas where there are both SWP and YSA units, both will share a common city-wide goal. YSA chapters elsewhere will be taking their own goals. The YSA will be spearheading efforts to get subscriptions on campus.

Blackstock concluded his report by outlining the *Militant*'s current financial situation. Rising costs have forced the *Militant* to raise its cover price to fifty cents.

standing! Let's keep it standing.'



de Antonio; Harry Edwards; Robert Meeropol;

in its fifty years was its courageous primacy in bringing to public attention in the West the terrible distortions of truth and justice behind the Soviet facade.

Filmmaker Emile de Antonio: I read the *Militant* because it fills in the gaps the *New York Times* won't cover, because it's up front, because it reports on the struggle everywhere and in context, because of its background pieces like the recent analysis of events in Spain.

From José Angel Gutiérrez, Zavala County (Texas) judge and founding member of the Texas Raza Unida Party: Since 1969, the people in the struggle for Chicano self-determination of Crystal City have enjoyed reading the *Militant*. I remember seeing the paper being passed around during the great high school walkout of that year. I remember seeing the *Militant* in our high school library after we won the battle with the school board.

I remember reading in the *Militant* the coverage of the Raza Unida Party activity during the early '70s. Today, I remember the *Militant* because it is part of the reading material found in the reception room to my office. I read it religiously for news of the struggle across the country and world, from your perspective.

Those of us familiar with the integrity of such writers as Miguel Pendás and Harry Ring know

the reliability and accuracy of your facts as reported in the paper.

The *Militant* fills a great need for the truth. I sincerely support this socialist newspaper. The *Militant* is outstanding! Let's keep it standing.

From Leonard Weinglass, civil liberties attorney: In the years I have been defending political cases I, of course, have followed the reporting of various trials occurring around the country. The *Militant* has consistently been an excellent source of news regarding political cases. Your reportage reflects your commitment to providing your readership with an accurate analysis of the factual, legal, and political issues involved in these trials.

I wish to take this opportunity to send you my warmest greetings on your fiftieth anniversary. And, so far as the reporting of political cases, your next fifty years could hardly be more distinguished.

From Robert Meeropol, Sons of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, Robert and Michael Meeropol have been fighting to reopen the case that led to their parents' executions as "atom spies": For both of us let me wish you a very successful convention, and I look forward to continuing the close fraternal relationship between the SWP and our effort to reopen our parents' case.

New Militant price—a message to our readers

Beginning with this issue the *Militant* is raising its cover price to fifty cents.

The price of a one-year subscription will be fifteen dollars. A ten-week introductory subscription will cost two dollars.

Earlier this year the price of the *Militant* went up to thirty-five cents. Before that had been twenty-five cents since 1971.

While we were reluctant to raise our price again, an analysis of the rising costs faced by the *Militant* showed that the step was unavoidable—and that our previous increase to thirty-five cents was too little and should probably have been made earlier.

- Since 1971 the price of newsprint has doubled.
- Postal rates for the *Militant* have gone up five-and-a-half times—and will go up approximately 20 percent more next year.

- Many *Militant* bundles are shipped via air freight. Those charges are now four times what they were in 1971.

- Our full-time staff receives just enough money each week to get by—to pay the rent and buy food and other necessities. These costs have also risen dramatically.

- All in all, the cost of putting out the *Militant* has much more than doubled since 1971.

An alternative to raising our price would have been to drastically cut the number of pages in the *Militant* and the size of our staff. But that would severely cripple our ability to provide the breadth of coverage of struggles on many fronts you find in the *Militant* each week.

It's our belief that the new price will not significantly reduce our ability to get the *Militant* into the hands of readers. Working people have seen the

price of everything going up—from the price of a cup of coffee to the cost of a subway ride. The *Militant* can't stand aside from this economic fact of life and the new price is in line with the general pattern of inflation.

Even with the new price, we will fall far, far short of bringing in enough money from single-copy and subscription sales to cover the cost of putting out the *Militant*. Without generous financial contributions from its supporters, the *Militant* could not publish.

You can help keep the *Militant* coming out. This fall we will be conducting a drive to collect \$50,000 for the *Militant*. Details on the fund appeal will be printed in future issues.

If you would like to help, send your contribution to the Militant Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

...rally

Continued from page 15
editorial staff.

The rally's keynote speaker was Maceo Dixon, Boston organizer of the Socialist Workers Party. Dixon has played a leading role in the struggle to defend school desegregation in Boston against racist mob violence.

His talk reviewed some of the major events of the past year—the New York blackout, the drought in the West, the revelations of Korean influence-peddling, the revolt of Black youth in South Africa, new threats to the environment, and the announcement of the neutron bomb. Dixon took special note of the recent exposures of attempts by the CIA to perfect mind-control drugs. "That's the way the capitalists work," Dixon said. "They have to find ways to trick, distort, and deceive to win your mind."

"But we know the power of truth. And the *Militant* tells the truth."

That's why it's so important to read, sell, and subscribe to the paper, Dixon said—and the best way to do that is to join the SWP.

Manuel Archuleta, Raza Unida Party candidate for lieutenant governor of New Mexico, explained that the RUP was "united with [the SWP] in a common struggle for a world without slaves, without hate, without wars."

The *Militant*, Archuleta said, shared his enthusiasm for revolutionary upsurges around the world, and played an important role in attracting Chicanos to socialist ideas.

Holly Harkness, a member of the national executive committee of the Young Socialist Alliance, told the rally that the YSA sells the *Militant* enthusiastically because the YSA wants to attract

revolutionary-minded young people.

"By reading the *Militant*," she explained, "young people will come to agree that socialism is the way to answer the attacks on youth—unemployment, the Bakke decision, the attacks on women's rights."

\$50,000 'Militant' appeal launched

A fund drive to raise \$50,000 to help cover the rising costs of putting out the *'Militant'* was launched at the rally.

In response to an appeal delivered by New York SWP leader Peter Buch, the enthusiastic audience came forward with contributions and pledges totaling \$31,000!

After the rally another *'Militant'* supporter donated \$10,000 as a matching fund—all future contributions will be matched dollar for dollar up to \$10,000.

The fund drive target had originally been set at \$40,000. However, initial contributions were much higher than expected, and a decision was made to up the goal to \$50,000.

To meet the many exciting political challenges on the horizons, the *'Militant'* needs financial help. In coming issues, we will report on the progress of the \$50,000 fund drive.

You can aid the drive by sending your contribution to Militant Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York, 10014.

Devlin, who spoke last, gave an account of the rise of the Catholic civil rights movement in Northern Ireland after 1968. She described it as the latest chapter in the 700-year fight for Irish national independence.

It was a fight, Devlin said, in which she learned some hard lessons and lost many illusions.

"I actually thought that by marching, we were telling the prime minister of England something he didn't know," she said. Now, of course, she added, she knows that the English government is perfectly aware of the oppression of Catholics in Northern Ireland—an oppression the prime minister helps perpetuate.

But Devlin learned an important truth through the struggle, she said: "Nobody listens to you unless you're on the streets."

Today, Devlin said, there are 3,500 political prisoners in Northern Ireland, out of a population of 3.5 million. They are subjected to both physical and psychological torture.

"If we had the SWP in Ireland," the civil rights leader continued, "we would have changed the course of Irish history—we would have changed the history of the world."

"But in the vocabulary of the Irish people, the word 'defeat' does not exist."

The rally sent two messages of solidarity. One went to the five Puerto Rican Nationalists who have been held in U.S. prisons since the early 1950s. The other went to John McNulty, general secretary of People's Democracy, an Irish socialist group. McNulty was recently jailed on trumped-up charges of "possessing documents that could be of value to the terrorists."

Pat Wright, a Black feminist and leader of the Cleveland Young Socialist Alliance, chaired the rally.

50,000 protest Australian nuke plan

By Peter Archer

On August 5, 25,000 demonstrators in Melbourne, Australia, told their government just what it could do with its plan to step up uranium mining. "Uranium—Like Hell!" was the theme of the demonstration, one of many held throughout Australia commemorating the American bombing of Hiroshima thirty-two years ago. Altogether, 50,000 people took part in these protests.

The demonstration, called by a wide range of organizations, was the largest protest in Melbourne since the Australian Labour Party was driven from office in November 1975.

The tremendous outpouring was sparked by the Australian government's plans to push for a speed-up in uranium mining. This decision has been made in the face of a study commissioned by the Labour government in 1975. That study called for the installation of a number of environmental safeguards before mining was begun. None of the recommendations in the report have been acted on.

The goal of the government in pushing this program is to make Australia an important exporter of uranium to those countries—especially in Western Europe—that have rapidly developing nuclear power programs. The Australian capitalists hope to enter into an alliance with their U.S. counterparts to corner the uranium market on a world scale.

But the demonstrators in Melbourne made clear that the profits of Australian and U.S. capitalists had nothing to do with *their* needs.

Hundreds of yellow flags with red radiation symbols mingled with placards waving above the heads of the huge crowd. "Stop uranium mining," "Land rights—not uranium mining," and "Uranium—No Way!" read the signs.

At the rally, Roger Wilson from the Seamen's Union called on Australians to back up trade unionists who are demanding an indefinite ban on the mining and export of uranium.

Other speakers at the rally, such as Dr. Petra



Direct Action/Anthony Forward

Thousands protested Australian government's plans to push ahead with uranium mining

Kelley, an economic adviser to the European Economic Community, and John Carroll, an Irish trade unionist, showed the international scope of the movement against nuclear power.

The final speaker was Dr. Jim Falk, a leader of the Movement Against Uranium Mining, a major organizer of the demonstration. Falk told protestors that the movement should continue to demonstrate again and again until the mining of uranium is stopped.

Elsewhere in Australia, sizable protest actions also marked Hiroshima Day.

In Sydney, more than 11,000 people marched through the city on August 6 in support of the demand for a moratorium on uranium mining. At a rally following the march, Pat O'Shane, an Aborigi-

nal lawyer, spoke out against the effects uranium mining would have on Blacks in the Northern territory of Australia.

In Adelaide, about 7,000 people marched August 6. The previous night, some 400 people took part in a candlelight procession there.

And in Hobart, 700 people marched and rallied. Although in previous rallies speakers had occasionally voiced the idea that "terrorists" might use nuclear materials to manufacture atomic bombs, Harry Derkley, chairperson of the Australian Union of Students at Tasmania University, pointed out that atomic weapons are already in the hands of the real terrorists—the Pentagon and the White House. The memory of Hiroshima, he said, should be a grim reminder of just what that can mean.

Hiroshima week, 1977

'Active today, not radioactive tomorrow!'

By Lauren Garn

"No more nukes, no more nukes!" was the cry of the more than 1,500 demonstrators who crowded onto U.S. Highway 101 August 6 in San Onofre, California. The road runs alongside the San Onofre nuclear power plants.

The 100-mile hazard area for these plants, which are adjacent to several earthquake faults, encompasses every major city in southern California. Los Angeles, with its 3 million people, is just sixty-two miles northwest. San Diego is fifty-one miles south-east.

The protesters in San Onofre cheered as environmentalist Barry Commoner outlined the dangers of Jimmy Carter's "energy program," a program that calls for an 800 percent increase in the number of nuclear power plants in the United States.

Organizers of the San Onofre demonstration included the Abalone Alliance, California Democratic Council, Friends of the Earth, New American Movement, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and the Young Socialist Alliance.

The demonstration, held in commemoration of the U.S. bombing of Hiroshima thirty-two years ago, was one of many antinuclear power protests held around the country last month.

At Diablo Canyon, located about halfway between San Onofre and Los Angeles, another demonstration of more than 1,000 took place on August 6. The rally was organized to support forty-six people who have occupied the proposed site of a new nuclear power plant. The site is only two-and-a-half miles from an earthquake fault.

Speakers at the rally included Commoner, Daniel Ellsberg, and a city councilman from nearby San Luis Obispo, Richard Krejsa.

In Ranier, Oregon, eighty-five people were arrested on charges of "trespassing" when they occupied the site of the Trojan nuclear power plant. The occupiers were part of a demonstration of 400 antinuclear activists.

Organized by an umbrella coalition, the Trojan Decommissioning Alliance, the protesters modeled their action on the occupation of the Seabrook, New Hampshire, nuclear power plant site this past April.

That action was organized by the Clamshell Alliance.

Norman Soloman, a speaker for the Oregon alliance, pointed out that over the forty-year life of the Trojan plant, it will produce ten tons of highly poisonous plutonium and more than 1,400 tons of other "hot" waste products. Following its active life, the plant will have to be taken to pieces. Some of those pieces will remain dangerous for a quarter of a million years.

Phoebe Friedman, one of the demonstration organizers, summed up the perspective of the alliance when she said, "The experience of our years of active opposition to the war in Indochina taught us that if we are to win, we must commit ourselves to a long and enduring struggle before we see the fruits of our work. We can, and will, do this to stop nuclear destruction."

In Michigan, Clamshell Alliance leader Harvey Wasserman toured the Detroit-Ann Arbor area. The tour was sponsored by the Detroit-based Safe Energy Coalition (SECO). Almost 600 people attended each of the three meetings where Wasser-

man spoke.

Detroit residents have good reason to be sensitive to the dangers of nuclear power. In 1966 an accident at the Fermi I plant, located midway between Detroit and Toledo, nearly caused the evacuation of Detroit. Fortunately, a major disaster at the plant was averted.

Now a second plant, Fermi II, is proposed for the very same area. On August 6, 300 people rallied at the proposed site of Fermi II. Speakers from the Public Interest Research Group in Michigan, SECO, Greenpeace (a Canadian antinuclear group), and other organizations explained the dangers of nuclear energy to the crowd and pledged their collective energies to continue the fight against it.

A recent accident in a nuclear reactor in upstate Minnesota clearly demonstrates the dangers involved in nuclear energy production. When a secondary alarm system at the Monticello, Minnesota, plant short-circuited, the emergency evacuation procedures of Northern States Power (NPS) were shown to be a total shambles.

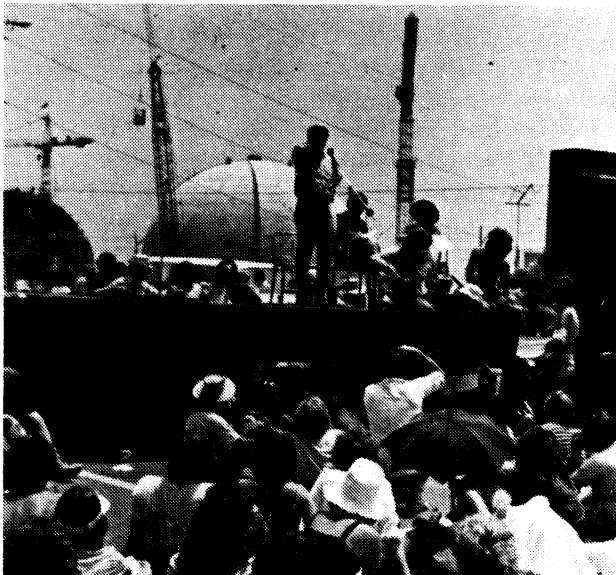
Now NPS is proposing to build another reactor in Tyrone, Wisconsin, ignoring the strong objections of farmers in the area.

On June 30, seventy antinuclear demonstrators organized by Northern Thunder, an antinuclear group from Eau Claire, Wisconsin, demonstrated at NSP's offices in Minneapolis. Thirty of the participants met after the action to discuss forming a broader coalition.

More than 250 opponents of nuclear power demonstrated in Clarksville, Indiana, on July 14, to protest the proposed construction of a nuclear power plant at Marble Hill. Carrying signs that said "Better active today than radioactive tomorrow," and "No radiation without representation," the protesters assembled in a city-owned field next to a business office of Public Service Company, the sponsor of the proposed plant.

"It's our river valley as much as it is PSC's," said Byron Himmelheber, a high school teacher in Louisville, and an organizer of the Paddle Wheel Alliance, the sponsor of the demonstration.

"We're going to stop Marble Hill, and that's all there is to it," he told the crowd.



Militant/Al Twiss

Environmentalist Barry Commoner addresses antinuclear rally in San Onofre, California.

Debate opens on new Panama Canal pact

By Murray Conrad

Right-wing foes of the proposed new Panama Canal treaty have kicked off what they hope will be a massive campaign to defeat ratification:

- On August 23 conservative standard-bearer Ronald Reagan vowed an all-out effort to defeat the treaty unless he's convinced it doesn't really threaten U.S. control of the canal.

- U.S. Senators Strom Thurmond (R-S.C.) and Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) appeared on national television August 21 threatening a filibuster to kill the treaty on the hill.

- The same day, the American Conservative Union launched a \$50,000 newspaper advertising campaign—mostly in southern states—aimed at mobilizing the public against the new treaty.

One such ad, appearing in a Jackson, Mississippi, paper, declared: "There is no Panama Canal. There is an American Canal at Panama. Don't let President Carter give it away."

The conservatives are also planning a direct mail campaign. They expect to send out "a minimum of several million letters" to "raise grass-roots" opposition to the new treaty.

The right-wingers seem buoyed by polls showing that at the beginning of public debate over the treaty a large majority of Americans say they don't want the United States to give up the canal.

One recent survey by the Opinion Research Corporation, for example, showed that of 1,011 adults questioned, 78 percent favored retention of U.S. control over the canal, 8 percent were for giving it up, and 14 percent had no opinion.

In the Canal Zone itself, public feeling against the new treaty among the transplanted U.S. population there runs even higher. About 2,000 Zionians booed the mention of President Carter's name at an antitreaty rally in Balboa August 19.

The Zionians are not happy with the idea of losing what *Time* magazine called a "Tropical Playground," where



Cuadernos Para el Diálogo

for "3,500 American employees of the Government-owned Panama Canal Co., 9,000 G.I.s and 21,100 other family members, Uncle Sugar provides everything from commissary and post-exchange privileges to bowling alleys and movie houses, swimming pools and tennis courts."

This privileged enclave is a source of justifiable resentment among the 1.7 million Panamanians just outside the zone who earn an average of \$1,180 yearly and suffer a national unemployment rate of 12 percent, and even higher rates in urban slums.

Carter's proposed treaty is aimed at preserving—not weakening—the long-term grip of U.S. imperialism over the canal in the face of growing opposition in Panama to imperialist domination.

As one "knowledgeable American official" told *U.S. News & World Report* August 22, "There are about

500,000 Panamanians of school age. . . . They are highly emotional, prone to demonstrations and easily aroused against the Canal Zone and its American residents.

"You could easily get 10,000 kids to attack the Zone if the treaty falls apart. All hell would break loose."

Given this potential explosiveness, "the new treaty marks an improvement over the present situation," former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger says, for assuring "secure access" to the Panama Canal.

While giving Panama ownership over the canal by the year 2,000, however, the new agreement also grants Washington the "right" to intervene militarily by any means necessary to guarantee the canal's "neutrality" forever.

The right-wingers rallying against the treaty are perfectly aware of this. They are aiming their fire at more than just the modest concessions Washington's negotiators have made to Panama's Gen. Torrijos.

Their antitreaty efforts reflect the class polarization of politics in the United States—a polarization precipitated by the offensive of the ruling rich against the living standards, democratic rights, and antiwar feelings of American working people.

The right-wing drive against the treaty is part of this process. The conservatives are looking for a popular way to start shaking the big stick against colonial peoples again, after such jingoistic methods were so badly discredited during the government's dirty war against the Vietnamese people.

As a *New York Times* editorial explained August 12, the fervor of right-wing treaty foes "is best explained not by economics or national security, but rather, by a hankering for a simpler time when the United States could disregard nationalist sentiments in small countries."

Most of the big capitalist daily newspapers, corporations, and mainstream politicians, in contrast, seem to be

backing the proposed treaty, while affording the right-wingers ample coverage and watching with interest the results of their efforts.

While also intent on steering the country on a rightward course, these dominant sectors of the U.S. ruling class want to sail on a more even keel. They are wary of the extreme neanderthals now seeking to rock the profit-laden boat of U.S.—Latin American relations.

Washington Post correspondent Warren Brown reports that sections of the U.S. labor movement may respond favorably to the right-wingers' demagoguery.

"Approximately 10,000 people now working in the Canal Zone, more than 80 percent of them Panamanian citizens," Brown reported August 22, "are represented by seven U.S. labor unions. Most belong to the National Maritime Union and the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

"The unions, working through the AFL-CIO, have insisted that any canal treaties protect the job rights of their members and have threatened all-out opposition to the treaties if that demand isn't met to their satisfaction."

The provisions of the proposed new treaty that apply to these unions are not yet public. But how the unions line up in the debate over the new treaty will be another measure of whether the official trade-union leadership is once again following its dead-end strategy of identifying the interests of labor with the oppressor rather than the oppressed.

The initial confusion over the canal issue bared in recent polls makes the need for an educational campaign in support of Panama's right to self-determination timely and urgent.

Washington has never had any business meddling in Panama's affairs. The debate over the new treaty requires that we raise our voices more loudly now than ever before to demand:

U.S. Hands off the Panama Canal!

New settlements bare Israeli West Bank plans

By Peter Seidman

The Israeli government has stomped the heel of its boot two more times on the necks of the West Bank Palestinians.

The Zionists announced August 14 that they were "equalizing" the public services available to Arabs and Jews in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Three days later, the Zionists authorized construction of three new Israeli settlements in the West Bank.

These moves are proof that Israel is continuing its policy of Zionist conquest, while at the same time only pretending a willingness to negotiate with the Arab people.

Israeli Prime Minister Menahem Begin claimed the plan to extend social services was not a move toward annexation. It was only a step that "every man who believes in human progress and justice should hail," he innocently said.

But the extension will cover not only health insurance, education programs, and welfare schemes, but Israeli "water, electrical and telephone systems—

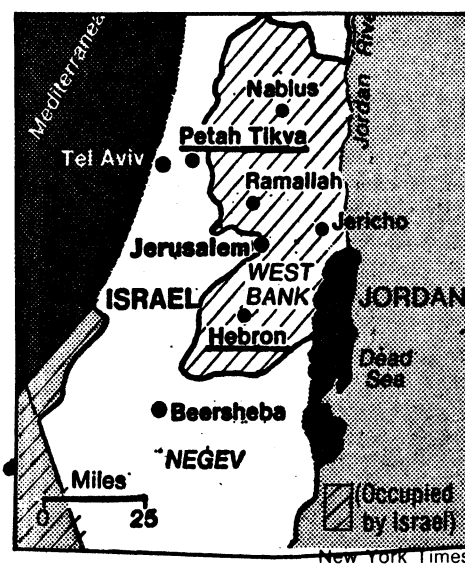
a project that would probably cost tens of millions of dollars," *Newsweek* reported August 29. If Israel seriously had in mind the future return of these territories, it would hardly make such massive, permanent investments as these.

Bassam Shakar, Palestinian mayor of the West Bank city of Nablus, blasted this move as "the beginning of our annihilation. . . . Israel's aim is political, not humanitarian."

Israel's recent moves parallel its inflexible stance toward the Palestinians taken during U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance's eleven-day, six-nation Middle East tour earlier this month.

Israel made it clear to Vance that it rejects any withdrawal to its pre-1967 borders. It refused to consider the creation of a Palestinian homeland. And it even backed away from its previously stated position of allowing Jordan some control over the West Bank after a peace settlement.

Begin also repeated his opposition to even negotiating with the Palestine Liberation Organization, whose philo-



Map shows sites of new Zionist settlements in occupied West Bank territory near Hebron and Petah Tikva.

sophy, he said, "is based on an Arab 'Mein Kampf.'"

In contrast, the Egyptian, Jordanian, and Syrian governments sought to

be as conciliatory toward Washington as possible. They told Vance they would now be willing to sign a peace treaty with Israel and offer it diplomatic relations, if the Zionists would only accept an overall settlement along the lines proposed by Washington.

But despite this show of Arab "reasonableness" in the face of Israeli intransigence, Washington—showing where its true loyalties lie—insists that the next move toward peace must be a concession by the hard-pressed Palestinians.

The Carter administration says it can't be expected to take the domestic political risks involved in even appearing to pressure Israel unless the PLO accepts UN Security Council Resolution 242 guaranteeing Israel's right to "secure and recognized boundaries."

But as Israeli moves in recent months and weeks have shown, the only guarantee of a "secure boundary" the Zionists would accept from the Palestinians is their signature on a death warrant for the PLO and the aspirations of the Palestinian masses to liberate their homeland.

Immigrant workers punch hole in French gov't austerity plan

By F.L. Derry
From Intercontinental Press

PARIS—A wave of strikes by immigrant workers earlier this year left a gaping hole in the French government's austerity program. For the first time, wage increases in excess of the 6.5 percent government-imposed limit were won.

The victories are doubly important because of the pariah status of immigrants in France. They faced police repression, threats of deportation, racist attacks, and strikebreaking activities by France's largest union federation, the Communist Party-dominated CGT.¹ Having resisted these attacks, the immigrant workers emerged as clear winners.

Immigrants play a vital role in the French economy. There are more than 4.5 million registered immigrants in France, about 8 percent of the total population. The number who have not registered may be a million or more.

The registered immigrants make up 11.3 percent of all wage earners. Since they are concentrated in the worst-paying jobs, they represent 20 percent of all blue-collar workers (*ouvriers*). On the production line of any major automobile plant, for example, immigrants are an overwhelming majority. Reports from some of the largest plants in France indicate that up to 80-90 percent of the production line workers are immigrants.

Few of the recent strikes took place in large factories, however. Sanitation workers, street cleaners, and the workers who sweep the Paris subways were the ones who took the lead. Their victory over the government austerity plan in May is an example not only for the immigrant workers in the factories, but for all French workers as well.

Barre plan

The government austerity program was launched by Premier Raymond Barre last September. Although it was greeted by loud protests and a twenty-four-hour general strike October 7, no

union was willing to lead a serious struggle against the Barre Plan, particularly in a preelection period. Strike victories became less frequent, while strikes became longer. Inflation mounted and is now running at a rate twice as high as the limit on wage increases in the Barre Plan.

Unemployment has also mounted sharply. Both the government and the employers have made efforts to put the burden of unemployment on the backs of the immigrants. For example, last year the government launched a campaign to "dignify manual labor." According to Francois Ceyrac, president of the National Council of Employers, the aim of this campaign is to "encourage the French to look for certain types of jobs that until now have been held by immigrant workers" (*Le Monde*, June 18, 1977).

Former Premier Jacques Chirac, now the mayor of Paris, was, as usual, even more blunt, noting that "there should not be an unemployment problem in France while there are one million unemployed and 1.8 million immigrant workers."

In June, the government proposed a new solution to the jobs crisis. Immigrant workers who were unemployed would be offered 10,000 francs (about US\$2,000 to return to their native country. They would be forbidden to ever return to France.

While strong pressure is being placed on immigrants to accept the offer, its real purpose is to subtly persuade French workers that "the foreigners" are to blame for rising unemployment, not the government or the capitalists.

CGT holds back

Unfortunately, the CGT has done everything in its power to hold back the immigrant workers. The February 14 *Le Nouvel Economiste*, a weekly financial journal, recounted one such effort that took place at the giant Renault plant at Billancourt on the edge of Paris.

With 32,000 workers it is one of the largest plants in France. More than 90 percent of the *ouvrier spécialisé* (semi-skilled workers) are immigrants. The



DEMONSTRATION OF IMMIGRANT WORKERS IN FRANCE: their victory over the government austerity plan in May set an example for all French workers.

incident took place just two and a half months before the current wave of strikes by immigrant workers.

Le Nouvel Economiste reported:

Thirty days before the municipal elections, the CGT does not want to make Renault the detonator of a social explosion. . . . It has bluntly refused to light the match at its fiefdom on the Seguin Island at Billancourt.

On January 27, 500 semiskilled immigrant workers decided not to go back to work on the assembly lines for the Renault 4 and Renault 6. . . . Their demands could easily have spread to all the lines at Billancourt. The management was aware of the danger. It was in one of these shops, a small bastion of immigrants in fortress Renault, that one of the harshest struggles the Renault management has known began on February 13, 1975. . . .

Michel Certano, the new CGT secretary, knows the shops on the Seguin Island very well, because for a long time he worked at the side of the immigrant workers. . . . However, in spite of the pressure from the CFDT,² which called for an extension of the conflict, the CGT, supported by the French Communist Party, preferred to cool things off. The workers have not chosen an unlim-

ited strike. We are convinced that they will know how to avoid this trap by modifying the form of their action . . .," explained a leaflet distributed by the Communist activists at the factory gates.

Unhappy, the 500 workers of Seguin Island have gone back to the line after six days of a fruitless strike. "Preelectoral prudence" was the scornful reply by the CGT's opponents.

The CGT did take part in one of the recent strikes, that of the Parisian sanitation workers in April. This was the first of the strikes to win a clear-cut victory and it helped to spark a wave of other strikes.

Sanitation workers

More than three-quarters of the 4,500 sanitation workers are immigrants, mostly Africans, Arabs, and Portuguese.

Most of the sanitation workers in Paris are supporters of the CGT.

2. Confédération Française et Démocratique du Travail (French Democratic Federation of Labor, supported by the Socialist Party).

1. Confédération Générale du Travail (General Confederation of Labor).

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With the walkout still less than a week old, Paris Mayor Jacques Chirac called on the army to break the strike which had begun on April 21. However, in contrast to previous strikes, the sanitation workers were able to win in spite of the use of the army, through a combination of winning public support from other workers and a "go slow" policy of the soldiers themselves.

The strikers provided one of the lead contingents in the Paris May Day demonstration. Here the true character of the strike became evident. Hundreds of African strikers, in African dress and playing African music, marched to enthusiastic applause from bystanders. In four hours the strikers collected 15,000 francs (about US\$3,000) for their strike fund.

Two days later, Chirac made a new offer, and the strike was settled May 4.

First breakthrough

As with other recent strikes by immigrant workers, the central demands concerned wage increases and bad working conditions. While the sanitation workers' wages are still low and they did not win all of their demands, their wage increase of 10-11 percent was the first settlement to break through the 6.5% government-imposed limit.

The fact that the settlement was made with the agreement of Chirac and ratified by President Giscard d'Estaing meant that the first breach of the austerity program had a semiofficial character.

The next day, sanitation workers in Orléans declared their intention to strike and they were soon followed by sanitation workers in Marseilles. Then, on May 31, both the Paris subway cleaners and 1,200 immigrant workers in a factory in Strasbourg walked off the job.

The 1,000 Paris subway cleaners are not directly employed by the subway administration but by six private companies who subcontract the work. Virtually all the workers are immigrants who work forty-five hours a week for a monthly salary of 1,700 francs (about US\$340).

The minimum salary for those who work directly for the subway administration is 2,300 francs (about US\$460). These workers, however, are French, not immigrants. One of the central demands of the subway cleaners was for a minimum wage equal to that of the French subway workers.

Their work is dangerous, as the employers refuse to turn off the high voltage lines when the tracks are cleaned. Two workers have been electrocuted this year while cleaning the rails. The workers demanded that this practice stop.

The bosses believed they could divide the strikers, since many different nationalities were involved. But the striking workers organized regular, democratically run assemblies with

simultaneous translations into four different languages and elected a leadership to conduct the strike.

The workers had never been on strike before, nor had they ever formed a union. However, most of them supported the CFDT, which led the strike support efforts. By the end of the strike, 930 of the workers had joined the CFDT.

Every night, delegations from many different CFDT unions went down into the subways with the striking workers to speak to those few workers still on the job. In this way the discipline of the strike was maintained and the strikers were protected from police harassment.

Strikebreaking

The solidarity displayed by the CFDT towards the immigrants was unfortunately offset by the strikebreaking activities of the CGT. The CGT Federation of Ports and Docks view the growing influence of the CFDT among the immigrant workers as a threat. More than 83 percent of this CGT federation's members are French.

In the one area in which the CGT initially had some influence among the subway cleaners, they refused to call a strike. Only when their supporters were down to fewer than 100 did they finally join the action, although they never attended the broad strike meetings.

After a brief period on strike, they accepted the first offer from the bosses and led eighty workers influenced by the CGT back to work. The last week of the strike saw the sorry spectacle of the CGT strikebreakers cleaning the subway, escorted by police guards.

The workers gained their demands on work safety and a "promise" to improve work and sanitary conditions. They won an immediate wage increase of 120 francs, an increase of 2 percent in October, and a 350 franc year-end bonus.

This means that by the end of the year their salary will have risen from 1,700 francs to 1,900 francs, an increase of nearly 12 percent. While this is still far from the 2,300 francs of other subway workers, it is nearly twice the government limit for wage increases.

The recent series of strikes have shown several characteristics. One is the extraordinary tenacity of the immigrant workers in the face of seemingly overwhelming odds.

Second, they have taken place in sectors which are not traditional strong points for the union movement. Except for the Paris streetcleaners, unions were either very new or nonexistent at the start of the strike.

Third, and most important, they were victorious in breaking through the austerity program for the first time, thus playing a vanguard role for the rest of the workers, French and immigrant alike.



The pariah status of immigrant workers in France carries over from the job to the overpriced, intolerable housing most are forced to live in.

World news notes

S. Africa announces new plan for white rule

Faced with growing opposition to its apartheid rule, South Africa's white regime has announced a new plan to "share" government powers with nonwhites. A ruling council would include one Asian representative and two delegates of mixed races for every four white delegates. The 18.6 million Blacks who make up more than 70 percent of the country's population would still be denied any representation.

Leaders of the Asian and other nonwhite communities, as well as whites who oppose apartheid, have criticized the plan. The *New York Times* noted, "Only among blacks has the reaction been unrelievedly negative."

S. Africa practices plan for white rule

Last week South African cops arrested 340 students and teachers in the Black township of Soweto outside Johannesburg. Attempting to end a three-week school boycott, cops used attack dogs and submachine guns in raids on at least a dozen schools.

Desmond Mabuse, nineteen years old, became the latest victim of South Africa's regime. Cops shot and killed Mabuse when they fired on students throwing rocks.

S. Africa threatens holocaust for white rule

Both France and the Soviet Union have charged that South Africa is preparing to set off a test atomic weapons explosion. South Africa's Prime Minister John Vorster denies the accusation. However, the white regime has received 229 pounds of enriched uranium (necessary for producing nuclear weapons) over the last twenty years. France has a billion-dollar contract to provide the regime with two atomic power plants. South Africa also has its own uranium enrichment plant, which it has refused to put under international safeguards. And the regime has refused to sign a treaty designed to stop the spread of nuclear weapons.

Vorster said he "can't help smiling" to hear charges about South African atomic tests from people who previously denied the racists could do it.

Tamils under attack in Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka's Sinhalese-speaking majority has been attacking the Tamil minority in that country. Some 15,000 Tamils have fled their homes to escape attacking mobs, according to United Press International.

In last month's election the Tamil United Liberation Front won seventeen seats in parliament and became the country's second-largest political party. The party seeks to form an independent Tamil state as a solution to the discrimination Tamils face.

France expels Agee on behalf of its friends

Philip Agee, the former CIA agent who is campaigning against the spy agency's crimes, was expelled from France August 18. The French government said his presence was "undesirable" because it might hurt France's ties with "certain friendly countries."

Last November Britain also expelled Agee, saying only that his presence might hurt national security.

A spokesperson from the American embassy in France claimed that the U.S. government had not pushed for Agee's expulsion, saying that Agee is free to return to the United States. But, Agee has reported, his life is threatened if he returns to this country.

Argentine Trotskyist released unharmed

Enrique Broquen, the Argentine socialist kidnapped in Buenos Aires July 5, has been released. He was not harmed and is in good health.

Broquen is a leader and main legal adviser of the Argentine Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST-Socialist Workers Party). Sixty-nine years old, he is known as an outspoken opponent of right-wing terrorist groups and a defender of political prisoners.

Broquen is one of many attorneys kidnapped by rightist thugs unleashed by the military junta of Gen. Jorge Videla. Many of the victims have disappeared or been jailed or murdered.

U.S. wants airbase against Africa, Mideast

Philippines dictator Ferdinand Marcos wants \$1 billion in military aid over the next five years as a sort of rent payment on Clark Air Force base, which the United States maintains near Manila.

Base commander Freddie Poston says the place is worth the price. Clark's maps list every airfield in Asia and the Indian subcontinent. Its jets are capable of landing in West Africa and setting up an airstrip in just twenty-four hours. And, the air force major-general brags, "If the call came in, and they said, 'Hey, launch our planes to Iran,' I'd be able to do it."

Racist regimes stick together

Israel announced its refusal August 17 to take part in the United Nations World Conference for Action against Apartheid.

Like South Africa, Israel is a colonial-settler state. In recent years it has stepped up its military support and trade ties to the South African regime.

What now for 'Guardian,' RCP?

Peking gives 'Chairman Klonsky' the nod

By Les Evans

A curious meeting took place in Peking July 20 that was reported at length in the August 1 and 8 issues of the *Call*. The *Call* is the newspaper of the "Communist Party (M-L [Marxist-Leninist])," which until recently was known as the October League, a small American Maoist organization.

It seems that the Chinese government, after more than a decade of silence toward its U.S. followers, has decided to publicly embrace the CP (M-L) as its official American representative.

Michael Klonsky (now referred to in the *Call* as Chairman Klonsky) received an official state interview with Hua Kuo-feng, who solidified his control of the Chinese Communist Party through the purge of the "Gang of Four" and their followers after the death of Mao Tsetung last year.

A banquet was given for the visiting American Maoists in the Great Hall of the People, where top leaders of the Chinese party and state gave toasts to the "fraternal parties." Li Hsien-nien, China's top economic planner, went so far as to declare:

"The Communist Party (M-L) of the U.S. will surely continue to achieve new successes in its fight against the monopoly capitalist class at home and the two hegemonic powers, by integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete revolutionary practice of its own country, going deep among the masses and boldly arousing the masses."

According to the Maoist-leaning weekly *Guardian*, "The event was given front page coverage with photographs in the Chinese press."

There is something more than a little bizarre in all of this. It is true that Chinese government officials in recent

years have taken to making a great fuss over deservedly obscure people. Like the time they invited Richard Nixon back to Peking for a state visit after he had been run out of the White House for corruption and criminality.

In the case of Nixon, however, it made some sense that Mao, operating from a perspective of alliances with capitalist politicians and governments, thought he could pressure President Ford by embarrassing him through a meeting with Nixon. But does Peking really believe today that Michael Klonsky and the CP (M-L) can help it improve its bargaining position with American imperialism?

Of more interest are the repercussions to be expected among U.S. Maoists and other Peking camp followers. The October League, after all, was not the only contender for the mantle. It is not distinguished from the other Maoist organizations by its size—it is perhaps half the size of the more influential Revolutionary Communist Party led by Bob Avakian. Nor is it outstanding for the readership and influence of its newspaper where, among the Maoist groups, the weekly *Guardian* is plainly in the lead.

The distinguishing characteristic of the October League (Communist Party [M-L]) is its slavish devotion to whatever line happens to be currently emanating from Peking.

C. Clark Kissinger, one of the intellectual lights of the Revolutionary Communist Party, acquired a certain fame at a Maoist conference in New York last November for his remark that "if a chimpanzee had been elected Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party, he would have gotten a telegram of congratulations from Michael Klonsky."

Klonsky's reputation is well de-



CHAIRMAN KLONSKY TOASTS CHAIRMAN HUA: The distinguishing characteristic of the Communist Party (M-L) is its slavish devotion to the latest line from Peking.

served. But this raises a special problem for the other American Maoist groups and publications, especially the RCP. If Peking will accept into its camp only such servile toadies as Klonsky represents, what place—if any—is there for other groups in the Maoist spectrum?

The RCP has tried very hard to evade this question. At the New York conference in November it assured its members that it was the true Maoist party and that Klonsky was a pitiful faker. Now Chairman Klonsky has an ironclad mandate from Peking. What will the RCP do now?

If any of their members, out of misguided faith in the late Mao Tsetung, are considering capitulating to Chairman Klonsky, they should consider one example of what such capitulation means for their political and moral integrity. A little more than a year ago, when Teng Hsiao-p'ing was dismissed from office on Mao's personal order as a "capitalist restorationist," Klonsky's *Call* had the following to say:

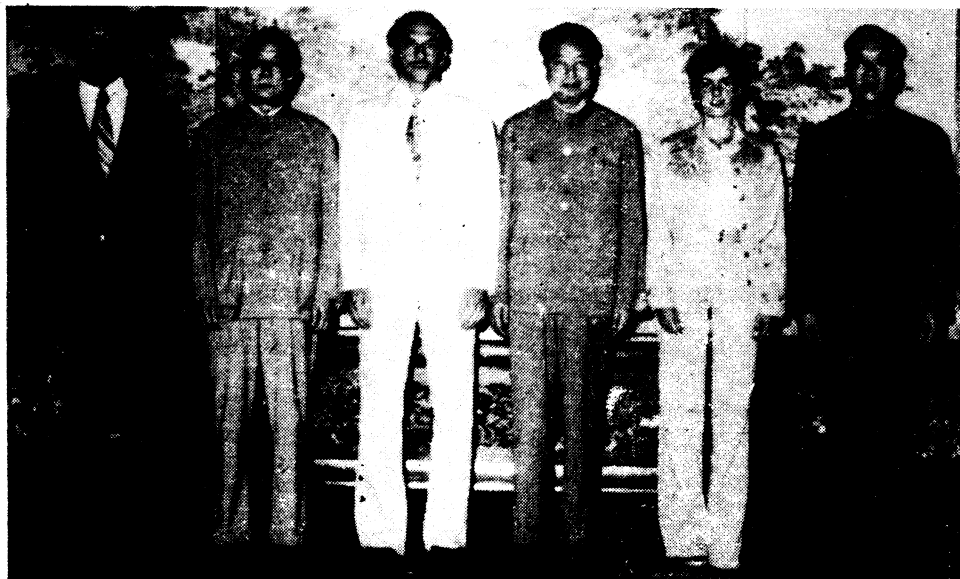
"The struggle, initiated and led by the party and Chairman Mao Tsetung, exposed attempts by Teng and his followers to restore capitalism through a reversal of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution . . . the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party unanimously adopted a resolution by Chairman Mao Tsetung to dismiss Teng Hsiao-ping from all posts both inside and outside the party. . . . Teng . . . represented the bourgeois class in China" (the *Call*, May 1, 1976).

In the August 1, 1977, *Call*, in contrast, Klonsky himself writes:

"A great victory has been won. . . . Teng Hsiao-ping, the target of an attack by the 'gang of four,' was returned to all of his former positions. . . ."

And what of Mao's resolution? The "unanimous" vote of the political bureau? The "bourgeois class"?

I suppose Klonsky figures that a dinner in Peking with Hua Kuo-feng should be worth something.



CHAIRMAN HUA HONORS CHAIRMAN KLONSKY: Official state photograph shows CP (M-L) delegation with top Chinese leaders in the Great Hall of the People.

Gus Hall takes 'Eurocommunists' to task

By Peter Seidman

The protests by leaders of the French, Italian, and Spanish Communist parties against violations of democratic rights in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe have received widespread attention.

But until recently, Gus Hall, the general secretary of the American Communist Party, reserved public comment on this trend, which has become known as Eurocommunism.

In the July 30 issue of *World Magazine*, however, Hall breaks his silence. He replies to a letter from a reader, who asks:

"I am curious about the stories I've been reading in the press about some leaders of some Communist parties in Europe who make critical

remarks about the socialist countries. I would like to know why I haven't seen or heard of any such remarks made by you or other leaders of the CPUSA?"

Hall answers that the CPUSA disagrees with the so-called Eurocommunists.

The Soviet Union and East European countries, he insists, are the lands of socialism. Anyone who believes otherwise is being suckered by a mass-media campaign of the "capitalist ideologues and Big Lie journalists."

Their aim, Hall writes, "is to convince our people of a basic falsehood that socialism is inherently anti-democratic, anti-human, bureaucratic, dictatorial, war-like and ag-

gressive and that it is not a workable and realistic alternative to capitalism."

Then why, Hall asks, "do some, like [Spanish CP leader Santiago] Carillo and the Maoist group in the leadership of the Communist Party of China, join with the propagandists of imperialism to slander the very socio-economic system they advocate?"

The explanation is simple, according to Hall. "The sharp edge of anti-communism is against the countries where socialism is a reality." So the Eurocommunists "try to bypass the sharp edge by opportunistically going around it. It is accommodation. It is an attempt to gain popularity on a false premise."

But despite his charge that the Eurocommunists "accommodate" to "anti-communism," Hall admits that at bottom there is political agreement on basic policies between the hard-line Moscow Stalinists and the new "Euro-Stalinists." "There are no disagreements about communists participating in electoral coalitions," he writes. "There are no differences about seeking a peaceful path to socialism."

This is a very revealing observation.

It shows that the Eurocommunists are taking their distance from the Kremlin's violations of democratic rights only to more effectively peddle Moscow's overall policy of collabora-

Continued on page 30

Civil liberties victory

Judge tells spies to pay for mail tampering

By Diane Wang

For the first time the CIA will have to pay money for its crimes against democratic rights. On August 17 Federal Judge Jack Weinstein ordered the government to pay damages to three people whose mail had been illegally opened by the CIA.

Norman Birnbaum, Mary Rule MacMillen, and B. Leonard Avery sued the CIA for illegally tampering with mail they had sent to and received from people in the Soviet Union.

The CIA opened their mail as part of a project that lasted from 1953 to 1973. During those years the spies copied at least 215,000 pieces of mail and put 1.5 million names into their computers.

Judge Weinstein described the CIA mail opening as "only part of a general pattern of post-World War II lawlessness and abuse of power exemplifying 'contempt for the law and the Constitution' by government."

Last May an advisory jury in the case recommended that the government pay the three citizens damages ranging from \$2,500 to \$10,000.

Weinstein decided to order damages of only \$1,000 to each of the three plaintiffs. He explained that none of the three had suffered consequences from the mail openings such as loss of money or jobs requiring a larger damage payment.

"It was, nevertheless, instructive,"



LA Times/Conrad

the judge noted, "that this panel of average citizens—representing a broad range of economic, educational, social, and political experience—uniformly found that the damages suffered by the

plaintiffs in this case were substantial."

Weinstein pointed out, "The American people have already paid a considerable price for the CIA's illegal mail-

search activities. In addition to the large out-of-pocket expenditures in operating the program, there has been a perceptible widespread loss of confidence in the integrity of the mails and in the right of individuals to be free from surreptitious intrusions into their privacy by government officials."

Taxpayers will also end up paying the damages for the CIA's crimes, the judge noted. But it is important that the CIA pay damages, Weinstein concluded, to make it clear that the Constitution and laws are not just "pretentious, empty promises."

"In this country we do not pay lip service to the value of human rights and individual dignity—we mean to live by our ideals," wrote the judge.

Weinstein also ordered the government to write each of the plaintiffs a letter of apology. The proposed draft of the letter begins:

"The purpose of this letter is to extend to you the sincerest regrets of the United States Government for any harm you may have experienced as a result of the interference with your mail."

After assuring that such mail openings will never happen again (more "pretentious, empty promises"?), the letter concludes, "It is our hope, however, that the efforts of the government . . . will, to some extent, restore your trust in the integrity of our free institutions."

Sinister tests revealed

CIA experiments sought mind-control drug

By Steve Wattenmaker
From Intercontinental Press

Dr. Frank Olson, a civilian research scientist for the army, committed suicide in 1953 by throwing himself from the tenth floor window of a New York City hotel.

Twenty-four years later, an investigation of the Central Intelligence Agency turned up evidence that Olson had killed himself while under the influence of LSD, a mind-altering drug. He had been slipped the drug as an unwitting guinea pig in a CIA "thought-control" experiment.

According to new CIA documents recently released under the Freedom of Information Act, the agency carried out sweeping experiments with dangerous drugs, psychosurgery, radiation, electric shock, and other techniques to find a possible means for controlling human behavior.

More than 1,000 pages of documents describing the experiments were turned over to John Marks, a freelance journalist who made the material public at a July 20 news conference in Washington. Marks is also an associate of the Center for National Security Studies, a private organization set up to uncover abuses by the CIA and other government spy agencies.

While the existence of the CIA's investigations into behavior control has been known since 1975, the new documents provide chilling details of the vast scope of the CIA's efforts throughout the 1950s and 1960s.

A follow-up investigation by reporters Nicholas Horrock, John Crewdson, Boyce Rensberger, Jo Thomas, and Joseph Treaster, published in the August 2 *New York Times*, revealed that prominent hospitals in the United States and Canada were also involved in the CIA's \$25 million thought-control program.

In all, some eighty private and public institutions participated.

According to the new information, the CIA conducted secret medical experiments from 1950 until the mid-1970s under the code names Bluebird, Artichoke, MK Ultra, and MK Delta. A 1963 CIA report described the twenty-five-year program as "research and development of chemical, biological and radiological materials capable of employment in clandestine operations to control human behavior."

High on the program's priorities was an attempt to develop methods "by which we can get information from a person against his will and without his knowledge," according to a 1952 project Artichoke memorandum.

The memo went on to ask whether it was possible "to get control of an individual to the point where he will do our bidding against his will and even against such fundamental laws of nature as self-preservation?"

In pursuit of that goal, CIA and civilian scientists performed experiments on allegedly "voluntary" subjects in federal prisons and mental hospitals as well as on an undetermined number of unwitting participants—like Frank Olson.

Earlier in the same year Olson died, the army sponsored a similar test of psychochemicals at the New York State Psychiatric Institute in Manhattan. In the secret experiments, Harold Blauer, a professional tennis player, died after being given a fatal dose of a mescaline derivative.

CIA bartenders

In 1955 the CIA made arrangements with agents of the Bureau of Narcotics to surreptitiously test LSD on unwitting patrons of New York City and San Francisco bars. Some of the subjects became violently ill and had to be hospitalized, never knowing exactly what happened to them.

Other LSD experiments were conducted across the United States:

- *U.S. Public Health Service Hospital, Lexington, Kentucky*—From 1952 to 1963 LSD was tested on alcoholics and drug addicts confined here. The researcher heading the program, Dr. Harris Isbell, was eager to please the CIA.

On one occasion he wrote to his agency contact, "I will write you a quick letter as soon as I get the stuff into a man or two."

- *Atlanta federal penitentiary*—LSD experiments were carried out here on prisoners from 1955 until 1964. Dr. Carl Pfeiffer, a pharmacologist, was paid \$25,000 a year by the CIA for his work in Atlanta and the similar experiments on prisoners at the Bordentown Reformatory in New Jersey.

- *Mt. Sinai hospital, New York City*—Another doctor who contracted with the CIA was a prominent New York pediatrician, Dr. Harold Abramson, who tested LSD on patients at Mt. Sinai hospital. Abramson's name first surfaced when it was disclosed he had treated Frank Olson shortly before Olson's suicide.

- *Massachusetts Mental Health Center, Boston*—Beginning in 1957, Dr. Robert Hyde tested LSD for the CIA on doctors, nurses, and attendants at the hospital. Hyde then continued his experiments after he transferred to the Butler Health Center in Providence, Rhode Island.

Other behavior-control research spanned a wide range of possibilities, from research on other drugs to the implantation of electrodes in the brain's "pain center."

'Brainwashing'

At McGill University in Montreal, scientists tested drugs and other "brainwashing" techniques suggested by the CIA. While psychiatric patients were the primary subjects, at least one experiment involved a group of nurses

shut in dark, soundproof rooms for up to thirty minutes at a time. Leonard Rubenstein, a researcher who worked on the project, reported that one of the nurses had to be treated subsequently for schizophrenia.

In 1962 a CIA doctor approached the head of Tulane University's department of psychiatry and neurology to ask if he was interested in doing research on the "pain center" in the brain. The researcher, Dr. Robert Heath, was known for his pioneering work in implanting tiny electrodes in the brain's "pleasure center" as a way to treat schizophrenia.

Heath reportedly turned down the CIA but later did some drug experiments for the agency.

A summary of a 1953 meeting reported that CIA scientists were seeking to work with scientists of an unidentified foreign country, since unlike the United States that country allowed experiments with anthrax, a disease contracted from cattle and sheep.

At Georgetown University in Washington, D.C., and at other institutions, the CIA funded tests of "knockout" drugs on terminally ill cancer patients. In related experiments two biochemists were paid \$43,000 to analyze the "bodily fluids" of terminally ill patients who had lapsed into delirium or coma.

The object of the experiment was to isolate a natural toxin that the CIA could use to artificially induce delirium or mental confusion.

Evidently the similarity between their own research and earlier experiments performed in Nazi concentration camps didn't escape the CIA's attention.

The August 2 *New York Times* reported that CIA scientists—undaunted by the Nuremberg convictions of Third Reich doctors for "crimes against humanity"—pored over the works of psychologists who worked on behavior-control projects under Hitler.

Big talk, little action at SCLC convention

By Don Davis
and Malik Miah

ATLANTA—One by one they came, some of the nation's best-known Black leaders, to tell the Southern Christian Leadership Conference national convention that Jimmy Carter has not come through on his campaign promises, and that it was time for Blacks to act.

"Carter has an agenda, and it's not our agenda," thundered Rev. Jesse Jackson of Operation PUSH (People United to Save Humanity). "If we don't have a job or an income, why are we not still marching?"

Rev. Joseph Lowery, the new president of SCLC, promised to keep the heat on Carter.

"We're going to call you long distance, we're going to send you telegrams, we're going to send you letters, and if that don't work, Jimmy," Lowery declared, "we're going to put on our marching shoes."

Finally there was Benjamin Hooks, national executive director of the NAACP, saying it was time that Blacks told Carter:

"We put you there, and we're waiting for you to do something, not just for us but for the poor and the disinherited."

Each attack on Carter, each call for action, drew cheers from the 300 delegates and guests at the three-day convention that ended August 19.

When Lowery promised that if Carter did not make good his promises he would hear "the tramp, tramp, tramp of our feet," the convention stood and applauded wildly. One young Black woman turned to another and said, "He's going to make me join SCLC in a minute. I want to see some action."

She won't see it in the SCLC.

Despite the talk of marching, it was clear that Lowery and the others have no intention of mobilizing Black people to fight to defend their rights and living standards as they did in the 1960s—with picket lines, teach-ins, mass meetings, and demonstrations.

Actually, the strategy of these so-called Black leaders is to go back and talk with the man they say has lied to Blacks to get their votes and then done nothing for them—Jimmy Carter.

Despite Carter's refusal to provide jobs or a decent welfare system, and his attacks on abortion rights and school desegregation, they believe that all it takes is a persuasive argument from some Black leaders to make Carter "do right."

Shortly after his fire-and-brimstone speech, Lowery told the *Militant*, "We have every confidence in Mr. Carter."



DR. JOSEPH LOWERY (second from left): new SCLC head blasted Carter, but offered no plan of action

Militant/Richard Rathens

"We think Mr. Carter is moving in the right direction, just the pace is a little slow. The pace is so much slower than the pace he kept in the campaign, the pace at which he made commitments."

Asked how much longer he would wait for Carter to reform before calling on Blacks to mobilize, Lowery replied, "We're open to the Holy Spirit."

Lowery's only real plan of action is to get on a plane to go to a meeting of twenty Black leaders in New York City August 29. The meeting, which will be closed to all other representatives of the Black community, as well as the press, is to draw up a new list of demands to present Carter.

The convention endorsed the leadership meeting, but some felt it was not an adequate response to the attacks on Black people.

One delegate, Jim Lawson of Los Angeles, told the convention, "If we want to challenge the president, we do it not by answering him, but by organizing folk."

He said there seemed to be "too much emphasis on talking with him, not enough on talking with him with power."

Tony Austin, national coordinator of

the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR), gave delegates copies of a letter from NSCAR to Urban League President Vernon Jordan. The letter asks that the leadership meeting, first proposed by Jordan, be broadened to more fully represent the Black community, especially students, who played a key role in the civil rights victories of the 1960s.

NSCAR also handed out its "Full Equality Now" statement that calls for a broad national Black conference to draw up a strategy for the Black movement. The statement calls for reliance on the power of Black people mobilized to defend their rights, not on Democratic or Republican party politicians.

There was no real discussion of strategy on the floor of the SCLC convention. The resolutions discussion, where strategy might have come up, was relegated to less than an hour of a sparsely attended final-day session.

The convention adopted resolutions endorsing Carter's choice of Alabama Federal Judge Frank Johnson as the new FBI chief, Vernon Jordan's criticisms of Carter, and the effort to unionize southern textile giant J.P. Stevens. One resolution expressed

"concern" over Carter's failure to give some of his Black campaign workers jobs in his administration.

The convention delegates spent most of their time wondering who would be the new president of SCLC.

Local newspapers billed the race between acting President Lowery and Atlanta SCLC head Hosea Williams as an ideological contest. Lowery was pictured as the choice of the conservative wing of SCLC headed by Coretta Scott King, widow of SCLC founder Martin Luther King, Jr.; Williams was said to be the militant ready to lead masses into the streets.

In fact, both Lowery and Williams share the same strategy of relying on Democratic Party politicians. Williams has been elected to the state legislature as a Democrat, and the last time he tried to mobilize Black people it was to come hear the pray-to-be-rich con artist Reverend Ike.

The power struggle was settled behind closed doors. In return for backing Lowery for president, Williams was given a full-time job as executive director of SCLC, and this "unity" slate was approved by the convention without debate.

Calif. governor: 'L.A. busing costs too much'

By Joanie Quinn

LOS ANGELES—California's Gov. Jerry Brown has urged continued segregation of Los Angeles schools as an alternative to the "high cost" of busing in a televised interview here.

In a thinly veiled threat to deny state support, Brown warned Superior Court Judge Paul Egly against ordering a broad desegregation plan for Los Angeles schools this fall.

"Philosophers and judges can issue their edicts," Brown said, "but we live in a free country, and if people don't like what they see in their schools, they just get in their cars and go . . . Now, that's a reality."

Brown's message is crystal clear. The "reality" that some whites won't like what "they see in their schools"—more Black, Latino, and Asian students—carries more weight in this liberal Democrat's office than the rights of students of the oppressed nationalities.

Brown's phony "white flight" arguments received immediate backup from the *Los Angeles Times*. Along with Brown's remarks, the *Times* ran a companion article entitled, "47 Percent White Flight Under Desegregation Plan Predicted."

The opening lines of the story stated, "The draft of an environmental impact report prepared for the Los Angeles Board of Education predicts a loss of between 103,000 and 118,000 anglo students by 1980 if a mandatory desegregation plan is put into effect here."

In fact, the study actually showed that more than half of that 47 percent would be lost through a combination of a declining white birthrate and white families leaving the city for reasons unrelated to desegregation. This information, however, was buried in the last paragraph of the article.

Brown's arguments against desegregation don't end with the scare tactic of "white flight."

The millionaire governor went on to say that as far as he's concerned, minority students in Los Angeles can whistle in the wind for money to finance desegregation.

"I think the judge ought to realize," he said, "that there are certain economic constraints . . . if we give more money for schools, that's less money for hospitals. That's less money for fighting smog and for helping old people."

"We live in an era of limits," Brown piously continued. "We want to have a good program, but we've only got so many cookies in the jar."

Coming from Brown, this statement has the same ring of sincerity as Cal Worthington, Los Angeles's largest used-car dealer, pushing a hot one.

Budget experts have indicated that, if needed, more state funding is readily available. Some of them have proposed a modest increase in taxes on the superprofits raked in by California's

huge agribusinesses, giant oil companies, and financial concerns such as Bank of America. Such a tax increase could easily finance desegregation, smog control, and help for old people too.

But school desegregation would not even have to wait on this. The state currently has, Brown boasts, a surplus of \$2.5 billion!

Why, then, does Brown demagogically claim California can't "afford" desegregation?

Most immediately, because he is now firing up his 1978 bandwagon. With his previously cultivated reputation as the liberal Democratic's chief guru, he calculates he can now go after the racist, antibusing vote without losing support from Black and Chicano politicians.

But his unprecedented move to publicly blackmail a judge into ruling on the side of racism should help make clear what he really is—a deadly enemy of civil rights.

Workers fired, schools gutted

Penna. 'budget crisis': cover for cutbacks

By Jon Hillson

PHILADELPHIA—A seven-week deadlock over passage of the Pennsylvania state budget was broken in the early morning hours of August 20, under the threat of an unprecedented strike by state workers.

The absence of a budget prevented the release of funds earmarked for fiscal 1978, which began July 1. For the past three weeks 110,000 state employees have gone unpaid, and more than 800,000 welfare recipients had been deprived of all funds, including medical and food-stamp benefits.

On August 19, according to leaders of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, which represents 70,000 state workers, 60 to 70 percent of AFSCME members participated in a sick-out to protest the lack of a budget. State officials claimed the figure was much lower.

Nearly 1,000 AFSCME members and welfare recipients took to the Philadelphia streets the same day to demand passage of a budget. A smaller demonstration of teachers, state workers, and recipients took place the previous day.

The anger of state workers was used by union officials to rally support for the budget and to point the finger at Republicans for refusing to vote for it.

But the spectacle of a financially paralyzed state, and the drive by union leaders and Democratic Party politicians to press for a budget-passing "rescue," obscures the real story of the stalemate. That is a story of bipartisan budget-slashing that attacks the living standards of hundreds of thousands of Pennsylvania workers.

The new budget includes a paltry \$20 million in aid for the devastated Philadelphia school system. This amount barely dents the impact of a whopping \$173-million cutback in the city's schools, which are under the axe of the most massive layoffs and program slashes in the country today.

The legislature also approved a \$30-million loan for the school system. The interest that must be paid to the state will only deepen the crisis of education in the city.

Such a pittance falls far short of the hoped-for bailout ballyhooed by the leadership of the Philadelphia Federa-



State employee protests at capitol building in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania

tion of Teachers. PFT officials were silent during the budget crisis, perhaps dumbfounded by the failure of their strategy of reliance on Democrats and Republicans in the state capitol.

More than 9,000 school-department employees have already been laid off in Philadelphia. How many will be rehired in light of the state aid and loans is undetermined.

It also remains unclear how many of

nearly 7,000 state workers already fired because of the state "fiscal crisis" will be rehired.

Omitted from the new budget is \$300 million in aid anticipated by state colleges and universities. Approval of such funding is now tied to an expected tax increase.

AFSCME officials refused to lead a fight against these layoffs and cutbacks in social services. They confined

their protests to calling on the legislature to "pass the budget." AFSCME officers led angry workers to various Republican headquarters to demand that the Republican legislators join "probudget" Democrats.

This appearance of sharp division between the two parties—highlighted by a series of late-night fistfights between frustrated legislators last week in the state capitol building—was hardly the reality.

In fact, the two-party shell-game never worked better.

Millionaire Democratic Gov. Milton Shapp, who was booed by thousands of Philadelphia parents just two months ago for refusing aid for city schools, managed to appear as the white knight compared to the antilabor Republicans.

Suburban Republicans and Democrats who opposed the budget appeared financially "wise"—against new taxes—compared to "spendthrift" urban Democrats.

This sound and fury did signify something, though. It showed that the Democrats and Republicans are willing to stop welfare payments and withhold paychecks from workers to put across their budget-cutting plans.

The same politicians who throw workers in jail for striking "essential services" do not hesitate to cut off those services when the banks and big business demand austerity in state spending.

So now Pennsylvania has a budget. But state workers' jobs remain in jeopardy.

Philadelphia schools are still being gutted.

State universities and colleges face multi-million-dollar cutbacks.

And a tax hike looms large for all the state's working people.

It took an eleventh-hour vote from bedridden Democrat Ulysses Shelton to pass the budget. This was fitting, because Shelton is awaiting trial on charges of extortion.

But the real extortion was the extortion of Pennsylvania working people by the Democratic and Republican politicians—who used subservient union officials as enforcers of the rip-off.

Threat to send troops against Stearns miners

By Nancy Cole

A circuit court judge has threatened to call on national guard troops "to end the combat" in the year-long strike by coal miners in Stearns, Kentucky.

On August 17, McCreary Circuit Court Judge J.B. Johnson, Jr., stiffened his court order against the 153 striking miners and imposed a couple of limitations on the coal company's armed guards.

If these orders aren't carried out "to the letter," Johnson said, he will ask the governor to send in the national guard.

The Stearns miners have been on strike for a United Mine Workers contract since July 1976. The Blue Diamond Coal Company refuses to agree to a union-controlled safety committee with the authority to get miners out of the mine when conditions are dangerous.

Blue Diamond hired gun thugs early this year to "protect" its property. That's when shooting at the mine site began. Since then it has been a daily occurrence.

One striker and seven guards have been shot. (One guard shot himself accidentally, the company admits.)

Judge Johnson's August 17 order lowered the number of strike pickets allowed at the mine entrance from

eight to six. He exhorted the state police to "arrest them all" if there were ever more than six, other than at shift change.

For the first time he put a limit of fourteen on the number of guards permitted in the mine compound. He also prohibited them from "patrolling" outside the fence-enclosed compound and from wearing "camouflage clothing."

The judge's order stipulates that the gun thugs are to limit their arsenal to shotguns and sidearms instead of the high-powered or automatic weapons they have been using.

According to strikers, twice now the violence has moved from the mine site to nearby Whitley City when shotgun blasts shattered windows in the UMWA headquarters there. Both times it occurred during the night and no one was at the union offices.

The latest of the two incidents followed the wounding of the seventh guard at the mine site.

Twenty-seven strikers, a union organizer, and several other individuals face trumped-up charges for one of the early shooting incidents. Four of the miners charged were out of state when the shooting supposedly occurred. Their trials are scheduled to begin

October 25.

No guards, cops, or company officials have been charged with any wrongdoing, despite their intensive campaign of harassment and provocation.

It doesn't take much imagination to

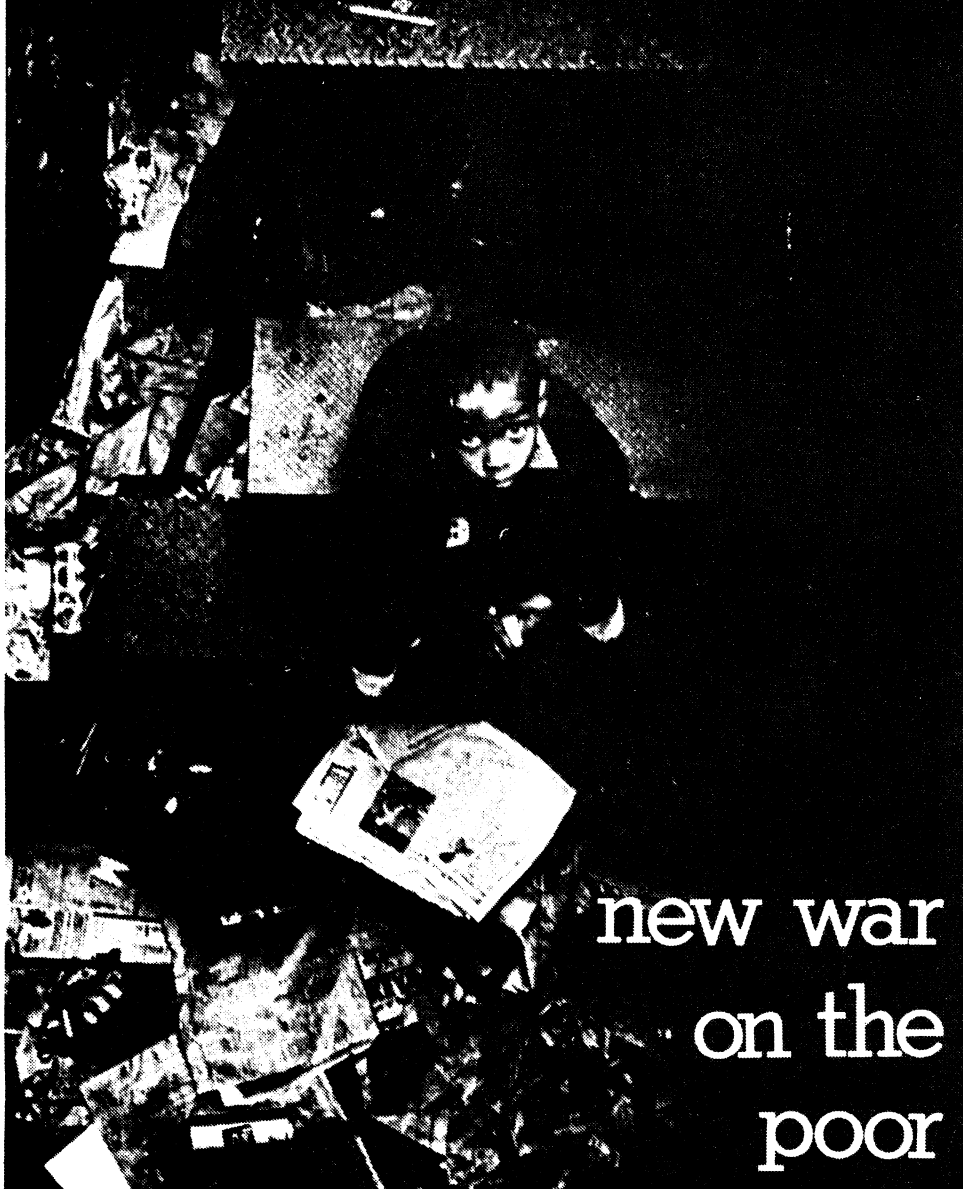
figure out who the threat of national guard troops is aimed against—or who they would be used against.

It's a threat that deserves a response from the entire labor movement through a vigorous support campaign for the Stearns strikers.



Weapons and ammunition confiscated from company gun thugs last spring

CARTER'S WELFARE PLAN



new war
on the
poor

By Steve Beck
and John Singleterry

On August 6 President Carter announced his intention to "totally scrap our existing welfare system and to replace it with a program for better jobs and income."

Under this shiny new title is the same coercive aim of all relief systems under capitalism—to force the poor to work at the lowest possible wages, while providing the minimum assistance necessary to prevent massive unrest among the unemployed.

Carter's plan has the following highlights:

- It promises 1.4 million public-service jobs for low-income workers. Pay would be the minimum wage, far below the government's own estimates of what a family needs to live decently. Jobs would be temporary—one year followed by an "intensive job search." Jobs would go only to one parent in a family.
- Mothers would be required to work part time if their youngest child was over six and full time if their youngest child was over fourteen.
- Existing programs—food stamps, Aid for Families with Dependent Children, and Supplemental Security Income for the aged, blind, and disabled—would all be dissolved into the new setup, with substantial loss of benefits to some.
- The federal government would assume a greater share of welfare costs, guaranteeing a 10 percent reduction in welfare spending to each state within the first year of the program.
- Carter promised a slight tax cut for the working poor, continuing the present 10 percent tax credit for a family of four earning up to \$4,000,

and adding a 5 percent credit on incomes up to \$9,000. Families would get subsidies also, but at a higher rate if the employed family head is working in a private job than if he or she is employed by the government.

- Able-bodied single adults may be included in this federal program for the first time, instead of being left to state or local relief.

- Total expenditure for welfare and jobs would be \$30.7 billion.

'Interested persons'

Carter claimed that "after careful consultation with state and local leaders, members of Congress and many interested persons throughout the country, we've now provided \$2.8 billion in added benefits." Carter had originally proclaimed his intention to hold the cost of the "reformed" welfare system to no higher than the current programs.

Did a few squawks from congressional liberals stay the hand of the Carter administration budget cutters? Or could some of those "many interested persons" who influenced the decision have been the masses of poor people who poured into the streets of New York during the July blackout?

The slight increase in welfare spending has indeed been enough to quiet most criticism from Democratic and Republican politicians.

Yet the total federal assistance for millions of poor people remains scarcely one-fourth the cost of the \$120 billion war budget. The funds are clearly inadequate to provide the promised number of jobs. And strikingly absent are funds to provide child care for the welfare mothers who will supposedly be forced to work.

As a full-employment program, Carter's welfare plan is a fraud. It would not significantly reduce unemployment, and it would attack the living standards of all workers.

Jay Lipner, an attorney for the Food Research and Action Center, a public interest law firm, told the *Militant* that "the program is bad for two reasons. The benefit is too low, and the jobs are not continuous jobs."

Driving down wages

Most hypocritical is the way the plan appears to promise "jobs for all," while it actually aims at reorganizing the labor market—especially the public sector—to drive down wages.

"There will be a lot of displacement of people now in public-service jobs," Lipner warned.

He gave the example of how hospital administrators might replace clerical or maintenance workers paid \$5.00 an hour with "job program" people getting only \$2.65.

Carter's plan, Lipner said, "will drive down the prevailing wage and create a permanent subclass of workers." In the long run, all working people will suffer.

Existing work-relief plans show how such schemes are used to attack the living standards of government employees while trapping recipients in dead-end jobs.

New York City's Work Relief Employment Program, for instance, was set up to place home relief recipients in public-service jobs. These lasted only eighteen months and were mainly busywork or simple clerical jobs, with pay little more than the basic welfare grant.

When massive budget cutbacks hit New York, some city workers found themselves—after exhausting their unemployment insurance and being forced onto welfare—back at their old jobs, but working for a pittance.

Other laid-off city workers were rehired under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA)—as new workers without seniority, pension, or other benefits, and often at lower wages.

This arrangement pitted unionized city workers against the unemployed for the few CETA posts and alienated the Black and Puerto Rican communities, which could have been allies of the city unions in a fight against the cuts.

Perpetuating poverty

For all his fine talk about "better jobs" and "respecting the less advantaged," Carter's welfare plan will perpetuate poverty, not end it. Why doesn't Carter simply create jobs at decent wages for all the unemployed?

Because, he says, he must "insure that work will always be more profitable than welfare, and that a private job, or public job not supported by the federal government, will always bring in more income than a special job created with federal funds."

In other words, the government sees relief as a way to keep people in poverty rather than upset low wage levels in private industry. The aim is always to keep a section of the working class available as a pool of cheap labor.

Capitalism carefully nurtures divisions within the working class to depress wages and sabotage workers' resistance to exploitation. Racism, sexism, age discrimination, crusades against undocumented workers—all are used to create "pariah" sections of the working class. Not the least of these devices is the stigma of being on welfare.

While in office, Nixon invited Johnny Cash to perform in the White House. Nixon asked him to sing "Welfare Cadillac," a ditty about a family living high off the taxpayers. (To his credit, Cash refused.)

George McGovern, in his 1972 campaign against Nixon, also tried to score points by attacking the poor. A TV spot showed the Democratic candidate enthusiastically agreeing with

some factory workers who were complaining about "welfare cheats."

Although all studies show that the vast majority of welfare recipients are young children, their mothers, the aged, and the disabled, the "welfare bum" remains a favorite scapegoat of capitalist politicians.

Here is an example of a typical error that feeds the statistics about "welfare cheats." Say an elderly woman in New York is living alone and receiving \$238.65 a month in Supplemental Security Income.

If she moves in with her sister to save rent costs, she is eligible for only \$185.98. If she is not paying at least half the food and rent costs, she can get only \$126.72.

If she has failed to come in to a Social Security office to report this brazen act of financial trickery, she is being overpaid and is a "cheat."

Welfare for the rich

If income assistance of all kinds were called "welfare," it would be clear that all classes in our society receive it.

Besides basic welfare (home relief and aid for dependent children and their parents), there is assistance for adequate nutrition (food stamps) and for the aged and disabled (Supplemental Security Income). Polls show overwhelming acceptance of the aims of these programs.

Other special benefits go to veterans. For regularly employed workers there are Social Security, worker's compensation, and unemployment insurance, as well as private and union plans to supplement these.

Few working people—whatever their attitude toward "welfare" in general—would refuse these types of government aid or begrudge them to others. They are regarded as a right, won through long struggles.

But all these "government hand-outs" are dwarfed by the billions in welfare for the rich. There are the fat pensions for Nixon, Ford, and other crooks who have retired from "public service." There are subsidies and tax giveaways to giant corporations. There are the cost overruns to weapons contractors. All these and more go on the public tab.

The welfare and social-service budget itself is a major source of funds for these high-income welfare cheats. Medicaid overcharging, nursing-home corruption, day-care leases (some landlords in New York are still being paid after the centers have closed down) are just a few of these.

Then there are the welfare slumlords, who specialize in renting to poor clients at exorbitant rates. In 1973 one of these, the Broadway Central in New York, collapsed and killed four people. In last winter's bitter cold, two elderly people froze to death in an unheated Harlem welfare hotel.

All working people have a stake in fighting the disguised assault on our living standards that appear in Carter's plan.

Already attacks are underway on unemployment insurance, with entitlement periods cut and benefits to strikers eliminated. Social Security, a program that workers have come to take for granted, is also threatened—Carter's appointees are toying with the idea of raising retirement eligibility to age sixty-eight or cutting disability benefits.

Jobs for all could be provided by shortening the workweek at no reduction in pay. A massive program of useful public works—at union-scale wages!—could create millions of jobs and benefit all of society. Those unable to find work for any reason should receive benefits equivalent to union wages.

These demands can win the support of the unemployed... the ranks of the unions... the Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicano communities... public-service workers facing layoffs... young people unable to find a first job. Together they have the power to defeat the real "welfare cheats" of Wall Street and Washington.

Houston socialist candidate

'Workers need our own political party'

Reprinted below is an "Open Letter to the Working People of Houston" from Diane Sarge, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Houston. Socialist campaigners got a friendly response as they handed out 2,500 copies of this open letter at Hughes Tool Company, where Sarge works. The letter is also being distributed at other Houston plants.

Diane Sarge is a shop steward in Local 1742, United Steelworkers of America. In last February's USWA election, she was an active campaigner for Ed Sadlowski and the Steelworkers Fight Back slate.

Addresses of the Houston socialist campaign offices can be found in the Socialist Directory on page 31.



Militant/Lynn Henderson
DIANE SARGE: Steel union activist and Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Houston.

Dear Friend,

The *Houston Chronicle* recently published a series of articles on Houston's power structure. The articles tell of the old days when the corporate elite met in suite 8F of the Lamar Hotel to decide how the city would be run.

Today, the oil barons and bankers in this "energy capital of America" meet in the air-conditioned offices of downtown skyscrapers. Now, as then, their power is based on the immense wealth they control—a wealth greater than that of some entire countries.

Those of us who work in their factories and refineries are the ones who have created this wealth. What would happen if working people, who represent the vast majority of the population, made the decisions that affect the quality of life? What

would be different?

We could guarantee every worker the right to a job and a good wage.

We could enforce strict health and safety measures on the job.

We could protect our right to a safe, clean environment.

We could defend the rights of women, Blacks, and Chicanos, who face daily sexist and racist assaults.

Why isn't this a reality? Because of employers' lust for profits.

The bosses have organized an intensive drive to speed up production. Injury, sickness, and death are rapidly rising as health and safety standards are discarded. Blacks, Chicanos, and women—the last hired—are now the first fired as layoffs increase. Affirmative-action gains are being wiped out.

Carter's declaration of a "moral equivalent of war" on the energy crisis fits right in with industry's own battle plan. He used phony CIA reports to invent scare stories of shortages and to cover up the oil companies' blame for soaring energy costs. Environmental protection has been forgotten.

With millions unemployed, the work week should be shortened with no reduction in pay. A national public works program could provide socially necessary jobs for all. There is more than enough money for this in the \$100 billion war budget.

The ruling rich create scapegoats to blame for the economic crisis. U.S. Steel is leading a campaign to blame immigrant workers from Mexico, using blatant racism to pit us against our Mexican brothers and sisters. Our bosses do the hiring and firing, and they alone are to blame for unemployment. As Ed Sadlowski, recent Fight Back candidate for president of the United Steelworkers of America said, we should "look at ourselves as citizens of the world." We should demand an end to deportations and an open border. Every worker has the right to a job.

All these problems and more, such as overcrowding in our schools, and rampant police brutality against Blacks and Chicanos, all grow out of an economic system that puts profits before human needs.

We need a workers government to represent *our* interests and not those of big business. In such a socialist society, working people will share the wealth we produce and run the economy for *people* and not for profit.

The owners of business own the government as well. They win every election in this city because they

own not one, but *two* parties—the Republican and the Democratic.

Working people have no party. That's the problem. We fight through the organized strength of our unions and on the picket lines, only to see our gains frittered away at the ballot box. Instead of our union political action committees handing over our money to the Democrats and Republicans—the politicians of the rich, we should use it to build our own party. We should follow the example of Chicanos who have broken from the Democratic and Republican parties and formed their own party—the Raza Unida Party.

We don't let corporate executives join our unions. We shouldn't join their political parties. We should have our own: a labor party based on the power of the unions.

We need to stop fighting with our hands tied behind our backs. Rather than relying on the promises of politicians, we need to rely on our real strength—*ourselves*.

A vote for me, the Socialist Workers mayoral candidate, and candidates Sas Scoggins for city council position 2 and Bill Piscicella for school board, are votes for this new strategy of independent labor political action. They are votes for unionists and in favor of union power in Houston.

I urge Houston's labor unions to break from the parties of the rich, and to put up their own candidates—working people—for city office. I urge workers in Houston to elect a coworker—a steelworker—for mayor of Houston. Vote Socialist Workers in '77!

Thank you for your support,
Diane Sarge

New York painters' strike nets meager gains

By Stephen Bloom

NEW YORK—Members of Painters District Council 9 went on strike here August 1 when their three-year contract expired. The walkout lasted one week.

The final settlement was slightly higher than the employers' original offer, but it still falls far short of what is needed just to keep up with inflation.

With a basic wage scale of \$9.37 an hour, painters are the lowest-paid building-trades workers in New York City. They also have the lowest scale

virtually no picketing, no effort to involve painters in activity, no effort to keep the members informed. It is likely that many painters continued to work simply because they did not know that a strike was taking place.

The settlement called for only a small gain above the employers' final offer. But union members felt that they could not continue the strike, given the feeble organization by their officials.

There will be no wage increase for the first four months of the new agreement, eighteen cents the second four months, and another eighteen cents for the final four months of the first year. In the second year, the scale will rise to ten dollars an hour. The third year, painters will get another fifty cents an hour. An inadequate cost-of-living adjustment is made in the second and third years.

Painters, like other building-trades unionists, find themselves in a more and more difficult position with each new round of negotiations. Nonunion contractors account for an increasing percentage of all construction. Technological changes in the industry have made the old craft-union structure obsolete.

Faced with these challenges, the union officialdom has tried to maintain their job trusts and increase wages by trading off work rules.

But few of these work rules are left to give away, and the officials are completely unwilling and unable to put up a real fight after decades of collaboration with the employers. Consequently, many construction unions around the country have been forced to accept wage cuts or wage freezes to "keep the members working."

New York painters had already

weakened their negotiating position by accepting—along with many of the other trades—a wage cut and longer workday on special "rehabilitation" work funded by the Department of Housing and Urban Development. The strategy of the officials is that the union must compete with the nonunion painting contractors if it is to hold onto any jobs.

One of the proposals discussed during the contract talks was to establish a new class of union painter who would work for several dollars below the regular union scale. In essence, such a setup would simply legalize the situation that already exists, with "union" employers running nonunion operations on the side.

Many officials of District Council 9 strongly favored setting up this second division. They argued that it would recapture nonunion work that was being done.

This proposal was not in the final agreement, probably because strong rank-and-file opposition arose once the members learned that such a plan was being discussed.

The officials saw it as a means of increasing the number of union members and the flow of dues to the union treasury. But the working painters understood that the logic was for virtually everyone to soon work at the lower wage scale.

The union can never lower its wages or relax its conditions enough to compete with the nonunion contractors. However much our wages are reduced, nonunion wages will be reduced in proportion.

The only way to strengthen the union is to have every painter in the city working for a union wage. Such

an organizing campaign cannot be carried out by the painters alone. It will require joint action with all other building trades, leading to the creation of a single, industrial-type union in construction.

Women in building trades

Under pressure from women's groups, the Labor Department has, for the first time, proposed regulations to force contractors to hire women construction workers.

The proposed hiring goals are ridiculously small, requiring that women work 3.1 percent of the work hours after one year, 5 percent after two years, and 6.9 percent after three years. These goals would apply to contractors doing more than \$10,000 of business with the federal government.

Today, the Labor Department estimates, women make up only 1.2 percent of the construction work force, or 30,000 out of 3 million workers.

A Labor Department attorney said he hoped these regulations "would give us a defense" against two lawsuits filed last year demanding the government set hiring goals for women.

Alexis Herman, director of the department's Women's Bureau, said women are eager to train for construction jobs. In Seattle recently, she said, 600 women applied for thirty job openings.

Stephen Bloom is a working painter and a member of Painters District Council 9.

of painters in major cities across the country.

Due to widespread unemployment, many union members do not earn even the \$8,300 a year required to receive their health and welfare benefits.

The employers' association forced the strike by refusing to negotiate seriously. Their "offer" was for painters to take a wage cut.

Despite the bosses' provocative stance, union officials took no action to prepare the union for a strike or even to inform the members of the status of negotiations.

Before previous contract deadlines, there have usually been mass meetings of painters from all of the twenty-one separate local unions that make up the district council. This time the officials decided that they did not want such a gathering because there was always "so much dissent."

During the strike itself, there was

Festival de los Teatros Chicanos

Festival de los Teatros Chicanos, sponsored in San Diego July 3-9 by the Centro Cultural de la Raza and El Teatro Nacional de Aztlan.

The Eighth Annual Chicano Theater Festival featured theater groups, artists, and performers from around the United States, as well as from Mexico, Venezuela, Ecuador, and Argentina. The festival lasted one week, July 3-9, with performances nightly.

The festival was sponsored by San Diego's El Centro Cultural de la Raza and El Teatro Nacional de Aztlan (TENAZ).

TENAZ is a product of the *campesino* struggle. During the late 1960s, several theater groups got together to dramatize and win support for the fight

Theater

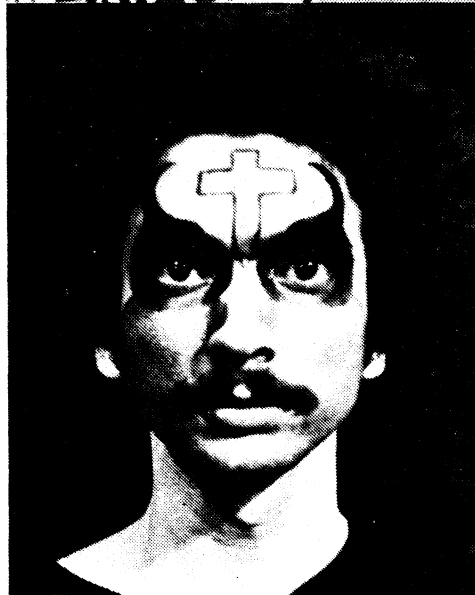
of the United Farm Workers Union. In 1969 those groups unified and formed TENAZ. Appropriately, its first festival was held in Fresno, California, the heart of the *campesino* struggle.

Initially the theater groups focused on the farm workers' struggle and strikes, but today they take up many other issues. Many of the plays and songs use traditional styles to describe the daily life and problems of Chicanos and other Latinos—deportations, police repression, unemployment, sexism, discrimination.

Each night began with stirring musical presentations by performers such as Los Huicholes. The group is named after an Indian people in the Mexican state of Nayarit. Using guitars, goathide drums, a flute, and stringed instruments made of armadillo shells, the group's songs capture the Indian heritage.

Another group, Los Alacranes Mojados, are well known in San Diego for their unique music. Their songs range from traditional Mexican/Chicano ballads to protest music from various countries.

Among the performing theater groups was the Teatro Libertad from Tucson, Arizona. Formed in



Scene by Teatro Libertad (above); Rosa Arreola and Dale Montoy of Teatro Mestizo (right); and Robert Rivel of Teatro de Repertorio del Ateneo de Caracas in 'La Faria' (bottom).



1975, Teatro Libertad is a bilingual group with material written in Spanish and Calo (*barrio* Spanish).

Their play *Vacil De '76* portrays three Chicanos, a *mexicano*, and an Irish-American thrown together on a Freedom Train from Tucson to Phoenix. The play covers 100 years of history. It tells of the torture and murder of eighty captured Irish immigrants who deserted from the U.S. Army to the Mexican side during the war in 1847, and of the infamous "pachuco riots" in East Los Angeles of 1943, when U.S. Marines and sailors beat young Chicanos.

Another performing group was the Teatro de Repertorio del Ateneo de Caracas (TRAC). Most of this group's plays are political, detailing tactics the South American ruling class uses to maintain power.

La Ferra (The Blood Revelry), written by Rodolfo Santana and performed by the TRAC, is a true murder story. It is a Watergate-like story of cover-ups some fifteen years ago in Venezuela. A priest, a general, and a senator each kill women who stand in the way of their careers. Corruption, status, power, sexism (the Latin *machismo*) all work in the men's favor to make sure they go unpunished.

Teatro Mestizo is a group from San Diego formed in 1970. Their play, *La Familia Moreno (The Moreno Family)*, was written by the group as a whole. It examines the workings of *machismo* and wife beating, as it follows a young couple from their marriage and honeymoon to their disillusionment.

The Festival de los Teatros Chicanos was a showcase and tribute, not only to the individual artists, but to *la raza*.

—Charlene Sampo and Javier Bautista

'Rights of Youth'

The Rights of Youth: American Colleges and Student Revolt 1798-1815, by Steven J. Novak. Published by Harvard University Press, 1977. 169 pages.

Sociologists seeking to explain the student rebellions of the past fifteen years often fall back on the argument that rebellion is simply part of being young.

This explanation, of course, doesn't really explain anything. It doesn't explain why students have

Books

been a prominent part of radicalizations down through history.

Students, since they are exposed to a variety of ideas, tend to be sensitive to social and ideological conflicts. Developing social struggles often tend to be reflected first among students and intellectuals.

Steven Novak's study of student uprisings in the early 1800s subscribes to the idea that rebellion is synonymous with growing up. "For the young, student revolt was part of a general breakdown of adolescent discipline," he writes.

But the facts he uses tend to prove the opposite.

The student revolts Novak looks at reflected two important conflicts: the struggle between the northern mercantile interests and the southern planters within the United States, and the impact of the French revolution abroad.

The writings of Thomas Paine, Voltaire, Diderot, and other radical democratic thinkers circulated widely on American campuses. Novak comments, "the rights of youth emerged amid the ferment of the French Revolution and the Enlightenment, giving youthful protest an ideological content. . . ." Students formed societies, using pseudonyms such as Mr. Paine, Mr. Godwin, Mr. Voltaire, and so on.

College administrators were swift to attack the spread of such heretical thinking. The Rev. Samuel E. McCarkel, former professor at the University of North Carolina, angrily cried, "It is deism—deism—detestable deism that has disadjusted and disorganized society." Deism was a rationalistic religious philosophy of those times that rejected the idea of supernatural intervention into human affairs.

Students were also participants in the conflict between the Federalist Party and the anti-

Federalists. The Federalists, largely representing northern industrial interests, attracted the greatest student support. John James Marshall, a leader of the student movement at Princeton, was described by another young man as "a Deist and a violent Federalist." At Dartmouth College in 1811, one student estimated that three-quarters of his classmates were Federalists.

The student revolts, most often aimed against suffocating restrictions, took the form of strikes, demonstrations, boycotts, effigy burnings, and open riots. But by 1815, the administrators had effectively crushed the movement.

A massive religious revival was initiated in many schools to distract students from politics. But in a broader sense, the decline of student activism was a product of the Napoleonic reaction in Europe, and the consolidation in the United States of a shaky coalition between the industrialists and the planters that continued until the Civil War.

The student movement today is substantially different from that discussed by Novak. The composition of the student population has altered dramatically since those days, especially with the massive influx over the past twenty-five years of youth from working-class backgrounds onto the college campuses. This has given the student movement today a greater social weight and an explosive dynamic that will carry it far beyond the student revolts discussed by Novak.

—Peter Archer

Elvis Presley

Elvis Presley made about fifty record albums and more than thirty lousy movies. And he made millions of dollars off the racism of white American society.

I don't agree with the critics who say that Elvis's music was a fake, that he simply copied artists who were not as well known as he was. The rock 'n' roll he produced was a real thing.

Elvis was at his best with his own style of "rockabilly" music, a fusion of country blues and gospel with urban themes and electric equipment. There were, of course, other more original and more talented performers who never had anywhere near Elvis's success. Among white musicians, Eddie Cochran, Buddy Holly, Roy Orbison, and Jerry Lee Lewis all rank higher than Elvis on my list.

Elvis also learned how to put on a good show. His swivel-hipped antics and delivery appealed to the repressed sexual urges and frustrations of a whole generation of young people. His cool lust, and the resulting parental disapproval, also made him a symbol of adolescent rebellion. But this is a theme of all popular music, from Frank Sinatra before Elvis, to punk rock and other music today.

I think the only real explanation for the elaborate success Elvis enjoyed is white American racism, larded with a lot of good old American hype. Elvis was, quite simply, the great white hope of the American recording industry against Black rhythm and blues.

This fact is even cautiously acknowledged in some of the obituaries and evaluations of his life. Elvis's first producer signed him because he was "a white boy who could sing Black." "If I could find a white man who had the Negro sound and the Negro feel, I could make a billion dollars," he observed prophetically.

With Elvis, the entertainment industry had someone who could play the music that young people wanted to hear and who could make a lot of money for the industry without disturbing the color line in American society.

Chet Atkins, assistant producer for some of Elvis's early recordings, put it simply: "It wasn't socially acceptable for white kids to buy Black records at the time. Elvis filled a void."

The Black music of his day was, in fact, a strong influence on Elvis. He listened to the soul music station in Memphis and borrowed techniques and riffs from artists such as Arthur (Big Boy) Crudup, Chuck Willis, and Junior Parker.

Now, there's nothing wrong with



white musicians learning something from Black musicians. In fact, it's almost a point in Elvis's favor that he did. The problem is that in the 1950s (and still today) this came down to a simple rip-off.

The best example I know of is Presley's 1956 hit "Hound Dog." The first recording of this number was not by Elvis, but by Willie Mae Thornton, a Black blueswoman, in 1953. The difference was that her record could only be bought in the segregated "race record" sections of the stores. She might have made \$500 on her record; Elvis made at least 1,000 times that much on his. And nobody ever offered Big Mama Thornton a movie contract—not for \$1 or for \$1 million.

This is also the best explanation for the monumental hype that Elvis got in the news media, arranged by his promoter, "Colonel" Tom Parker (Don't try to explain it, just sell it). The rise of the civil rights movement in the 1950s, plus the fact that numerous, talented Black musicians—such as Little Richard, Chuck Berry, and Fats Domino—could have blown Elvis off the stage, made the publicity barrage a necessary part of keeping rock 'n' roll white. And Elvis's shows and movies were about the whitest thing around.

Some of his intimate friends have reported that Elvis was not happy in his last years of retirement, despite his millions. I find it hard to feel sorry for him, as long as Willie Mae Thornton is still working for a living.

—Duncan Williams



ELVIS: (from left) in the film 'Viva Las Vegas'; on television in 1956; on tour in 1973

...teachers

Continued from back page

The Progressive Caucus was also forced to cancel a party at "Whimsy's", a Boston discotheque, after the Black Caucus called attention to its notoriously discriminatory practices.

When Resolution Thirty-nine hit the convention floor August 18 it was clear there would be a hot debate.

Long lines immediately formed at the six convention floor microphones.

The first speaker was Harold Fisher, a leader of the Black Caucus and a member of AFT Local 6, the Washington Teachers Union.

In the previous discussion in committee Shanker supporters had maintained that quotas were an "insult" to minorities.

"We have heard various arguments," said Fisher, "that this particular resolution might be offensive to minorities."

"I say to this convention that it is offensive to minorities to be told that after years of discrimination, after years of being denied access to the universities, colleges, and other facilities of this country, that we now are denied access because someone is afraid of quotas."

The next speaker was Jeff Mackler, representing Local 1423 in Hayward, California.

"There has been," said Mackler, "in virtually every institution in America, a quota system. A quota system that said if you were white you got the job regardless of merit."

"I reject this argument that merit is the question. The question before us is the question of the civil rights movement. We fought for civil rights because we recognized that we had to fight against racist discrimination in schools and education. That's the key question before us."

Raoul Teilhet, president of the California Federation of Teachers, also took the floor.

"Quotas—the use of goals, objectives, numerical guidelines, accountability systems and, if necessary, penalties against institutions if they don't implement those affirmative-action goals—are necessary or nothing is going to change."

"If the *Bakke* decision is affirmed by the Supreme Court," said Teilhet, "affirmative-action programs across the country will collapse like dominoes."

Black Caucus member James Cooper, from AFT Local 1 in Chicago, explained the folly of relying on voluntary methods for ending discrimination.

"As trade unionists we have negotiated many contracts with our employers. However, enforcing contracts has been and will remain a continuing struggle. We cannot trust our employers to voluntarily adhere to these agreements."

"Affirmative action is an effort to implement the provisions of our most valuable contract—the United States Constitution. Without concrete affirmative-action programs we can-

not entrust ourselves to those who have historically failed to comply with the Constitution."

After a Shanker supporter introduced a substitute motion to Resolution Thirty-nine, Erich Martel, a leader in the Desegregation and Equality in Education Caucus from Local 6, took the floor to explain its real meaning.

"What the substitute motion essentially proposes is that we can achieve full equality with full employment. Full equality meaning that all Blacks, and Puerto Ricans, and Chicanos who wish to have jobs can have them—when we have full employment."

"Well, we haven't had full employment, and every official body of our government has stated that we probably won't have full employment for many years to come."

"So what this essentially means is that whatever gains have been made under affirmative-action programs in the past are going to be eroded. . . . It is essentially saying that we are not going to have full equality for Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Chicanos."

"We can't allow that to happen."

William Simons, East Coast coordinator of the Desegregation and Equality in Education Caucus and president of the Washington Teachers Union, also addressed himself to the substitute resolution.

"The substitute resolution is well written, well meaning, and what have you. But it is simply a subterfuge to facing the real issue."

"You're going to have to support these kinds of programs that are instituted by Davis and around the country until such time that this society is fully open."

"Yes, I want to fight for full employment and equal opportunities for everybody. But in order to be able to do that I've got to get my foot in the door, and I've got to do it *right now*."

While only a handful of speakers took the floor to support the substitute motion, it passed in the floor vote. But fully 26 percent of the delegates opposed it. The vote split down racial and age lines, with nine out of every ten Black delegates, and many younger white delegates, voting against it.

When a roll-call vote was demanded and held, opposition to the Shanker-supported substitute motion increased slightly to 27 percent.

Following the vote, Mackler commented on the significance of what had happened.

"The Black Caucus and the Desegregation and Equality in Education Caucus had a major impact on this convention. Even in the short time available here, we were able to win many delegates to our position."

"This debate is not going to stop with this vote. We will continue to win more support, because the issues raised here go to the very heart of what's wrong with the policies of the Shanker leadership."

"This union cannot effectively fight the cutbacks in education as long as it isolates itself from precisely those who have the most to lose from the cuts—the parents, students, and teachers of the minority communities."

Pamphlet a hit with teachers

BOSTON—Delegates at the AFT convention bought more than 300 copies of a new Pathfinder Press pamphlet entitled *Teachers Under Attack*.

The pamphlet was written by Jeff Mackler, an activist in the AFT for the past eleven years and organizer of AFT Local 1423 in Hayward, California.

Mackler said even he was surprised by the enthusiastic response. "The pamphlet," said Mackler, "is subtitled *An alternative to the 'business unionism' of Albert Shanker*, and many delegates were certainly looking for an alternative at this convention. It was particularly popular with Black and younger

teachers."

The pamphlet draws the lessons for teachers of the Steelworkers Fight Back movement for union democracy in the steelworkers union. It also includes a capsule history of the AFT and Shanker's policies.

One delegate commented after reading the pamphlet, "This says a lot of the things I've been thinking, but brings it all together and lays out a program for changing the situation."

Teachers Under Attack costs fifty cents and can be obtained from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.

—L.H.

...steel

Continued from page 6

An older worker who disapproved of the strike paid backhanded tribute to the young militants. "It's the young workers who are really behind the whole thing," he said. "It's the young tigers. They think they can change things, and it just doesn't work that way."

One of the things many of these workers want to change is their international union. In last February's election for USWA president, workers on the Iron Range voted overwhelmingly against administration candidate McBride and for challenger Ed Sadlowski, who campaigned against the no-strike ENA. They also booted out the incumbent director of USWA District 33 and elected Linus Wampler, a Sadlowski supporter.

An editorial in the August 3 *Minneapolis Star* noted that "Sادلowski's militancy and his advocacy of 'union democracy' appeals to the Iron Range workers." The *Star* said this attitude was "further complicating" the strike.

But what really "complicates" the legitimate fight of the strikers is the ambivalent stance of the top USWA leadership. McBride has called for a change in attitude by "both sides" in order to reach a settlement. And the international office has leaked word that it considers the strike "madness."

McBride visited the Iron Range in mid-August. According to the August 18 *Minneapolis Tribune*, his trip was "largely a gesture of solidarity to counter speculation that his attitude toward the strike is unenthusiastic, even negative."

McBride reportedly told the strikers: "The strike couldn't have taken place unless I authorized it" and, "It is our intention to have a winner."

He also defended the Experimental Negotiating Agreement, telling the miners: "This industry needs long-term labor peace."

"I'm convinced that without the no-strike agreement, we'll lose a major portion of the basic steel industry," McBride reportedly said.

The August 18 *Minneapolis Star* reported: "The men at Silver Bay met McBride's appearance with stony silence, and indicated by their comments that they questioned his support."

"You guys in the international ought to listen to the locals up here," said one worker. "If you did, it might prevent what's going on right now."

It was the unity and determination of the Iron Range workers that forced McBride to sanction this strike—at a time when the international was removing the key demands from many other locals' negotiations as not "legitimate" local issues under the ENA.

Taking advantage of the official backing for the strike—however hesitant and vacillating it may be—will be absolutely essential to building the broadest possible support for the iron ore workers. Such broad support will in turn be the best insurance that the international will not turn its back on the strikers.

Calendar

MIAMI

THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT: WHAT HAVE WE GAINED; WHERE ARE WE GOING? Speakers: Christine Drennan, president of Dade County NOW; Eva Sanchez, Chicana feminist, migrant activist; Rose Ogden, SWP. Laura Quintano, activist in N.Y. Coalition for Lesbian & Gay Rights. Mon., Aug. 29, 8 p.m. Center for Dialogue, 2175 NW 26th St. (22nd Ave.) Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (305) 271-2241.

HAITIAN REFUGEES: A CASE FOR POLITICAL ASYLUM. Speakers: Betty Wiggs, National Council of Churches; John Bart, Haitian activist; Lee Smith, SWP; others. Fri., Sept. 2, 8 p.m. Center for Dialogue, 2175 NW 26th St. (22nd Ave.) Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (305) 271-2241.

...Gus Hall

Continued from page 22

tion with world capitalism. Only by leveling some criticisms can they hope to influence the radicalizing workers in their countries, who are outraged by the lack of democracy in the USSR.

Despite Moscow's attacks on Eurocommunism, it realizes that these parties are trying in this way to contain the class struggles in their countries, in line with the Kremlin's own policies of seeking "peaceful coexistence" deals with imperialism. (These deals are the real "accommodation" with imperialism—an accommodation that Hall and all other CP leaders, Eurocommunists and hardliners alike, cover up for.)

But at the same time, these Eurocommunist criticisms create big problems for the Kremlin at home, since their logic—to the extent they become known there—is to legitimize and spur forward the growing antibureaucratic revolt in East Europe and the USSR.

This is what has created the sharp clash of immediate interests over Eurocommunism within the world Stalinist movement.

And the way the CPUSA has lined up in this fight should be a warning to every U.S. worker as to why they should avoid Gus Hall's party like the plague if they really want fundamental social change.

The CPUSA doesn't even feel the need to pay hypocritical lip service—the way the Eurocommunist CPs do—to the hatred of workers for Stalinist oppression.

Instead, Hall's CP—much smaller than its European counterparts—feels much more pressure directly from the Kremlin, whose interests it places ahead of the demands and objective needs of working people.

That's why, besides attacking those who defend democratic rights in East Europe and the USSR, the CPUSA also opposes the Equal Rights Amendment for women and abstains from the fights to defend equal rights for gay people and to stop construction of deadly nuclear power plants. These are all demands that collide with the reactionary positions on these issues of the Kremlin bureaucrats who command the CP's first loyalty.

Cop brutality scandal escalates in Phila.

By Jon Hillson

PHILADELPHIA—George Robinson is a soft-spoken Jamaican, a reggae musician by trade. Early in the morning on June 22 he was walking up the steps to a house where his band regularly practices. He was carrying a briefcase, doing what he usually did, minding his own business.

But to the two white Philadelphia cops who watched him, he was "acting suspiciously." They called him over to their van and began harassing him. When Robinson reached into his pocket for a key to the briefcase that the cops demanded he open, they jumped out of the van and began to beat him.

They beat him in the street. They beat him in the van. And they beat him in their station.

Robinson suffered face, neck, head, hand, and arm injuries, as well as damage to a nerve in his forearm.

Witnesses had tried to stop the assault but were threatened with arrest. One woman had wanted to call the police, thinking she was witnessing a mugging, until she realized "it was the cops doing the beating."

The police kept the attack quiet for nearly two months, until the story broke recently in the city's media.

Robinson was just one of the victims of an unchecked epidemic of police brutality that has rocked the city. On June 18, the five Philadelphia chapters of the NAACP sponsored daylong public hearings to take sworn testimony from Black and white victims of cop terror. Their stories capped a series of sensational revelations by the *Philadelphia Inquirer*. These articles meticulously documented the racist brutality of the cops and the open encouragement they receive from ex-cop Mayor Frank Rizzo.

George Robinson was pummeled by the thugs in blue four days after the NAACP hearings.

Earlier in the summer, nearly 1,000

local religious leaders—stunned by the scope of police violence—petitioned President Carter to intervene in Philadelphia as a way to demonstrate his concern for "human rights at home."

On July 31 a major brawl between Black and white off-duty cops was narrowly averted as uniformed police broke up a budding melee at the Fraternal Order of Police Lounge—which has been regarded as hostile turf for Black officers. The fracas was touched off when a white cop hit the wife of a Black officer. The incident brought to head a simmering dispute within the police force, as the Black cops' caucus—the Guardian Civic League—announced on July 16 it would file an antidiscrimination suit against the FOP.

The league, however, has been silent about the police brutality scandal. Such an attitude makes clear the decision of the Black cops to trade any protest against racist police terror for "better treatment" within the racist force.

José Reyes, a Puerto Rican, isn't interested in the dirty laundry of the Philadelphia police. He was killed by a white cop in the doorway of his home on July 2. Protests demanding justice for Reyes erupted after the murder. The Philadelphia district attorney's office is investigating.

The first five cops cited for questioning announced on August 15 that they would plead the Fifth Amendment. The second group of four police is planning to remain silent.

Meanwhile, the Justice Department continues a low-profile investigation of the police, launched as a result of the public outrage.

For George Robinson, and hundreds of anonymous George Robinsons, that makes little difference. Those politicians that do say anything talk about a "few bad apples." The George Robinsons of Philadelphia know better.

The whole orchard is rotten.



July 8 demonstration in Philadelphia protesting cop murder of José Reyes. Banner reads: 'The people have said enough!'

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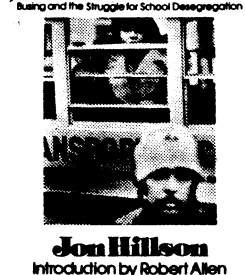
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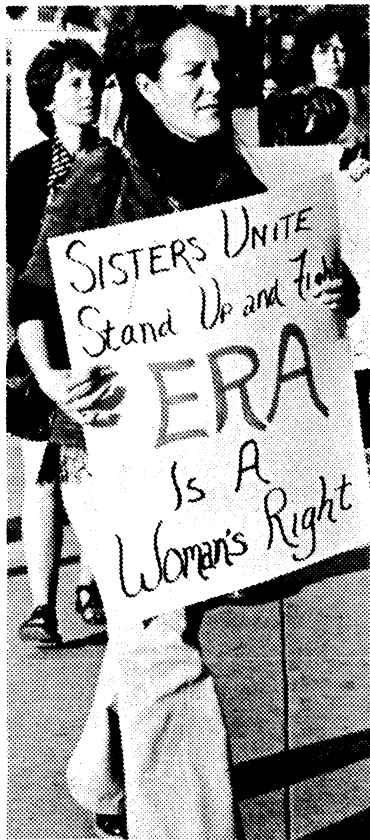
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Teachers union debates quotas

'The question is civil rights'

By Lynn Henderson

BOSTON—A struggle over the issue of affirmative-action programs and quotas dominated the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) annual convention held here August 15-19.

For the first time in years, significant opposition to AFT President Albert Shanker's iron rule emerged. After a long and heated debate, more than a quarter of the 2,500 delegates voted to oppose Shanker's support for the *Bakke* decision.

The *Bakke* decision, handed down by the California Supreme Court in September 1976, overturned the minority admissions program at the University of California at Davis medical school.

The court ruled that designating 16 out of 100 admissions spots for "disadvantaged" students was "reverse discrimination"—that is, "discrimination" against whites—and violated the principle of "individual merit."

The *Bakke* decision goes before the U.S. Supreme Court this fall. It has become a symbol of the racist drive to roll back gains won in the 1960s and early 1970s by Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, other minorities, and women.

Shanker, a staunch defender of the white-job-trust outlook of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy, lost no time in having the AFT file a "friend of the court" brief supporting the racist *Bakke* decision.

As cutbacks in public education and other social services have escalated in recent years, Shanker has pressed a strategy which sacrifices affirmative-action gains and other programs designed to upgrade educational and job opportunities for minorities.

Shanker preaches the sanctity of strict seniority and offers little more than "waiting out the storm" with an older, whiter, more conservative work force.

Growing opposition

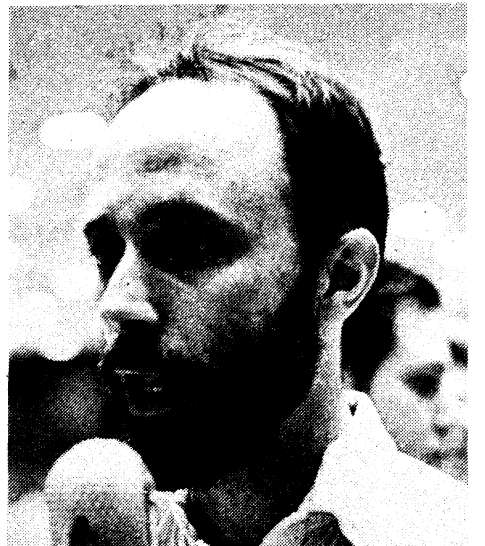
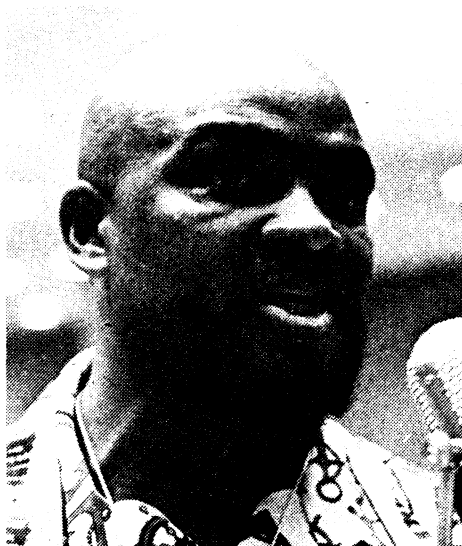
Even before the Boston convention, however, opposition to Shanker's policy began to grow among AFT members. Many concluded that Shanker's policies were isolating them from the minority communities, which could be the union's strongest allies in a fight against the cuts in education.

Following a discussion and vote in their state convention, the California Federation of Teachers also filed a "friend of the court" brief—on the opposite side of the question from Shanker. The CFT supported Davis medical school's affirmative-action program.

In his Boston news conference August 15, following the opening session of the convention, Shanker tried to lay down the line on *Bakke* as forcefully as possible.

"Everyone should be treated equally on a color-blind and racial-blind basis," said Shanker.

"You [minorities] can't turn around and say that because there was racism for 200 years against us, now is the



Speakers at the AFT convention opposing President Albert Shanker's support of the 'Bakke' decision. Top, left to right: William Simons, president of the Washington Teachers Union; Jeff Mackler, coordinator of the AFT Caucus on Desegregation and Equality in Education; Harold Fisher, leader in AFT Black Caucus. Bottom, left to right: Raoul Teihet, president, California Federation of Teachers; James Cooper, AFT Black Caucus; Erich Martel, Desegregation and Equality in Education Caucus.

time that there be racism for 200 years for us."

Shanker then explained: "Just as we [AFT] don't have a double standard in terms of international affairs—we condemn right-wing and left-wing dictatorships—we will in the same way take a strong position against things that are unconstitutional and racist. Whether they happen to favor whites or Blacks or Chicanos doesn't make any difference. There shouldn't be a racial favoritism."

Shanker's hypocrisy

"Shanker's remarks are pure hypocrisy," said Jeff Mackler, national coordinator of the AFT Caucus on Desegregation and Equality in Education, in an interview with the *Militant*. Members of the caucus played a leading role in opposing Shanker's position on *Bakke*.

"To begin with," said Mackler, "Shanker supported the Vietnam War in its defense of the South Vietnam dictatorship right up until the bitter end. He pulled every maneuver in the book trying—unsuccessfully—to keep a majority of AFT delegates from publicly opposing that war.

"Quotas and affirmative-action pro-

grams are not Black racism, or Chicano racism, or reverse racism, or any other kind of racism. They are the only effective way employers and institutions can be forced to adopt even minimum standards of fairness in hiring and admission policies."

In response to this reporter's question on where the AFT Black Caucus stood on *Bakke*, Shanker answered: "I would say that the major difference of opinion is probably not with the Black Caucus."

"I think there are some white groups that feel strongly in favor of quotas on the basis of their political positions. . . .

"The Black delegates that I have talked to feel that if we didn't have unemployment and job problems, the *Bakke* thing would be irrelevant. Most of the Black delegates I've talked to have no love for the concept of quotas."

This claim by Shanker was immediately refuted when the Black Caucus met and voted to support Resolution Thirty-nine.

Resolution Thirty-nine was the California-sponsored resolution opposing the *Bakke* decision and Shanker's "friend of the court" brief.

An even bigger shock was in store for Shanker.

Later on August 15 the Civil, Professional and Democratic Human Rights Committee—the convention committee charged with screening the resolutions on *Bakke* and bringing a recommendation to the convention floor—voted fifty-two to fifty-seven against Shanker's resolution. Instead, the committee adopted Resolution Thirty-nine.

Almost every Black delegate on the committee supported the California resolution.

For a key Shanker resolution to be defeated in committee is virtually unheard of in the AFT.

Shanker's troubles grow

Shanker's troubles were far from over. His own Progressive Caucus, meeting that night, voted not to take a position on Resolution Thirty-nine. The caucus took positions on every other major resolution.

As one Black member of the Progressive Caucus put it, "When Resolution Thirty-nine came up, the tension was so thick you could feel it all over the hall. If it had been put before the caucus it would have torn it apart."

Continued on page 29