

THE MILITANT

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

Stop steel layoffs!

Profit drive threatens jobs, environment

By Andy Rose

YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio—A major steel plant closed. Five thousand workers "terminated." And fear, anger, and confusion spread through this grimy steel-based city.

Fear that more jobs are in jeopardy.

Anger that the company has so casually blighted thousands of lives.

Confusion about who is to blame and what—if anything—can be done.

On September 19 Youngstown Sheet & Tube announced the shutdown of nearly all operations at its Campbell Works here. Orders previously handled at the seventy-seven-year-old plant will be transferred to the company's more modern Indiana Harbor Works near Chicago.

The shutdown has proceeded swiftly. Already the last three open-hearth furnaces have been closed, one of two blast furnaces blown out, and the blooming mill silenced. Already 900 steelworkers are jobless. The remainder will be fired over the next three or four weeks.

Youngstown Sheet & Tube is also closing some operations at its Brier Hill plant here, firing another 100 employees. U.S. Steel has announced 200 layoffs at its Youngstown plant. In southern Ohio, Armco Steel announced

the layoff of more than 600 workers at its Middletown plant.

The new basic steel contract signed last April was supposed to enhance "job security." Steel union officials boasted they had won a \$300-a-month pension supplement in the event of plant shutdowns—at least for certain high-seniority workers.

But the steel companies insist this provision does not take effect until next January and that the new benefits will not apply to the thousands of workers now losing their jobs.

The companies are using the firings to panic steelworkers and whip up support for their political demands:

- Greater restrictions on imports.
- Exemption from clean air and water laws.
- New tax breaks to raise profits.
- Government subsidies to modernize aging plants.
- An end to criticism of price increases.

State and local politicians of both the Democratic and Republican parties are falling over themselves in their rush to "help the industry."

Youngstown Mayor Jack Hunter ordered the city's law director to work with the corporations to overturn fed-

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Steel extortion plot

When a person on the street puts a gun to your head and says, "Your money or your life," it's called robbery.

When a steel corporation commits the same crime, it's called "free enterprise."

Today the livelihoods of thousands of steelworkers and their families are threatened by layoffs and plant closings. Why? The corporations blame "unfair" competition from imported steel,

An editorial

"unreasonable" pollution-control standards, and government "interference" to hold down prices.

The truth is that steelworkers are the victims of a multi-billion-dollar extortion scheme. In the name of "saving jobs," the steel corporations demand that workers join a campaign to restrict imports, lower business taxes, weaken pollution controls, and increase productivity.

These measures to boost corporate profits are anti-working-class on every count.

Import restrictions will mean higher prices and lower real wages for all workers.

Business tax breaks will mean cutbacks in social services or

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Deportations and the Chicano Movement

Join the fight to overturn 'Bakke'

Socialist candidate backs protests

The following is a statement by Diane Sarge, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Houston. Sarge is a member of United Steelworkers of America Local 1742.

As the U.S. Supreme Court prepares to hear arguments in the *Bakke v. California* case, the angry voices of Blacks, Chicanos, students, women, and trade unionists are growing louder. Our demand—"Overturn the *Bakke* decision!"—is spreading across the country.

The issues involved make *Bakke* the most important civil rights case in decades. Did Allan Bakke, a white male, suffer "reverse discrimination" when the University of California's Davis Medical School refused to admit him as a student? Is the school's special admissions program for students of oppressed nationalities a threat to equal rights?

The California Supreme Court says "Yes."

We say "No—defend affirmative action!"

On October 3 and 8, nationwide protests demanding reversal of the *Bakke* decision are taking place.

These anti-Bakke protests, initiated by the National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision, are an important step forward in the struggle for affirmative action. As a socialist, a steelworker, and a woman, I urge full support to these actions.

The gathering momentum for these protests is an inspiration for all those suffering under the blows of the Carter administration, the courts, Congress, and the big-business interests they represent.

Like the attacks on school desegregation, the assaults on abortion rights, the antiworker offensive of the steel and mining bosses, the attacks against undocumented workers, and the antigay campaign of bigotry, the *Bakke* ruling is part of the

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SARGE

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THE MILITANT

VOLUME 41/NUMBER 37
OCTOBER 7, 1977
CLOSING NEWS DATE—SEPT. 28

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Published weekly by the Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: Editorial Office (212) 243-6392; Business Office (212) 929-3486. Southwest Bureau: 1250 Wilshire Blvd., Suite 404, Los Angeles, California 90017. Telephone: (213) 482-3184. Washington Bureau: 1424 16th St. NW, #701-B, Washington, D.C. 20036. Telephone: (202) 265-6865.

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscriptions: U.S., \$15.00 a year, outside U.S., \$20.50. By first-class mail: U.S., Canada, and Mexico: \$42.50. Write for surface and airmail rates to all other countries.

For subscriptions airmailed from New York and then posted from London directly to Britain and Ireland: £2.00 for ten issues, £4.50 for six months, £8.50 for one year. Posted from London to Continental Europe: £2.50 for ten issues, £6.00 for six months, £11.50 for one year. Send banker's draft or international postal order (payable to Pathfinder Press) to Pathfinder Press, 47 The Cut, London SE1 8LL, England. Inquire for air rates from London at the same address.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

AND STAY OFF THE PILL: Pope Paul told an assembly of religious worshippers September 17 that too many Catholics concern themselves too much with social, instead of religious, questions.

CATHOLICS IGNORING POPE: Ninety-four percent of Catholics using birth control use methods forbidden by the Church, the latest national fertility study says. And 76 percent of Catholic couples use some form of birth control, compared with 80 percent of non-Catholics.

The figures are for 1975, and show a sharp increase over 1970.

A mere 6 percent of Catholic women use the rhythm method of birth control, the only one with the papal seal of approval.

Twenty-six percent of Catholic women using contraception have relied on sterilization, as against 33 percent of

Bulletin

As we go to press, we have just received word that Fernando Sánchez, a member of the Argentine Trotskyist group Política Obrera, has been kidnapped by men claiming to be members of the armed forces.

Sánchez, a thirty-year-old shop steward in a metal factory, had been arrested in May 1975 and was jailed without trial for three months.

The United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) is asking that telegrams protesting the kidnapping and requesting information on Sánchez's whereabouts be sent to the Argentine government: General Jorge Videla, Casa Rosada, Buenos Aires, Argentina. Copies should be sent to USLA, 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10003.

non-Catholics.

College-educated Catholic women were more likely to use the rhythm method than to be sterilized, the study found.

Among women with less than a college education, a higher proportion of Catholics than non-Catholics have been sterilized.

TEACHERS JAILED IN STRIKE: As of September 22, thirty-three teachers from Franklin, Massachusetts, were in jail for contempt of court. Judge John Greaney has threatened more sanctions, including fining individual teachers. The teachers union, the Franklin Education Association, is being fined \$15,000 for each day of the strike.

On September 16, 112 teachers were arrested and charged with trespassing, after picketing on school property.

The strike began after a majority of the FEA, which represents all the district's teachers, rejected the school committee's last offer.

At issue in the strike are layoffs, length of the school year, more preparation time for elementary school teachers, class size, and wages.

FLORIDA STILL THREATENS TO KILL PRISONER: A federal judge upheld Florida's death penalty law September 23, giving the state a green light to execute John Spinkellink after noon on September 30. However, the death warrant signed by Gov. Reubin Askew expired at midnight on September 24, and Askew will be out of the state until about October 9. Only the governor can sign a death warrant.

GOV'T HIKES MEDICARE COSTS: The Carter administration has ordered increased in the fees Medicare recipients must pay out of their own pockets for hospital care.

Medicare recipients—mostly Social Security retirees—must now pay \$124 for the first sixty days of hospital care, \$31 a day for the next thirty days, and \$62 a day after that.

The average pensioner gets \$222 a month from Social Security.

The new rates require Medicare recipients to pay \$144 for the first sixty days, \$36 a day for the next thirty days, and \$72 a day after that.

The Department of Health, Education and Welfare announced that the rate increases, which will take effect next year, will mean that patients will pay almost \$900 million more themselves.

TIP FOR THE UNEMPLOYED: The city of Chicago is offering a one-dollar bounty for each dead rat.

COURT REVOKES RUSSELL MEANS'S BAIL: The South Dakota Supreme Court revoked American Indian Movement leader Russell Means's bail September 12 be-

cause, the judges ruled, Means had violated the conditions of the bail.

The Native American activist was granted bail after conviction on phony rioting charges in 1975 on the condition that he virtually sever his ties with AIM, of which he was a founder.

The court ruled three to two that a meeting Means participated in between Native Americans and police, aimed at preventing violent attacks on Native Americans, was a violation of the rule that he have nothing to do with AIM.

The state's attorney said the meeting helped prevent violence, but South Dakota Attorney General William Janklow used it as a pretext to get Means's bail revoked.

One of the dissenting judges said the bail condition was a violation of Means's First Amendment rights "to be a participant in all legal activities of a legal organization."

Means was in Switzerland at the time of the decision. His attorney noted that the court had failed to issue a warrant for his arrest.

FIVE FINED FOR LEAFLETING: Five people were fined \$600 for handing out leaflets exposing the FBI's "dirty tricks" at a speech by bureau Director Clarence Kelley. The speech, part of a "Citizens Crusade Against Crime," was delivered at Muhlenberg College in Allentown, Pennsylvania, March 1976.

The five have appealed.

The prosecution case was such an obvious violation of the First Amendment that an assistant district attorney assigned to the case tried to get the charges dismissed.

However, the trial judge announced that the case was a simple matter of trespassing and had nothing to do with the First Amendment.

ACTIONS SEEK ASYLUM FOR HAITI REFUGEES: Two picket lines September 22 in New York City drew public attention to U.S. complicity with dictator Jean-Claude Duvalier's continuing violations of human rights in Haiti and to the plight of some 2,000 Haitian refugees who have fled to the United States in the past five years.

One picket, at the Haitian Tourist Information Bureau, drew 50 people, while 125 turned out for a picket at the Haitian consulate.

Both protests were organized by the Committee for the Defense of Human Rights in Haiti (KODDPA).

KODDPA also held a September 25 conference on the political situation in Haiti. —Arnold Weissberg

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The fight to reverse the Bakke decision is a critical fight to preserve the gains won by the civil rights movement and the women's movement in the past fifteen years. Keep up with the struggle by reading the Militant every week.

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Protests yield results in Blanco case

State Dep't okays visa; Immigration to decide

By José G. Pérez

After months of extraordinary delays, the State Department recommended September 23 that Peruvian peasant leader Hugo Blanco be allowed to visit the United States. The case is now before the Justice Department's Immigration and Naturalization Service for a final decision.

The recommendation came only two weeks after sponsors of a three-month U.S. speaking tour by Blanco launched a campaign of protest messages and telegrams demanding that Americans

be allowed to hear Blanco.

Lloyd Dewitt, Public Services Division chief of the State Department's Visa Office, told the *Militant* September 26 that a telegram had been sent to the Immigration and Naturalization Service urging that Blanco be given a "waiver of ineligibility" to receive a visa.

Without as much as a hearing, the State Department had branded Blanco unfit to enter the United States under sections of a 1952 thought-control law, the McCarran Act.

Dewitt told the *Militant* he did not know what criteria were used in reaching the decision. "It was made by more than one bureau," he explained. "... As far as I know there was no opposition."

Dewitt said the decision came now because long-awaited information from the U.S. embassy in Blanco's native Peru had finally arrived. Blanco now lives in Sweden as a political exile.

However, before the State Department made its decision the *Nation*, a weekly published in New York, reported in an editorial: "The Department spokesman has said that political considerations will weigh heavily in the Blanco matter, and that officials have yet to decide whether Blanco's presence would be in the best interests of Americans."

Leaving aside "the best interests of Americans," which are hardly a consideration in these decisions, the Blanco visa case has significant potential for politically embarrassing the Carter administration.

Within a few weeks of taking office, President Carter admitted at a news conference, "We are ourselves culpable in some ways for... restricting unnecessarily, in my opinion, visitation to this country by those who disagree with us politically."

Carter noted this was in violation of the 1975 Helsinki agreement signed by the United States, and he promised a change in policy.

Also, in mid-August Carter signed into law the State Department appropriations bill that carried a rider, the so-called McGovern amendment, saying that people who had been excluded from the United States for being associated with communist, socialist, or anarchist groups should now be allowed to visit.

Barring this "recognized spokesman for freedom and dissent," as a *Boston Globe* editorial described Blanco, would have further exposed Carter's human rights rhetoric. At any rate, the State Department apparently did not want responsibility for such an action.

A final decision on Blanco's visa application now rests with the INS.

Repeated phone calls over a two-day period to the office of INS Director Leonel Castillo, the INS central office, the INS press office, and offices of officials said to be responsible for making a decision failed to turn up

anyone willing to discuss the case, either on or off the record. Apparently the INS realizes it has been handed a hot potato by the Department of State.

Blanco was scheduled to arrive in the United States September 9 to meet with his publisher, Pathfinder Press, and prepare his speaking tour. The tour is being sponsored by Viewpoint Speakers Bureau, a division of Pathfinder, and the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners.

You can help

The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) and Viewpoint Speakers Bureau, sponsors of Hugo Blanco's projected U.S. speaking tour, are urging "all those who believe the American people have a right to hear all points of view" to send messages to Immigration Commissioner Leonel Castillo urging that Hugo Blanco be given a visa.

"The State Department's favorable recommendation shows such messages have a big impact," said Michael Kelly, USLA executive secretary.

"The Immigration and Naturalization Service is the last hurdle standing between Blanco and all those in this country who want to hear him."

Kelly said it was very important that telegrams be sent quickly. "We've heard from the State Department that Immigration often decides these cases in a few days, and we want to be sure of a favorable decision."

"Also, we've already been forced to postpone the first week of meetings, and each day that goes by means additional disruption of the tour schedule." Blanco's first talk had been scheduled for September 23.

Protest messages should be sent to: Commissioner Leonel Castillo, Immigration and Naturalization Service, 425 I Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20536. Copies should be sent to: USLA, 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10003.



HUGO BLANCO: His request for a visa to the U.S. now before its final hurdle

South African Blacks: 'Biko has not died in vain'

By Ernest Harsch

From Intercontinental Press

In a massive display of anger and defiance, nearly 20,000 Blacks turned out in Kingwilliamstown September 25 to commemorate the death of Steve Biko.

Biko, one of the country's most influential young Black leaders, died in police custody September 12, at the age of thirty. He was a founder and first president of the militant South African Students Organisation and, at the time of his death, honorary president of the Black People's Convention.

Thousands of Black mourners marched for more than a mile from Biko's home in the segregated Black township of Ginsburg, just outside Kingwilliamstown, to a local sports field. Biko's coffin was carried on an ox wagon. The roof of the coffin was engraved with a cameo of Biko's face, above a pair of fists breaking iron shackles, the emblem of the nationalist current known as the Black Consciousness movement.

The coffin also bore the legend, "One Azania, one nation." Azania is a Black nationalist name for South Africa and the slogan expresses the widespread

Black opposition to Pretoria's Bantustan policy, which is aimed at dividing the African population into a number of small, impoverished ministates subservient to white rule.

The marchers carried banners and signs commemorating Biko. When the procession arrived at the field, the crowd began to sing "Nkosi Sikelel i'Afrika" (God Bless Africa), a Black nationalist anthem.

The rally lasted for three and a half hours as Black leaders from around the country condemned the Vorster regime's apartheid policies. A number of them charged Vorster and the security police with having murdered Biko. Although the regime claimed that Biko died after a one-week hunger strike, there is evidence that he may actually have been beaten to death.

As Biko's coffin was lowered into the grave, several thousand Black mourners gave clenched-fist salutes and shouted "Power!"

Large contingents of police and troops with automatic weapons had been placed on alert, but the sheer size and militancy of the funeral, as well as the anger over Biko's death throughout the country, prevented the regime from

attacking the demonstrators as it has repeatedly in the past.

The police did take action in other cities, however, to stop even more Blacks from attending the funeral. Thousands from Johannesburg, Durban, Cape Town, and other areas were unable to reach Kingwilliamstown because the regime barred buses carrying Blacks from leaving those cities. In addition, roadblocks around Kingwilliamstown turned back hundreds of cars and buses.

The day before the funeral, police in Soweto, a large Black township outside Johannesburg, fired at a crowd of 1,000 Blacks who were protesting the bar on bus transportation. Others were dragged off buses and beaten. Several hundred were arrested.

The funeral in Kingwilliamstown was the high point of a wave of protests and memorial services throughout the country. Students at every major Black university staged rallies and commemorations. At one memorial service in Soweto September 21, police shot and killed a fifteen-year-old Black protester, William Mdladlamba. In other incidents, police assaulted and whipped mourners with

sjamboks, a whip made of animal hide that is traditionally used by white overseers.

The repression, however, was unsuccessful in dampening the spirit of defiance that has been building up among young Blacks. At one rally in Soweto, several thousand protesters expressed their anger by singing a new Black nationalist song, "Zinja Zobulawa" (The Dogs Will Be Killed). At the same rally, a Black churchman told the audience, "Steve Biko has not died in vain. For among us there will rise 100 Steve Bikos."

The mass protests over Biko's death and the growing international solidarity with the Black freedom struggle in South Africa has forced some of Pretoria's long-time allies to publicly criticize the apartheid regime's repression. A sign of this was the attendance of delegations from thirteen Western countries at the funeral. Two American officials went to the extent of placing wreaths on Biko's coffin before the funeral procession began.

This display of "sympathy" over Biko's death by Washington and other imperialist powers is little more than a

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Justice Dep't sidesteps quotas

Carter brief takes aim at affirmative action

By Omari Musa

The recently released Justice Department brief in the *Bakke* case seeks to disguise the government's decision to do away with affirmative-action programs.

The first draft called on the Supreme Court to declare quotas unconstitutional. Because of protests from civil rights groups and others, its language had to be "overhauled."

The "revised" brief does not instruct the Supreme Court to outlaw quotas. It is filled with rhetoric supporting the use of what it calls "minority-sensitive admissions criteria."

Shift in tactics

Rather than make a frontal attack on the affirmative-action programs and quotas to enforce them, the brief uses a flanking tactic.

It urges the Supreme Court to simply rule that "minority-sensitive admissions criteria" are constitutional and send the question of Allan Bakke's admission and the constitutionality of quotas back to the California State Supreme Court.

However, Attorney General Griffin Bell made clear the real position of the government on quotas. He told the media at a news briefing: "There is a line between goals and quotas, and when you cross the line we would oppose quotas."

Bell also pointed out that the difference between the draft that demanded quotas be declared unconstitutional and the present one was "a matter of emphasis."

The government's opposition to the University of California Davis plan is couched in very careful terms.

The brief states, "We have argued that it is constitutional in making admissions decisions to take race into account in order fairly to compare minority and nonminority applicants, but it is not clear from the record whether the medical school's program, as applied to respondent in 1973 and 1974, operated in this manner."

In other words, Bakke may have suffered "reverse discrimination."

The brief then takes another swipe at the Davis admissions program. Referring to the sixteen places reserved for oppressed nationalities, the government asks whether this is in effect a quota.

"The record does not establish how, however, how this number was chosen, whether this number was inflexible or was used simply as a measure for assessing the program's operation. . . ."

And for the parting blast the brief resurrects the false argument of "merit."

It was not clear, according to the brief, "if there was a fair comparison of regular and special applicants by the regular admissions committee."

What all this legal mumbo jumbo means is that the government has decided that an all-out frontal attack now on affirmative action and quotas would be politically too costly.

Black discontent with Carter

Polls show that after the initial jubilation over Carter's election Black enthusiasm began to wane.

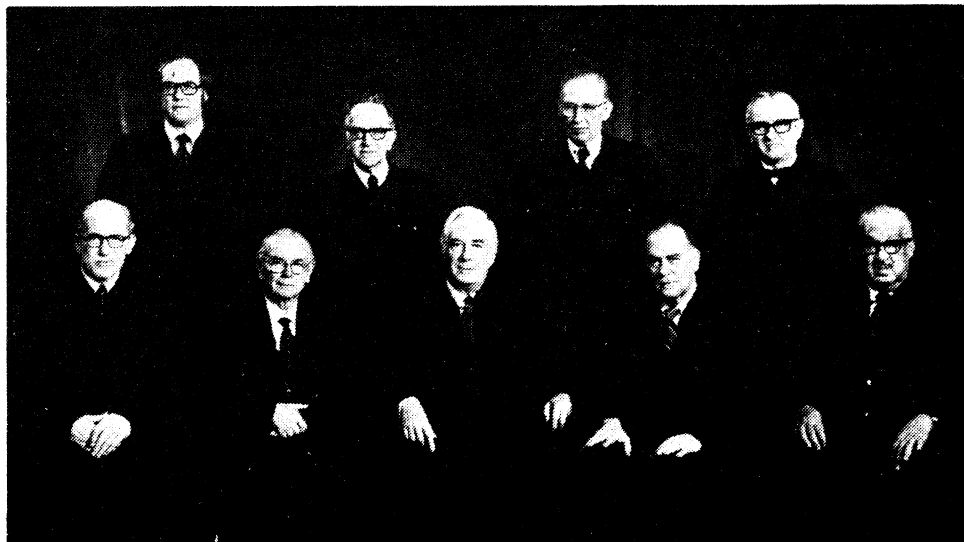
The reasons for this are not difficult to find.

- Carter promised jobs if elected. Six months after he took office Black unemployment increased to an "official" 14.5 percent—2.4 times that of whites. Black youth "enjoy" an unemployment rate greater than 40 percent.

- Carter promised a national health program for those who need decent medical care the most. He has dumped his meager proposals for the year.

- Carter said he was for equal education. Yet schools remain as segregated as ever. In Chicago, racists have gone on a rampage against a pupil transfer plan involving a maximum of 2,180 students.

The growing Black discontent with Carter found partial expression this summer at the NAACP, Urban League, and Southern Christian



U.S. Supreme Court will hear 'Bakke' October 12

Leadership Conference conventions.

Leaders of these groups who had supported Carter's election campaign criticized Carter for reneging on campaign promises to the Black community.

In addition, the social explosion that swept New York City's Black and Puerto Rican communities during the July 13-14 electrical blackout there showed that resentment and anger in those communities are close to the surface.

In this context the Carter administration was forced to lurch about to find a way to carry through its assault on affirmative-action quotas without provoking a sharp response from Blacks.

To do this the Justice Department has covered its attack with verbal support to the idea of affirmative action in the abstract.

Reactions to shift

Some supporters of affirmative-action programs have mistakenly fallen for the government's tactical shift.

They view the changed "emphasis"

in the brief as a victory for equal rights advocates.

Congressional Black Caucus Chairperson Parren Mitchell told the *New York Times* that "the final brief is consonant with what we sought in our pleadings with the Justice Department."

Noted labor and civil rights lawyer Joseph Rauh said, "Although it is not the brief the civil rights movement would have written, it is a lot better than the draft circulated ten days ago. We can live with it."

The NAACP also supported the Justice Department's brief.

NAACP General Counsel Nathaniel Jones said the government's brief "reflected the concerns and views expressed by the NAACP."

Jones promised that if the case was sent back to the California State Supreme Court the NAACP would seek "to ensure that the full record is made that will justify without any questions the need for special-admissions programs."

These statements show that the government has scored some points in sowing confusion among advocates of

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...join the fight to overturn 'Bakke' decision

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offensive by the ruling rich to take back the hard-won gains of the civil rights, women's, and labor movements.

For Carter and the wealthy few who rule this country, affirmative action is an especially hated target.

These enemies of women and the oppressed nationalities are afraid to say openly that they oppose equal rights. Some even claim to be for affirmative action.

But when it comes to enforcing the measures needed to end discrimination—quotas—they stop short.

They use the code words "reverse discrimination" to cover up their real stance.

But who have been the real victims of discrimination for centuries? And who is feeling the unbearable pressure of a real exclusionary quota system right now?

- It is the Blacks, whose unemployment rate has shot up to more than twice that of whites. The median income of Black families is only 62 percent that of white families.

- It is the women, who in the last three years have lost at least 10 percent of the industrial jobs we won through affirmative action. Our wages have declined to 57 percent of men's.

Allan Bakke claims that whites are being driven out of the medical schools. But the fact is that the ratio of white medical students to Black medical students is *increasing*, not decreasing.

There's only one Black doctor for every 5,000 residents of the Black community. There's only one Chicano doctor for every 16,000 residents of the barriers.

By comparison, there is one white doctor for every 400 whites.

The feminist movement has publicized the scandalous treatment of women by the medical industry and the need for more women doctors. Yet the United States rates *fourth lowest* of all the countries in the world in its proportion of female to male doctors. The gaps produced by this exclusionary quota system of racism and sexism are widening on every front. Special steps to reverse discrimination are more urgently needed than ever.

Those who say they're for affirmative action—but not quotas—are like those who say they favor equal education—but not busing.

There simply is no way to desegregate public schools and achieve an equal education for Black and Latino students without the use of busing. And there is no way to increase the numbers of women and oppressed nationalities on the campuses and in the work force without affirmative-action quotas to force the universities and the big corporations to do so.

Women and oppressed nationalities are tired of hearing promises of gradual change. We want equal rights now!

Thus far, it has been Black, Chicano, and other student groups who have taken the lead in mobilizing the response to the *Bakke* decision. Through the initiative of the National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision, the anti-*Bakke* campaign has taken on a nationwide character.

The enthusiastic response across the country to the committee's call to action shows that we can reach out to broader forces and build the kind of movement that can overturn *Bakke*.

We must mobilize the entire student movement; we must reach out to campus women's liberation groups and organizations such as the National Organization for Women; we must draw in organizations in the Black and Chicano communities; and

we must bring the social weight of the labor movement to bear in this struggle.

As a steelworker, I know that my job and the jobs of my Black, Chicano and women co-workers are directly due to the pressure of the civil rights and women's movements. If *Bakke* is upheld, we stand not only to lose our jobs, but to see our unions weakened as well.

The winning of affirmative-action quotas was a victory for the entire labor movement. It struck a blow at the bosses' divide-and-rule schemes that have traditionally undermined the power of the unions. If the Supreme Court upholds the *Bakke* decision, the employers will be emboldened to intensify their efforts to pit white against Black and male against female.

By continuing and expanding the actions against *Bakke* we can show the government that we will not tolerate one step backward from what we have gained thus far. We can mobilize the power to defeat *Bakke* and extend equal rights in all spheres.

A big part of our job is education. Through teach-ins, speak-outs, picket lines, and demonstrations, we can reach millions and explain the real issues in this case. We can counter the "reverse discrimination" lies aimed at disguising this all-out attack on equal rights.

We cannot rely on Jimmy Carter or the Democratic and Republican parties to protect affirmative action. Nor can we depend on the courts. Our movement must rely on the independent strength of our own forces.

Just as it was the independent power of Blacks that won the 1954 desegregation order; just as it was the independent struggle of women that forced the Supreme Court to legalize abortion; so our fight to reverse *Bakke* will be won by mobilizing our strength in numbers in the streets.

'If we lose, it's back to 1954'

National actions to hit 'Bakke' decision

By Arnold Weissberg

Activists around the country are building up a head of steam for a week of teach-ins, pickets, and rallies against the *Bakke* decision October 3 through October 8.

In **Baltimore**, *Militant* correspondent Ollie Bivins reports, 260 people at predominantly Black Morgan State University turned out for a September 22 forum sponsored by the Baltimore chapter of the National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision (NCOBD).

Speakers included Morgan State faculty member Jesse McDade, Judge Robert Bell, and Duane Orr of the Morgan State student government. The meeting was chaired by Prof. Alvin Thornton, who is also the head of the Baltimore NCOBD.

Prof. Thornton received the loudest applause of the evening when he said, "We need a truly massive movement to defend affirmative action."

A sharp debate over quotas broke out after Judge Bell opposed them, saying they tended to put "a ceiling" on affirmative-action programs.

Prof. Thornton told the *Militant* that "quotas are just the beginning. They are the only way to insure even minimal affirmative-action programs. What is really needed is open admissions, but quotas are the only way to preserve the limited gains of the past."

The committee has announced plans for a rally to build support for an October 8 action in Washington, D.C. The Morgan State rally will be at 11:00 a.m. on October 5.

Anti-*Bakke* activities in **Washington, D.C.**, are spearheaded by both the local chapter of the NCOBD and the Black American Law Students Association (BALSA).

Cliff Graves of BALSA explained in a phone interview that the organization's national convention last spring had mapped plans for student anti-*Bakke* protests "because the decision would damage the important gains of the '50s and '60s."

BALSA has called for a national student day of protest October 3. Graves said BALSA is asking students in Washington, D.C., to boycott classes that day and take part in a march and rally that will begin at Lafayette Park at 10:00 a.m.

After marching to the Supreme Court, the rally will be held on the West Capitol grounds. Speakers will include representatives from Black, women's, and Latino groups, as well as political figures. The actions have been endorsed by the Washington, D.C., City Council.

Graves said he hopes all students will participate. "It could mean our future," he said.

Discussing current affirmative-action programs, Graves commented, "Even these programs don't go far enough."

Graves added that it is important to march even though the Carter administration has filed a friend-of-the-court brief.

The Justice Department brief, he explained, "sidestepped" the issue of quotas, and in any case, the Supreme Court is not bound by it.

Belinda Lightfoot is a leader of the D.C. chapter of the NCOBD. She told the *Militant* in a phone interview that plans for an October 8 march and rally there are well under way. A student coalition, Lightfoot said, has planned a series of programs for the week leading up to October 8 on affirmative action and the status of minorities.

The October 8 demonstration will also begin at Lafayette Park, picket the White House and Supreme Court, and conclude with a rally. Many of the same speakers from the October 3 action will be present.

Lightfoot noted that this action is

only one highlight of the committee's work. She said the committee is discussing longer-range projects in opposition to the *Bakke* ruling.

"We're marching on," Lightfoot said. "We'll be here one way or the other."

An important development in the Washington Teachers Union will help build the two protests. The union has endorsed the actions and set up a committee to publicize them. This will help make the true facts about the *Bakke* case known and will encourage student and teacher participation in the protest actions.

NCOBD activists in **Los Angeles** are planning two demonstrations—one on October 3 in response to the call by BALSA, and another five days later. A noon picket of the federal building is planned for the third. On the eighth, marchers will assemble at Pico-Union Community Park, between Venice and Washington boulevards on Hoover, and march to a noon rally at MacArthur Park.

Vincent Harris of the NCOBD told the *Militant* in a phone interview that the committee wants to tie in the fight to desegregate the Los Angeles schools with the effects of the *Bakke* decision.

Harris said that a lot of educational work is being done on the campuses and in the Black and Chicano communities, and that the committee would continue its work after October 8.

The demonstrations have been widely endorsed by community, student, and labor organizations, Harris said.

Harris described the *Bakke* decision as a "basic assault on the gains of the 1960s" and a "precedent for eliminating special programs of any kind."

In California, Harris noted, while the state population is 25 percent minorities, only 1 percent of the doctors and lawyers are minorities. One result, he explained, is an infant mortality rate nine times higher in Watts than in Beverly Hills.

Harris pointed out that the *Bakke* case doesn't affect affirmative-action programs only in education, but also in employment.

An October 8 march and rally is planned for **Oakland, California**, NCOBD national coordinator Ray Otake told the *Militant*. Activists from San Francisco and the entire Bay Area are expected to take part.

Otake said 100 organizations have already endorsed the action, including community, student, and labor groups,

the state council of the California Federation of Teachers among them.

To publicize the demonstration, activists have been leafleting and going door to door in some neighborhoods. Educational activities are planned for the week leading up to the eighth.

The coalition building the action has about sixty people representing different organizations meeting regularly. A women's contingent for the march has been formed.

A student coalition in **San Antonio** is planning an October 8 picket of the federal building, Gloria Najar, chairperson of the Student Coalition to Defeat the Bakke Decision, told the *Militant*.

The coalition, based on campuses, is working with another group in the big San Antonio Chicano community.

To build the action, Najar said, she and members of the Student Coalition Against Racism have been touring San Antonio campuses with *The Unwanted*, a film about undocumented workers. A discussion of the *Bakke* case follows the film showing.

Najar said she was involved in the anti-*Bakke* movement because she is a "double minority—a Chicano and a woman—and [the *Bakke* decision] is going to affect me doubly."

"We've been discriminated against for 400 years," Najar continued. "Affirmative action is supposed to make up for historical discrimination. If *Bakke* wins, [the court is saying] minorities have caught up. And that's absurd."

Eighty organizations have endorsed the October 8 action in **Seattle**, Ron Chew of the Seattle chapter of the NCOBD told the *Militant*. Many of these groups represent Seattle's minority communities.

The demonstration will start at noon at the federal courthouse and march to Garfield High School for a 1:30 program that will include theater and music.

The Seattle coalition has committees that focus on special areas—the Black community, the Filipino community, Native Americans, labor, women.

Chew explained that *Bakke* is "an issue that affects all of us." He noted that a special admissions program at the University of Washington that admits students from poor families would be jeopardized.

An October 8 rally is in the works in **New York City**, planned for 125th Street and Adam Clayton Powell

NSCAR mtg. postponed

The National Student Coalition Against Racism has decided to postpone the National Student Anti-Racist Strategy Meeting planned for October 14-16 until November.

NSCAR national staff coordinator James Harris told the *Militant*:

"The reason we're postponing the strategy meeting is that the focus for antiracist activists is clear. It is the fight to overturn the *Bakke* decision."

"SCAR chapters around the country are devoting their full energies to making the October 3-8 protests successful. That is our first priority."

Boulevard (Seventh Avenue) in Harlem. Bernard Hughes of the New York NCOBD told the *Militant* the coalition building the rally has twenty-three organizations affiliated with it.

The groups are working in the Black and Puerto Rican communities and on the campuses, especially New York University. Hughes said the Puerto Rican Student Union and the Student Coalition Against Racism are active there.

Hughes described the *Bakke* ruling as "an attack on affirmative-action programs." But, he said, it's a symbol, because "the attack didn't start with *Bakke*." He noted several other cases that had challenged affirmative action in education and employment.

The past five years, Hughes said, have seen "an attack on the gains won by the civil rights movement. A pro-*Bakke* decision will have an across-the-board effect on all affirmative-action programs."

Hughes concluded: "If you rule out affirmative action, we really go back to 1954."

Another group at NYU involved in the anti-*Bakke* protest is the newly formed Organization of Black Women. Yvonne Powe told the *Militant* that her organization is discussing ways of fighting the *Bakke* decision.

It would be "a disaster if the Supreme Court upholds *Bakke*," Powe said. "It would destroy affirmative action. It would be a big setback for women and minorities."



UC Berkeley rally to overturn 'Bakke'

Militant/Eric Simpson

Boston Blacks urge vote for socialist

By Maceo Dixon

ROXBURY, Mass., Sept. 23—"Unemployment among Black people is the highest in over twenty years," says an announcement on WILD, Boston's Black-oriented radio station.

"Affirmative action is being threatened. . . . And to this day we have absolutely no representation on the city council or school committee, which remain all-white institutions.

"It's important in this election that we change the color scheme of the city council and school committee. . . . The Black candidates in this year's election need your vote. Waters, Bolling, McCutcheon, O'Bryant, and Brown—they need our vote and we need their representation. . . ."

WILD's editorial urging Black Bostonians to vote Black is part of an organized campaign by Black leaders here to make a mark on the upcoming primary elections for city council and school committee.

There are only five Black candidates running for city offices. Democrats Arnie Waters and Bruce Bolling are running for city council. John O'Bryant and Warren Brown, also Democrats, are running for school committee, as is Hattie McCutcheon, the Socialist Workers Party candidate.

The main group organizing the "vote Black" campaign is the Organization

for Voter Education and Registration (OVER). OVER President Rev. Charles Stith and other Black leaders are calling on Black voters to "bullet" their ballots. "Bullet voting," Stith explains, "is the only means left for Blacks to get elected to city offices."

Doris Bunte, a Massachusetts state legislator, is also lending her support to the campaign. Bunte has produced voting cards, listing all the Black candidates, to be handed out at the polls here September 27.

Similar campaigns to turn out the Black vote for Black candidates have been launched in other cities with varying degrees of success. But never in recent memory has such a campaign included a call to vote for a socialist.

I asked McCutcheon what she thought prompted this endorsement of her candidacy.

"I think it's because our campaign has struck a real chord in the Black community," McCutcheon responded. "We're talking about the things that concern people in Boston—school desegregation, unemployment, abortion rights, how to halt racist violence. We're the ones offering solutions, and more and more people know that."

"Furthermore, we're actively involved in the fights of the Black community—like Carson Beach this summer. So when they sat down to

decide who to include in the 'vote Black' campaign, there was really no way for them to ignore the Socialist Workers Party candidate without raising big questions."

McCutcheon's campaign has received considerable media coverage here. Articles on McCutcheon and her running mate Diane Jacobs, Socialist Workers Party candidate for city council, have appeared in the *Boston Ledger*, the *Boston Globe*, the *Boston Phoenix*, the *Bay State Banner* (a Black newspaper), and *Equal Times*, a feminist newspaper.

Both candidates have appeared on major TV stations here. They have also been invited to speak at numerous candidates nights, including at the Trotter School, Freedom House, African Heritage Institute, and Blackstone School.

In addition, supporters of McCutcheon and Jacobs have conducted an extensive door-to-door campaign to win support for the socialists and sign up new readers of the campaign newspaper, the *Militant*.

I asked McCutcheon how she assessed the "vote Black" campaign.

"First of all," she said, "I think it's positive that Blacks are organizing to get Blacks into city government. For decades Blacks and Puerto Ricans have been denied representation on the



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

HATTIE MCCUTCHEON

school committee and city council. Only once since the turn of the century has a Black served on the city council, and never on the school committee.

"But there's a major problem with this campaign," she continued. "Aside from me, all the Black candidates are Democratic Party politicians."

"That is a grave mistake."

"It's the institutionalized racism of the Democratic Party here that's kept Blacks politically powerless by gerrymandering districts to exclude Blacks from office."

"The same Democratic Party has led

Continued on page 30

From Palo Alto, Buffalo, Hartford...

A check for \$100 came to us in the mail last week from Palo Alto, California. This generous donor to the *Militant* \$50,000 Fund is an eighty-two-year-old woman who was active in the movement to end the Vietnam War. During the 1976 election campaign, she heard Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Peter Camejo speak. Still concerned with social injustice throughout the world, our Palo Alto reader wants to help the *Militant* keep on campaigning for socialism.

From Hartford, Connecticut, we received a note and another donation: "Enclosed is a \$5.00 contribution to

the *Militant*—the best newspaper in the world."

A reader in Buffalo sent us \$10. So did a supporter from Santa Monica, California, who said he did so "knowing full well the financial burden entailed in getting out the paper and your unselfish devotion to the cause of improving and bettering the lot of mankind."

The contributions in response to our weekly appeals in the *Militant*, plus payments on pledges made previously to the fund drive, mean that we have now collected **\$25,739**. This brings us to **51 percent** of our \$50,000 goal.

A special matching fund offered us by one *Militant* reader is doubling all the contributions you send in. This reader will match dollar for dollar all donations we receive up to the sum of \$10,000.

We've only just passed the halfway mark in this drive and we still have a long way to go. In the meantime, the bills from the printer, the newsprint companies, the post office, and the airlines come in every week. Over the past six years, the cost of putting out the *Militant* has **doubled**. That's why we need to raise \$50,000 this fall.

One of the sharpest rises has been in air-freight shipping—now **four times** what it was in 1971.

But a newspaper that wants to be in the forefront of the struggles going on today, a newspaper that wants to get out the truth as fast as possible, has to get out to our readers immediately.

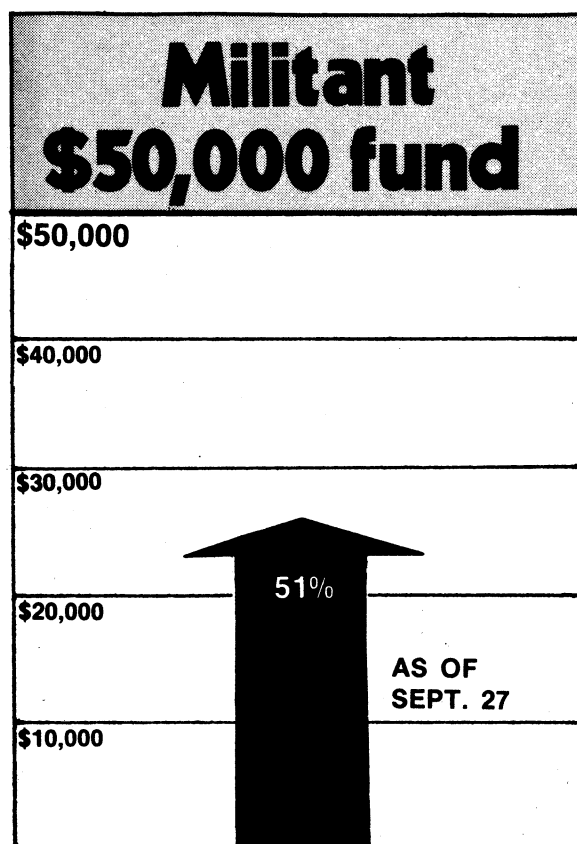
Last week we ran an emergency editorial on the upcoming actions

planned to protest the *Bakke* decision—an all-out attack on affirmative action for Blacks, Chicanos, and women. We know our readers appreciated getting this important information immediately so they could spread the word and help build the anti-*Bakke* campaign.

This week we're bringing you an on-the-spot report from Youngstown, Ohio, where the steel barons are shutting down the Campbell Works and destroying the futures of thousands of union members and their families.

While *Militant* staff writer Andy Rose was covering the story in Youngstown, Bob Schwarz and Joyce Stoller have been on the Iron Range in northern Minnesota, selling *Militant* subscriptions and talking to the striking miners about the struggle there.

Sending this subscription team to Minnesota has been expensive for us—but worth it. Schwarz and Stoller have sold forty-four new subscriptions. They've also talked with steelworkers and others who have already been reading the *Militant* and have found a good response to what we print.



I want to contribute:

☐ \$500 ☐ \$250 ☐ \$100

☐ \$50 ☐ \$25 ☐ \$10

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Make checks payable to: **The Militant Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.**

...Militant readers come to our aid

Steel crisis: profits vs. jobs, environment

...Youngstown

Continued from front page

eral clean-water orders. He also proposes taking tax dollars away from welfare and giving them to the steel industry.

Ohio Gov. James Rhodes brought together steel executives and union officials to pledge a lobbying campaign for the companies' demands. Ralph Shipley, vice-president of Timken Company, explained the purpose bluntly: "We're here to make money."

The Ohio General Assembly unanimously adopted a resolution calling for congressional action aimed at "preserving the domestic steel market" by curbing imports.

A "Congressional Steel Caucus," spearheaded by Ohio and Pennsylvania politicians, says it will campaign for import quotas, environmental and tax "relief" for the industry, and long-term government loans for the corporations.

A "Steel Communities Coalition" with the same program has been set up by business executives and politicians. The coalition calls for a "domestic Marshall Plan" to funnel hundreds of millions of federal tax dollars to the steel corporations through low-interest loans and investment tax credits.

Union backing

All these efforts to swell corporate profits at the expense of workers' living standards have received enthusiastic backing from top officials of the United Steelworkers of America.

Frank Leseganich, director of USWA District 26 in Youngstown, led a delegation of steelworkers to Washington to picket the White House with signs: "Don't export steelworkers' jobs." They presented petitions bearing 116,000 names supporting the steel company demands.

Lloyd McBride, USWA international president, says he doesn't blame the corporations for the shutdowns because "profitability is the name of the game."

According to the September 22 *Youngstown Vindicator*, McBride also "suggested that local labor and district union leaders work more closely with the companies in an attempt to resolve many of the industry's local difficulties."

The propaganda barrage from the companies, capitalist politicians, news media, and union bureaucrats has gone largely unchallenged in Youngstown.

Nevertheless, according to union activists here, many workers remain suspicious of the companies and angry about the cruelty of the layoffs. There has been talk that laid-off steelworkers might picket the Brier Hill Works as a protest.

Union officials and local politicians have quickly squelched any suggestion of protests against the companies. Such actions, they say, would only scare off other corporations that might consider locating in Youngstown.

One local union leader who does not accept the company propaganda is Ed Mann, president of USWA Local 1462 at the Brier Hill Works.

Industry is responsible

Mann told the *Militant* that imports and environmental laws are used as "whipping boys" but that in reality "the steel industry brought this on itself."

"The basic problem," Mann said, "is they made profits here and didn't reinvest here. Like you would milk a cow until it's dry and then butcher it."

Mann said that steelworkers have an interest in clean air and water and



that several years of union support to the companies in an environmental dispute "didn't save their jobs."

"There can be responsible cleanup," he insisted, "if a certain percentage of their profit is earmarked for that cleanup—instead of for lawyers to fight against it."

Mann was dubious that import curbs would do much to preserve jobs, noting that the companies "want a free hand in raising prices."

Mann said that he and some other steelworkers were proposing "that the community take over the company and run it. We have the know-how," he said.

"We want jobs in these mills for the workers who built them. There are three generations of workers in these mills—they shouldn't be thrown out like scrap."

Cleveland

By Daryl Drobnic

CLEVELAND—On the seat of each chair was a red, white, and blue bumper sticker: "The threat is real from foreign steel." A banner with the same slogan hung on the wall.

The occasion was a conference of small-shop locals called by United Steelworkers of America District 28, which covers the Akron-Cleveland-Lorain area of northern Ohio.

District 28 Director Frank Valenta opened the conference by summoning the 132 steelworkers and guests to help "lead the way nationwide" to stop imports.

District 28 is sponsoring a mass rally of steelworkers September 29 in downtown Cleveland to "show how important it is to keep steelworkers' jobs from being given away to foreigners." Valenta and USWA President Lloyd McBride are the featured speakers.

The steel corporations are helping promote attendance at the rally, ending the afternoon shifts early that day.

Valenta told the small-shops conference that imports are stealing American jobs and destroying "our" industries. To prove his protectionist fervor, he claimed he had helped scuttle a

proposed world trade center for Cleveland because it would have brought in foreign products.

Valenta linked protectionism to the relative decline of U.S. competitiveness. "Kennedy talked about free trade in 1960; that was fine in 1960 because the scale was tipped in our direction," he said, but now the situation has reversed.

His speech had strong racist overtones. In condemning Japanese imports, Valenta recalled World War II and referred to "sneak attacks" and "Japs" throughout the conference.

"We rehabilitated that country, now they're virtually destroying our entire economy," he claimed.

Meanwhile, the companies are using the import scare to demand speedup from Cleveland steelworkers. The Republic Steel district manager has been holding meetings with groups of 50 to 100 workers. He warns of plant closings unless imports are stopped and environmental and safety laws relaxed.

"We have to increase productivity," he tells the workers. "Do jobs in fifteen minutes, not a half hour."

"We recognize," he tells them, "some of you have mortgages, some families. We don't want this to sound like a threat, but..."

Chicago

By Michael Gillespie

CHICAGO—Jim Balanoff, director of United Steelworkers of America District 31, is one of the few USWA officials to speak out against the anti-import scare and the steel companies' extortion.

"They [the companies] want a complete moratorium on imports, a complete moratorium on EPA [Environmental Protection Agency] enforcement, a complete moratorium on government interference—and they want us to go along with them," Balanoff told a local reporter.

"What's in this for the United Steelworkers union and other working people? Are they going to guarantee a moratorium on layoffs, a moratorium on price increases? No way!" he declared.

Commenting on the shutdown of Youngstown Sheet & Tube's Campbell Works in Ohio, Balanoff said, "The fact of the matter is that even if there was no Japan, no EPA, they would still have closed Campbell Works and moved to Chicago."

"I told them installing the pollution equipment would have created 5,000 jobs, but they really don't give a damn about jobs or steelworkers." Balanoff said the steel corporations want import curbs only to protect their monopoly price structure and monopoly profits. "The companies have priced themselves out of the market, with three price increases this year alone," he said, "but they are trying to stampede the country into trade restrictions."

"We ought to be fighting for a public works program for those laid off, for legislation against price increases, and for some way we can check to see if what U.S. Steel is saying is true."

Within District 31, the company offensive has centered on USWA Local 65 at U.S. Steel's South Works. The company has threatened to close the "unprofitable" sections of the mill unless Local 65 members increase their productivity and join in lobbying against imports.

In return for union cooperation, the company has said it would "ease off" on an escalating number of disciplinary suspensions and firings.

Local 65 grievance committee members, however, report no letup in disciplines, which are being handed out at twice the rate they were last

year. And no reevaluation has been made of the firing of eighteen local members in mid-August.

Meanwhile, the company is showing anti-import propaganda films and circulating petitions for trade restrictions, with foremen "suggesting" that workers sign.

John Chico, president of Local 65, has announced a lobbying program aimed at initiating a congressional probe of "the economic plight of South Works."

At a September 14 union membership meeting, Chico barred discussion of alternative proposals and rammed his program through. It includes calls to "revive the construction industry," "determine if the taxes paid by South Works are equitable," and "contact the Environmental Protection Agency."

On September 16 Chico hosted sixty members of the South Chicago Chamber of Commerce, state legislators, clergy, and other "community leaders" at a luncheon at the union hall.

Chico presented his lobbying program, which was then backed by the vice-president of the Chamber of Commerce. Carl Alessi, USWA subdistrict director, and Cass Tomasik, Local 65 grievance committee chairperson, gave talks blaming imports, high taxes, and environmental costs for the problems of South Works.

Some members of Local 65 are voicing opposition to the company demands. A newly formed caucus led by three of the local's grievance committee members, Alice Peurala, Joe Kransdorf, and Lynn Summers, and one of the local trustees, Roberta Wood, has



JIM BALANOFF: Companies 'don't give a damn about jobs or steelworkers.'

issued a fact sheet detailing U.S. Steel's profits and has circulated a petition opposing the corporate campaign.

The caucus, called Steelworkers Organized for Solidarity, has gotten more than 1,000 signatures on a petition supporting District Director Balanoff's condemnation of the shutdown threats as "economic blackmail."

The petition also demands an "end of U.S. Steel's campaign of deception, blackmail and fraud. Our jobs must not be threatened for their high profit scheme. We demand South Works be kept open and working. We demand an end to the campaign of wholesale firings and suspensions."

Pittsburgh

By Brett Merkey

PITTSBURGH—"The threat is real from foreign steel—it's a job-stealing deal," reads the big banner placed by U.S. Steel outside its Edgar Thompson Works here.

Plant-gate banners are the latest element in the barrage of steel com-

Continued on page 30

Falling union membership haunts Labor Day speeches

By Lynn Henderson

Labor Day this year was, as usual, the occasion for many speeches, articles, and editorials evaluating the state of the union movement.

The *Christian Science Monitor* hit a typical theme by noting the "dramatic change in the way most Americans celebrate Labor Day. . . .

"The Labor Days of yesteryear, with placard carrying blue-collar workers marching triumphantly up New York's Fifth Avenue in a show of strength, have vanished along with the violence and bloodshed that marked the formative years of Big Labor. . . .

"The show of strength is no longer necessary," according to the *Monitor*. "Nearly all major industries recognize labor unions as having a stabilizing and disciplinary impact on society. The right of workers to collectively bargain for decent wages, good working conditions, and a sound standard of living has become almost universally accepted."

The editorial proudly boasts that U.S. labor unions today are "strongly committed to capitalism and the free enterprise system."

In the Labor Day issue of the *AFL-CIO News*, George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, heartily concurred.

"Big parades of trade unionists marching behind their union's banner—a public demonstration of workers united" is no longer required, explains Meany.

Workers are now "content with the knowledge that the labor movement has become accepted as an institution in American society."

The editorials paint a rosy picture—after a rocky and difficult youth the labor movement has now achieved its legitimate place in American society. And American workers are reaping the benefits of organized labor's wisely acquired maturity.

The facts tell a different story.

State of the unions

Just how are American workers and their unions faring on Labor Day 1977?

- On September 2 the Labor Department released figures showing unemployment as officially measured had jumped to 7.1 percent. The jobless rate for Black workers soared to 14.5 percent, 40.4 percent for Black youth.

- In the past four years real wages of American workers have declined by 9 percent, according to government figures. That's for those lucky enough to have remained employed.

- Also on September 2, in another Labor Day present, the Bureau of Labor Statistics released figures revealing that membership in labor unions had fallen by 767,000 over the two-year period ending in 1976. Union membership as a percent of the total work force has been in slow, steady decline for many years, but these figures represented the first decline in absolute membership size in fifteen years.

While Meany and the rest of today's labor leaders congratulate themselves on their "acceptability," "institutionalization," and "commitment to capitalism," rank-and-file union members can look forward to increasing unemployment, reduced wages, and weakened unions.

When asked to comment on the membership decline, AFL-CIO spokesperson Albert Zack acknowledged that the figures were "something of a surprise." "We got a big job ahead of us," he said.

Actually, the labor bureaucrats are well aware that all is not peaches and cream. Lately they've had to spend



GEORGE MEANY

considerable time reassuring increasingly restless memberships that they have a program capable of solving these problems.

Their program is not new. It consists of relying on Democratic Party politicians to pass "pro-labor" legislation.

The labor bureaucrats' solution to unemployment is reliance on the White House and "friends of labor" in Congress to support and pass the Humphrey-Hawkins bill.

Their solution to declining wages is reliance on these same forces to support and pass legislation raising the minimum wage.

And their solution for declining union membership—their strategy for organizing the unorganized—is passage of legislation to reform the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA).

This program is a sham. Even if passed in its entirety, it would solve none of the problems workers face.

Despite its seductive title, the Humphrey-Hawkins "Full Employment and Balanced Growth Act of 1977" does not provide for the creation by the government of even *one* job.

Like the 1946 Full Employment Act passed under the Truman administration, it would establish the *goal* of full employment as a "declaration of policy" by Congress.

Even this deceptive promise is hedged with multiple reservations. In Sen. Hubert Humphrey and Rep. Augustus Hawkins's own words the bill would set "a specific quantitative goal for the reduction of unemployment to 3 percent within four years of enactment for adult Americans 20 years of age and over who are willing, able, and seeking work" (emphasis added).

The total effect of the bill is merely to admonish future administrations to shape their economic policies so as to achieve what no capitalist government in history has ever accomplished: stable growth and full employment.

The minimum wage proposal recently passed by the House of Representatives demonstrates the kind of crumbs this policy produces.

The minimum wage is now \$2.30 an hour. According to the government's own statistics, the minimum wage necessary to raise a worker above the bare poverty level is \$2.81 an hour.

Originally the AFL-CIO Executive Council urged Congress to increase the minimum wage to \$3.00 an hour. When President Carter balked at even this miserly increase the labor bureaucrats quickly retreated and agreed to support the present proposal, which will raise the minimum wage to \$2.65—still well below the poverty level—in January 1978.

Organizing the unorganized

But perhaps the most misleading promise of the bureaucracy's program is reform of the National Labor Relations Act as the road to organizing the unorganized and reversing the decline in union membership.

From the time of its passage in 1935, the purpose of the NLRA was always to place union activities under government control and supervision. It was never meant to encourage union growth. It has been used to hinder union organizing wherever possible.

In the 1930s—before the NLRA was passed and for several years afterward—the unions grew significantly. Millions of unorganized workers were brought into the CIO and AFL.

But this was not accomplished by the NLRA or through the Democratic Party. It was accomplished by mobilizing the independent strength of workers in strikes and public demonstrations of unity. It was accomplished because the labor movement was seen as the champion of the unskilled, oppressed, and downtrodden, and as a fighter for the major social issues of the day.

The giant step taken by the American labor movement in the 1930s, including the building of the CIO, was the product of the very actions and policies that the entire labor bureaucracy now repudiates.

In a Labor Day interview for the

New York Times Magazine Meany says, "We used to have unions that were called strike-happy. That is no longer true. The unions are just as anxious to keep their people working as the employer is to keep his business going."

Business unionism

But a union is not a business. The interests of workers and bosses are not the same. They are opposed. And the strike is the most fundamental weapon labor has for its defense.

The labor bureaucrats hold a different view. For them, union and employers form a kind of mutually beneficial partnership. If the bosses do well then the workers will do well.

What do the unions contribute to this partnership? In the *Christian Science Monitor's* knowing phrase they have a "stabilizing and disciplinary impact." They also contribute votes and money to Democratic Party politicians.

This partnership has a name. It is called class collaboration, and it is a disastrous policy for labor.

It is a policy that diverts and dissipates the real strength of organized labor.

It is a policy that no longer even produces the concessions that the bosses and capitalist politicians once felt were necessary for their "junior partners."

Most decisively, maintaining this partnership places organized labor on the wrong side of every major social and political issue.

It means supporting the bosses' opposition to meaningful environmental standards.

It means supporting the bosses' demands for import restrictions, which drive prices up for all workers.

It means blaming unemployment *not* on those responsible—the employers and their political agents—but on undocumented workers and "cheap foreign labor."

It means opposing affirmative-action programs backed up with specific quotas.

It means supporting the mammoth arms budget, which is nothing more than a welfare program for the major corporations.

Labor's allies

Organized labor needs allies. But not among the forces that George Meany and his fellow bureaucrats look to.

Organized labor's natural allies will be found among the most oppressed workers—Blacks, Latinos, women, the unorganized, unemployed, and undocumented.

Organized labor must fight on the political level. More than ever, the lives of working people are directly affected by what the government does. But workers cannot determine government policy by voting for politicians in the Democratic Party or any other capitalist party.

Working people need their own political leaders, drawn from their own ranks and committed to representing their own interests. To accomplish this workers need their own party.

This party would be a new and different kind of party. It would not only run candidates but would participate in the day-to-day struggles of labor and its allies.

And it would be a party that on Labor Day—or whenever needed—would help to organize "big parades" in every city and town in this country as a "show of strength" and a "demonstration of workers united."

Teacher fired by college for union activities

By Leslie Craine

DETROIT—Three teachers and one administrator at Wayne County Community College have been framed up and victimized for union activities during a recent strike of the college's technical, clerical, and maintenance workers.

The strikers, members of United Auto Workers Local 1796, walked off the job August 12 after working six weeks without a contract.

On September 19 Local 1796 voted to return to work, pending fact finding on outstanding economic issues.

But on September 21 Paula Reimers, part-time teacher and second vice-president of the Wayne County Community College Federation of

Leslie Craine is a teacher and a member of the American Federation of Teachers Local 2000.

Teachers, AFT Local 2000, was fired from her job. Two other teachers, Richard Zelman and David Feinberg, were suspended with pay for the remainder of the term, and an administrator, Maurice Geary, was suspended for thirty days without pay.

These individuals were vindictively singled out for victimization by the college administration. During the strike they organized an AFT-sponsored teach-in to discuss the issues and build support for the strikers. UAW representatives and the college administration were invited to present their positions.

Permission was secured from the college administration to hold the teach-in on September 14, in the college's Greenfield Center auditorium, a college facility. Publicity was issued and the media invited.

The day before the teach-in, however, the college administration rescinded permission for use of the auditorium.

When faculty, students, and community members arrived September 14 expecting to hear a discussion of the issues in the month-long strike, they found the auditorium locked.

The crowd of about 100, gathered at the entrance of the building, angrily demanded the right to hold the teach-in.

But when Detroit cops threatened to arrest those assembled, Reimers and others moved the group to the public sidewalk to avoid police action.

Even though those assembled obeyed police orders to keep moving and not block sidewalks, cops arrested one teacher, two UAW members, and five students. One woman was arrested as she waited at a bus stop for not moving when ordered to do so by the police.

The administration has charged Reimers, Zelman, Feinberg, and Geary with insubordination, organizing "an unauthorized demonstration," and inciting students. In addition, Zelman and Feinberg have been charged with allowing their classes to attend the teach-in.

The AFT intends to defend its members by filing grievances, but to prevent their victimization broad public support is necessary.

Letters and telegrams of protest can be sent to Reginald Wilson, President, Wayne County Community College, 4612 Woodward Avenue, Detroit, Michigan 48201; and to Loretta Moore, president of the board of trustees, at the same address. Copies should be sent to AFT Local 2000, 4612 Woodward Avenue, Detroit, Michigan 48201.

First scoreboard: drive on schedule

By Nelson Blackstock

This week we're printing the first scoreboard with results of our national drive for 18,000 new subscribers to the *Militant*. And it's good news. We're on schedule.

Our 2,107 new readers have come from a variety of places. Most were probably introduced to the *Militant* during door-to-door canvassing in the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican communities. Many bought subscriptions from co-workers on the job. Others got them from activists they met in the women's movement.

More of these new readers than in past drives are political activists of one kind or another or trade unionists.

Many of the new subscribers are students. While some cities on the chart have not yet begun to look for subscriptions on campus, those that have continue to report some of the best results.

Houston socialists are planning to send teams to the University of Texas in Austin. Atlanta aims to visit the University of Georgia in Athens.

Included at the top of the scoreboard are cities where some of the newest branches of the Socialist Workers Party have been established in the past year or so.

The scoreboard reflects only those subscriptions actually on hand at the *Militant* circulation office in New York. The slowness of mail delivery means that many West Coast cities are relatively lower on the chart than they would be if all subscriptions sold to date were reflected in the figures.

The cities running behind in the drive will be taking steps to catch up. San Francisco, for example, is setting aside an entire week to focus on gathering subscriptions.

New York City, which is on schedule, is planning something similar. As an alternative to putting all the stress on a big Saturday mobilization, New York will be scheduling a wide range of subscription work for October 8-15. Each day teams will be dispatched at several different times to campuses and to visit people where they live. Unionists will be talking to co-workers. The goal is to get the fullest participation in the drive.

The week will be a more intense version of what should be happening every week to make the campaign a success.

CITY	GOAL	SENT IN	%
St. Paul	150	70	46.7
Kansas City, Mo.	150	54	36.0
Salt Lake City	150	53	35.3
Lehigh Valley, Pa.	20	7	35.0
Albuquerque, N.M.	150	50	33.3
Denver	300	87	29.0
Raleigh, N.C.	120	31	25.8
Dallas	250	64	25.6
Portland, Ore.	250	57	22.8
Phoenix	250	54	21.6
Miami	250	50	20.0
San Diego	300	50	16.7
Louisville	150	24	16.0
Pittsburgh	450	70	15.6
Washington, D.C.	600	87	14.5
Boston	825	113	13.7
New York City	1,800	229	12.7
Chicago	900	112	12.4
Detroit	850	103	12.1
St. Louis	375	45	12.0
Baltimore	175	21	12.0
Houston	600	69	11.5
Atlanta	600	68	11.3
Newark, N.J.	350	37	10.6
Minneapolis	350	34	9.7
Milwaukee	400	38	9.5
Cleveland	300	28	9.3
Berkeley, Calif.	300	25	8.3
Albany, N.Y.	75	6	8.0
Bloomington, Ind.	50	4	8.0
Los Angeles	1,100	86	7.8
Oakland, Calif.	600	46	7.7
Toledo, Ohio	150	9	6.0
Philadelphia	675	39	5.8
Kent, Ohio	75	4	5.3
Amherst, Mass.	40	2	5.0
Penn State, Pa.	40	2	5.0
San Francisco	600	21	3.5
Seattle	300	10	3.3
San Antonio	350	11	3.1
Tacoma, Wash.	150	4	2.7
Cincinnati	200	4	2.0
New Orleans	300	4	1.3
San Jose	350	4	1.1
Indianapolis	150	1	0.7
Miscellaneous		120	
Total	18,000	2,107	11.7
Should be	18,000	1,800	10.0

One subscriber's story

Karen Hill began to see the "Militant" earlier this year when it was sold at the mine where she worked on the Iron Range.

She liked it and bought a year's subscription.

Now she's trying to introduce other workers to the "Militant."

On September 28, 29, and 30 some 3,400 strikers are set to line up at union headquarters in Virginia to pick up their strike benefits. Karen Hill and several friends plan to be there with a big display of clippings on the strike from the "Militant." They're out to sign up as many strikers as they can as new readers of the "Militant."

Hill and her friends decided to get involved after talking to members of "Militant" teams visiting the Iron Range in recent weeks.

'Militant' teams find inspiring response on Minn. Iron Range

By William Jasper

Bob Schwarz and Joyce Stoller are the *Militant's* two-member team at work on the Mesabi Iron Range in northern Minnesota.

Their job is to introduce steelworkers to the *Militant*. So far they've signed up sixty-five new subscribers, well over half of them members of the steelworkers union.

Eighteen thousand steelworkers in the iron ore mines and processing plants are in the middle of a bitter strike.

The response the *Militant* team has been getting is inspiring.

They've spent a lot of time going door to door in the towns that dot the range: McKinley, Gilbert, Virginia, Parkville, Iron Junction, Mud Lake.

Decent housing is scarce in the area and many of the workers live in mobile homes clustered in small trailer parks.

"I knocked on the door of one of these trailers Friday evening and found an iron ore worker, his wife, their small child, and a friend gathered around the supper table," said Schwarz. "They invited me in and listened to what I had to say."

"As soon as I mentioned the *Militant's* coverage of the strike, the young iron ore worker jumped up from the table and said, 'You've just sold me. I believe in that strike, although I'm not on strike since I'm in another union. But what those strikers are doing is important. It's for their children, and that's what matters.'"

This area has a rich tradition of labor militancy. It was the scene of a major strike led by the IWW (Industrial Workers of the World) in 1916.

One older worker they visited at home told them he was "a leftist from way back" as he bought a subscription.

Another worker, an activist in the Democratic Party, said he had already seen the *Militant* on the picket line.

"I don't agree with you about the Democratic Party," he said, "But you know what you're talking about on this strike."

The team has seen other signs that the *Militant* has been getting around on the Iron Range.

"We're running into some workers who bought subscriptions from teams that were up here earlier," Schwarz said. "We've found a single *Militant* is read by more than one person. One woman said she reads her sister's copy. Another said she reads the *Militant* they get in the trailer down the way."

"We always ask them what they think of the paper, and they say they like it—especially the coverage on the strike."

When the latest revelations of FBI spying were brought out by the SWP's suit against the government, it made front-page news in the Duluth paper. Duluth is the nearest city with a sizable population.

The television stations viewed by people on the range come out of Duluth. When the news broke, the team contacted the stations and offered to give an interview. Two stations broadcast Schwarz's comments on the evening news. He said he was visiting the area on behalf of the *Militant*.

People the team met in the next few days said they had seen Schwarz and liked what he had to say.

On the morning of September 26 Schwarz was interviewed for fifty minutes on a Hibbing radio talk show.

And one night they attended a steel local meeting in Chisholm, where eight workers got copies of the *Militant*.

...steel jobs

Continued from front page

higher taxes for workers—probably both.

Weaker pollution controls will mean dirtier air and water.

Increased productivity means speedup, and elimination of jobs.

In their flag-waving “Buy American” propaganda, the steel companies pretend their goal is to provide jobs for American workers. This is a cynical lie. Capitalist enterprises have only one goal: *profit*.

While feigning sympathy for the plight of jobless steelworkers in Ohio and Pennsylvania, the steel trust is showing its true face on the Mesabi Iron Range. There it has been trying for nine weeks to break a strike by 18,000 steelworkers—and one of its tactics is to import iron ore!

The same week that Youngstown Sheet & Tube fired 5,000 workers and pinned the blame on imports, it was revealed that the company was buying foreign steel for its own Indiana Harbor plant. Questioned by reporters, the plant manager said: “Why does anybody buy Japanese steel or TVs or anything? Because there is a price advantage to do so.”

The steel companies can be either for imports or against imports—whatever makes them the most money.

Import curbs will not save steel jobs. That is not the steel companies’ intention. They want import restrictions to protect their monopoly prices and monopoly profits.

Meanwhile the U.S. steel corporations proceed with their real plan: to become more competitive on the world market by increasing productivity and wiping out jobs. And they want taxpayers to hand over the hundreds of millions of dollars needed to modernize aging steel mills.

Import restrictions by U.S. industries will in fact *jeopardize* jobs, because they are certain to provoke retaliation from other capitalist countries. Such escalating protectionism in the 1930s virtually choked off world trade and deepened the world depression.

But what is the alternative? The starting point is simple: *the company propaganda cannot be trusted*. Many steelworkers are rightly suspicious of the companies’ claims that they cannot afford to operate cleanly and safely. Jim Balanoff, director of United Steelworkers District 31, has called for “some way we can check to see if what U.S. Steel is saying is true.”

Yes—there is a way to find out: by fighting to open all the books and records of the steel corporations.

There is talk of a congressional “investigation” of the steel crisis. But the Democrats and Republicans cannot be relied upon to uncover the truth. Workers themselves—through union committees, environmental groups, and consumer organizations—have the right to know.

In the books of the steel trust workers will find the facts about monopoly pricing, hidden profits, tax swindles, government handouts, executive salaries and bonuses, payoffs to Democratic and Republican politicians, and schemes to subvert health and safety laws.

These facts will prove that the current steel crisis is the result of corporate profiteering. Workers did not cause this crisis and workers should not be made to pay for it.

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.

Such a fight to protect jobs and living standards requires political action. But today the labor movement is politically powerless—bound hand and foot to the Democratic and Republican parties. Both have shown they are securely in the pockets of the steel profiteers. Workers need their own political party—a labor party—to fight back against the offensive of the employers.

The McBride leadership in the steelworkers union is acting as enforcer of the steel companies’ extortion plot. It tells steelworkers that Japanese workers are their enemy and that the steel bosses are their ally. It tells workers they must chose between jobs and a clean environment.

This treacherous leadership is so busy lobbying for aid to the steel companies that it has failed to lift a finger to aid striking steelworkers on the iron range.

Defense of workers’ needs—not corporate greed—means a fight for the opposite course. It means a fight to:

Support the iron ore strikers!

Oppose speedup, layoffs, and import quotas!

Reopen closed plants!

Open the books of the steel trust!

Southgate holocaust

Last May 28 a tragic fire struck the Beverly Hills Supper Club in Southgate, Kentucky, just south of Cincinnati. Nearly 3,300 people were in the huge entertainment complex at the time. A full twenty minutes passed between the discovery of the flames and the warning of the audience in the club’s Cabaret Room.

A few hours after the fire began, it was all over. The second worst nightclub fire in history—164 dead, hundreds more injured.

A state attorney general’s report has been released. The findings—the Schilling family, owners of the club, conspired with the state fire marshal, contractors, and government agencies to design and maintain a building that a local paper described as “built to burn.”

The chief electrician was told to use non-insulated wiring “because it was cheaper.” The Beverly Hills had no alarm or sprinkler systems. Phony blueprints were purchased to falsify the number of exits. The architect’s original plans are mysteriously missing. Fire doors were kept locked, to prevent anyone from seeing a show without a ticket. Insurance raters noted flagrant fire law violations, yet upped insurance rates rather than force repairs.

On the night of the fire, the Cabaret Room was overcrowded by more than 800 people. Bodies were later found heaped in a closet with a red exit sign above the door. Many employees were killed—they had never been informed of evacuation procedures.

The Kentucky fire marshal has been suspended (with pay), and the governor has called up a grand jury to consider criminal proceedings against the Schillings. But for the survivors of Beverly Hills, the memory of murder for profit will remain for a long time.

Carol Knoll
Cincinnati, Ohio

Jazz performance

It was good to read the report in the September 23 *Militant* on the “Evening in Solidarity With Political Prisoners” held during the Socialist Workers Party convention.

It was very rewarding to hear Reza Baraheni read his poetry and to hear Thiago de Mello perform.

In addition, I would add that it was a very real treat to hear the jazz performance by Thiago, along with Rich Lesnik on saxophone, Lou Matthews at the piano, Bob Auld on trumpet, and John Wertz on bass. They were superb.

Harry Ring
Los Angeles, California

Reply to a reader

In last week’s *Militant* Jim Brown raises four criticisms of our editorial opposition to grain production cutbacks: “American food is a luxury in energy terms,” Brown writes; because of future population growth “maximum food production in the present is bad”; “even socialist economics would not demand production of items that would go to waste”; and, according to Brown, the United States does provide large amounts of food “free to many children of the world.”

Brown’s only correct point is the third: A socialist economy would not produce items that would go to waste, and this would be one of its great strengths compared to capitalism. The fact that, in a world where people are starving, surpluses are allowed to go to waste to keep up prices is a uniquely capitalist phenomenon.

The urgent problem is that *right now*

hundreds of millions of people the world over are starving. The fact is that American agricultural technology is so advanced that it could make a gigantic step towards providing this desperately needed food.

I wonder if Brown realizes that, for example, the productivity of American farmers is 100 times the productivity of farmers in China! The crying shame is that the capitalist United States refuses to provide food and advanced agricultural technology the world over.

This is where we disagree with Brown’s first point, of criticizing American food production because of its relatively high consumption of energy. I took this same question up at some length in my review of Barry Commoner’s *Poverty of Power* and readers may want to look back at that (July 8 *Militant*, p. 15).

Briefly, Commoner and Brown weigh too heavily the fact that agricultural equipment consumes a lot of gas. In a world where famine and starvation are widespread the pressing problem is to get these “gas-guzzling” tractors abroad, to help in any way possible the poorer semicolonial countries on the road of technological advance away from agricultural poverty.

And this is why we so strongly condemn the idea of actually cutting agricultural production in the United States. If and when there are surpluses they should be bought up by the government and given away free abroad. This would protect American farmers from drastic price drops; it would provide a useful outlet for U.S. government expenditures; and it would be a step toward meeting the needs of the semicolonial peoples.

Brown’s second point, that food production should be cut back to provide for future population growth, seems to rest on the false assumption that the world food supply is limited. On the contrary, as U.S. agricultural production itself testifies, there are few limits to the amount of grain, wheat, and cattle that can be produced under proper technological and climactic conditions. What prevents American (Canadian and Australian) agricultural abundance from spreading is the inability of the poorer nations to pay for it. The key to feeding future populations is to break down the capitalist monopoly on wealth.

Finally, it is simply not true that the United States gives a lot of food away. Its notorious “Food for Peace” program has long been known as a front for political maneuvers, including those by the CIA.

Dick Roberts
New York, New York.

Antigay ban

In December 1976, I filed a lawsuit against the U.S. Bureau of Prisons contesting its ban of gay publications.

Due to the recent government backlash against gay people, this may be a very important case. The bureau has already won one such suit because the plaintiff in that case was apparently unprepared for the legal issues involved. (See *Smith v. Benson*, No. TH 75-201-C, S.D. Ind.) I have not made that mistake, having spent the past year compiling statistics on rape in prison—which appears to be the main bureau argument—and on gay literature, per se.

Needless to say, support—*moral* support—is needed. If we lose this case, the bureau and the rest of the government will have two precedents against the human rights of gay people.

I am interested now in preventing the government from rushing this case

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international **socialist** review



Deportations and the Chicano Movement

By Olga Rodriguez

Miguel Pendás



A Communist Woman in Revolutionary China

By Chen Pi-lan

THE MONTH IN REVIEW

Union Heads in Conflict

Unions are under increasing fire from the employers and capitalist politicians. Mass unemployment has been accompanied by attacks on unions of teachers, municipal employees, steelworkers, and coal miners. The AFL-CIO's legislative program has met defeat all along the line, while reactionary "right to work" forces are making headway.

Union membership dropped by 767,000 in the past two years. Only 20.1 percent of the work force is organized. Nonunion shops pose a growing threat to the unions in the auto, rubber, printing trades, construction, and other industries.

The reputation of the union leaders has been sagging. "I've seen some polls lately that rank labor leaders just above car salesmen," commented United Auto Workers head Douglas Fraser. The union tops earned much of this low esteem by opposing the struggles of oppressed minorities and women, opposing demands for a safe environment, and slavishly supporting U.S. foreign policy.

Dissatisfaction with the labor bureaucrats is deepening within the unions as the ranks note the officialdom's insensitivity to their needs and inability to win concessions.

These problems are leading some top bureaucrats to grow restive under the domination of AFL-CIO President George Meany, who has become a symbol of class-collaborationist and reactionary policies.

Some journalists who follow the union movement forecast the rise of a "new militant bloc of labor officials" around the UAW's Fraser that will challenge Meany. (The UAW is considering reaffiliation with the AFL-CIO, which it left in 1968.) Presidents William Winpisinger of the International Association of Machinists and Jerry Wurf of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees are also named as potential leaders of this grouping.

What are the views of this nascent "militant bloc"? Articles by B.J. Widick in the March 26 and September 3, 1977, issues of the *Nation* magazine are quite revealing.

A one-time UAW staff member, Widick is an unrestrained admirer of the UAW leadership and of Fraser in particular. (In a typical gush of hyperbole, he describes Fraser's relationship with former UAW President Leonard Woodcock as "the most impressive display of maturity and collective leadership that the modern labor movement in this country ever witnessed.") Widick's articles seek to present Fraser's views in the most positive light.

The key to Fraser's strategy for reversing

the decline of union power is a closer alliance with the Carter administration and the Democratic Party.

According to Widick, the 1972 elections "broke Meany's grip on top labor leaders in a crucial area of national politics: whom does labor support?" Independence from Meany did not mean independence from the ruling class, however. While Meany was "neutral" for Nixon, Fraser and the other "militants" backed the Democrat McGovern. In 1976, Meany "missed the boat again," Widick says, by backing Sen. Henry Jackson in the Democratic primaries while the UAW was supporting Carter.

According to Widick, the group around Fraser believes it can wheedle more concessions and patronage from Carter than Meany can. Indeed, Widick implies that the Meanyites have been too hard on Carter lately. Widick complains about a recent White House meeting where AFL-CIO officials criticized Carter's failure to back Meany's legislative package:

"The yelling and cursing at an Oval Office conference were, to say the least, counterproductive. The labor leaders at that session forgot whom they had to deal with. A Baptist President did not take kindly to these rough responses."

According to Widick, the UAW leaders' more sycophantic approach got results: "The AFL-CIO, with the cooperation of the United Auto Workers, extracted two promises from the Carter administration." One was Carter's verbal support for measures to "streamline" the antilabor National Labor Relations Board. Second was a promise to press for minimum-wage increases pegged to the cost of living.

One promise has already been tested. Congress gutted the minimum-wage bill, eliminating provisions for cost-of-living increases and removing millions of workers from minimum-wage provisions. Carter then dropped his "support" for the AFL-CIO proposal.

Widick may reason that the defeat was caused by demure legislators' disgust at Meany's table manners—surely a little suave diplomacy from Fraser would have reversed the outcome! The real causes of the tension between the capitalist politicians and the labor bureaucracy lie deeper than Meany's brusqueness or Carter's religious sensibilities.

The capitalist class, which the president and Congress represent, is out to reverse advances that the labor movement has made in the past forty years. They aren't willing to make major concessions in order to placate the workers and buy off the labor leaders. Union heads such as Meany and Fraser who support Carter and the Democrats in the face of these attacks only encourage the rulers to press further. Differences in style won't change anything in this regard.

(Of course, the UAW officials' loyalty to Carter has not gone completely unrewarded. Former President Woodcock has been given a plush assignment as the head of the U.S. mission in Peking. Auto union bureaucrats

may regard such opportunities for "advancement" as more than adequate compensation for supporting an antilabor administration.)

Fraser's claim that he and his cothinkers can reverse the decline in union membership should be viewed skeptically. In an interview accompanying Widick's article in the September 3 *Nation*, Fraser promised: "The UAW and other unions will be devoting resources to Southern organizing in the months ahead." To facilitate this, "we're devoting a great deal of energy to supporting the labor law reform proposals in the Congress."

Fraser evidently dreams of a repetition of the 1930s when, as he sees it, the Roosevelt administration "helped" the unions to organize. Under the pressure of vast workers' struggles in the 1930s the government backed away from the all-out antilabor stance of earlier decades, recognizing the right of unions to organize and to engage in collective bargaining—although not without official interference and restrictions.

The rulers today have no intention of fostering such organizing efforts. They want to undermine the positions won in the past by the unions. They count on class collaborationists like Fraser to block or derail mass struggles of the kind that won the battles of the 1930s. Fraser cannot both organize the South and preserve his alliance with the Democrats—Carter would find that much more offensive than a few obscenities in the Oval Office. Since supporting Carter is the keystone of Fraser's strategy, plans for organizing the South will remain in the talking stage.

Changing labor's image will prove a sticky problem for the "militant bloc." Placing the union movement on the side of women, Blacks, and Chicanos, and in opposition to the capitalist destroyers of the environment, would mean a head-on collision with Carter.

No such shift is forthcoming. In the *Nation* interview, Fraser endorses Carter's proposals on welfare, energy and undocumented workers—all measures attacking the vital interests of workers. He adds his voice to the chorus calling for punishment of the Blacks and Puerto Ricans who tried to better their lot during the New York blackout.

The capitalist offensive is compelling workers to look for effective means of fighting back in defense of their jobs, living standards, and unions. Fraser and the developing "militant bloc" simply offer the old Meanyite policies in a shiny new wrapper. The big promises of the anti-Meanyites—that they can get "more" out of Carter, that they can organize the South with government help, and that they can revitalize the unions—will be revealed as little more than hot air.

The workers will need leadership of a different caliber in order to transform the unions into an effective instrument for the defense of its members. They need leaders who rely not on cajoling Democratic and Republican politicians, but on mobilizing the vast power of the working class and all the oppressed.

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review

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The *International Socialist Review* appears in the *Militant* that is published the first week of every month.

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Chicanos and the Fight Against Deportations

Carter's campaign to deport thousands of undocumented workers and deprive millions of others of their basic human rights presents a challenge to the leadership of the Chicano movement.



Undocumented workers held by 'la migra' near Mexican border

By Olga Rodríguez

The following is based on a report adopted at the convention of the Socialist Workers Party held last August.

In late February of this year, the newly elected Democratic Party administration floated a trial balloon, revealing plans for stepping up the superexploitation and repression of immigrant workers. Carter aims to increase job discrimination through the device of making it illegal for employers to knowingly hire undocumented workers; beefing up the Border Patrol; stepping up *migra* raids in the Chicano, Black, Puerto Rican, and Asian communities; and introducing an internal passport system for all workers in the United States. On August 4, a plan containing many of these elements was submitted to Congress.

The capitalist rulers' attempts to institute such a plan underscore the seriousness of the offensive against undocumented workers and the threat and challenge this poses for the entire working class.

In response to the Carter administration's racist plans, José Angel Gutiérrez, a central leader of the Texas Raza Unida Party, issued a call for action. He is urging Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, other Latinos, and their allies to unite in a nationwide campaign in defense of undocumented immigrants, and of the rights and living standards of the Chicano and Latino peoples. Gutiérrez and other Chicano leaders have called for a national conference, on October 28-30, in San Antonio, Texas, to discuss a response to the Carter anti-alien offensive. This initiative, and the broad endorsement the conference has received, are among the most significant developments in the Chicano movement in several years.

The Carter administration's drive on deportations occurs in the context of U.S. imperialism's overall offensive against the working class. How has this affected the Chicano people? What has been the response of the Chicano leadership to

these attacks? And what should revolutionary socialists do as participants in and supporters of the movement that is developing in response to the government's anti-alien campaign?

Despite the upturn in the capitalist economy, the social and economic position of Chicanos and other Latinos continues to deteriorate. Every blow in the capitalist offensive against the working class strikes the Chicano community with double force. This is because of the dual character of the oppression Chicanos face. The Chicano people suffer special oppression as a nationality; at the same time, they are one of the most exploited layers of the working class.

Official unemployment in the Chicano community remains twice the national average. According to the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), unemployment among Latinos is as high as 42.1 percent in some places. This, coupled with drastic cuts in social services across the country, and rising inflation, is pushing Chicanos and other Latinos deeper into poverty. The income gap between Chicanos and Anglos is widening.

Recent court rulings eroding affirmative-action programs have reinforced discrimination in hiring and education. The result is to freeze Chicanos and other Latinos in the worst-paying, dirtiest, and most dangerous jobs, thus perpetuating their second-class status in American society.

Actions this June by Congress and the Supreme Court barring the use of Medicaid funds for abortion pose a life-and-death question for the Chicano people. Not only do such measures condemn thousands of Chicanas to forced motherhood, or death or maiming at the hands of back-alley abortionists, but they also mean more thousands will be forced to "consent" to sterilization as the price for obtaining an abortion.

This is the backdrop to the Carter administration's drive to limit and regulate the influx of Mexican and other foreign labor entering the United States. This attack on immigrant workers from Mexico, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Jamaica, and other Caribbean and Latin American countries is the most burning issue facing Chicanos and Latinos today.

Beginning with the 1974-75 depression, the capitalist rulers began to escalate anti-alien propaganda and to step up the deportations and harassment of undocumented workers. The boss-owned daily papers run screaming headlines about the "hordes" of "illegal aliens" stealing jobs and using up "our" limited social services.

Raids by *la migra*—the hated Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS)—into the Chicano and Latino barrios where undocumented immigrants live have increased dramatically. Factories, places of entertainment, even soccer matches—are now subjected to frequent sweeps by *la migra*.

Antideportation activists have been framed up in an attempt to intimidate those who defend the rights of the so-called illegal aliens. The most recent example of this was the attempt by the federal government to prosecute four counselors from the Tucson, Arizona, Manzo Area Council, which provides legal services to undocumented workers and others in the Chicano community. Fortunately, broad support for the victims of this frame-up forced the government to retreat. The Carter administration's aim is clear: Make undocumented and other immigrant workers the scapegoat for everything from high unemployment and rising taxes to urban blight and crime in the cities. The whole campaign, designed to whip up a pogrom atmosphere, is aimed primarily at *mexicanos* and other immigrant workers. But it inevitably includes as prime targets Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and other oppressed nationalities.

The capitalist rulers are using the anti-alien drive to camouflage their shifting of the burden of the capitalist crisis onto the backs of the working class. To do this, they have targeted the most vulnerable and least protected layers of our class. It is a classical racist campaign, singling out a whole people with special characteristics as the cause of unemployment, crime, disease, and the other evils of capitalism. By pitting workers who hold citizenship against immigrant workers, the capitalist rulers seek to deepen the divisions they have created within the working class.

This xenophobic drive coincides with an unprecedented large wave of migration from Mexico to the United States. The stepped-up migration of Mexican labor to the United States began in 1964, with the end of the Bracero Program. That program enabled U.S. agribusiness and other select U.S. industries to contract with the Mexican government for temporary labor. The end of the Bracero Program effectively established a low quota on Mexican immigration. It meant the bulk of those migrating from Mexico to find jobs in the United States had to do so "illegally." But this did not slow down the immigration. In fact, the deep economic crises in Mexico and throughout the colonial and semicolonial world have

Olga Rodríguez, a member of the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party, edited and contributed to The Politics of Chicano Liberation (New York: Pathfinder, 1977).

accelerated the immigration, driving literally millions across the U.S. border in search of jobs.

Deportations of *mexicanos* and others without papers have occurred for a long time. The number deported, however, has steadily risen from an annual average of about 40,000 up until 1965, to nearly a million last year.

The government recently cut the annual quota of 40,000 legal immigrants from Mexico in half. Thus, for every single *mexicano* entering the United States legally today, the government deports 50 who have come in without immigration papers. Government estimates of the numbers of immigrant workers without papers vary from 3 to 12 million. The figure most often used is 8 million.

An estimated one million new "illegal" immigrants enter every year. The majority—more than 75 percent—come from Mexico. The new immigrants go directly to the major urban centers and many find work in such labor intensive industries as textiles, garment, and electronics. They earn wages that rarely go above the minimum wage, and often fall below it. Some get jobs in basic industry, like steel, where they get the worst jobs at the lowest rates of pay.

The Capitalists' Dilemma

Carter and the class he serves are very concerned about the long-term political and social effects of a huge increase in the Spanish-speaking population in the United States. In the face of the growing immigration from Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean, the capitalists are attempting to shift their immigration policies. In doing this, however, they face a dilemma.

Immigrant labor—with and without work permits—provides a section of capitalism's reserve army of labor. This is true not just in the United States, but in all the advanced capitalist countries. Immigrant workers in Britain, Sweden, France, Germany, and other Western European countries, as well as in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and Japan, are the targets of similar racist and xenophobic drives by the capitalist governments.

Because of the tenuous status of this section of the working class, the bosses are able to reap superprofits from the labor of undocumented workers and get an extra bonus besides: The low wages undocumented and other immigrant workers receive put a downward pressure on the wages of all workers.

The use of immigrant workers as convenient scapegoats at times of crisis also helps to undermine class solidarity by promoting jingoistic sentiments among workers who have papers. During economic downturns, dramatic deportations and anti-alien propaganda help the capitalists divert attention from the real causes of the crisis and to promote reliance on their government and their political parties by giving the illusion that they are doing something to ease unemployment, reduce taxes, and stop the cuts in social services.

U.S. imperialism has historically attempted to control immigration from Mexico like a faucet: to increase the flow of cheap labor when it suits their needs, and to limit immigration during periods of crisis. But the faucet is always on. Even during periods of economic downturn, the bosses always let in a certain number of undocumented workers to meet their constant need for cheap labor.

Carter has been promising a new program on immigration since late February. But week after week, month after month, the administration was forced to postpone its announcement. The obvious question is why? It certainly isn't due to lack of sufficient data. Speaking at a symposium in Dallas, Secretary of Labor F. Ray Marshall said the problem of the so-called illegal aliens has been studied more closely by the Carter administration than any issue other than energy.

The problem is that the ruling class has conflicting needs and faces conflicting pressures. They fear the long-range consequences of a massive Latino migration: the development in the United States of what some call a "Spanish-speaking Québec." At the same time, significant sections of the capitalist class need a superexploitable layer of the working class, which at present only the so-called illegal aliens can provide.

There is also another element to their dilemma. They want to promote hostility toward undocumented workers among the mass of citizen workers of all nationalities in this country. But a



LEONEL CASTILLO

campaign against immigration creates an atmosphere against permitting the necessary cheap labor supply to enter. At the same time, such a campaign risks provoking opposition among the large number of Latino citizens and among broader layers of the working class as a whole.

To try to forestall resistance from Chicanos and other Latinos to his immigration policies, Carter appointed a Chicano Democrat, Leonel Castillo, to head the INS. Castillo has the necessary credentials as a loyal Democrat who will faithfully carry out the bidding of the Carter administration. He is the closest thing to a Chicano Andrew Young, that the ruling class could come up with. While Castillo doesn't have the extensive ties to the Chicano movement that Young has to the Black movement, his assignment is to play a similar role to that which Young plays in promoting the U.S. government's policies in Africa: that is, Castillo must try to keep the Chicano and Latino communities in check, while driving the capitalist rulers' policies through.

A 'New Civil Rights Movement'?

The biggest contradiction the capitalists face is the impact of immigration on the Chicano, Puerto Rican, Black, and Asian-American communities. A qualitative growth of the Latino population can only increase the social weight of the Chicano nationality, and add new power to the demands already being pressed by the Chicano, Puerto Rican, and Black communities for equality and social justice. The need for independent political action by Chicanos and other oppressed national minorities will be posed in a much sharper way as their ranks grow. It is this—the specter of a "new civil rights movement" fighting for basic democratic and human rights precisely when the capitalists are trying to curtail rights and lower expectations—that terrifies the capitalist rulers.

There is a great concern, for example, among the rulers that in California, Blacks, Chicanos and other Latinos, Asian-Americans, and Native Americans now comprise almost 35 percent of the state's total population. A report released in June estimates that if present trends continue, by 1990 California will be a state where the majority—more than 60 percent—will be people of the oppressed national minorities.

A recent study by Arthur Corwin, a Harvard professor, spells out the rulers' fears. This study was commissioned by the government to assess the potential impact of the new immigration on American society. This is how the capitalist class sees it:

"If surplus people from the Third World continue to flow over American borders into select ethnic enclaves"—and they mean the Chicano, Puerto Rican, and Black communities—"... and if the population growth of the American 'bourgeoisie' remains stationary, and if the federal funding of ethnic pluralism continues much as

now, then one could expect the continued 'Latin Americanization' of such urban areas as New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, San Antonio, and many other communities. . . ."

The ultimate outcome of this, according to the report, will be the creation of "Raza states," "Chicano Québécois," where the idea of alternative political parties would flourish. "... biculturalism and polarized politics," this report says, "are virtually institutionalized in the border states."

A 'Chicano Québec'

"If there is a continuation of the present near-breakdown in border control," the report warns, "... and if the militants continue to capture 'the socializing institutions,' then the prospects might be that in one or two generations half of Texas could become a 'Chicano Quebec,' under a separate political arrangement. The same phenomenon could conceivably happen in regions of New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, and southern California, as the 'reconquest of Aztlán' unfolds." And, to reassure his employers that he is not floating somewhere out in the twilight zone, Professor Corwin points to the Raza Unida Party-run "Republic of Crystal City" as the first step toward the Chicano Québec of Texas.

The capitalists and their mouthpieces have cause for concern about the example being set by the Québécois in their fight for separation from the Canadian state. Chicanos and other oppressed nationalities will more and more be inspired by the struggle of the Québécois for language rights and self-determination. They will more and more draw the parallels to their own struggles in this country to determine their own destinies. With the influx of *mexicanos* and other Spanish-speaking immigrants, the language question—with its close parallels to the struggle in Québec—is being pushed to the fore in a new way.

In his speech to a meeting of Mujeres Unidas in Houston, José Angel Gutiérrez recounted his impressions of his first visit to Mexico City. He explained that the capitalists themselves act as if there is no border between Mexico and the United States. He made the point that U.S. and European imperialists cross Mexico's border all the time and that the signs of this are everywhere in Mexico City—from billboards depicting blond-haired, blue-eyed people endorsing some product, to Kentucky Fried Chicken franchises and U.S., British, and other European banks. "This isn't Mexico City," he exclaimed, "This is San Antonio!"

You get the reverse impression in a city like San Antonio. On a recent trip to that city, I was driving around with a friend who had just arrived and was seeing San Antonio for the first time. My friend was struck with how San Antonio looked like Tijuana, Mexico. The composition of the population of San Antonio, its restaurants and barrios—all look more like Mexico than like what most people think of as the typical American city. And the more *mexicanos* that come into San Antonio and other cities like it in the United States, the bigger the problems for U.S. capitalism.

More and more the border is being seen as the artificial dividing line it is. A line that separates families and friends; that separates workers from the chance to make a living by selling their labor power; that separates the working class of the United States from their sisters and brothers in Mexico. More and more Chicanos and other Latinos will begin to see that the racist government that set up those lines through conquest, and enforces the border with armed might, has no right to determine who shall or shall not enter the United States. Moreover, short of using a neutron bomb, they *cannot* stop this immigration.

The crisis of imperialism is hitting Mexico and other colonial and semicolonial countries with greater force than in the imperialist countries. The peso has been devalued twice in the last eighteen months. Of every ten *mexicanos* of working age, four are either unemployed or underemployed. The crisis has devastated agricultural areas in Mexico, forcing hundreds of thousands of landless peasants into the cities in search of nonexistent jobs. The inability of the Mexican economy to absorb these workers and the dim prospects for any improvement in the situation have driven 10 percent—yes, 10 percent!—of Mexico's 63 million people across the Rio Bravo into the United States, in order just to survive.

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A Communist Woman in the Second Chinese Revolution

Recalling the stormy years of 1925-27, a Chinese revolutionist describes her experiences in the Communist Party and the fight for women's liberation.



CHEN PI-LAN

Joseph Hansen

By Chen Pi-lan

The following article is the first of two installments dealing with the experiences of the veteran Chinese revolutionist Chen Pi-lan in the Chinese Communist Party and women's movement during the second Chinese revolution of 1925-27.

A previous article by Chen, "Rebel in a Chinese Girls School" (September 1976 ISR,) described her participation as a student in struggles for women's liberation.

Chen Pi-lan joined the Chinese Communist Party in 1922 at the age of twenty. In 1924 she was among those selected to attend the University of the Toilers of the East in Moscow. When a revolutionary upheaval broke out in China the following year, Chen returned to participate.

After the bloody defeat of the second Chinese revolution at the hands of Chiang Kai-shek, Chen Pi-lan and her husband, Peng Shu-tse, were expelled from the party. They were accused of "Trotskyism" for criticizing Stalin's policy of supporting Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang.

Later Chen was a founder of the Revolutionary Communist Party of China, serving on its political bureau. In 1949 Chen and Peng were forced to flee China as the Maoist regime launched a campaign against Trotskyists, who supported the overturn of Chiang but were persecuted for criticizing Mao's antidemocratic practices. Some disappeared and many others were imprisoned without trial. The Chinese government has been silent about their fate. Chen and Peng have lived in exile ever since.

Chen is currently engaged in writing her memoirs.

The translation of this article from the Chinese is by Jane Tam.

In my last article I described my experiences and activities in the beginning of the students and women's movements in Wuhan. Here I will recount my experiences in the women's movement during the second Chinese revolution, from 1925 to 1927. My activities at that time were not limited to the women's movement, nor can the women's movement be separated from the historical and political background of the revolution as a whole.

In April 1923, after leaving Wuhan, I arrived at Shanghai via Peking to enroll in the sociology department of Shanghai University, where I also studied Russian. A year later, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) sent me to the University of the Toilers of the

East in Moscow for a three-year course. In 1925, however, an anti-imperialist and antiwarlord upheaval swept all of China following the May Thirtieth Incident.¹ Faced with a shortage of cadres to lead the rising mass movement, the Standing Committee of the Central Committee wired to the Moscow section of the CCP to send capable comrades back to China from the University of the Toilers of the East.

At the beginning of August 1925 I was formally notified by the executive committee of the CCP section in Moscow that I was to return to China immediately. I gladly accepted this decision despite some misgivings at giving up the plan to complete my three years of study in Moscow.

We were the first group to return to China. Our leader was Ch'en Ch'iao-nien, Ch'en Tu-hsiu's son, and all were males except me and Ts'ai Ch'ang, the wife of Li Fu-ch'ün. I was the youngest. All the others had been in France in work-study groups before they transferred to Moscow.

In Shanghai, when the central standing committee discussed my assignment, there were only three members present: Ch'en Tu-hsiu, Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai, and Chang Kuo-t'ao. The other two members, Peng Shu-tse and Ts'ai Ho-sen, were hospitalized because of illness. Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai was the first to speak, saying that I should stay in Shanghai, which he considered to be the most important place because of its fast-growing revolutionary movement. Ch'en Tu-hsiu completely agreed with this. Ch'en Ch'iao-nien, however, had a different opinion. He strongly recommended that I be assigned to Honan, where important revolutionary opportunities had been reported, particularly among women workers and students. Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai did not agree with that at all, but Ch'en Tu-hsiu was finally persuaded. Three days later I took a train to Kaifeng.

Move to Honan

At that time, the second commander in Honan, Yüeh Wei-ch'ün, belonged to Feng Yü-hsiang's clique.² Feng Yü-hsiang had decided opportunis-

tically to lean toward the Soviet Union on the expectation that he would get the same kind of aid—money, ammunition, and advisers—that the Kuomintang (KMT) had received since it had cemented its alliance with the CCP in 1924. In October 1924, after Feng had defeated Ts'ao K'un and Wu P'ei-fu, the rival warlords in his own clique, he was contacted by the Russian ambassador in China, Karakhan. Feng became a "revolutionary general" overnight and was granted extensive Russian aid. This assistance was extended to his second commander, Yüeh Wei-ch'ün, and other subordinates.

To qualify for Russian aid, the opportunistic warlords such as Feng were compelled to practice a certain amount of democracy. This provided an opening for the CCP to participate in the actively developing workers movement in cities such as Tientsin, Tangshan, Chengchow, etc. As a result, the All-China General Railroad Union was founded in Chengchow, the peasants movement began to organize, and the girl students in Kaifeng were becoming active.

Wang Jo-fei, a native of Szechwan, had been on a work-study program in France. He was later transferred to the University of the Toilers of the East in Moscow, where he studied for three years. He returned to China in March 1925 with Lo I-nung. Wang was the CCP's special deputy for Honan, in effect the party's highest leader in the province, outranking the provincial secretary and the chairman of the All-China Railroad Union. Wang was in overall charge of CCP activity in Honan, in constant consultation with the Russian advisers (there were more than thirty Russian advisers in Kaifeng at that time).

As soon as I arrived in Honan, Wang Jo-fei assigned me to do propaganda work—to prepare a series of speeches for various schools. He told me that to be accepted as a speaker one must be a professor, prominent scholar, author, or a returned student from abroad. He had spoken at several schools as a returned student from France, and he coached me on how to present myself as also having been in France, since returned students from Russia would not be accepted. He gave me a lot of French postcards and briefed me on conditions in France. He saw that I was hesitant, but he told me not to worry, because in spite of my youth I was mature in my speech and manner and should be able to handle any problems that came up.

Then he made arrangements for me to speak on the woman question at Honan Provincial Girls Normal School, on the student movement at the Provincial Girls Middle School, and on the May Thirtieth Movement at Honan Teachers College and the Provincial Boys Middle School.

1. On May 30, 1925, twelve students were killed by British troops in Shanghai while protesting the murder of a Chinese worker at a Japanese-owned factory in that city. This sparked a general strike that spread throughout the country.

2. Feng Yü-hsiang (1882-1948) was a North China warlord, known as the "Christian General." In the early 1920s Feng was a secondary leader of the Chihli faction of generals led by Wu P'ei-fu and Ts'ao K'un. In October 1924, he set up his own army, the Kuominchün, or People's Army. Feng joined the Kuomintang in the spring of 1926, and in June 1927 supported Chiang Kai-shek against the Wuhan "left" Kuomintang government and the CCP.

After my speeches at the girls schools, many groups of activists visited me at my residence. I encouraged them to form student associations to fight for their democratic rights. I met with them quite often, and later urged them to work with the student associations in other schools to form a provincial students federation. My proposal generated great interest, as it would make possible open social contact between the sexes. The girl students previously had no contact with the students in the boys schools. In a short time student associations were formed in all the schools in Kaifeng, and not long after that the Honan Provincial Students Federation was formed with headquarters in Kaifeng.

Organizing Students and Workers

Of course, the successful organization of the students was chiefly a result of the impetus given by members of the CCP and the Youth League in the boys schools. At that time the girls schools had no CCP or Youth League members in them.

Though Kaifeng was my base of activity, Wang Jo-fei sent me to Chengchow for propaganda work when strikes or mass rallies took place there—making speeches and writing articles. On one occasion, all the men and women workers in the textile mills in Chengchow (which were branches of the main mill in Shanghai) staged a general strike against superexploitation, particularly of the women and children workers by the big capitalist Mu Ou-ch'u. The strikers demanded wage increases, shorter working hours, and better treatment for the women and children workers.

I arranged through someone I knew to be given a room at the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) in Chengchow. One day I gave a speech to a group of workers from the balcony of its second floor and a large crowd gathered in the big yard below. I urged them to stand firm in their strike until victory was won. I especially pointed out the deplorable conditions of the women and children workers. After my speech, some women workers came up to see me. Each wanted to be the first to tell me her story. Later, based on these stories, I wrote articles in the *Workers Daily*, an improvised publication for the duration of the general strike, edited in the YMCA building.

During the strike the group of women workers who came to my speech took me to a textile mill in which only women workers were employed. The most upsetting and touching scene was the sight of a young infant, who still needed to be breast-fed, sleeping on the dirty floor by a machine in a stuffy room.

The strike ended with the workers winning a substantial victory. I returned to Kaifeng and continued to work with the activists at the two girls schools. I engaged them in discussions of the problem of women's liberation.

Not long after I returned Kaifeng, Wang Jo-fei assigned me to speak at Chungchow University, leaving it up to me to choose the topic. I told Wang that since Chungchow was the highest educational institution in Honan, the topic, as well as the content of my presentation, had to be different from those I had given before. Instead of agitation aimed at immediate action it should be an analysis of the objective situation and the tasks and perspectives that flowed from it from a theoretical and historical viewpoint. Wang did not make any comment, but he told me to go ahead and do the research.

After laborious research, I decided to present a series of historical facts about the imperialist invasions of China—economic, political, cultural, and military—since the Opium War. I drew the connections between this background and the currently developing May Thirtieth Movement.

As my rickshaw arrived at the university gate I saw a large crowd going in. A large number of outsiders were attending in addition to the students. The auditorium was packed. The president and professors of Chungchow University were seated at the sides of the podium as well as the principals and teachers of the provincial normal schools.

After a brief introduction by the university president (I used a pseudonym, Li Li), I proceeded to speak from notes. (It was the Chinese custom not to use a written-out speech.) I was quite at ease—paying attention to my gestures, the pitch of voice, and the reaction of the audience. In addition, with an attentive audience



A young woman addresses a 1927 political rally

(there was not a sound during my entire speech), I could concentrate on the topics I wanted to cover and give the speech more effectively. Great applause broke out when my speech of nearly two hours was over.

That night Wang Jo-fei heard from other comrades that my speech was very successful. He wanted to know the content and I told him. He was pleased and considered that it met the needs of the situation—agitating the masses.

Soon after, the Honan Provincial Students Federation took up one of the demands raised in my speech, calling for the formation of an anti-imperialist united front composed of representatives from schools, trade unions, organizations, and prominent individuals such as professors, editors, authors, and reporters.

Repression under a 'Revolutionary General'

When the founding congress of the Honan anti-imperialist united front was convened, the meeting hall was packed to capacity. After passing a manifesto and constitution, the meeting elected a leadership by secret ballot. Though I participated in the congress as an individual and not as an official CCP representative, I won the largest vote of those elected. Ironically, this victory became a brake on my activity in the united front, because I was too conspicuous to be ignored by the principals of the provincial schools. Without officially denying me entrance to their schools, they made it virtually impossible for me to meet with student representatives on campus. This sudden coldness by the school principals reflected the attitude toward the CCP of Feng Yü-hsiang's Honan deputy, Yüeh Wei-chün.

Although Yüeh permitted a certain amount of democracy to retain material assistance from the Soviets, at the same time he felt instinctively threatened by the rapid development of the CCP, which led the students, workers, and peasants movements. So he kept a close watch on the activities of CCP members, especially those who were publicly known. After making speeches in several schools, Wang Jo-fei was forced to go underground. Another target was Hsiao Ch'u-nü, one of the founders of the CCP section in Hupeh and the chief editor of a "legal" periodical in Honan, which had a permit from Feng Yü-hsiang's Kuominchün. Hsiao did not have a grasp of Marxist theory, but he was fully committed to the fight for genuine democracy and to the overthrow of the imperialists. In addition, he was a talented agitator.

One day, Wang Jo-fei arrived at my residence in Kaifeng from Chengchow and told me that Hsiao Ch'u-nü had been expelled from Honan and was now in Canton. As for my situation, Wang had information that the authorities were planning to move against me and that it could mean something worse than expulsion. He

thought that I should immediately leave Honan, and had written to the central committee in Shanghai for advice. Since the answer would not be received for two weeks, he told me for the time being to take refuge in the home of one of Yüeh Wei-chün's Russian advisers.

Wang's decision concerning my leaving Honan was probably prompted by the following episode: One day a comrade from the Whampoa Military Academy came to visit me from Canton. The next day we visited the headquarters of the All-China General Trade Union and talked to the people in charge there. After the visit, I stayed overnight with a woman comrade who lived in the headquarters. The next evening we heard gunshots at the front gate. We rushed downstairs and discovered Comrade Mao Yen-chen dying in a pool of blood. Wang was quickly sent for. When he arrived, he was stunned, as we were, for we had not thought that a CCP member could be murdered in an area under the control of the Revolutionary Army.

Back to Shanghai

At the beginning of October 1925 the central committee's letter arrived, transferring me back to Shanghai. The first day I arrived there I visited Ch'en Tu-hsiu and Ts'ai Ho-sen at the central committee office, reporting in detail on the general situation in Honan. The central committee then decided that I should participate in the Shanghai Regional Committee. (This committee was responsible for the provinces of Kiangsu, Chekiang, and Anhwei.)

After staying at a hotel for a few days, I moved to Wang I-fei's home. Wang was the secretary of the Shanghai Regional Committee and had rented two small apartments that he shared with a woman worker comrade.

My assignment, in addition to working on the regional committee, was to be the secretary of its women's bureau. I told them that I was too young to be put in a leadership position and would rather do practical work, starting by contacting workers in order to fully understand their living conditions and consciousness. Wang felt I should work in the regional committee to fill the pressing need for staff, but he also saw the correctness in my idea of starting at the rank-and-file level. He finally agreed with me and sent me to Tsao Chia Tu, a working-class district, to participate in the work of the local committee. My job was to be secretary of the women's bureau of the local committee, mainly in charge of the women workers movement.

I took a small room on the second floor of a laundry in Tsao Chia Tu. It was simply furnished: a wooden bed, a table, and two benches. Every evening, groups of women workers would come to see me in my room. We talked about working conditions and how to fight for shorter hours (they worked a ten- or twelve-hour day),

equal pay for men and women, and other demands. In a short time we developed a good rapport, as these women were factory activists and participants in the May Thirtieth Movement.

After about a month, I was transferred back to the regional committee and assigned as secretary of the women's bureau. I also became a member of the regional standing committee, which was made up of the secretaries of the five bureaus: the secretariat, organization, propaganda, workers, and women.

In Shanghai at that time the May Thirtieth Movement had passed its peak and all the workers had returned to work. But the May Thirtieth Movement had awakened the majority of the population—workers, students, peasants, and radical elements of the petty bourgeoisie—and swept them into the revolutionary tide. As a result, the CCP and the Youth League were expanding at an unprecedented pace despite the restraints placed on them in their political and propaganda work by the policy of cooperation with the KMT. Even though the majority of CCP and Youth League members were in the KMT, they were still able to retain the leadership of the mass movement.

For a Chinese October

Ideologically, except for a few opportunistic leaders such as Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai and Mao Tse-tung (whose views are illustrated in their writings of the time), the majority of CCP and Youth League members viewed membership in the KMT as a tactic that would serve as a cover for the CCP to expand its mass influence. They hoped not for a bourgeois national revolution but for an "October revolution." That was my aspiration and I believe it was shared by the most committed and devoted members. This could be inferred by their not showing as much respect for CCP members who worked for the KMT as they did for those who worked for the CCP.

A few days before the celebration of the anniversary of the October revolution, I wrote an article entitled "The October Revolution and Women" for *Women Weekly*, a supplement to the *China Daily*, a KMT newspaper. In this article, in addition to analyzing the current situation, I explained in detail why the complete emancipation of Chinese women was conditioned on the realization of an "October revolution" on Chinese soil. After reading my article, the chief editor of the *China Daily* told me apologetically, "Under the terms of the KMT-CCP cooperation, both parties agree that the present Chinese revolution is to be a national revolution, so it is impertinent to publish articles about proletarian dictatorship. You may be in charge of *Women Weekly*, but I, as chief editor of the *China Daily*, have final say in the publication of any article in the paper's supplement."

I asked him in reply, "If the chief editor decides what articles will be published in *Women*

Weekly, what is the function of its editor?"

"I don't mean to take away your job," he said. "You've edited the past few issues with all the articles coming from your side [the CCP]. I have never interfered or changed them. But this time I could see from the title of your article that its content contradicts the policy of cooperation between the KMT and the CCP, and then I find out that it is just that. I regret that we can't publish it."

That evening I returned to my apartment, feeling very downhearted. I felt strongly that nothing could be accomplished as an editor of a supplement in the Kuomintang's *China Daily*. Why didn't the CCP have its own publication for women? Soon afterward, I raised this question at the regional standing committee and I asked to resign from my editorial post. The committee granted my request, and I formally resigned from my membership on the Kuomintang Shanghai Executive Committee. This episode of working under the Kuomintang amply proved that the Kremlin's policy went against the needs of the CCP. It also proved that the bourgeois Kuomintang was hostile to the ideas of communism and recognized them instinctively as its enemy.

I did remain a member of the executive committee of the KMT's women's bureau, but I went to its office less regularly. The majority of the participants in its Shanghai meetings were CCP and Youth League members. Its head, however, was Yeh Ch'u-cheng, a male Kuomintang member. The KMT could not find an appropriate woman for the post, and did not want to put a CCP member in it. Yeh was also the editor-in-chief of the *China Daily*. He was old-fashioned and a reactionary and had a tendency to ramble on in the meetings. He had no idea what the women's bureau was for, and felt he had fulfilled his duty as its chairman if he convened a meeting. All of us in the CCP sharply criticized him at meetings, which put him in an embarrassing situation. There were only a few KMT members who attended, and they kept quiet to stay out of the line of fire.

The Women's Coalition

In that period, my time and energy were all consumed in party work and the women's movement. Each day from 9:00 a.m. until noon I attended meetings of the regional standing committee. There were always intensive discussions in the meetings. Comrades responsible for the workers and students movements, and also those who functioned inside the Kuomintang, all came to these meetings to hear the directives and to discuss certain issues. Sometimes at night I represented the regional standing committee at local committee meetings to make political reports and explain the work directives and so on. The local committees were in workers districts. I spent each afternoon at the Shanghai Women's

Coalition, which was formed after I came to Shanghai.

The Shanghai Women's Coalition drew together women from all walks of life: workers, students, teachers, authors, etc. It was founded at a huge meeting in a local auditorium. From that time on, thousands of women had marched under its banners in every demonstration and rally.

The women's movement was then under party leadership, and in one sense it was a party assignment like other areas of party work. I felt, however, that since Chinese society had been deeply influenced by thousands of years of the old feudal ideology, Chinese women faced special problems in breaking up the age-old stereotypes used against them.

A special independent women's magazine would be a forum to explain to women facts and theories on how to fight for their ultimate liberation and to raise some immediate demands such as equal pay for equal work. In addition, this women's magazine would be run by women, from the editors to the writers, based on the belief that only women could fully understand the sufferings of their own sex. I made this point to the leadership of the women's coalition, and everybody agreed that we should have our own publication. The problem was money.

We asked the CCP Central Committee to approve publication of a women's magazine. This was granted, on the condition that party financial aid be temporary, with the perspective that the women's movement take over financing of the magazine once it was established. The Shanghai Women's Coalition became the official sponsor of the magazine, and I was named editor at the head of an editorial board of five. The first issue of *Chinese Women* appeared in December 1925.

Chinese Women received an enthusiastic response from the public. Progressive teachers and students from all the girls schools in the big cities in central China—such as Nanking, Soochow, Hangchow, and Wushih—wrote to us for subscriptions. Some schools in Soochow and Hangchow also invited our editors to give talks about women's issues.

In January 1926, as the revolutionary ferment deepened in Shanghai, the Central Committee of the CCP transferred Lo I-nung from Peking to replace Wang I-fei as secretary of the regional committee. Lo was a more able administrator and agitator than Wang. The regional committee itself was also reorganized, and two of its five members were replaced, though I and Wang Shou-hua, the head of the Shanghai General Labor Union, were retained.

A Secret-police Tail

Chao Shih-yen became the new secretary of the organizational bureau. He was an energetic man and was able to attend the meetings of five local committees in addition to his other duties. It was decided that I should no longer attend these local meetings, as a young woman attending meetings in the workers districts would attract the attention of the undercover police.

I did continue to attend the women workers' activist meetings, organized by Wang Ya-chang. We were not so easily spotted at these all-women meetings. Once, however, Wang and I were followed by an undercover detective as we left a meeting and were riding home in a rickshaw. We switched to a bus, and then back to a rickshaw, but he did the same. He wasn't trying to arrest us, but just to find out where we lived. He knew we would not carry incriminating documents with us, and he would have to find our homes to have them searched.

I whispered to the rickshaw puller to take us to the entrance of Jen Yuen Lane on Fu Sheng Road. A number of lanes branched off from that spot, and in addition there was a legal office there, the Kuomin Press Agency, in which the whole staff were comrades. When we reached the place we quickly paid the fare and ran into the back alleys, making many turns and finally losing the detective.

Wang and I separated and I then made my way to the back door of the Kuomin Press Agency and told the comrades there what had happened. Then I asked the director of the agency, Comrade Shao Chi-ang, to go to my residence and bring back a change of clothes so that I would not be so easily recognized when I



Students at Canton University hold nationalist rally on July 28, 1926



Cheh Tu-hsiu, founder of Chinese Communist Party.

went back onto the streets. All of this care was necessary because my residence was also the office of the Central Propaganda Bureau.

Besides myself, several other comrades lived there, including Peng Shu-tse, Cheng Ch'ao-lin, and a technician comrade. We also kept a great number of party documents, books (including Russian books), magazines, and newspapers.

This experience was my first lesson in illegal work. It proved useful later, introducing me to the techniques used by the secret police, their style of dress, etc.

The factories were at that time constantly under surveillance by undercover agents, who watched the activities of the workers closely, especially the activities of the intellectual youth among the workers. These undercover agents were sent by the warlords after they discovered the formidable power of the workers in the May Thirtieth Movement.

Demonstrations and Street-speaking

With the exception of the Canton area in the far south, which was held by the KMT, the country was torn by the fight between two warlord factions, the Fengtien and Chihli cliques.³ This clash provided an opportunity for the revolutionary masses to engage in struggle. In Shanghai, for example, the regional committee had held several huge mass meetings in Hsi Men Stadium in the south of the city. A rally of more than 100,000 people was held when the Fengtien faction was defeated by the Chihli group, headed by Sun Ch'uan-fang. The rally raised the following slogans:

Oppose the tariff conference; For tariff autonomy;⁴ Lift the ban on the Shanghai General Labor Union and the other mass organizations;⁵ For the right to hold meetings, the right to free association, the right to strike, and the right of free speech.

At the end of the meeting, when the people were ready to march, the police squad blocked the doors, allowing only individuals to go out. It

3. After the revolution of 1911 overthrew the monarchy, China became a republic under the military rule of General Yüan Shih-k'ai. Following Yüan's death in 1916, the northern military rulers broke apart into warring cliques. By 1924, the two principal groupings in North China were the Fengtien and Chihli cliques. The Fengtien clique took its name from the region around Mukden in Manchuria and was headed by Chang Tso-lin. Chihli is an earlier name for Hopei Province. This group, headed by Wu P'ei-fu and Ts'ao K'un, controlled Hopei, Honan, and Shantung.

4. The Treaty of Nanking of 1842, imposed on China after its defeat in the first Anglo-Chinese War, prohibited the Chinese government from levying a tariff of more than 5 percent on imported goods from the imperialist West. In October 1925, the imperialist powers held a tariff conference at Peking, which promised to restore tariff autonomy to China, but this was not to take effect until 1930.

5. Chang Tso-lin's Fengtien troops occupied Shanghai at the beginning of 1925. They banned the Shanghai General Labor Union in mid-September. A few weeks later they were defeated by Sun Ch'uan-fang. On November 29, the union was permitted to reopen its headquarters, but on December 10 Sun closed the union's offices and sought to suppress it.

was impossible to march out without breaking through this blockade. The decision of the presiding committee was that we should not back down, and the women's coalition was assigned a place at the head of the march. As soon as we successfully pushed our way out, the other groups fell in behind us. As we marched, we held up our banners and signs on which were written all kinds of slogans with colorful ink. We also chanted militant slogans.

In addition to such confrontations with the military at the mass meetings, the Shanghai Women's Coalition carried out the task of organizing street-speaking teams and teams to put up wall posters. Once, our speech team (four of us), made speeches for a whole day as we progressed on the streets from the Chinese territory to Nanking Road in the Foreign Settlement (the only break was to eat a bowl of noodles in a restaurant). Nanking Road was the commercial center in Shanghai. There were several big department stores, many smaller stores, and banks. It was crowded with pedestrians.

We would borrow a stool from a store to use as a speakers platform (many of them sympathized with our anti-imperialist speeches). As we began to talk, a crowd would gather. Then, when the police and their big black van appeared, we would quickly mingle with the crowd and escape. Sometimes the four of us separated, and each of us went into a shop or a department store to buy something as a way of covering our tracks.

Toward evening, our team moved from the prosperous commercial center to the outlying workers district. There we spoke to crowds of workers as the factories let out for the night, using a big, old-fashioned, one-wheeled hand cart as an improvised speaking platform.

Shortly before March 8—International Women's Day—the regional standing committee decided to hold a big celebration in the name of the Shanghai Women's Coalition to propagate the ideas of women's liberation. It was also decided to publish a special issue of *Chinese Women* to sell at the meeting. I worked on both the special issue and the arrangements for the rally.

The celebration began in the early afternoon on March 8, at a large auditorium in Hsi Men. Many men as well as women attended. In addition to speeches and entertainment, the rally ended with a play, whose theme was to explain the reasons for women's liberation and the steps women should take in this direction. I played the part of the most radical woman. When I was onstage, I saw many familiar faces in the balcony opposite me—a large number of leading party cadres including most of the central committee were there (except Ch'en Tu-hsiu, who avoided public appearances). This was the first time in Shanghai, under the rule of warlord Sun Ch'uan-fang, that we were able to hold a large-scale public meeting in celebration of International Women's Day.



Feng Yu-hsiang, the 'Christian general,' who sought to win Moscow's aid by radical demagoguery.

Defying the Authorities

Ten days after the International Women's Day celebration, we received the news of the March 18 tragedy in Peking.⁶ We were all tense and grieved, and very angry. The regional standing committee decided to call a meeting for the activists. The following afternoon about a hundred people crowded into a meeting room. Everybody sat on the floor. Lo I-nung opened the meeting with a report on what had happened in Peking. Then many people took the floor, angry and with various action proposals. It was unanimously decided to immediately call a mass meeting to mourn the martyrs of Peking, to protest the brutality of the Peking government, and to challenge the imperialist powers.

It was imperative that the mass meeting be exceptionally large. If Tuan Ch'ui-jui's government in Peking could murder revolutionary demonstrators without protest, then warlord Sun Ch'uan-fang could do the same thing in Shanghai. And we would have to be well prepared to guard the demonstration against disruption, or confusion when attacked.

The rally was held at two in the afternoon in a big empty lot in Chapei, on Chingyun Road in the Chinese territory. The meeting was encircled by row upon row of garrison soldiers, police squads, horse troops, and machine-gun troops. As in the past, the Shanghai Women's Coalition was assigned to stand in the front line, next to the troops. The turnout was very large, with contingents from various factories, schools, and mass organizations.

While speakers were addressing the crowd, I and some other women members of the party and the Youth League talked to the police and soldiers individually, explaining that the imperialists used the Chinese warlords to murder Chinese citizens, and that their guns should be used to drive the imperialists out of China and not to kill their own people.

At the end of the program, the crowd lined up to march. Kuo Lung-chen held up the banner of the Shanghai Women's Coalition, and under it Yang Chih-hua and I led the women's coalition ranks toward the exit. There we were met by the garrison troops, who pointed their bayonets at our chests and said: "No march allowed today!"

Yang and I argued with them at bayonet point: "Why isn't it allowed? It's our right!" Their answer was very simple: "We were ordered by the higher-ups."

Then, at a signal from our director, we lowered our heads and ducked under the soldiers' guns. As we got outside, we heard the sound of gunfire. I turned back and saw a cloud of smoke. Those already outside started to scatter, but those still in the lot could see that the soldiers were firing into the air, and continued to march forward. After the women came the longshoremen, headed by Lin Yü-ying. Lin had been badly cut in the head by a bayonet, but he climbed the podium and urged everyone to continue the march. The crowd at this time was close to 200,000 people, a majority workers, which inhibited the authorities. After firing in the air failed to intimidate the demonstrators, the soldiers and police retreated rather than carry out a massacre that might provoke unknown consequences from the working class. The march was held without further incident.

On March 20, immediately after the demonstration in Shanghai, Chiang Kai-shek carried out a coup in Canton. Li Chih-lung, a CCP member, was arrested; the headquarters of the Canton-Hong Kong Strike Committee and the Russian advisers' residence were placed under siege. When this news reached Shanghai the whole party was stunned. This was the first attack on the CCP by the bourgeois representative Chiang Kai-shek.

(To be continued)

6. In early March 1926, Feng Yü-hsiang's Kuominchün troops blockaded the Taku forts on the outskirts of Tientsin, an act interfering with foreign access and violating the Boxer protocol of 1901. Eight foreign governments delivered an ultimatum to China's nominal government in Peking demanding the removal of the troops. On March 18, Chinese students, led by the CCP, held a demonstration in Tien An Men Square in Peking to protest this foreign encroachment on China's sovereignty. Police fired on the students, killing up to 200.

...Deportations

Continued from page ISR/4

The Mexican government, for its part, views this immigration as necessary—as a safety valve to relieve the pressures on an already volatile situation. Carter's meetings with Mexican President José López Portillo, where Mexican immigration was one of the main topics discussed, highlighted how concerned Washington is with this problem. Of course, the Mexican president has no concern for the deportees. He just wanted to bargain with Carter to determine how many of the workers could be deported. The impact that restricting the flow of Mexican labor into the United States will have on the stability of the Mexican government is another one of the big problems the capitalists have in formulating a new policy.

Impact of New Immigration on Class Struggle

The new immigration and the capitalists' efforts to curb it add an explosive dimension to the class struggle in this country. Immigrant workers—both legal and otherwise—are a permanent part of the American working class.

The American trade-union bureaucracy has historically failed to recognize and accept this fact. They view these workers in much the same way they see women workers and workers of the oppressed nationalities. That is, as nothing more than a temporary—and inferior—part of the work force. With only a few exceptions, notably the United Farm Workers leadership, the American trade-union officialdom has done nothing to bring undocumented workers under the protection of the trade unions. Even the UFW leadership has vacillated between a correct position on this question and the reactionary position of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy. The UFW leaders today support the rights of undocumented workers, and they assert the right of the UFW to organize these workers. But in the past they have made some serious errors on this question, and the UFW leadership remains under constant pressure from the AFL-CIO bureaucrats to reverse its correct position.

The record of the U.S. trade-union officialdom, going all the way back to the positions of the early AFL, has been one of siding with the employers and their government's harassment and deportations of Mexican and other immigrant workers.

Today, the George Meanys and the Albert Shankers howl about how the so-called illegals steal jobs and burden the American worker with taxes. The only demand they make on the capitalist government is to deport more undocumented workers. Their reactionary stand on deportations is cut from the same cloth as their campaign in favor of protectionism. Their slogan is the same as the bosses' slogan on this question: "Buy American and hire American." This stance has nothing to do with protecting existing jobs, expanding job opportunities for the so-called American worker, or weakening the class enemy. These bureaucrats base themselves on the relatively more privileged layer of the U.S. working class rather than on the oppressed and most exploited workers, including immigrant workers with or without work permits. This is a natural outgrowth of their hidebound class-collaborationist outlook.

But as the crisis of U.S. imperialism deepens and the dead-end strategy of the present union misleadership of relying on the Democratic and Republican parties ends in more defeats, layoffs, cutbacks, and union busting, divisions and cracks in the labor movement—including within the bureaucracy—will occur.

We have already seen signs of this. The most important recent example was the position taken by Steelworkers Fight Back in the course of the campaign for international offices in the United Steelworkers union. Ed Sadlowski and the other Fight Back candidates defended undocumented workers as brothers and sisters who should be organized and whose rights should be defended.

The Fight Back candidates tagged the government's racist campaign for what it is: a deadly trap for workers and part of the bosses' game to divide and weaken the labor movement that must be rejected. Nash Rodríguez, who was one of the Fight Back candidates, has recently endorsed the upcoming San Antonio national conference against deportations.

Fight Back's stance on the question of deporta-

tions was a radical departure from that of most of the present trade-union bureaucracy. It helps to point the way forward for all of labor, as do the positions of the United Farm Workers Union, the Texas Farm Workers, and other trade unionists who have stepped forward on this issue. Defending the rights of undocumented workers and getting labor support for the San Antonio conference is an issue that socialists ought to raise in every trade union.

An example of what can be done is the excellent work done at the recent convention of the National Education Association (NEA) held in Minneapolis. There, supporters of the San Antonio conference were able to secure the endorsements of individual delegates for the conference, as well as that of the Chicano caucus of the NEA. It should be noted that the NEA took a position reaffirming its support for free public education for all children, regardless of citizenship status. This position was taken despite opposition from the NEA affiliate in Texas, which had passed a resolution urging the state to charge tuition to the children of undocumented workers.

A correct position on the undocumented workers is not simply a moral question for the trade-union movement. *It is a life-and-death matter if the unions are to survive as instruments to protect and advance the interests of working people.* The defense of undocumented workers from deportations and the demand that all civil and human rights be extended to them, including the right to organize into unions, help to weaken our class enemy. These demands must be a key part of any program claiming to represent a class-struggle left wing in the unions.

The majority of the work force in the United States today are Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, other Latino, women, and young workers. The working class will become more, not less, Chicano. *More mexicano. More Puerto Rican. More Dominican. More Colombian. More Panamanian. More Nicaraguan. More Latino.*

A correct position on undocumented workers is important not only for the labor movement. This is becoming an issue for the Black struggle as well. What stance to take on deportations is a big question for the Black community. Leading spokespersons of Black organizations such as the NAACP, the Urban League, and the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists have tended to take the wrong position on this question. But the discussion is only just beginning, and part of the work we must do in the Black movement is educating on the need to defend undocumented workers against deportations.

Challenge Facing Chicano Leadership

The Carter administration's offensive against undocumented workers, like the entire capitalist drive to curtail the rights and push back the wages and living standards of the working class, puts the entire Chicano leadership to a severe test. The majority of the Chicano people maintain deep illusions in Carter's ability to deliver on his promises of more jobs, social services, and equality. Like Blacks and women, Chicanos are still reeling from the blows of the ruling-class offensive.

In the face of the serious incursions on Chicano rights and the steadily eroding standard of living of Chicanos, the majority of Chicano leaders continue to counsel reliance on the Carter administration and the Democratic Party-controlled Congress, which they worked to elect. They oppose independent action in the streets to struggle for the demands and needs of the Chicano community.

With a few important exceptions such as the Raza Unida parties in Texas, California, and New Mexico, Chicano leaders joined with Mexican-American elected officials in an effort to turn out the Chicano vote for Carter in 1976. This included such community organizations as League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) and GI Forum, Chicano trade-union officials, and the leadership of the United Farm Workers union. The main goal of most of these forces in getting Carter elected had nothing to do with winning more jobs for Chicanos, defending equal education, or halting the deportations. The Chicano leaders who stumped for Carter were most concerned with securing a few posts for themselves and their cronies in the Democratic Party administration. This meant proving themselves to the Democratic Party by stifling any independent initiatives by the Chicano community in response to attacks on its rights.

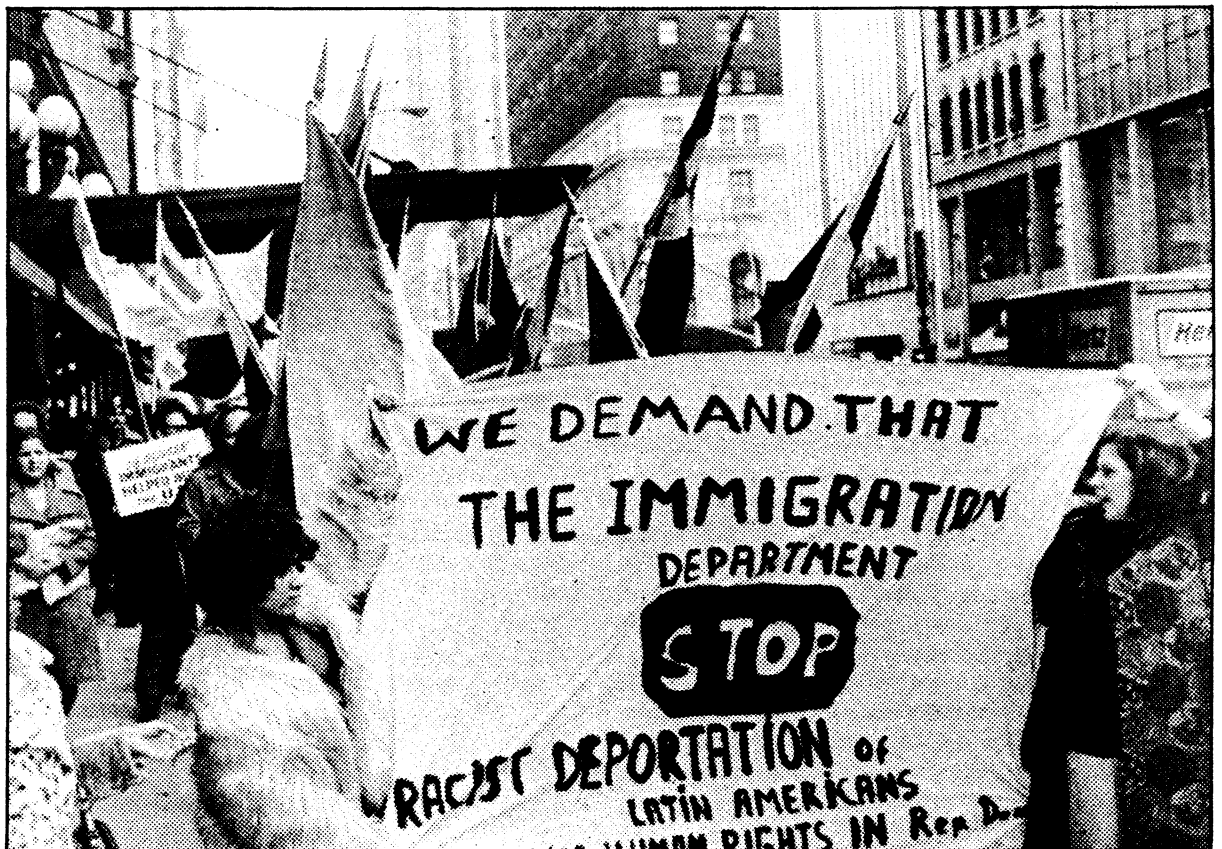
A large number of eligible Chicanos didn't bother to vote at all. This indicates the depth of disillusionment in the government and the ruling parties. But of those who did vote, the overwhelming majority turned out for Carter, swinging the election in his favor in a number of states.

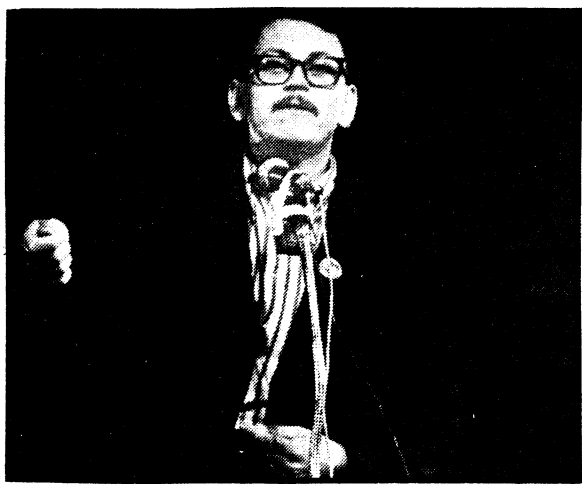
The crisis of leadership and perspectives in the Chicano community is best exemplified by the almost total lack of response to the attacks on affirmative action, the escalating attacks on undocumented workers, and the recent judicial rulings undermining school desegregation.

Because the majority of the present Chicano leadership looks to the Democrats and not to the Chicano masses, they have defaulted in bringing to the Chicano community the truth about the offensive against undocumented workers. They were quick to hail Carter's appointment of Castillo as head cop of *la migra*. They have spent a lot of time meeting with Castillo about the "problems" posed by undocumented workers, rather than demanding action against the deportations. They operate not within the framework of the needs of the Chicano community, but within the framework of what the capitalists need to do to make their policies more palatable to the Chicano community.

The Chicano masses for their part are directly and adversely affected by the government's anti-alien drive—through *migra* raids in barrios, on the job, and in recreation areas, as well as through racist discrimination by employers who see little difference between "legal" *mexicanos* and Chicanos, and "illegal" undocumented ones.

The task that confronts the Chicano movement today is to mount an effective counteroffensive to the government's campaign against undocumented workers. What is needed is an organized campaign of education and action on a national level. We need a campaign to expose the rulers'





JOSE ANGEL GUTIERREZ

Howard Petrick

lies that paint immigrant workers as the enemy of working people. Such a campaign would explain who is really responsible for the miserable conditions in the barrios, including the lack of jobs and declining social services: the capitalists and their government. A movement of this kind would aim to win allies in the labor, Black, and women's movements, and among all those fighting for democratic rights. Chicanos could establish ties with the Dominican and West Indian communities on the East Coast, where hundreds of thousands of undocumented workers live. Such a movement would help to mobilize all of these forces independently of the Carter administration and the Democratic and Republican politicians, to demand a halt to all deportations. Such a movement would go a long way toward cutting across the deep divisions in the working class that have been created and promoted by the bosses.

Carter's Plan

Carter has submitted a proposal to Congress that will maintain the superexploited, second-class status of undocumented workers and continue the deportations. His latest proposal calls for amnesty for those immigrants without papers who can prove they have been here for at least seven years. Carter is also proposing that those who entered before January 1, 1977, be given work permits but be denied rights. These workers are the modern-day indentured servants. Anyone entering after that date would be deported.

Thus Carter's so-called amnesty would affect the legal status of only a small fraction of the estimated 8 million undocumented workers in the country. The amnesty is included in an attempt to further undercut opposition from the Chicano and Latino communities to his full program.

The new plan omits any reference to a national identity card. While Carter was forced to put this internal passport proposal on the back burner for the time being because of opposition among labor leaders and organizations such as the American Civil Liberties Union, the capitalists have not given up on this idea. The implications of such an identity card are serious. It would give the bosses something they would dearly love: a computerized system that would keep tabs on and control the work force. It is no small irony that the first president in this country to propose this police-state measure in a serious way is Mr. Human Rights himself.

The response to Carter's proposals by the dominant section of the antideportation movement, including a layer of Catholic church-connected individuals and organizations, Puerto Rican and Chicano Democrats, and some Chicano community organizations, has been to proceed within the framework established by the capitalist government. The May 21 *San Diego Union* reported on a meeting of the Hispanic Advisory Committee of the INS. The twenty-one-member committee—which includes the American GI Forum; the National Council of La Raza; and AYUDE, a jobs program—first heard Leonel Castillo explain the Carter plan for amnesty, which at that time called for a residency requirement of three to five years. Good Americans that they are, this organization countered with the proposed cutoff date of July 4, 1976.

Herman Badillo, a Puerto Rican member of Congress from New York, also proposes amnesty. Speaking at a New York symposium on immigration sponsored by the Catholic church-led Immigration Services Center, Badillo explained what he considers a "meaningful amnesty" in this way:

"Presently, I am submitting legislation which

will provide amnesty for all those immigrants who were here on July 4, 1976, the day of our Bicentennial. Those who were here on that date are not going to automatically become American citizens, but will simply be treated as if they had come here legally. Then they will have the same five-year period to establish their credentials as American citizens."

A proposal similar to Badillo's was supported by the majority of those participating in the symposium, including Dominican, Jamaican, and other organizations concerned with the plight of undocumented workers, as well as the Catholic church.

These forces start from what the *capitalist government* wants, not from the needs of Chicanos, *mexicanos*, Puerto Ricans, Dominicans, and other Latinos—"illegal" or otherwise. Since most of these liberals start by accepting U.S. imperialism's borders as inviolable, and believe that the capitalists have a right to restrict immigration, they do not support the call for an end to all deportations. Instead, they seek to get the government to "liberalize" its present policies.

The response to the Carter proposal from the independent-minded forces in the antideportation movement, including people like Gutiérrez, has been quite different. In answer to Carter's so-called amnesty, they have countered with a call for a halt to all deportations, for immediate, full, unconditional amnesty for all undocumented workers, and the extension of full civil and human rights to these workers. We think they are 100 percent right on this.

The position of the Socialist Workers Party on workers migrating to the United States is the one that Marx and Engels laid out in the *Communist Manifesto* 130 years ago: The working class has no borders. As revolutionary socialists, we believe that *anyone* who wishes to cross the "sacred" U.S. border should be able to do so and enjoy equal rights at all levels with those already living in the United States—including the right to vote, organize into unions, engage in political activity, and avail themselves of all social services. We are opposed to any and all deportations and any law or action aimed at limiting the rights of the new immigrant workers.

Carter's program is a program for continued exploitation and oppression of immigrant workers based on imperialist racist chauvinism. As such, it must be opposed, and countered with the demand for immediate, full, and unconditional amnesty for all; no deportations; and the extension of full rights to all workers, regardless of citizenship. Such demands reject any idea that these workers are criminals, and place the responsibility for the problems where it rightly belongs—on the criminals in Washington and their imperialist masters. Up to this time those who hold this position in the antideportation movement have been a minority. Many of the Chicano and Latino activists who do agree with these demands don't yet see how more powerful allies can be won to support and champion this position.

The Antideportation Movement and the Raza Unida Parties

It is in this context that we can see the importance of the initiatives taken by leaders of the Texas Raza Unida Party—and supported by leaders of the New Mexico RUP, some Southern California Raza Unida parties, Chicano students in the MEChAs [Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán], UMAses [United Mexican-American Students], and MAYOs [Mexican-American Youth Organization], and others—to build a national response to the government's attacks.

The projected national conference and the Gutiérrez "Call for Action" are among the most significant steps that the Texas Raza Unida Party has taken in its short history. The *partido* has been the target of a government campaign designed to destroy it. The Texas RUP has suffered from government frame-ups and disruption plots aimed at weakening the *partido's* influence among Chicanos.

In the last two municipal elections in Crystal City, Texas, where the RUP has controlled the school board, city council, and county offices for more than five years, the RUP suffered some electoral setbacks. A right-wing faction, the Barrio Club, has emerged in the Crystal City *partido* and appears to be moving outside of the RUP. The Barrio Club fielded slates in the last two elections against the Gutiérrez-led slates,

and secured a majority on the school board and city council. The Barrio Club supported Democratic Party challengers to Zavala County offices held by the Gutiérrez-led forces. This faction also aided the Texas attorney general's office in their "investigation" of the Crystal City and Zavala County administrations, which were RUP-led. The sole aim of this inquiry, which never produced any evidence whatsoever of malfeasance on the part of the RUP administration, was to cripple the strongest component of the Texas RUP and to undermine the influence of its leaders.

In response to many instances of Cointelpro-type harassment and disruption efforts, and inspired by the success and example of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance suit against the government, the Texas Raza Unida Party has decided to sue the FBI and CIA to seek an injunction against further harassment. The SWP and the Political Rights Defense Fund have cooperated with the RUP by providing relevant documents received in the course of the SWP suit and by sharing experiences.

In addition to its efforts to defend itself against government harassment, the Raza Unida Party in Texas has just launched a twice-monthly newspaper. This is the first time in its history that the Texas *partido* has a paper expressing its views. This paper, *Para La Gente*,* can be a powerful tool in organizing the *partido* and mobilizing support for its action campaigns. José Angel Gutiérrez is considering giving up the Zavala County judgeship to run for U.S. Congress in a district that reaches just outside of San Antonio. This would be the first federal office sought by the Texas party.

These decisions, coupled with the initiatives taken by RUP leaders to call for a united response to the Carter administration's offensive against Chicanos and *mexicanos*, are a striking confirmation of the power of the concept of an independent Chicano political party. They provide the best evidence that the Texas Raza Unida Party can become a significant force in the Chicano community and can take steps toward building the mass Chicano party that is needed.

It is not accidental that Raza Unida Party leaders and militant Chicano students were able to move out ahead not only of the rest of the Chicano leadership, but also of the Black and labor leaderships, picking up the gauntlet thrown down by Carter with his attacks on the working class. These forces have fewer illusions in the Democratic Party. In the case of the Raza Unida parties, they have a history of opposition to the Democratic and Republican parties. They refused to endorse McGovern in 1972 and refused to support Carter's bid in 1976. Some of these activists, including leaders of the New Mexico RUP, supported the Socialist Workers Party candidates in the 1976 presidential race.

Thus, they have no stake in defending the Carter administration. By taking the initiative in calling a national Chicano and Latino conference to defend the real interests of Chicanos and all working people, independent of Carter and the Democratic Party, the Raza Unida parties put themselves in the vanguard of the fight for Chicano liberation. This conference, and any further activities that may flow from it, represent a potential turning point for the Chicano movement and the building of a class-struggle leadership.

Every Chicano leader recognizes the centrality of the deportation issue to the Chicano struggle today—regardless of what side of the fence they fall on. By helping to build and lead a movement in defense of undocumented workers, the Raza Unida parties can project themselves to the Chicano and *mexicano* masses as a political force that fights for their rights around issues that affect them on a daily basis.

The San Antonio Conference

While the San Antonio meeting has been called as a Chicano and Latino conference, the principal leaders, such as José Angel Gutiérrez, Armando Gutiérrez, and Mario Compeán in Texas, and other leaders in other states, recognize the importance of reaching out to and drawing in Blacks, trade unionists, women, students, and

*Subscriptions: 24 issues (1 year) \$12; 12 issues (6 months) \$6. Address: Para La Gente, P.O. Box 12865, Austin, Texas 78711.

church and other activists, regardless of their positions on other issues. The impressive list of endorsers for the conference gathered so far is clear proof that these allies can be won.

This conference can be an important first step in the direction of building a badly needed multinational, united-front campaign demanding an end to deportations.

Regardless of its size, the conference will provide an important example of how to fight back for all the victims of the capitalist offensive.

The capitalist government, of course, has no interest in having any such example set. It will do everything in its power to undermine this conference. The only way to effectively counter these anticipated moves is to broaden out the coalition and achieve wider participation in the planning meetings for the conference.

Despite the very broad endorsement for the national conference, many of these forces have yet to be actively involved in building it. The main components of the coalition are the Raza Unida parties in Texas and New Mexico, and RUP chapters in Southern California, Chicano student activists, the National Student Coalition Against Racism, some church people, the Manzo Area Council, a few community groups, and the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

A group in Southern California, calling itself the Human Rights Organizing Committee for La Raza, is hostile to the San Antonio conference and the Gutiérrez "Call for Action." This grouping involves Los Angeles CASA—a group that began as an antideportation organization but has since evolved into a political group whose politics tend toward Stalinism and whose posture is more and more sectarian; the Committee on Chicano Rights, led by Herman Baca of San Diego; Raúl Ruiz of *La Raza* magazine; and Armando Navarro of the National Institute for Community Development, a Chicano organization in San Bernardino.

The Human Rights Organizing Committee for La Raza has launched a red-baiting attack on the San Antonio conference, falsely claiming that the coalition organizing the conference, the International Committee on Immigration and Public Policy, has been co-opted by the SWP. This red-baiting is merely a smoke screen to hide their political opposition to the perspective the conference represents. They have called their own conference in Los Angeles for the end of September, where the deportation issue will *not* be the focus of discussion. They originally threatened to hold a counterconference on the same dates as the San Antonio conference, but were dissuaded from this disruptive course. Their divisive red-baiting campaign was reflected in an editorial in the July 22, 1977, issue of the San Diego Chicano paper, *La Prensa*, which stated: "Somewhere between May and July, the effort commenced in Texas became subverted to where it no longer appears to be in the best interests of la raza. It now appears that the Angel Gutiérrez 'Call for Action' has been co-opted by the socialist party. It serves the socialist agenda and not necessarily la raza's."

It will be important to continue to build the authority of the national conference in San Antonio in order to counter the red-baiting. The conference organizers will need to answer these attacks by reaffirming the nonexclusionary character of the conference and once again urging the Human Rights Organizing Committee to join in a united conference. No one, they must point out, will benefit from a factional conflict between Chicano leaders—except the government.

Tasks and Perspectives of the SWP

The participation of the Socialist Workers Party in this conference and in the efforts to broaden it out are very important. This is a national campaign of our party, not just a campaign for our branches in the Southwest, because the issue is a national one confronting the working class as a whole. A movement fighting for the rights of undocumented workers will benefit not only Chicanos, but all working people. There are large concentrations of undocumented workers in cities from New York to Miami, from Chicago to Salt Lake.

The potential for assembling the initial forces in the Chicano movement—forces that can pose an alternative to the class-collaborationist policies of the Democratic Party-oriented misleadership of the Chicano community—can be advanced in the process of building this conference

and the ongoing antideportation movement.

This is the most important Chicano struggle in which the SWP has been involved since the 1971 Chicano Moratorium Against the War in Vietnam. But today we have more Chicano members, more Puerto Rican members, more Latino members as a whole, to lead the party's effort. We have an opportunity to work with, learn with—and from—other Chicano and Latino activists who have stepped forward to lead this movement.

Just as importantly, building the national conference, and whatever further activities are planned as a result of it, provides a great opportunity for the building of chapters of the National Student Coalition Against Racism throughout the Southwest and West Coast. NSCAR's position in opposition to deportations and its participation in building the San Antonio conference will help to demonstrate NSCAR's role as an organization that fights all the manifestations of racism in American society.

We must not forget that our responsibility goes beyond those people who are already beginning to move on this issue. The masses of Chicanos, *mexicanos*, and other working people are directly affected by the capitalist offensive—they're under the gun and are looking for answers. We



Carter's attack on undocumented workers threatens organizing efforts of farm workers

Antonio Camejo

must reach the victims of the *migra* raids, unemployment, and racist education with our analysis and strategy for fighting back. Our propaganda and educational activities will play an even more important role in doing this than at any other time.

In this regard, the Socialist Workers Party 1978 election campaigns are crucial. These will provide us with an opportunity to reach millions of working people with an alternative to the parties of deportation, racism, sexism, unemployment, pollution, and war. Through our election campaigns, we will not only be defending the rights of undocumented workers; we will be explaining the working-class alternative to the offensive of U.S. imperialism against all working people. The need for independent working-class political action is the issue of issues facing all the oppressed and exploited.

We will launch our 1978 election campaigns as early as is feasible. But in the Southwest we have a special bonus. For the first time in our party's history we are in a position—with the establishment of new party branches in Phoenix, Albuquerque, and Salt Lake City, and the strengthening of our San Antonio branch—to counter through our socialist election campaigns not only the Carters, but also the Castillos in *all* of Aztlán—from California to Texas, Nuevo Mexico to Utah, and Colorado to Arizona. We will be presenting our socialist program in a way that revolutionary Marxism has never been able to in Aztlán in the history of the United States—this great modern prison house of nations.

In many of these areas, there will be *two* independent voices responding to and running against the parties that have usurped the lands, rights, and dignity of the original inhabitants of Aztlán. The Raza Unida parties have announced candidates in New Mexico and plan to run campaigns in Texas and California. We say to our compañeros of the Raza Unida parties, the Socialist Workers Party welcomes this. We look forward to collaborating with you in these campaigns, and we are confident that our joint efforts will be a new step in pointing the way forward to *mass* independent working-class polit-

ical action by all of the working people in Aztlán against the racist exploiters and deporters of our class.

Equally important in our propaganda arsenal are the *Militant* and our new Spanish-language biweekly magazine, *Perspectiva Mundial*. These are our most reliable and regular weapons to educate thousands about the truth of the imperialist offensive against *mexicano* and other undocumented workers. They not only help arm our own revolutionary cadres, but they also arm Chicano activists nationally with the political arguments and facts necessary to respond to the government's attacks. The launching of *Perspectiva Mundial* is a big step toward our goal of producing a Spanish-language *Militant*. This publication will be an extremely important tool in the months and years to come in the fight against deportations. *Perspectiva Mundial* will step up its coverage of the Chicano and Puerto Rican struggles, as well as its campaign around the issue of deportations.

In helping to build a movement in defense of undocumented workers, we shoulder an important international responsibility. International labor solidarity with the undocumented workers is decisive because Mexican workers who are driven out of the United States will get no help from the bourgeois government in Mexico. The

close connections between Mexican and U.S. politics and the need for international solidarity underscore the necessity of stepping up and deepening our collaboration with revolutionary socialists in Mexico. The joint statement defending the rights of undocumented workers issued by the San Diego SWP and by the Trotskyists of the Liga Socialista and Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores in Baja California, on Cinco de Mayo is an example of the kind of collaboration we want to increase. The supporters of the Fourth International in Tijuana, for example, are helping to get endorsement in Mexico for the San Antonio conference, and are discussing other ways they can help build support and participation of *mexicanos* at the conference.

Our program for Chicano liberation and our strategy in the fight against deportations will be tested in action against those of our opponents on the left and right in the Chicano struggle. In the course of discussing and debating the politics of this campaign, we will greatly enhance our knowledge and experience in the Chicano struggle and we will win the best activists in this movement to our ranks. In the final analysis, our ultimate task in this campaign, as in all our work, is to build the revolutionary party.

While we do not know what decisions will be made by the October 28-30 national conference on deportations, we can be sure that the campaign the party is embarking on will not end on November 1. If what we have said in the last two years about the crisis of world imperialism is correct—and everything that has happened confirms our analysis—we can expect that the struggles of undocumented workers will be a permanent feature of the class struggle not just in the United States but in all capitalist countries.

It will be a major issue for revolutionary socialists in this country, and our cothinkers in the Fourth International in every sector of the world revolution, until the struggling masses on this planet put an end to the system that profits from oppression and exploitation.

Debate Over the Falling Rate of Profit

Capitalist economists long derided the view that the post-World War II boom would end in a new crisis, but some view current economic difficulties in terms reminiscent of Marxism.

By Cliff Conner

Dick Roberts's article in the July *International Socialist Review*—a review-essay on Barry Commoner's *The Poverty of Power*—focused on a central concept of Marxist theory: the tendency of the rate of profit to decline. It is significant that a popular author like Commoner accepts the validity of that concept.

Most procapitalist economists—and that is what most of the economists in American universities are—have long denied that such a tendency exists. Forgetting that Lord Keynes himself recognized the falling tendency of the profit rate, they claim that this tendency is a myth and the starting point of the whole “metaphysical” system of Marxism. The dominance of capitalist ideology even pressured many self-styled Marxists to conclude that Marx had been wrong on this point.

The bourgeois academics could maintain their false position without direct challenge so long as capitalism itself seemed relatively healthy, that is, until the cataclysmic world crisis of capitalism erupted in the early 1970s.

The evidence piled up so high that non-Marxist economists, including top governmental advisers, were forced to begin debating the question anew. An article in the financial pages of the May 8, 1977, *New York Times* outlined the opposing positions.

On one side is William Nordhaus, “an influential member of President, Carter’s Council of Economic Advisers,” who published a study in 1973 while a professor at Yale. “The Nordhaus study, regarded by many economists as a seminal work, suggested that the profits of American corporations had been withering away for 25 years. . . .

“Mr. Nordhaus suggested that the deterioration was a basic, long-term trend and . . . raised a fundamental question: ‘Does the declining share of profits portend the euthanasia of the capitalist class and indeed of capitalism itself?’”

Ten years ago you couldn’t find one professor

Cliff Conner, a former associate editor of the ISR, is a frequent contributor to this magazine.

in a thousand who would even admit that there is such a thing as a “capitalist class”!

In the other corner, representing a more traditional current of opinion, is Prof. Martin Feldstein of Harvard, president of the prestigious National Bureau of Economic Research, who has published a counterstudy opposing Nordhaus’s.

Feldstein does not deny that there has been a twenty-five-year decline in the rate of profit. But he asserts that it is just a result of “random churning” of the business cycle, and not of a long-term deterioration in the profitability of American capitalism.

The following excerpts from the *Times* article provide a fascinating insight into what occupies the minds of procapitalist theoreticians these days:

“The escalating debate is not just an academic version of the Chicken Little story. Whether it is the sky that falls or the profit rate, the outcome for capitalism could be equally disastrous. . . .

“Most economists agree that profits took a beating from the mid-1960s through 1974.

“Both Mr. Nordhaus and Professor Feldstein show pretax profit rates falling by more than 5 percent from 1965 to 1973, after adjusting for inflation. . . .

“The crucial question is why profits fell, not whether they fell. Was the decline part of a normal cyclical downturn? Or was it indicative, as Mr. Nordhaus suggests, of a long-run slump that is still under way despite the recent recovery? . . .

“Mr. Nordhaus . . . concludes that falling profits cut across the ups and downs of the business cycle—a conclusion that suggests that falling profits are a chronic problem and that a dark cloud may hang over capitalism.

“Using Commerce Department data, he showed profits falling sharply from about 13 percent of G.N.P. [gross national product] in 1948 to less than 9 percent in 1973. . . .

“All of this contrasts with the conclusion of Professor Feldstein that profits ‘exhibit a strong cyclical pattern,’ that the decline from 1966 to 1974 was ‘temporary’ and that it was due to normal cyclical fluctuations . . . and not to a chronic withering away of profits within the capitalist system.”

In interpreting this debate, certain warnings must be kept in mind. First, both sides are committed to defending the capitalist system. When they whine about “profits taking a beating,” they are trying to justify more governmental action to drive down the living standards of the working class, more cutbacks, “more of less.”

Second, and most important, is that while the *rate of profit* is falling, the mass of *profits* are not. In fact—in 1977—profits are going up to record levels. But it is this confusion that the procapitalist economists play on when they lie about “profits taking a beating.”

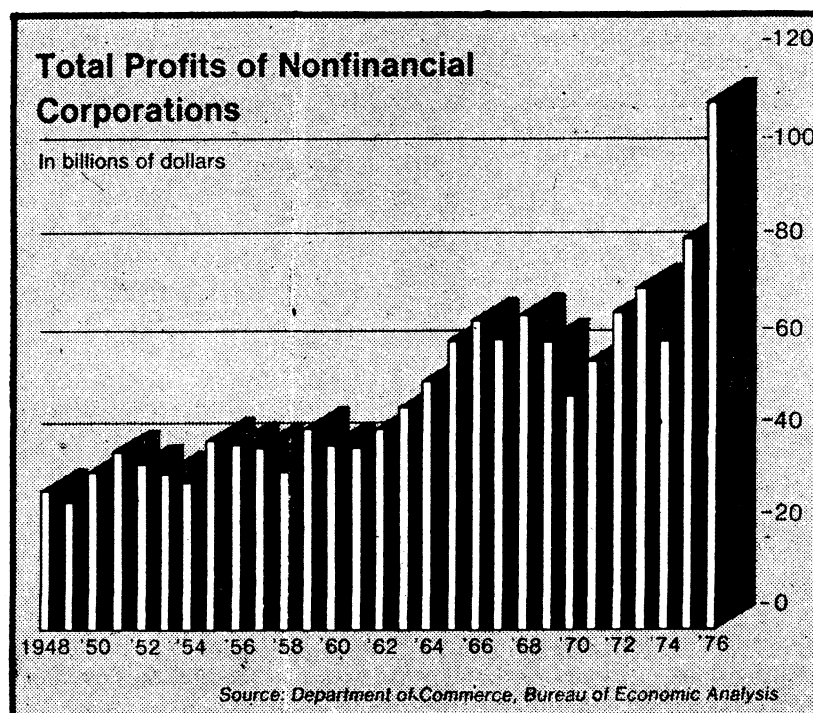
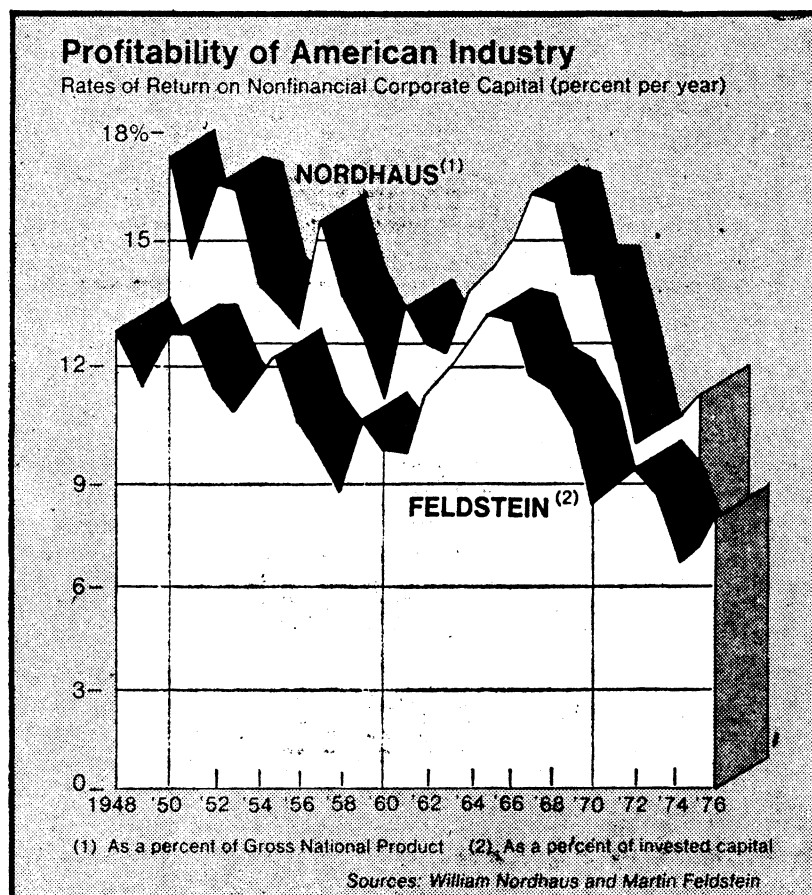
This is not as paradoxical as it seems at first glance. Every year the capitalists pile up more and more profits, which they invest. As this mountain of invested capital grows bigger and bigger, the *amount* of profit can increase each year while the *rate*—as a percentage of return of invested capital—decreases. (Five percent of a billion dollars is a lot more than 10 percent of a million.)

And that is what is happening. The statistics that both Feldstein and Nordhaus agree on show a declining rate of profit during the whole post-World War II period—a time of unprecedented boom for American capitalism.

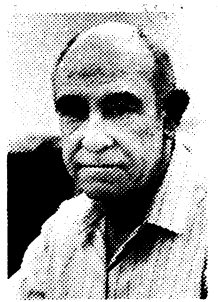
The rich, then, are still getting richer. The economic gap between boss and worker is growing faster than ever before. But not fast enough to satisfy the needs of the capitalist system, with its insatiable profit-appetite.

Although both Nordhaus and Feldstein bemoan the falling rate of profit for their own reasons, the gloom they project is symptomatic of the deepening problems facing American and world capitalism. Economics has long been called the “dismal science,” but the pessimism seems to be reaching new levels.

Neither of the professors’ studies “proves,” in a Marxist sense, the tendency of the profit rate to fall. Neither uses a definition of profit that fulfills Marxist criteria. But if nothing else, they make it difficult for learned academicians to dismiss Marxist ideas with a cavalier wave of the hand.



Economists Feldstein and Nordhaus agree that profit rates have tended to decline since the end of World War II, but differ on the causes. Total profits, however, have soared during the same period.



Continued from page 10

through the courts without our being able to present our arguments properly. Therefore, observers are needed to attend the hearings. Interested persons should contact the clerk of the court of U.S. District Court in East St. Louis, Illinois 62202, and inquire as to the date on which the hearing will be held.

Due to institution security, a small courtroom has been built within the U.S. Penitentiary at Marion, Illinois (where I was incarcerated at the time of filing), and this case will probably be held there. As I understand it, there is room for only fifteen spectators. When making inquiries, please state the case docket: *Smith v. Carlson*, Civil No. 77-4009, E.D. Ill.

Solidarity.

Russell D. Smith

U.S. Penitentiary

Steilacoom, Washington

'A group of thugs'

Recently, well over half the Black prisoners here were confined to lockdown for—in the words of the authorities—threatening the good will of the institution and organizing a Black mafia. This is a pack of lies. A scheme to cover up our real objective.

The prison administration is run by a group of thugs. Their aim has been to set Black against Black.

The prison sits in the center of an all-white rural area, isolated completely from Black families. Blacks suffer daily discrimination, humiliation, attacks, indecent medical attention. The food is unnutritious, and our ration has been cut in half. The educational program is designed to teach self-hatred. Finally, the murder of prisoners by the authorities' hit platoon is a common occurrence.

We Blacks are fed up and seek changes now.

A prisoner

Tennessee

A friend is lost

Kansas City's flood of September 12 and 14 left portions of the city devastated. More than sixteen inches of rain sent creeks surging out of their banks to sweep along and toss carelessly cars, huge tree limbs, and people.

Among the twenty-five dead was Van McCright, a friend of the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party here. Van joined other University of Missouri-Kansas City students on the picket lines with striking teachers last spring. Later during the summer he was one of more than 400 people who demonstrated against Anita Bryant in Kansas City's first major gay rights action.

Van will be missed by the Kansas City YSA and SWP.

Ken Kleinman

Kansas City, Missouri

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.

Three strikes & out

The following guest column was written by Carl Finamore, a member of United Steelworkers Local 1304.

OAKLAND, Calif.—Despite their large size and apparent high level of organization, unions in the East Bay are not faring much better than those in San Francisco, where heavy blows have been dealt to the building trades and city employees.

Several recent incidents point to the need for a break with the present union policy of relying on Democratic and Republican politicians rather than on the organized strength of the workers.

First, the Machinists union strike against Rylock Ltd.—a manufacturer of aluminum window frames—continues into its sixth month. These eighty workers in Union City face the prospect of the company decertifying their union in another six months. Beyond crucial strike benefits, the workers are getting no help from the International Association of Machinists leadership.

Second, twenty workers at Idaco, a small welding shop, were barely two weeks into a strike when their employer sent out a letter: "If you fail to return to work" in five days we will begin hiring "employees who need work and are willing to work. Such employees will be hired on a permanent basis."

This shop is part of United Steelworkers of America Local 1304, the second-largest USWA local in the Bay Area. Yet the union leadership made no attempt even to inform other members and shops about this direct challenge to the right to strike.

Sensing their weak position, the striking workers saw no alternative but to accept the company's latest offer.

Finally, the IAM leadership—with the blessing of President William Winpisinger—has launched a red-baiting campaign against supporters of the summer's thirteen-week strike at Caterpillar.

Conservative elements in the plant are circulating a

petition to recall the elected chief shop steward, who was an active supporter of the strike.

Supervisors and union supporters of Winpisinger have gone through the plant fingering militants and calling them "communists." The union leadership has issued leaflets blaming "communists" for the strike.

So far two workers associated with the strike have been fired.

The real target of this red-baiting effort is not individuals, as it may first appear, but the right of all workers to a democratic union.

The international leadership negotiated the Caterpillar settlement behind the backs of the elected negotiating committee. Now the international seems intent on eliminating all opposition to its rule among the 1,500 workers.

These smear tactics only divide union members from one another and give the boss more leverage to violate the contract and ignore union grievances.

These three examples indicate the sad state of the unions today. Union officials have repeatedly gone around members in negotiations and settling grievances.

For the past forty years the experience of these officials has been to make deals with the employers with the help of some "friendly" politicians.

But today the employers are taking a hard line against any concessions to workers. And the Democratic and Republican politicians accept large campaign contributions from unions, only to vote against the workers' needs once elected.

The strength of the unions lies with the members, not in an alliance with the employers and the capitalist politicians. A new union leadership is needed—a leadership that arises from the struggles of the membership and has the confidence of the membership.

Only such a democratic and militant union leadership will be capable of mobilizing working people to fight back against the employer offensive.

Women in Revolt

Willie Mae Reid



'Bakke' is our fight, too

The following is a guest column by Cindy Jaquith.

The city of Seattle passed regulations several years ago requiring the construction industry there to meet a goal of 12 percent women on all work sites. A few months ago, when 30 construction jobs for women opened up, 600 women jammed into the hiring hall with their applications.

Similar stories could be told about other cities and other industries. Rising unemployment among women, the need for many families to have two wage earners, and the increase in female heads of households are forcing many women into the work force.

Like Blacks and Chicanos, women see no reason why we shouldn't have an equal chance at the better-paying jobs. And that requires breaking down discriminatory practices that have locked women and oppressed nationalities into the dirtiest, lowest-paying occupations.

The announced "good intentions" of the employers have not satisfied women's rights groups or civil rights organizations. They have demanded affirmative action as the only remedy to centuries of job inequality—positive steps forward enforced by quotas to begin to overcome discrimination. Backed by the pressure of the women's and Black movements, lawsuits and other actions have won programs such as the Seattle construction plan.

But these gains face a major test in the Supreme Court this month, when the justices hear arguments in the *Bakke* case.

Allan Bakke, a white male engineer, is asking the court to rule unconstitutional a special admissions program for oppressed nationalities at the University of California Davis Medical School. The California Supreme Court has already upheld Bakke's contention that such quota systems result in "reverse discrimination."

A movement demanding reversal of the *Bakke* decision is picking up steam across the country. The immediate focus is October 8, when teach-ins, rallies, and marches will take place in a score of cities in response to a call by the National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision and other groups.

These activities and continued mobilizations against *Bakke* ought to be a top priority for campus women's liberation groups, chapters of the National Organization for Women, the Coalition of Labor Union Women, and other union women's rights groups.

The universities, big business, and the government are testing the waters with this case.

Bakke fits in perfectly with their campaign to force women out of the labor market and out of training programs and professional schools. A Supreme Court decision upholding *Bakke* will also provide new justification for scrapping other demands that would help open up equal opportunities in education and employment—maternity benefits, child care, the Equal Rights Amendment, and abortion rights.

After all, if it's "reverse discrimination" to enforce affirmative action, why should the government be required to take any other measures that remove obstacles from women's equal participation on the job or in society as a whole?

The anti-*Bakke* protests offer the women's movement an important opportunity to develop strong alliances with the Black and Chicano movements. This can help undercut the myth that women's liberation is a "white women's issue" and will aid in attracting more Black women, Chicanas, and Puerto Rican women to organizations such as NOW.

The October 8 actions are just a beginning. A strong turnout from women's rights groups can have an impact on the message these protests send to Washington and help lay the basis for bigger mobilizations in the future.

Only 25 years too late 'Emergency' rules curb lethal pesticide

By Arnold Weissberg

Despite tests twenty-five years ago that showed how dangerous the pesticide DBCP was, chemical manufacturers allowed thousands of workers to be exposed to it on the job.

As a result, at least seventy-two men are sterile. The final count could be much higher.

Moreover, DBCP has recently been linked to cancer in test animals, a strong indication that it may cause cancer in humans.

Uncounted millions of working people have eaten DBCP with their food. It is routinely used on twenty-five food crops.

Ted Bricker, a worker at Occidental Chemical's plant at Lathrop, California, found in November 1975 that he had a zero sperm count. Normal is 50 million.

Casual conversation at work determined that several other men had been unable to father children. Not until July 1977, however, was any systematic medical investigation undertaken.

A check in the plant found that seven men who had been working with DBCP for more than four years had a zero sperm count. Two men who had worked with it for two years had a count of 1 million. And one who had worked with it for a year had a count of 10 million.

Even worse findings were recorded at a Dow Chemical plant in Magnolia, Arkansas. There sixty-two workers were found to be sterile.

In the following weeks, both Dow and Shell Oil, the other manufacturer of DBCP, stopped producing it. Both recalled all outstanding stocks of the chemical. (Occidental doesn't make DBCP, but prepares commercial mixtures from it.)

Shell had known of the dangers of DBCP since 1954, when a study the corporation commissioned found evidence that DBCP might cause cancer. Another study, in 1961, the results of which were published, suggested that the pesticide might cause sterility.

Officials at Occidental professed ignorance of the studies. "No one had heard of sterility in any of our operations," said James Lindley, vice-president and western division manager of Occidental Chemical.

None of the workers handling DBCP were ever told about its possible dangers.

"It's got me depressed," said one Occidental worker with a zero sperm count. "I could live with the sterility. But cancer's something else."

After its 1961 studies, Dow set a limit on exposure to DBCP of one part per million. The company's tests had shown ill effects on test animals at five parts per million. Apparently, one part per million was one part too much.

Canadian researchers earlier this year found two parts of DBCP per million on radishes and 1.5 parts per million on carrots.

Just what effect this will have on the people who eat the food isn't clear—but it won't be healthy.

Despite all the evidence against DBCP, the federal government refused to ban it outright. Instead, three federal agencies set up an "emergency temporary standard" to limit worker exposure to the deadly substance. The new limit is ten parts per billion during an eight-hour day.

However, this would not protect the thousands of workers who mix DBCP with other chemicals in the manufacture of other pesticides.

The Environmental Protection Agency also issued an order banning the use of DBCP on food crops where residues of the chemical might be left.

The EPA order instituted only minimal safeguards on the use of DBCP on such crops as soybeans and citrus fruits.

Dr. Sidney Wolfe, director of the Public Citizen's Health Research Group, attacked the government's response as "irresponsible" and called for a total ban. He said the government action was "a half-gesture toward dealing with a really serious problem."

The DBCP scare is only the latest in a series of revelations about the serious threat to human health posed by pesticides.

Pesticides are chemicals that bring in big profits for their manufacturers. Their use has multiplied dramatically in the past thirty years as the giant chemical corporations have pushed them as substitutes for natural predators.

The use of DDT, for example, now banned in the United States, killed off many of the birds that lived on the very insects pesticides are now used to kill.

Pesticides are often produced with minimal environmental protections, endangering both the health of the general population and the workers who produce them.

Allied Chemical paid a \$5 million fine for allowing huge amounts of Kepone, an ant poison, loose in the environment. Seventy-six workers suffered Kepone poisoning—including brain damage and possibly cancer.

The federal government is a passive assistant to the chemical corporations. Despite convincing scientific evidence that many pesticides are dangerous, the government refuses to act.

EDB, a chemical cousin to DBCP, is even more dangerous and more widely used. More than 300 million tons of it are made each year, 90 percent going into gasoline and the rest used as a pesticide. EDB residues have been found around gas stations and on highways. An estimated 8,800 exterminators and fumigators and thousands of gas station attendants come into daily contact with it.

Yet the federal government has failed to take any action against it.

Critics hit Carter over Lance affair

By David Frankel

Back in his hometown of Calhoun, Georgia, September 25, Bert Lance told the congregation at the local Methodist church that it was the "strength of the Lord that allowed us to keep going" during recent months.

Most commentators in the capitalist press, however, thought it would have been better if President Carter's former budget director had not kept going quite so long. Columnist Marquis Childs, for example, commented just before Lance's resignation:

"The irony is that if action had been taken two months ago and the board swept clean, the whole business would already have been forgotten. A pretext would have been found for Lance's resignation and the long, tortuous process of investigation and interrogation on Capitol Hill thereby avoided."

There is, of course, nothing new about larceny in high places. It is a hallowed tradition in the United States, going back to the theft of the country from the Indians.

But the Lance affair came at a particularly awkward time for the ruling class. Watergate and the promises of Carter to set a new moral tone for government are still too fresh in the minds of the American people.

If nothing else, Lance's forced resignation will help to dispel the illusion that Carter is any different than the other representatives of American capitalism who have served in the White House.

As Carter admitted during his September 21 news conference on the Lance affair, the whole thing created "doubt among the news media, among the people of this country about the integrity of me and our government."

Moreover, even as Carter accepted Lance's resignation, many people must have wondered about the president's defense of this crooked operator as "a good and an honorable man."

Carter insisted: "Nothing I have heard or read has shaken my belief in

Bert's ability or his integrity."

This provoked the editors of the *Christian Science Monitor* to an unusually sharp retort. "Does the President in fact condone such practices as chronic bank overdrafts and the double use of collateral for loans? Does he feel that there is a double standard for the wealthy and powerful?"

Of course, the *Monitor* editors already know that Carter believes in a double standard. He told the whole world about it when he made his infamous "life is unfair" statement, defending the privileges of the rich and the denial of abortion rights to poor women.

But Carter's usefulness to the ruling class depends upon his ability to successfully mask his real attitudes and his true intentions. The capitalists have already had one experience with a president who allowed his mouth to run too freely in private. They get even more nervous when the wrong things are said in public.



LANCE: Claims God was on his side

Jet-age noisemaker wins landing rights

By Arnold Weissberg

The Carter administration announced September 23 that it would suspend federal aircraft noise regulations and allow the supersonic Concorde airliner to land at thirteen American cities.

Transportation Secretary Brock Adams said that the president had been closely involved in setting the new policy.

The decision appeared to leave the door open to local governments to ban the world's noisiest commercial aircraft with "reasonable, nondiscriminatory" noise rules.

But the Concorde is twice as loud as the next noisiest plane. Any rule aimed at maintaining only the already too-high noise level will bar only the Concorde, and is sure to be judged "discriminatory."

The Concorde isn't only loud. It rumbles, giving off a low-frequency vibration that is especially annoying.

Secretary Adams insisted that the plane would have only "moderate or slight" effects on the cities where it landed.

His claim goes against findings of the General Accounting Office, an arm of Congress. A GAO report released September 15 said that allowing the Concorde permanent landing rights "would be a backward step in the

national noise abatement program."

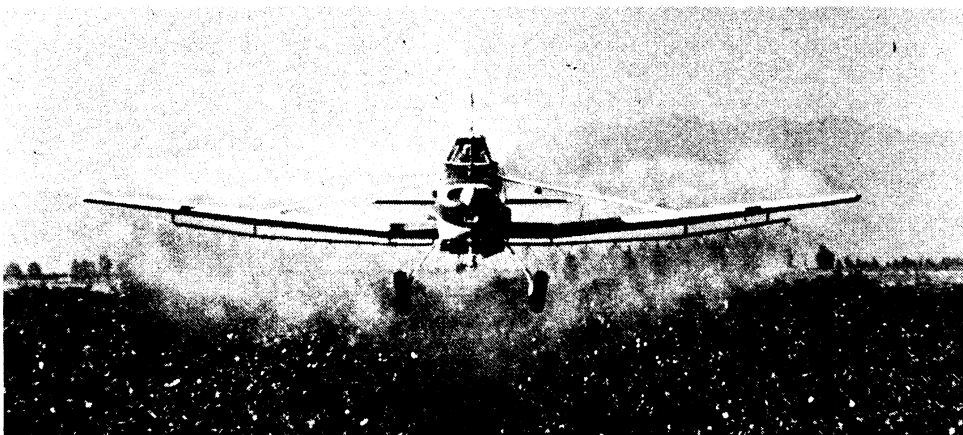
The agency noted that 77 noise complaints had been filed during the three years preceding Concorde landings at Dulles Airport in Washington, D.C. One year of Concorde operations had generated 1,762.

Carter's decision came only days after meeting with French Prime Minister Raymond Barre. The Concorde was a major topic of discussion.

The French and British governments, which own and operate a fleet of sixteen Concorde, have been pressing for landing rights in New York for some time. The two countries have invested \$3 billion in the plane. Concorde flights have yet to break even. Air France and British Airways insist New York flights will allow them to fly the plane at a profit.

Officials of Dallas-Ft. Worth, one of the thirteen chosen cities, have already expressed a strong interest in Concorde flights. The Greater Miami Chamber of Commerce also said it would welcome the Concorde.

Homeowners living near airports in six cities—Miami, New York, Chicago, Dallas, Boston, and Honolulu—have banded together in the Emergency Coalition to Stop the SST. Opponents of the Concorde in New York City have thus far been successful in keeping the plane out of Kennedy Airport.



Chemical corporations make billions by encouraging use of deadly poisons on food

LoVaca turns off Chicano town's gas

By Harry Ring

CRYSTAL CITY, Tex.—At 9:26 a.m. September 23, LoVaca Gathering Company cut off the gas to the 8,000 residents of this city. Most of the people here are Chicanos and very poor.

The gas cutoff came after a long battle between LoVaca, a ruthless, profit-hungry utility, and the Raza Unida Party administration of this city. State officials who were on hand to help LoVaca said this was the first time an entire city had its pipeline sealed for nonpayment.

The fight stemmed from one of the most brazen swindles ever put over by a utility. In 1975, the Democratic Party-controlled Texas Railroad Commission approved LoVaca's request to pass on increases in the rates LoVaca's suppliers charge it for gas. But both LoVaca and its suppliers are controlled by the same monopoly, Coastal States Gas.

Crystal City had signed a fifteen-year contract with LoVaca in 1972. That contract set the price at thirty-six cents per thousand cubic feet. Under the new rates, LoVaca wanted \$2.05.

Crystal City's Raza Unida administration refused to go along with the gouging. Not only was the increase in violation of the contract, officials said, but the people of Crystal City simply couldn't afford a 569 percent increase. The issue went to the courts.

Finally, LoVaca got court permission to shut off the gas September 2. But that morning, Zavala County Judge José Angel Gutiérrez, founding leader of the Crystal City Raza Unida Party, issued an injunction against the shutoff. He acted after a consumer filed a fraud suit against LoVaca.

LoVaca went to the state appeals court, which issued an order September 21 barring Gutiérrez from interfering with the cutoff. Forty-eight hours later the service was stopped.

After the cutoff the mood here was a combination of anger and frustration.

The people had faced a wealthy, powerful corporation, and in addition they had a serious problem of leadership—or lack of it—in the fight.

Two years ago the Barrio Club, a dissident group in Raza Unida, put up a slate in opposition to the one supported by Judge Gutiérrez in city elections. The opposition narrowly won control of the city council and the school board. The Gutiérrez forces still control the county administration.

During these two years it has be-

come increasingly apparent that the anti-Gutiérrez grouping represents a politically conservative wing of Raza Unida. This was painfully clear in the fight against LoVaca.

Initially, the Barrio Club-dominated city council voted to accept the price increase. Then, under pressure of the Gutierrezistas, the council reversed itself.

While litigation continued, the city administration did little to mass public support for Crystal City.

Finally, last August, the city government capitulated and offered to pay LoVaca over a ten-year period the \$800,000 it claims is owed.

LoVaca said no. Some twenty Texas towns have partially followed Crystal City's example, charging residents the higher rate but putting the increment in escrow accounts. LoVaca feared resistance to its gouging would snowball.

The day before the cutoff Mayor Francisco Benavides announced that the city council had voted not to fight further. "I guess it's a surrender," he said.

When the deadline came, the mayor and city manager were not here. They had gone to Washington to seek federal funds to help people switch to propane. It was left to city council member Rudy Espinoza to tell reporters the gas had been cut off.

After the announcement, I walked across to the courthouse to talk to Judge Gutiérrez. Gutiérrez's reaction was one of outrage at "the collusion between LoVaca, the railroad commission, and the judiciary."

"It's going to be a public calamity," he said, "a man-made disaster."

At the same time, he expressed anger at the mayor and city manager for not being present and taking action. Unless the city acted, he said, his hands are tied. The appeals court has blocked him from issuing further injunctions against the shutoff. But, he said, LoVaca and Coastal States have several gas wells in Zavala County. Two of them, he said, produce seven million cubic feet of gas a year.

At one point, he said, the mayor had declared he was going to keep the gas flowing "one way or the other."

"The only way to keep the gas flowing," Gutiérrez said, "is to take the wells."

"Had the mayor declared a state of emergency," he said, "or if he declares a state of emergency, as county judge—the chief executive officer of the county—I'm prepared to also declare a

state of emergency and proceed to appropriate the gas wells in this county."

"I can't do it alone," he continued. "I

have no jurisdiction in the city. But if the city asked the county for assistance, we're obligated to assist them. So if they ask, we're ready to go."

What'll they do without gas?



Cook at Crystal City restaurant plugs in electrical appliances after gas cutoff

CRYSTAL CITY, Tex.—What will the people of Crystal City do without gas?

For the Anglos, mostly fairly prosperous, it's no problem. They've already switched to electricity.

Some people, who can put together about \$300 for the necessary equipment, will switch to propane.

At the local electric supply store, a clerk said that there's a run on electric skillets and hotplates. At thirteen dollars per hotplate and twenty-eight per skillet, they were almost sold out.

A lot of people can't afford that. They'll start cooking outside on wood fires.

But, as one young woman observed, there will soon be a problem. Up to now, for a cookout, you could go to a ranch and gather wood. "Now," she said, "they will probably start charging for it."

I drove out to a small housing development for elderly women. The county recently began a hot-

lunch program for these women, who range in age from sixty-five to ninety-three.

I talked to Elba Castillo, the cook. She said she really hadn't expected the cutoff. "I didn't think they could be so cruel." Nevertheless, she had gone in early and had lunch cooked before the gas was cut off.

What will they do now? "We're building a fireplace outside," she said. "We'll cook there. It will take longer, but we'll manage."

"I heard on the radio that there's a lot of towns that owe. I haven't heard that they cut off their gas."

"Why then Crystal?" she asked.

"Because there are more Mexican people here than Anglos, and because we're Raza Unida. They don't want to see Raza Unida get up more. They want to see it go down."

The woman added: "I don't think the Raza Unida is going to go down. We're going to fight as long as we can. We're not going to give up."

—H.R.

Texas LULAC backs nat'l Latino conference

By Harry Ring

SAN ANTONIO—Support for the national Chicano/Latino conference here gained new momentum with Texas LULAC giving its backing to the coalition organizing the October 28-30 gathering.

LULAC (League of United Latin American Citizens) is the oldest Chicano organization in the Southwest. Generally regarded as moderate in its social outlook, its endorsement confirms that there is significant opposition in the Chicano community to Carter's proposed anti-immigrant package.

The conference on immigration and public policy was endorsed by Ruben Bonilla, state executive director of LULAC. A spokesperson for the coalition said that Bonilla also indicated that he was asking LULAC units throughout the state to do "everything possible" to help ensure the success of the conference.

This was followed up by San Antonio LULAC, which joined the steering committee preparing the national gathering.

Mario Compeán, conference coordinator, announced LULAC's support at

a September 20 news conference.

Compeán, who is also a leading figure in the Texas Raza Unida Party, released to the media the text of a letter by the coalition inviting President Carter to speak at the conference.

The letter said, in part:

"We are convinced that, at this conference, the true feelings of the otherwise underrepresented Chicano

and Latino community will be heard. The treatment of the new immigrant of Hispanic descent is a question which affects all of the ten to twenty million Latinos now residing in the United States. A full and open discussion on this issue is therefore a vital necessity.

"In the spirit of seeking the most accurate and lucid presentation of your proposed legislation, we would like to

extend to you, Mr. President, an invitation to speak at our conference."

Compeán also announced some of the many new endorsers of the conference, including Bishop Patricio Flores of the San Antonio Catholic Archdiocese. Other recent endorsers are Bernardo Eureste and Frank Wing, Chicano members of the San Antonio City Council.

Eureste, the city's acting mayor, is scheduled to welcome the conference participants to San Antonio.

Compeán also announced that the conference will be held in San Antonio's Tropicano Hotel.

Originally the gathering was to be held at the campus of Our Lady of the Lake University.

Then Gerald Burns, president of the university, tried to cancel the conference. Protest against this was so strong that he backed off. Instead, he set exorbitant rental rates. (Example: \$2,000 for "cleaning up.")

After protracted negotiations, the committee decided that it was getting too close to the conference and switched to the hotel, which has ample accommodations.

Come to San Antonio

- ☐ 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 \$ _____. (Funds urgently needed.)

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.

Wash. scandals: fiction & reality

ABC-TV's *Washington—Behind Closed Doors*, a thinly fictionalized version of the Nixon White House years, drew an estimated viewing audience of 80 million for part or all of its six-night run, September 6-11.

Unlike *All the President's Men*, which consistently stuck to its main story line, *Washington* meandered into soap opera territory, which weakened its momentum and impact.

Nevertheless, complete with burglaries, wiretapping, counterintelligence operations, manipulation of the media, and countless other "dirty tricks,"

Television

Washington accurately portrayed the Nixon gang's war against political opponents, antiwar and other critics, and the movements for social change.

Jason Robards gave an often stunning portrayal of the Nixon personality. When it came time to turn off the dial after the last episode, many must have felt, as I did, a warm glow of satisfaction that someone had finally given him his due.

But, more importantly, one could feel some satisfaction because, unlike most accounts of this period, *Washington* didn't totally ignore the role of the antiwar movement.

From the first episode, the antiwar movement is present. My favorite scene came when Nixon is informed of



Jason Robards plays the president in 'Washington: Behind Closed Doors'

the numbers expected for a weekend antiwar demonstration. He explodes "Half a million! That must be wrong!", only to be told that it could be even higher.

However, these broader social forces were not given credit for ending the war or ending his term in office. Instead, we are told to believe that the extreme arrogance and stupidity of the

White House "bad guys" allowed a few "good guys" (a reporter, a secretary, and a minor administration official) to end Nixon's reign.

The carefully crafted production was unable to ignore such facts as the assassination program initiated by the Kennedy administration. But it consistently softened the portrayal of Kennedy, Johnson, and even the CIA

chief under four presidents, to show them as sympathetic characters. The CIA chief is allowed to justify the assassination program as regrettable and troubling to his conscience, but necessary because "World War III" was staring us in the face.

Consistent with this theme the CIA and the FBI were portrayed as victims of a corrupting White House. The impression was left that the political burglaries, wiretapping, phony news stories, and sundry other "dirty tricks" began with Nixon. This runs counter to what has been revealed from the Cointelpro and other once-secret documents.

Ironically, the same week the six o'clock news and daily headlines blared forth a different message—the Bert Lance affair and Carter's cover-up for an old down-home buddy. We read the next week reports of a Carter "enemies" list and of Jody Powell's "apparent guerrilla offensive" of phony stories against Sen. Charles Percy.

And these same weeks we saw Carter met by pro-abortion pickets in one city and anti-Concorde demonstrators in another. All of this served as a reminder that growing numbers of students, Blacks, women, and other working people are more and more rejecting the idea that the problem is simply corrupt, paranoid individuals instead of the corrupt policies and system all these individuals defend.

—Michael Kelly

A Reader's Notes

The memoir or autobiography is rarely a substitute for a competent history of a period or a movement, but it can be a useful supplement, even if the author is not a gifted writer. It's too bad that most of the great Marxists, including Marx, Engels, and Lenin, were prejudiced against this kind of literature—not against reading it but against writing it. We'd all be richer, politically and culturally, if they hadn't set a tradition that inhibited (to take some examples from the founders of the Socialist Workers Party) James P. Cannon, Rose Karsner, V.R. Dunne, and Carl Skoglund from writing their memoirs.

Vera Buch Weisbord's *A Radical Life* (Indiana University Press, 1977, 330 pp., \$15) is a minor work and it would be easy to draw up a list of its defects, beginning with a style that becomes boring and a tediously long account of her childhood, and ending with its many political inadequacies. But it's worth the trouble for those who want to know more about the early years of the American Communist Party and about one of the small groups that developed out of the CP, as recounted by a participant.

Born into a working-class family in 1895, Vera Buch became a radical during World War I, joined the CP when it was formed after the Russian revolution, and remained a member for a decade. Despite poor health and the need to work in factories and as a teacher, she was intensely active in many party campaigns and labor struggles. Her eyewitness accounts of two of the most important of these, the textile strikes of 1926 in Passaic, New Jersey, and of 1929 in Gastonia, North Carolina, are the most prominent features of the book.

In Passaic she met Albert Weisbord, a CP member and brilliant strike organizer, and served as his assistant in the strike. Their personal and political companionship lasted fifty years, till his death this year. In the Gastonia strike she played a more central role on her own, becoming a major defendant in a sensational murder trial.

In the mid- and late 1920s the CP was a factional jungle, in which three groups fought each other tooth and nail for control of the party and sought to obtain this control through unprincipled subversion to the bureaucratic leaders of the Communist

International in Moscow. Many books have been written about this long factional war (for example, Theodore Draper's *American Communism and Soviet Russia*, 1960, and James P. Cannon's *First Ten Years of American Communism*, 1962).

Weisbord's book does not clearly identify the factions or explain their maneuvers comprehensively, and she is not altogether frank about Weisbord's relation to the factions (Draper's chapter on Passaic is recommended for these matters). What she adds is a personal confirmation about how pervasive the factionalism was, how completely it dominated all the CP's activities, and how damaging it was to the CP's then promising work in the labor movement.

Another contribution she makes concerns the second-class status of women in the CP of that period, when they were most often regarded as appendages of the males. She tells of some painful personal incidents, which were not at all unique. One can't help speculating whether she would have included these if it had not been for the new feminist wave of the last decade that has educated young and reeducated some old radicals.

Isolated and shunned because they had not lined up with the Foster regime appointed by Stalin in 1929, the Weisbords resigned from the CP in 1930. In the following year they started an organization of their own, the Communist League of Struggle, which proclaimed its adherence to the International Left Opposition and toyed for a while with the idea of merging with and taking over the Communist League of America, the ILO section in this country that was led by Cannon. Albert Weisbord visited Trotsky in Turkey in 1932, and Trotsky favored a CLA-CLS merger, but the differences were too great and nothing came of it. In 1935, the CLS members packed up and moved from New York to Chicago. In 1937, they dissolved the CLS, and in World War II both Weisbords backed the U.S. government.

Her advanced age has not moderated Weisbord's dislike of the people she disliked in the 1920s; she never mentions Cannon without disparaging him in some way. Ruminating on the relative strength of the Weisbordites and the "Cannon group," she says that the latter "survived chiefly through Trotsky's

support and prestige; they were thus a parasitic group much like the Fosterites supported by Stalin." The inadequacy of this explanation is shown by the facts that Trotsky's support stopped when he was murdered thirty-seven years ago, the SWP founded by the Cannon group is stronger than ever before, and the great majority of people reading this review have never heard of the Weisbordites before.

* * *

The election campaign speeches of most capitalist politicians are usually hard to listen to and painful to read; prolonged exposure can be dangerous to your health. Not all socialist campaign speeches, alas, are as good as they should be. But they don't have to be dull or hackneyed, and fortunately some aren't. An enjoyable example—imaginative, informative, even witty—can be read in the September issue of the *Young Socialist*. It is called "Why We Need Socialism," excerpts from a recent speech by Vince Eagan, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Atlanta and a member of the National Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance.

—George Breitman

young socialist

OCTOBER 1977/25¢

Stop the Deportations!

In the October issue:

- A speech by Bernadette Devlin
- Desegregation struggle in Chicago
- Stop the deportations
- Carter vs. Black America
- A special supplement on 'Bakke' decision and more

Order from the Young Socialist, P.O. Box 471
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Zero Mostel 1915-1977

If you ever saw Zero Mostel in *The Producers* or *A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum*, you probably know that he was a versatile actor who could strike the most comic and endearing poses. If you were so lucky as to see him on stage in *Fiddler on the Roof* or *Rhinoceros* you may understand why he won Broadway's big-time awards.

But if you saw him in *The Front*, you also saw a bit of Mostel's own life. In that film he reenacted some of his experiences as a popular comic whose career was ruined during the McCarthyite witch-hunt.

Because Mostel had done benefits for such groups as the National Negro Congress and the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, he was blacklisted and prevented from performing for many years.

Unlike the character he portrayed in *The Front*, Mostel did not give up and commit suicide. He made his comeback. But for many years the public was denied his talents because of the government's anticommunist "red scare" and its attack on civil liberties.

In 1955 Clyde Doyle and Donald Jackson of the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) questioned Mostel. Excerpts from the testimony are printed below. For more of Mostel's testimony and that of others victimized by HUAC, see *Thirty Years of Treason*, selected and edited by Eric Bentley, published by Viking Press.

—Diane Wang

Doyle: You are in a great field of entertainment of the American public. From now on, why don't you get far removed from groups that are known to be Communist dominated or Communist controlled, that sort of thing? . . . You can be a much better inspiration and joy to the American people if they just know that there is not a drop, not an inkpoint, not a penpoint, of a favorable attitude by you toward the Communist conspiracy?

Mostel: My dear friend, I believe in the antiquated idea that a man works in his profession according to his ability rather than his political beliefs. When I entertain, my political beliefs are not spouted. As a matter of fact, I am casual about my political beliefs, which I wouldn't tell anybody unless you are my friend and you are in my house.

Doyle: I am not asking about—

Mostel: And I have had instant coffee I make, I'll tell you that.

Doyle: I am not asking about your political beliefs.

Mostel: My dear friend, I believe in the idea that a human being should go on the stage and entertain to the best of his ability and say whatever he wants to say, because we live, I hope, in an atmosphere of freedom in this country.

Doyle: . . . Don't you think it is your duty, as a great entertainer, to at least find out hereafter where the money you raise is going, whether or not it is going to some subversive cause against the constitutional form of government in our nation? . . .

Mostel: I appreciate your opinion very much, but I do want to say that—I don't know, you know—I still stand on my grounds, and maybe it is unwise and unpolitic for me to say this. If I appeared there, what if I did an imitation of a butterfly at rest? There is no crime in making anybody laugh. I don't care if you laugh at me.

Jackson: If your interpretation of a butterfly at rest brought money into the coffers of the Communist Party, you contributed directly to the propaganda effort of the Communist Party.

Mostel: Suppose I had the urge to do the butterfly at rest somewhere?

Doyle: Yes, but please, when you have the urge, don't have such an urge to put the butterfly at rest by putting some money in the Communist Party coffers as a result of that urge to put the butterfly to rest. Put the bug to rest somewhere else next time.

Jackson: I suggest we put this hearing butterfly to rest.

Doyle: . . . The witness is excused. Thank you, Mr. Mostel. Remember what I said to you.

Mostel: You remember what I said to you.

Lesbian mother fights for custody of her children

By Ann Menasche
and Nancy Elnor

OAKLAND, Calif.—Jeanne Jullion is a lesbian. Separated from her husband for two years, Jullion filed for divorce last January, and sought to regain custody of the older of her two sons. The younger son lived with her.

"The first hearing was three hours of being on trial as a lesbian, which was brought out immediately in a very degrading and belittling way," Jullion told us.

A second hearing was better. There were no more questions about Jullion's sexual activities. But her husband's case centered on Jullion's attempt to take the case to the public.



JEANNE JULLION

Advocate/Lynda Gordon

"It's very interesting that my husband did not put on one witness," Jullion said. "His lawyer did not have to build any kind of case at all. The three days [of hearings] were consumed by our witnesses.

"The result was that custody of both children was given to my husband."

The decision arrived by mail on a Saturday. On

Monday, Jullion held a news conference at the courthouse, announcing her intention to appeal. While she was gone, her husband came with the cops and took her younger son.

The appeal lost, but a third hearing will be held sometime this fall.

Jullion's supporters have been active, vocal, and visible. There have been news conferences and jammed courtrooms, and a rally of 250 people at the San Francisco Civic Center.

Her defense committee has worked on legal strategy, Jullion said, and also on organizing support. "As a single woman and a lesbian, you have no leverage, especially if you're going up against a man who wants the children and fits into that straight mold," she said, explaining the need for gathering support outside the courtroom.

"The support has been very broad-based," said Jullion. "It's looked on as a civil rights issue by many groups, and I get support from people on the street who have seen coverage of my case on television."

Jullion thinks her case is important for all women. "It's important to defend lesbian rights and women's rights in general against attempts at rolling back what there is. Decisions that abortions can't be paid for [by Medicaid], like attacks on lesbians, are always in order to keep us down.

"By defending lesbian rights, we are defending the rights of all women," Jullion declared.

The case is by no means closed. "There is a lot of outreach to do," Jullion said. "Right now, we're trying to coordinate our efforts with Linda Gill, a blind woman who lost custody of her three children. We're fighting for the same thing, for disabled women and for lesbian mothers."

If you're interested in helping defend Jeanne Jullion's rights, contact Elizabeth Kera at (415) 654-1797, or write to Box 88447, Oakland, California 94662.

What is Jeanne Jullion fighting for? "I would like to see a society where there is no privilege attached to whether you're one sex or another. I would like to see a removal of the hysteria and anxiety around sex to the point where to whom you relate and the quality of the relationship is really what counts."

Salt Lake gay rights supporters picket Anita Bryant appearance



By Tony Adams

SALT LAKE CITY—About 150 supporters of gay rights picketed the Utah State Fair September 19 to protest an appearance by antigay crusader Anita Bryant.

The picket, organized by the Salt Lake Coalition for Human Rights, was especially significant because it was the first visible pro-gay rights action in Utah.

Pickers carried signs reading, "Human rights begin at home" and, "Homophobia can be cured." Demonstrators were particularly angry that tax dollars had been used to bring Bryant to Utah.

Twelve right-wingers showed up ninety minutes after the picket began, displaying crude antigay slogans on signs.

Bill Hoyle, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Salt Lake City commissioner, joined the gay rights march. "I'm outraged that Anita Bryant is appearing," Hoyle said. "Through my campaign I will seek to build a movement in Salt Lake City in support of

full human rights for gays."

"I think it's fantastic," said Camille Tartaglia, chairperson of the coalition, summing up the feeling of the picketers. "It has broken things wider for the gay community."

The picketers were joined by Chicanos and Native Americans for human rights. "The real issue is human dignity," said Dennis Vigil, a specialist in bilingual/bicultural education. "I'd like to think when the Chicanos and supporters of bilingual education are marching the gays will be marching by our side."

Later that evening, twenty-six people, mostly from the American Independent Party, joined the other right-wingers with slogans declaring, "To hell with sick-os" and, "Anita, friend of decent Americans."

Meanwhile, 200 gay rights supporters walked out of Bryant's performance.

That night Women Aware, a feminist group, sponsored a candlelight vigil and rally of 250 in support of gay rights.

Another brutal beating by Chicago racists

By Peter Seidman

CHICAGO—A gang of white racists brutally beat a twenty-one-year-old Black man on the far Southwest Side here early on the morning of September 25.

The man, Darryl King, was walking from his job to a bus stop in an area that has been the scene of stepped-up racist violence since a voluntary student transfer plan began here September 7.

Under the plan 1,046 students (out of an eligible 2,180) are now signed up to be bused to previously all-white Southwest Side schools.

This extremely limited desegregation measure has roused the Southwest Side racists' anti-Black fury. King said one of his attackers carried a gun. "They started cursing me out," he said, "and calling me 'nigger,' and the next thing I knew I woke up and blood was all over me."

King needed fifteen stitches in his mouth and chin. He can barely see out of his left eye and his right eye is completely bandaged.

For several days now the number of pickets outside some Southwest Side schools has dwindled. Protests by Black community organizations and other antiracist forces have pressured city authorities and police to push the picketers across the street from where Black transfer students get off their buses.

But the attack on King makes it clear that the danger of new violent mobilizations against Black students and others passing through the area lurks just below the surface.

While the racists appear to be losing round one in the sharpening battle over the desegregation of the nation's second-largest school system, they are far from defeated.

Mayor Michael Bilandic is helping

sustain this racist menace by continuing to refuse support to even the present limited desegregation plan.

On September 20 three liberal white Chicago aldermen urged Bilandic to endorse the transfer plan. The mayor replied only that he would "entertain" their suggestion.

The next day Alderman Timothy Evans, a Black Democratic Party machine loyalist here, also urged Bilandic to make "a definite statement of support."

The deputy superintendent of the Illinois Board of Education also criticized the Chicago Board of Education that day for failure to keep commit-

ments on several aspects of the desegregation plan.

Robert Lyons told a meeting of the state board's Equal Education Opportunity Committee that the city has opened only four of a promised thirty-four to sixty-eight academic interest centers. The centers are supposed to attract an integrated student body on a voluntary basis.

The development of these and other desegregation plans Chicago must produce to meet a threatened March 15, 1978, funding cutoff by the state board of education is now in the hands of a Citywide Advisory Committee.

This committee, a forty-member group completed in May, has met only five times since then. Up against a deadline of December 31 for completing its proposals to the board of education, it is clear that the committee will have a hard time overcoming Chicago's long tradition of official stalling on desegregation. For example, the committee still has no budget or full-time staff of its own.

"What's called for in this situation," says Chicago's Student Coalition Against Racism coordinator Saladin El-Tabuk, "is the continuing organization of the Black community to demand full desegregation."

"The Student Coalition Against Racism," El-Tabuk says, "believes the first step toward this is to spread the facts about why we need a busing plan here on a metropolitan, area-wide basis."

"Secondly, we must demand that the authorities use all necessary force to stop racist violence—not only at the schools, but also in the Southwest Side neighborhoods where Black motorists have been attacked."

"The racists may lash out again at any stage in the unfolding debate on busing. The authorities must know



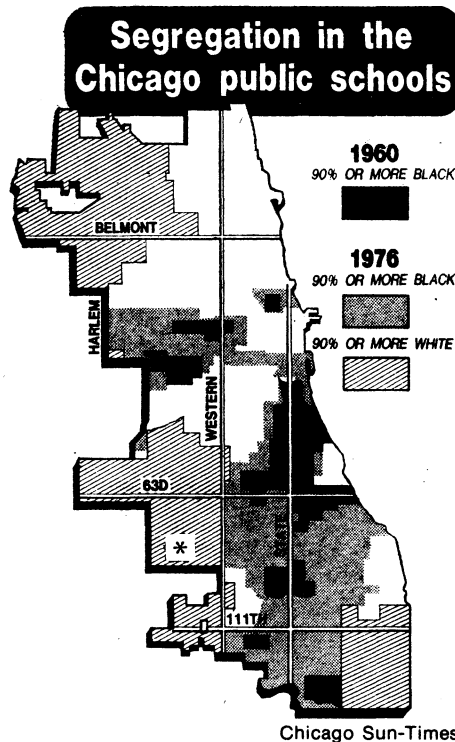
CHICAGO MAYOR BILANDIC

that Black people here will not tolerate anything but the full enforcement of the law against any racist beasts who attack them.

"Our protests have so far forced the police to offer some protection for our young sisters and brothers in the voluntary transfer plan. But we must be prepared to further out-mobilize the racists as the struggle over desegregation continues. This means we need to start organizing, beginning now."

Chicago SCAR is holding meetings on campuses here to start this work. The student group has also prepared a new button (available for seventy-five cents) that says, "Defend Black Rights, Stop Racist Violence."

To order the button, or for more information, contact Chicago SCAR, 407 South Dearborn, #460, Chicago, Illinois 60605. Telephone: (312) 663-5413.



Asterisk marks Southwest Side area that has been the scene of racist violence against Black students and passersby.

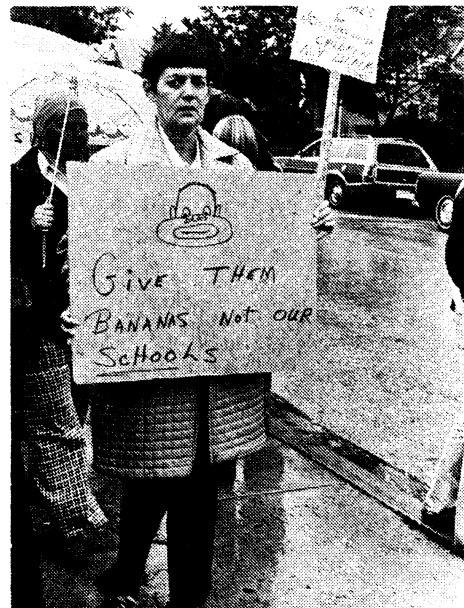
Bogan bigots: 14 years against Black rights

By Joel Britton

CHICAGO—Since schools opened here September 7, white mothers have picketed Adlai Stevenson Elementary School every day.

They carry home-made signs lettered with slogans of race hatred: "Irish hate niggers," "Polish hate niggers," "Stop the burr-head bus," "Stop the Black plague," "Give them bananas, not our schools," "Put Big Mama on the pill and take Leroy off the bus," "Our white fight is right."

Their "white fight" to prevent Black children from getting an equal education is rooted in fourteen years of racist agitation in the Bogan area on Chicago's Southwest Side.



Militant/Suzanne Haig

This is what Black elementary students see when they get off buses at previously all-white Stevenson School.

On the evening of September 10, 1963, thousands of racist whites filled the streets near Bogan High School. They were responding to a report that a handful of Black honor students would be permitted to transfer into all-white Bogan High for courses not available at mostly Black Hirsch High.

The racists filled the Bogan High auditorium, shouting at school administrators and public officials. Outside, an overflow crowd heard racist speakers denounce the transfer proposal.

In the days following, Bogan-area community groups and parents committees fanned the racist hysteria at meetings and picket lines. The school board and school Supt. Benjamin Willis responded by dropping the Bogan transfer plan. Instead the board installed "Willis wagons"—mobile, makeshift classrooms—outside crowded Black schools.

The Black community countered with sit-ins, mass marches, and rallies. In October 1963 some 200,000 Black students stayed away from classes in the most massive school boycott up to that time.

During the long struggle against the racist policies of Willis and the "Boss" Richard Daley-appointed school board, the Bogan area racists were staunch backers of continued segregation.

Willis was finally forced out in 1966 but Southwest Side schools remained all-white and the hated "Willis wagons" continued to be used at overcrowded Black schools.

By 1967 the Illinois Board of Education ruled that Chicago schools must be desegregated, but racist protests again prevented Black students from

being transferred into Southwest Side schools.

Equal educational opportunity is not the only thing Southwest Side racists have fought to deny Black citizens.

Marchers for open housing led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., were met by thousands of rioting racists in the Marquette Park area, a few miles from the Bogan area, in August 1966. Dr. King was knocked to his knees when hit by a rock. He told reporters, "I have never seen such deep hatred anywhere as I have seen in Chicago."

King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference failed to break the racist housing patterns in Chicago.

George Lincoln Rockwell's Nazis, looking for a place to sink roots here, held their first major public rally in Marquette Park following the riotous assault on the King open-housing marchers. After Rockwell's death a Nazi outfit set up a headquarters in the area and has helped organize thug attacks on Black rights marchers and passersby.

The Southwest Side was the spawning ground in the late 1960s of the Legion of Justice, a fascistlike gang led by S. Thomas Sutton. The Legion carried out terrorist attacks, burglaries, and spy operations in close collaboration with the Chicago police "red squad" and U.S. Military Intelligence. Victims included Black groups, the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party, and the antiwar movement. Earlier Sutton had organized Operation Crescent to coordinate racist opposition to open housing.

Over the years, the Southwest Side racists have taken reactionary stands on other issues, opposing, for example,

sex education in school curricula.

Thousands of white cops live in the Southwest Side area, some of whom have moved in from suburbs in recent months to comply with a residency requirement for city employees. Last year an off-duty cop was arrested after he joined in with other white racists in attacking open-housing marchers.

Not all the whites on the Southwest Side are dead-end racists. Beginning in 1963 a small number of residents tried to link up with the Black civil rights movement. They supported various school desegregation and open-housing moves and spoke out against the racist mobilizations centered in the Bogan area.

During the current struggle, some white mothers asked for police protection for their children who wanted to attend classes opening day while the antibusing die-hards boycotted classes. The boycott, 80 percent effective, was less complete than one last spring when 95 percent stayed away. Plans to continue this fall's boycott every Friday were dropped.

Chicago Tribune columnist Dorothy Collin recently interviewed one Bogan mother who sees some degree of desegregation as inevitable.

"There are many who . . . are willing to go along to some extent. They are more moderate. They are not going to harm anyone or lie in the street."

"But, according to this woman and others I talked with, the moderates are intimidated."

"If you are middle-of-the-road, you are accused of wanting black children," she said. "If you disagree with Mary [Cvack (a racist leader)], then you are a 'nigger-lover.'"

Pickets protest abortion attacks

By Sue Adley

DENVER—While Rep. Henry Hyde was being toasted here at the annual banquet of the Colorado Right to Life Committee, the anti-abortion group, sixty women picketed outside chanting, "The Hyde amendment kills poor women" and, "Keep your laws off my body."

The September 24 protest was called on emergency notice after it was learned that Hyde, sponsor of the congressional amendment to cut off Medicaid funds for abortions, would make an appearance here.

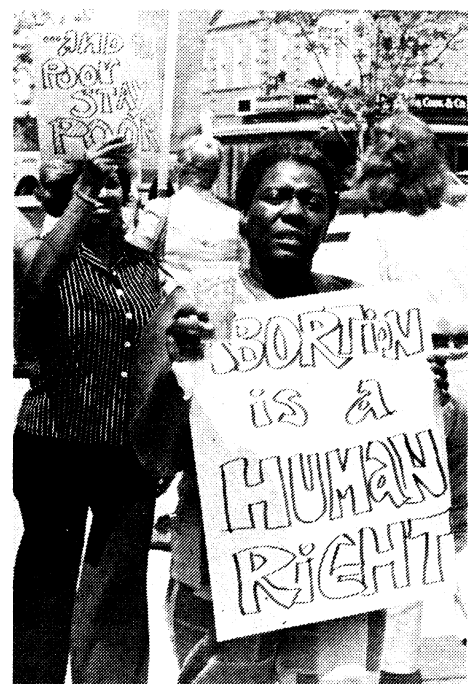
Participants in the picket line included the Auraria Campus Feminists, East Metro Denver National Organization for Women, Central Denver NOW, Socialist Labor Party, Socialist Workers Party, Big Mama Rag Collective, and Woman to Woman Feminist Collective.

Earlier that day, eighty women marched to the steps of the state capitol here in defense of abortion rights. At a rally on the capitol steps, the demonstrators heard speakers from participating organizations, as well as personal testimony from women victimized by the anti-abortion laws before the right to choose became legal in 1973.

TUCSON—Seventy-five outraged demonstrators picketed the Pima County Board of Supervisors here September 19 to protest the board's recent decision eliminating abortion funds at Kino Hospital. Participants included members of the National Organization for Women, American Civil Liberties Union, Young Socialist Alliance, Minority Women's Caucus, and Women's Equity Action League. They chanted, "Funds for Kino now!" and, "Equal rights for rich and poor!"

Annette Everlove, speaking on behalf of the picketers, announced plans for a county-wide ballot initiative to restore funding to the hospital. Last year, Kino performed 1,200 abortions for women who needed government funding.

At a September 20 news conference the ACLU discussed plans for possible legal action against the board's ruthless decision. Planned Parenthood told reporters that its clinics will be made available to women turned away by Kino.



Militant/Mike Skinner

...battle brews for IWY meeting

Continued from back page

the CLUW convention and invited all union women to attend to "make your voices heard."

The IWY meeting was also a theme of the National Women's Political Caucus convention in San Jose September 9-11.

Right-wing target

Feminists are urging women to attend the Houston meeting because it is developing into a women's rights forum and because the anti-abortion, anti-ERA right wing has targeted it for attack.

The state conferences began last February. In June the right wing took note. Here was a government-financed and run series of meetings discussing—of all things—women's rights!

Schlaflly's group, the John Birch Society, the Mormon church, Catholic anti-abortion outfits, fundamentalist Christians, and finally the Ku Klux Klan all began mobilizing.

Their aim was not to air and debate their views, but rather to take over the meetings and, failing that, to disrupt them.

The women's movement represented at the IWY meetings, revealed Schlaflly, stood for "aggressive immor-



Schlaflly (left) and her anti-ERA forces aim to disrupt IWY meeting

Proposals in favor of the ERA, legal abortion, child care, gay rights, and other women's issues received strong support at these conferences. The passage of these resolutions was a powerful expression of the deep impact feminist sentiment has had on the women of this country.

Although the right-wingers are a minority in the delegations, they plan to be in Houston beyond their delegated force. KKK Imperial Wizard Robert Shelton told the *Detroit News* that Klan men will also be in Houston "to protect our women from all the militant lesbians who will be there."

Schlaflly even had the gall to set up an "IWY Citizens Review Committee." This dubious formation used its influence in Congress to get some ad hoc hearings called for the purpose of discrediting the state meetings by charging "discrimination."

"A lot of ladies in this country are disturbed," commented Clint Fuller, an aide to Sen. Jesse Helms. "It seems that if you didn't favor the Equal Rights Amendment, abortion, lesbianism, or some other militant feminist position, you were out."

Feminists raise demands

Women's rights supporters raised some legitimate complaints about the state conferences.

The meetings were in general run tightly by the state convenors. As the right-wing threat grew, the IWY representatives tried one of two tactics. Either they made an effort to accommodate them by trying to come up with issues "all women" could agree on. Or they tried to shut them up by clamping

down on discussion on controversial issues. Neither succeeded.

In some meetings, Black and Chicano women charged they and their concerns were left out of conference proceedings.

In many cases, the sole aim of meeting organizers was to get their delegates elected, and many of the "official slates"—chosen before the conferences began—were easily elected.

But in other states, caucuses formed to get their issues discussed and delegates elected. By organizing beforehand, women helped clarify the debate and win over undecided participants. Representatives of gay caucuses and caucuses of oppressed national minorities will be among the conference delegates in Houston.

The New York delegation of ninety-three has announced its commitment to three issues: ERA, abortion rights, and gay rights.

Hungry for ideas

But in addition to the delegations will be the thousands of women who come to Houston hungry for feminist ideas. They'll want to talk about the problems they face and how they can solve them and what they should do when they get back to their respective states.

Members of groups such as NOW and CLUW and campus feminists should be there to join these discussions and to win these women to the organized women's movement.

The spotlight will be on Houston this November. Feminists should be present to make clear what the real needs of women are.

Feminists call Ohio meeting

Women's rights activists have called for a Northeast Ohio Feminist Conference in Cleveland October 14-16.

"In recent months women have suffered a series of setbacks around abortion rights, the ERA [Equal Rights Amendment], and gay rights," explains a letter from the meeting's planning committee.

"The women's movement must respond to these attacks before they take away all the rights we've won in recent years."

Conference organizers say the idea came from a series of feminist gatherings held after the Ohio International Women's Year meeting.

For more information or to help in planning the conference, contact: Northeast Ohio Feminist Conference, 1682 Glenmont Road, Cleveland, Ohio 44118. Telephone: (216) 321-0304.

ality" (gay rights), "anti-family goals" (abortion rights, child care, ERA), and "open hostility toward church-going, patriotic Americans."

Schlaflly placed her partners in the antiwomen disruption drive under the umbrella of "pro-family forces."

The most extreme case of right-wing sabotage occurred in Utah, where more than 13,000 showed up at the IWY conference instead of the expected 2,000. The vast majority were Mormons, directed to attend by church leaders. Some even thought at the outset that they were coming to a church meeting.

The Mormon church hierarchy made sure the conference passed anti-abortion and anti-ERA resolutions and soundly condemned gay rights, affirmative action, child care, and bilingual/bicultural education. Twelve of the fourteen delegates elected to the Houston convention from Utah are Mormons.

According to media estimates, anti-ERA and anti-abortion forces account for 20 percent of the elected delegates to the Houston meeting.

In most of the state conferences, the majority support for women's equality made itself heard, both in resolutions passed and in the delegate slates.

ERA protest planned

By Suzanne Haig

CHICAGO—Women will march here October 15 to serve notice on the Illinois State legislature that they want the Equal Rights Amendment passed. The legislators begin their fall session on October 24.

The ERA march and rally will also be a memorial for Alice Paul, the suffragist leader who drafted the amendment. Paul died at the age of ninety-two last July.

Sponsored by the Committee for the ERA, the action has been endorsed by James Balanoff, District 31 director of the United Steelworkers of America; Muriel Tuteur, president of the Chicago Coalition of Labor Union Women; the Chicago NAACP; and the South Suburban National Organi-

zation for Women.

Other endorsers include the Japanese-American Citizens League; Independent Voters of Illinois; Women's Caucus at John Marshall Law School; Socialist Workers Party; New American Movement; and Women's Graphics Collective.

State legislators Giddy Dwyer and Arthur Berman have also endorsed, as has Chicago Alderman Richard Simpson.

The march will begin at 2:00 p.m. at State and Wacker. Demonstrators will hold a rally at 3:00 p.m. at the Daley Civic Center.

For more information, contact the Committee for the ERA, 5 South Wabash, Suite 1603, Chicago, Illinois 60603. Telephone: (312) 782-3544.

Calendar

BALTIMORE

REVERSE THE 'BAKKE' DECISION. A panel discussion. Fri., Oct. 7, 8 p.m. 2117 N. Charles St. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (301) 547-0668.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

BLACK YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT. Speaker: Brenda Franklin. Fri., Oct. 7, 8 p.m. 2 Central Square, Second Floor. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 547-4395.

CLEVELAND

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION: THE MEANING OF THE 'BAKKE' DECISION. Fri., Oct. 7, 8 p.m. 2300 Payne Ave. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 861-4166.

DALLAS

ABORTION: DEFEND A WOMAN'S RIGHT TO CHOOSE. Fri., Oct. 7, 8 p.m. 2215 Cedar Crest. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (214) 943-6684.

DENVER

THE NEW THEFT OF THE PANAMA CANAL. Speaker: Ken Davey, SWP. Fri., Oct. 7, 7:30 p.m. 916 Broadway. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (303) 837-1018.

DETROIT: WESTSIDE

THE FRAME-UP OF THE V.A. NURSES, LEONORA PEREZ AND FILIPINA NARCISO. Sun. Oct. 9, 7 p.m. 18415 Wyoming. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 341-6436.

LOS ANGELES: CRENSHAW

DEFENDING MINORITY WOMEN'S RIGHTS. Speakers: Linda Ferguson, Nat'l Conf. of Black Lawyers; Bertha Bussey, Operation PUSH; Hermina Aquino, Narciso-Perez Defense Committee; Carolina Saucedo, Minority Women's Task Force, L.A. NOW. Fri., Oct. 7, 8 p.m. 2167 W. Washington Blvd. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 732-8196.

MINNEAPOLIS

REVERSE THE 'BAKKE' RULING: DEFEND AFFIRMATIVE ACTION. Fri., Oct. 7, 8 p.m. 23 E. Lake St. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 825-6663.

NEW ORLEANS

THE 'BAKKE' CASE: WHAT IT MEANS FOR THE OPPRESSED. A panel discussion. Fri., Oct. 7, 8 p.m. 3812 Magazine St. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (504) 891-5324.

NEW YORK: BROOKLYN

THE ROAD TO BLACK POLITICAL POWER. A panel discussion. Speakers: Don Rojas, Brooklyn editor of *Amsterdam News*; Robert Des Verney, SWP candidate for comptroller; Moses Harris, Black Economic Survival. Fri., Oct. 7, 8 p.m. 222 Utica Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 773-0250.

NEW YORK: CHELSEA

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION ON TRIAL: THE 'BAKKE' CASE. Speakers: Leon Harris, president, Village-Chelsea NAACP; Noreen Connell, president, NOW N.Y.; Reiko Obata, NSCAR; Cathy Sedwick, national secretary, YSA. Thurs., Oct. 6, 7:30 p.m. 200½ W. 24th St. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 989-2731.

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

THE CHICAGO BUSING STRUGGLE: AN EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT. Speaker: James Harris, NSCAR staff coordinator. Fri., Oct. 7, 8 p.m. 786 Amsterdam Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

PHILADELPHIA: WEST

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN EVENING. Speaker: Rhonda Rutherford, SWP candidate for city controller. Sat., Oct. 1, 8 p.m. 218 S. 45th St. Donation: \$1. Aup: West Philadelphia SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (215) EV7-2451 or 844-2874.

PHOENIX

DEBATE ON PANAMA CANAL TREATIES. Fri., Oct. 7, 8 p.m. 314 E. Taylor. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (602) 255-0450.

PORTLAND, ORE.

UNDOCUMENTED WORKERS: HUMAN RIGHTS UNDER ATTACK IN OREGON. Speakers: Ann Echevarria, Washington County Translators Bureau; Beth Peterson, SCAR. Fri., Oct. 7, 8 p.m. 3928 N. Williams. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 288-7860.

ROXBURY

CARTER'S ATTACK AGAINST AFFIRMATIVE ACTION: THE 'BAKKE' CASE. Speaker: Robb Wright, SWP National Committee. Fri., Oct. 7, 8 p.m. 612 Blue Hill Ave., Dorchester. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 288-0753.

SALT LAKE CITY

WHY A SOCIALIST IS RUNNING FOR CITY COMMISSIONER. Speaker: Bill Hoyle, SWP candidate for city commissioner. Fri., Oct. 7, 7:30 p.m. 322 E. 3rd South. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (801) 521-6624.

SAN JOSE

STEEL LAYOFFS: HOW TO FIGHT CORPORATE BLACKMAIL. Speaker: Nat Weinstein, SWP National Committee. Fri., Oct. 7, 8 p.m. 942 E. Santa Clara Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (408) 295-8342.

SEATTLE

FILM: 'THE UNWANTED.' Award-winning film about the plight of undocumented workers. Speakers: Ali Shokri; Juan Cepeda, Concilio for the Spanish Speaking of King Co. Fri., Oct. 7, 8 p.m. East Cherry YWCA, 2820 E. Cherry. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (206) 329-7404.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

DEFEND AFFIRMATIVE ACTION! REVERSE THE 'BAKKE' DECISION! Speakers: Jack Hartog, National Lawyers Guild; Glova Scott, NSCAR. Fri., Oct. 7, 8 p.m. St. Stephen and the Incarnation Church, 16th & Newton NW. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7706.

...steel

Continued from page 7

pany propaganda designed to confuse steelworkers and cow opposition to the corporate attack on living standards.

Democratic and Republican politicians in the Pittsburgh area have eagerly gone on the line for the steel bosses' demands. They have placed a special referendum on the November ballot:

"Should county and municipal elected officials fight to change federal environmental laws in order to preserve existing jobs in the steel industry?"

Every Democratic and Republican politician of any significance has come out in favor of a "yes" vote in the referendum. Some even liken the vote to a vote for "motherhood and apple pie."

Liberal Democrats formerly identified with environmental protection are also caving in to the steel companies. Michelle Madoff, a Democrat and a founder of GASP (Group Against Smog and Pollution), now favors pollution "compromises" to "save jobs."

Howard "Buddy" Beck, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Pittsburgh, has pledged to campaign against the employer offensive.

"The Socialist Workers Party calls on the people of Pittsburgh to vote 'no' on this referendum," Beck said. "We stand ready to join with anyone to fight against further curtailment of environmental standards."

"Accepting pollution of our air and water will *not* save jobs," Beck emphasized. "It only saves money for the steel profiteers."

"If these corporations are not willing to operate the plants so as to provide jobs and protect the environment, they should be *nationalized*—not subsidized," the socialist candidate said.

Philadelphia

By Jon Hillson

CONSHOHOCKEN, Pa.—"I'm living by the skin of my teeth," James Sylvester says. He used to be a steel-worker.

Sylvester is one of 3,000 employees of Alan Wood Steel laid off over the past eight months.

The sprawling plant in this industrial suburb of Philadelphia shut down production September 16. The company had filed bankruptcy papers three months before. Unable to find a buyer, it is now using only a skeleton maintenance crew.

Operating at peak production in 1974, Alan Wood employed 3,300 workers. The bosses enjoyed record profits, and embarked on a plan to compete with the steel giants. In so doing, they gradually decreased the number of smaller jobs and orders that had been the basis of work at the plant.

Soon afterwards, the bottom dropped out. In the dog-eat-dog world of capitalist competition, Alan Wood was unable to survive against the bigger and more powerful profit-predators.

Using the threat of a shutdown, the owners tried last year to get the United Steelworkers of America local at the plant to accept a 10 percent wage cut. The workers refused.

Later, under intensifying employer pressure, the workers relented. They voted to give bonuses to which they were entitled back to the boss.

The bankruptcy receivers of the company have made it clear that these donations by workers to keep the business afloat will not be returned.

In addition, all health benefits have been cut off. Workers with as much as thirty years on the job appear to have lost their pensions.

For Alan Wood's owners, the future is not bleak, despite bankruptcy. They never had to worry about mortgage payments. Health and medical costs are no problem. Luxury items have always been their "essentials."

Harleston Wood, whose ancestors founded the company, was chairman of the board. To demonstrate his sympathy for the workers he was laying off, Wood took a pay cut.

His yearly take dropped from \$168,000 to \$90,000.

Harleston Wood was just a small fry in the exclusive club of the steel bosses. But somehow, through the ups and downs of the "free enterprise" profit system, his kind never loses.

And the James Sylvesters never win.

...Biko

Continued from page 3

hypocritical cover-up, designed to deflect attention and criticism from the aid they have given the Vorster regime and their complicity in its racist policies.

Biko himself was well aware of Washington's real policy toward Pretoria and frequently condemned it. For instance, in a statement he made in December 1976, he said that "America has often been positively guilty of working in the interest of the minority regime to the detriment of the interests of black people. America's foreign policy seems to have been guided by a selfish desire to maintain an imperialistic stranglehold on this country irrespective of how the blacks were made to suffer."

...Boston

Continued from page 6

opposition to school desegregation and busing, and to abortion rights. It has done nothing to solve unemployment, which is bearing down especially hard on Black and Puerto Rican youth. Nor has it lifted a finger to curb white racist attacks on Blacks.

"This has been the case with the Democrats historically, and it's not going to change now. You can't belong to the same party with Carter, who openly declares that he stands for the privileges of the rich, and be serious about fighting for the real needs of the

Black community."

McCutcheon pointed out that the Black Democrats also go wrong on the day-to-day issues confronting Blacks. "Brown, for instance, is opposed to busing," she said. "Except for Waters, none of the other Black candidates support my call for a conference of the Black movement to work out a perspective to end unemployment among Black youth and deal with some other pressing problems."

"In essence, they say the same thing as the white Democrats, 'rely on me to take care of things.'"

"That's not how we won anything to date," McCutcheon said, "and that's not how we're going to win anything today or tomorrow."

"It will take the organization and mobilization of the Black community for independent political action in the streets and at the polls to win gains. That's how we won the civil rights bill, school desegregation, affirmative action, and abortion rights. And that's how we'll successfully defend those gains and win others."

"To do this," McCutcheon said, "the Black community needs its own organization independent of the Democratic Party—a Black party. Then we could mount a serious 'vote Black' campaign"

"Many Blacks in Boston are ready for that idea. The 'vote Black' campaign is a reflection of that desire for genuine Black representation and political action."

"That's what we in the Socialist Workers Party have been campaigning for in this election, and we're going to keep on campaigning for it after the polls are closed."

...Bakke

Continued from page 4

affirmative action.

They have accepted the brief as good coin.

In their haste to portray the government brief as a victory they have also overlooked Griffin Bell's statements opposing quotas.

The brief shows that the Carter administration is determined *not* to enforce full equality for oppressed nationalities and women.

On the contrary. It is continuing the policy initiated during the Nixon administration of whittling away the gains of the civil rights and women's movements.

For example, Carter says he's for school desegregation. But he is against "massive busing."

The only way students of oppressed nationalities can get an equal education is for the government to *force* local school boards to carry out massive two-way busing and bilingual/bicultural programs. All *force* necessary should be used to protect those children from racist violence.

Yet the Carter administration refuses to enforce the law.

The government is now trying to use the very laws designed to eliminate discrimination and inequality in its drive against working people.

The Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution and Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act are now used to bolster the false argument of "reverse discrimination!"

The government's policy is to force down the standard of living of working

people in general and to crush the expectations for a better life among the most oppressed—women, Blacks, Chicanos, Indians, Puerto Ricans, and youth.

A major weapon in this program is to deepen the divisions among working people with the tool of racism and sexism.

This is why the government and the capitalist media are beating the drums against "reverse discrimination."

This is also why supporters of affirmative action must mount a counter-campaign to explain what is at stake in the *Bakke* case.

It is necessary to organize a movement broader and stronger than the civil rights movement of the 1960s.

This process has already begun with the national protests set for October 3 and 8. Anti-*Bakke* activists must see these actions as only the first step.

Correction

In a short item on South Africa in the September 23 *Militant* Chief Gatsha Buthelezi is incorrectly referred to as a "leader of South Africa's 6 million Zulus."

Buthelezi is titular head of the KwaZulu Bantustan, an impoverished African reservation set aside for the country's Zulu-speaking population. He was appointed to this post by the racist white minority regime and is paid by the white authorities.

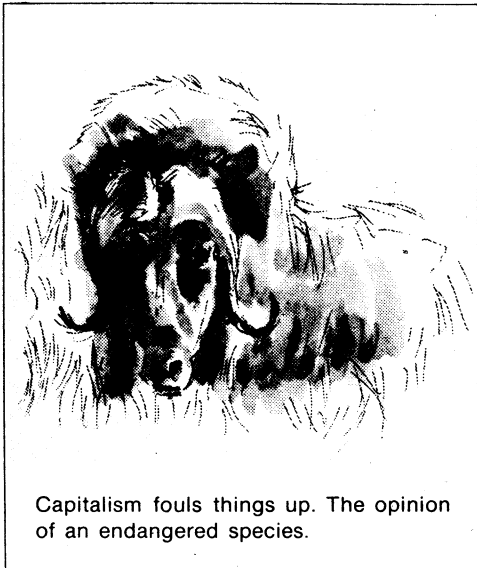
Despite his occasionally militant rhetoric, he is no authentic Black leader. In fact, young Black activists consider him little more than a government stooge.

Sketches by Copain

A sampling of sketches by Copain. Published in 1974 to help celebrate the tenth anniversary of *Intercontinental Press*.

The reproductions, of various sizes, include portraits of Hugo Blanco, Malcolm X, Bernadette Devlin McAliskey, James P. Cannon, Che Guevara, Leon Trotsky, and others, some of them suitable for framing.

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New York

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Robert Des Verney, SWP candidate for comptroller, on "Black Political Power & How to Get It".

also: **Jane Roland**, candidate for city

council president; **Nicomedes Sanchez**, SWP candidate for City Council, 2nd C.D.; and **others**.

Earl Hall, Columbia University, Broadway & 118th St., Saturday, October 8, 7:30 p.m. Afterwards there will be a reception and party to meet the candidates.

Ausp: New York Socialist Workers 1977 Campaign Committee; Roger Rudenstein: treasurer

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Women's rights battle brews for IWY meet



20,000 women are expected at Houston women's conference November 18-21

Militant/Anne Teesdale

By Nancy Cole

It will be the arena where American women can "tell the nation we won't take 'no' for an answer" in the struggle for women's equality, says Carmen Delgado Votaw.

Phyllis Schlafly says it will be the death of the women's movement.

"It" is the National Women's Conference scheduled for Houston November 18-21. Votaw is a member of the International Women's Year Commission, the body coordinating the event. Schlafly is the head of Stop ERA, one of numerous right-wing, anti-women's rights groups out to sabotage the conference.

The meeting is now shaping up to be a political battle between supporters of women's rights and members of a persistent, reactionary minority who would turn the clock back and obliterate the last decade's gains for women.

It is this political confrontation that places the IWY conference at the very center of activity for the women's liberation movement this fall. The Houston meeting is one that no women's rights supporter will want to miss, and one that all women will closely follow to see the outcome.

Women's liberation activists—members of the National Organization for Women, students, Blacks, and trade unionists—are organizing across the country to attend the national meeting.

The IWY Commission and national conference were established by an act of Congress, along with an allocation of \$5 million to finance the project. The commission was appointed by the Carter administration and operates out of the State Department. Former Rep. Bella Abzug heads the commission.

The stated goals of the national meeting and the fifty-six state and "territorial" conferences that preceded it include: to celebrate the contributions of women, to assess the progress in promoting women's equality, and to

identify barriers to equality and develop recommendations to remove them.

A final report and recommendations are to be submitted to Carter and Congress by March 1978. According to the government, these are to serve as guidelines for future legislation.

Setbacks

It's no secret that the same government offering women the IWY meetings has also delivered women some devastating setbacks recently. Abortion rights, affirmative action, pregnancy benefits, and the Equal Rights Amendment have all suffered at the hands of Democratic and Republican officials.

The government no doubt thought it was fashioning a clever cover for its drive against women with the IWY concept, by expressing concern for women's issues and even offering women a chance to gather and declare what they want.

But women took the IWY conferences seriously. Spotting a chance to fight back against the attacks, or wanting just to find out what the women's rights struggle is all about, more than 130,000 women flocked to the state IWY conferences.

In some states, the participation surpassed organizers' expectations by two or three times. Informal surveys found that as many as half of conference participants never attended such a women's gathering before, nor did they belong to any women's rights organization.

"A lot of women I know are frightened by the word feminist, but they are feminists," said Joan Alagna from Brooklyn, after the New York State meeting. "I've been one since I was eight, but there was no place to put it. I never knew there were other women who felt the same way, but now I do."

The state conferences elected nearly

1,500 delegates to the Houston meeting, and 400 more have been given at-large status. Some 20,000 in all are expected for the conference.

Activities planned

Official activities for nondelegates include speak-outs, panels, workshops, and performances of drama, music, sports, and dance. These will run simultaneously with the delegated business meeting since only a limited number of observers will be allowed to attend those sessions.

During the first day of the conference Houston women have called a welcoming rally for supporters of women's rights (see box).

The September 16-18 New York State conference of the National Organization for Women passed a resolution urging state NOW chapters to "encourage feminists to attend the conference and publicize it widely."

The proposal also recommended that the NOW national board help organize additional activities for the nondelegates at the conference.

Organizers of the national convention of the Coalition of Labor Union Women, meeting in Washington, D.C., September 17-18, encouraged CLUW members to attend the IWY meeting.

IWY Commissioner Votaw addressed

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Women set Houston rally

By Stu Singer

HOUSTON—Women leaders here have announced plans for an equal rights rally at the beginning of the International Women's Year conference November 18.

A September 27 news conference explained the three purposes of the rally: to welcome supporters of women's rights from all over the country to Houston; to commemorate Alice Paul, author of the Equal Rights Amendment; and to show support for equal rights for women.

The November 18 rally is not an official IWY conference event, but it is endorsed by numerous groups and individuals in Houston.

Speaking at the news conference were Pat Cearcy from the Teamsters; Evelyn Carson, director of community education, Houston Independent School District; Mae Ella Walker, National Council of Negro Women; Margarita Melville, Mexican Ameri-

can studies professor at the University of Houston; and Margaret Acosta, Chicana Association for Reform and Advocacy.

In addition, a telegram of support from Dorothy Heights, the national president of the National Council of Negro Women, was read.

Endorsers of the rally include Bay Area National Organization for Women; *Point Blank Times*, a lesbian paper; University Feminists Organization at the University of Houston; Socialist Workers Party; Houston Area Feminists; and Women's Equity Action League.

The rally is planned for Friday, November 18, at 4:00 p.m. For more information contact: Houston Equal Rights for Women Welcoming Rally, c/o University Feminists Organization, Student Activities, Box 41, University of Houston, Houston, Texas 77004. Telephone: (713) 749-1726.