

THE MILITANT

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

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PUERTO RICANS JAILED IN CHICAGO: Three Puerto Rican activists were jailed in Chicago August 17 after refusing to give a federal grand jury their fingerprints, photographs, and voice and handwriting samples. José López and Roberto Caldero remain imprisoned. Juan López was freed after providing the information the grand jury requested.

The grand jury, in session since November, is trying to disrupt the Puerto Rican independence movement under the guise of investigating terrorist bombings. The National Committee Against Grand Jury Repression has called for a demonstration in Chicago September 17 in support of López, Caldero, and other who have refused to cooperate with the grand jury.

TEXAS CHICANOS PUBLISH NEWSPAPER: "For too long Texas' Chicanos have had to rely on a media dominated by the rich and the non-Chicano," explains the first issue of *Para La Gente*. The bilingual, bimonthly paper—"the first statewide Chicano newspaper written by and for Chicanos"—boasts some fifty reporters throughout Texas. It promises to pay special attention to illegal government surveillance and harassment of Chicanos, with regular reports on the Raza Unida Party's lawsuit against the government.

The paper's circulation will be mainly by subscription. For information on how to subscribe, write *Para La Gente* at Post Office Box 12865, Austin, Texas 78711.

JUDGE PUTS STAY ON KENT STATE GYM: On September 6 U.S. Supreme Court Justice William Brennan temporarily halted construction of a gymnasium on the site where four anti-Vietnam War protesters were killed by National Guardsmen on May 4, 1970.

Kent students organized in the May 4 Coalition are demanding that the gymnasium be built elsewhere on campus and that the Department of the Interior designate the site of the killings as a national memorial.

Justice Brennan granted the stay only until he or the Court are able to hear the university's response to the students' suit for a ban on construction.

MEMORIAL MEETING FOR CLARA DE MIHA: New York feminists have scheduled a memorial meeting September 15 for longtime anti-Vietnam War and women's activist Clara De Miha. De Miha died July 2. The meeting will be at 8:00 p.m. at the Unitarian Community Church, 40 East Thirty-fifth Street. Donation is \$1.50.

COURT FINDS J.P. STEVENS IN CONTEMPT: A federal appeals court found J.P. Stevens & Company in

contempt of court August 31 for its "massive, cynical, and flagrantly contemptuous" violations of court decrees.

The court orders violated by Stevens related to the textile manufacturer's vicious resistance to an organizing drive by the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union.

"We do not take lightly the flouting of our orders, not once, but twice," said Judge Wilfred Feinberg. "Nor can we view with equanimity the refusal of a large employer to abide by the law of the land and refrain from interfering with the rights of its employees."

Stevens was ordered by the court to mail a copy of the contempt ruling to all its employees throughout North and South Carolina. It was also told to formulate rules for its employees and inform management about the rights of union organizers. The company is also to allow the union to post notices on plant bulletin boards, give union access to some non-work areas, and furnish the union with the names and addresses of plant employees.

J.P. Stevens has been flouting court orders for more than a decade. —Nancy Cole

Stop Deportations!



Militant/Harvey Nelson

MIAMI—Chanting 'Deportation means death for Haitians,' and 'Hey, hey, USA! Stop supporting [Haitian dictator] Duvalier,' 100 people picketed the Immigration Service here August 31. Sponsored by the Human Rights for Haitian Refugees Coalition, the demonstration demanded the refugees be granted political asylum, work authorization, and equal access to government programs, as well as an end to their detention. The coalition plans a march and rally for October 1.

About this issue of the 'Militant'...

Angry about your shrinking paycheck? Long lines at the unemployment office? No Medicaid funds for abortions? Anti-Black mobs threatening your children at school?

Then you've found the right newspaper.

In this issue we feature a speech by Jack Barnes, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, on "Carter: Image and reality; The rulers' offensive against working people."

Barnes explains that Blacks, women, and other working people are being forced to sacrifice so that American big business can pursue its reckless drive for profits around the world and here at

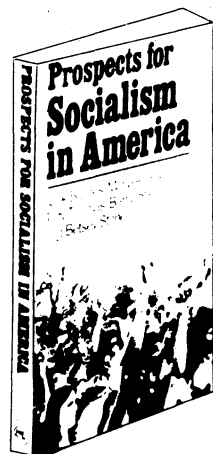
home. And Barnes tells how working people can fight back.

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Chicago racists threaten Black students but fail to block transfers as schools open

By Joel Britton

CHICAGO, Sept. 7—White racist opponents of school desegregation were dealt a blow here today as several hundred Black students braved threats and enrolled in previously all-white schools.

The 496 transfer students, most of them Black, were able to enter new elementary schools free of the violent attacks that racists had threatened.

Nevertheless, the bigots continue to threaten violence against the Black students, making necessary an ongoing mobilization by supporters of Black rights.

"Take your niggers home!" taunted one racist after two Black parents had escorted their children into Stevenson Elementary School in the Bogan area

on Chicago's southwest side.

"I teach my kids to hate Blacks," one racist mother boasted. "I'm fighting because we don't want them around. They went in there today, but just wait a couple of days when the police are gone."

Bomb threats were directed at Stevenson school this morning. And after school, 100 racists jeered the Black transfer students as they got on their bus.

The police protection that Black students received today, while still inadequate, resulted from the pressure that has been exerted by supporters of school desegregation. Operation PUSH took the lead in demanding protection. It set up "standby committees" that accompanied some buses of

Black students to their new schools. The committees, and earlier publicity about them, helped put the heat on city hall and the police. Members of the Student Coalition Against Racism participated in these committees.

Rev. Jesse Jackson, president of Operation PUSH, and other PUSH leaders were heckled and threatened as thirty racists gathered outside Stevenson school. PUSH leaders had escorted two of the twenty-seven Black transfer students there to the school. They met with the principal about the need for measures to ensure the safety of Black students.

During a press conference outside the building, Jackson was interrupted by jeering racists. "Get your niggers out of here," one man shouted.

A boycotting student called out, "We're going to stay out of school until we get this place cleaned out—until we get the coloreds out of here."

"Get out of our neighborhood," someone shouted as Jackson moved toward his car. "Come to Marquette Park sometime, and you'll never get out alive," yelled another. The all-white Marquette Park neighborhood has been the scene of repeated anti-Black violence during the past few years.

Jackson demanded that police arrest a racist for spitting at him. The cop, who clearly sympathized with the racists, reluctantly arrested Robert Lang, twenty-four, of north-suburban Niles as reporters looked on.

"Just wait until next year," one teenage racist told a reporter after the incident. "When they go to Bogan High it's going to be supervolent."

A racist boycott of Bogan High School and elementary schools in the area was 80 percent effective. Many Bogan parents say they will continue to boycott against the school board's voluntary transfer program. Under the transfer program, Black students from overcrowded schools in Black communities can transfer to underutilized white schools.

A week before school opened, the Student Coalition Against Racism, Parents Against Racist Violence, and other prodesegregation groups mobilized for an August 31 school board meeting. Racist opponents of Black

rights usually dominate such meetings.

This time, supporters of Black rights outnumbered the racists ten to one on the speakers list, clearly putting the racists on the defensive.

Saladin El-Tabuk, speaking for the Student Coalition Against Racism, demanded "all protection necessary, and if that means federal troops or the National Guard coming into Chicago and escorting students into school, so be it."

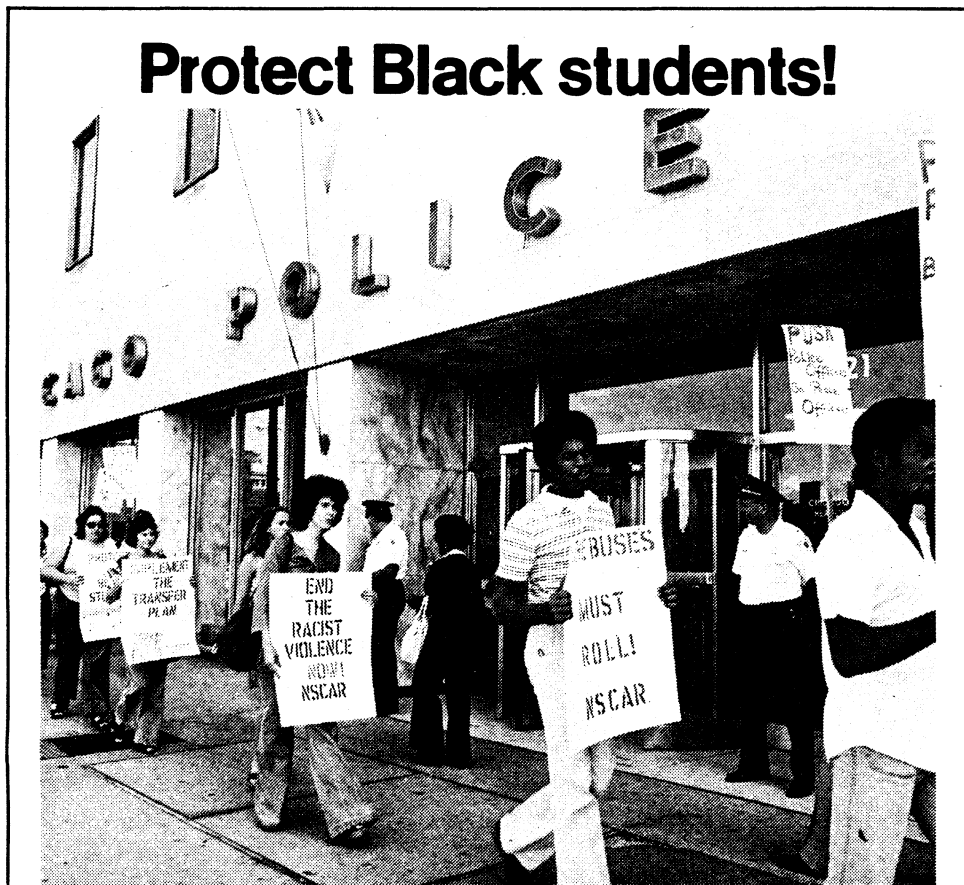
Cecil Lampkin, another SCAR speaker, received heavy applause when he called on the school board to stop "hemming and hawing" and to implement a full desegregation plan "with teeth."

On September 6, a broad array of community activists attended a conference called by the NAACP. Leaders of the NAACP and others called for protection of Black transfer students and full desegregation of the schools.

At most, only one-half of one percent of students in Chicago public schools are involved in the current transfer program. Chicago schools continue to be among the most segregated in the nation.

Along with the struggle to protect the students now being bused, the fight for a massive, court-ordered desegregation plan must continue. The latest deadline set by the state board of education for coming up with a Chicago-wide desegregation plan is spring 1978.

THE FIGHT AGAINST RACIST VIOLENCE: FROM BOSTON TO CHICAGO. Speakers: Mac Warren, former coordinator of Boston Student Coalition Against Racism; Cecil Lampkin, coordinator of Chicago SCAR; representative of Operation PUSH; others. Fri., Sept. 16, 7:30 p.m. Third Unitarian Church, 301 N. Mayfield, 5900 West near Lake St. Ausp: Chicago Student Coalition Against Racism. For more information call (312) 924-3993 or 524-1867.



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

CHICAGO—Demonstrators organized by Operation PUSH picketed outside police headquarters here on the two Saturdays before school opened to demand adequate protection for Black students being transferred into underutilized schools in all-white areas of the city. The Student Coalition Against Racism participated in the picket lines.

Speech by Jesse Jackson

'It's too dangerous for us to back down'

CHICAGO—The following are excerpts from Rev. Jesse Jackson's August 27 address to members and supporters of Operation PUSH.

Earlier in his talk, Jackson, national president of PUSH, had repeated PUSH's demand on city hall for full police protection of Black students transferring from overcrowded Black schools into underutilized, previously all-white schools.

In these excerpts, Jackson discusses one of the arguments being raised against participation in the school board's voluntary transfer plan.

Someone raised a question with me. They said, "Reverend, it's dangerous for Black people to go forward, because white folks don't like us. And we can't learn where white folks don't like us."

Well, we've got overcrowded Black schools, and our students ain't learning.

Jackie Robinson played baseball,

and the umpire didn't like him and the pitcher either. Joe Louis knocked out Max Schmeling, and the Germans didn't like him, and the referee didn't either.

If Black folks only went where we were liked, we couldn't even come home.

That's a very weak argument in the context of a social struggle.

So they say, "But, but, but, but, Reverend, it's dangerous."

Well, we've been here before. Those who proclaim they know history so well, let's look back at Little Rock in '57. Our choice was an inferior Black school because of conditions, or danger at Central High. Black folks could not back up into inferior conditions just 'cause white folks didn't like us. . . . Black women stood with those children and made the law be the law. . . .

Yes, it's dangerous. . . . In Englewood [in Chicago] Black children are going to Barton school—1,700 Blacks hemmed up—and there are schools in Marquette with less than 500. There's not one school in Mar-

quette Park with more than 680 students. And not one in Englewood with less than 1,120.

Shall we back up?

Dangerous! Yes, it's dangerous!

Overcrowded schools are dangerous.

Diplomas and no skills are dangerous. Functional illiteracy, during an age of cybernetics, is dangerous. TV addiction is dangerous. Pushing dope in our veins, rather than hope in our brains, is dangerous. . . .

Allowing the enemy to think we'll retreat . . . is dangerous.

Every step from slavery to freedom is dangerous. When slaves talked about freedom it was dangerous. . . .

Jackie Robinson playing baseball in '47 was dangerous.

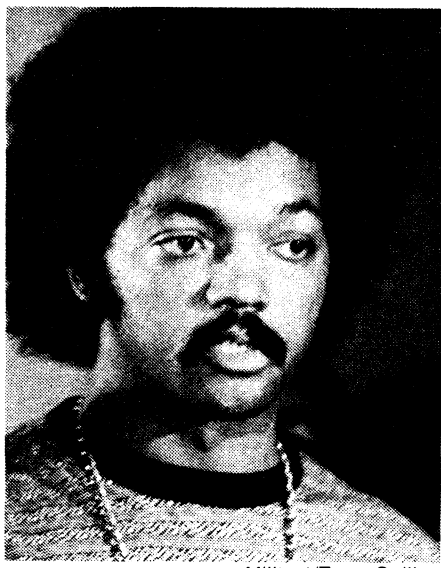
Getting the '54 Supreme Court decision was dangerous.

Little Rock in '57 was dangerous.

Going from the back of the bus to the front of the bus was dangerous.

Getting the right to vote was dangerous.

But being a boy when you ought to be a man is even more dangerous. Being a girl when you ought to be a woman is even more dangerous. Bowling, and scraping, and running, and ducking, and dodging, and licking—all that's dangerous!



Militant/Terry Quilico

JESSE JACKSON

AFT support for 'Bakke' case challenged

By Erich Martel

The following is an interview with Harold Fisher, a prominent member of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) Black Caucus. Fisher is on the staff of the Washington Teachers Union, AFT Local 6.

During the recent AFT convention Fisher played a leading role in the floor debate opposing the 'Bakke' decision and defending affirmative action.

In the 'Bakke' decision, the California Supreme Court ruled that establishing quotas in an affirmative-action program to increase minority admissions to medical school was "reverse discrimination" and unconstitutional.

The interview has been abridged due to space limitations.

Question. In your opinion what is the meaning of the Bakke decision?

Erich Martel is a leader in the AFT Desegregation and Equality in Education Caucus and a member of AFT Local 6.

Answer. Basically what we were saying on the floor of the convention—it means the end of affirmative-action programs. The Bakke decision, viewed in its total scope, is asking us to go back to a time when we didn't have any affirmative action at all.

Q. Why should the labor movement and the AFT oppose the Bakke decision?

A. For years the AFT and the labor movement have supported affirmative action. If the courts are going to rule that (Allan) Bakke was a victim of reverse discrimination, and they don't qualify that ruling in some way, most industries will look at that decision and say, "We don't have to deal with affirmative action at all."

Q. It seems that unless the affirmative-action program is concretized with a number, a quota, then those who oppose affirmative action



HAROLD FISHER *Militant/Lynn Henderson*

can get around it. In Boston the schools were ordered to do one-on-one Black-white hiring until 20 percent of the teachers were from minorities.

A. I think in the Boston situation the judge was moving in the right direction. All he said that was that for every white you hire you have to hire a Black or minority until your system reaches a point where minorities are 20 percent of your local staff.

The point we tried to get across at the convention was that you maintain that percentage by using both seniority and affirmative action.

You use two [seniority] lists. The people under the affirmative-action program are governed by one seniority because they were hired under affirmative action. So you take that 20 percent and rate them according to seniority. And the other 80 percent, you rate them according to seniority. As you lay off, you keep the balance of 80 to 20.

One of the things I said on the floor of the AFT convention is that the AFT is getting to be lazy, sitting on its hands without really looking towards a firm solution to what's happening.

"It can't be done." That's what we heard throughout the convention.

I don't think the minorities are going to be willing to continue to take low percentages and second place.

Q. This year, in contrast to last year, the AFT Black Caucus, along with the AFT Desegregation and Equality in Education Caucus, played a central role in floor debates on such issues as the Bakke decision, desegregation, and affirmative action. To what do you attribute this development in the Black Caucus?

A. I can't really put my finger on a single ingredient that has caused its growth, but I anticipate in Washington next year [the 1978 AFT convention is to be held in Washington, D.C.] we're going to see further growth of the Black Caucus.

I've been told we in Local 6, Washington Teachers Union, were inflammatory on the floor. That's only a prelude to next year.

The Black Caucus is growing. There is more awareness on the part of Black members of what their role must be just to maintain what we gained over the last few years.

This is not just a fight for gains outside of the AFT, it's a fight for gains within the structure of the AFT itself.

We perceive tokenness from the AFT

leadership in our direction.

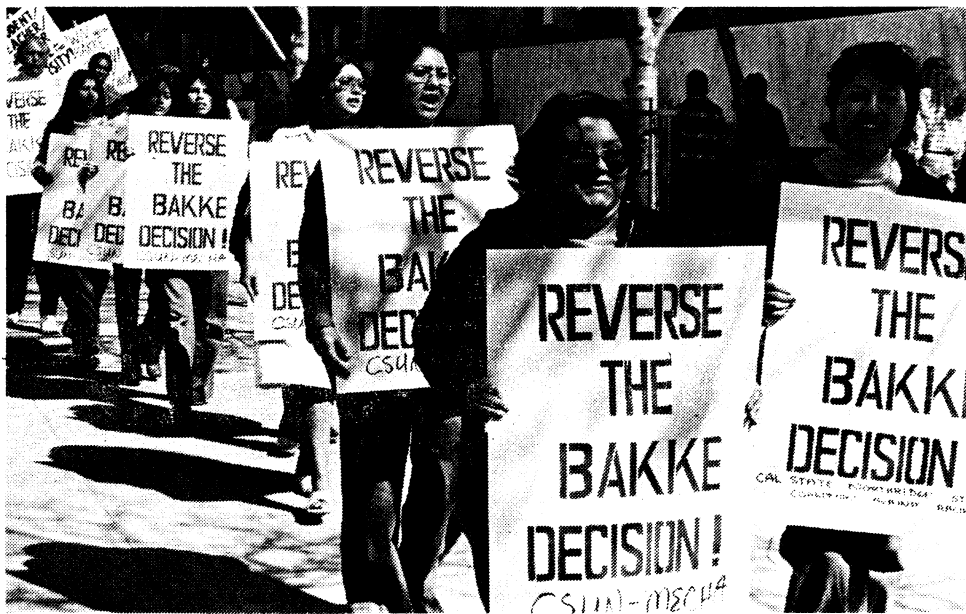
Either we are going to be partners, and they are going to be as concerned about the plight of the minority within the AFT as they are about some of the majorities, or AFT is going to have some real sad internal problems.

Q. What plans does the Black Caucus have between now and the next convention?

A. I know that many Black delegates approached me and indicated that they wanted to keep in touch with the Black Caucus. This is a complete turnaround from two years ago, when the Black Caucus was avoided as if we had the plague. So I would imagine that there will be a concerted effort on the part of the Black Caucus to keep in touch with Black members in all the locals.

I remember one local president who is Black indicated that—listening to the messages from the desegregation caucus and the Black Caucus—all of a sudden there was a realization of what kind of stake his local had in everything that was going on.

It was confusing to that president initially, because it meant that there had to be rethinking of affirmative action, a rethinking of quotas, because it was hitting his local. All of a sudden there were being new ideas thrust out.



'Bakke' decision protest in Los Angeles

Boston teachers' contract projects mass layoffs

By Bob Pearlman

BOSTON—At the start of the fourth year of court-ordered school desegregation here, the Boston School Committee is pressing for a contract with the Boston Teachers Union (BTU) that could lead to the elimination of nearly 1,000 teacher and teacher aide positions.

These layoffs will bring massive classroom overcrowding and undermine the quality of education for the system's 74,000 students.

Last fall Mayor Kevin White launched a propaganda offensive blaming the city's rising tax rate and

Bob Pearlman is a teacher and a member of the Boston Teachers Union.

"fiscal crisis" largely on the schools.

Boston's 5,000 teachers and 2,000 aides worked all last year without a contract.

The school committee is pursuing a "divide and conquer" strategy toward the union. Its proposals aim at giving a little to the older, largely white members of the union, while laying off the young provisional teachers. Among these are the highest concentration of Black and other minority teachers.

This is the same strategy that worked so effectively against American Federation of Teachers President Albert Shanker's home local in New York City.

Even for those Boston teachers who will still have jobs, the contract offers little protection against inflation and means worsened working conditions.

Most of the salary awards are one-time lump sums traded off against court-litigated awards already won by the teachers and being appealed by the school committee.

These increases, which average less than 7 percent over the two years of the settlement, will not be part of the teachers' base salaries. This means that next year Boston teachers will negotiate from their old base salary and will need a large percentage increase to cover both the 1976-77 and 1977-78 inflation.

Other losses for the union include no job protection for provisional teachers, the elimination of planning and development periods for elementary teachers, and no health-and-welfare payments for aides.

The major loss, however, is the union's inability to close the loopholes in the maximum class size provision of the contract.

Last March and April 600 parents and teachers met with the school com-

mittee to demand that the maximum class size of twenty-six in the contract be observed.

The school committee ignored this protest, which was jointly led by the prodesegregation City-wide Parents Advisory Council (CPAC) and the union. The school committee proceeded to staff the schools with a formula that could place up to thirty-six students in a class.

It is this formula that threatens to eliminate 500 to 800 teaching positions. It is unchallenged in the current contract.

The effect of these layoffs on minority teachers and aides is a matter of great concern to the Black community. Before the 1974 school desegregation order Black teachers made up less than 10 percent of the teaching staff.

At that time Federal Judge W. Arthur Garrity ordered one-on-one hiring of Blacks to be carried out until Black teachers made up 20 percent of the teaching force.

After three years of desegregation, sabotage by the school committee has led to so little Black hiring that Blacks

Continued on page 30

Last Hired, First Fired

Affirmative Action Vs. Seniority

Includes "The Debate Over Seniority and Affirmative Action," "The NAACP and the Struggle for Full Equality," and "The AFL-CIO and the Seniority System."

By Linda Jenness, Herbert Hill, Willie Mae Reid, Frank Lovell, and Sue Em Davenport. 32 pp., \$.50

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

Black unemployment at depression level

By Dick Roberts

Unemployment for Black workers rose to an official rate of 14.5 percent in August—as high as in the worst part of the 1974-75 depression.

This marked a sharp jump from the July Black unemployment rate of 13.2 percent. It occurred while unemployment among white workers remained at 6.1 percent.

The two-year-old economic "recovery" in the United States, these figures prove, has been *no* recovery for Black workers.

The present Black jobless levels are significantly worse than at any time in the post-World War II period.

Moreover, the gap between Black and white unemployment is widening. In August the jobless rate for Blacks was 2.4 times as high as for whites. In the spring of 1975 the ratio was 1.8.

This mounting attack on Black workers is part and parcel of the rulers' stepped-up drive against busing, against affirmative action, and against welfare, hospitals, and other vital social services.

It is a direct result of the drive by the rulers of this country to step up their profits. A large pool of jobless workers makes it easier for the bosses to keep the wages of all workers down. Working people are pitted against each other in the struggle for jobs. Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and women fare worst in this capitalist-imposed competition.

Minority youth come out on the very bottom of the heap. The August unemployment rate for Black teen-agers reached the devastating level of 40.4 percent.

And these are only the official figures based on people still looking for jobs. Those who have given up in discouragement are not counted.

A recent federal study in New York City, counting everyone from sixteen through nineteen years old, found that in June 86 percent of Black youth were unemployed.

August jobless figures underline the cruel hoax of President Carter's election campaign last year. Carter promised a full employment program, welfare and tax relief, and national health insurance for working people.

He promised stepped-up federal spending on job-creation programs in



Waiting for a job

the big cities. He was elected because Black, urban, and many trade-union voters gave him the needed edge over Gerald Ford.

These working people were double-crossed.

Carter's real program is the program of big business. His aim is to trim federal spending. No significant job programs are underway, and Carter is attacking welfare.

On the other hand, Carter has increased the war budget. More money than ever is being spent on weapons, although Carter promised to cut war spending from Ford administration levels.

As soon as the August unemploy-

ment figures were released, AFL-CIO chief George Meany demanded that the White House launch a new jobs program. Meany—one of the staunchest Carter campaign backers—noted that Carter had raised the expectations of Blacks, "who now have every reason to feel disappointed."

This blustering is aimed at reminding Carter about the possible consequences of his tarnished image among Blacks. It is also supposed to distract attention from the responsibility that union officials such as Meany shoulder for the Black job crisis.

The August unemployment figures show that hiring quotas and affirmative-action programs are life-

and-death necessities to the Black community.

These figures give the lie to the arguments of the capitalists and trade-union bureaucrats that affirmative action equals "reverse discrimination" or "racism in reverse." Black unemployment—and, without question, Puerto Rican and Chicano unemployment, although these figures were not revealed—is rising sharply.

At the NAACP convention in St. Louis last June, former NAACP Labor Director Herbert Hill put his finger on the complicity of the conservative labor bureaucrats with the bosses in maintaining job discrimination.

"The labor leaders have signed contracts with employers year after year that froze Blacks into the lowest-paying, dirtiest, dead-end jobs," Hill said.

Hill made it clear that the NAACP is not opposed to seniority systems as such. "What we are opposed to," he said, "is those systems that function to the detriment of Black workers obtaining full job equality."

The August jobless figures are a warning of worse things to come. Unemployment levels will rise even further, and Blacks will suffer the most.

It is urgent that unions launch a fight against discriminatory layoffs and discriminatory seniority systems. Layoffs must not result in a loss of even 1 percent of the limited gains that Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, and women workers have fought for and won through affirmative-action hiring programs.

This fight is necessary to forge unity in the struggle of all working people against unemployment. Workers must demand:

- An end to all military spending.
- A government-financed massive public works program aimed at providing jobs constructing schools, hospitals, and other services that are desperately needed in city after city.
- In order to provide jobs for all, a shorter workweek, for example from forty hours to thirty hours, with no reduction in pay. This way workers, instead of bosses, will benefit from technological advance.
- Jobs at union-scale wages for all unemployed youth.

Civil rights leaders blast 'callous neglect'

By John Hawkins

NEW YORK—After a seven-hour meeting at the National Urban League headquarters here August 29, fifteen leaders of some of the country's largest Black political, business, and civil rights organizations emerged to announce their agreement "to launch a counterattack on the callous neglect of Blacks, the poor, and America's cities."

The meeting, initiated by Urban League Executive Director Vernon Jordan, was first announced at the league's annual conference in July.

Sentiment in favor of such a meeting had been expressed by many groups and individuals earlier in the summer, especially at the conventions of the NAACP and Operation PUSH.

But Jordan's call for such a meeting took on more immediacy. Why?

Because it came soon after the social explosion in New York City's Black and Puerto Rican communities during the July electrical shutdown there. The blackout rebellion illuminated two hard truths for Jordan and his colleagues: that unemployment and the intolerable quality of life in the ghettos had pushed Blacks close to the breaking point; and that the Black leaders—if they wanted to retain a shred of credibility as leaders—had to at least make a show of leading.

Jordan's call also came one day after

his sharp exchange of words with President Carter. Jordan had criticized Carter at the opening of the Urban League conference for reneging on his campaign promises to Blacks.

Invited to speak at the gathering, Carter responded that he had no reason to apologize. Moreover, at a news conference the following day, Carter attacked Jordan's statement as "demagogic" and went on to say that critics of his administration seek "to prey on those who are poor, or deprived, or who are alienated from society."

Faced with all this, the fifteen leaders responded to Jordan's appeal.

Among those attending were Rev. Jesse Jackson of Operation PUSH; NAACP Executive Director Benjamin Hooks; National Council of Negro Women President Dorothy Height; Mayor Richard Hatcher, Gary, Indiana; A. Philip Randolph Institute President Bayard Rustin; Coretta King; Maryland Rep. Parren Mitchell; and SCLC President Joseph Lowery.

The strategy that these figures decided on to guide their "counterattack," and the forces they plan to deploy, remain known only to them more than a week later.

In fact, the statement released by the participants following the meeting carefully avoided attributing the "cal-

lous neglect" to Carter or his administration. Only Jesse Jackson laid the blame directly at the White House doorstep.

The statement pinpointed several issues of "critical concern": full employment, rebuilding the cities, welfare reform, affirmative action, economic development, and "the rejuvenation of moral and social purpose in this nation."

The day after the meeting, Jordan told a *New York Times* reporter, "There was universal agreement on jobs. . . . It is the overriding issue of the '70s."

Official August unemployment figures released four days after the meeting bear this out—the gap between white and Black jobless levels has widened (see article above).

Yet despite the urgency expressed by the fifteen Black leaders, they drafted no plan of action.

One reason for this omission was touched on in an editorial in the *Amsterdam News*, New York City's most widely read Black newspaper. Noting the narrowness of the gathering, the *News* commented: "Our complaint is that Vernon Jordan accepted the stereotyped 'name' leaders and did not cast his net widely enough to being together at the 'summit' the best minds

and the most creative energy he could muster."

But this narrowness served a purpose—to ensure that the decisions coming out of the meeting remained well within the confines of the overall strategy that all the participants share: continued reliance on Carter and the Democrats in Congress for a few handouts. In practice, they all counterpose this strategy to direct action.

This was driven home by the exclusion from the meeting of Tony Austin, coordinator of the National Student Coalition Against Racism.

At all the conventions of the major civil rights organizations this summer, NSCAR has advocated a massive direct action campaign to counter the attacks on the rights and living standards of Blacks. To launch such a campaign, NSCAR suggested a mass conference of the Black movement be called—a conference representing not only leaders of the large civil rights organizations, but also Black student groups, women's groups, trade-union caucuses, and Black community organizations.

A good way for those who participated in the meeting to begin doing something about the issues of "critical concern" would be to call and organize such a conference right now.



What's at stake in the fight against 'la migra'

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—At a recent meeting here of activists and supporters of the Chicano movement, a question was posed: Yes, the fight against deportations is very important, but should it be a central point on the Chicano agenda?

The questioner continued: Aren't such problems as jobs, education, and inflation more important?

This warrants a serious answer.

The fight to stop deportations and end the abuses of *la migra* is clearly an important act of solidarity with victims of the worst kind of oppression and exploitation. The undocumented suffer not only at the hands of growers and sweatshop employers, but also landlords, merchants, loan sharks, and anyone else who can squeeze a dime out of them.

But much more is at stake in the antideportation fight than just that.

The entire struggle for Chicano liberation will advance to the extent that the movement succeeds in pushing *la migra* out of the barrios, the sweatshops, and the fields.

The relationship between Chicanos and undocumented *mexicanos* is truly a classic case of "an injury to one is an injury to all."

Controlling the gates

The government and the capitalist class it represents need to control the flow of immigrants back and forth across the border according to their varying needs for a pool of cheap, docile labor.

Their aim is not to seal the border, because there is always a need for that labor. The only thing that varies is the amount that is needed, in good times and bad.

Letting job hunters slip across the border "illegally" is ideal for the employer. The very best way to keep labor cheap and docile is to keep it "illegal."

Rep. William Ketchum (R-Calif.) told reporters July 21 why Mexicans are needed in the U.S. fields. Americans, Ketchum said, will not do farm work "because they're not conditioned to it. Mexicans for some reason have no problem. They zip up and down those rows. I don't know how they do it."

That is the essential function of *la migra*. With their periodic raids and roundups, the border cops keep undocumented workers in a state of perpetual fear—keep them "zipping up and down those rows."

An added function is to create yet another division between workers, to pit "citizen" against "alien," "legal" against "illegal," white against Brown and, sometimes, Chicano against Mexican.

That kind of division helps hold

down wages for all—"legal" as well as "illegal." It makes unionization more difficult, because undocumented workers are understandably fearful.

What, then, is the significance of Carter's new immigration policy?

Why is he offering to grant "amnesty" for maybe a half-million of the undocumented? Why did he recommend that those who came in between 1971 and 1977 be permitted to stay, but without any rights?

And—getting to the heart of Carter's crackdown—why did he at the same time propose to double the Border Patrol from 2,000 to 4,000 and to fine employers up to \$1,000 per worker for "knowingly" hiring undocumented workers?

The answer is simple: The Carter administration believes that immigration from Mexico has gotten out of hand and wants to do something about it.

Mounting misery in Mexico

At the very time that there is a steadily shrinking job market in the United States, unemployment in Mexico is greater than ever. More people have been coming across the border than U.S. employers can use.

Beefing up the Border Patrol will help control the flow more effectively. And offering the bone of "amnesty" to a few, Carter hopes, may reduce opposition to the clampdown.

In addition, the creation of a special status of workers without rights, here on a five-year pass, creates a controllable pool of cheap labor that employers can use.

The racist rulers are also worried about the continuing growth of the nonwhite population. For example, Mervyn Dymally, lieutenant governor of California, said recently that since 1970, minorities in California had shot up from 20.4 percent of the population to 34.7 percent this year. If the trend

continues, Dymally said, by 1990 minorities will comprise 60.7 percent of the state population.

Secretary of Labor F. Ray Marshall put it another way in a February 22 *Los Angeles Times* interview.

"I believe," Marshall said, "we are building a new civil rights struggle of the 1980s by having an underclass of people come into this country, unable to protect themselves, easily exploited, dissatisfied with their status and yet fearful of being deported."

"Their children will be even more dissatisfied and likely to revolt against such conditions and they will demand their civil rights in the fashion of the civil rights struggles which began in the 1960s."

Gutiérrez's view

In numerous speeches, Texas Raza Unida Party leader José Angel Gutiérrez has put it still another way. He has urged the Chicano people to fight deportations and demand an open border, because the more people come in, the stronger the liberation movement will ultimately become. It means, he emphasizes, more Chicano power.

And that point—to return to the original question—is key to understanding why deportation is a central issue for Chicanos.

Consider some of the other key issues. The fight for jobs, for one. Is unemployment among Chicanos going to be solved by the deportation of undocumented workers? Would deportations solve the problem of union organization in field and factory?

Challenge for UFW

The leadership of the United Farm Workers for a time took a wrong position on this, vainly thinking *la migra* would clear the field of undocumented people being used as scabs. That false position created major dissensions

within the union and Chicano community—and it didn't solve the problem of scabs.

It was only when the UFW extended the hand of solidarity to the undocumented, organizing them and defending them, that they began to really deal with the scabs.

Similarly with the Garment Workers union in Los Angeles. Trying to organize the city's garment sweatshops, the union quickly found there's no way to organize except to stand with the undocumented workers who are now the backbone of that industry in the city.

Fight for better housing in the barrio? You cannot possibly separate such a fight from the issue of the undocumented, who are the greatest victims of slum housing.

In Santa Ana a year ago, community activists organized some tenants to fight for improved housing. Many tenants were undocumented. The slumlords quickly called *la migra*, who obligingly carted off 120 of the protesting tenants. The community organizers learned that if they wanted to fight for better housing, they also had to defend the undocumented.

Fight for decent schools, an end to segregation, for bilingual-bicultural education? If a large number of the people most affected are undocumented, how can they be drawn into the fight unless their special problem is dealt with?

Police brutality in the barrio? You cannot hope to deal effectively with this burning problem without also dealing with the problem of the most vulnerable targets of that brutality.

Role of undocumented

If the Chicano movement stands in solidarity with the undocumented, they can be a powerful ally for social progress. Their demand for human rights strikes at the most reactionary and racist aspects of this society.

If the reactionary border restrictions can be breached, if full rights can be won for the undocumented, the Chicano liberation movement will be immeasurably stronger.

If not, the atmosphere of repression will grow. And the repression will not simply come down on the undocumented. Increasingly, all brown-skinned people will be seen—and treated—as "illegals."

To say "Not us, them" is to strengthen the hand of racism. By the same token, to say "We are brothers and sisters and stand united" is the biggest step forward that can be taken for the entire movement.

This is the real road to victory in the fight for jobs, schools, and homes. And it's the road to victory in the struggle for Chicano emancipation.

Keeping workers 'docile'

By José G. Pérez

The government's efforts to help bosses obtain the cheapest, most exploitable labor possible knows no bounds—especially bounds set by U.S. immigration laws.

Last June President Carter personally intervened to make sure that growers in Presidio, Texas, could bring in Mexican onion pickers, although earlier both the Labor Department and the Immigration and Naturalization Service had refused to let the Mexicans in.

Now a federal judge has ordered

visas for 5,000 apple pickers to help out growers in eastern states. The Labor Department has vowed to appeal the order. It feels that only 2,200 immigrant pickers are needed to maintain low wage rates.

"I know the growers prefer foreign workers because they find them more docile than domestic workers," said Secretary of Labor Ray Marshall. But, "with unemployment at 6.9 percent, this is not a valid consideration."

Marshall is all heart.

Support mounting for nat'l Latino conference

By Mark Schneider

SAN ANTONIO—Sixty people attended a meeting of the International Committee on Immigration and Public Policy here September 1. This was the largest meeting yet of the coalition, which is hosting the national Chicano/Latino conference scheduled to be held here October 28-30.

A major topic of discussion at the meeting was an attempt by the administration of Our Lady of the Lake University to deny use of campus facilities for the conference (see story below).

Activists came from Austin and Houston. Those present included representatives of Chicano student organizations from five campuses. Also attending were members of the Raza Unida Party; Student Coalition Against Racism; Friends of the Farmworkers; Socialist Workers Party; New American Movement; Democratic Association of Iranian Students; and the Committee to Defend Ali Shokri, an Iranian threatened with deportation.

Miguel Pendas, one of the conference organizers, released a list of 72 new endorsers, bringing the total to more than 300. New endorsers include Enio Carrión, president, Hispanic Labor Council, AFL-CIO, New York; Manzo Area Council, Tucson, Arizona; Ricardo Parra, executive director, Midwest Council of La Raza, Notre Dame, Indiana; Bernardo Euseste, San Antonio City Council; Bernadette Devlin McAlisky; Confederación de la Raza, San Jose; Texas Association of Chicanos

in Higher Education; *La Guardia* newspaper, Milwaukee; and Rev. J. L. Navarro, editor of *El Sol de Houston* and national chaplain, League of United Latin-American Citizens (LULAC).

"The New American Movement just voted to support the conference at our national convention," announced NAM activist Glenn Scott to a round of applause.

The coalition then discussed organization of the conference. Format committee chairperson Esteban Flores of Austin reported that more than twenty prominent individuals had been invited to speak. A Catholic midnight mass will be celebrated Saturday night. Several bishops have been asked to lead the service.

Socialist Workers Party leader Peter Camejo proposed to send letters to Attorney General Griffin Bell and Immigration Commissioner Leonel Castillo demanding that there be no government spying or harassment of the conference. That way undocumented immigrants who want to attend the conference can do so without fear of deportation.

Camejo also proposed inviting President Carter to attend so that conference participants could question him about his immigration law proposals. Both of Camejo's suggestions were approved.

Conference Coordinator Mario Compeán explained the need for a full-time staff, and the coalition meeting agreed to a staff of four.

Battle between gas co., Chicanos continues

By Mark Schneider

SAN ANTONIO—Natural gas is still flowing into Crystal City, Texas. But for how much longer remains an open question.

For four years officials of the impoverished Chicano town have been fighting a 585 percent increase in the price of natural gas. The city had contracted with LoVaca Gathering Company for gas at \$.35 per 1,000 cubic feet, but in 1973 LoVaca unilaterally hiked the rate to \$2.05. The Texas Railroad Commission and courts have given their blessing to this price gouging.

Crystal City officials point out that the hike is not only illegal and unfair, but residents simply don't have the money to pay it.

On August 31, just hours before a scheduled midnight gas cutoff, U.S. Supreme Court Justice Lewis Powell issued a temporary restraining order against LoVaca, saying he wanted time to look at the case.

But two days later, Powell reversed himself, in effect giving the go-ahead to LoVaca.

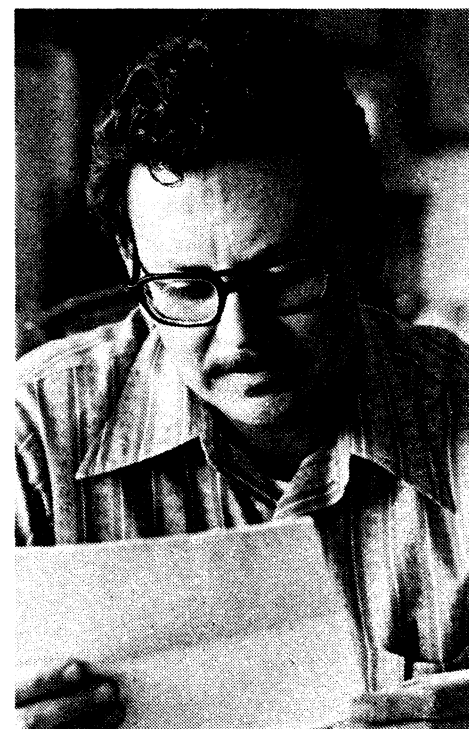
At 5:00 p.m. the same day Zavala County Judge José Angel Gutiérrez issued an injunction blocking the cutoff. Gutiérrez based the action on a \$250 suit by a city resident who charged that LoVaca was trying to collect for undelivered gas. He scheduled a September 12 hearing on the suit.

According to the *San Antonio Express News*, "Elated citizens filled the streets outside their homes as word spread the gas would not be cut off."

On September 5 LoVaca announced it would defy Judge Gutiérrez's order and would cut off the gas September 9 after some safety problems are cleared up.

Judge Gutiérrez is a founding leader of the Texas Raza Unida Party, an independent Chicano political party. The RUP controls the Zavala County government. The Crystal City government is controlled by the Barrio Club, a more conservative grouping within the RUP that broke from the original Zavala County organization two years ago.

The city council and its attorneys have been negotiating with LoVaca for the past few weeks, offering concession after concession. At an August 25 council meeting city officials agreed to



Militant/Harry Ring

GUTIERREZ: Raza Unida judge's order kept gas flowing.

meet LoVaca's demand for \$744,000 in back payments—but over a ten-year period, not immediately as the utility had insisted. The council also agreed to begin charging the \$2.05 rate and offered LoVaca mineral rights to a thirty-six-acre city park that contains natural gas.

LoVaca arrogantly turned down the offer. "Your proposal of no down payment and ten-year amortization gives us concern that it would invite other customers of LoVaca to do the same," company President William Greehey wrote to the council. He demanded "a substantial front-end cash consideration" of 20 to 25 percent.

The city council then offered to pay \$50,000 immediately and \$50,000 more in six months. LoVaca also turned this down.

As Greehey's letter shows, LoVaca fears the example of defiance that has been set by Crystal City. The profit-hungry utility would like to cut off the gas and let people suffer so that other towns don't follow Crystal City's lead. Some other south Texas towns have been collecting the full \$2.05 rate, but have withheld it from LoVaca, placing the money in escrow accounts.

Come to San Antonio

"A crisis for all Spanish surnamed persons within the US of A is rapidly approaching. The very same man our Raza supported for the presidency, now seeks to deport us . . . We should have a working conference to draft a Latino agenda on our needs."
—José Angel Gutiérrez

- I endorse the National Chicano/Latino Conference on Immigration and Public Policy.
- Please send me more information on the conference.
- Enclosed is a donation of \$ _____.

Name: _____

Address: _____

City, State & Zip: _____

School/Organization: _____

International Committee on Immigration and Public Policy, 1927 West Commerce Street, San Antonio, Texas 78807. Phone: (512) 227-1220.

Students fight to hold conf. on campus

By Mark Schneider

SAN ANTONIO—One hundred students at Our Lady of the Lake University here attended a debate between Student Association President Hector López and administration representative Sister Madlyn Pape.

At issue was the right of the Student Association to host the National Chicano/Latino Conference on Immigration and Public Policy on the campus.

Last May, Chicano leaders issued a call for a conference to discuss President Carter's racist immigration proposals and other issues. Later it was decided to hold the conference in San Antonio, October 28-30. The conference has been endorsed by more than 300 groups and individuals.

Last July conference organizers approached the OLL student government to see whether it would be

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HECTOR LOPEZ: Our Lady of the Lake student leader demands administration okay holding of national Chicano conference on campus.

Camejo raps gas rip-off

By Mark Schneider

SAN ANTONIO—While Crystal City lawyers were fighting to head off an impending cutoff of natural gas by the LoVaca Gathering Company (see above story), calmer proceedings on a related issue were taking place 100 miles away here in San Antonio.

The southern governors were holding their forty-third annual meeting.

There weren't many friends of Crystal City's Chicano citizens in the audience. Possibly the \$1,000 entrance fee had something to do with it.

In fact, the entire roomful of 300 were white and male. Women in attendance were serving coffee. A few Chicanos showed up afterwards to sweep the floors.

I attended the August 30 session as a reporter for the *Militant*. The governors had invited three speakers: Exxon President Randall Meyer, Oklahoma Gov. David Boren, and U.S. Rep. Bob Kreuger (D-Tex.), a notorious mouthpiece for oil and natural gas interests.

What followed was a two-hour profit rally, with Kreuger giving the keynote speech. When Kreuger called regulation of natural gas prices "domestic colonialism and regional discrimination," the place went wild.

Kreuger, Meyer, and Boren also attacked environmental-protection legislation.

The only dissenting voice at the meeting wasn't from an official guest. Peter Camejo, the Socialist Workers Party 1976 presidential candidate, talked to reporters in the corridor and handed out a news release.

"There is no one here defending the working people that can't afford the higher prices that would result from those policies," Camejo told reporters.

"The Southern Governors' Conference should be discussing nationalization of the energy industry, opening up the books of the energy corporations, and placing them under the control of the industry's workers," he said.

Camejo called for strict environmental controls and an immediate end to nuclear power. "Our energy resources must be developed to meet human needs, not to maximize corporate profits." The socialist leader blasted the governors for "acting as a rubber stamp for the energy giants' rip-off campaign."

"A perfect example of the energy rip-off is the battle between the LoVaca Gathering Company and the people of

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Political power: what does it mean for women?



Militant/Jean Vertheim

'Practical politics' led leaders of women's movement to turn away from slogans of protests such as this and instead lobby for Senate anti-abortion bill.

By Cindy Jaquith
and Mary-Alice Waters

(Last of a series)

How can the women's movement increase its political power and effectiveness?

This question lies at the heart of the discussion over perspectives in the women's movement today. Most women recognize that to win our demands and improve our situation, the feminist movement must be a political movement. But what does that mean?



Women's oppression, as we have shown throughout the articles in this series, is fundamental to the maintenance of social and economic inequality in capitalist society. To eliminate completely any of the basic aspects of this oppression—to integrate women into the work force on a totally equal footing, to abolish all restrictions on abortion, or to wipe out all vestiges of women's inferior status in society as a whole—would run directly counter to the needs of the capitalist system.

Full equality for women is in contradiction to the ability of the wealthy few who rule this country to maintain their private wealth and profits—by dividing the working class along race, sex, and other lines, paying lower wages to women, and forcing

the economic burden of crises and breakdowns onto the individual family and, to a disproportionate degree, onto women.

Women's liberation is a class question, and our political strategy must be viewed in this framework.

Not all women are part of the working class, but all women suffer to one degree or another the effects of sex discrimination at the hands of the ruling class. This discrimination is administered and enforced by the two capitalist parties that defend the interests of the rich, the Democrats and Republicans.

As we have pointed out, this means that a powerful women's movement can be built only on the basis of political independence from the Democrats and Republicans—no subordination of women's needs to the needs of our oppressors, nor to those who front for them in the courts, Congress, and the White House.

Crisis of leadership

But the leadership of the women's movement today has been following a different course. The perspective advanced by the more conservative wing of the National Organization for Women, for example, is to tie the struggle for women's liberation to the coattails of the Democratic and Republican politicians.

Instead of building an independent women's movement, they propose we rely on the very politicians carrying out the attacks on women's rights, through an emphasis on lobbying, behind-the-scenes negotiations with the "powers that be," and the electing of "prowomen" candidates from the capitalist parties.

This approach is often called "practical politics." But the practical results have been disastrous for women, particularly in the last year.

The most stunning example is the utter capitulation of the leadership of NOW, and groups like the

National Abortion Rights Action League, to the government's latest maneuvers to roll back the right to abortion. Both the NOW and NARAL leaders have decided to support the Senate version of the Hyde amendment, which would terminate all Medicaid funds for abortions, except where "medically necessary" and in cases of rape and incest.

These leaders argue that the Senate version is better than the House version, which denies funds for virtually all abortions. The Senate anti-abortion bill is the "lesser of two evils" or, as NOW action vice-president Arlie Scott wrote in the August *Do It NOW* newsletter, "the least offensive of the alternatives."

"Least offensive" to whom? To the hundreds of thousands of women who are having the clinic doors slammed in their faces? Certainly not.

But the Senate version is undoubtedly less offensive to the two-faced politicians who hope to cloak their attack on abortion rights with the "medically necessary" cover.

And if these politicians can come up with a formula that leaders of the women's movement can be tricked into supporting, so much the better.

What the Senate Hyde amendment actually boils down to is a giant retreat on the most important victory wrested by women from the rulers of this country in the last ten years. Abortion as the right of *all* women—not to be tampered with by the courts, the legislators, doctors, or family—is a cornerstone of the program feminists have defended for a decade.

The compromise now being struck by some leaders of the abortion struggle—bargaining over the very lives of Black women, women on welfare, Medicaid recipients, and young women—is a bitter lesson in how reliance on capitalist politicians leads women into a carefully laid trap, where they end up advocating what are objectively antifeminist stands.

Wrong political framework

This is not because the leaders of NOW and NARAL are consciously opposed to feminist demands, but because they start from the wrong framework. They begin with what the rulers are willing to grant at any particular time, not with what women need and are ready to fight for.

Thus, the July *NARAL Newsletter* argued in favor of the Senate anti-abortion bill because, it said, women have no place to turn but to the politicians. "They are going to determine the fate of those poor women who seek abortions and whether they will obtain any assistance at all," the *Newsletter* claimed.

Dead wrong. The antiwoman politicians will only determine our fate if we remain silent and let them. But if women take our fate into our own hands, and build a powerful movement to defend abortion rights, we can turn the tables on the anti-abortion offensive.

The NOW and NARAL leaders have expressed a lack of confidence in women's ability to fight back by their betrayal on the abortion issue. Their willingness to give up the principle of abortion rights for all—in effect, to do the politicians' dirty work for them, by *advocating* the Hyde amendment—is a danger sign for the whole movement. It represents a victory for the capitalist offensive to lower women's expectations and legitimize our inferior status. It helps to further divide the women's movement along race and class lines, pitting women able to pay for abortions against those unable to pay. Unchallenged, it can only help demobilize and disorient the women's liberation struggle.

Hopefully, supporters of NOW and NARAL will urge their leaderships to reconsider their course, to reaffirm their traditional stands in favor of the right to choose, and to take the *offensive* in campaigning against all versions of the Hyde amendment and other attacks on abortion rights.

In doing so, abortion rights supporters must also reexamine the political strategy that led to this crisis.

NOW members in particular should take another look at the political action strategy adopted at NOW's national conference last April. A key part of that strategy was embodied in the controversial proposal to set up "political action committees" in NOW. These committees are designed ostensibly to enhance NOW's influence in the political process by campaigning for "prowomen" capitalist candidates. dates.

Lessons from labor movement

This proposal, which barely passed at the national conference, is modeled on the political action committees in the trade unions, which have traditionally funneled union members' money into the Democratic and Republican parties.

NOW leaders argue that women can learn much from the labor movement's experience in politics.

This is true. But what are the real lessons to be drawn?

The central lesson is one that many trade-union members themselves are beginning to draw today—that as long as the unions remain in the straitjacket of dependence on their “friends” in the Democratic and Republican parties, the road ahead offers nothing but more defeats and a continued weakening of the labor movement.

What, after all, has been the result of labor’s “victory” in the 1976 elections? A Democrat in the White House and a Democratic-controlled Congress have not only failed to produce the jobs promised by the candidates and their supporters in the labor bureaucracy, but have brought forth a string of attacks on working people—from denial of unemployment benefits, to erosion of affirmative action, to a miserably inadequate minimum-wage law.

These defeats are the product of the union officials’ policy of class collaboration—a policy that assumes that workers and their bosses have compatible interests that can be amicably negotiated. Such a policy always ends up sacrificing the needs of the workers to the needs of the profit system.

The long-standing partnership of union officials such as George Meany with the employing class has destroyed the real political power working people have—depriving them of political independence on every level, from the shop floor to the elections. It has resulted in no-strike pledges, sweetheart contracts negotiated behind the workers’ backs, and the deepening of race and sex divisions among workers.

The same general strategic problem confronting workers is posed in the women’s movement—how to break out of the crippling vise of class collaboration and mobilize women and our allies in independent political action.

The answer certainly does not lie in emulating the treacherous policies of George Meany and Company. It lies in forging an independent women’s movement that places no faith in the “common” interests of women and their oppressors, and subordinates nothing to the needs of capitalist politicians.

Confidence in women

This means placing political confidence in the masses of women and leading them in a counteroffensive against the attacks on their rights—a counteroffensive of action, demonstrations, rallies, picket lines, speak-outs—that can reach out to the millions of women whose power has yet to be organized.

On the electoral level, the women’s movement is handicapped by the absence of a mass party that reflects our class interests, a working-class party. This is the same problem confronting the labor movement as a whole. An independent labor party, based on the trade unions, would strengthen the women’s movement and give it clout in the electoral arena. It would be a party fighting not only through the elections, but in defense of women’s rights on a day-to-day basis. It would be a campaigner against racism and union busting, and for the rights of all the oppressed and exploited.

Today there is no mass workers party that can offer an alternative to women seeking a way to express their class independence. But the building of a powerful, independent women’s movement could help lay the basis for such a development by setting the example of uncompromising struggle.

Of course, a labor party would not replace the need for women to organize our own movement to lead the fight for women’s liberation. Such a movement can only be built on a clear program in defense of all women’s rights and a strategy of independence from the ruling parties.

This does not mean that feminists who vote for Democrats or Republicans cannot participate in such a movement. Nor does it mean we should reject the support of those capitalist politicians who are willing to back women’s rights from time to time.

But it does mean that those who seek to lead the women’s movement can place nothing ahead of advancing the struggle of women—neither the election needs of capitalist politicians nor the needs of candidates of any other political party or force.

That is, the leaders of the women’s movement must be consistent feminists.

And, we are convinced, in the process of constructing an independent women’s movement, one that consistently champions the needs of all women, many women will recognize the need for a complete break with the class that profits from women’s oppression and the politicians who make that oppression possible.

These feminists will come to realize that the struggle for women’s liberation is integrally tied to the struggle of the working class and all its components for a totally new kind of society, a socialist society based on human needs, not profits.

Speech by lesbian activist

‘Women, gays invisible to govt.’

On August 27 2,000 women marched and rallied in New York City demanding equal rights. Among those speaking at the rally in Central Park was Ginny Apuzzo, cochair of the National Gay Rights Lobby and a faculty member at Brooklyn College. The text of her remarks follows.

I’m thirty-six years old. I’m a woman. I’m a lesbian. And in this federal government, in this state, and in this city, I am virtually invisible.

While I may very well be invisible to this government, I’m not blind. What I see I don’t like. I’m horrified, but not surprised, that this president, and this congress, and this Supreme Court, which can agree on nothing else, can agree on restricting the access to abortion for all women.

When called upon to explain the obvious inequities to poor women, Carter the Compassionate had the audacity to tell women in this country that life is often unfair. I didn’t hear him say that to the investors in the Concorde, I didn’t hear him say that to the oil companies, and I don’t hear him say that to Bert Lance.

As far as most of us are concerned, this administration has offered us an armchair advocacy of ERA. Armchair ain’t good enough. We’re talking about equal access. We’re talking about equal protection.

I would ask you also to focus on the fact that this summer I watched the House of Representatives vote on the legal assistance bill. The amendment proposed by Lawrence McDonald, Democrat of Georgia, restricted the rights of gay citizens of this country to use funds and legal assistance for cases that involve gay discrimination. On July 5 the *New York Times* identified Lawrence McDonald, Democrat of Georgia, as the legislative arm of the John Birch Society.

The enemies of the ERA, the enemies of equal access to abortion, and the enemies of gay rights are the same people.

If middle-class heterosexual women abandon their poor sisters insofar as equal access to abortion is concerned, if heterosexual women are too embarrassed to stand behind their lesbian sisters, then we fall right into the hands of those people who are proposing this kind of opposition.

These are not three distinct issues, and if we confront them as three distinct issues we run in three distinct directions and arrive *nowhere*.

We’ve looked over our priorities, and if our priorities embarrass this administration, then maybe we ought to make it very clear that before we change our priorities, we’d sooner change administrations.



GINNY APUZZO

Militant/Diane Wang

August 26 actions

The National Organization for Women reports that walk-a-thons for the Equal Rights Amendment were held in more than 125 cities in forty-three states over the August 26 weekend.

The events commemorated the day women won the vote in 1920. Between \$170,000 and \$200,000 was raised for NOW’s ERA ratification drive.

In addition to the August 27 events covered last week, *Militant* correspondents report that nearly 150 joined in a four-mile walk in Miami, and in Moscow, Idaho, forty ERA supporters marched in a walk-a-thon.

In Los Angeles, television star Jean Stapleton (*All in the Family*) and comedienne Lily Tomlin led a twelve-mile walk in which 500 people participated. That event was sponsored by seven NOW chapters in Los Angeles County.

The following day, August 28, Los Angeles NOW organized a rally of 350 to demand women’s rights.

At the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque, August 26 was the occasion for a day of workshops on women’s struggles today. A rally concluded the event, and the following day sixty-five women joined an ERA walk-a-thon.

Detroit’s Human Rights Department sponsored a block-long display of tables and booths for Women’s Equality Day August 26. The NOW sponsored walk-a-thon the next day attracted 150 people to a rally and some fifty marchers.

S. Dakota’s only abortionist charged with manslaughter

By Nancy Cole

In the whole state of South Dakota—with a population close to 700,000 and an area of 77,047 square miles—there is only one doctor who performs abortions.

And right-wing anti-abortionists have a notion they can put *him* out of business, preferably behind bars.

Dr. Ben Munson performs some 1,500 abortions a year. In 1973 one of his patients, Linda Padfield, died three days after the operation.

In 1976 charges of “culpable negligence” were brought against Munson by state Attorney General William Janklow. This month Munson goes on trial for manslaughter.

Janklow, who opposes abortion, is thinking about running for governor in 1978. That, of course, has nothing to do with his decision to dredge up a case against the state’s only abortionist three years after the “crime” occurred. He’s just “doing the job I was elected to do.”

Padfield’s parents “want no part” of the prosecution. “I just don’t understand why he’s doing this,” says her mother.

It’s not hard to figure it out in South Dakota. No hospital in the state will permit abortions in its facilities, even if there were other doctors besides Munson willing to perform them. The legislature overwhelmingly voted this year to call for a constitutional convention to outlaw abor-

tion. And the governor, half of the state’s congressional delegation, and the state welfare department all believe a woman should only be allowed an abortion if her life is in danger.

“I’d like to see Munson convicted if for no other reason than to show that the safe legal abortions he’s always been talking about aren’t so safe after all,” says Lyle Evelo, head of the South Dakota Right to Life.

Defense attorney Roy Lucas says that each year three or four of every 100,000 abortion patients die through no fault of the physician.

“The right-to-lifers in this country would love to see a conviction in Rapid City because then every time a woman dies after an abortion, they’d be bringing manslaughter charges,” Lucas told the *Minneapolis Tribune*.

The National Abortion Rights Action League is helping to raise funds for Munson’s defense. “We regard these charges as spurious, a harassment of Dr. Munson strictly for political gain,” says Ruth Lindeman, NARAL’s South Dakota coordinator. “It’s the same level of bigotry as that brought against Dr. Kenneth Edelin of Boston in 1975.”

Edelin was charged with manslaughter for the “death” of a fetus. His conviction was finally overturned by the Massachusetts Supreme Court.

In this case, a conviction for Dr. Munson could mean an end to legal abortions in South Dakota.

...steel layoffs

Continued from back page

northern Minnesota and Michigan. Instead of negotiating, the steel trust has pursued a strikebreaking course—seeking court antistrike injunctions and trying to cut off medical insurance for the strikers and their families.

At the same time the steel companies are crying about imports of foreign steel, they themselves are importing iron ore in an attempt to break the iron ore workers' strike! The companies don't care about jobs. They don't care about the well-being of workers. *They care only for profits.*

When Jim Balanoff put the blame for the layoff threat on corporate profiteering rather than on Japanese workers, U.S. Steel executives said his attitude was "irresponsible." No—by rejecting the company blackmail Balanoff is being responsible. What the steel companies don't like is that he is being responsible to the union membership—not to company profits.

Curbs on imports won't save steelworkers' jobs, and the steel companies know it. That is why they never pledge to add jobs, or even preserve jobs, based on the amount of foreign steel that is kept out of U.S. markets. Because the main way they plan to improve their competitive position against Japanese steel is by eliminating jobs through productivity drives.

Is it better to be laid off because of a job combination or laid off because of imports? That's like a choice between hanging and the firing squad. But that's the only choice the steel companies offer.

If the union were to become embroiled in company schemes to curb imports and boost profits, the next logical step would be to ask workers to take a pay cut or give up benefits . . . "to keep the company competitive."

Besides, if the U.S. corporations succeed in erecting protectionist barriers around the U.S. market, capitalists in other countries are sure to retaliate against U.S. exports. An estimated one out of every six American jobs is directly tied to foreign sales. A new protectionist trade war could quickly lead to a new world depression and millions more unemployed.

When the steel companies threaten to lay off workers or close a plant because they're not making enough profit, the union response should be: "Why should we believe you? You keep raising prices far faster than our wages increase. You keep polluting. You keep eliminating jobs. Still you claim profits are not high enough.

"We cannot accept your word on this life-and-death question. We demand access to all your books and records so our own union committees, with auditors of our choice, can determine the facts. We don't just want some rigged figures about one plant—we demand free access to all the books of big steel."

In the books of the steel trust the unions can uncover the truth about monopoly pricing, agreements to stifle competition, tax write-offs, government handouts, secret strikebreaking funds, lavish executive salaries and bonuses, payoffs to Democratic and Republican politicians, and media campaigns to promote antilabor policies.

In the books of the steel trust the unions will find proof that the economic problems of the companies are the result of their own monopolistic practices. Workers did not cause these problems—workers should not have to pay for them.

Corporations that refuse to keep plants open and meet safety and pollution standards should be nationalized and run by democratically elected committees of workers. If workers controlled the plants they could use the latest technology to make work safer, cleaner, and more productive. Instead of higher productivity meaning unemployment, the workers themselves would benefit through shorter hours, higher pay, and better conditions. All society would benefit through lower steel prices.

All the big questions facing steelworkers today—jobs, imports, pollution, access to company "business secrets," control over industry—can be settled only through political action. The Democratic and Republican politicians are irrevocably committed to the profit interests of the big corporations. These are the same politicians who are attacking workers' rights and living standards across the board. They are cutting back schools, medical care, and other vital services. They are rolling back the rights of women, and of Blacks and other minorities, to equal opportunity.

Workers need their own political party—a labor party—to wage a political fight for their own interests. We believe continued experience in the fight against the steel companies will lead growing numbers of workers to this conclusion.

Today, the way to defend steelworkers' jobs and the United Steelworkers union from the company offensive is through united labor action to:

Support the iron ore strikers!

Oppose speedup, job combinations, and import quotas!

Open the books of the steel trust!

Send Teamster books

Please forward the enclosed check in the amount of fourteen dollars to Pathfinder Press for the four-volume set of books by Farrell Dobbs on the Minneapolis Teamster movement.

I've been talking recently with a man here who was once an active member of the Teamsters union and is now interested in local politics. He is serious about trying to clean up corruption and will be interested in the Dobbs books.

Your recent review of *Teamster Bureaucracy (Militant, August 26)* convinced me that Dobbs's explanation of what is wrong and what needs to be done in the labor movement is a useful guide for any politically conscious worker today.
Howard Mayhew
Preston Hollow, New York

'Inspiration for the oppressed'

I have always been so impressed with the *Militant* since I started reading it five years ago that it is difficult to select one article as the most inspiring.

However, I was particularly pleased with Harry Ring's article in the August 26 *Militant* on the disabled movement. It is the first one I can remember that dealt with the plight of disabled people. Ring's coverage of Kitty Cone's involvement in organizing the disabled serves as one more piece of evidence that the *Militant* is on the side of all oppressed people.

I hope the *Militant* will continue to deal with issues that affect the handicapped as they wage their struggle for justice and self-determination.

As for Kitty Cone, she is truly an inspiration for the oppressed. May we all unite with her kind of courage in relentless enmity against the racist, sexist parasites who rule our nation.
Fred Colter
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Nukes I

I agree with R.R. of Rochester, New Hampshire, (*Militant, August 26*) that Arnold Weissberg's recent anti-nuclear power series ("Nuclear power—a socialist view") would be worth printing in pamphlet form. It would be another excellent tool in educating people about the threat of nuclear energy.

For facts on nuclear power, the Union of Concerned Scientists has published a 207-page report on the damning evidence about the Atomic Energy Commission's failure to adequately inform the public of the hazards and expense of harnessing atomic technology as an energy source. It's called *Fuel Cycle* and is six dollars anywhere in the United States and Canada; eight dollars in foreign countries. A seventeen-page digest called *Overview* is available, too. It is free, but they're asking for a one dollar donation. The address is: Union of Concerned Scientists, P.O. Box 289, MIT Branch Station, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139.

I would also suggest that all those opposed to nuclear power contact an activist antinuke group in their area and join the struggle to educate and mobilize the masses needed to shut down all nuclear power plants now!
Sam Chetta
Catskill, New York

Nukes II

I would like to add my voice to R.R.'s in the August 26 *Militant*.

The *Militant* and the Socialist Workers party would be playing a valuable role by printing pamphlets on nuclear energy and by voicing a clear strategy to win the struggle against nuclear energy.

This struggle is growing (witness the Hiroshima Day demonstrations coast to coast in the United States) and has worldwide implications (200,000 Basque demonstrators against nuclear energy and 30,000 to 50,000 demonstrators in France). Any revolutionary party has to relate to this struggle, become an integral part of it, and be the best builders of it.

From your reporting, it appears that the French Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire, sister group to the Socialist Workers Party, is doing this. Perhaps the SWP should follow their lead.

Ron Yankey
Moscow, Idaho

Human rights in Champaign

I have read with great interest and appreciation your recent coverage of gay-related issues and the struggle of gay men and lesbians as a whole.

In case you haven't heard the news, the city of Champaign, Illinois, recently passed a comprehensive human rights ordinance that includes, among other classifications, sexual orientation as an area where it is now illegal to discriminate. Our sister city, Urbana, has had a similar ordinance since November 1975.

This is the first victory since the Dade County, Florida, referendum. Those of us in Champaign-Urbana are very pleased with our victory for all gay men and lesbians across the nation.

Terry Cosgrove
Urbana, Illinois

Criminal carelessness

In the May 6 to 12 issue of *Claridad*, newspaper of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Alfredo López, a member of the central committee of the PSP, wrote an article entitled, "Who would like to be mayor of N.Y.C.?" In it he discussed the most "visible" candidates running for mayor in New York City.

Following the example set by the bourgeois press, who consistently ignore the socialist candidates, López only focused on the most prominent capitalist politicians.

As socialists, we, of course, don't expect much coverage of candidates of working-class organizations by the mass media. However, for a socialist journal to dwell on capitalist politicians, as if they don't already have enough coverage in their own papers, and to say absolutely nothing of candidates such as Catarino Garza, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor—regardless if one agrees with their politics or not—seems to be criminal carelessness.

As if this were not enough, López has more recently written an article in the August 29 *Village Voice* in which for all practical purposes he gives critical support to Herman Badillo's campaign for mayor. Now, this we can expect from mass-media figures such as Geraldo Rivera—but certainly not from a leading member of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party.

R.T.
New York, New York

National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



Of losses and losers

Sexism and sectarianism

While attending the recent Socialist Workers Party convention this summer, an incident occurred that shows even more the great depths to which the sect known as the Workers League has sunk in its headlong rush to political lunacy.

One morning, as I was leaving the convention hall with a friend, I was accosted by David Nickerson, a leader of the WL in Cleveland. He was distributing literature at the entrance along with other assorted members of the WL and Spartacist League. As usual, Nickerson began ranting and raving about FBI and GPU (Soviet secret police) agents in the SWP. But this time, as I walked away from him, he turned and bellowed after me, "Answer the charges, you faggot!" This took place well within earshot of members of the SWP, the Workers League, and the Spartacist League.

Nickerson's outburst represented two aspects of the terminal degeneration of this slimy caricature of a sect: first, the WL appears to be resorting to blatant sexism in an attempt to justify their abstention from the real struggles of the oppressed, in much the same way as the Spartacist League has been doing in response to the rise of the feminist and gay rights movements and the outbreak of the battle for school desegregation in Boston in 1974. Second, in my opinion, Nickerson's name-calling seemed to be a coldly calculated effort to involve me in a physical confrontation.

I refused to be drawn into his provocationist game.

Differences within the workers movement cannot be solved by using physical attacks in order to silence opponents. The interests of working people will not be served by such violence. In this instance, if a fight had broken out it could well have led to the disruption of the entire convention by inviting intervention by either the city or campus police. I would just like to encourage all *Militant* readers and supporters to avoid such provocations on the part of Workers League members. Such confrontations are totally counterproductive against capitalist agent provocateurs and in winning large numbers of workers to the revolutionary socialist perspective and organization.

David Hurst
Cleveland, Ohio

Carter's welfare plan

For the article on Carter's welfare plan, which appeared in the September 2 *Militant*, I interviewed Jay Lipner, an attorney for the Food Research and Action Center, Inc., a Washington-based public interest law firm. Mr. Lipner wanted it made plain that his views on the Carter administration's proposal were his own and not an official position of FRAC.

Unfortunately, this qualification was eliminated from the article during the editing. I apologize for any misunderstanding that may have resulted from this error.

Steve Beck
New York, New York

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.

As he had promised, teachers union President Albert Shanker came through with a public endorsement ten days before New York City's September 8 Democratic primary. It took the form of a statement in praise of Mayor Abraham Beame, and was published as Shanker's union-financed advertisement that appears regularly in the Sunday *New York Times*.

Shanker timed his plug for the mayor to coincide with the release of the Securities and Exchange Commission report on the New York fiscal crisis. It was known that the SEC report would be damaging, and Beame had complained that its purpose was to smear his campaign. The report did, in fact, blame Beame and major New York banks for a cover-up of the city's shaky financial structure in 1974 and 1975 and for dumping city bonds on unsuspecting investors.

In the early days of the financial crisis, before its full extent was generally known, some banks began quietly selling off their city bonds. The mayor was warned as early as October 7, 1974, that money markets might be closed to the city's securities.

The city's practice of deficit spending required that it borrow regularly to pay off debts as they came due. Debts constantly increased, and the interest charges on short-term loans rapidly rose.

On December 2, 1974, the bankers charged 9.5 percent interest for short-term notes and threatened to cut off credit entirely unless the city reduced expenses. This was an ultimatum to Beame: either reduce the debt or face bankruptcy.

The bankers had their own solution to this dilemma. They demanded total control over city finances.

Beame turned to the municipal unions that had helped elect him. They were pressured to invest union pension funds in long-term (low-interest-bearing) city bonds, to accept drastic cutbacks in the number of city employees, to agree to a wage freeze for workers remaining on the city payroll, and to become junior partners in the banker-controlled Municipal Assistance Corporation ("Big Mac").

The union officials demagogically denounced the

banks for "threatening the life of the city," claiming credit for "saving" it.

What they actually did was save the banks' investments at the expense of the workers they claimed to represent. Mayor Beame got them to agree to layoffs of more than 40,000 city workers, 16,000 teachers among them.

By early May of this year the banks and the unions had formed an alliance "to assist the city." The terms of this alliance were eventually explained by Shanker in his July 31 advertisement. "The New York City fiscal crisis has accomplished one very unexpected thing: it has brought together two groups which were previously on opposite sides of the fence—union leaders and bankers," Shanker wrote. They agreed "to reduce taxes in order to retain business and attract new business," and to petition the federal government for "immediate relief for state and local governments from the burden of welfare costs."

The bankers got what they wanted. The unions got minus nothing. Mayor Beame was the political agent of the bankers in promoting this deal.

How did Shanker justify his endorsement of Beame for another four-year term? He said it wasn't easy: "I never thought I'd be supporting Abe Beame for mayor again."

But there he was, supporting Beame because "none of the other candidates has ever had the experience." By implication, Beame is the only candidate who can keep "a coalition of unions, banks, businesses and city government working together."

"If we have a mayor who is anti-business," says Shanker, "the results will be just as disastrous as with one who is anti-labor."

This is crude stuff coming from a "leader of labor." Shanker is lost without a prosperous boss to lean on. He is convinced that what's good for the boss is good for the worker, even if it doesn't work out that way. But Shanker is no different from other union bureaucrats in this respect, only a little more arrogant than most.

Women in Revolt

Willie Mae Reid



Inconvenience vs. abuse

The following guest column is by Margaret Mora.

LOS ANGELES—There is a controversy growing in the women's movement in California over what stand to take on new state sterilization guidelines.

The proposed rules, now scheduled to take effect in December, require a fourteen-day waiting period for all sterilizations. A woman has to be told in her own language of the effects and risks of sterilization, as well as the alternatives. The guidelines also include provisions for an optional auditor witness to the woman's consent.

The guidelines specify that welfare benefits cannot be withheld if a woman refuses sterilization. The rules apply to private patients as well as Medi-Cal patients.

The California National Organization for Women, California Medical Association, and private hospital owners are challenging the state's authority to require a waiting period for sterilizations of women other than Medi-Cal patients. They also object to the "informed consent" standards for women who pay for their own sterilizations.

Not all NOW members here agree with that official position. Many favor the guidelines as a step toward halting the sterilization abuse that has victimized women of the oppressed nationalities in particular.

At the NOW state board meeting here July 22-23 a discussion on the policy was begun.

In an attempt to be open-minded, the leadership invited representatives from a Chicana group, Comisión Femenil Mexicana Nacional, to make a presentation on their support for the sterilization rules.

Gloria Molina, past national president of the CFMN, and Antonia Hernandez, the attorney in a suit by ten Chicanas charging forced sterilization, attended the meeting.

Hernandez explained that the auditor witness was

intended to help ensure that the woman is not in labor or under sedation when she gives consent for sterilization. As for the waiting period, she said, under the present three-day waiting period sterilizations do occur during maternity stays in the hospital.

What the official California NOW stand boils down to is that the guidelines are an "inconvenience" for some women. But this position cuts across freedom of choice for all women, Hernandez said.

Geri Sherwood, the California NOW lobbyist, in explaining NOW's objections to the regulations, equated the sterilization guidelines to abortion restrictions.

She called the auditor witness an "invasion of privacy designed to subject women to third-party supervision and to doctors' control." No abuses have been reported in the private hospitals, Sherwood said. So why extend the regulations beyond the public sector?

But the issue in this debate is not whether women who can afford to pay for medical care should have voluntary sterilization delayed or even prevented.

The issue is how to reduce the victimization of countless Black, Chicana, Puerto Rican, Native American, and other poor women, who lose their right to bear children at the hands of racist doctors.

The absence of guidelines for sterilization, an irreversible operation, has the same effect as the presence of restrictive laws on abortion such as the Hyde amendment. That is, women are denied their right to choose.

The California NOW board set up a committee to review their official position before the state conference November 11.

Hopefully, that conference will reverse the current stand on the sterilization guidelines and put California NOW on the same side as many other women's and Chicana groups.

Harry Ring



Packerdogs—We disagreed with the government making the Department of Agriculture remove the plaque naming its D.C. cafeteria after Alfred Packer, who was convicted in 1874 of eating five people. We saw the joke right away, sort of like the USDA approval seal on hot dogs.

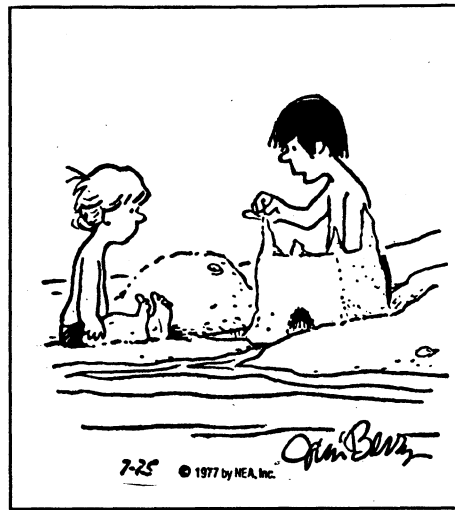
But it would cost money—A study by the Environmental Protection Agency found that deaths from heart disease and related ailments could be reduced as much as 15 percent by improving the quality of drinking water.

Spare the tape . . .—Julie Nixon Eisenhower told *Parade* magazine that among those she most admired was

Mao Tsetung. She said Mao was "a basically honest man whose biggest disappointment was the young; he found them too soft and easy-going." But that's only because they can't all have dads like Dick, right Julie?

Sore losers—To forestall a consumer suit, Eastern Airlines agreed to reserve 65 percent of its seats for nonsmokers. The Tobacco Institute branded the agreement a cave-in to "the tyranny of self-appointed zealots who contemptuously regard smokers as second-class citizens."

Hits the spot—Using a special camera, the Royal Air Force got a close-up shot of a new Soviet bomber flying over the North Sea. A blowup of the picture revealed a crew member



'It's simple! There aren't any people around the castle, because of the neutron bomb!'

in the tail section clutching a large bottle of Pepsi-Cola.

Sociological data dep't—Wives of stockbrokers are eight times more likely to become alcoholic than other women.

Buycentennial a bummer—Warehouses are bulging with surplus Bicentennial souvenirs. Of the 115 manufacturers of official commemoration items, fifteen are bankrupt, and another thirty are in serious difficulty.

Thought for the week—"Some people are born with privileges, and some are able to earn them. It's just a question of caring; everyone can afford cleanliness and politeness." —Actress Constance Towers.

By Any Means Necessary

John Hawkins



After blackout, runaround begins

If the New York City blackout and the social explosion it triggered shed a little light on the poverty, unemployment, and frustration that prey on this city's Black and Puerto Rican ghettos, then the lack of official action in the aftermath has turned a floodlight on government hypocrisy at all levels.

While the federal government has released statistics showing unemployment among New York's Black youth to be more than 80 percent, their answer has been a miserly 2,000 jobs—part of a federally financed blackout cleanup project—to pay thirty dollars a day for thirty-three days maximum.

For three days in a row, crowds totaling nearly 10,000 gathered at the agencies across the city that were charged with dispensing applications for the jobs.

In Brooklyn, on the first day applications were handed out, a few alert entrepreneurs took advantage of the rapid exhaustion of the official supply and sold copies for up to two dollars each.

In the Bronx, when the door opened at one center, a huge crowd surged forward, breaking a door from its hinges, overturning desks, and crashing into glass partitions.

"They throw us crumbs and let us fight over them like birds," remarked a twenty-four-year-old job

seeker to a *New York Times* reporter.

A city Department of Employment official told the same reporter, "It's like giving an aspirin to a cancer patient. It isn't going to cool people off. It's going to stir them up."

"At least," he added, "it shows you these people really want to work."

As though there was any question about that.

Those who were supposed to be the main beneficiaries of the city's relief program—small storekeepers whose shops were damaged or destroyed during the blackout rebellion—fared little better than the unemployed.

To bolster his sagging election campaign, Mayor Abraham Beame launched a well-publicized fund appeal to raise money for cash grants to help the shopkeepers rebuild.

But contributions from individuals and corporations came to only \$1.9 million. Hardly enough to provide real help to those merchants who need it, even with the additional \$1 million the city kicked in.

But that's to be expected.

A large percentage of those who lost their shops were Black and Puerto Rican small businessmen. Many of their shops were uninsured. The maximum grant of \$1,500 will not put much of a dent in their

rebuilding expenses.

For the rest, they will have to rely on federal loans—at low interest, but nonetheless loans that will take them decades to repay.

If Beame, New York State Gov. Hugh Carey, and President Carter really wanted to do something for the small shopkeepers, they could easily find money to do it. One possible source is Con Edison itself, which announced record profits the day before the lights went out. Another is the swollen arms budget.

But from Beame, Carey, and Carter's point of view, and that of the bankers and big businessmen they serve, using such sources would set a dangerous precedent.

Because if the war budget can be trimmed to help small businessmen, why not trim it even more and launch a massive public works program? Such a program could provide jobs for all the unemployed at union wages to reconstruct housing in the country's cities, help clean up the environment, build more schools, hospitals, parks, and other recreation facilities—and repair the blackout damage to boot.

That would not only be a quick solution to unemployment, but in fact, the best insurance for the shopkeepers that a repeat of the social explosion the blackout triggered won't leave them even further in debt.

The American Way of Life

Slavery today

Joseph Washington is old, he is Black, and he is a virtual slave in a North Carolina migrant labor camp.

It was only after being assured of protection that Washington agreed to speak to a *New York Times* reporter. The story he told was published in the *Times* on August 28. It is a horrifying testimony of the greed that drives the crew operators to hold entire work camps literally in bondage. And it is a story of human misery—of the old, the ill, and the helpless.

"It's like slavery—it is slavery," said George Carr, a young lawyer from the Florida Rural Legal Services, Inc. The organization is investigating conditions in the migrant labor camps. Its findings were also revealed in the *Times* article.

Recently, seven of those running a camp near Benson, North Carolina, were indicted by a grand jury on charges of peonage and involuntary servitude.

Although the nation's migrant worker protection laws were substantially tightened in 1974, the *Times* reports, these laws are ignored by the men who run the camps.

Workers are found, in most cases, in society's dumping grounds. Alcoholics are rounded up right off the street. The old, those without legal residence papers, the retarded and mentally ill—some even lured off the grounds of mental hospitals—these are the people who make up the bulk of the field crews.

Once "hired," the workers are kept at work by beatings or threats of violence, or because they have sunk so far into the debt of the boss that they are literally in bondage.

Here is a typical transaction: a worker is paid \$53.97 for a week of picking tomatoes. Forty dollars is deducted from this amount for board. The remainder is credited to the outstanding bill, in this case \$293.62, owed to the crew leader. After three months of work, this field worker is left owing \$279.65 to the "company store" for food and liquor.

And there will be no skipping out on the bill, either. In one camp, the crew leader has a machine gun that he periodically fires into the trees just to remind people who's boss. At another, the leader keeps a gun in his room and boasts how he has already killed one man who disagreed with him, challenging the others to try it and see what happens to *them*.

Although all the crew bosses who were interviewed complained about what a "headache" it is to run a camp, the money they make off the squalor and misery of the places apparently eases some of their pain. One crew leader boasts that he netted \$450,000 over several seasons. When another, Joe Brown, was arrested in Florida three years ago and charged with forcing involuntary servitude and peonage on migrant workers, he was carrying a bag containing \$16,000 cash.

Not bad for just a small-time plantation owner.
—Joanne Tortorici

'They can't silence my party'

State throws Ariza off New Jersey ballot

By Andy Farrand

NEWARK—On August 5 New Jersey election officials told Rich Ariza, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor, that they were denying certification of his ballot status.

Four months earlier Ariza had filed twice the number of signatures on nominating petitions required by New Jersey law. But Secretary of State Donald Lan says the twenty-six-year-old socialist fails to meet an age requirement of thirty. Lan ruled the Communist Party's gubernatorial candidate off the ballot on the same grounds.

New Jersey election law, however, does not say a candidate must meet the requirements for holding office in order to be placed on the ballot. In fact, the statutes instruct officials to interpret the law liberally to the advantage of "independent and third-party candidates."

Among those who have protested Ariza's exclusion from the ballot are: Grizel Ubarry, executive director of ASPIRA in Newark; Myrna Milán, Congreso Boricua board member from Hoboken; Mike Rodríguez, an aide to Newark Mayor Kenneth Gibson; Ramón Aneses, Newark deputy mayor; Agapito Díaz, director, Congreso Boricua; Justo DeJesus, president, Jersey City Puerto Rican Parade Committee; Rosemary Dempsey, chairwoman of Trenton National Organization for Women; Connie Gilbert-Neiss, public relations director, Essex County NOW; Joan Sempieri, New Jersey NOW state coordinator; and Paula Bender, chairwoman of Rutgers-Newark NOW.

"The state officials are trying to force us out of this election," Ariza says. "But the answers we offer to the problems of working people put us into the center of it. I will not allow the secretary of state to silence my party's

voice in this election.

"That's why I am asking all those who want to vote *against* the discriminatory age requirement and for the socialist alternative to write in my name on the ballot."

The favorable response the SWP campaign received during the Puerto Rican Day Parade in Newark earlier this summer shows why the Democrats and Republicans want Ariza off the ballot. One of the largest such parades in the United States, it is telecast in Puerto Rico.

The SWP had the only political contingent in the parade. Ariza was invited to sit on the reviewing stand, where—along with other New Jersey Puerto Rican leaders, as well as Governor Byrne and Mayor Gibson—he was introduced to the crowds around the platform.

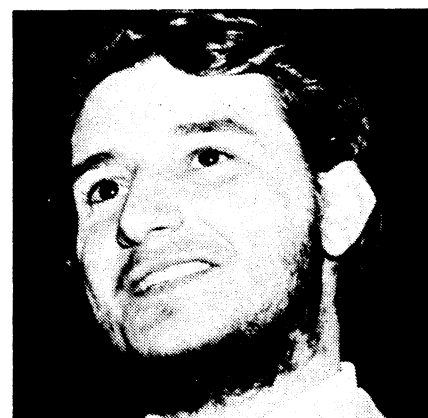
But unlike the dignitaries from the two parties of big business, Ariza left

his seat to join the march.

After several hours of fire trucks, National Guard units, and floats from Coca-Cola, Eastern Airlines, and A&P food stores, the crowd responded enthusiastically when Ariza, along with twenty-five campaign supporters, passed by. They carried eleven banners.

As the SWP contingent reached the reviewing stand, the parade coordinator welcomed the socialists to the parade and read each of their banners over the loud speaker system. "Free Puerto Rico" and "U.S. Out of South Africa" received the most applause.

During the course of the parade more than a dozen Puerto Rican youths left the sidewalks and joined the SWP contingent. They took campaign placards, pumped them up and down, and chanted "Free Lolita, Free the Five Imprisoned Nationalists, Free Puerto Rico . . . Right Now!"



Militant/Susan Ellis

Favorable response to SWP contingent at Newark's Puerto Rican Day Parade (above) shows why state wants Ariza (far right) out of election.

Banks force austerity budget on Phila. schools

By Ben Bailey

PHILADELPHIA—On August 31 the school board here accepted the austerity conditions demanded by city banks in return for a \$50 million loan. The loan completed a \$124 million emergency package for funding public education.

This package fails by \$53 million to restore cuts in the 1977-78 budget made by the board last spring.

The agreement will mean that nearly 3,000 already-fired school department employees will not be rehired. Many of the cuts in education programs made last spring will remain in effect. And teachers will face the prospects of a

laid-off workers and fully restore all education cuts.

Leaders of the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers (PFT) issued statements strongly opposing the package.

Union Vice-president John Ryan, who is leading the PFT's negotiations for the 1978 contract, said: "We are going to negotiate for what the teachers should be getting, negotiate for the kind of education the kids need, and negotiate for the kind of working conditions the teachers need . . . no group of employees is going to stand for anyone putting a limit on negotiations."

Good words. However, the PFT leadership has been incapable of developing a strategy for effectively fighting the cutbacks.

It refused to mobilize union members and community support when the proposed cutbacks were first announced. Instead, PFT leaders appealed to the goodwill of Democratic and Republican politicians in the state capitol.

This policy has, in effect, encouraged the banks to move ahead with their five-year "bite the bullet" austerity program.

Meanwhile, the city's media has mounted a campaign to obscure the real meaning of the agreement with the banks.

"Crisis Ends," blared the *Philadelphia Inquirer*. Television commentators have urged "gratitude" to the banks for their "generosity."

But the truth is at least \$35 million a year in cutbacks and layoffs are built into balancing the budget for the banks.

The Black and Puerto Rican communities know the crisis is not over. They know the package means worse, more segregated, inferior education

services for their communities.

Students—who saw virtually all alternative, counseling, special vocational, and extracurricular programs swept away with a brush of the bankers' wand just three months ago—

are also skeptical.

These are the real forces in the city—the *victims* of the banks and politicians. Their power can and should be mobilized in action to meet head on the next round in the struggle.

Socialist candidate on ballot

By Jon Hillson

PHILADELPHIA—"I am running against one class and two parties: the class of bankers who rule and ruin the school system for their profit, and the Democratic and Republican parties that act to carry out their bidding," said Rhonda Rutherford August 30.

Rutherford, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for controller here, had just received word that she had won official ballot status in the upcoming city elections.

Supporters of Rutherford's campaign amassed 10,328 signatures, nearly 4,000 over the legal requirement, to place the twenty-three-year-old candidate on the ballot.

Rutherford, a library technician, is a Black feminist leader in Philadelphia and a nationally known activist in the National Organization for Women.

"My major opponent, reform Democrat William Klenk, is a banker's candidate," Rutherford said. "He favors interest payments to banks at the expense of school system employees and programs. He runs as a candidate of the rich. I run as a candidate of working people, Blacks, Puerto Ricans, women, and youth."

"My campaign is the place you can stand up and fight back."



Militant/Anne Teesdale

RHONDA RUTHERFORD

The 'Militant' tells your side of the story...

This week Andy Rose brings you a firsthand report on the steelworkers strike on the Mesabi Iron Range in Minnesota . . . what the young, militant workers in the iron ore mines and plants are fighting for . . . the strikebreaking tactics of the steel corporations . . . interviews with union leaders and rank-and-file activists . . . the facts you won't find in the big-business-run media.

As part of our fall subscription drive, the *Militant* is sending a special team of salespeople to the iron range. Strikers who have seen the paper already have welcomed it enthusiastically. Now we want to get the *Militant* into the hands of hundreds of strikers, their families, and their supporters. But this takes money.

Now, the 'Militant' needs your help.

To continue to bring you the kind of news and analysis you've come to expect . . . and to meet the fast rising expenses of putting out the *Militant* each week . . . we've launched a drive this fall to collect . . .

\$50,000

So far our readers have responded generously with pledges totalling \$31,000. A matching fund of \$10,000 has now been established. That means your contributions will be doubled in value, dollar for dollar.

I want to help. Here's my contribution of \$ _____ to the 'Militant' \$50,000 Fund.

Name _____

Address _____

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The Militant Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Young Socialist Alliance sets national convention in Detroit

By Chuck Petrin

"Jimmy Carter doesn't give a damn about young people," says Cathy Sedwick. "No Democratic or Republican politician in this country does. They lie, cheat, and steal to keep the ruling rich in business, while our whole future goes down the drain."

Sedwick is a twenty-three-year-old Black woman who found plenty to get fed up with in her hometown of Louisville, Kentucky. In 1975 she decided to join the Young Socialist Alliance and put her anger to work. Today she is the YSA national chairperson.

"The Young Socialist Alliance wants to change this society," Sedwick explained. "We want a society that puts the priority on meeting human needs, not piling up private profits."

During the fall the YSA will be preparing for its seventeenth national convention, to take place in Detroit, December 28 through January 1. The national convention is the YSA's highest decision-making body. For three months preceding it all members participate in local pre-convention discussions on the organization's views and activities.

"We have to address a lot of big issues this year," Sedwick said, "issues that concern millions of young people. That's what the YSA convention is all about."

Sedwick cited youth unemployment as a problem that has reached crisis proportions on a world scale. "In the twenty-four richest countries with capitalist economic systems," she pointed out, "40 percent of the unemployed are under twenty-five years of age. And about half the unemployed in the United States are under twenty-five. That's absolutely criminal!"

The education system, Sedwick said, is being tailored to help produce a "permanent army" of jobless, with tuition hikes and attacks on special-admissions programs threatening to severely limit access to college.

"In one public school system after another," she added, "the Three R's are rapidly being replaced by the Three C's: cutbacks, crowded classrooms, and a closed door to the future."

Attempts by the employers and the government to push women back into the home and keep them in the status of second-class citizens have grave implications for the majority of youth in this country, Sedwick explained.

"Young women continue to be tracked into school programs designed to prepare them for unskilled, low-paying jobs—or no job at all. This sexism permeates every level of the education system."

"Restrictive abortion laws that require parental consent are a noose around the neck of young women. According to a Planned Parenthood study released in 1976, 1 million high-school-age women get pregnant each year, and 200,000 of those who want abortions can't get them."

"If the Hyde amendment passes, things will get even tougher. Of the estimated 300,000 women who



CATHY SEDWICK

Militant/Diane Wang

now get abortions paid for by Medicaid, as many as 75,000 to 100,000 are high-school-age women."

Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican youth, Sedwick continued, suffer the most from all these problems. "They get the highest rate of unemployment, the worst education with the slimmest chance of going to college. And Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, and Asian women get a double dose of discrimination."

"Every direction these young people turn—school, employers, courts—they are being told in no uncertain terms that the capitalist system can't use them."

The YSA, Sedwick said, will be mapping plans to fight back against these injustices.

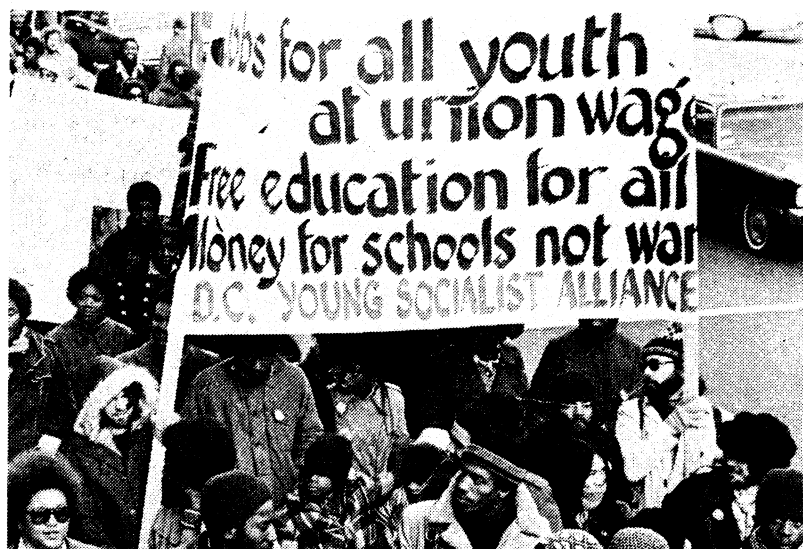
"Right now," she said, "the YSA is active in a wide range of struggles: in support of busing for school desegregation in Boston, Chicago, and other cities; in defense of women's right to have abortions; against school cutbacks and the California Supreme Court's *Bakke* decision; against U.S. government and campus complicity with the racist white-minority regimes in southern Africa; in support of gay rights; in opposition to nuclear power plant construction; and many other struggles. Together with the Socialist Workers Party, we are pressing a \$40 million damage suit against the FBI and other government spy agencies."

"What we plan to do at our convention is draw together our experiences in these struggles, see what lessons we can learn from them, and point the road forward for the next year."

The convention, Sedwick explained, will be open to everyone interested in finding out more about the YSA.

Come to Detroit

Dec. 28 thru Jan. 1



Send me more information about the YSA convention.

I want to join the YSA.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____

Zip _____ Phone _____

Join the YSA

Mail to: YSA, P.O. Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.



Questions left unanswerd in Teng, Vance secret talks



By Joseph Hansen
From Intercontinental Press

What did the Carter administration gain in the secret talks between Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance and Deputy Premier Teng Hsiao-p'ing?

After being briefed by Vance, Carter said August 27 that the talks "were highly successful." He went so far as to say, "I believe this is a major step forward in our ultimate goal of normalizing relations with the People's Republic of China."

As for Teng and Communist Party Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, Carter revealed that they had sent him word that the discussions were "very fruitful from their point of view."

However, up to now neither side has listed anything concrete as having resulted from the talks. Thus—unless a secret understanding was reached—Vance's four-day stay in Peking (August 22-25) ended with nothing more achieved than passing the time of day at a round of sumptuous banquets.

Correspondents, hard-pressed for news, were reduced to such meager bits as reporting how Teng, during the banquet he staged, smoked and chewed on a cigar, aiming at a porcelain spittoon when necessary.

Carter's hopes

At a news conference held June 30, Carter indicated that he expected to gain something more from Vance's trip to Peking than later proved to be the case. He implied that in order to reach agreement with the Hua government he was prepared to break formal diplomatic and military ties with the regime established by Chiang Kai-shek on Taiwan.

When he was asked whether there could be full relations with China while continuing the U.S. defense commitment to Taiwan, he replied:

This is a difficult question to answer now. My hope is that we could work out an agreement with the People's Republic of China, having full diplomatic relations with them and still make sure that the peaceful life of the Taiwanese, the Republic of China, is maintained.

That is our hope and that is our goal.

Peking's three conditions

To establish "normalization" of relations, Peking has demanded that Washington meet three conditions:

1. End recognition of Chiang's Republic of China.
2. End the 1954 Mutual Security Treaty with the Chiang regime.
3. Withdraw American military bases and troops from Taiwan. (The Defense Department reported August 15 that U.S. military personnel in Taiwan is now down to 1,165.)

On the surface, meeting the three conditions would seem to offer no great difficulties to the Carter administration. Yet it has led to a division of opinion in imperialist circles that could hurt Carter on the domestic political scene.

In fact some of the commentators have expressed the opinion that the main objective of Vance's trip was to indicate the domestic political problem facing the White House and to hint that China's new leaders could help out by making a commitment, however diplomatically voiced, not to attack Taiwan.

Against this, Peking points out that relations with Taiwan are not Washington's business, since Taiwan is only a province. Thus the U.S. position amounts to intervening in China's internal affairs.

Reagan & Goldwater

The opposition to conceding to Peking's three conditions emanates from such reactionary figures as Ronald Reagan, with Senator Goldwater tagging along. They point to such difficulties as the 1954 Mutual Security Treaty, which provides, "This Treaty shall remain in force indefinitely. Either Party may terminate it one year after notice has been given to the other Party."

If Carter were to give one year's notice, the antediluvians would do their utmost to convert the issue into a hot one. Thus White House circles have talked of allowing the treaty to "lapse." But there is no way to do this because the treaty remains in force "indefinitely."

Underlying this legalistic dilemma are more substantial considerations. The August 29 issue of *Time* magazine alluded to them as follows:

Taiwan is today a mini-industrial power. Although the island's population—16.6 million—is only one-fiftieth of mainland China's, its trade with the U.S. is 14 times greater than that of its huge neighbor—nearly \$5 billion last year. . . .

Taiwan has taken care to maintain relations with its trading partners who have cut off formal ties through the establishment of quasi-official trade and cultural offices. By far the most important of these "private" relationships is with Japan, whose so-called Interchange Association with Taiwan is staffed by Foreign Office officials on "temporary leave." Japan does more business with Taiwan today than before it broke with Taipei and established relations with Peking in 1972.

Then why all the jitters over a possible break with the U.S.? Some experts maintain that the abrogation of the American defense commitment to Taiwan would result in a scenario in which an emboldened

Peking would attempt to frighten foreign companies and investors away from the island by threatening economic reprisals or military action.

These objections, centered on safeguarding investments in Taiwan, are associated with a view that puts priority on use of the club in foreign policy. If relations with China were normalized, they argue, wouldn't this completely demoralize the dictatorial South Korean regime as well as similar "friends of America" throughout the world?

There is a grain of truth in this contention. To continue to maintain recognition of the Chiang regime in Taiwan is tantamount to declaring that Carter intends to continue an openly counterrevolutionary course toward China, for it means upholding the Chiang regime's objective of returning to the mainland and smashing the Chinese revolution. That would really inspire the Parks, the Marcoses, the Pinochets, and the Vorsters.

Triangular setup

The imperialist circle that favors immediate "normalization" of relations with China takes into account a much broader relationship of forces than those centering on Taiwan. They worry in particular over the possibility that if things are permitted to drift any longer, Peking may decide to break the triangular setup that permits the U.S. to play the two big workers states against each other, and seek a détente with the Brezhnev regime. From the viewpoint of American imperialism, this would constitute a major disaster.

In a well-publicized speech given in Boston on August 15, Senator Edward M. Kennedy, one of the leaders of this current, argued that China's "unremitting opposition to Soviet power" cannot be taken for granted indefinitely. He held that "Chinese frustration with the United States over Taiwan might eventually overcome" the late Mao Tsetung's "strong anti-Soviet legacy and lead over time to a limited détente between China and the U.S.S.R."

One of the effects of normalizing relations with China by ending "our military presence there, and our formal diplomatic relations with the island," would be to "create at least some incentive" for the Soviet Union to "improve relations with the United States."

Kennedy added:

Recent historical experience indicates that our relationships have risen and fallen together—1972 and 1973 were years of good U.S. relations with both Moscow and Pe-

king, reflecting not only the key triangular process but the international environment and our bilateral relationships.

Clearly, Kennedy is interested in the health of the triangular process, by which he means the capacity of the White House to play the Soviet Union and China against each other.

Despite his seeming readiness to put the key triangular process above third- or fourth-rate items like the fate of Taiwan, Kennedy wriggled on the latter issue. "We should continue to ensure that Taiwan has access to supplies needed for self-defense."

"The Chinese, in turn," Kennedy said, "should be expected to be sensitive to our interests and concerns."

This means, he said, that China would "not . . . oppose reasonable steps by the United States to provide for a prosperous and peaceful Taiwan."

Perhaps Kennedy had in mind keeping up arms sales to Taipei. Taiwan's armed forces consist of 500,000. This includes 350,000 army troops, 70,000 in the navy and marines, and 80,000 in the air force.

This year's budget provides for 48.3 percent in military spending.

Secret computer tests show that Taipei can produce nuclear weapons if necessary.

Carter's three dilemmas

Carter thus faces three dilemmas. The first is the domestic political threat from the rightist Republicans and Democrats. Should he or should he not meet the Reagans head-on in the higher interests of imperialist America?

The second is Taiwan. Should he risk putting in jeopardy lucrative investments on that island in hope of eventually opening the doors to trade—and perhaps much more—with China?

The third is the relationship with China and the Soviet Union. How can Carter continue to play the triangular game without soon normalizing relations with China? And how can this be fitted in with increasing the pressure on Moscow?

The reports on Vance's talks with Teng offered nothing in the way of answers to these questions.

At the moment, Carter seems to have given top place to his domestic political problems.

If this is the case, then the most that Vance was able to buy from Teng was a little time on international issues that could soon become first-rate headaches for the president of imperialist America.

Interview with exiled canal treaty foe

Bernal: 'Not one U.S. base or soldier on

[The following interview with Panamanian exile Miguel Antonio Bernal was conducted August 24. It is scheduled to be published in the September 26 issue of *Perspectiva Mundial*, a revolutionary-socialist fortnightly published in New York. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.

[Bernal was exiled from Panama in February 1976 for his outspoken anti-imperialist views.]

* * *

Question. What is your opinion of the new treaty?

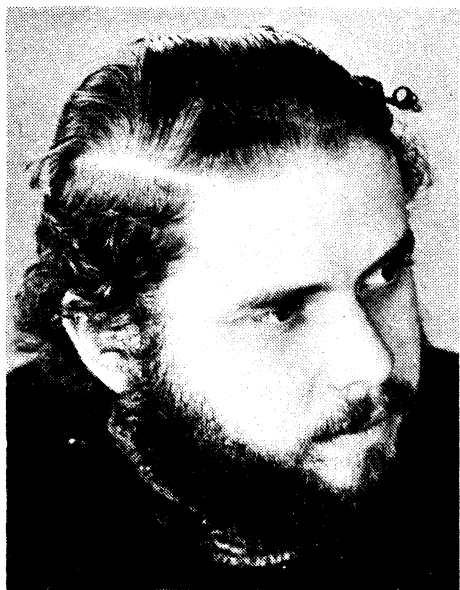
Answer. The details of the new treaty revealed so far enable us to characterize it as a contemptible and historic betrayal of the struggles and sacrifices of the Panamanian people. It does nothing but establish a new "perpetuity" that backs to the hilt American imperialism's efforts to prolong its military presence in Panama so as to continue exploiting and dominating our people.

The new treaty is not a genuine abrogation of the old accord, which is what the Panamanian people have been struggling for for more than seventy-three years. On the contrary, it replaces a "perpetuity" imposed by force with a "legalized perpetuity." In conceding to the United States the permanent right to "defend" the neutrality of the canal, the Panamanian government is resorting to the use of juridical forms and terms that are completely inappropriate and ambiguous. The United States is going to be granted indefinitely the privilege of being able to enter and intervene in Panama, and this time with legality conferred by the Torrijos regime.

The new treaty is very far from fulfilling the aspirations of the Panamanian people. All that has been revealed up to now is a new "perpetuity," perpetuity for the passage of U.S. warships. We consider this as the most aberrant, disgraceful, and unacceptable type of perpetuity, as a stigma that this generation and future ones will be forced to bear, for it legalizes the American presence on our soil.

For us, the slogan that the Panamanian people have raised throughout long years of struggle remains valid: Not one single base, not one single Yankee soldier on our soil. And I repeat once more, as I did last year during my tour of the United States: We want them to get out! We don't want any American presence!

Q. What will the treaty mean for the Panamanian people?



Militant/Susan Ellis

MIGUEL ANTONIO BERNAL

Joint statement of LSR & SWP

The following joint declaration was issued September 1 by the U.S. Socialist Workers Party and the Revolutionary Socialist League of Panama.

For the exploiters in the United States and throughout the world, the Panama Canal is a vital transportation link and a key base for U.S. military and counterinsurgency activities throughout Latin America.

Ever since stealing the canal more than seventy years ago, Washington has been determined to keep it.

The negotiations between Panama and the American imperialists are the result of the struggles of the Panamanian people against the twenty-one interventions that Yankee troops have carried out in Panama.

Prior to 1964, the United States refused all calls to negotiate a new treaty. But when the Panamanian people decided to mobilize and openly confront the imperialists on January 9-10, 1964, Washington agreed to negotiate a new treaty because of the national and international pressure that followed their cowardly massacre of the Panamanian people.

Now President Carter and Gen. Omar Torrijos are presenting a new treaty that contains certain partial gains for Panama on questions of territory, administration, tolls, mail, and so forth. But the Panamanian

government makes serious concessions in the treaty on "questions of national dignity" such as the legalization of the Yankee military presence and joint defense "through a parallel neutrality pact that gives the United States the right to intervene forever to guarantee the canal's neutrality."

That this is what the United States really wanted out of the negotiations is shown by the fact that they were carried out while 9,000 U.S. soldiers are encamped at fourteen bases in the Canal Zone. Genuine negotiations are impossible under such conditions.

The Panamanian government of General Torrijos was a party to the secret talks that produced this pact. Now Torrijos says he will submit the agreement to a plebiscite for approval by the masses. But there can be no genuine debate among the people of Panama as long as the anti-imperialist foes of the pact are in forced exile and access to the mass media is denied to the different mass organizations in Panama.

We of the Revolutionary Socialist League of Panama and the Socialist Workers Party of the United States feel that this treaty does not satisfy the historic aspirations of the Panamanian people for total sovereignty over their national territory and for the expulsion of Yankee soldiers from Panama once and for all. It is designed only to cover up continued

U.S. domination of the canal, to retard the struggle of the Panamanian people, and to deny them their self-determination.

The working people of the United States have a special interest in supporting their Panamanian brothers and sisters in the struggle against "U.S. rights to the Canal Zone," an enclave of imperialist domination. The government that has forced this new treaty on Panama is the same government that oppresses working people in the United States and throughout the world.

Against the proposed treaty as well as against those reactionary U.S. politicians who oppose it because, they claim, "the agreement gives up U.S. rights to Panama," the Revolutionary Socialist League and the Socialist Workers Party say: *Washington has no right to be in Panama—not today—not in the year 2000—not ever!*

We call on the working people of the whole world to raise their voices alongside ours, demanding:

Full and immediate sovereignty for Panama!

U.S. troops out of Panama!

Dismantle all U.S. military bases in the Canal Zone!

Turn over the canal to Panama now!

U.S. hands off the canal and Panama!

A. In the first place, we should point out that the Panamanian people were totally excluded from the negotiations. They were told absolutely nothing, and in Panama the real content of the new treaty has still not been made known.

This means that the Americans are going to remain there on our occupied territory, violating our soil, that they are going to continue exploiting us, and that Panama is going to remain under American domination. But what we have been struggling for is complete expulsion of the Americans, the soldiers, and imperialism from our territory.

The Panamanian people view the new treaty with skepticism and with a great deal of dissatisfaction and disappointment. It is necessary to remind the Panamanian and American governments, which have been working hand in glove, that the disappointment and dissatisfaction of a people can only be followed by hatred and rebellion, and that in spite of the Neanderthal and reactionary protests of the North American senators, who think that they are "giving up" a lot to Panama, we, the Panamanians, think that this treaty in no way satisfies our aspirations.

Q. What is the significance of the projected plebiscite in which the Panamanian people are to vote on the treaty?

A. Up to now, the government has confined itself to saying only that the plebiscite will be held forty to sixty days after the treaty is signed, period.

But they haven't said anything about how it is going to be voted on, when it is going to be voted on, when we are going to go to the polls; in other words, how the electoral process is to be organized. And what is worse, given that this is a government that has been constantly violating democratic rights, we can be sure that the truth of the saying "whoever counts the votes decides who gets elected" will be demonstrated once again.

We think the likelihood is that the plebiscite will be passed in Panama. It will be passed because the government controls the press, radio, and television, and will not allow any voice of opposition to be raised against the practices they instituted during the negotiations. They are keeping more than 200 Panamanians in exile, the majority of whom express the aspirations of the people with regard to the struggle against American imperialism. They have made innumerable promises to let these exiles return, and they have not done so.

The exiles think that discussion of the treaty without the participation of all sectors invalidates whatever decision is arrived at.

The exiles do not think that they are going to cause a disturbance, because a disturbance has already been created, from the moment the so-called crime of opinion was converted into the reason for their exile.

Furthermore, we want to return for constructive, not destructive, purposes—that is, for us the most important thing is to be able to struggle against the imperialist presence on

our soil, and that is why the Torrijos regime will not let us return.

And if they do let us return, it will be to keep us under surveillance, because they have made an agreement with American imperialism not to allow the return of those forces that are going to oppose the conclusion of a treaty that is an insult to the dignity of the Panamanian people.

Q. What has been the reaction to the new treaty in Panama?

A. Up to now the reaction has been one of stunned silence. The details of the treaty are not really known, control has been maintained over the mass media, and dissident voices have been silenced or exiled, with the approval of the American government, which claims to be a defender of human rights.

Even now, government representatives are the only ones who can speak out. They are making one statement after another in favor of legalizing the bases, in favor of the treaty, ignoring the struggles for the dignity of the Panamanian people, who are demanding: Bases out, troops out!

The Panamanian people are not allowed to express their dissatisfaction, and so therefore the reaction that exists is one of discontent, but it cannot be organized and focused, given the control that the Torrijos regime exerts over the mass media and the lack of democratic freedoms.

Q. What is the position of the Liga Socialista Revolucionaria with respect

World news notes

Panamanian soil!



1959 protests against U.S. role in Panama

to the treaty and with respect to the current tasks of revolutionists in Panama?

A. Ever since it was founded as a revolutionary Marxist organization, the LSR has had a consistent and clear position: Total and immediate Panamanian sovereignty over the canal, and the elimination of all Yankee bases and troops from our territory.

For the LSR, the new treaty is a concession by the Torrijos regime, which has opted for a realizable rather than a just treaty, which has knuckled under to imperialism, which for a few extra dollars has been willing to sell out our country. This time the Bunau-Varillas are not French, but Panamanian, unfortunately. The civilians and military of the Torrijos regime have surrendered to American imperialism, letting themselves be carried away by the hypocritical grin of Carter the moralist, to hand over our country once again, until, according to them, around the year 2000.

But what makes us so sure that they will be gone by the year 2000? We don't have any guarantee.

When the eyes of the whole world are on us, when we have international support, when imperialism has been weakened by Watergate and Vietnam, and by the struggles carried out by revolutionary organizations in the United States, when the most favorable conditions exist to demand the

abolition of the canal enclave and obtain our total sovereignty—the government has given in. And this is one of the worst concessions in Panamanian history, because it flies in the face of the struggle and sacrifices of our people for seventy-three years.

Q. How do you see the role of revolutionists in other countries, especially in the United States, with respect to the new treaty?

A. We think the role that revolutionists in the United States can play with respect to the new treaty is of the utmost importance in the world today.

We think that those in the United States who consider themselves to be truly anti-imperialist, and who are genuinely carrying out the struggle for a socialist revolution in the United States, cannot accept the treaty, because it maintains American imperialism. As Carter himself has said, the new treaty only reinforces the American presence in Panama. It changes only the form of the domination they already have over us.

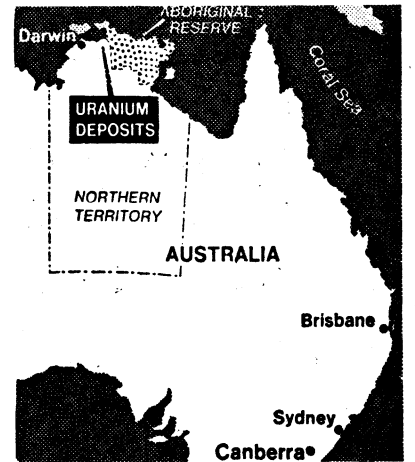
American revolutionists have a responsibility to place themselves in the forefront of the struggle against reaction and against Carter's positions, without bending an inch from the position that corresponds to the Panamanian people's struggle—namely, the Panama Canal for the Panamanians, expel the American bases immediately!

Australia lifts ban on mining and shipping uranium

Australia has lifted a four-year-old ban on mining and exporting uranium to supply nuclear power plants in Europe, Japan, and the United States. The first uranium deposits to be exploited are on the edge of an Aboriginal reserve.

Former Prime Minister Gough Whitlam, a leader of the Australian Labor Party, protested. He described the decision as a contemptuous policy "to take the money and run . . . comparable to the marketing of thalidomide." Whitlam told Parliament that the government has "jumped on the gravy train of a technology that will have a maximum life of fifty years and will produce toxic wastes that will endure for a quarter-of-a-million years."

According to the *New York Times*, 1,000 people protested outside Parliament after the ban was lifted August 25. On August 5 some 50,000 demonstrators in cities throughout Australia protested uranium mining.



The shah of shahs gets guns and more guns

On August 25 the Pentagon asked Congress to approve a sale of \$800 million in training and logistics supplies for the fleet of helicopter gunships already sold to Iran. With this deal, Iran's Shah Muhammad Reza Pahlevi will have bought nearly \$3.8 billion in weapons during the current fiscal year. Most of the sales have been completed since President Carter took office, despite the president's announced goal of reducing arms sales abroad.

Québec passes law promoting French language

Canada's French-speaking province of Québec passed a law August 26 that would make French the language used in public administration, require companies there to provide French programs for employees, and have most children attend French-speaking schools. Québec's English-speaking minority, which dominates the province's economy, is resisting the change. Montreal's English school board has said it will refuse to obey the law.

Zionists continue expansion in occupied Palestine

According to an Israeli newspaper, *Maariv*, the government there is considering a security plan that would surround Arab "trouble spots" in the occupied West Bank with Zionist settlements. The report also said that new highways, flanked by military camps and industrial plants, would cut across the West Bank to make the Jordan River Israel's new security border.

Al Hamishmar, an Israeli morning paper, said that the new government headed by Prime Minister Menahem Begin inherited a plan for twenty-seven new settlements in the West Bank from the previous Labor government. The three settlements Begin authorized in August were part of the planned twenty-seven.

Meanwhile, the Zionists have admitted that in mid-August they began a new paramilitary settlement near the Arab town of Jenin in the occupied area.

Palestine Liberation Organization rejects suicide pact

At an August meeting in Damascus, the central council of the Palestine Liberation Organization again rejected United Nations Resolution 242, which affirms the right of an Israeli Zionist state to exist on the occupied homeland of the Palestinians. The PLO has been under pressure from Washington and several Arab capitalist regimes to accept the UN resolution.

U.S. restores some ties to Cuba after sixteen years

On September 1 the United States and Cuba simultaneously opened limited diplomatic missions to restore some of the official relations that were broken after the Cuban revolution sixteen years ago.

Ramón Sánchez Parodi, head of the Cuban mission in Washington, D.C., demanded that the United States lift the economic blockade it has imposed on Cuba. During the mission's opening ceremonies Sánchez Parodi said, "On our side, Cuba has always been open to establishing normal relations between the two countries."

Human rights rally frees 500 Philippine prisoners

A rally and march for human rights drew 2,000 people in Manila August 25. The march was illegal according to the Philippines martial-law decree of 1972 and was broken up by cops using clubs and high-pressure hoses. About 100 protesters were injured.

Two days later the military released 500 martial-law prisoners.

Basque freedom march ends in giant rally

A six-week march of 3,500 people across the nationally oppressed Basque region in the Spanish state climaxed with an August 28 rally of 75,000 people in a valley near Pamplona. The rally, the largest authorized gathering of Basque nationalists since the Spanish civil war, demanded amnesty for political prisoners and self-determination for the Basque region.

S. African regime takes over schools in Soweto

The South African apartheid regime took over forty schools in the Black township of Soweto September 1 in an attempt to end the student boycott there. All 700 teachers in the schools resigned in protest. This had been urged by the Soweto Students Representative Council (SSRC).

Trofomo Sono, president of the militant SSRC, has fled to Botswana, as many other Black student leaders have been forced to do.

Asian workers win a round in British Grunwick strike

A government-sponsored inquiry into the strike at the Grunwick film-processing plant in London has recommended that the strikers either get their jobs back or receive compensation. Nearly 200 workers, most of them Asian women, went on strike in August 1976 demanding better wages and an end to "feudal" conditions. The strikers were harassed by police and won the support of other workers, who held mass support demonstrations of as many as 18,000 people in June.

Kremlin crackdown on dissidents continues

By Marilyn Vogt

The Kremlin crackdown on Soviet dissidents continued last month as authorities arrested three more members of the Helsinki monitoring group.

Feliks Serebrov, active in the Moscow Helsinki group's subcommittee on psychiatric abuse against dissidents, was arrested in Moscow. Viktoras Pyatkus and Antanas Tiplatskas were arrested in Vilnius, where they were active in the Helsinki group of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic.

These most recent arrests were announced August 24 by Soviet dissident leaders Andrei Sakharov and Pyotr Grigorenko at a Moscow news conference.

The latest roundup brings to twelve the number of Helsinki monitoring group members who have been arrested.

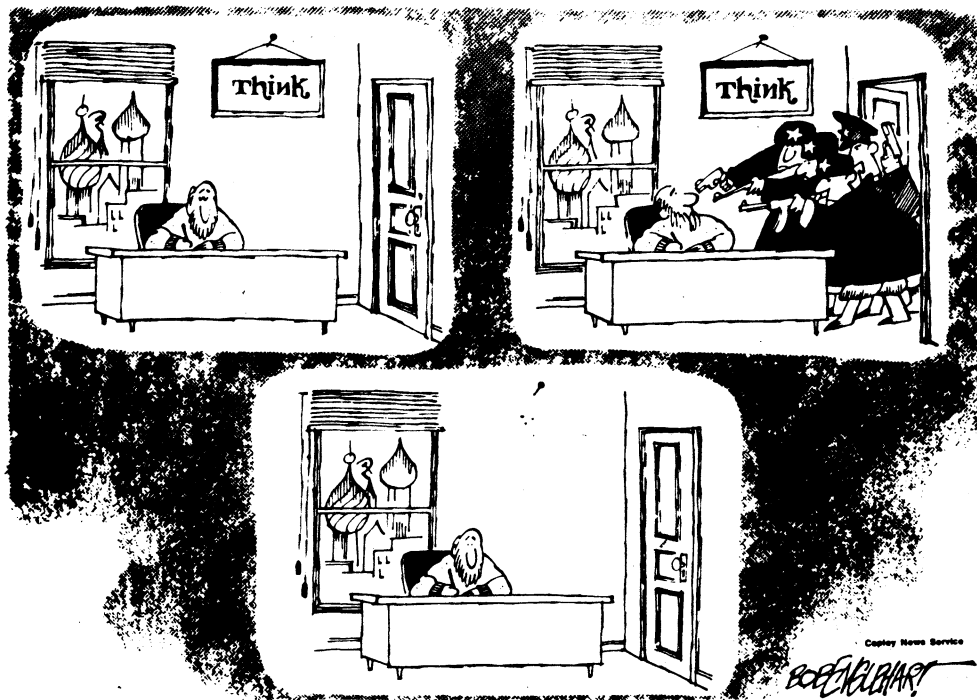
The monitoring groups were organized by human rights activists in the Soviet Union to oversee the Kremlin's compliance with human rights provisions of the Helsinki accords. Moscow, along with Washington and thirty-three other nations, signed the accords in 1975.

The monitoring groups have been under serious attack since President Carter launched his hypocritical campaign in support of Soviet dissidents at the beginning of the year.

The Kremlin began arresting monitoring group members February 3. The arrests were accompanied by a stepped-up propaganda campaign attempting to link the dissidents with Washington's anti-Communist policies.

The bureaucrats in the Kremlin even cooked up charges of "treason" against one of those arrested, Anatoly Shcharansky. They claim this Jewish activist collaborated with the CIA. If convicted, Shcharansky could be sentenced to death.

To date, two members of the Helsinki group in the Ukrainian SSR have been sentenced at a closed trial on charges of anti-Soviet activity. Mykola Ru-



denko received a twelve-year term and Oleksiy Tykhy a fifteen-year term.

The other monitoring group members being held are Miroslav Marinovich and Mikola Matosevich of the Ukrainian group; two members of the Georgian group, Merab Kostava and Zviad Gamsakhurdia; and Aleksandr Ginzburg and Yuri Orlov, members of the Moscow group.

Charges of collaborating with the CIA, like those raised against Shcharansky, are intended by the Stalinist bureaucrats to intimidate the dissidents to stop them from making contact with foreigners. However, a recent incident shows how the dissidents themselves are exposing the frame-up nature of these Kremlin slanders.

A July 6 article in the *London Times* describes how dissidents from the Georgian republic told British author Peter Reddaway that agents of the KGB, the Kremlin's secret police, may now be posing as CIA agents in an effort to entrap fighters for democracy.

On May 21-22, Reddaway reports, a man calling himself William Fawcett

made contact with the wife of imprisoned Georgian dissident Gamsakhurdia and two other members of the Georgian Helsinki group. Fawcett claimed he was a foreign businessman so highly valued by the Kremlin that he had immunity from KGB surveillance.

Fawcett said Gamsakhurdia had been charged with treason and that Gamsakhurdia's wife should not contact any foreign correspondents, or things could get worse. He offered to use his immunity to help get samizdat out of the country, specifically the new Georgian samizdat journal the *Georgian Herald*. The KGB is currently trying to track down those responsible for this new underground journal.

"Then later," Reddaway reports, "speaking alone with Mrs Gamsakhurdia, he suddenly suggested that she cooperate with the CIA. At this, she and her friends became seriously alarmed and reported the whole episode to the KGB."

The result of this was that the two Helsinki group members were taken in for questioning by a KGB officer, "who seemed unconcerned about the activities of a CIA agent, and he carefully avoided answering a question about whether Fawcett was an agent provocateur."

In a document, the Georgian dissidents called for an investigation in the West of Fawcett and his CIA links. Setting the record straight as to their attitude toward the CIA, the dissidents say they "resolutely condemn any illegal activity by the intelligence agencies, CIA or any other."

Blast psychiatric abuse

The general assembly of the World Psychiatric Association voted September 1 to censure the Soviet Union on charges of abuse of psychiatry for political purposes.

The assembly, meeting in Honolulu, acted on an appeal signed by thirty-four Soviet dissidents, including Andrei Sakharov and several others who were formerly inmates of Soviet psychiatric hospitals or prisons.

The appeal charged that "in the Soviet Union, psychiatry is used not

only for curing the mentally ill but also as an instrument to suppress civil rights. . . . We testify that such a practice is continuing at the present time, too, and to judge by everything there is no basis for supposing that it will halt in the near future."

TASS, the official Kremlin press agency, charged that the dissidents' accusation of psychiatric abuse signaled that a "a new campaign of slander" had been arranged to coincide with the psychiatric conference.

Has South Africa joined the 'nuclear club'?

By Ernest Harsch
From *Intercontinental Press*

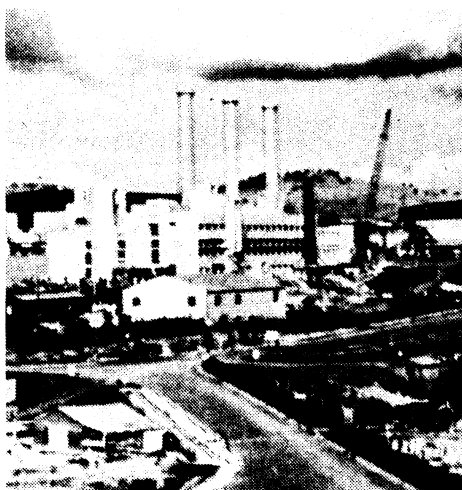
Is the white supremacist regime in South Africa ready to test its own nuclear bomb?

For about three weeks in August, the question generated an international uproar.

There had already been speculation for several years that the South African racists had, or were close to having, nuclear weapons. Experts generally conceded that the Vorster regime had the economic and technological resources to join the "nuclear club" if and when it decided to do so.

The question returned to the headlines August 8, when the Soviet press agency, TASS, declared that a South African nuclear test was imminent. Within a few days, Washington lent its backing to the charge, announcing that its satellite photos had confirmed what appeared to be South African preparations for a test—namely a 3,000-foot-deep hole and several buildings in the sparsely populated Kalahari desert.

The Carter administration and its imperialist allies in Europe then launched a coordinated publicity effort. The State Department announced August 20 that it had warned Vorster of the "serious implications" of any



South African uranium processing plant

nuclear test in South Africa. French Foreign Minister Louis de Guiringaud urged the South Africans August 22 to abandon any plans for a nuclear test or face "serious consequences" in their relations with Paris. The British and West German governments were also reported to have applied pressure on Pretoria behind the scenes.

At an August 23 news conference in Washington, President Carter in his role as a man of international peace conveyed Vorster's official denials. He said, "In response to our own direct

inquiry and that of other nations, South Africa has informed us that they do not have and do not intend to develop nuclear explosive devices for any purpose, either peaceful or as a weapon; that the Kalahari test site, which has been in question, is not designed for use to test nuclear explosives, and that no nuclear explosive tests will be taken in South Africa, now or in the future."

Carter signaled his satisfaction, declaring, "We appreciate this commitment from South Africa. . . ."

The fact is, however, that Washington has actually provided the South African racists with considerable aid in the field of nuclear energy over the years, helping Pretoria lay the basis for its nuclear industry. It trained South African nuclear scientists, opened the facilities of the former Atomic Energy Commission to them, provided nuclear equipment for Pretoria's research reactor at Pelindaba, and sold it enriched uranium, which can be used for weapons production. None of this, of course, was mentioned in Carter's remarks on the subject.

Paris has likewise sought to divert attention from a \$1.1 billion contract it signed in May 1976 pledging to build South Africa's first two commercial nuclear reactors.

As may have been intended all along, the biggest gainer from the affair has been Pretoria itself, for the rumors and speculation over Vorster's nuclear aims are themselves an important element in his foreign policy.

Richard Haass commented in the August 25 *Christian Science Monitor*, "No scenario for the region can ignore the fact that South Africa can play its nuclear card if and when there are no others remaining. Like Israel, South Africa has learned that there is political utility in retaining what Richard Burt, Assistant Director of the International Institute for Strategic Studies, calls the 'bomb in the basement' option."

The Vorster regime can achieve this effect just by making it appear that it already has an atomic bomb, whether or not it really does. According to a report in the August 29 *New York Post*, some "U.S. intelligence analysts" now doubt that Pretoria actually intended to conduct a nuclear test.

The report continued, "Some analysts even suspect the test site may have been a sham or mockup of a test facility to trigger publicity that would indirectly remind those who are pressing South Africa to change its racial policies that the white supremacist regime is a potential nuclear power."



Militant/Lou Howort

Carter: image and reality

The rulers' offensive against working people

Printed below is the report given by Jack Barnes to the twenty-ninth national convention of the Socialist Workers Party held last month. Barnes is national secretary of the SWP.

During the seven-day convention, the 1,700 delegates and guests heard reports and discussions on the prospects facing the unions, the Black struggle, the women's liberation movement, the fight against deportation of undocumented immigrants, the struggles of revolutionary youth, and the world Trotskyist movement.

Future issues of the 'Militant' will continue coverage of the reports and discussions at the SWP convention.

Offensive of U.S. capitalists abroad

In his first half-year in office James Earl Carter has wrapped himself in a cloak of morality, piety, compassion, and "uncompromising and unconditional commitment to human rights." This stance is fitting for a Baptist lay minister who campaigned on the following promises:

- Increase democratic rights at home and abroad.
- Reduce arms expenditures.
- Bring nuclear weapons under control.
- Protect the environment, health, and safety.
- Eliminate arms sales and aid to dictatorships in other countries.
- Reestablish free trade and good relations in the world.
- Provide jobs for all, and bring inflation under control.
- Inaugurate a post-Watergate open government with a commitment to justice after eight years of callous Republican rule.

But in his first six months in office Carter has, in reality, broken all of these promises. Under the banners of austerity, energy conservation, and a balanced budget, every one of the eight promises has been turned into its opposite.

A world offensive on three fronts has been launched or accelerated by the Carter administration: first against the imperialist allies—competitors of the United States abroad; second against the colonial and semicolonial world; and third against the Soviet Union. Needless to say, those who suffer the effects of this offensive the most are the workers and peasants everywhere.

Let's begin by taking a look at this world offensive on the economic level. The NATO countries

and Japan may be called allies of the United States, but their interests are not identical with those of their U.S. "partners." The American ruling class is using muscle against its competitors in a way not seen for years.

U.S. imperialism came out of the oil "crisis" and the depression of 1974-75 relatively strengthened vis-à-vis the rest of the capitalist world. The domination of the big oil trusts was reinforced. The economic recovery, while it hasn't been much of a recovery for the masses, has been stronger in the United States than anywhere else. It has given the U.S. rulers greater leverage, and they've used it to the utmost. (Remember that U.S. corporations abroad constitute the third-largest economy in the world.) They have rammed through a de facto dollar devaluation to make their goods more saleable. They have forced Japan and other countries to accept what they call "orderly market agreements" covering an entire set of commodities. These are simply a form of protectionism.

The Common Market is less "common" than at any time in the past decade. The weak are getting weaker, and the strong are getting relatively stronger.

Even Carter's "human rights" offensive is partially aimed at forcing the ally-competitors of U.S. imperialism to pick up a bigger share of the armaments tab for policing the world for capitalism.

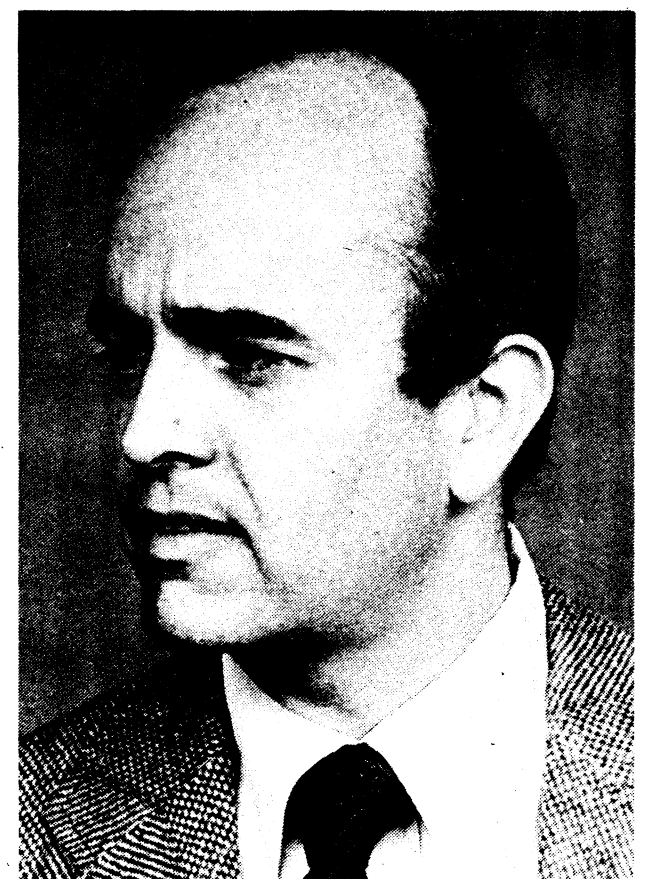
The United States remains the world's largest banker, and through its banks and domination of international financial organizations it lays down conditions on loans, not only to the colonial countries, but also to the advanced imperialist powers in Europe and elsewhere.

Under the slogan of making the world safe from plutonium and breeder reactors, Carter has opened a new drive to use the de facto U.S. monopoly of enriched uranium to force his friends abroad to "buy American."

When Italian Prime Minister Andreotti left Washington after a warm visit with Carter in July, the *New York Times* ended its report with this announcement: "The Prime Minister appeared to be especially gratified at Mr. Carter's promise to help Italy find adequate supplies of uranium and a commitment of United States Export-Import Bank funds to help Italy finance construction of eight more nuclear power plants." If Carter's plan is not really to get rid of nuclear power in the world, it certainly is to make other countries "buy American."

On the political level, Carter is the only one of the imperialist heads of state who can look forward with assurance to being in office for four years. Not a single current leader he meets with is likely to last that long. And in some countries in Europe, such as France and Italy, the possibility has appeared for

Continued on next page



JACK BARNES

Militant/Susan Ellis

Continued from preceding page

the first time in decades that a coalition government, including the Communist Party, may be voted into office.

'New morality' in semicolonial world

In the colonial and semicolonial world, Carter faced the problem of restoring a favorable image for the U.S. government after Nixon's role in Vietnam, Watergate, and Pinochet's coup in Chile. Here he promised a "new morality." At least in Latin America this promise had a bad ring to it.

Latin Americans remember Woodrow Wilson, who was going to make the world safe for democracy. Wilson faced in Mexico the first massive popular revolution of the twentieth century in our hemisphere. He ordered American troops into Mexico to crush it.

Latin Americans remember Franklin Delano Roosevelt, another pious Democratic president, who promised a "good neighbor policy" and "four freedoms"—yet backed dictators from Somoza to Batista throughout Latin America.

They remember the "Alliance for Progress" of John F. Kennedy, who reacted to the Cuban revolution the way Wilson reacted to the Mexican revolution. After Castro whipped him at the Bay of Pigs, Kennedy shifted to sophisticated repressive tactics to crush insurgent struggles and pave the way for the military regimes in Latin America today.

So the suspicions about Carter have good foundation. His promise to start getting rid of military aid to dictatorships has already proven to be a fake and a fraud.

A private agency using government statistics did a study and found that, yes, direct foreign aid has declined slightly in the cases of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Nicaragua, Indonesia, Thailand, the Philippines, and South Korea. But here's the trick. While direct foreign aid has declined, aid from the Export-Import Bank, from the international financial organizations, and from the big commercial banks of New York has more than tripled since 1970. This indirect method has one advantage over direct government aid—the Freedom of Information Act doesn't apply, so no one can find out exactly how much money is going where.

Wide publicity has been given to the fact that military aid agreements were broken off with some dictatorships that trample on human rights, such as Brazil and Argentina. But the same report also explained how that really works. Argentina, for instance, still has unexpended sales credits of \$54 million—nearly four times the amount rejected in the arms agreement—all of which can be used to purchase arms from the United States.

In Zaïre, Israel, Iran—the same rule applies. "Buy American, and tighten your workers' belts to pay for it"—that's the real "North-South dialogue" Carter-style.

Realities of détente

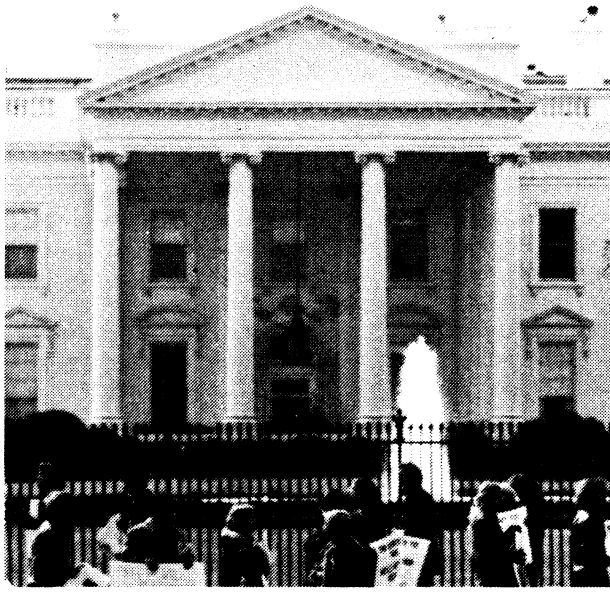
The U.S. offensive against the Soviet Union has been the most publicized. You remember the promises of détente and what we said about its realities.

The truth is that there can be no détente in the class struggle on the world arena. That mighty subversive force, monopoly capitalism, will keep stirring up the class struggle no matter what deals are struck or treaties are signed. There is collaboration all right—not collaboration for peace and progress, but the Kremlin's collaboration to help the American imperialists police the world. And in reality there can be no erasing the fundamental antagonism of U.S. imperialism toward the collectivized property relations in the Soviet Union, despite the maneuvers Washington and Moscow may pull in the diplomatic arena.

The policy of détente was forced on the U.S. ruling class in the early 1970s because of the combination of the economic crisis marking the end of near absolute American leadership in the imperialist world, the massive sentiment at home against the Vietnam War, and the need to regulate the immense burden of the military budget. But we Marxists stressed that despite the U.S. rulers' need for help from the Stalinists to dampen the class struggle, and despite their desire for expanded markets in the workers states, they would continue to push and probe and commit aggressions. Far from an end to war, new wars would erupt. Far from disarmament, the arms race would continue. This prognosis is being borne out.

Let's look at Carter's anti-Soviet offensive more closely. First, on the military front. Carter began by proposing an arms budget bigger than Ford's. That was one of his first acts in office. But even more important than increasing the size of the war budget was a series of decisions Carter made on a set of weapons.

One, along with the hoopla about getting rid of the B-1 bomber, the cruise missile was approved and pushed forward. This is a small, pilotless plane bearing nuclear bombs, which can be launched from current American bombers to penetrate the defenses of the Soviet Union.



"A world offensive has been launched or accelerated by the Carter administration: against its imperialist allies-competitors; against the colonial and semicolonial world; and against the Soviet Union. Those who suffer the effects of this offensive the most are the workers and peasants everywhere."

Two, the MX—new mobile, highly accurate missiles carrying twelve hydrogen bombs, more impervious to defensive measures than any they've had before—are expected to be approved soon.

Last, but not least, is the Pentagon's favorite. That's the neutron bomb, the perfect capitalist weapon. The neutron bomb is designed to irradiate and destroy human beings, while leaving untouched the buildings and factories, which the capitalists place above all other values. As a high Pentagon official said: "We want to . . . defend territory without destroying what we want to save."

Carter's weapons program was summed up by the *Christian Science Monitor* this way: "The Carter administration gives every evidence of intending to go ahead into a whole new generation of weapons which the Soviets could not at present duplicate and might not be able to duplicate for a long time. . . . The three new American weapons [neutron bomb, cruise missile, MX] together would shift the strategic balance enormously to American advantage."

Once again, as has happened in every instance since the end of World War II, the massive new escalation in death-dealing arms was started by American imperialism. The promises of SALT I and SALT II are shown to be a fraud.

In a July 10 editorial entitled "What's Troubling Mr. Brezhnev," the *New York Times* explained something even more ominous. As part of a saber-rattling warning to Brezhnev, they said that the "new technologies, in cruise missiles and other types of precision-guided weapons, blur distinctions between nuclear and non-nuclear or strategic and tactical weapons, as nuclear weapons spread."

Imagine what they would have done with a nice, small "tactical" neutron bomb in Vietnam? What might they do in another Mideast war? What might they do in Africa? Far from deterring use of nuclear weapons, the new arms technologies tempt imperialism even more to use them in the future.

On the trade aspect of détente, still more facts have become public about the offensive against the Soviets. Remember the prospects held out by détente—great increases in trade, big new markets for American goods and investments for American capital. But the truth is that precious little of these promises has been realized.

In its July 10 editorial the *New York Times* explained what was behind this development: "Moscow is not present at the current round of global trade negotiations. It takes no part in the reform of the international monetary system. . . . The Soviet bureaucracy is simply not prepared to risk loosening its control over Soviet economic life and to accept the uncertainties of full participation in the multilateral world economy. . . . Mr. Brezhnev's successors if they persist on present paths . . . will

be odd men out in an international system that may offer large benefits to those ready to risk interdependence and greater openness." Not to mention great threats if they don't face up to the new strategic realities.

To speak plainly, if the state monopoly of foreign trade in the USSR isn't weakened, if the Soviet Union isn't opened up to penetration by American capital, then the imperialists' real economic aims underlying détente will not be realized. Their goal is, has been, and always will be, this kind of rollback of the economic foundations of the workers state through the reintroduction of capitalist property relations.

At the same time the social and political instability in Europe and the growing dissension within the world Stalinist movement present a double-edged problem for Carter. There should be no misunderstanding about one thing—the so-called Eurocommunists are accommodating themselves, at least in words, to the democratic desires and demands of the workers of Europe, and of workers everywhere.

In one sense, the rift between Moscow and the Eurocommunists gives Carter a little more room to maneuver—but not too much. The imperialists are still against letting Communist parties participate in coalition governments. That will be accepted only as a last resort. But in another sense the prospect of an international struggle in the world Stalinist movement over democratic rights worries the Carter administration. Because the main thing they demand of the Soviet bureaucracy and Stalinist parties everywhere is *stability*. The U.S. imperialists are against democratic governments by the majority—anywhere. They have no desire for the workers in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union to take power in order to better defend socialist property relations there. They want stability until they can overturn these property relations.

Shortly before discussing what's troubling Brezhnev, the *New York Times* on July 1 published another editorial, pointing out that the "West" is opposed to any "challenge to totalitarian power in Eastern Europe." That, the *Times* said, "would be an invitation to uprisings that the West cannot fully support without unacceptable risk. . . ." In other words, no political revolution for workers democracy. Imperialism's message to Brezhnev and his heirs is—the squeeze is on, maintain control and preserve the status quo.

Weaknesses of world capitalism

But there's another—and for us, more important—side to Carter's international offensive. That is the current condition of world capitalism.

Outside of the recovery taking place in the United States, the truth is that the capitalist economy remains in a world recession. Industrial production is now declining even in Japan. There's double-digit inflation not only in Portugal and Spain, but also in Italy, Britain, France, and Sweden. Unemployment in countries such as Britain and Canada is the highest since the Great Depression.

Social Security and other benefits, all the acquisitions that American and European workers take for granted, are being brought into question.

The framework of this offensive is not the returning *strength* of world capitalism but its growing *weakness*. No return is possible to the economic expansion of the 1950s or the 1960s, where the biggest powers got the most, but there was still something for the smaller ones.

Every measure, such as the forced devaluation of the dollar, to give U.S. exports a competitive advantage threatens to bring the whole monetary system tumbling down. Protectionism simply raises further threats of a world trade war.

Last week the French government made a modest proposal about trade. It said in essence: We should quit talking about free trade; that ended with the 1960s. We propose that the big capitalist powers get together and organize markets for ourselves. That would be more honest and less dangerous than the current semisecret restrictions.

Every "success" of the U.S. offensive—forcing higher military budgets on their allies to pay part of the global police costs, higher inflation from their protectionist moves—weakens the capitalist system itself, slows down the growth of America's allies, and threatens its own future.

The pressure for belt tightening invariably engenders fresh resistance. In the colonial world in the past year we have seen massive demonstrations. In Egypt these began over a rise in the price of bread. In Peru, over a rise in the price of food and bus fares. A general strike swept the country. In Brazil the biggest demonstrations in over a decade broke out. In Turkey, women still wearing veils marched down the streets chanting, "water, electricity, roads."

And in South Africa, where Andrew Young goes to defend the free enterprise system, the Black youth showed their readiness to bring that system crashing down.

Within the imperialist countries themselves the biggest problem of all exists for the rulers. The crisis of capitalism has heightened the class strug-

gle in Europe, Canada, Australia, and Japan. The U.S. "victories," which increase the squeeze on the workers of these lands, have already helped provoke a revolutionary upsurge in Portugal, radicalization in Spain, workers' mobilizations in Italy and France, and resistance in Britain. These are the political risks that the American imperialist offensive runs. Yet the U.S. rulers have no other choice.

In addition to trying to say "no" to the workers movement, they must also try to say "no" to the women's movement. "No" to the expectations for normal Social Security and welfare. "No" to those who want a livable environment and decent health and safety conditions on the job. "No" to the oppressed nationalities. Consequently the resistances from these various sources become combined and intertwined. A few weeks ago, 200,000 people marched in Bilbao in the Basque country against nuclear power. Their slogan was: "Better active today than radioactive tomorrow." Last week 30,000 demonstrated in France.

So far as the oppressed nationalities are concerned, the demand to "tighten your belts" has fueled a rise in national liberation struggles throughout Europe. In Spain, the fight for self-determination is one of the crucial questions fueling

the class struggle. In France, where the bourgeoisie thought it was settled a couple of hundred years ago, the nationalities question raises its head in Corsica, Brittany, and elsewhere. In Great Britain—long the world's prime capitalist and imperialist power—the Scots and the Welsh are joining the Irish in pressing their demands for self-determination. In Canada, the ruling class views with fright what might happen in Québec.

The more the squeeze tightens on the workers, the more explosive becomes the potential of their resistance. And the same goes for the workers' struggles in the three sectors of the world revolution—the colonial world, the imperialist countries, and the workers states—as they react upon and reinforce each other.

This interaction can be seen most clearly in Europe, where the fight of the workers in Eastern Europe, led by the Polish workers, becomes intertwined with the struggle of the West European workers in the direction of socialism.

The more the workers demand freedom, democracy, and a decent life—in a word, socialism—the more Carter and Brezhnev from their respective standpoints are determined to maintain the status quo.

the national health plan to date.

The second major plan was to solve the energy crisis. You now know how that goes. Prices up. Nuclear power expanded. Lectures to you not to be "energy alcoholics." A go-ahead on strip mining. Weakened federal guidelines on safety not only for miners, but for all workers. And a real assault, backed by the government, on the United Mine Workers.

Third, the White House welfare plan begins by reducing the use of food stamps by those who need them. It puts forward the concept of "workfare" instead of welfare. That is, forcing as many people as possible into jobs below minimum-wage standards as a condition for receiving any aid.

Another item under consideration is forcing more mothers to go to work at abysmal wages. A child's age was formerly set at eighteen before the mother was compelled to go to work. Carter, as a way of shaping up the country, has proposed reducing this to fourteen. Yesterday, when the plan was presented to Congress, Sen. Russell Long said he thought six years of age was plenty old enough. The White House was reported to be "receptive" to Senator Long's proposal.

On inflation, no effective action from the White House.

Attacks on the undocumented workers are still in the formative stage. Here the administration has been brutally frank. The Chicano counterpart of Andrew Young, Immigration Director Leonel Castillo, told the *Los Angeles Times* on July 18 what's really behind this move. "Some parts of the U.S. economy make a lot of money off the aliens," he said. "Some companies hire them and don't pay them much. From that perspective it's good. It increases the gross national product, holds down wages and holds down prices."

What about White House action on jobs? We have the highest jobless rate ever for this period of an economic recovery. The kind of operation they want to perform on us is shown by the fact that the funds for the neutron bomb were hidden in the "jobs" budget!

Finally, on Social Security. A new modest proposal was raised last week in this regard. The secretary of commerce suggested that since the Social Security system is strained financially, instead of people getting Social Security benefits at age sixty-five, benefits should be withheld until they're sixty-eight. While this is not yet an "official" proposal, the White House is considering it.

So much for seven of the initial programs of the Carter administration.

Congress and the robed reactionaries

Congress is doing its share. First, these representatives of the corporations cut the federal extension on unemployment benefits from twenty-six to thirteen weeks. And recently they declared that unemployment is low enough so that you cannot get even the benefits of the thirteen extra weeks in many states.

Continued on next page

The offensive at home

We must not forget that the main target of Carter's offensive is not abroad but right here at home. Keeping the workers under control is the main problem of his class. The ferocity, the arrogance, the class-consciousness, and the cold-blooded brutality of U.S. foreign policy is an extension of the domestic policy upheld by the American rulers.

There are two opposite aspects of this problem—Carter's *image* and Carter's *job*. The president's image is not a small question for the rulers. He was supposed to restabilize and refurbish government authority after Vietnam, Watergate, Chile and the depression. He seemed to many to stand for the people and against corruption. After January 1977 a Democratic Congress and a Democratic president would be working together once again for the good of the people. It would be, as Carter said over and over again, a government compassionate toward "those who must depend on it."

Carter's real job

But Carter's *job* was different. That job was to continue driving down the standard of living, a process begun by Nixon in 1971 with the wage freeze. Carter's assignment was to take advantage of the stunning blows against the working people dealt by the 1974-75 depression. He was to take the vicious cutbacks in New York as a model on a national scale.

In Carter's first six months the American people got a lot of smiles and patronizing lectures, because there was nothing else the administration intended to give them. As the next six months pass, there will be fewer smiles and sterner lectures.

Even though the U.S. rulers are strong relative to their capitalist competitors, they are weak relative to all the expectations and demands put on world capitalism, including the demands put on them by the American working people.

We should step back to look at their problem in perspective and compare it to what Roosevelt faced in the 1930s, and what Kennedy faced in the 1960s. In the case of Roosevelt, a massive concession was wrested by the struggle of the workers. That was Social Security. A genuine social reform was forced through. At the same time, following the 1937-38 downturn, Roosevelt used massive war spending to lift the American economy out of the 1930s depression.

Both of these ways out are closed to Carter. A massive concession to meet even a portion of the needs of the American people is inconceivable to U.S. capitalism right now. And war spending is already at such astronomical heights that further qualitative increases, far from lifting the economy out of depression, will simply drive up inflation in a disastrous manner.

Kennedy, followed by Lyndon Johnson, managed a different solution. They rode the crest of the most massive expansion of American capitalism—the longest wave of expansion and economic boom in capitalist history. It was on this basis that jobs and various other concessions were granted. But the capitalist economy is taking an opposite course today.

Truman could at least promise full employment, signing the Full Employment Act during the post-World War II labor upsurge. But the Carter administration has begun by explaining that full employment is "outmoded." Now the concept is "reasonable" employment. Not reasonable for you—reasonable for them and the rich they represent.

No, the capitalists on the offensive here do not have the options that their predecessors had.

It is difficult for individual victims to grasp the scope of this concerted campaign because it hits so many people in so many different ways. Actually, our convention is designed to discuss, point by point, the character of this offensive, its effects, the reaction to it, and the way to fight back against it—in the labor movement, among women, among Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, undocumented workers, in the Black community, and among the youth. And finally to discuss and decide how we can best organize ourselves to lead that fight.

The trio in action

It's important to take a look at the framework of this offensive. For the first time in a long while, all three branches of the government of the ruling class are taking the same tack on this project. The White House, the Congress, and the Supreme Court—what Frank Lovell calls the "robed reactionaries of the ruling rich"—are working hand in hand in the same operation.

To view this trio in action, let's begin with its spearhead, the Carter administration. One of its first acts was to announce that the campaign pledge of a national health-care plan was "postponed." Instead Carter would seek legislation within a year to control to some degree the rate of rise of your medical expenses. That's the extent of

"The more the workers demand freedom, democracy, and a decent life—in a word, socialism—the more Carter and Brezhnev are determined to maintain the status quo."



Continued from preceding page

Then the House went to work on the Legal Assistance Act. The Legal Assistance Act is supposed to provide funds for a certain number of lawyers to help poorer people fight for their rights. So Congress passed amendments saying that under no conditions could any legal aid be extended to any fight for gay rights. And they added that no school desegregation suits can be filed using one penny of legal assistance money.

The Senate got into the act by passing a rider that no gay couples are to live in public housing. And no government funds can be withheld from school districts that defy any busing or desegregation orders. They also passed the Hyde amendment to deny women any federal funds for abortions.

Meanwhile, the nine robed reactionaries on the Supreme Court play their part in the drive. They recently got rid of a significant number of minority-party ballot rights, making it harder for anyone except Democrats and Republicans to get on the ballot. The reason, they explained, is that it's not democratic to have a "crowded ballot." Their interpretation of the Constitution is that anything beyond two is an intolerable crowd.

They've begun preparing the way for broad reinstatement of the death penalty. They refuse to reverse the outrageous frame-ups of the Gary Tylers, the Wilmington Tens, and the frame-ups the Native Americans face month after month.

To demonstrate that they are in tune with the House and Senate on gay rights, the Supreme Court affirmed the constitutionality of state sodomy laws.

They also decided that discriminatory seniority systems, perpetuating discriminatory hiring practices against women and oppressed nationalities from before 1964, are perfectly legal. Because, they ruled, you couldn't prove "intent" to discriminate, since the antibias laws had not been passed before that date.

They ruled that women get no sick pay for pregnancy. "States' rights" can be invoked to withhold any and all government funds for abortions or for any abortion-related treatment. They ruled that the state has as much of a vital interest in reproduction as a woman in her own body. And more if there is a conflict between the two.

You have to prove "intent" to discriminate; that's the court's new doctrine. If you want to be bused to desegregated schools, if you want decent housing, if you want equal job opportunities, it's not enough to prove discrimination. It's not enough to prove discrimination for decades or even centuries. It's not enough to prove a pattern that anyone can see. You have to prove "intent," deliberate design, not the actual state of affairs. The victim has to prove the "intent" of the criminal.

They also decided that families of workers who strike or get fired "for cause"—of course the boss, not you, decides if you're fired for cause—should not get any welfare benefits or unemployment benefits.

Those are some of the contributions of the U.S. Supreme Court. This list is far from complete. But it's only by compiling such a list that you can begin to see where they're going and how far they want to go.

'Nowhere else to go'

All this has been accompanied by a series of lectures from Carter. He lectured the head of the National Urban League, telling Vernon Jordan that it's demagoguery to suggest—as Jordan did—that Carter's commitments to the poor have not been lived up to.

The worst thing, Carter said, is that by making these kinds of "demagogic statements," Black leaders will make the oppressed, deprived, and alienated believe "that neither I, nor my cabinet members, nor the Congress, cares about them." That hurts the poor, you see, because it removes from them "the prospect of a better life" and the understanding that "we are the last hope of those who are poor."

Carter also lectured women, explaining to them that there can be no quotas, whether for Blacks, Chicanos, or women, because nothing that cuts across "merit selection" is constitutional.

In explaining to women his attitude toward abortion, Carter took up a theme that he wants instilled in the mind of every worker and oppressed person. As he put it, "there are many things in life that are not fair, that wealthy people can afford and poor people can't. But I don't believe that the federal government should take action to try to make these opportunities exactly equal, particularly when there is a moral factor involved."

Of course when it comes to cost-plus arms contracts, protective tariffs, giant corporate subsidies, giveaways to dictators—that's different. But the same moral factor is involved—capitalist morality.

Andrew Young held a press conference at the Urban League convention to drive home Carter's point. You may have heard him answer the question, "Don't you think that a reaction like this will force many Black Americans to consider turning from the Democratic Party?" Andrew Young, speaking for his president, looked into the camera and



"The main target of Carter's offensive is not abroad but right here at home. The ferocity, the arrogance, the cold-blooded brutality in U.S. foreign policy is an extension of its domestic policy."

said simply: "They've got nowhere else to go."

This partial list makes one thing clear. The American rulers are not only holding their ground. They're not only saying to you and every working person, "No more concessions. Lower your expectations. Don't expect any more gains."

They are also *taking back* the gains of the 1960s. They have to take back some of the gains that were wrested from them through the longest capitalist boom ever. They have to reverse the economic gains and the legislation that could begin to make the promises of better life a reality—on desegregation, affirmative action, abortion, education, and a whole range of working people's rights.

They are now even trying to take back the earlier legal guarantees on which your rights rested and that the working class and its allies waged great battles to secure. They're trying to get the Supreme Court to rule that your expectations are unconstitutional.

They resist the Equal Rights Amendment for a good reason from their viewpoint. It is an obstacle to their efforts to drive down the workers' standard

of living, and it cuts across their aim of blocking any extension of equality before the law.

Let's look at two earlier massive upsurges of the working class and the Black population that prevented planned large-scale assaults, that wrested gains from the rulers, or extracted promises from them. These were the upsurge of the 1930s that saw the birth of the CIO, and the resistance of the Black people, the GIs, and the American union movement at the end of World War II to the reactionary plans of the ruling class.

What were the concessions and promises that were gained in those two upsurges? In the 1930s the two main ones were Social Security, and the National Labor Relations Act, which legalized, although with many restrictions, the right to organize unions.

The 1944-46 upsurge did not achieve any new concessions of the scope of Social Security, but it did extract promises and stalemated the bosses' offensive. The Full Employment Act of 1946 was the outstanding promise. In addition, the upsurge prevented the United States from extending the war into a new assault on the Soviet Union and deterred the rulers from the immediate course they wanted to follow—that of busting up the CIO.

Now each one of these promises or concessions is being chopped away. They are attacking and undermining not just what you won in the 1960s, but what those who came before—parents, grandparents, the exploited and oppressed of other generations—fought for and won in the 1930s and 1940s. Not only is full employment "outmoded" as a concept, but Social Security is more and more challenged and subjected to contraction instead of expansion.

What about the right to organize unions? The *New York Times* recently lectured those employers who are resisting some of the fake legislation that Carter and Meany have proposed to reform the National Labor Relations Act. The *Times* advocates passing a few of these cosmetic measures, pointing out that in practice the laws asserting the basic right of labor to organize have been substantially eroded over the past decade or so.

The open-shop employers—and not only such conspicuous diehards as J.P. Stevens—have found ways of systematically stalling bargaining elections, firing and intimidating workers, filing suits, and so on, to effectively prevent workers from organizing. The *Times* is worried, not so much about the prevalence of such practices, but because they fear that if they go too far, workers will rebel.

Why, at each of these times in the past, did the rulers have to yield concessions? There were three main reasons. One, to appease working people and their allies because of what the rulers were afraid would happen if they did not. Two, to demonstrate the reformability of the capitalist system. And three, to bolster the idea that even if an individual boss may exploit you or treat you in a racist or sexist manner, the government up above, or at least some branch of it, will come to your rescue. This tended to reinforce the illusion that the government stands above social conflicts and is not responsible for the evils of class oppression.

But today it's the *government*, through the two capitalist parties, that is organizing to take away these concessions. And the role of the government, and the courts, and the Congress, more and more puts a question mark over the strategy of reliance on them. It puts a question mark in workers' minds over the reformability, if not of the system, then at least of the Democratic Party. That's the problem that the rulers have as they deepen the attack. That's the conclusion they are afraid the workers will reach as a prelude to reacting in an independent and massive manner.

Working-class response & SWP tasks

There are four important questions we should discuss at this stage of the capitalist offensive.

1) What are the effects on the working class, the oppressed nationalities, and women, of the ruling-class offensive?

2) What shifts in politics and class polarization has this brought about in the United States?

3) What is the current state of the radicalization?

4) What does this signify for the turn in our party's work?

These four questions need sober, accurate answers.

First, the effect on working people can be stated simply—they have been taking it on the chin. This has been the situation since the offensive opened with Nixon's 1971 wage freeze, but it has been greatly accelerated in the new stage opened by the 1974-75 depression.

Efforts at individual solutions—as opposed to collective action—have been declining as a plausi-

ble way out.

A report from the University of Michigan, as summarized in the *New York Times*, concluded: "Individual characteristics such as ambition, planning ahead, saving money, the drive to achieve . . . are essentially unrelated either to economic status or economic progress." Ambitious as you may be as an individual, that's not the way out for most Americans.

The same study confirms that every gain the individual worker makes is precarious and on shaky ground. In the past five years, real income has risen only for the top 30 percent of the American population—the rulers, their highly paid retainers, and the very top strata of the workers. For the rest of us, it's gone down.

At least seven out of ten families are, according to the study, "economically vulnerable," with at least an even chance of spending years in poverty. Poverty lurks a pace or two down the road—either

with the prospect of a layoff or a few more notches upward in inflation.

If you are accustomed to think in terms of a better future through an individual solution, that report becomes more and more ominous.

But what is the alternative? Here, the key is the pernicious and reactionary role of the trade-union bureaucracy and those who copy them in the leaderships of the Black and women's movements. The self-confidence of the American workers and the oppressed has not been crushed. They have not been beaten down or defeated in battle. But they have been stifled, because *no one has led them in the right direction and in the right way.*

The big class battles have not yet been fought. They're still down the road. But the workers have been stymied by the class collaborationists who still preach, and practice, and insist on *dependence* on the very agents who are carrying out the attacks.

We are in what might be called a preparatory period, in which hundreds of thousands of people become more interested in *answers* to these kinds of questions than in being drawn into immediate action.

Why won't the official leaders lead? What *can* we do instead? What are the alternatives? And along with these questions, there is a growing belief that the situation is not going to get better by itself, that something more dynamic than waiting must be done if it's to be made better.

Significance of 'new right'

Second, on the shifts in politics. There's been a lot of talk about the rise of a "new right." The elements can be identified. They include organizations, such as Boston's ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights), that oppose desegregation, busing, and bilingual-bicultural education. Organizations such as the so-called right-to-lifers.

Organizations of the open-shop employers on the prod. Phyllis Schlafly and the anti-ERA forces. The pro-death-penalty groups. The Anita Bryant antilebian, antigay groups. There are protofascist groups, with a little resurgence of publicity for the Klan and the Nazis.

Racist forays have been emboldened under these circumstances. Once again attacks occur on Blacks at Carson Beach in Boston. Once again in Chicago's Marquette Park, just before this convention, racist attacks were launched.

At the same time, shifts have appeared in public opinion polls. A minor decline has appeared in support for the ERA, welfare, abolition of the death penalty, and affirmative action.

It's very important to look more closely at what these developments amount to. They reflect neither the growth and unleashing of ultraright or fascist-like forces in this country, nor a basic conservative shift in the attitudes of the exploited, the oppressed, the young.

What these shifts reflect is the impact of the governmental offensive; the frustrations and hesitations bred by the lack of any effective opposition on a mass scale such as the unions ought to provide; and the demoralization and paralysis that result when the labor leaders keep trying to convince the ranks to depend on the very architects of the attacks. These factors, not the rise of a serious threat of reaction, are the source of the problem.

The apparent shift to the right reflects the governmental offensive and pressure. Not defeats of the workers. Not decisive battles that haven't yet been fought.

It's true that rightist forces have been emboldened. But not by a rising fascist movement; *they have been emboldened by the activities of the Democrats and Republicans in the White House, Congress, and the Supreme Court.* That has to be understood to reach a correct appraisal of American politics today.

Those who portray the still small and uninfluential fascist-like formations as the overriding danger—as the Communist Party's *Daily World* newspaper is beginning to do—are essentially letting the capitalist parties and the capitalist government off the hook. It is first and foremost the Democratic Party in office that is implementing these attacks, and it is the Democrats' actions that give cover and confidence to the extreme right.

It is the ruling-class government headed by Carter that is carrying out this offensive, and the persistent illusions in the Democratic Party and Carter are the worst problem.

Every offensive by the ruling class displays the putrefaction of bourgeois values and their liberal shadow, this is no exception. But we do not yet see the financing, organizing, and unleashing of massive right-wing forces. That situation can come to the fore only if the workers have had their chance and been defeated. Not before.

At the same time, these ruling-class forays are not totally confident. Almost every one of the administration's moves, if you watch them carefully, starts with trial balloons. Remember the trial balloons about identity cards for every worker? That was going to be part of Carter's plan for undocumented

workers. We were all going to have to carry cards. They probed to see whether they could get away with that, and for now they've put it back on the shelf.

Shifts in public opinion

Let's look at a couple of the opinion polls more carefully. Whenever you see reports in one of these polls in the paper, be sure to read the whole article. Find out the class, sex, and age breakdown of the figures.

Let me illustrate this with three polls that appeared last week. On the first one, the top headline said: "Public Likes Carter, Survey Finds." But the full headline on the inside page said this: "Public Likes Carter, Survey Finds, More for His Style Than Programs." What did the survey really show? In April 1977, 70 percent of the public thought Carter would be able to restore trust in government. Today the figure is down to 61 percent.

When he came into office, more than 50 percent were confident that Carter would reduce unemployment to a significant extent. It's now down, in a little over six months, to 37 percent.

When he entered the White House, almost 40 percent thought he would balance the budget and control inflation. That's down to 23 percent.

When he came into office six months ago, 83 percent of Black people interviewed were favorable to the Carter administration and thought he would produce gains for those who elected him, that is, the decisive layer of more than 90 percent of the Black voters. This has now dropped by 14 percentage points.

A second poll: The top headline said, "Public Found Against Welfare Idea," but the full inside headline was "Public Found Against Welfare Idea But in Favor of What Programs Do." The pollsters asked, Do you think people should receive money from welfare or can they get along without it? Fifty-four percent thought they could get along without it. "Do you approve of most government-sponsored welfare programs?" "No," said 58 percent.

But then they began asking the, "Do you approve of a national health-care program?" "Yes," 60 percent thought that was good. "Food stamps for the poor?" "Yes," 81 percent approved.

"Aid to poor families with dependent children?" "Yes," 81 percent thought so.

Government-financed health care for the poor? "Yes," said 82 percent.

So when you go from rhetoric and myth about welfare to specifics, the figures change dramatically.

They conducted a poll the same week on attitudes toward job discrimination and affirmative action. When they asked, Are you for "extra consideration" for Black people? 71 percent said "no." But when they asked, Are you for "guaranteed job rights" for Black people? 74 percent said "yes."

By the way, on the question, are you for extra consideration for Black people? the majority of Black people said yes. And the pollsters noted that "poor whites" were more likely to favor affirmative action than "affluent whites."

Are you for "extra consideration" for women? "No," said 72 percent. But, are you for enforcement of "guaranteed job rights" for women who want to work? "Yes," said 74 percent.

Finally, they asked if "the Government should pass laws to guarantee job rights for homosexuals." Fully 50 percent said they favor such laws, with only 35 percent opposed. Quite a change from ten years ago.

Then they had a breakdown of the responses. Among people sixty-five and older, those whose opinions were set well before the 1960s, only 23 percent thought the government should pass laws to guarantee job rights for homosexuals.

Almost half of the people between forty-five and sixty-four favored job rights for gays and lesbians. *And 73 percent of everyone questioned under thirty years of age said the government should pass laws to guarantee job rights for homosexuals.*

This conveys a lesson—not only to carefully scrutinize the polls, but to try to find out how the views of the classes, nationalities, sexes, and ages are registered in the polls. That's what we're interested in. Because it shows the *contradictory* class-polarized character of "public opinion."

'Human rights begin at home'

That last poll on the gay question brings us to three events of the past couple of months that shed some light on where the radicalization stands today. First, the reaction of lesbian and gay activists, and hundreds of thousands of their defenders, to the Anita Bryant offensive and its success in Miami; second, what happened in New York in July when the lights went out for twenty-five hours; and third, the growing anti-nuclear power movement.

The hundreds of thousands who came into the streets to protest after Anita Bryant's success in repealing the ordinance in Miami, carried the slogan, "Human rights begin at home." I consider that the best of the anti-Carter slogans. "Human rights begin at home." If we stick with that and apply it everywhere, we can't miss, because the Carter administration can only fake it for so long. Human rights are the last thing they want to implement and expand at home and abroad.

This was a gut-level explosion. There were not organized, carefully planned marches anywhere. Hundreds of thousands of supporters of human rights for gays and lesbians were deeply affected. They were hit emotionally, politically, and intellectually by the defeat of the gay rights ordinance in Miami. And they poured out to say what they thought and how they felt. Unlike many other

Continued on next page

"The hundreds of thousands who came into the streets after Anita Bryant's success in repealing Miami's gay rights ordinance carried the slogan, 'Human rights begin at home.' If we stick with that slogan we can't miss, because human rights are the last thing Carter wants at home or abroad."



Militant/Lou Howort

Continued from preceding page

movements, there was no bureaucracy, no misleadership sitting on top to stifle action.

The scope of support was remarkable. We even saw union support to the rights of gay teachers, voiced by American Federation of Teachers locals and by Albert Shanker himself. We saw support from other union officials for the first time in several places. And we saw support from the NAACP.

As Joel Aber, our socialist candidate for mayor of New Orleans, told several thousand people at a gay rights rally in that city: "They want Black people back on the plantations; women back in the kitchen; workers back in the sweatshop; and gays back in the closet." And that's why everyone's got to stand up and fight.

Hundreds of thousands of people who did march believe that what Joel Aber spelled out is true. That's why the effect of these gay rights demonstrations was so positive on the morale of the oppressed, the exploited, and those who want to fight repression.

One of the best indications of this mood appeared in an article Ed Heisler showed me five days ago, clipped from a weekly newspaper in Whitesburg, Kentucky. The reporter was covering a meeting of 200 local United Mine Workers officials who had gathered to discuss whether to march on Congress to protest the assault that's been launched on the mine workers' health benefits. One of the local officials got up and argued in support of marching. He said, "If the homosexuals in this country can get recognition, so can the coal miners." I have no way of knowing what he may personally think about homosexuals—but that statement represents political thinking of a kind to be praised.

Revolt of the 'animals'

What happened in the New York blackout should be noted, too. After the ghetto uprisings in 1967, the ruling class talked about making many changes to alleviate what they call the "problem of the inner city." They always say the "problem of the inner city," rather than the problem of capitalism and racism.

But by 1971, starting with the offensive initiated under Nixon, the decision had been made that the welfare needs of some of the big cities would have to be cold-bloodedly sacrificed. If you remember the articles Dick Roberts wrote in the *Militant* at that time detailing what the plans were, nothing that has happened during these past few years comes as a surprise. The decision then, made in top circles, was to sacrifice hundreds of thousands of human beings in some of the metropolitan centers.

What are the facts about Black unemployment in New York and in the other big American cities? You've heard many different figures. The highest used to be the ones provided by the Urban League. Some people said, well, those are probably a little too high; the Urban League is angry. I think they said 55 percent, maybe 60 percent, of Black youth were unemployed in some of the worst cities.

Well, five days ago a report was released—a government report, not an Urban League report. From the federal government, not from the New York City administration or a state government looking for federal funds. This dealt with youth unemployment, counting everyone from sixteen through nineteen years old, not just those who have not given up finding a job so that they are officially registered as looking for jobs.

This study found that in June 1977, 86 percent of the Black youth in New York City did not have jobs. If that's true, there must be over 90 percent of the Puerto Rican youth of New York in the same plight.

They also reported that 74 percent of white youth do not have jobs. Those are the facts from the federal government on youth unemployment in New York City. New York is not the only city affected with a plague of that kind. In Philadelphia, 72 percent of the youth are unemployed; in Washington, 74 percent; Detroit, 74 percent; Baltimore, 77 percent.

From 1970 to 1976, with the exception only of Houston, youth unemployment in the major cities has systematically risen in spite of economic recoveries. That's the kind of future capitalism offers the vast majority of working-class youth in the big American cities.

This is the time bomb that haunts the ruling class on a world scale. It's the potential explosions they fear, because nothing is settled, nothing is stabilized. In the blackout in New York they jailed 4,500 people. What's going to happen the next time?

We must remember that radicalization is not the same phenomenon as politicalization and organization. It is a prelude to those developments, which still lie down the road for most of these youth. But if you doubt there is radicalization among noncollege youth, you should have been on the streets in New York a few days ago.

Another problem for the rulers was evidenced in New York. When things begin to explode, the "responsible" leaders don't and can't lead. One of the complaints and laments of all the newspapers



"The real 'new majority' is the new majority of the American work force—the young workers, women, the oppressed nationalities. That's where the new leaders will come from."

was—where were the Black leaders? We can tell them. *The future Black leaders were among the masses on the streets!* That's where the real Black leaders were. That's the only place that the leaders of the future are going to be found.

And in New York we saw the hatred and the fear of the rulers toward their victims. Hatred and fear both. You had to read the New York papers day by day to feel the depths that were reached. They began by calling the activists "extremists." They're extremists like some of the unionists. They're extremists like some of the women. And then the rulers just said what they thought, straight out: "They're animals. They're animals." That was their response—dehumanize the victims of their system when those victims take direct action against the exploiters.

'Better active today . . .'

The anti-nuclear power movement that has newly emerged on a large, nationwide scale, can likewise tell us where the radicalization stands. The organizations are often named after creatures such as clams, abalones, and oysters. Unlike capitalists, however, these beings never kill for profits, so that puts them ahead right there.

The rise of the anti-nuclear power movement not only shows another side of the radicalization and the potential of what's coming, but it also exposes the ultimate folly of the profit system and what we face if we don't get rid of it. Under this system what is decisive for every decision is not safety, not future generations' needs, but the profits of the most powerful monopolies. Behind Carter's energy plan was the decision to drive forward to mine more coal and establish more nuclear power plants, regardless of what will happen to future generations or the damage done to the life, limb, and health of current workers.

As part of the privilege of being employed, the profiteers expect the workers to eat, breathe, and be exposed to coal dust, petroleum, coke fumes, benzene, mustard gas variants, vinyl chloride, iron oxide, asbestos, and countless other poisons.

They even publicly admitted the other day that the government can't account for 8,000 pounds of highly enriched uranium and plutonium from the nuclear power plants in this country. 8,000 pounds! It can't be accounted for. You may be carrying some of it in your pocket or in your system.

The anti-nuclear power movement, which on an international scale says, "No nukes" and "Better active today than radioactive tomorrow," is preaching a basic truth. And they're also challenging the right of the capitalist government to make decisions on nuclear energy that can affect human beings for millions of years to come. The anti-nuclear power movement is pointing to a basic law of capitalism—that in its stage of decline, the forces of production are more and more turned into forces of destruction.

Destruction of the workers, destruction of the environment, possibly destruction of humanity. Marx discovered that law, and the anti-nuclear power movement is popularizing it on a vast scale.

Here we run into another striking example of class collaboration. What's good for the bosses is good for the workers—that's what the labor bureaucracy says about the nuclear power industry. More and more workers disagree. And the governor of New Hampshire used against the demonstrators protesting the Seabrook nuclear plant two of New York's epithets: they were "extremists" and "animals." Yes, he even said "animals." Just because they had come to protest, as is their right.

The capitalists and the class collaborationists are wrong. The coming great source of power is not nuclear, but social and political—the power that lies in the capacities of working people. To us this is not just a slogan or a wish. Nuclear power is not the force that will reorganize and expand the wealth of humanity and move us to a new stage of social progress. It cannot, and it will not. There's only one force on earth that can do that. That is the working people, who can accomplish it by taking over all the forces of production and organizing them on a rational basis, developing them for the good of all humanity.

Beginning radicalization

That brings us to the question of the present level of the radicalization in connection with our party's turn. The implications of these developments shouldn't be lost sight of, particularly the implications of the rise of an international anti-nuclear power movement in spite of the great barrage of propaganda about the energy crisis and the energy squeeze of the past four years.

We should note the implications of a little-noticed incident in Korea. When Carter sent the secretary of defense to South Korea a couple of weeks ago, he was handed a petition from seventeen GIs condemning U.S. support to the Park dictatorship. The GIs dismissed as "basic military propaganda" the idea that U.S. troops are in Korea to defend a democratic government. They said, "We believe the people putting their lives on the line for the political decisions have a right to take part in the decision making." They said they were made even more angry by reading about the corruption in Congress, taking bribes from the South Korean CIA.

This, by the way, came from the "new, highly disciplined, nondraftee" army. Are these GIs ready for a new war? Are the other youth they will have to draft ready for a new war? Are the ones in New York who expropriated some of what had been squeezed from them ready to die for Washington in a new war?

What about the Black and Latino populations? Do they accept the idea that you have to live far short of full equality? That discrimination is constitutional? That equality is not the concern of the government? And will they accept being driven back?

Go down the list, item by item, and the answer is no in every case. These people are ready to act on their own behalf, if a lead is given them. That was proven in the gay rights actions. It was proven in New York. It was proven in the antinuclear marches. It is being proven today by the steelworkers on the Mesabi range and the coal miners in West Virginia. All in their different ways.

What about those steelworkers who supported the Sadlowski campaign? What about the militant young miners?

They too are called "extremists." Universally they are condemned as "extremists" while the mine owners act as if they are "animals." Are they just some exception that doesn't count?

We say no. These events signify the beginning of the radicalization of the working class, our class. These things are not exceptions. They may not be widespread today, but they are genuine vanguard expressions of what's coming. They are only a beginning, but it is a beginning of something new in our direct experience. The fight for union democracy, the fight of workers to take over their unions and run them, comes from below. These attempts to fight back will continue in spite of false starts and part-way leaders. And the implications of the process are revolutionary to the core.

As class-collaborationist methods produce fewer and fewer gains and more and more defeats, the hopes and illusions in Carter and the other Democratic representatives of the ruling class will fade. The alternative to the dead end of class collaborationism may not yet be clear, but the readiness to fight for a change is clear.

The Socialist Workers Party is in a preparatory period of explanation, modest growth, and organization—not in a period of ascending mass actions and massive recruitment. But we have to be clear on two things above all. First, that the class collaborationists cannot produce for the masses of people who look to them. The Carters, the Democrats, the courts, cannot give what growing numbers of workers believe they are entitled to. Things will get

worse for them, they will not get better. The rulers' offensive is the great subversive force.

The attacks are going to breed defensive struggles. Some will be misled. Some will go into dead ends. Some will try simply to fight on the economic level. Some will spontaneously erupt into action. Some will be initially leaderless. But in this entire process, new leaders will come forward, open to new ideas, and the struggles will pose new urgent political questions. And in this process a revolutionary party of worker-Bolsheviks will grow and be tested.

Second, we must remember Trotsky's advice to us about American politics. He warned: beware of the confusion regarding the backwardness of the American workers. The fact that there's no mass social-democratic party, no mass Stalinist party, and that they don't dominate and control the labor movement—this has a negative side. It shows the lack of historical political development in the consciousness of the American working class. But that also has its positive side. These reformists do not sit astride the backs of the American workers in addition to the union bureaucracy, and the American workers can act and change *with unexpected speed*. Trotsky understood the peculiar nature of American politics. We do not act as if an explosive change *will* happen tomorrow, but we prepare and organize ourselves because it *can* happen.

The Socialist Workers Party's turn

In the next upsurge of actions, the next deepening wave of the radicalization, the Socialist Workers Party cannot duplicate what we did in the 1960s. We will fail if we try to do so. It's not that what we did was wrong. Everything, basically, was correct, including driving sectarianism, workerism, and opportunism right out of our organization. Without that, we would not be where we are today.

But if we should have the idea we can *simply* repeat our tactics in the 1960s, it will not be enough, and we will fail. Because this next upsurge, this deepening wave, while it will be a politicalization and a radicalization with many characteristics similar to the 1960s, will have at least one essential difference.

From the very beginning, the role of organized labor, the role of the working class, and the fight within the labor movement over its role will be posed. We won't go through what we experienced in the sixties, where for almost a decade the organized labor movement remained on the sidelines in the most burning of national political questions—the fight against the Vietnam War. We know from what is already happening that it will be a combined struggle. Economic questions, social questions, and political questions will all be posed inside the labor movement as well as outside. The work force now has different characteristics.

The real "new majority" is the new majority of the American work force—the young workers, women, the oppressed nationalities. That's where the new leaders will come from.

If this is true—if this period will be different, if the work force is different—then this party must also become different. Not different by being less alert, less political, less mobile, having fewer candidates to express our politics clearly, or being less well organized as a Leninist party. No, all these correct lessons and experiences will be retained.

But it will be different in its accumulation of direct experience in the labor movement and in the movements and organizations of the oppressed. Different in the members and friends we have there, the number and composition of the readers of our press, in our influence, in our knowledge, in our reputation and the trust in which we are held. In the coming wave of the radicalization, this party must likewise become different in class composition from what it was in the 1960s.

If this is true, we must steadily deepen the turn we've begun, taking our politics into industry and into the organizations and communities of the oppressed. Because we will not only have opportunities, tasks, and tests similar to those we had in the earlier phase of the radicalization, but we're going to have additional tasks and tests, truly history-making ones.

We propose that we pursue this course not because we found it in a textbook or because it accords with our wishes, but because we think an honest, scientific, cold-blooded analysis of today's realities tells us that capitalism will create the conditions under which we will eventually win.

If we follow the course we've started on, follow it through to the end, then the day will come when the George Meanys, the Andrew Youngs, the Leonel Castillos, and the Eleanor Smeals will address the majority of the American workers in action—whom they will consider "animals" and "extremists." And they will say smugly, as Andrew Young has said, "But you have nowhere else to go."

And the answer from the workers will be, "Yes we do. We have the revolutionary party of the 'animals' and the 'extremists' to turn to. We know it, we trust it, and its name is the Socialist Workers Party."

Summary

I'd like to speak to the question raised during the discussion concerning the Soviet Union, nuclear weapons, and disarmament. This is not a matter we've just begun to think about. Trotsky taught us our fundamental position, and in his last major work, *In Defense of Marxism*, it's explained thoroughly.

The defense of the Soviet Union is a necessary part of the defense of the world proletariat in the fight for socialism, but it is subordinate to the interests of the advancement of the world proletariat in the international fight for socialism. Of course, that doesn't give you the answer to all specific questions. But it tells you where to start.

We begin with the fact that the capitalist system is inherently expansionist and incurably aggressive. It has an insatiable thirst for profits and is internally driven to expand. This aggressive drive does not characterize the planned nationalized economy of the Soviet Union, in spite of the degeneracy of the leadership. Since World War II, without exception, every escalation in the massive arms race was initiated and driven through by the American ruling class.

There are two sides to the defense of the Soviet Union—the political and the military. The political is by far the most important.

The political defense of the Soviet Union and of all the workers states means, above all, mobilizing and inspiring the popular masses to support the struggles of the proletariat, to defend the conquests of the proletariat, and to organize themselves to do the job that only they can do—disarm the mad bombers in their own country. There is only one force on earth that can disarm American imperialism, and that's the American working class and its allies. No military power of any workers state, healthy or unhealthy, can do the job no matter how mighty it may be.

From that point of view, we oppose everything the Soviet bureaucracy does that stands in the way of the world struggles of the working class or lowers its capacity for conscious collective action. Many things the Soviet bureaucracy does are contradictory. When they defend the Soviet Union against the invasion of a foreign army—as in World War II—that's progressive. The means they employ to do it can be reactionary (for example, chauvinist propaganda, sweeping restrictions of workers' rights, pillage of occupied countries, systematic murders of revolutionaries, and so on). We take both aspects into account in our position.

To judge military moves by the Kremlin and to say no to some of them is not new either. In 1963 the Soviet bureaucracy broke the ban on atmospheric nuclear tests that had been agreed to earlier. The

moment they broke it, the *Militant* came out with an editorial condemning this move by the Soviet bureaucracy. The *Militant* explained that whatever they gained in new bits of technological information was marginal and overwhelmingly lost in the demoralizing effect this had on the world working class, in the edge it gave the imperialist warmakers to cloak themselves in the banner of disarmament, and in the way it disoriented the growing mass sentiment for disarmament in the capitalist world.

The best defense of the Soviet Union is not only to establish and fortify the superiority of the planned economy against the anarchy of capitalism, but to demonstrate the capacity of socialists in power, of a workers state, to expand democracy in a way never experienced under the most progressive capitalism, to make possible a great new flowering of science, literature, art, and creative activity by the great majority of society.

Joseph Hansen in his June 24 *Militant* article on disarmament and defense of the Soviet Union pointed to one course a revolutionary leadership might follow. What if, Joe asked, instead of falling for Carter's move, Brezhnev had upped the ante? What if the Soviet Union had proposed to Carter, let's get rid of all weapons over and above enough to blow each other off the face of the earth? How's that for a starter? Carter never could have accepted that proposal in any way, shape, or form.

How much better that step would have been than the publicity given Brezhnev's refusing Carter's proposals to move forward on disarmament!

Despite their different economic bases, one cannot count on the Soviet bureaucracy any more than the American ruling class to disarm the warmakers and advance toward socialism.

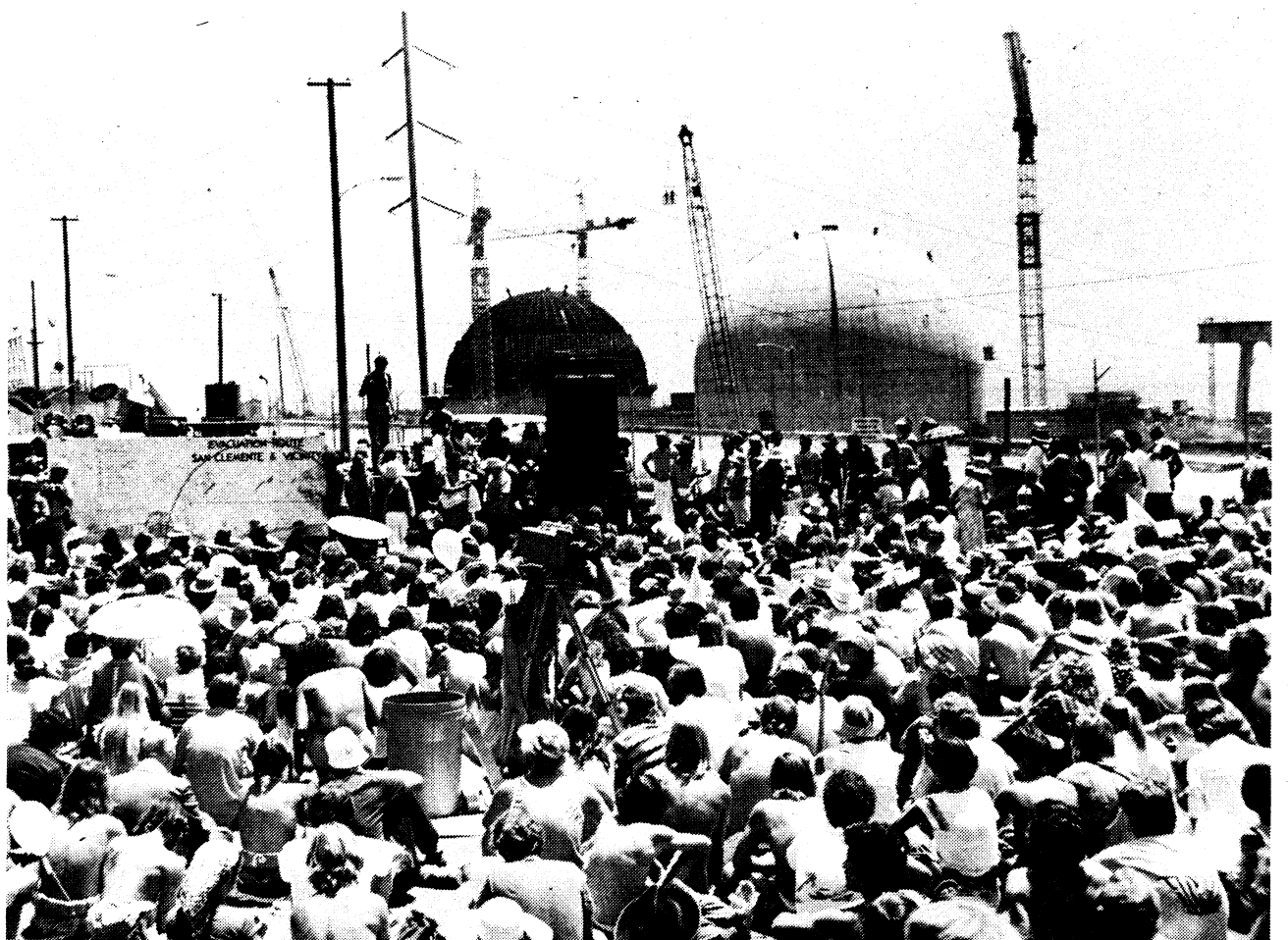
We have held for more than two decades—along with the rest of the Fourth International—the position for the immediate unconditional nuclear disarmament of all the imperialist powers.

We do not advocate this for the Soviet Union. The SWP does not, and the Fourth International does not, insist upon the Soviet Union disarming unilaterally in the face of Washington's arsenal. What we do insist on is explaining how a revolutionary leadership in a workers state would conduct itself on this question. How it would conduct open diplomacy, how it would hold no negotiations on life-and-death matters in secret, and how it would seek to scrap these death-dealing arms as soon as possible instead of engaging in a race with the American ruling class in this madness.

What did Gromyko call Carter the week after the fiasco? He said, "Our partners have been losing their constructive approach." "Our partners." "Our buddies." That's exactly the way the Soviet bureaucrats see the American ruling class. As their partners. Just as the trade-union bureaucrats consider the bosses their partners. Class collaborationists on every level participate in, and reinforce, the

Continued on next page

"The anti-nuclear power movement is pointing to a basic law of capitalism—that in its stage of decline, the forces of production are more and more turned into the forces of destruction. Marx discovered that law, and the anti-nuclear power movement is popularizing it on a vast scale."



Continued from preceding page

madness of capitalism. The Soviet bureaucracy, the U.S. trade-union bureaucracy, are wretched mis-leaders of this kind.

This ties into the nuclear power question. We also have a responsibility to point out exactly what the Soviet bureaucracy does in this field. It drives ahead with the same lack of concern, the same contempt for working people and those who have to live under these conditions, as the American capitalists do. On that level, there's no difference between the two. On that level we solidarize ourselves with those *all over the world* who are fighting to stop the uncontrolled expansion of nuclear power either in weapons or in reactors.

The nuclear question also tells a lot about the real character of the Stalinist movement. The French CP goes around lobbying to increase nuclear power. They stand to the right of the social democrats on this question. The French Stalinists call for maintaining a nuclear striking force under the French military command.

The Italian Communist Party is a great advocate of tariffs. The French Communist Party calls for increased protectionism in agricultural products. Class collaborationism takes you further and further down the road of participating in and reinforcing the madness of capitalist society on every level.

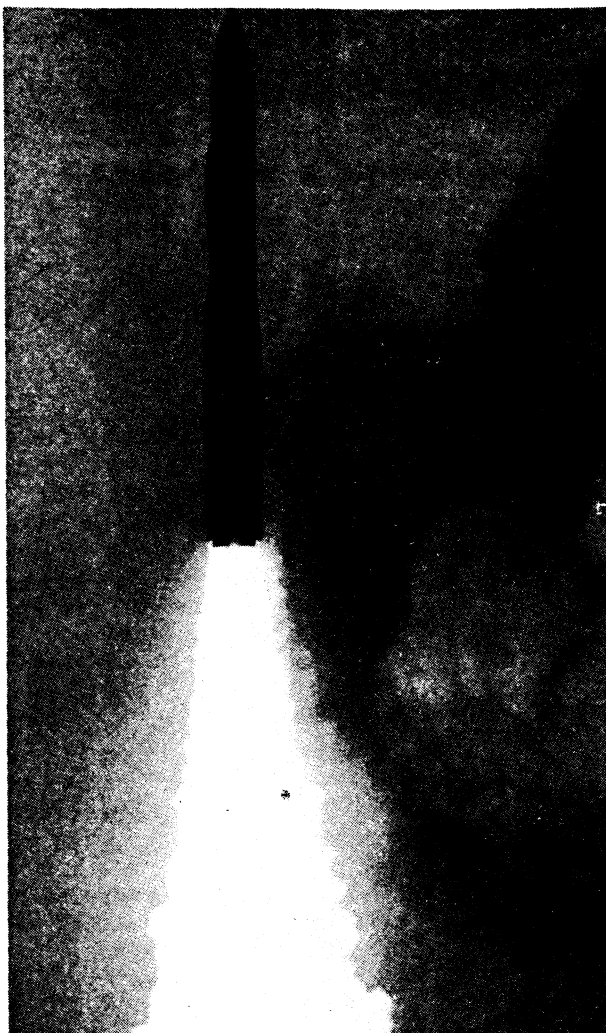
Our essential position on nuclear power is crystal clear. We still need to have more discussion on the issue to reinforce our understanding and analysis.

But some parts of our program are simple. We propose a complete shutdown of the nuclear industry in this country. Nationalization under workers' control of the entire energy sector. Open the books of the corporations to get rid of the fake and the fraud about the energy crisis.

The union bureaucracy talks about a so-called trade off—in return for more jobs some dangerous things are produced. But that's a complete phony. There are *fewer* jobs. The trade off ahead is *fewer* jobs for *fewer* workers under *worse* health-and-safety conditions—let alone what happens to future generations.

This is where the movement against nuclear power and the changes in the labor movement can begin to meet.

Not only are we for closing down all of these inherently unsafe nuclear power plants under capitalism, but we say that under a workers state in this country one of our first acts would be to close down every single one. Close them down, and thereafter initiate full-scale research, organized by the workers who must deal with all these affairs, to find out how



“The capitalist system is inherently expansionist and incurably aggressive. It has an insatiable thirst for profits and is internally driven to expand. Since World War II, without exception, every escalation in the massive arms race was initiated and driven through by the American ruling class.”

to move forward with clean, safe, efficient energy sources. That's simple, that's straightforward, and that's the approach we have to develop, explain, and popularize.

Our position on this issue is very much connected with what we have said on other matters. Two years ago when we adopted *Prospects for Socialism in America* we discussed affirmative action. We must be very clear how we explain matters of this kind. Just like our position on nuclear power, affirmative action is not a position we urge the labor movement to take *in spite of* the fact it means the workers have something to lose. No! To the contrary, the workers will sacrifice most if they *don't* support this position.

Affirmative action is not a moral policy where out of charity white, male workers sacrifice to help female, Black, and Latino workers. The structure and level of wages and working conditions are depressed for the entire working class by discrimination, racism, and sexism. Every wage structure is built from the bottom up, without exception. This affects everyone who works for wages.

The ability of the ruling class to cut back on affirmative action, to cut back on quotas, does great damage to one of the most precious assets of the working class. That's the real expectations of the workers, what they feel they have a right to and what they will fight for.

To the degree that expectations are raised, that morale is strengthened, that battles are won, this strengthens the entire working class. The process accomplishes something that the Soviet bureaucrats can't see, the Communist Party bureaucrats can't see, the trade-union bureaucrats can't see: *it weakens the enemy*. And that enemy is the employer and his government.

This is where we are the exact opposite of the class collaborationists. Unlike Brezhnev, we see no one among the capitalist rulers as our partner. We say everything that weakens the enemy advances the struggle for socialism. That's a *class* position.

The fight for affirmative action, the fight against nuclear power, against the harassment of so-called illegal workers, against the refusal to organize the unemployed by the trade-union bureaucracy—these are *working-class* demands. They will strengthen our class against the enemy class. They will heal divisions that the employers created and utilize to better exploit and oppress us. They will point the way forward toward a program for an independent labor party—one that can fight for the interests of the working class, not collaborate with the ruling exploiters and oppressors.

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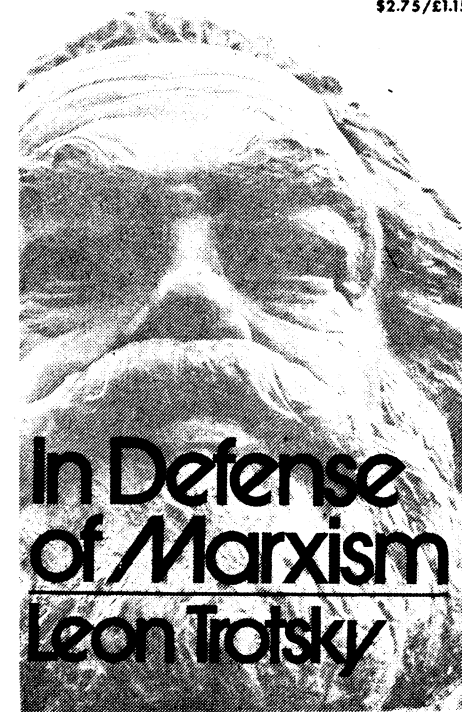
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GROUCHO MARX

"The nickel today is not what it was fifteen years ago. Do you know what this country needs today? A seven-cent nickel. Now why not give the seven-cent nickel a chance? If that works out, next year we can have an eight-cent nickel. Think what that would mean. You could go to a newstand, buy a three-cent newspaper, and get the same nickel back again. One nickel, carefully used, would last a family a lifetime."

This delightful bit of nonsense was delivered by Groucho Marx in the 1930 movie *Animal Crackers*. Groucho died on August 19. He was eighty-six. Together with his brothers Harpo, Chico, and Zeppo, Groucho starred in a series of movie comedies that helped make life more bearable during the 1930s and are still widely enjoyed today—especially by me.

The Marx brothers used slapstick, puns, fractured logic, absurd situations, and irreverent wisecracks, aiming them at audiences that enjoyed seeing the world around them made to look ridiculous. Their movies, along with those of W.C. Fields, were among the first to realize the potential of the "talkies" in comedy.

Governments, cops, and the pretensions of the rich were regular butts of the Marx brothers' humor—along with whatever else could be gotten past the movie censors. The foursome usually played poverty-stricken upstarts trying to con the upper classes out of some of their money.

Although the Marx brothers' comedies were admired by surrealists, and even influenced some absurdist playwrights, the brothers' aim was simply to get laughs by any means necessary.

Writers such as George S. Kaufman, Morrie Ryskind, and S.J. Perelman wrote screenplays for many of the Marx brothers' movies, but Groucho was an inveterate ad-libber who infused his lines with his own caustic personality. His arched eyebrows, angular stance, and loping walk added to the impact of his dry, brittle, high-speed delivery.

Like other comedians, Groucho needed a "straight man." In this case



Harpo, Chico, Zeppo, and Groucho Marx in 'The Cocoanuts'



Groucho Marx and Margaret Dumont in 'Animal Crackers'

she was a "straight woman," the late Margaret Dumont, whose expressiveness and ruffled dignity provided the perfect foil for Groucho in his best movies.

Groucho retired from the movies in 1947. He moved onto television as the master of ceremonies of the popular quiz show, *You Bet Your Life*. Groucho's misanthropic outlook colored his jibes at the often-addled contestants and sometimes makes watching the reruns a little unpleasant. (At other times, of course, this is just what the doctor ordered. I guess it depends on the mood I'm in when I watch it.)

Groucho's social views were generally liberal. He was proud of the antiwar, antiauthoritarian spirit of the 1933 Marx brothers' comedy *Duck Soup*.

He was so opposed to the Vietnam War that he once told an interviewer that Nixon deserved to be assassinated. When then-Attorney General Richard Kleindienst (now a Watergate ex-convict) announced that Groucho might be prosecuted, the comedian wisely backed off from his emotional outburst. Denying that he had made the statement, Groucho said, "I know I could never have said such a thing because I never tell the truth to a reporter."

Although greatly enfeebled by illness in his last years, Groucho kept his capacity for pointed sarcasm and his taste for puns, as attested by numerous interviews and by his brief appearance at the 1976 Academy Awards ceremony.

Groucho Marx was one of the last survivors of a generation of top-flight comedians who began in vaudeville, shifted to radio and films, and ended their careers on television. They included Jack Benny, Ed Wynn, Fred Allen, George Burns and Gracie Allen, and others.

Groucho will be missed, but there is no need to miss the entertaining movies that the Marx brothers helped to create such as *The Cocoanuts*, *Animal Crackers*, *Horsefeathers*, *Duck Soup*, and *A Night at the Opera*.

—Fred Feldman

A Reader's Notes

This week we begin an occasional feature by George Breitman. "A Reader's Notes" will call attention to books and periodicals that may be of interest to "Militant" readers.

The news that there is a new English translation of Karl Marx's *Capital*, Volume 1, is very welcome to one who tried to read it alone in the thirties and managed to finish it in 1951 as part of a six-month study group.

In those days the principal text used was the old Charles Kerr edition reprinted by the Modern Library. This contained the translation by Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling, which was edited by Frederick Engels, Marx's chief collaborator, and published in 1886.

When we had trouble with some passage we would consult the more modern Everyman Library translation by Eden and Cedar Paul, published in 1930. But that didn't always help much. Later, in 1954, another English version was published in Moscow, but that was a revision of Moore-Aveling rather than a full retranslation.

Now we can thank the *New Left Review* in Britain for the production of a new edition in that country (Penguin Books) and in the United States (Vintage Books). It does what Marx himself tried to do when he edited the first French translation: make Volume 1 "more accessible to the reader."

The translator is Ben Fowkes and it is safe to say,

on the basis of comparing several passages with previous translations, that he has done a superlative job. As he explains in a preface, the English language has changed since the nineteenth century; where they said "laborer" we say "worker" today. In addition, he has restored whole sentences omitted by Engels in an effort to simplify meaning. And he has sought, successfully, to do justice to the high literary quality of Marx's German.

That's not all. This edition has an excellent seventy-six-page introduction by Ernest Mandel, the best Marxist economist anywhere, and a leader of the Fourth International. My only regret on reading it was that such a bridge to Marx's masterwork was not available when we first grappled with it.

Another bonus of this edition is its publication, in English for the first time, of a 137-page appendix entitled "Results of the Immediate Process of Production," also introduced by Mandel.

The Vintage paperback sells for \$7.95, which is not cheap. But it's a big book (1,141 pages) as well as a great book in the best edition it has ever had. Even the index is good.

* * *

Those who read Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's anti-Lenin novel, *Lenin in Zurich* (1976), may be interested in a long article, "Solzhenitsyn and Lenin," in

the Summer issue of the Social Democratic magazine *Dissent*.

The author is Boris Souvarine, a founder of the French Communist Party who is now eighty-four years old. He was expelled from the CP for supporting the Russian Left Opposition in 1924 and broke with Trotsky in 1929. In the thirties he wrote the first serious biography of Stalin and broke with Leninism.

Souvarine is an admirer of Solzhenitsyn's literary talents and has had nothing good to say about Leninism for almost half a century. But his sense of scholarship is deeply offended by Solzhenitsyn's reliance on biased and crooked "historical sources" to justify his fictional portrait of Lenin as the fanatical villain, agent of German imperialism, etc. He does a good job of demolishing those sources, on which the novelist's claims to objectivity rest.

Despite that, Souvarine, it seems to this reader, is overly charitable to Solzhenitsyn. He calls the novelist a "victim" of tendentious Communist historiography, says he was "not lucky" in having recourse to anti-Communist writings "filled with errors, inaccuracies, false allegations, and insinuations," and asserts that Solzhenitsyn's "sincerity is beyond question." Is it really beyond question? Is he quite that stupidly innocent?

Dissent has submitted Souvarine's article to Solzhenitsyn for comment. Maybe those questions will be clarified if he accepts the invitation.

...Balanoff hits steel company lies on imports

Continued from back page

have a new crisis we'll have to bail them out of.

"These people don't give a damn about America or American workers, least of all steelworkers," Balanoff said. "All they want is to make a buck, to make a profit, and they don't care what they have to do to get it."

"I'll tell you one thing right off the bat—they won't sucker me for any of this bullshit," the *Daily Calumet* quoted Balanoff as saying.

Balanoff's stance is a sharp break from the position of the USWA international leadership, which for many years has joined in steel company campaigns for import curbs and higher productivity.

For example, USWA President Lloyd McBride held a joint news conference this summer with the president of Jones & Laughlin Steel to denounce imports. McBride blamed erosion of steelworkers' jobs on "unfair trade practices perpetrated by government-owned or government-subsidized steel industries." He added that imports threaten "our national security."

U.S. Steel is trying to draw USWA Local 65 at South Works into just such a joint union-company campaign for the company's demands. Pressure for this was escalated when U.S. Steel announced on August 26 that 1,000 administrative personnel will be laid off at South Works and four other plants in the Chicago-Gary area.

As far as Local 65 members can tell, only some 450 production workers have actually been laid off so far at South Works, although many more have been put on short workweeks.

A related company pressure move is a near-total breakdown of the grievance procedure at South Works. On August 18 all eighteen third-step grievances then pending at the plant were denied by the company.

Union grievance committee members reported at a Local 65 meeting that the attitude of the company representative was rigid. When accused of harassment he replied, "That's right, and that's nothing compared to what's going to happen in the next three months. These people are either going to work or get fired."

Stepped-up company harassment in recent weeks has led to a big increase in the number of grievances over disciplinary suspensions and firings. This increase prompted a meeting August 29 between Local 65 officials and South Works management.

The company apparently showed willingness to review the grievance procedure, while at the same time trying to get Local 65 to join in the company campaign against imports.

Local President John Chico replied that union participation—if any—in the anti-import drive would have to be discussed first by the local.

The Local 65 leadership rejected the company's schemes to seek lower taxes or reduced environmental controls.

On the company's demands for increased productivity and lower absenteeism, the only thing to come out of the union-management meeting was the ambiguous slogan "work smarter, not harder."

At this time there is no agreement among the local grievance committee members on how to deal with the company demands.

Clearly U.S. Steel is not having smooth sailing in this productivity and anti-import drive. The statements by District Director Balanoff reflect a developing resistance within the ranks of the union. There is great skepticism about the proposition that the decline in company profits should be made up through sacrifices by the workers.

The assault on the 8,000 steelworkers at South Works points to the next task of the local union and its leadership. That is to formulate a program to fight in defense of the jobs and working conditions of the membership.

Such a fight will have to include firm resistance to company pressure for job combinations, unsafe conditions, and work not in a person's job description.

To combat the company's propaganda and maintain the unity of the local, a union educational campaign on the fraud of the anti-import drive is badly needed.

Ways must be found to focus the blame for layoffs and the threatened closing squarely where it belongs—on the profit drive of U.S. Steel.

...what iron range strikers are fighting for

Continued from back page

us and tell us we had to withdraw these issues."

Larson showed me a sample of the union strike ballot from last June, listing all unresolved issues. For page after page, issue after issue, the company position is the same: "Not a local issue."

The union did agree, under pressure, to drop a number of demands. When Reserve still refused to bargain seriously, the local membership voted overwhelmingly for a strike. In a final vote on the eve of the strike deadline, the outcome was more than ten to one for strike action.

Larson, forty-two years old, has worked nearly twenty-two years at Reserve Mining Company. Although he had not held major union office before, he was elected local president five years ago and reelected last year. He continues to work in the plant while serving as local president.

Larson was eager to explain the strike issues in his local to the *Militant*. Most of the news media, he maintains, have misrepresented the union's demands as frivolous. "They make it sound as though we're striking for piped-in music in the plants, car washes at the gates, and spring-loaded toilet seats."

One issue here, as throughout the iron range, is the wage gap between workers in the iron ore mines and processing plants and their fellow

union members in basic steel. Because of locally negotiated incentive-pay plans, workers in basic steel earn an estimated sixty to ninety cents an hour more than iron ore workers.

The iron ore workers want an incentive-pay plan to bridge that gap. The company response? "Not a local issue."

Although the incentive-pay demand has gotten the most publicity, Larson said that many other issues are just as important to the workers at Reserve.

"One of the main issues is people's lungs," Larson says. Crushing and grinding taconite (low-grade iron ore) produces great quantities of fine, abrasive dust.

"Some of our dust collectors here are twenty years old or even older," he explains. "Dust falls all over the place—into the shops, onto cars in the parking lot, into areas where people are driving trucks through."

Harold Engelhart, sixty-two years old, has worked at Reserve for twenty-four years. Most of that time he has been fighting for safer conditions. He is currently a member of the union safety committee.

Engelhart explains that the taconite dust is a serious health hazard. It can cause silicosis, a disabling lung disease. Because the asbestos fibers in taconite waste may cause cancer, Reserve has been ordered to stop dumping waste from its Silver Bay, Minnesota, plant into Lake Superior.

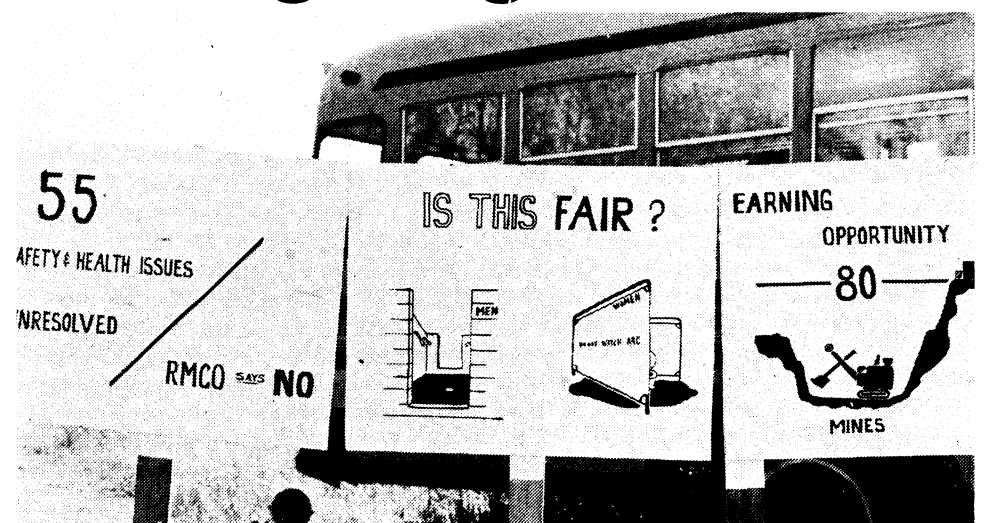
But, Engelhart says, the federal Mine Enforcement and Safety Administration (MESA) has set no maximum standard for asbestos in the air that workers breathe.

In the big open-pit mine itself, Engelhart says, the dust is sometimes so thick that "you can't see the shovel." MESA says the banks of the pit should be watered to keep dust down, but this is only an "advisory" guideline, not mandatory.

The union is demanding new dust collectors, watering of banks and haul roads, and air conditioning in the cabs of the big shovels, trucks, and cranes so workers can close the windows to keep dust out.

Because of the pervasive dust, the workers also want enclosed and air-conditioned lunchrooms. Now, Larson says, "You put your lunch pail down in the morning, and by the time you come back for coffee the table is black with dust."

Even obtaining drinking water is a problem. "We were drinking runoff



Militant/Andy Rose

Picket signs at Reserve Mining Company illustrate local demands. Center sign refers to demand for better toilet, locker, and shower facilities for women. Sign at right cites wage gap between iron mines and steel mills.

water from the mining pit," Engelhart says. "The filters that are supposed to purify the water turned black, and we asked the company to change them. The company said filters would be changed only once a year."

Many other demands also pertain to health and safety—better ventilation, more exhaust fans, better maintenance of equipment, installation of safety features such as roll bars and four-wheel brakes on moving equipment, walkways and railings in dangerous areas. The company answer is standard—"present facilities are adequate."

The gross inadequacy of present facilities, Engelhart notes, is shown by official government statistics. The rate of fatal accidents in hard rock mining—including iron ore—has in several recent years been even higher than the death rate in coal mining.

Enforcement of existing safety standards is a continual problem. "When we ask for monitoring of dust or noise or fumes," Engelhart says, "they monitor, but we can't be present to see what they do."

He tells of one incident when ore cars were being repaired with an automatic air chisel that made so much noise "everybody's ears ached."

At Engelhart's request a foreman took a reading of the noise level. "But he wouldn't let us see it. 'Aren't we entitled to see what you're getting?' I asked.

"This is company policy," he said. "Aren't you out of your work area?"

Reserve has tried several times to

fire Engelhart for being "out of his work area" while checking on unsafe conditions.

The union wants a clear statement on the right of a union representative to accompany company and MESA officials on safety inspections.

Forced overtime is another sore point. "Why should we be compelled to work six or seven days a week when so many people are unemployed in this country?" Engelhart asks.

It should be noted that Reserve Mining Company is owned by Armco Steel and Republic Steel. Company strategy in the iron range strike is being dictated by the top steel corporations in the country.

Larson points out that when the companies sought a court antistrike injunction, they said they would lose \$1 million a day in a strike. If that's true, he says, they could have settled all the outstanding local issues on the iron range for less than the strike has cost.

Yet the companies still refuse to negotiate, insisting the strike is "illegal." Growing numbers of strikers are concluding that the companies want to starve them into submission and teach them a lesson for having dared to stand up to the steel trust.

"Maybe they [the companies] want to take over the whole damn country, I don't know," Larson says.

But the workers at Reserve—and across the iron range—are organized and determined. With active support from other steelworkers and the rest of the labor movement, they can defeat this corporate assault and win gains that will inspire all working people.



Militant/Andy Rose

BILL LARSON

'Fate in hands of new generation'

Strike truce lets miners assess state of union

By Dennis Boyer

MORGANTOWN, W. Va.—United Mine Workers District 32 in northern West Virginia has seen its share of strike activity in 1977. Safety issues sparked several walkouts in February and April. Then this summer local miners joined the national protest against medical benefit cutbacks.

This latest strike involved half of the union's 175,000 working members. Many strikers accepted a sixty-day truce proposed by the UMWA executive board near the end of August. But two weeks later, some 10,000 miners were still on strike.

Most miners in this area are currently back at work. The situation is fluid, though. At several mines, night shifts have reported to work, only to decide to pull out later.

The dominant opinion among miners and their neighbors here seems to be that the strike could resume at the end of the sixty days. The UMWA international leadership has pledged to terminate the contract at that time if the health cuts are not restored.

The cuts mean that miners and their families have to pay up to \$500 a year for medical care. Before, the UMWA health and retirement fund paid all medical bills. The fund is financed by royalties paid by the mineowners on hours worked and coal mined.

Many of the rank and file in this area are inclined to give UMWA officials some time to work on the problem and at the same time give themselves a breather. Yet most are pessimistic about an early solution.

It is safe to say that miners are dissatisfied with all levels of their

union leadership, the majority of whom opposed the wildcat but proposed little to solve its root cause.

The fact that health benefits so important to miners' survival have become a political football angers many. "Besides his paycheck, that medical card is the best benefit a miner's got," commented a miner's wife.

One miner who believes the blame for the cuts should be placed on the coal operators is Bob Reagan, who works at Federal Number 2 mine in Blacksville. "Some miners have been sidetracked into a campaign directed against the low-level officials who bungled the health and welfare fund," explains Reagan.

He adds that much of the instability of the fund is caused by the coal operators' failure to make timely payment of royalties as required by the contract.

UMWA activists see an urgent need to counter the antiunion offensive undertaken by the coal companies. Like Reagan, they would prefer to end squabbles within the union and focus on economic and safety issues.

Some miners are talking about relations with other unions, aware that they will need the support of other segments of labor for the contract fight. The contract will expire December 6 unless terminated earlier.

This discussion has included the possibility of formal ties with other unions as one solution to the UMWA leadership crisis. Some are reconsidering AFL-CIO affiliation, although the last UMWA convention rejected the idea.

A few miners who eye "stability" at any cost are looking toward the United Steelworkers. And a number of miners, impressed by organizing efforts in this



UMW Journal/Earl Dotter

state's chemical plants, are talking about the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union.

"I think most miners want our union to make a comeback," said one Black miner. "But," he continued, "the talk of impeachment of [UMWA President Arnold] Miller or recall of the international executive board shows how desperate our folks are."

Other District 31 miners wonder if their leadership is strong enough to fight off encroachment by the raiding employer-linked outfit, the Southern Labor Union.

At this stage UMWA members in this area have more questions than answers. Efforts are underway to resurrect a rank-and-file newsletter published during the spring strikes. Workers from different mines are communicating for the first time since the Miners for Democracy movement disbanded in 1973 after Miller's reform slate took office.

The recent strike resulted in a widespread expectation that future problems will be dealt with by district-wide mass meetings. One union activist stated his belief that it would be hard for the leadership to go back to closed-door meetings.

Another gain may be the awakening of the local leaderships. Many seem to have realized that only the rank and file can save the union from its enemies.

One recently elected district official told me, "The fate of the UMWA, and of West Virginia labor, is about to be placed in the hands of a new generation. If they can meet this test, they can beat anything."

Poll finds public isn't buying 'energy crisis'

By Dick Roberts

In some high-level suite in an office building towering over New York City about two years ago, I'm convinced, Jimmy Carter raised his right hand before the assembled oil executives and other would-be backers of his forthcoming campaign and pledged: "If elected, I will convince the American people that there is an energy shortage."

He is having a hard time.

A nationwide *New York Times*/CBS-TV poll reported August 31, that the majority of American people don't believe Carter. The pollsters asked: "President Carter has told us that we are running out of oil and natural gas. Do you think that things are as bad as the president said?"

Only 33 percent of those interviewed answered "yes, as bad." Fully 57 percent replied "no, not as bad."

To the question: "Do you think that the shortage of energy we hear about is real, or are we just being told there are shortages so oil and gas companies can charge higher prices?" 38 percent believed the shortages are real; 49 percent believed we are "just being told."

Asked whether energy or the high cost of living is the greater problem, 58 percent of all those asked cited living costs as the greater problem.

Asked if they approved of allowing natural gas companies to increase prices to finance more exploration, 59 percent said no. Asked if they thought it would be fair or unfair to increase gasoline taxes until most people drive less, an overwhelming 66 percent thought it would be unfair.

The pollsters also broke down their results by income and educational levels. Without exception, the higher the income levels and the number of years of school completed, the more people believed Carter.

According to the poll, "Only 26 percent of the respondents lacking high school diplomas believed there was a shortage, against 58 percent of the college graduates. Only 26 percent of those without high school diplomas thought the situa-



tion was as bad as the president said, compared with 50 percent of those with college degrees.

"One seemingly obvious conclusion," *Times* correspondent Anthony J. Parisi wrote, "might be that the affluent—those with greater stakes in the system—would more readily cooperate with energy solutions than deprived Americans."

The skepticism of working people about the government's claims of energy shortages is well founded.

The very week last April that Carter announced his energy program, citing a CIA study to prove that world energy sources are drying up:

- The *Wall Street Journal* declared on its front page: "CIA's warning of future oil shortages was a cooked-up job. . . . 'Ex-CIA chief Schlesinger got together with some of his old buddies and put out this thing as a PR effort' says one official."

- The April 21 *Washington Post* revealed that the CIA "puts the remaining reserves in Saudi Arabia at 170 million. But Saudi government

officials privately estimate their reserves at about 300 billion barrels."

- The April 25 *New York Daily News* cited United Nations energy experts who "reported that the world probably has enough of both [gas and oil] for another hundred years."

More recently columnist Jack Anderson challenged one of the most sacred myths of the energy crisis. Anderson provided evidence that in the 1973 world oil crisis and Arab boycott the sharp price rise of world oil originated in Washington, not in the Middle East.

The well-known columnist claimed that "Saudi Arabia, the world's largest oil producer, wanted to hold down prices."

The Saudis appealed to Kissinger to intervene against the shah of Iran who was pushing for higher prices. The Saudis "realized that Washington had the leverage to restrain the shah of Iran. For the shah literally owed his throne to the United States. . . ."

Despite repeated Saudi appeals, Washington refused to intervene.

This convinced the Saudi government that Washington itself perpetrated the rise in oil prices.

In a hitherto secret letter to the U.S. State Department, Saudi oil minister Sheik Yamani declared: "I would like you to know that there are those amongst us who think that the U.S. administration does not really object to an increase in oil prices. There are even those who think that you encourage it for obvious political reasons and that any official position taken to the contrary is merely to cover up this fact."

Anderson's sensational challenge to White House oil policy was quietly ignored by Carter. But the president has not been able to overcome the deep distrust of his own energy policies.

In the CBS-TV show reporting the *Times*/CBS poll, Carter was asked to prove there is an energy shortage and that higher prices are necessary to help meet the shortage.

The president replied, "This is a difficult thing to prove."

Calendar

ALBUQUERQUE

WHAT DIRECTION FOR THE CHICANO MOVEMENT TODAY? Special forum for Mexican Independence Day. Speakers: Gloria Chavez, SWP; Isabel Blea, Raza Unida Party candidate for governor; others. Thurs., Sept. 15, 7:30 p.m. Student Union Bldg. UNM Room 231D. Donation: \$1. Ausp: YSA & SWP. For more information call (505) 256-1796.

CHAPEL HILL, N.C.

PANAMA: WHAT DOES THE TREATY MEAN? Speaker: George Dolph, SWP. Thurs., Sept. 15, 7:30 p.m. Place to be announced. Ausp: YSA. For more information call (919) 967-5425.

LOUISVILLE, KY.

PICKET LINE FOR ABORTION RIGHTS. Demand that Louisville's board of aldermen stop attempts to close the abortion clinic at General Hospital. Picket in front of city hall Thurs., Sept. 15, 5-7 p.m. Ausp: Reproductive Freedom League. For more information call (502) 451-6290.

ST. PAUL, MINN.

THE DANGER OF NUCLEAR POWER: SEABROOK AND AFTER. Speakers: Lois Gertz, Northern Sun Alliance; Steve Gadler, Minnesota Pollution Control Agency; Glenn Boatman, SWP. Fri., Sept. 16, 8 p.m. Weyerhaeuser Chapel basement, McAllister College (on Grand Ave.). Donation: \$1. Ausp:

Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 222-8929.

SAN ANTONIO

THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN MEXICO TODAY. Speakers: Lupe López, SWP; Mexican student activist; others. In Spanish with English translation. Fri., Sept. 16, 8 p.m. 1317 Castroville Rd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (512) 432-7625.

NATIVE AMERICANS & THE STRUGGLE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS. Speaker: Lehman Brightman. Fri., Sept. 23, 7:30 p.m. Our Lady of the Lake University, Providence Room. Ausp: Student Coalition Against Racism. For more information call (512) 734-2285.

WHICH WAY FOR THE CHICANO MOVEMENT?

Speaker: Peter Camejo, SWP. Spanish translation. Fri., Sept. 30, 8 p.m. 1317 Castroville Rd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (512) 432-7625.

SAN DIEGO

NUCLEAR ENERGY: THREAT TO HUMAN LIFE. Speakers: Steve Buckley, Friends of Abalone Alliance; Brian Rittler, San Onofre Direct Action. Fri., Sept. 16, 8 p.m. 1053 15th St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 234-4630.

TACOMA, WASHINGTON

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN POTLUCK DINNER. Speaker: Dave Zilly, SWP candidate for mayor. Refreshments and dancing. Sat., Sept. 17, 6:30 p.m. 902 S. 8th St., apt. A. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (206) 627-0432.

clock back to 1974 for minority teachers.

In May, CPAC asked the union's support to ensure that "should layoffs become inevitable, we will, in the strongest possible fashion, urge Judge Garrity not to allow Black and other minority teachers to bear a disproportionate amount of the burden."

The Black Teachers Caucus of the BTU, noting the way in which the school committee had sabotaged the Black teacher hiring order, also wrote the union proposing a policy of giving Black provisionals permanent status. This measure would partially rectify the school committee's abuses and protect minority teachers from suffering disproportionately in the event of layoffs.

The union responded to these appeals by stating it adhered to the policy of strict seniority.

In a city where minority children are now a 53 percent majority of the school population, and where prodesegregation Black and white parents are the only ones fighting for better schools, the policy of the union leadership rejects the only possible strategy to win community support against severe cutbacks.

Last spring's BTU-CPAC campaign to reduce class size shows the alternative strategy the union could follow. By taking up the concerns of all its members, including minority teachers and aides, the union could fight side by side with other public employees and with the Black and Puerto Rican communities against the budget cutters of both the Democratic and Republican parties.

...conf.

Continued from page 7

possible to hold the conference on the campus. Both conference organizers and OLL student leaders felt the site was the best in San Antonio. OLL's Thiry Auditorium comfortably seats more than 1,400 people, and space for workshops is also available. Half of the students are Chicano, and the campus is located in the heart of San Antonio's Chicano community.

In early August the Student Association, by an eight-to-one vote, approved the following motion: "To go on record as sponsoring . . . the Chicano-Latino

Conference on Immigration and Public Policy . . . and that meeting facilities here on the OLLUSA campus be made available."

The use of facilities was approved, and the forms were signed. Conference organizers announced that the site had been confirmed and printed thousands of posters with "Our Lady of the Lake" prominently displayed.

Then university President Gerald Burns returned from a vacation and vetoed holding the conference at OLL.

"[Burns] says he does not agree with some of the speakers who will be at the conference," explained Student Association President López in a letter calling on students to attend the September 1 debate.

During his presentation at the debate, López said that the university president objected to Zavala County Judge José Angel Gutiérrez's views on immigration. Gutiérrez played a major role in getting the idea for the conference off the ground and has been invited to be one of the guest speakers.

Sister Madlyn backed off from the administration's hard-line position somewhat, claiming the administration did not know that the Student Association was sponsoring the campus event. But she insisted that if the conference were held on campus, it could not be "political." She said all points of view had to be represented.

López replied that a wide spectrum of speakers—from Judge Gutiérrez to Immigration Commissioner Leonel Castillo—were being invited.

Later that day López reported on the debate to a meeting of the coalition organizing the conference. Carlos González of the OLL El Camino club then explained the students' next steps. "We all stuck with our August 3 decision to hold the conference at OLL. We should go more public with a rally and public demonstration."

Conference coordinator Mario Compeán proposed that the coalition support the students, and this was passed unanimously. Student leaders are asking that telegrams of protest be sent to: Gerald Burns, President, Our Lady of the Lake University, 411 Southwest Twenty-fourth Street, San Antonio, Texas 78285. Copies of protest letters should be sent to: International Committee on Immigration and Public Policy, 1927 West Commerce, San Antonio, Texas 78807.

the Raza Unida Party, are needed."

La Raza Unida Party, an independent Chicano party, has led Crystal City's fight against the gigantic hike in natural gas rates.

Camejo also called for protests against the rate hikes and "victimizations of the poorest people, especially Chicanos and Blacks."

Camejo's remarks were broadcast over Spanish-language radio and television stations. Articles also appeared in the San Antonio *Express* and Houston *Post*.

...Boston

Continued from page 4

are still only 13.5 percent of the teaching staff.

Figures in an April study by the Citywide Coordinating Council (CCC) show that of the school committee's initial projection of 300 layoffs of provisional teachers—if carried out by strict seniority—thirty percent would be Black teachers. This would set the

New from Pathfinder

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by Olga Rodríguez

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Pathfinder

Back-to-school time?

It won't be for many Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican students if the Supreme Court approves the *Bakke* decision outlawing special-admissions programs in the University of California system.

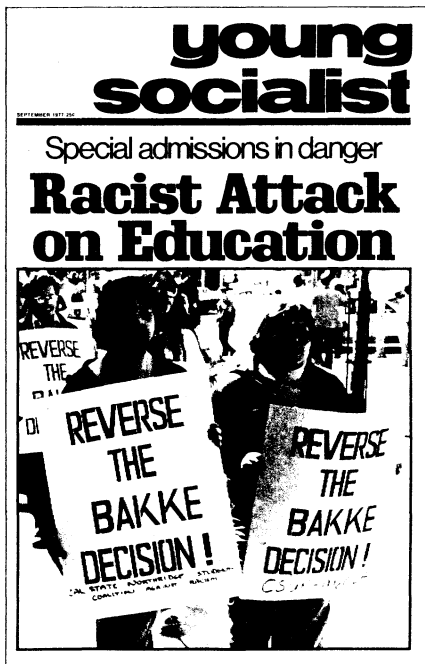
The cover story in this month's *Young Socialist* explains the threat the *Bakke* decision poses to special-admissions programs everywhere. It refutes arguments that label these programs as 'reverse discrimination.'

Also in this issue, a Kent State student reports on opposition to the administration's plans to build a gymnasium on the site where four students were killed during an antiwar demonstration there in 1970. Subscribe now and get this month's issue free.

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Steel union leader blasts layoff threat

Balanoff hits company lies on imports

By Jack Marsh

CHICAGO—Jim Balanoff, director of United Steelworkers of America District 31, has blasted U.S. Steel's threat to close its South Works plant here as a "scare tactic and blackmail plot to stampede the steelworkers union into supporting trade restrictions."

The 8,000 employees at South Works were informed in late August that the mill might be closed. Edward Smith, U.S. Steel vice-president in charge of

Jack Marsh is a member of United Steelworkers of America Local 65 at U.S. Steel's South Works.

operations, called South Works a "marginal facility" that "can't cover its own fixed costs."

U.S. Steel executives say that "unfair" competition from imported steel, especially from Japan, is the main reason for the "acute financial squeeze." They call on the union and individual workers to join in a pressure campaign to demand that the government impose tariffs or quotas to restrict imports.

U.S. Steel has additional demands. "We need the help of the union in increasing productivity," Smith said.

"We are calling on leaders at the local level, the state level, and the national level to trim our environmental costs," said another U.S. Steel official.

Steel executives assert that pollution controls are too expensive to install on the antiquated equipment at South Works, which began operation in 1882. They also say the corporation is forced to pay unfairly high taxes.

Balanoff, who was elected director of the Chicago-Gary district last February on the Steelworkers Fight Back slate headed by Ed Sadlowski, has flatly rejected the contentions of the



DISTRICT DIRECTOR JIM BALANOFF: "They are holding 8,000 steelworkers hostage."

company. He says that the source of the American steel companies' problems is not imports but their own economic policies—notably their repeated price increases.

The union leader's statements were quoted extensively in the August 27 and August 29 issues of the South Chicago *Daily Calumet*.

"The steel companies were able to live off the fat of the world between 1945 and 1965 because of the destruction of competitive industries during the war," Balanoff said. "Now the chickens have come home to roost, and the steel industry is trying to make us pay for their crisis, their profits. . . ."

"They are holding 8,000 steelworkers hostage so we'll get on the stick and pressure our legislators about tariffs. But the minute they get these tariffs, they raise the prices again and we'll

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How to defend jobs

The giant steel corporations of this country have launched an offensive to boost their profits at the expense of working people at home and abroad. The latest attack is U.S. Steel's threat to close South Works and dump 8,000 employees onto the jobless lines in Chicago.

U.S. Steel demands that the steelworkers union join a company campaign to:

- Restrict steel imports;
- Lower business taxes;
- Weaken pollution controls;
- Increase productivity.

Steelworkers District 31 Director Jim Balanoff has correctly condemned the company's threats as "blackmail." U.S. Steel aims to use the specter of unemployment to terrorize steel-

An editorial

workers into accepting speedup, unsafe conditions, and job combinations (that is, fewer people doing the same work). It also wants the union to share responsibility for the company's anti-working-class policies. The company program would mean:

- *higher prices* if import curbs are tightened;
- *cutbacks in social services* if corporate taxes are reduced;
- *dirtier air and water* if pollution standards are relaxed.

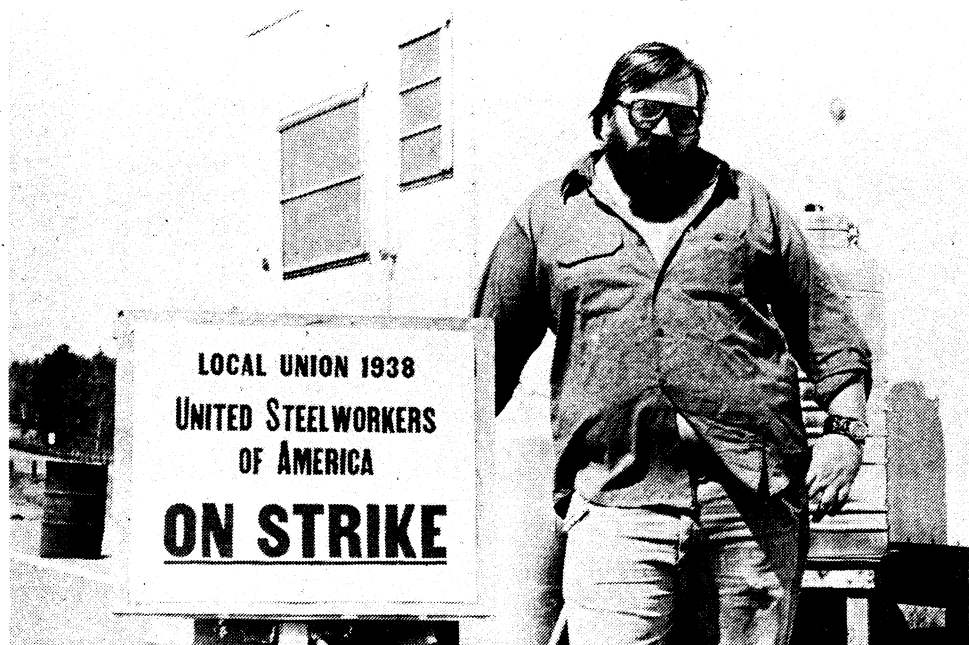
All this so that U.S. Steel—which says its current profit rate of about \$1 million a day is too low—can make more money.

The problem is not just with U.S. Steel. And the problem is not just in Chicago. A week earlier, Bethlehem Steel announced it was laying off 7,300 workers and closing facilities in Lackawanna, New York, and Johnstown, Pennsylvania. Wheeling-Pittsburgh Steel says it may close a plant in Monessen, Pennsylvania, rather than comply with air pollution standards.

While pretending to be concerned about the jobs of employees threatened with layoff, the steel corporations are refusing even to discuss demands of 18,000 striking iron ore workers in

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What iron range strikers are fighting for



Militant/Andy Rose

Picket at U.S. Steel's Minntac plant in Mountain Iron, Minnesota.

By Andy Rose

BABBITT, Minn.—"How could they be so stupid as to think they could horsewhip our people into abandoning our local issues?" demands Bill Larson, president of United Steelworkers of America Local 4757.

The 1,300 members of Local 4757 at Reserve Mining Company here are among the more than 18,000 iron ore workers in northern Minnesota and Michigan who have been on strike since August 1.

Larson shakes his head angrily as he recalls Reserve's bargaining tactics—if you can call it bargaining. From the time talks started last winter the company refused to budge on issues of working conditions, safety, health, and other local practices that the union members considered vital.

Under the Experimental Negotiating Agreement signed by former

USWA President I.W. Abel in 1973, the union gave up the right to strike over industry-wide, contractual issues. Local unions are supposed to have the right to bargain and strike over local issues.

But Reserve—along with the other companies on the Mesabi Iron Range—tried to use the ENA to stonewall local negotiations. "They earmarked our critical local issues as 'contract issues' and refused to negotiate them," Larson explains.

"They think that for \$150 they bought our bodies and souls," he says, referring to the \$150 bonus steelworkers are paid each time the ENA is renewed.

Larson explains that after a new three-year national steel contract was signed last April, Reserve would not even meet with the local until June 7. "Then they just continued to harass

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