

THE MILITANT

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



Hugo Blanco (center) greeted at New York's Kennedy Airport October 5.

HUGO BLANCO ARRIVES IN U.S.

KENNEDY AIRPORT, NEW YORK CITY, Oct. 5—"My arrival today is a victory for the efforts of all the compañeros here in the United States."

These were Hugo Blanco's first words here today as he stepped off an airplane from Sweden. The well-known Peruvian writer and peasant leader has fought for two years against Washington's efforts to deprive him of a visa.

He will meet with his publisher and tour U.S. cities speaking on "Carter and Human Rights in Latin America—Myth vs. Reality."

For background on this victory and more details on Blanco's tour, see page 5.

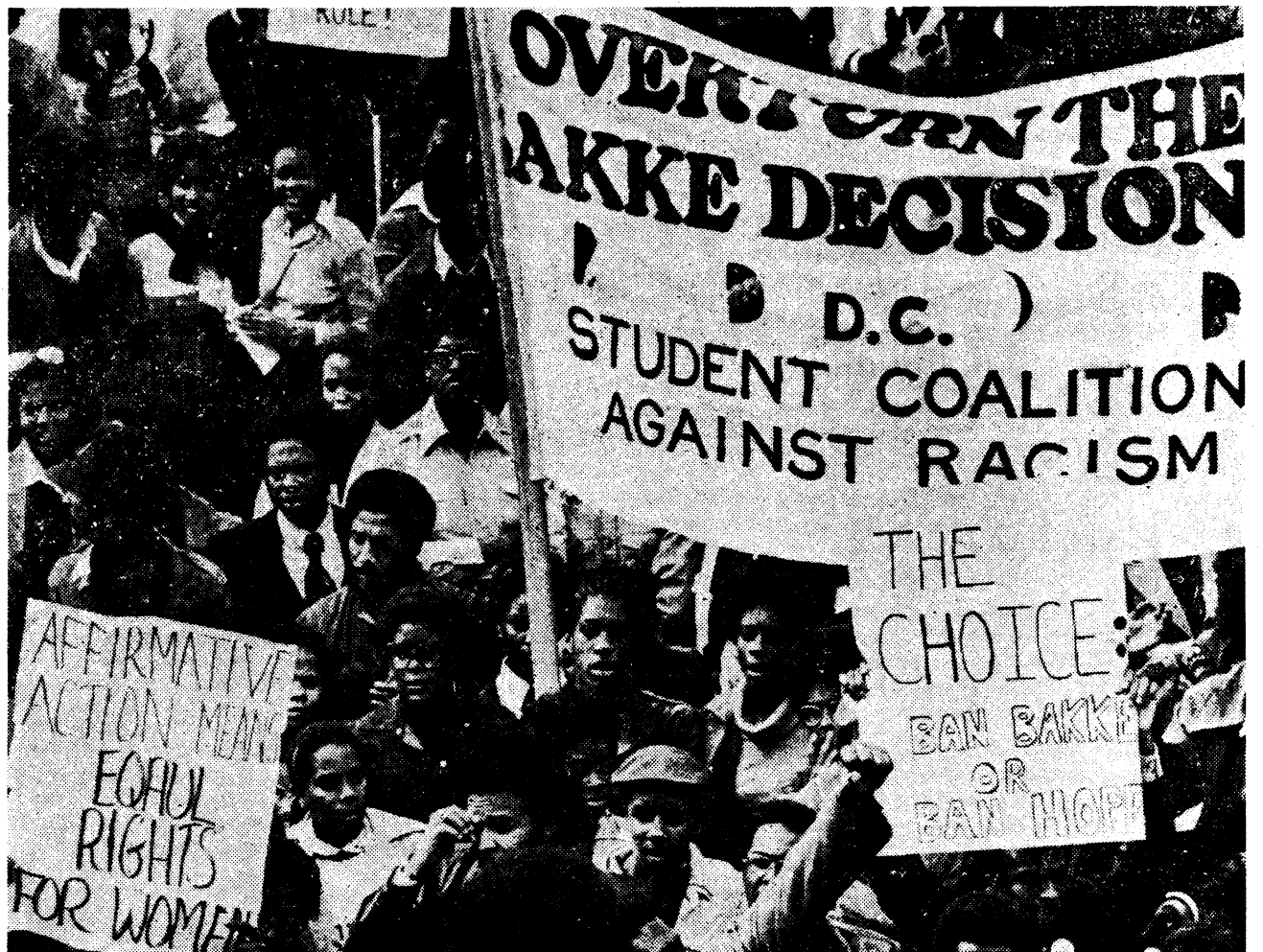
**Women's
abortion
rights
take beating
in Congress**

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Special 4-page feature

'BAKKE' CASE New threat to civil rights

—PAGES 10, 17-20



WASHINGTON—The fight to defend affirmative action for oppressed nationalities and women brought 1,400 protesters into the streets here October 3. Other actions took place in cities and on campuses across the country. See page 17.

**CARTER'S SPAT
WITH ISRAEL**
Have thieves fallen out?

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YVONNE WANROW RETRIAL POSTPONED: The second trial of Yvonne Wanrow, a Colville Indian, was postponed September 29. Wanrow was convicted of assault and second-degree murder in 1973 after fatally shooting a child molester and wounding his companion. Both an appeals court and the Washington Supreme Court overturned her conviction.

Wanrow's defense has challenged the constitutionality of the state murder law under which she will have to stand trial.

The new trial will be held after the state supreme court rules on the defense challenge.

HOW TO BEAT INFLATION: Having a hard time making your paycheck cover your living expenses? You say your last raise barely met what you'd already lost through inflation? Then do what corporate executives do. Raise your pay 19 percent.

That's what top officers of the country's 100 largest corporations did in 1976, according to a recent survey.

Average take-home for the crew was \$437,000, up \$69,000 over 1975.

Heading the list were the two top executives at Ford. Each pulled \$970,000.

SCHOOLS GOING BROKE: While Henry Ford II is raking in nearly a million dollars a year, schools in forty Ohio school districts are in danger of closing because the districts are out of money. Both Cleveland and Toledo, two of the largest school systems in the state, may have to shut down for 1977 on October 28. About 160,000 students will be thrown out of school.

Supreme Court lets antigay ruling stand

The Supreme Court refused on October 3 to hear the case of a Washington teacher who was fired for being a homosexual.

James Gaylord had been teaching social studies in Tacoma for thirteen years when the school learned in 1972 that he is gay.

He was fired, school board officials said, because his homosexuality violated the board's rule against "immorality." Officials claimed his personal sexual preference would impair the learning atmosphere in the classroom.

Gaylord appealed the case to the Supreme Court, demanding his constitutional right to privacy, freedom of expression, and equal protection under the law.

COLUMBUS SCHOOL DESEGREGATION DELAYED: Federal Judge Robert Duncan ordered an eight-month delay October 4 in the desegregation of the Columbus, Ohio, schools. Duncan had earlier approved a plan that reassigns 41,000 of the district's 92,000 students. The first reassignments, of elementary school students, were to have begun in January.

Duncan yielded to a board of education request for the delay. The board claimed January reassignments would disrupt the schools.

WILMINGTON DESEGREGATION PLAN STANDS: The Supreme Court refused October 3 to review a court-ordered desegregation plan for Wilmington, Delaware, that includes busing Black students to mostly white suburban schools.

The city's schools are heavily Black. A meaningful desegregation plan would be impossible without busing out of the city.

In 1974 the Supreme Court rejected a similar plan for the Detroit area.

HIT GRAND JURY HARASSMENT: About 150 people marched through downtown Chicago September 17 protesting the continued jailing of Pedro Archuleta, José López, and Roberto Caldero. The three Latino activists have been held for their refusal to cooperate with a witch-hunting grand jury's harassment of the Puerto Rico independence movement.

Under guise of investigating the Armed Forces of Puerto Rican National Liberation (FALN), a mysterious group that claims responsibility for several bombings in New York and Chicago, the grand jury has been hauling in proindependence activists and questioning them about their activities.

Carmen Collazo, an activist in the independence movement, was the main speaker at a rally following the march. Solidarity messages came from the Shoe Workers Union, Iranian Students Association, Socialist Workers Party, and Sojourner Truth Organization.

BLACK WOMEN'S CONFERENCE: The National Alliance of Black Feminists is sponsoring a National Black Women's Conference in Chicago October 21-23. Speakers will include Rev. Willie Barrows, president of Operation PUSH; Aileen Hernández, former president of the National Organization for Women; and Addie Wyatt, an international vice-president of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen. Wyatt is also vice-president of the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

Workshops are also planned.

For more information, write to NABF at 202 South State Street, Suite 1024, Chicago, Illinois 60604.

'YOU NEVER OUTGROW YOUR NEED FOR MILK': In New York, seven-year-old Kayode Vann downed a glass of milk September 30 and was immediately seized by a burning sensation in his throat and sharp stomach pains. His father rushed him to the hospital, where he was treated and released.

The empty container of milk smelled like chlorine, and Kayode's father forced the supermarket to take nine containers that smelled the same way off the shelves. He said he thought the store had sold about sixty already.

The hospital refuses to say what poisoned Kayode. The Health Department said, "It did have a chlorine smell. It does happen occasionally. Look, you don't get that sick."

Dellwood Milk admitted that chlorine could have gotten into the milk, but commented, "It won't kill you."

EARLY OUT FOR WATERGATE THREE: Federal Judge John Sirica has reduced the sentences of John Ehrlichman, H.R. Haldeman, and John Mitchell, all former top Nixon administration figures serving time in federal prisons for their parts in the Watergate cover-up.

Haldeman and Mitchell will be eligible for parole next June, after serving a year. Each of the three men originally received a sentence of thirty months to eight years.

Ehrlichman will now be eligible for parole on the Watergate cover-up charge October 27, but he is also serving a term for his role in the "plumbers" break-in at the office of antiwar activist Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist.

Sirica—known as "Maximum John" for his severe sentences against Blacks—said he gave the Watergaters a break because all three admitted their guilt and were sorry for what they had done.

—Arnold Weissberg

Special offer to new readers.

The Militant—10 weeks/\$2



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.

- () \$2 for ten issues (new readers only)
- () \$8.50 for six months () \$15 for one year
- () New () Renewal

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'Militant' team brings subscription drive to midwest campuses

Gary Balsam, Rosina Grignetti, and Bob Miller are only three of the hundreds of *Militant* supporters active in this fall's subscription campaign. But during the next four weeks they plan to be the most active *Militant* campaigners in the country.

Balsam, Grignetti, and Miller constitute a three-member *Militant* campus team. They will be visiting colleges and universities in Michigan and Ohio.

Their aim is to build the circulation of the

Militant among midwestern college students. At the same time they will be spreading news of the upcoming convention of the Young Socialist Alliance, set for December 29 through January 1 in Detroit.

An oft-repeated cliché in the news media is the one about the absence of radicalism on college campuses today. The 1960s are gone, they say, and the students of this decade couldn't care less about the world's problems.

Well, *Militant* subscription sellers report that it just ain't so. College students today—like the students of the 1960s—are among the *Militant's* most enthusiastic readers.

This fall we hope to get thousands of new student subscribers.

And the *Militant* Midwest campus team will be setting the pace for that effort.

The team hit the road September 29. We'll be reporting on its progress in coming issues.

—N.B.

Cities set catch-up weeks in 'Militant' drive

By William Jasper

Perspectiva Mundial goes on our subscription scoreboard for the first time this week. Sales of the new Spanish-language biweekly are going well. More than twice as many people as projected have subscribed at this point in the drive.

Militant subscription sales have dropped slightly behind schedule. While supporters in some cities continue to do well, we are running behind in several others. Those cities on schedule are shown in bold type on this week's scoreboard.

To get back on target, readers in many areas are setting aside an entire week in early or mid-October for intensive subscription gathering.

San Francisco's big week began Saturday, October 1, and lasts through the following Sunday. It will take steady work all the way through to make the goal, but this week the idea is to go all out to take up the slack in the drive.

"On the first day we had more people out than on any previous Saturday," says San Francisco Socialist Workers Party local organizer John Studer, "and the rate of return per person was higher."

Activities during the week include a two-day focus on the San Francisco State campus during a student activities week and door-to-door canvassing in neighborhoods.

Milton Chee, SWP candidate for board of supervisors, is a bus driver. Subscription teams armed with clipboards will meet bus drivers reporting for work with an offer to subscribe to the paper that backs their co-worker in the elections.

Two demonstrations around the *Bakke* issue will attract many potential subscribers. And volunteers will telephone people interested in the SWP to talk to them about subscribing. At the end of the week regional campuses will be targeted by traveling teams.

New York City has a similar week set for October 9 through 16. Subscription drive director Roger Rudenstein says a breakdown of where subscriptions have been sold in New York so far showed

that only 8 percent have been sold on campus.

To redress this imbalance, Rudenstein says, a big emphasis will be put on campus subscriptions.

"Monday, October 10, is Columbus Day. A lot of people get the day off. But most schools are still in session. So we have supporters pledged to visit campuses, including schools in the region, on their day off.

"Later in the week we'll be dispatching a four-day team to Buffalo to visit campuses there.

"Unionists will put big stress on selling to co-workers during the week. Some, including teachers, have goals for the drive. They want to take a big step toward reaching them during the week."

SUBSCRIPTION TIP OF THE WEEK:

A lot of people we visit will get a single copy but hesitate to buy a sub. What I do is suggest we set a time to revisit them after they have a chance to check out the paper. I have them fill out the blank with their name and address and a time to meet. If they decide to subscribe later, they only owe \$1.50, since they have already paid 50 cents for the first issue.

A lot of people seem to appreciate this proposal, and most will go ahead and subscribe when you go back to see them.

John Votava
San Francisco

Subscription scoreboard

AS OF OCTOBER 1				TOTAL			
CITY	GOAL	RECEIVED	%				
St. Paul	150	74 (1)*	49.3	Berkeley	300	52 (2)	17.3
Albuquerque, N. Mex.	150	71 (11)	47.3	Louisville, Ky.	150	25	16.7
Kansas City, Mo.	175	79 (11)	45.1	Newark, N.J.	350	56 (9)	16.0
Salt Lake City	150	65 (7)	43.3	New Orleans	300	48	16.0
Dallas	250	88 (4)	35.2	Atlanta	600	94 (7)	15.7
Lehigh Valley, Pa.	20	7	35.0	Tacoma	150	21 (2)	14.0
Raleigh, N.C.	120	41	34.2	Los Angeles	1,100	153 (33)	13.9
Denver	300	98 (4)	32.7	Cleveland	300	39 (2)	13.0
Portland, Ore.	250	73 (2)	29.2	San Antonio	350	45 (2)	12.9
Milwaukee	400	115 (6)	28.8	Minneapolis	350	35 (1)	10.0
Phoenix, Ariz.	250	66 (2)	26.4	Toledo, Ohio	150	13 (2)	8.7
Miami	250	59 (3)	23.6	Philadelphia	675	56	8.3
Chicago	900	199 (10)	22.1	Albany, N.Y.	75	6	8.0
St. Louis	375	82	21.9	Bloomington, Ind.	50	4	8.0
Boston	825	177 (19)	21.5	San Jose	350	24	6.9
Oakland	600	123 (10)	20.5	San Francisco	600	41 (3)	6.8
Cincinnati	200	41	20.5	Seattle	300	20 (1)	6.7
New York	1,800	355 (42)	19.7	Kent, Ohio	75	4	5.3
Houston	600	118 (10)	19.7	Amherst, Ma.	40	2	5.0
San Diego	300	59 (7)	19.7	Penn State, Pa.	40	2	5.0
Pittsburgh	450	88 (2)	19.6	Indianapolis	150	1	0.7
Detroit	850	159 (6)	18.7	Miscellaneous		152 (9)	
Baltimore	175	32 (1)	18.3	Total	18,000	3,267 (231)	18.2
Washington, D.C.	600	105	17.5	Should be		3,600	20

*Figures in parentheses indicate number of *Perspectiva Mundial* subscriptions included in totals.

*Figures in parentheses indicate number of *Perspectiva Mundial* subscriptions included in totals.

Hundreds of new readers

'Perspectiva' circulation grows fast

By Nelson Blackstock

As periodicals go, *Perspectiva Mundial* is still in its infancy. It was only born earlier this year—issue number one rolled off the press last January 24.

The issue of the Spanish-language biweekly socialist newsmagazine now being sold is only the nineteenth one ever published.

But during the first weeks of September, *Perspectiva* has grown by leaps and bounds in a way essential for any new publication if it is to succeed.

On September 10 members of the Socialist Workers Party set out to sign up 500 new subscribers to *Perspectiva*. This was combined with a drive to get 18,000 new readers for the *Militant*.

The SWP aims to get *Perspectiva* into the hands of the Spanish-speaking people the party is increasingly meeting in the course of its political work. Large concentrations of Chicanos, *mexicanos*, and Puerto Ricans now live

in major cities in many parts of the country—particularly in the Southwest and the East, but also in the Midwest. Miami is the home of thousands of Latinos.

In the first two weeks alone more than 200 new readers got subscriptions to *Perspectiva*. That put the drive well ahead of schedule.

In addition, single-copy sales of *Perspectiva* have increased dramatically. The total number of copies mailed out in bundles to cities around the country has more than tripled. Twelve hundred copies are now sent out every two weeks.

New subscriptions have come in from at least twenty-nine cities.

This means that *Perspectiva* is on the way to acquiring a firm circulation base among Spanish-speaking readers in the United States.

New readers will be able to follow *Perspectiva's* coverage of issues directly of interest to them—news and analyses they can find nowhere else.

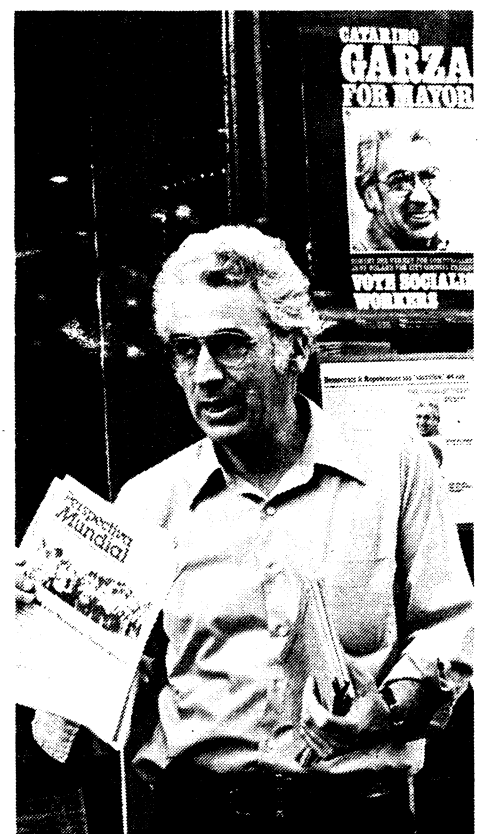
In the next issue they will be able to read revelations about the government's systematic efforts to disrupt and destroy the Chicano movement during the past several years.

They will also be able to follow ongoing coverage of the new canal treaty being imposed on the people of Panama.

Most new readers subscribed to *Perspectiva* during door-to-door canvassing in the Puerto Rican and Chicano communities. Others are participants in the antideportation movement who learned about *Perspectiva* from other activists.

Still others are students from Latin America studying in this country. They are interested in reading a magazine in their own language, one that pays special attention to developments in their part of the world.

There's nothing like *Perspectiva Mundial*. And experience so far in the drive shows that the young magazine is establishing a place for itself.



Militant/Ethel Lobman
Socialist mayoral candidate Garza sells copies of *Perspectiva* on Lower East Side.

Nat'l Latino conference wins new support

By Harry Ring

SAN ANTONIO—A major immigration organization has announced its support for the national antideportation conference to be held here October 28-30.

At its September meeting the National Committee for the Defense of Immigrants (CODI) agreed to participate actively in the conference, which will mobilize opposition to Carter's proposed clampdown on undocumented immigrants.

The New York-based CODI, which has the support of top figures in the Catholic church, has played an important role in the defense of Dominican and Central America immigrants. Last June it organized a New York demonstration of 2,000.

In a September 19 letter to the initiator of the conference, Judge José Angel Gutiérrez, Rev. José L. Alvarez, chairperson of CODI, wrote that his



REV. JOSE ALVAREZ: to participate in antideportation conference.

organization had "unanimously agreed to participate as a sponsor of the National Chicano/Latino Conference on Immigration and Public Policy."

Father Alvarez said he would personally participate in the conference.

The conference coordinating committee also released the text of a September 20 letter from the Texas League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC). In the letter, State Director Rubén Bonilla wrote that his organization "offers its unqualified support" to the conference.

Noting that LULAC "has been in the forefront" in criticizing the Carter plan, Bonilla wrote that "I would like to reiterate LULAC's interest in serving on any steering committee that is established to deal with the critical issue of undocumented workers. . . ."

The conference committee also announced that a number of noted public figures have recently joined the more

than 400 endorsers of the conference.

Among them are actress Jane Fonda, comedian and social activist Dick Gregory, and the veteran antiwar activist Phillip Berrigan.

Both Gregory and Berrigan will be joining a group of notables in signing a fund appeal to help defray the heavy costs of the conference.

Others include Catholic Bishop Patricia Flores, of San Antonio; Bernardo Euseste, mayor pro tem of San Antonio; and Robert and Michael Meerpol, sons of the McCarthy-era victims Julius and Ethel Rosenberg.

The conference will open Friday night, October 28, with a public rally featuring nationally known guest speakers and entertainment. On Saturday and Sunday there will be workshops and plenary sessions.

The conference keynote address will be given at a Saturday morning plenary session by Judge Gutiérrez.

Farm workers leader hits Carter 'alien' plan

By Anne Chase

OAKLAND—Some 135 people at a September 23 forum here heard farm labor leader Philip Vera Cruz denounce deportations of immigrants without visas as an attack on all working people.

Vera Cruz, a seventy-two-year-old Filipino, retired as second vice-president of the United Farm Workers at its convention last August.

The forum was organized by the Raza Contra la Migra Committee, a local group organizing support for the national Chicano/Latino conference to be held in San Antonio October 28-30.

Vera Cruz spoke of his own suffering as a noncitizen worker in the United States. Enthusiastic applause from the mostly Latino audience greeted Vera Cruz when he spoke of the Mexican-American War of 1848.

"The United States was stronger, so it changed the border," Vera Cruz said. "Today the undocumented workers, when they cross the current border, are just coming home to their own country, to their own land."

After his talk, Vera Cruz told the *Militant* he opposes Carter's proposed crackdown on immigrants. "Carter's plan will cause more problems for Mexican workers than they have now," he said. He added that the San Antonio conference is a "good way to oppose deportations."

Although no longer an official of the UFW, Vera Cruz's stance reflects the position of the union. At the UFW's convention last August, delegates adopted a resolution denouncing the Carter plan and demanding "total amnesty to undocumented aliens."

Froben Lozada, a Merritt College Chicano Studies teacher, chaired the forum. He introduced Willie Barrientos, one of the farm workers involved in the 1965 grape strike and a founding member of the UFW.

Other speakers at the forum included Ray Otake, of the National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision; Laney College Chicano Studies teacher Miguel Angel; Raúl Tovar, of the Comité Popular de Educación; and Andrés Jiménez, of the Raza Contra la Migra Committee. La Lucha y Paz, a singing group, also performed.

Otake linked the government campaign against undocumented workers to the *Bakke* decision. In both cases, Otake said, "minorities are being blamed for the economic crisis."

Jiménez outlined plans for future Raza Contra la Migra Committee activities, including a San Francisco Bay Area conference against deportations October 22.

Following the talks, there was a showing of *The Unwanted*, a film about the plight of undocumented workers.

16 de Septiembre



SAN ANTONIO—Opponents of Carter's proposed clampdown on immigrants without visas formed an antideportation contingent in the annual September 16 parade celebrating Mexican independence. The contingent was initiated by the International Committee on Immigration and Public Policy and included the Raza Unida Party, Student Coalition Against Racism, CASA, Socialist Workers Party, and others. Similar contingents took part in Mexican Independence Day parades in Houston and Los Angeles.

Militant/Harry Ring

Antideportation group is formed in Michigan

DETROIT—Bilingual teachers, civil rights activists, and community workers in southwest Detroit have established an Ad Hoc Committee Against Deportations.

AHCAD was formed out of meetings in the barrio called in response to Texas Raza Unida Party leader José Angel Gutiérrez's "Call for Action" against deportations of immigrants without visas.

The government drive against undocumented workers is not only an issue in the Southwest. The Immigration and Naturalization Service estimates there are more than 35,000 so-called illegal aliens in Michigan. A bill to make it unlawful for employers to hire undocumented workers is before the state legislature.

Leading up to the national conference, AHCAD is carrying out local activities around this issue.

On October 1, it sponsored a showing of the documentary *The Unwanted* and the short film, *Los Desarraigados*.

AHCAD has also scheduled a Michigan Conference on Immigration and Deportation to be held at the Western

YMCA in the heart of Detroit's barrio. Speakers at the conference will include Maria Elena Martínez, chairperson of the Texas Raza Unida Party; and Ricardo Parra, executive director of the Mid-west Council of La Raza.

The work of the AHCAD has won wide support in the Detroit area. Among the prominent local endorsers are: Rose Aguilar, community services coordinator, Western YMCA; Kenneth V. Cockrel, Black community leader and candidate for city council; Fernando Colón, director of Latin Americans for Social and Economic Development (LASED); Detroit Equal Rights Committee; and Detroit Student Coalition Against Racism. Also endorsing are the Detroit National Lawyers Guild; Trudy Hawkins, Socialist Workers Party; Miguel Ortiz, Wayne County Neighborhood Legal Services; Rev. Robert Power, pastor of St. Anne's Church; and Margarita Valdez, Latin American Secretariat, Catholic Archdiocese of Detroit.

The AHCAD can be reached c/o Pinto Project, Room 201, 1601 Clark Street, Detroit, Michigan 48209. Telephone: (313) 842-5212.

Attend the conference

- ☐ 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.

San Antonio • October 28-30

After two-year fight

Victory! U.S. grants visa to Hugo Blanco

By José G. Pérez

The fight to win a U.S. visa for Peruvian revolutionist and peasant leader Hugo Blanco has been won.

On September 30, Ralph Kramer of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) central office told the *Militant* in response to a telephone call, "Mr. Blanco will be admitted directly." That was after the INS had concurred with a State Department recommendation that Blanco be let in.

This brings to a successful conclusion a two-year fight. It represents a major victory for the right of the American people to hear all points of view.

In June 1975 Blanco applied for a visa to conduct a three-month speak-

ing tour sponsored by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA).

The State Department stalled, then alleged—under a 1952 thought-control law—that Blanco was unfit to enter the United States. The State Department later considered a waiver of his inadmissibility, but decided no.

USLA responded by organizing a campaign of protest messages and meetings demanding that Henry Kissinger, who was then in office, reverse the decision. Scores of prominent individuals joined the protests, and Kissinger felt it best to bow to the pressure by formally reversing the decision.

However, the Immigration and Naturalization Service vetoed Kissinger. Despite continuing protests, Blanco was barred.

In March 1977 efforts to get Blanco a visa were renewed. Pathfinder Press formally requested that the INS classify Blanco as "an alien of distinguished merit and ability" so he could conduct a speaking tour organized by Viewpoint Speakers Bureau, a division of Pathfinder, and by USLA.

Blanco is one of the best-known Trotskyists in the world. He led a land-reform movement among Peru's Quechua-speaking peasants in the early 1960s. He was arrested and framed up on murder charges for this activity, and it took an international defense campaign to save his life and finally win him amnesty in 1970.

Pathfinder submitted with the March 1977 application laudatory reviews of Blanco's *Land or Death: The Peasant Struggle in Peru*. They also submitted personal testimonials on Blanco, ranging from Ché Guevara's 1963 comment, "Hugo Blanco has set an example, a good example," to a *Boston Globe* editorial that called him "a recognized spokesman for freedom and dissent."

A month after this material was submitted, the INS sent it back with a form letter saying, "evidence submitted to date does not establish the preeminence of the beneficiary in a particular field. . . ." They asked for more evidence.

Pathfinder responded by sending back the petition, documentation, and a letter of protest. Other protests from prominent intellectuals and civil libertarians soon followed. On June 15, the INS found that "additional documentation" had convinced them.



BLANCO: American people won the fight to hear Peruvian peasant leader

Tour begins

Hugo Blanco will be arriving in the United States "within two or three days," Mike Kelly, executive secretary of the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), told the *Militant* October 4.

"Now that we've won the fight to hear Blanco, his speaking tour will begin October 10 in Boston."

Blanco will be criss-crossing the United States speaking on: "Human Rights in Latin America: Myth and Reality."

The tour is cosponsored by USLA and Viewpoint Speakers Bureau, a division of Pathfinder Press, Blanco's U.S. publisher. Scheduling and arrangements are being handled by USLA.

Following is the itinerary of the first two weeks of Blanco's tour:

October 10-11	Boston
October 12	Newark, Del.
October 13-15	Detroit
October 18	New Orleans
October 20-21	Milwaukee
October 24	St. Louis
October 25	Kansas City, Mo.

For more information, contact USLA, 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10003. Telephone: (212) 254-6062.

Blanco's visa application was then before the State Department. As in 1975, the department branded him "ineligible" and stalled, claiming it was considering a waiver.

On September 9—the day Blanco was to have arrived—there was still no decision from the State Department. USLA and Viewpoint Speakers Bureau then called for protest messages and publicity around the case. Three weeks later all government objections to Blanco's visa had been overcome.

Neither Kramer of the INS nor State Department representative Lloyd Dewitt would explain to the *Militant* why the long-standing ban on Blanco had been lifted. "That I couldn't tell you," was Dewitt's answer. Kramer said, "I'm not in a position to say anything about that."

However, before the State Department had given its OK, the *Nation*, a liberal weekly published in New York, reported: "The Department spokesman has said that political considerations will weigh heavily in the Blanco matter. . . ."

Several "political considerations" may have been involved.

- Shortly after taking office President Carter promised to relax rules on travel to the United States, noting Washington's ideological travel ban was in violation of the 1975 Helsinki Agreement.

- Last August, Carter signed into law a State Department appropriation that carried a rider. The rider specified that persons who had been previously barred from the country because of their ties to communist, socialist, or anarchist groups should now be admitted.

- A negative decision could have embarrassed INS Director Leonel Castillo. In 1975, while still comptroller of the city of Houston, Castillo had gone on record as favoring a visa for Blanco.

For these reasons, Carter's appointees found it untenable to maintain the Ford administration's ban on Blanco. It would have further exposed the fraudulent nature of Carter's human rights rhetoric.

Hayes-Morales case

Texas cop convicted for killing Chicano

By David Salner

SAN ANTONIO—Chicanos won an important victory September 29 when former Castroville Police Chief Frank Hayes was convicted of violating federal civil rights laws in the killing of Ricardo Morales. Hayes faces possible life imprisonment.

On September 14, 1975, Hayes shot Morales in cold blood at point-blank range after having repeatedly announced in front of witnesses that he would kill the young Chicano.

Hayes's wife and sister-in-law were also convicted of violating Morales's rights and face possible ten-year terms. They had tried to cover up the murder by carting the body halfway across the state and burying it at a ranch.

At his original state trial, Hayes had been charged with murder, which carries a maximum penalty of death.

A deputy testified at both the state and federal trials that the murder was

clearly premeditated. Hayes told the deputy shortly before gunning down Morales on a deserted road, "I've killed me one Mexican; I'm fixing to kill another."

But a San Angelo jury decided in July 1976 that Hayes was guilty only of "aggravated assault"—the least possible charge. The killer-cop was given a two-to-ten-year sentence, which means he would have been eligible for parole in a few months.

Hayes's sister-in-law wasn't charged, and his wife was found guilty of "tampering with evidence" and fined \$49.50.

These verdicts were seen as flagrantly racist and threatening by Chicanos here. The Morales family initiated a protest campaign demanding that Hayes be prosecuted under federal laws for violating Ricardo Morales's rights.

But instead of prosecuting the police chief, the Justice Department closed its file on the case, saying it had a policy of not enforcing federal civil rights laws when action had already been taken on the state level.

News conferences, campus rallies, a march of 500 in San Antonio, and other widely publicized activities forced the Justice Department to reopen the case.

Last February the Justice Department announced it had dropped its eighteen-year policy of not enforcing the law, and Hayes was indicted. But from the beginning it was clear the government's heart was not in the prosecution.

The prosecution agreed to move the trial from mostly Chicano San Antonio to Waco, Texas, and to accept an all-Anglo jury, including one man whose brother is a cop and a woman whose father is a sheriff.

Attorney Rubén Sandoval, who is representing the Morales family in a pending civil damages suit, called the prosecution a "wet noodle."

Rubén Bonilla, head of the Texas League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), also blasted the government for accepting the all-white jury. The assumption, Bonilla said, "is that a Mexican-American cannot be impartial but an Anglo can."

But the impact of the campaign for justice for Ricardo Morales was so strong and the facts of the case so effectively publicized that Hayes was found guilty. This sets an important precedent for the struggle against police brutality.

On hearing the verdict, Ricardo Morales's mother said, "It won't bring my son back, but I hope maybe this means no more boys will be killed by a policeman like my boy."



After eleven years of being represented by Herman Badillo (inset), the South Bronx looks like Dresden after it was fire bombed during World War II.



Militant/Dick Roberts

Badillo: 'premier politician' or 'Democratic hack'?

Reply to a PSP leader

By Catarino Garza

Just a couple of weeks before the first round of the Democratic Party primary in New York, the *Village Voice*, a liberal New York weekly, carried a glowing article on Herman Badillo, one of the seven Democratic hopefuls.

"He is distinguished and would distinguish himself by his abilities and intelligence," the article says. He is "the premier Puerto Rican politician," "the most able and creative liberal thinker in the city today," with "un-challenged competence . . . as an

Catarino Garza is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York City.

administrator," and an "impressive platform about the city." "Badillo is loved by Latins in this city as if he were family," the article said.

By itself, there was nothing surprising about the article. The big-business press has been praising and building up Herman Badillo ever since I first heard of him in the early 1960s, when he was commissioner of relocation for the city of New York. He was part of "urban renewal"—the removal of Blacks and Puerto Ricans to make way for high and middle-income housing on the Upper West Side of Manhattan.

I was one of those who got urban-renewed right out of my home, so I never came to think of Badillo as family. But since then I've gotten used to hearing that kind of praise.

A real surprise

What surprised me about the *Voice* article wasn't the content but the author: Alfredo López.

I've known López for several years. He has been one of the central leaders of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party in the United States. Until a couple of months ago, López was editor of the bilingual edition of *Claridad*, newspaper of the PSP, before the paper was suspended for financial reasons.

So López isn't your average reporter. He's a prominent political personality. And a pro-Badillo article from such a figure—days before the primary—is tantamount to an endorsement.

I was sorry to see López's name on this piece of political hucksterism. Because López used to know what the score was with Badillo.

In his 1973 book, *The Puerto Rican Papers* (Bobbs-Merrill Company), López gives a perfect three-word characterization of Herman Badillo: "A Democratic hack."

PSP resolution

And that same year the first congress of the U.S. Zone of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party adopted a "Resolution on Politiqueros and Poverty Pimps," which says: "The PSP does

not support any of the 'politiquero' candidates including the candidacy for mayor of New York City of Congressman Herman Badillo. A Puerto Rican mayor will not end the exploitation of the Puerto Rican community within the capitalist system, just as it has been proven that the numerous Afro-American mayors elected have not been able to change the overall condition of their people."

Everything López and the PSP said about Badillo four years ago still fits him, the claims made in the *Village Voice* article notwithstanding.

For example, López describes a demonstration held this summer at the United Nations in defense of immigrants without visas, the people the government brands "illegal aliens."

"Puerto Ricans . . . were just not there," López says, "except for Badillo."

Something must have been in López's eyes at that demonstration: for who could have missed the portly figure of city council member Ramón Vélez, who spoke right after Badillo? I saw him quite well.

Badillo & 'illegals'

Also, López quotes, then repeats further in his article, the claim made by the announcer who introduced Badillo: "The only congressman to have ever introduced a bill for full amnesty for all undocumented people."

I wish Badillo had introduced such a bill. But, in fact, he has not. His amnesty bill has a cutoff date of July 4, 1976.

The fates of hundreds of thousands of people who came to this country after that date, and therefore would still be subject to deportation under Badillo's bill, might seem unimportant to him. But for the undocumented immigrant, it's a life-and-death question.

López says of Badillo, "his whole legislative record shows that he has a constant eye on his people's needs."

Before taking a leave of absence to run for office, I taught in an elementary school in the South Bronx, an area represented by Badillo since 1966, first as Bronx Borough president and now as a member of Congress.

And what has happened in those eleven years? The South Bronx has gone from being one of the worst slums in the nation to looking like Dresden at the end of World War II . . . block after block of buildings torched by landlords for insurance money, and the greatest poverty and squalor imaginable.

Badillo, of course, doesn't live in the South Bronx; he lives in Riverdale. And, according to one of López's sources, "He is never seen in the streets in the district, never."

One of the hottest issues in the Puerto Rican communities over the past decade has been the battle of oppressed minorities for community control of

the schools. This flared up in the late 1960s in Oceanhill-Brownsville and in the Lower East Side's Community School District 1 since the early 1970s.

López summed up the experience with Puerto Rican *politiqueros* in his 1973 book: "The politicians play endless games of legalism, reform, and vote-getting without ever addressing the issue most potent in the fight for justice: the issue of control."

Has anything changed since López wrote those lines? No. I live on the Lower East Side and have been active in the struggle for community control of the schools. And not once has Herman Badillo even said one word in support of our community—though we have urged him many times to do so.

López writes about Badillo's "impressive platform about the city," claiming "he has taken on the banks (by exposing the fact that they haven't lent this city a penny since 1974)."

The real problem, however, is *not* that the banks aren't lending money (they have). The real problem is the cutbacks and austerity the banks have imposed as insurance that their loans will be repaid in full.

Has Badillo demanded that the banks open their books so working people can see the billions of dollars that have already been made and still are being made from our misery and suffering?

Has he demanded that the banks give the city interest-free loans to restore education, child care, and other social services?

Has he demanded a moratorium on interest payments to the banks and the rich, so that there don't have to be any more cutbacks?

Of course not. You can't fight the banks that put profits ahead of human needs by supporting the profit system. The banks need to be taken over and run democratically by working people to serve their interests.

Cutbacks & layoffs

López doesn't talk about the other side of Badillo's program for the "fiscal crisis"—the one Badillo and every last one of his Democratic colleagues have been pushing most insistently: holding down or cutting back the number, wages, and benefits of municipal employees.

Right from the start of the "fiscal crisis," Badillo joined in the bosses' divide-and-rule game, telling Puerto Ricans the programs in their community could be preserved by taking the money from municipal employees.

One indication of Badillo's real program is that as soon as Badillo lost the primary, he turned around and endorsed U.S. Rep. Ed Koch in the runoff. Koch has run for mayor on a two-point platform: reinstitute the death penalty, and make municipal employees pay for the "fiscal crisis."

There is one issue on which López

does differentiate himself from Badillo, and that's Puerto Rican independence. "I believe the Puerto Rican people in Puerto Rico should decide," López quotes Badillo, noting that Badillo has refused to state whether he personally favors independence or continued U.S. rule. López says Badillo's "schizophrenia is evident here."

But there is nothing contradictory or ambiguous about Badillo's position. It is consistent with all of his other pro-big-business stands.

U.S. colony

There is only one small obstacle to his statement that "the Puerto Rican people in Puerto Rico" (or anywhere else) should decide the fate of their own country.

And that is that the United States government forcibly maintains an absolute economic, social, military, and political stranglehold over Puerto Rico. Until this domination is ended Puerto Rico cannot freely choose its own destiny.

!PUERTO RICO LIBRE!



CATARINO GARZA Militant/Gene Lantz

There is a bill pending in Congress that says the United States renounces control over Puerto Rico. Badillo does not support this motion. Badillo has never anywhere done anything to concretely support the right of the Puerto Rican people to decide.

What accounts for Badillo's disgraceful record? Speaking of the problem of Puerto Rican officeholders in 1973, López explained it very well: "They are, without exception, from the ranks of the Democratic or Republican parties (usually Democratic), and no matter how militant sounding are their speeches they undoubtedly sell their own people out."

Two-party system

That is, Badillo and Co. represent not the Puerto Rican community or other working people, but the rich and superrich who finance and control the

Continued on page 26

Chicago unionists: Halt racist violence

By Betsey Stone

CHICAGO, Oct. 1—A coalition of labor leaders spoke out against racist violence and in support of Chicago's voluntary busing plan at a press conference here this week.

Coalition spokespeople called for actions to end racist attacks on Blacks, which have escalated on the Southwest Side since the busing plan began this fall.

The busing program involves the voluntary transfer of a small number of Black students to previously all-white elementary schools that are underutilized.

Charles Hayes, organizer of the coalition and vice-president of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, condemned city leaders for their "continued silence" in face of the violence. He pointed out that racist intimidation has taken place not only against the Black students being bused, but also against Black workers going through the area.

Rev. Willie Barrows of Operation PUSH said PUSH has gotten calls from Black workers at the Continental Can, Crackerjack, and the Sweetheart Cup plants. The Blacks reported they were having difficulty going to work because of racist attacks as they traveled through the Southwest Side.

Addie Wyatt, international vice-president of the Meat Cutters, said ketchup had been thrown over her car



Militant/Suzanne Haig

Black students riding buses has sparked brutal resistance from Chicago bigots.

when she stopped for a traffic light in this area.

Earlier this week, a hotly debated resolution condemning racist violence was passed at the twentieth annual Illinois state convention of the AFL-CIO.

Arguing in support of the resolution, Charles Hayes pointed out that Black

and Latino workers who shop at Evergreen Plaza and Ford City Shopping Center find it dangerous to go there. "If the mayor of Chicago can speak out forcefully against the landing of the Concorde at O'Hare, he can speak out on the landing of a few Black kids from a school bus," Hayes said.

The type of violence the labor leaders were talking about was continued this week. One of the latest incidents took place at midnight, Saturday, October 3, when windows were broken and a cross was burned at the home of the Gresham family on the Southwest Side. Charles Gresham, who is Black, and his wife Lee, who is white, have been the victims of repeated attacks over the past six months. They estimate as much as \$2,000 in damage has been done to their house. Police have done little to protect them, they add.

Incidents such as this, as well as the harassment and beating of Blacks on their way to work, have not been reported in the local press or TV. The *Daily Defender*, a Black community newspaper, has been the only exception.

More action is needed by the labor movement and Black community organization to get out the truth about these attacks. One opportunity to discuss this is at the District 31 United Steelworkers conference planned for the weekend of October 14-15. A resolution titled "In Support of Peaceful Desegregation" is being submitted by steelworkers from Local 1033 at Republic Steel. The issue of racist violence is of special concern to workers at Republic, since there has been a long history of attacks on Black workers on their way to work in East Chicago.

SCAR on TV: 'No quality without equality'

The Chicago Student Coalition Against Racism has been actively speaking out against the racist violence that greeted Black transfer students bused to previously all-white Southwest Side schools at the opening of the school year.

The excerpts below are based on remarks by SCAR National Coordinator James Harris and Chicago SCAR activist Cecil Lampkin on the Shirley Harris TV call-in show September 22.

Caller. Why are Blacks in favor of desegregation of schools? Is it necessary to sit next to whites in order to learn?

Harris. Black people and their allies don't struggle for school desegregation just so that Black kids can sit next to white kids.

The reality is that white schools get more money spent on them and therefore have better facilities than Black schools. Blacks pay the same

taxes that whites pay, but we are forced to go to inferior facilities.

What school desegregation is all about is us achieving an equal education.

You know, busing as a concept was not anathema before it was used for desegregation. It wasn't a problem when they were busing whites past Black schools. Or when they were busing Blacks to other Black schools and we had to go past white schools. No, busing only became an issue when it was used to desegregate the public schools.

Lampkin. Some people say there should be equal quality education but not desegregation. I don't see the difference between the two. The way I see it, there can be no quality in education until there is equality in education.

We should have equal access and equal educational opportunities and facilities. And that is what we do not have in a segregated school system.

In Chicago we have a separate and unequal school system. We have

a segregated school system.

Consequently, the school board knows where the Black students are and where not to put the money. It knows where the white students are and where to put the money.

With school desegregation you can move toward equalizing the opportunity and access to the educational system in Chicago.

Moderator. So you do believe then that busing to achieve quality education does work?

Lampkin. There are very few schools that would come up to my standards for a genuinely quality education.

But we're talking about the lesser of two evils. The white schools here are pretty bad. The Black schools are horrendous. And going from horrendous to pretty bad is a step forward.

Caller. Integration of schools should not be the way Blacks get a better education. This is an unrea-

sonable burden on the schools. Improved education should begin at home. You people have your children for five, six years before they enter school.

Harris. This person is turning away from the idea of free, public education. She's saying that people can be educated in their homes and that Blacks have to take the burden of educating Black children and not depend on the school system to do that.

But that's why we have a free, public school system. In insisting on that, we're not saying Black parents shouldn't take care of their children, only that what is needed is a free and equal school system. Truly equal. That's what we demand. And that's why we say no to the racists.

You see, it's not just busing. What Black students are confronting when they go out there and see effigies of Black children with bananas hanging off them and see signs saying "Go back to Africa" is racism.

Right-wingers charged in Birmingham bombings

By Beverly Crain

Two racists have been indicted for the 1958 and 1963 bombings of Black churches in Birmingham, Alabama. Four Black girls were killed in the 1963 explosion.

Charged with the 1958 bombing is J.B. Stoner, head of the National States Rights Party. Onetime Ku Klux Klansman Robert Chambliss faces charges of first-degree murder for the 1963 killings.

The September 15, 1963, bombing of the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church, a headquarters for the civil rights movement, occurred in the midst of the battle to desegregate Birmingham

schools. Anti-Black violence was rampant in the city, often aided by city and state authorities.

The night of the bombing was no exception. As outrage shook the Black community, police were sent in with dogs and shotguns. Gov. George Wallace called up the National Guard. Two young Black men were killed, upping the death toll for September 15 to six.

Until now, no one had ever been charged with the girls' murders.

Stoner, now in Georgia, claims he will be killed if extradited to Alabama. He says that an FBI undercover agent and a Birmingham police detective are out to get him, having offered him \$25,000 to kill Martin Luther King in

1956 or 1957. He also says the FBI agent offered him \$2,000 to burn the same church he is now charged with bombing.

These indictments result from an investigation by William Baxley, Alabama attorney general. Baxley says he began his inquiry in 1969, but the FBI refused to give him its extensive files on scores of racist bombings.

The spy agency claimed that making its files available to Alabama officials would jeopardize the identities of FBI informers in the KKK.

The files were finally turned over in 1975, and they reportedly implicated Chambliss in the murderous bombings.

Leaving aside the claims of a drowning rat like Stoner, the FBI's role in the bombings bears serious scrutiny. Former FBI informer Gary Rowe surfaced in 1975 to tell Congress of his days in the KKK. He described how, despite prior knowledge, the bureau repeatedly refused to intervene in brutal KKK attacks on civil rights activists.

Did the FBI know about the 1963 bombing? Did FBI informers help plan it?

While these indictments may polish the image of a "new South," the full story of the FBI's role has yet to be told.

Socialist leaders on tour

By Pamela Luttrell

Carter made a lot of promises during his 1976 presidential election campaign.

Beginning later this month—almost a year after that election—ten leaders of the Socialist Workers Party will begin speaking tours to show how White House policies have exposed those promises as lies. [See accompanying photographs and biographies.]

"Carter's first year: a socialist view—Washington's record on human and democratic rights" is the topic of the talks.

A primary aim of the tours is to help raise money for the *Militant's* \$50,000 fund. There will be fundraising rallies in each of the forty cities where units of the Socialist Workers Party currently exist.

I spoke with Stacey Seigle, tour coordinator, and Steve Clark, managing editor of the *Militant*, about the project.

"As the *Militant* has been showing week after week, Carter hasn't kept any of his promises," Clark told me.

"The candidate who promised to reduce arms spending is giving us the cruise missile and the neutron bomb.

"The candidate who said he would put America back to work hasn't made even a dent in reducing unemployment. In fact, joblessness among Black workers has increased at a drastic rate.

"The candidate who campaigned as a friend of women has spearheaded the attack on Medicaid-funded abortions and hardly lifted a finger to get the Equal Rights Amendment passed.

"Carter is against affirmative-action quotas in the *Bakke* case now before the Supreme Court. He plans to slash welfare programs. He wouldn't agree to raise the minimum wage to even three dollars an hour.

"He's launched an offensive against undocumented immigrants. He's working hand in glove with the oil barons to drive up gas and oil prices.

"And the list goes on and on. People are beginning to wonder, what next?"

"That's right," injected Seigle. "People are wondering. And more of those people than ever before want to hear what socialists have to say about Carter. They have been battered around and disillusioned quite a bit recently. And they are eager to hear some new ideas."

Seigle told me that socialists around the country are meeting many such people while canvassing to get new subscribers for the *Militant* this fall, as well as through local SWP election campaigns.

"Many of these people want to know more about the Socialist Workers Party," Seigle said. "Some of them will decide to join the SWP."

"Building the socialist movement—that's what the *Militant* is all about," Clark added. "That's why it's so important for us to raise \$50,000 this fall. People are thirsty for the truth, and thirsty for solutions to their problems. The *Militant* is the only newspaper where they can get either one.

"But to do that, we have to keep up with inflation. Rising prices—that's another thing Carter hasn't been able to do anything about.

"So the tours this fall will help counter Carter's lies in more ways than one," Clark said.

"Not only will it bring the socialist viewpoint directly to people in forty major cities, it will also help make sure that the *Militant* has the money it needs to keep doing that important job week after week, year after year."



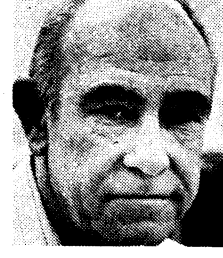
JACK BARNES is national secretary of the SWP. He is a contributor to *A Revolutionary Strategy for the 70s*.



WILLIE MAE REID was the SWP's 1976 vice-presidential candidate. She currently directs the SWP's participation in the women's liberation movement and has been active in the Black struggle.



LINDA JENNESS was the SWP 1972 presidential candidate. Currently she is SWP organizer in New York City. Fluent in Spanish, Jenness last year conducted a six-city speaking tour in Spain.



FRANK LOVELL is a *Militant* staff writer on the labor movement. He has been active in the unions as a sailor, carpenter, and auto worker. He is the author of *Maritime* and *The Job Crisis*.



MALIK MIAH directs the SWP's participation in the Black liberation struggle. He is the editor of *Angola: The Hidden History of Washington's War and The Assassination of Malcolm X*.



CATHY SEDWICK is national chairperson of the Young Socialist Alliance. She is the former coordinator of the New York and Louisville chapters of the National Student Coalition Against Racism.



OLGA RODRIGUEZ directs the SWP's participation in the Chicano movement. She edited *The Politics of Chicano Liberation*.



MACEO DIXON is SWP organizer in Boston. A leader of the movement for school desegregation in that city, he was the first coordinator of the National Student Coalition Against Racism.



PEDRO VASQUEZ is an activist in the anti-deportation struggle. He has been an SWP candidate for public office in Texas.



MARY-ALICE WATERS is editor of the *Militant*. She is the author of *Politics of Women's Liberation Today, Feminism and the Marxist Movement, and Women and the Socialist Revolution*.

If you like our 'Bakke' coverage...

During the weeks that ten socialist leaders are on tour helping to raise money for the *Militant's* \$50,000 fund, one of the biggest stories in the news will be the *Bakke* affirmative-action case.

This week's *Militant* contains a

special feature explaining what's at stake in the *Bakke* case for Blacks, Chicanos, women, and all working people. We are also reporting on some of the first protest actions in cities and on campuses across the country to demand: "Overturn the *Bakke* decision!"

Coming issues will report on the nationwide protests set for October 8. You just can't get that kind of news and analysis anywhere else.

But to keep doing the kind of job our readers have come to expect, we need money. Over the past five years the cost of putting out the *Militant* has risen faster than the cost of living as a whole. **In fact, our costs have doubled.**

That's why we've launched the \$50,000 fund drive.

The scope of the ruling-class offensive against the rights and living standards of working people is increasing.

The eagerness for ideas about how to roll back these attacks is growing. The openness to socialist solutions is expanding.

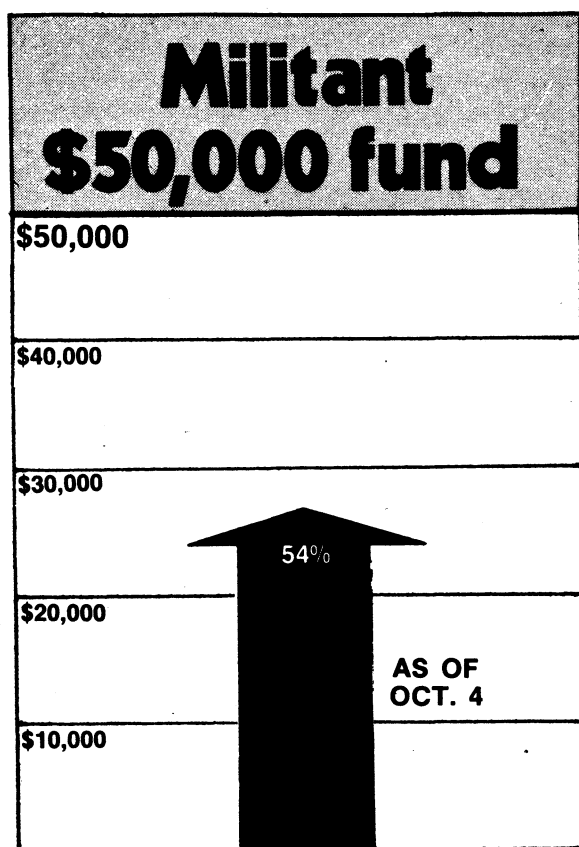
Given all this, the last thing the *Militant* wants to do is to cut back.

That's where our readers can help.

You can send in a contribution by filling out the coupon below.

As of October 4 the fund stands at **\$27,292**, or 54 percent of our goal. Over the past week, *Militant* readers sent in \$200 in contributions. With the special \$10,000 matching fund pledged by one supporter, this week's contributions actually boosted the drive by \$400. In addition, \$220 in prior pledges was collected, bringing this week's total to \$620.

Since the drive began last month, we have collected \$1,259 in contributions from supporters. With the dollar-for-dollar (up to \$10,000) matching fund, that has meant more than \$2,500 toward reaching our goal.



I want to contribute:

☐ \$500 ☐ \$250 ☐ \$100

☐ \$50 ☐ \$25 ☐ \$10

_____ Other

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

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

...then help us do more of the same

Hyde amendment

Abortion foes closing in

By Diane Wang

For the past three months, House and Senate conferees have been performing the old "hard cop/soft cop" routine as they debate about how to restrict abortion rights.

The debate is over the Hyde amendment, which cuts off Medicaid funds for abortions for low-income women. It is attached to the budget for the Departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare. Since the previous budget ran out September 30, there is mounting pressure to put the finishing touches on the anti-abortion bill so that the new budget can go into effect.

Last year's Hyde amendment went into effect this summer, eliminating most Medicaid abortions through September 30.

The House of Representatives and Senate passed different versions of the amendment this year, both of them denying poor women the right to choose abortion. The House version would fund only those abortions necessary to save a woman's life. The Senate version allows funding of abortions for victims of rape or incest and in cases defined as "medically necessary" by a doctor.

House conferees have convincingly played the role of "hard cops"—aggressive, intimidating, out to ban abortion altogether.

Their performance has made the Senate liberals appear even more appealing in the role of "soft cops" who would like to salvage some rights for women if only they could. Yet, anyone who has seen a TV drama knows that, hard or soft, the cops are always after the same thing, their victim.

In this case the maneuvers and disputes in the conference committee are aimed at dressing up an attack on

women's rights as a compromise.

But on September 29 Senate conferees abandoned even their supposedly more liberal version for wording that would further restrict abortions. The latest compromise proposed by Sen. Warren Magnuson drops funding for abortions considered medically necessary. Instead it would pay for abortions only in cases where illness threatens "serious, permanent damage" to the woman or fetus.

Even this compromise did not satisfy the rabid women-haters. On September 30 House conferees rejected the proposal. Rep. Daniel Flood charged that abortions would probably be sought to prevent the birth of someone with "one blue eye and one brown eye." (Flood is the same one who earlier said that women with "ingrown toenails" would seek abortions as medically necessary.)

House conferees have also rejected funding abortions for victims of rape and incest. Instead, Rep. Robert Michel has proposed that abortions only be allowed for cases of "rape or incest duly reported to local authorities. They're going to think twice before they falsely report one."

In any version, the Hyde amendment will cut off money for most of the estimated 300,000 women who have Medicaid-funded abortions each year. One-third of those who seek abortions are dependent on that funding. And the Hyde amendment will open the door to new restrictions on abortion, affecting broader layers of women.

A *New York Times* editorial September 30 called the compromise "disastrous social policy" and described the Senate version of the Hyde amendment as "more enlightened, altogether preferable."

As if there is an enlightened, preferable way to deny women the right to choose abortion!

D.C. abortion victory; actions in SF, L'ville

By Anne Springer

WASHINGTON—Women won a victory for abortion rights here September 28. Director of Human Resources Albert Russo announced that the District of Columbia will continue funding abortions for low-income women.

Since the District of Columbia relies entirely on federal money for its Medicaid budget, the recently announced end to federal funding of abortions was an immediate threat to D.C. women. The district's budget ran out at the end of September, calling abortion funding here into question.

Only ten days earlier Russo had met with abortion rights advocates at the offices of the National Urban League. At that time he claimed he had no power to continue funding abortions after September 30 until the district received a supplemental appropriation from Congress. Since Congress had voted to end Medicaid payments for abortion, this supplemental appropriation seemed unlikely.

Before Russo's press conference September 28 some forty-five people picketed in support of continued funding for abortions. The picketers included representatives of Abortion Rights of Washington, the D.C. chapter of the National Organization for Women (NOW), Capital Hill NOW, the Women's Medical Center, and the Socialist Workers Party.

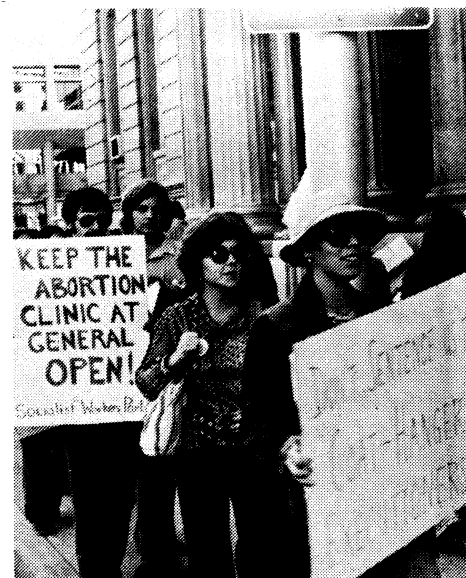
By Sally Frumkin

SAN FRANCISCO—Five hundred people demanded women's right to choose abortion at a march and rally here September 24. The demonstration was called by the Coalition to Defend Reproductive Rights (CDR) in response to the Hyde amendment, which cuts off federal Medicaid funds for abortions.

At the rally, Yvonne Russo, speaking for the CDR, explained, "Our outrage at this attack is threefold.

"First, we see it as an attack on all women. Second, we see the discriminatory nature of the Hyde amendment as a particular attack on poor and welfare women. And finally, because many poor women are of minorities, we see it as a racist attack."

Russo referred to the different versions of the Hyde amendment now being considered in Congress. The House version limits funds to abortions necessary to save a woman's life. The Senate initially voted to restrict funding to abortions in cases of rape, incest, or other instances judged "medically necessary" by a doctor.



Militant/Charlie Thomas

LOUISVILLE: September 29 picket line against city's decision to close only abortion clinic for low-income women.

"This is a prime example of how congressional and judicial cutbacks on our rights are made to look like compromises," Russo charged.

Rally chairperson Mary Foran explained CDR's position on the so-called liberal Senate version of the amendment. "Although individuals in the coalition might support it on the basis that it is better than nothing," Foran said, "the coalition does not want to make a statement supporting it, as it is still an attack on a woman's right to choose."

Joan Kelly from the Black Panther Party said: "When things like the Hyde amendment gain momentum, they tell you that if you are poor you don't have a right to decide anymore. I'm here to tell you that the Black Panther Party stands in full support of your right to choose, because that's what it's all about."

Sylvia Weinstein, Socialist Workers Party candidate for board of supervisors District 5 and a child care activist spoke of the continuing struggle for women's liberation. She told the rally, "You are part of a stream of history, of women who have marched and fought against slavery, for the vote, for their unions, for unemployed women, and for abortion."

"The only thing we can't do," said Weinstein, "is depend on those politicians who were put into the Congress and legislature. We've got to stop lobbying them and start lobbying women."

Jeanne Jullion, a lesbian mother fighting to retain custody of her

Continued on page 26

Forced sterilization hit

By Anne Springer

WASHINGTON—"Sometimes population control is used to mean color control or poor control," charged Dorothy Height, president of the National Council of Negro Women, in her opening address at the First National Conference on Sterilization Abuse. The conference, held here September 22-23, was attended by about 100 individuals and representatives of organizations.

Speakers described how forced sterilization is systematically used on poor, Black, Latina, Chicana, and Native American women.

Allan Chase, author of *The Legacy of Malthus*, cited a recent survey of 1,204 sterilized women. Among women under the age of twenty-one, sterilization was more frequent for Black than for white. And regardless of race, women who were on welfare were more likely to be sterilized than women not on welfare.

Pauline Haynes of the American Indian Movement pointed out that the Indian birthrate has been declining since 1975. Nineteen percent of Indian women of child-bearing age, forced to go to the government's Indian Health Service, have been sterilized. According to a recent government report, 3,000 Indian women sterilized between age thirteen and forty-four were not given consent forms in compliance with federal guidelines.

The case of Norma Jean Serena is an example. In August 1970 Serena was sterilized without her consent or even knowledge. Doctors claimed she had a "socio-economic" ailment that made sterilization "medically necessary."

Serena's only "ailment" was that she was poor, Native American, and

living with a Black man at the time. She has since sued the doctors, welfare caseworkers, and hospital for the violation of her civil rights.

Mena Mattos, a social worker from Puerto Rico, reported the shocking increase of forced sterilization of Puerto Rican women over the past two decades. In 1950 16.4 percent of Puerto Rican women had been sterilized. By 1968, the percentage had risen to 35 percent.

Lillian Jimenas of the Latin Women's Collective pointed out that sterilization abuse of Latin and poor women is rampant. At the same time, these women are being denied the right to abortion through the recently passed Hyde amendment, which cuts off Medicaid funds for abortion. The lack of funds means that Latinas will increasingly be forced to turn to sterilization, she said.

Debbie Freeman from the Los Angeles Committee Against Sterilization Abuse described a civil rights lawsuit against the USC-L.A. General Hospital. The suit was filed on behalf of ten Chicanas who were sterilized there. Many were approached during labor and given false or misleading information by doctors.

The suit has already forced hospitals to provide consent forms and counseling materials printed in Spanish and English at the reading level of the patients.

The conference recessed so those attending could participate in a picket line of 100 people against the anti-abortion Hyde amendment. The action was sponsored by the Medical Committee for Human Rights.

ERA march Oct. 15



Militant/Nancy Cohen

CHICAGO—At a September 28 news conference, Christina Adachi (left) of the Committee for the Equal Rights Amendment and Jackie Bartholomay, vice-president of the Chicago Coalition of Labor Union Women, urged support for an October 15 march and rally for the ERA. Scheduled to begin at 2:00 p.m. at State and Wacker, the march will go to Daley Civic Center for a rally.

'Bakke' case: continue the fight

We won't go back! We want equality now!

This was the message chanted by the 1,400 Black students and supporters who marched in Washington, D.C., October 3 to protest the *Bakke* ruling. Their demand—"Overturn the *Bakke* decision!"—echoed across the country as supporters of affirmative action picketed, rallied, and demonstrated.

The October 3-8 week of actions signals a growing resistance to the attacks on equal rights symbolized by the *Bakke* case.

More and more students, Blacks, women, and working people realize that when the Supreme Court rules on the use of quotas to overcome race discrimination, it will be ruling on *their* educations, *their* jobs, *their* right to equality in all spheres of society.

The capitalist news media have headlined this case as a test of "reverse discrimination" against white males. But as the October 3 protests said loud and clear, the real issue is *reversing the discrimination of centuries* against Blacks, other minorities, and women.

The real issue is enforcing the affirmative-action programs won by the civil rights and feminist struggles and pressing forward to full equality.

Through the initiative of the National Committee to Overturn the *Bakke* Decision and the Black American Law Students Association, the fight against the *Bakke* case has been thrust into the public eye. Momentum is building toward a national movement to reverse the *Bakke* ruling.

The success of the October 3 protests poses the next question for anti-*Bakke* activists: where to go from here to strengthen and expand the movement?

Although the Supreme Court will hear arguments in the case on October 12, it probably will not hand down a decision until the spring. In the meantime, reactionary opponents of affirmative action will step up their phony "reverse discrimination" campaign. And the Carter administration will continue to masquerade as a friend of equal rights, while stabbing affirmative action in the back through its opposition to quotas.

Anti-*Bakke* forces, inspired by the success of this week's emergency protests, now need to go on the offensive with a nationwide educational and action campaign.

Such a campaign can and must reach out to organizations in the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican communities, where the crisis of education and jobs runs deepest.

The women's movement—a natural ally in this fight to defend equal rights—can bring thousands of activists into the struggle. Already, campus feminist organizations and chapters of the National Organization for Women have joined in anti-*Bakke* activities.

Trade unionists have begun to organize to overturn *Bakke*. Even within the American Federation of Teachers, led by antiquota crusader Albert Shanker, growing numbers of teachers are speaking out on the case and demanding that the AFT side with Blacks and women.

Other unions—including the National Education Association, United Auto Workers, United Farm Workers, United Mine Workers, and American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees—have filed court briefs against *Bakke*. Members of these unions have a good opportunity to press for a discussion within the ranks about the issues posed by *Bakke*, leading to mobilizing more unionists in anti-*Bakke* protests.

The next step is to map out a national campaign of activities that can move the struggle forward.

At the October 3 protest in Washington, D.C., Grantland Johnson, a leader of the National Committee to Overturn the *Bakke* Decision, proposed such a campaign. He urged activists to support the committee's call for a week of anti-*Bakke* activities in January and a national day of protest in April.

The militancy of the October 3 demonstrations shows the potential to bring thousands, and tens of thousands, into the streets to win reversal of the *Bakke* decision.

Future is with SWP

I have been receiving the *Militant* for the last two-and-a-half months. I am so glad there is a Socialist Workers Party. I want to join as soon as possible.

I have been reading and analyzing your positions, and I think they are correct. I have been arguing with Maoist friends, with friends from the Marxist-Leninist Organizing Committee, and with people from the New American Movement, which I considered joining two years ago.

I think the SWP is really involved with America and knows best what the people want and what they need.

I am glad to hear you are growing. I want to be part of the future, and the future is with the SWP.

D.H.

Chico, California

Painters' vote

Our thanks to the *Militant* for printing our article on the "dues checkoff" issue in Painters Local 4 ["How can building-trades unions survive: S.F. painters discuss dues increase, declining membership" in September 30 issue].

We distributed 170 copies at the union meeting that voted on the dues increase, along with a leaflet explaining that people should read our article in the *Militant* because it had been mangled to the point of distortion and forgery in the Painters' Voice.

The editor of the *Voice*, Morris Evenson, handed out a red-baiting leaflet and loudly interjected himself between us and painters coming to vote.

This attempted intimidation had surprisingly little effect. In fact, painters who took the *Militants* gave us about twenty-five dollars in fifty-cent and one-dollar donations.

Evenson tried to whip up a red-baiting hysteria during a recessed portion of the meeting while we were waiting for the tally. It boomeranged. We had a fine opportunity to debate him over the real issues in front of about thirty members. In my opinion he was demolished.

The vote in Local 4 was about 140 to 120 in favor of the dues measure. It appears, though, that it lost in the total vote tally of the three locals in District Council 8 involved in this referendum.

The whole experience has been an educational one for painters here. We think the discussions and the article in the *Militant* will pay off in the long run.

Nat Weinstein

Roland Sheppard

San Francisco, California

More on pesticides

DBCP, the sterility-causing pesticide described recently in the *Militant*, is only the tip of the iceberg as far as pesticides are concerned.

Toxaphene, for example, is the world's most widely used pesticide. It is also an extremely powerful carcinogen. One hundred million pounds of toxaphene are sprayed on U.S. crops every year.

The Environmental Protection Agency is moving at its typical snail's pace in coping with it, while the chemical industry and agribusiness mobilize their money and their lobbyists.

There are about 30,000 pesticides in use. The EPA is supposed to check them all out, but says it won't finish its

tests for at least ten years.

Meanwhile, about 100 pesticides are known to cause cancer, but the EPA has succeeded in getting exactly one—Kepone—off the market in five years.

The EPA says it is understaffed, and has requested 600 more researchers. The request was turned down by the Carter administration.

Steve Ferguson

New York, New York

CP and ERA

The *Militant's* "Women in Revolt" column in the September 2 issue scored the Communist Party USA for its opposition to ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. The article notes, "Not a few American CP members are known to be uncomfortable about the fact that their party has placed itself in the same camp with the John Birch Society, Schlafly's STOP ERA group, and other right-wing antilabor organizations."

This was indeed the case at the Indiana statewide International Women's Year conference. As in other states, the conference became a battleground for pro- and anti-women's rights forces. An ad hoc women's rights caucus, the Unity Coalition, was formed around a two-point platform of support to reproductive rights and support to the ERA. In the face of the frenzied, fundamentalist reactionaries, members of the Communist Party threw their support behind the Unity Coalition, despite the fact that they disagreed with half of the slate's platform. Indeed, I talked with one CP member who stated she would vote for the ERA if it came up for a vote on the floor even though she wasn't really in support of it.

Nevertheless, it's interesting to note that in face of such a sharp political polarization, many CP members find themselves, although incompletely, going against the political program of their organization.

Etienne Lambert

Bloomington, Indiana

Free John Hill

A lot more work can and should be done to help free Decajeweah (John Hill). He is the only one who is still doing time for the 1971 Attica uprising.

It is not enough that the white man stole his land, but Decajeweah is also deprived of his freedom. He can't even enjoy the sunset without looking through prison bars.

This isn't just another case. John Hill happens to be Indian, and we all know how the government treats the American Indian.

"You cannot cage the sky"—John Hill.

S.P.

Albany, N.Y.

Prisoners win victory

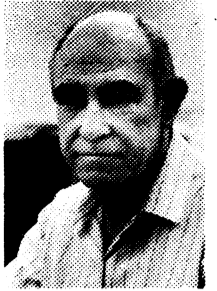
What's happening, beautiful people? I have been receiving the *Militant* for two-and-a-half years now; and I find it to be a very informative, enlightening, and needed paper.

I am a convict at Arizona state prison. We have an African Culture Symposium here with 350 members.

I know I'm not the only prisoner in here who receives your paper, but apparently no one has informed you that there have been several well-publicized strikes here in the last seven or eight months.

National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



Blackmail has no end

The following guest column was written by Bonnie Verral and Debbie Camejo. They are bus drivers in San Francisco and members of Transport Workers Union Local 250A.

SAN FRANCISCO—Transport Workers Union Local 250A here just approved a new 1977-78 pay package that represents a cut in real wages for its 1,800 Municipal Railway operators.

Transit operators in the last year have also suffered deteriorating working conditions caused by cutbacks in service.

Just before and during these negotiations a campaign was carried on in the news media to pin the blame for reduced service on Muni operators.

Confused by their own union representatives, the majority of operators felt the pay package was the best they could get, coming as it did on the heels of a string of defeats suffered by city workers.

There are special circumstances affecting wage negotiations for Muni operators. Our pay scale is regulated by a city charter. Although it is publicized as setting "fair" wage standards, it establishes a ceiling but *not a floor* for wages.

It achieves this by tying the *maximum* that may be paid to the average between the transit wages paid in the two top-paying cities in the country.

This system (which was introduced by the union) seemed to work when all wages were rising during favorable economic conditions. But now it serves as a convenient tool in the hands of the employer-controlled city government to drive wages down.

The union leadership claimed that the wage and benefit package represented a 6.5 percent increase over last year. But at the same time, San Francisco supervisor and board negotiator Dianne Feinstein boasted that the pay package really represented less than a 5.5 percent increase over last year. So no matter whom you believe, the package represents a pay cut, since the cost of living has jumped by at least 7.5 percent.

The main argument the Local 250A Executive Board gave for approving the package was that the board of

supervisors threatened to put an amendment to the city charter on the November ballot to drastically lower the wage ceiling by basing our wages on the average of the top seven cities in the country instead of the top two.

The union officials are convinced that such a measure lowering the wage guideline would be approved by San Francisco voters.

Although they are probably right, the real issue is lost in the shuffle. In essence, we have been blackmailed into approving the package by the board, and unless a strategy is worked out we will be blackmailed next time too.

Can we continue to give in to blackmail threats by the Democratic and Republican city officials who are our employers, or are we going to launch a real campaign to fight them?

The union's answer to this dilemma is a campaign this fall to elect "friends of labor" to the board of supervisors so that next year they will just hand us what we need, and we won't even have to put up an argument.

Unfortunately this is the same plan we had in previous elections for the board of supervisors—and we "won." *The majority of the outgoing board were elected with the help of our union!*

The time has come to break from supporting Democratic and Republican politicians. Before the elections they promise favors to the labor movement, and once elected they stab us in the back. They attack both Muni driver and Muni passenger and tell each of us the other is at fault.

The only way we can win real gains in our standard of living is to begin to organize all working people into an independent political force acting in our common interests.

We can't let them continue to divide and rule us! We need to campaign for the formation of a labor party and to nominate our own working-class candidates to the board of supervisors.

We need candidates from our own ranks who will act in our interests and who will be responsible to our needs rather than the needs of big business.

Just recently a federal judge made a favorable ruling on a law suit filed by all the inmates here.

The judge gave the Arizona Department of Corrections thirty days to come up with a constructive plan to cut the prison population in half.

The prison population is about 3,600. The prison was designed to hold 1,500, and every county jail has been ordered not to send any more people here.

The food is bad, it's overcrowded, the buildings are unsanitary, and beatings by guards are numerous.

*A prisoner
Arizona*

A worldwide plague

When I think about a plague, I picture a scene of the Black Death in medieval Europe. Which is as it should be. Massive plagues and epidemics should have ended with the Middle Ages.

But Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Iran, Turkey, Britain, Italy, West Germany, and the Netherlands have all reported recent cases of cholera.

It's unbelievable, but after centuries there is still no real preventative for cholera. The existing vaccines are less than 50 percent effective. And the poverty and lack of sanitation in underdeveloped countries make them especially vulnerable targets of the disease.

It seems that in this age, when rockets go to the moon and children watch TV stories about bionic dogs, something could be done to finally end the threat of cholera. But I suppose that as long as capitalism is worldwide, so will plagues be.

*Marion Frank
Jersey City, New Jersey*

Medieval law

Amnesty International reports that an ancient Islamic law may be put back into practice in Pakistan under the military regime of General Zia.

The maximum penalty for thieves is the amputation of a hand.

Very considerably, the regime states that "the amputation shall be done by a qualified surgeon under local anesthesia, in public or in jail. . . ."

Right-handed thieves will have their left hands amputated, and left-handed thieves will lose their right hands.

Speaking of cruel and unusual punishments, General Zia's regime has also come up with the following sentences: student demonstrators may get five years in jail or a whipping; five years for publication of political materials; and the death penalty for "sabotage" or resisting police or the armed forces.

*M. Mooney
Los Angeles, California*

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.

Capitalism Fouls Things Up

Arnold Weissberg



Radiation hazards ignored

We are constantly bombarded by radiation. Some is good for us—like sunlight. Some is very bad—like radioactivity.

Radiation comes from many sources. Besides radioactivity from nuclear wastes, nuclear power plants, nuclear explosions, and X-rays, we are subjected to microwave radiation, radio and television waves, and radiation from high-voltage electricity transmission lines.

Radiation falls into several basic types. Radioactivity—called "ionizing radiation" because of the peculiar way it occurs—is the most dangerous.

Ionizing radiation ranges from alpha particles, which can be stopped by a sheet of paper, through the more powerful beta particles, to the potent gamma particles, identical to X-rays, which can penetrate three feet of concrete. Ionizing radiation can cause serious genetic damage and cancer.

Although government and industry have carefully tried to cover up the truth about the effect of radioactivity from nuclear power plants, doctors John Gofman and Arthur Tamplin have calculated that large-scale use of nuclear power could cause as many as 32,000 new cases of leukemia and other kinds of cancer each year.

The effects of other kinds of radiation—microwaves, for instance—are not so well understood.

This lack of knowledge hasn't prevented industry from establishing more radiation sources, nor has it pushed the federal government to investigate.

This is the conclusion of a report by the General Accounting Office (GAO) on the effort—or, more accurately, lack of effort—by the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) to control radiation.

The *New York Times* reported on a draft of the report September 15.

The GAO report said that 22,000 cases of leukemia, other kinds of cancer, and serious genetic disorders yearly result from exposure to radiation.

"Levels of radiation are increasing, which affect not only the health of the current population, but of future generations because of genetic damage," the report said.

But the EPA "has not effectively accomplished its goals of preventing radiation contamination."

As an example of the EPA's indifference to radiation hazards, the report notes a substantial cut in funding and staff for radiation control since 1972.

The EPA didn't issue any standards defining unsafe levels of radiation and limiting exposure until last January. Even then, the standards were less stringent than prevailing industry practices, the report stated.

One of the fastest-growing sources of radiation is nuclear wastes. There are 7 million cubic feet of wastes now, the report said, and there will be 11 million in twenty years.

Despite assurances and promises from government and industry, radioactive wastes regularly "escape" from storage.

Considerably understating the problem, the GAO report says of nuclear waste disposal: "In some instances, the dangers were not understood until after contamination had already taken place. . . . The threat of irreversible radiation damage to our natural resources continues to grow larger."

The EPA has done little or nothing to deal with this threat.

"EPA admits that it does not know the scope of the radiation danger, that it does not have the resources to find out, and that its limited staff is unable to develop needed standards and guidance based on what it does know," the report says.

Scabs halted at Hughes

By Stu Singer

HOUSTON—A mass picket line of more than 500 steelworkers successfully prevented all but a handful of scabs from entering the Hughes Tool Company plant here October 3.

The company had declared it was going to open the plant for the first time since the strike by United Steelworkers of America Local 1742 began September 18.

Hughes, one of the world's major producers of oil drill bits, has been advertising in Houston papers for scabs.

After failing to get a significant number of strikebreakers into the

plant, the company announced it would seek an injunction against mass picketing.

Diane Sarge, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Houston, is a striker at Hughes and a member of Local 1742. She was interviewed on the picket line about the injunction threat.

"The company says they want this injunction to stop violence," Sarge said. "But more violence and danger happens in the plant every day than on our picket line."

"The company is trying to weaken our union safety committee—that's one issue in this strike. The company's demand could cost people their lives."



October 3: Houston steelworker pickets stand firm

Militant/Stu Singer

...behind the jobs crisis in steel

Continued from back page

Backed up by billions of dollars in assets, the steel corporations weather these boom-and-bust storms far more easily than do workers, who need each week's paycheck to make ends meet.

What does "overproduction" mean? It means the companies cannot sell all the steel they can produce—at prices high enough to make a profit they consider sufficient.

It does not mean society does not need steel. Clearly millions of tons could be used to build better housing, schools, mass-transit facilities, and countless products needed by millions.

But social needs will not start the mills operating. Unless it is profitable, steel will not be produced and steelworkers will remain jobless.

Competition & monopoly

Since the early 1900s the U.S. steel industry has been highly monopolized. That is, steel is dominated by a handful of giant corporations that have been able to limit (not eliminate) competition among themselves. They can keep prices high even when demand is weak.

From 1945 to July 1977, the government's index of all wholesale prices rose 257 percent. In the same period, steel prices rose 552 percent!

For decades this powerful American monopoly enjoyed unrivaled dominance in world steel production. In the past ten years, however, European and Japanese steel has increasingly chal-

lenged U.S. hegemony.

Today, the stagnant world capitalist economy and "overproduction" of steel make international competition among steel producers all the more feverish. In this scramble for sales and profits, how does a company improve its competitive position? Fundamentally, there is only one way—by cutting costs. This means:

- Holding down wages.
- Speeding up production.
- Replacing workers with labor-saving machines.

The drive to compete, to cut costs, and to increase profits always operates at the expense of workers.

Unionized steelworkers resist outright cuts in their wages. But thousands of workers have lost their jobs, their lives, or their limbs in the speedup-productivity drive of the steel corporations.

The same U.S. corporations now shedding crocodile tears over laid-off steelworkers themselves wiped out more than 100,000 steel jobs in the past two decades through their productivity campaign.

In a planned economy based on human needs rather than private profit—that is, in a socialist society—these problems would vanish.

Steel production would be regulated by society's requirements, not the ups and downs of the capitalist business cycle. Full employment and job security would be a reality, not a cruel joke.

The latest technology would be used

to make steel mills as safe and clean as humanly possible. The workers themselves would run the plants and make sure of that.

As labor productivity advanced, the workweek would be steadily shortened. All workers would enjoy greater leisure time and a higher standard of living.

Real aims

The demands of the American steel corporations for import restrictions and environmental and tax "relief" are aimed at protecting their monopoly prices and monopoly profits. They are in no way aimed at protecting American steelworkers' jobs.

Just the opposite. The U.S. steelmakers can improve their competitive position against Japan and Europe only by intensifying their job-destroying drive.

A column in the September 8 *Wall Street Journal*, reporting on a study by Argus Research Corporation, quietly revealed the steel industry's real plans. It pointed to an "emerging strategy of de facto liquidation" of up to 20 percent of U.S. steelmaking capacity.

"Marginal" mills will be closed, the study said, investment in new facilities slashed, and thousands of workers fired.

These massive cuts, the investment analysts concluded, "will give U.S. producers greater power to set their own pricing patterns despite imports, and will permit operation of remaining facilities at higher rates, thus reducing costs and raising profit margins."

The steel industry's advertising campaign would look very different if it reflected the corporations' real aims. Just imagine:

"Stop imports so Bethlehem Steel can have a free hand to jack up prices."

"U.S. Steel demands higher profits, so your children will have to breathe unhealthy air and drink poisonous water."

"In the interests of corporate greed, the steel monopoly should pay lower taxes and workers should pay more."

Antilabor offensive

The bosses' offensive in steel is part of a broader attack on the rights and living standards of all working people. Social services are cut to the bone. Public employees, coal miners, building-trades workers, and others face union-busting assaults.

Blacks, other oppressed minorities, and women—the last hired, first fired, and lowest paid—suffer the worst blows.

Throughout this offensive the capitalists try to pit workers against each other in a fight over diminishing job opportunities.

White, male workers are encouraged to blame their job insecurity on the aspirations of minorities and women.

Undocumented workers are said to be "stealing" jobs from citizens.

The anti-import drive seeks to convince U.S. steelworkers that Japanese workers are the enemy.

These divide-and-rule schemes divert attention from the real culprit—the capitalist profit drive. More and more workers are being pushed into unemployment, poverty, and despair—so that a wealthy few can amass even greater riches.

The McBride leadership in the Steelworkers union puts its allegiance to the capitalist profit system above the needs of the workers. It blindly endorses every antilabor demand of the steel companies and echoes their lying propaganda.

Far from protecting jobs, this course weakens the union and saps steelworkers' ability to resist the escalating corporate assault. Already many workers are seeing how the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement—signed in 1973 to help "save" the steel industry from import competition—has undermined the union's strength.

Strategy to fight back

A strategy to fight back would have the opposite starting point: defense of the workers' interests regardless of the effect on profits.

Such a strategy would begin with opposition to every corporate attempt to make workers pay for the capitalist crisis—against speedup and job eliminations, against import curbs, against tax loopholes for industry, for strict enforcement of safety, health, and pollution standards.

Instead of accepting the companies' poor-mouthing, a fighting union movement would demand access to all steel company books and records to uncover the facts about their costs, prices, and profits, and the truth about their illegal and anti-working-class policies.

A union determined to defend jobs would not hesitate to demand nationalization of corporations that refuse to keep plants open and meet safety and pollution standards. These plants should be reopened as public utilities under the control of the workers.

In the course of fighting to defend their jobs and lives, the workers will learn beyond any doubt that both the Democratic and Republican parties are front groups for big business. Winning labor's political demands will require breaking with these capitalist parties and launching an independent labor party based on the unions.

The experience of such a struggle will convince growing numbers of workers that the threat to their well-being comes not from the Japanese workers, not from the environmentalists, not from the undocumented workers—but from the capitalist system.

And when the Lloyd McBrides say, "It is unfortunate that our economic system of profit and loss results in such drastic actions," the angry response will be:

"Then let's get rid of this outmoded and destructive system and take 'drastic action' ourselves to build a new society—a humane, democratic, and socialist world."

In the news...

Reprinted from September 30 Pittsburgh 'Post-Gazette'

Socialist Raps Candidates On Clean Air Referendum

By STUART BROWN
Post-Gazette Staff Writer

Howard A. Beck, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of Pittsburgh, charged yesterday that the three major-party candidates are being deceitful by supporting a county referendum on environmental laws.

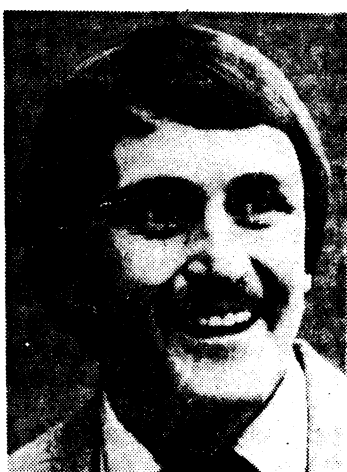
The referendum at the November election would, if approved, have county and municipal officials "fight to change" such laws to preserve steel industry jobs.

Beck, 26, a Northside machinist, told a press conference outside the City-County Building the referendum is one of a series of acts "to promote the steel industry's lies about the layoffs they are carrying out." He added:

"It is designed to pull the wool over working people's eyes, and to get us to pull the industry's noose around our own necks. We are supposed to believe them, that it's a choice between being able to breathe and being able to work."

Beck charged that his opponents, Democrat Thomas J. Foerster, independent Richard Caliguiri and Republican Joseph Cosetti "are helping U.S. Steel and all the steel companies point the finger of blame for the layoffs at everything but the real cause, the drive of industry for super profits at the expense of working people to work and breathe."

"An honest referendum would read: 'Should the steel industry clean up and



HOWARD A. BECK

provide jobs for all who wish to work, even if it means cutting into their billions of dollars in profits?"

Beck said he is opposed to federal assistance for the steel industry. He called recent layoffs part of a scheme to boost profit rates.

Beck is running on a ticket that includes two City Council candidates from the Socialist Workers. They are Tania Shai, 24, a teacher, and Thomas Twiss, 28, a teaching fellow and graduate student at the University of Pittsburgh.

Washington acts to boost energy profits

By Dick Roberts

The ending of the U.S. Senate filibuster on gas controls Monday, October 3, made it clear that American consumers will soon be paying billions of dollars more each year to the energy giants.

Top Senate and White House Democrats were expected to ram through a vote on price control legislation by midweek.

At issue is the current \$1.46 limit per thousand cubic feet on the price of gas that is newly discovered in one state and then sold in another state (interstate gas).

Senators admittedly fronting for the oil industry—led at the moment by James B. Pearson (R-Kan.) and Lloyd Bentsen (D-Tex.)—have been pressing for the elimination of all such controls on gas prices.

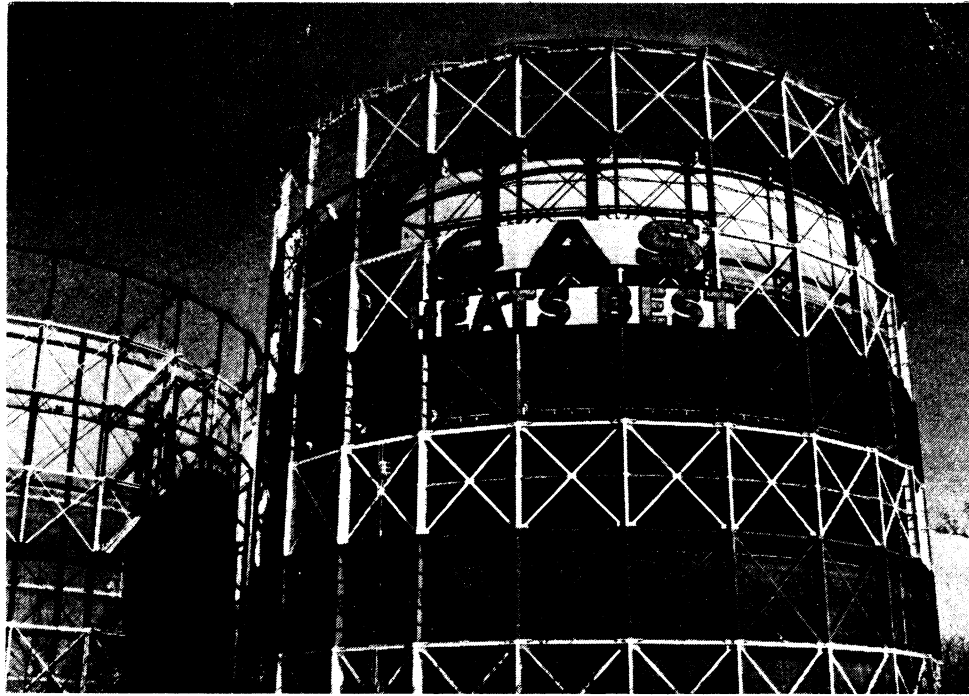
The ill-fated filibuster had been staged by senators James Abourezk (D-S.D.) and Howard Metzenbaum (D-Ohio), who sought to continue at least some controls.

The Carter administration, which succeeded in squashing the filibuster, has pushed for a "compromise," with Sen. Henry Jackson (D-Wash.) managing its position on the Senate floor.

Exactly how the Washington shell game is played depends, generally, on whether there is a Democrat or a Republican in the White House.

If there is a Republican president, the Democratic Party-controlled Congress can initially pass more liberal laws than are finally enacted. The Republican president then vetoes these more liberal versions, and unpopular "compromises" are subsequently legislated.

With a Democrat in office it works the other way. Congress (especially the Senate, whose members face their



electorates only once every six years instead of every other year, as in the House, enacts antilabor legislation. The president makes a grandstand show of opposition to Congress but ends up "compromising."

Meanwhile, of course, Democrats remain in control of Congress. Indeed, in the gas "debate" now taking place, all three factions are led by Democrats.

The energy legislation that Carter initially proposed did not go as far in satisfying industry profit demands as the bill that will ultimately emerge from Washington.

Carter's proposal would have lifted the \$1.46 control to \$1.75, rising to \$3.24 by 1985. Even this initial proposal raised gas prices 20 percent at the outset and 122 percent over the long run. This fact was conveniently ig-

nored by many Carter supporters.

James Flug, director of the Energy Action Committee, however, estimated that each 10-cent rise in the average price of natural gas would mean \$2 billion more in profits for the oil industry. That is a \$6-billion-a-year increase under the original Carter plan, or a total of \$42 billion by 1985.

Now the prices and profits are being "compromised" upwards.

"During the Senate's two-week-old stalemate over natural gas pricing," Steven Rattner wrote in the October 3 *New York Times*, "the Carter Administration . . . and the [gas] industry . . . have managed to narrow their differences substantially."

"Today," Rattner continued, "the Administration is endorsing a price of \$2.03 with a far broader definition of

new gas—the same definition sought by deregulation advocates."

Senator Gary Hart (D-Colo.) stated that the redefinition of new gas would add several billion dollars a year more to oil company revenues by 1985.

It can't be ruled out that the final bill will be deregulation. In fact, Sen. Jackson—clearly with the green light from Carter—altered his "compromise" even further in that direction as the Senate filibuster ended. He now proposes that price controls on all new supplies be lifted in 1986.

New York Times reporter Steven Rattner noted that Vice-president Walter Mondale's "role in opposing the filibuster was taken as a sign that the Administration would prefer a bill decontrolling gas prices to no bill at all."

Possible effects of total deregulation can be glimpsed in Crystal City, Texas, where intrastate gas is sold, which is legally subject to no controls. In Crystal City the gas prices have been hiked 500 percent in recent years.

The city administration, led by La Raza Unida Party, has refused to pay. "Many residents here still pay \$10 summertime gas bills and usually \$20 in the winter. If the city were passing on the full cost of the gas those bills would be more like \$50 and \$100," the *Washington Post* reported from Crystal City September 23.

In the poverty-stricken area, the average per capita income is \$1,616. The high gas bills would consequently "rival the monthly income of many of those living here," said the *Washington Post*.

The Crystal City Council under La Raza Unida refused to pay the deregulated gas bills. On September 23 the Houston-based LoVaca gas company turned off Crystal City's gas.

Unity & militancy: best policy for teachers

The following article initiates a new column, "Union talk," which will appear from time to time. It will provide an opportunity for union members to write about their experiences and comment on questions concerning the labor movement as a whole. Make this your column—send your contributions to the "Militant" for an ongoing discussion of union issues.

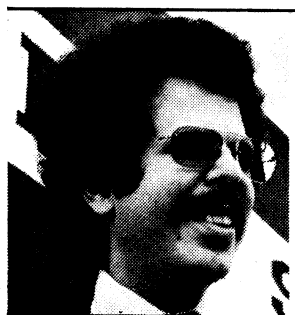
Union talk

By Joel Aber

It was a lesson in union solidarity that will long be remembered by teachers and working people throughout Louisiana.

A rally of 4,000 angry teachers on August 21, just eighteen hours before our strike deadline, made it clear that members of the United Teachers of New Orleans (UTNO) were well prepared to shut schools down on the first day of the new school year.

At 1:30 a.m. the next morning we learned that the school board had gotten our message. Supt. Gene Geisert called the union negotiators back to the bargaining table. Over the next four hours, our militancy and unity forced the board to accede to demands that they had refused to take seriously all summer.



Joel Aber is a member of the United Teachers of New Orleans and Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New Orleans.

Three thousand of us met again at 7:00 a.m. at our strike headquarters. Thousands of picket signs reading "No contract, no work" were ready for distribution by the 140 picket captains. The negotiating team walked into the meeting one-half hour late and announced that the board had agreed to a contract.

Earlier last May, after 20,000 teachers converged on the state capitol in Baton Rouge, Gov. Edwin Edwards reversed his previous stand and called an August special session of the legislature to take up teacher salary demands. The legislature voted to increase corporation taxes to fund a \$1,500 statewide raise for teachers and \$900 for state employees.

But all disputed contract issues in New Orleans remained unresolved—including salaries, fringe benefits, working conditions, and grievance procedures.

The school board negotiators proposed a one-half-hour extension of the school day with no increase in pay!

They proposed eliminating improvements in working conditions and teacher rights won in our previous contract. A strike appeared almost certain.

Prior to the special legislative session, liberal Democratic State Rep. Toni Morrison, one of my opponents in the election for mayor of New Orleans and current Mayor Moon Landrieu's chosen heir apparent, issued an ominous ultimatum to UTNO: Morrison said he could not push the pay raise through the legislature unless UTNO assured him there would be no strike in New Orleans.

UTNO President Nat LaCour responded by announcing at a news conference that the union was redoubling its efforts to prepare for the strike, regardless of the statewide pay raise. The legislature approved the pay increase shortly thereafter.

On August 20, two days before the start of the new school year, teachers received a letter from a desperate school board president, Mack Spears, threatening to fire all of us should we strike and

falsely implying that strikes were illegal. The next day, we answered Spears with our near unanimous presence at the municipal auditorium rally.

UTNO is one of only three teachers locals in the country that belong to both the American Federation of Teachers and the National Education Association. A joint NEA and AFT national staff team aided UTNO strike coordinator Connie Goodly and the picket captains in organizing the faculty of each school for solid picket lines.

As the board nervously watched our mounting strike preparations, they suddenly relented and sat down with our negotiators to hammer out a contract.

When we reconvened the morning of August 22, LaCour announced the major provisions of the new contract.

Gains in salaries and fringe benefits are not nearly as much as we need, LaCour explained, but a strike over purely economic issues would have been long and bitter and difficult to win following the \$1,500 salary increase from the legislature. Since the board had agreed to significant gains in our working conditions, LaCour recommended that we accept the new contract.

The new contract lasts two years, with a salary and fringe benefit reopener at the end of the first year.

The improvements in fringe benefits include: increased school board payments to the hospitalization plan, an end to forced lunch period duty, the reinstatement of cuts in coaching and athletic programs, and improvements in grievance and tenure procedures.

Teachers are pleased with the new contract. We have a long way to go in fighting for decent salaries, but we won more than most of us thought possible without a protracted strike.

Most importantly, teachers are now far more confident of our ability to organize and win our demands.

By Frank Lovell

A debate within the United Auto Workers union over whether to rejoin the AFL-CIO has been initiated by the UAW leadership. Majority and minority reports were sent by the twenty-six-member international executive board to all 1,600 UAW locals just before Labor Day this year.

Eighteen members of the board, including UAW President Douglas Fraser, favor AFL-CIO affiliation. Secretary-treasurer Emil Mazey is opposed, and is supported by other influential board members who endorse the minority position.

The debate has been taken to the union membership for an expression of opinion from the secondary leadership before calling a special convention later this year for a decision.

The differences within the executive board are not considered fundamental by either side, and the debate is not rancorous. It is a discussion over tactics for the UAW bureaucracy within the broader labor movement as presently constituted, involving union influence in government and the politics of the Democratic Party.

Reuther vs. Meany

The UAW left the AFL-CIO in 1968. The reasons for leaving were outlined as early as December 29, 1966, by then President Walter Reuther in a letter to all UAW locals. Reuther charged that AFL-CIO President George Meany lacked social vision, disregarded the needs and views of industrial unions in the federation, dictated policy based on outmoded craft-union concepts, and stifled potential union influence and growth.

Behind this criticism were differences between Meany and Reuther over how to meet the antiunion employer offensive of that time and what to do about the erosion of support for the Johnson administration under the impact of the Vietnam War.

Talk among top UAW leaders about returning to the AFL-CIO was aired at the union's 1974 convention. Leonard Woodcock, who had succeeded Reuther as president, favored reaffiliation at that time. He said, however, that it would be unwise for the convention to vote on the issue because there were differences of opinion in the leadership and there had not been sufficient discussion.

Woodcock said he was being urged to bring the UAW back to the AFL-CIO by officials of the International Association of Machinists (IAM), the Communications Workers of America (CWA), the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), and others who were put out by Meany's "neutrality" in favor of Nixon in the 1972 general election. These unions had endorsed George McGovern for U.S. president, as had the UAW. They wanted the UAW back in the AFL-CIO to help change the federation's political strategy in such a way as to gain greater influence within the Democratic Party.

"It's not so much us," Woodcock said, "as other unions asking us to work with them."

Emil Mazey, then as now, opposed the move. He argued that the antisocial policy dictated by Meany had not changed in any way. There was, therefore, no reason for the UAW to return to the AFL-CIO.

Besides, the UAW saved about \$2 million in dues every year that it remained independent. And Mazey, as the longtime keeper of the treasury, contends that the UAW can use that money much better for its own programs. If poured into AFL-CIO coffers it will be used to promote political alliances that the UAW opposes.

These basic positions, for and against reaffiliation, have not changed. The arguments on both sides remain essentially the same.

Conditions for affiliation

Fraser says the UAW will return on two conditions. The first is that the UAW's community political action councils will not be obligated to affiliate with the state or community bodies of the AFL-CIO. In other words, he insists that the UAW remain free to pursue its own political course.

The other condition is simply that it be understood and agreed to in advance that the UAW will in no way be bound by majority decisions of the AFL-CIO Executive Council.

These "conditions" are unnecessary and easily met. The AFL-CIO does not have control over the political decisions of its affiliates and has never pretended to. In the 1972 presidential election some AFL-CIO unions endorsed McGovern, others endorsed Nixon.

The "neutrality" policy imposed by Meany applied only to AFL-CIO city and state bodies, and

'Business uni & 'social uni



UAW members at unemployment demonstration in Washington, April 1959. Neither George Meany (inset left), Douglas Fraser (right) aims to mobilize union ranks against employer offensive.

What's at stake in UAW over rejoining AF

to the Committee On Political Education (COPE), the federation's political front. This was enough to withhold federation funds from the McGovern campaign, but not to stop contributions from such unions as the Machinists, AFSCME, Communications Workers, and many others.

In a television interview last May, shortly after becoming UAW president, Fraser said that he thinks "the AFL-CIO is undergoing rather traumatic change." He referred to younger members coming onto the executive council and the possibility that the federation will be headed by a man in his sixties instead of one well past eighty.

In Fraser's opinion, "you are going to see more progressive forces sitting on that council." This is one of his reasons for wanting to join it.

What these "progressive" forces will do different from what the Meany forces are doing was not clear in the Fraser interview. He listed most of the issues that he thinks important: labor law reform; the Meany-sponsored minimum wage bill; the Humphrey-Hawkins full employment bill; the four-day workweek; "constant vigilance" to make sure that women and Blacks and other minorities are fairly and equitably treated in the workplace.

There is nothing in this that Meany will disagree with.

When asked if he thought organized labor had been double-crossed by Carter, Fraser answered: "No, I don't believe that at all. There have been misunderstandings. We have had disagreements. We will continue to have disagreements. I don't expect to agree with the president of the United States on every issue. There are several issues upon which we disagree, and I am sure there will be more in the future."

If Meany has not used these exact words many times over since Carter was elected, he certainly has said the same thing in different words, usually better chosen.

No fundamental difference

This does not mean that Fraser is coming closer to agreement with Meany than Reuther was in 1968 when he pulled the UAW out of the AFL-CIO. But there have been some big changes since then—in the economy, in the relationship of social forces between the employing class and the working class, and in the influence of the unions upon the Democratic Party and the government.

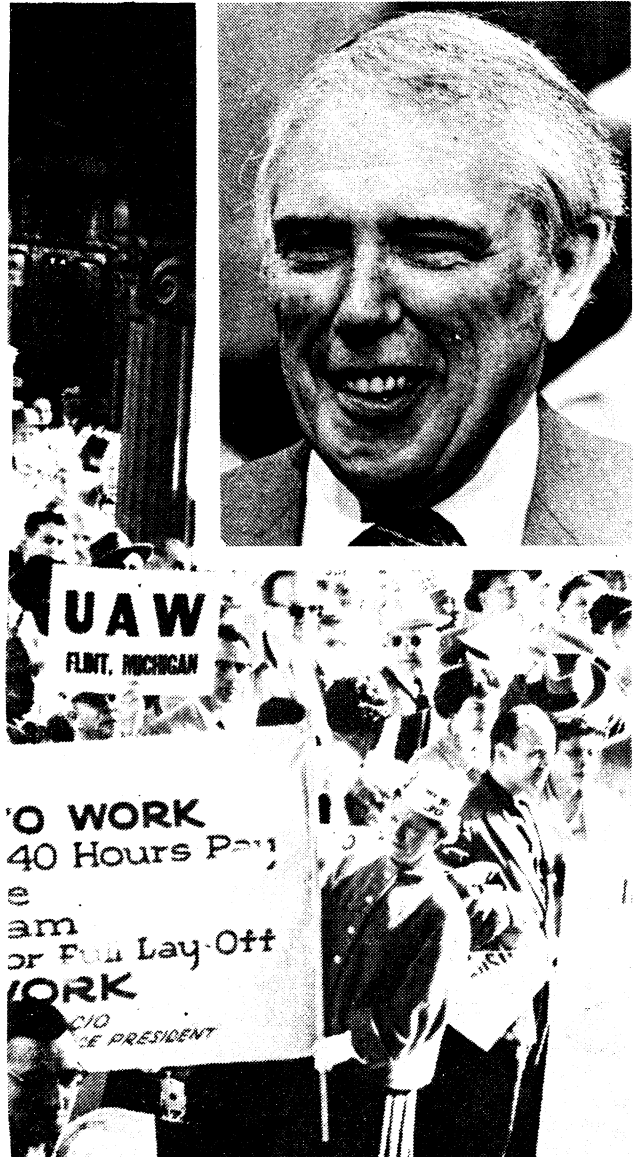
The capitalist economy is facing a worldwide crisis. The employing class is attacking the living standard of workers on all fronts. Union officials are startled to find themselves under fire from their political "friends" of yesterday.

Through all their disappointments and frustrations of the past decade, and despite their disagreements and sharp criticisms of each other, the two wings of the union bureaucracy have never expressed any fundamental differences on basic social issues. They are united in their defense of capitalist economy, U.S. militarism, and union-management cooperation. About this there was never any misunderstanding between Meany and Reuther, certainly not on Reuther's part.

On the eve of his break from the AFL-CIO, Reuther was careful to state his position on the war in Vietnam, which was then the overriding social and political issue of the day. He said, "There is no basic difference between the UAW and the AFL-CIO in the commitments to resist Communist aggression. . . ."

Unionism'

Unionism'



W debate AFL-CIO?

In this way Reuther put himself on record as a loyal supporter of the aims of the brutal U.S. military invasion of Vietnam. It is true he expressed differences with Meany and the Johnson administration over the conduct of the war. He was on the side of the imperialist "doves" in Congress. But he was no friend of the antiwar movement and did nothing to help build the mass demonstrations that finally forced Nixon to withdraw U.S. troops.

At the same time that he was denouncing Meany for callous indifference to the early struggles of the civil rights movement in the South, Reuther was a bitter critic of Black power struggles to end discrimination in the North. He feared the rise of Black nationalism because it threatened the social norms and established political structure of capitalist society.

Change image of AFL-CIO

Reuther despised Meany for his crude defense of "business unionism" because it negated everything the CIO had stood for in its formative years and destroyed the image of the labor movement that Reuther sought to project.

"Today the AFL-CIO represents a smaller proportion of the American labor force," he said, "than at the time of the [AFL and CIO] merger in December 1955." Reuther thought Meany was responsible.

The same is true today.

Fraser and other defenders of "social unionism" are shocked by the absolute decline in union membership during the past year. They think they are now in a position to scrap the stigma of "business unionism" attached to the AFL-CIO simply by a change in leadership personnel and an

improved public relations department. That is why Fraser favors reaffiliation, to help get on with the job.

In a recent interview with the *Nation* magazine, Fraser answered a series of questions on unemployment, inflation, productivity, health and safety in industry, environmental protection, U.S. foreign policy, urban decay and ghetto uprisings, national health insurance, labor law reform and the state of the union movement, and other problems.

"We're facing many difficult issues today and I fully intend to carry on the militancy our union has practiced on social questions," he said. "We've got to renew the fight to stamp out discrimination, we've got to join hands with the poor and fight their fight as our fight, we've got to put resources behind efforts of women to achieve justice."

Two-party system

It all sounds progressive until the part about *how* these goals will be accomplished. Fraser says the union movement must clean its own house, get rid of the racketeers and other scoundrels, "and we shouldn't resist when the government comes in and does it for us." His hope is "to be in the vanguard of social change."

The way to accomplish all this, according to Fraser, is through union participation in the capitalist two-party system. "We've experienced a real erosion over the years in the party system," he says, "and steps must be taken to revitalize the parties."

The rhetoric and style are different, but the bottom line belongs as much to Meany as Fraser.

Why is he in favor of rejoining the AFL-CIO? "We need a single national trade union center in this country, particularly now when working people are facing so much opposition from the Right," Fraser thinks "Meany should retire, but I don't anticipate that will happen during the period we are discussing reaffiliation."

Union activists have heard all this before. Most show little interest in the debate, and their instincts are to remain independent for the present until there is some sign of struggle within the union movement against the employing class and against the political agents of the employing class.

Rodger McFadden, UAW shop steward at the General Motors technical center in Warren, Michigan, says workers in his shop ask why the UAW should seek AFL-CIO affiliation. "How will it help us?" they wonder.

McFadden says, "It has to do only with top leadership, whether some of them will get government jobs like Woodcock. Auto workers have gained nothing from Carter's appointment of Woodcock to be the U.S. representative in China."

'Left and center unity'?

One of the little-noted aspects of the debate in the UAW leadership is the response to it from the Communist Party USA. These unregenerate Stalinists have announced that "we Communists wish to enter this discussion."

They are hot for the UAW to join up with other "left and center forces" in the labor movement on a "unity program" that will include them. They think that if they can help Fraser sell the reaffiliation proposition, maybe he will reward them with some recognition for services rendered. The program is their least concern.

Fraser has said, "It's crucial that we improve our relationships with the Soviet Union and China. In fact, Leonard Woodcock is over in Peking right now trying to do that."

This is enough for the Stalinists. They don't like the part about China, but improving U.S.-Soviet relations is their reason for existence, and that puts them in Fraser's service for the moment—if they can convince him that they are of any use.

What workers need—unorganized as well as union members—is not some fake unity among "left and center forces" in the union bureaucracy. To defend and strengthen the labor movement against the employer offensive, a genuine left wing in the unions, comprised of rank-and-file militants, will be required.

Steelworkers Fight Back

A fundamental program for union militants was voiced by Ed Sadlowski and the Steelworkers Fight Back slate earlier this year when steelworkers sought to win democratic, rank-and-file control over their union.

At the heart of the Steelworkers Fight Back program was the basic principle of class-struggle unionism: The interests of the workers and the bosses are not the same—they are opposed. And the purpose of the union is to fight for the needs of the workers, not to look out for the profits of the employers.

Effective union militancy is inseparable from union democracy—the right of the membership not only to discuss, but to *decide* and *act* in their own interests. This is just as lacking in the UAW as in the United Steelworkers union, despite the greater democratic pretensions and facade of the Fraser bureaucracy.

Motion toward a class-struggle left wing in the UAW may begin from struggles in defense of the workers' immediate needs on the job—such as the strikes against intolerable heat in the Detroit-area plants last summer. Broad social and political issues will rapidly be posed, however.

To unite the UAW's own membership—not to speak of winning the allegiance of the millions of unorganized and unemployed workers—a left wing will have to prove *in action* that it champions the interests of the most oppressed workers. It will have to lead in mobilizing the power of the unions behind their struggles—

- for busing to desegregate schools,
- for the Equal Rights Amendment and abortion rights,
- for affirmative action *enforced through quotas* to guarantee equal job and education rights for minorities and women,
- for modification of discriminatory seniority systems so that affirmative action is not eroded, and
- against deportations and victimization of undocumented immigrant workers.

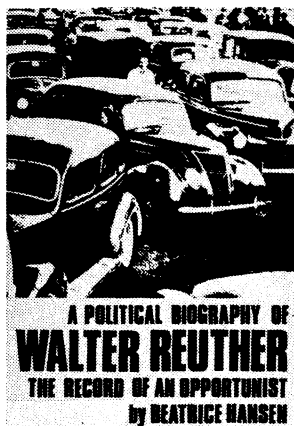
A left wing will inevitably be called upon to answer the big questions of public policy: unemployment, inflation, environmental destruction, nuclear power, military spending, threats to civil liberties, and many more.

If it persists on a course of uncompromising defense of the workers against capitalist exploitation and oppression, such a class-struggle movement will surely spearhead formation of an independent labor political party based on the unions.

UAW activists who undertake to strengthen their union so it can meet these challenges will find that they confront sabotage and repression from the Fraser wing of the union bureaucracy just as from the Meany wing.

And in those historic battles to come, whether the Fraserites are inside or outside the high councils of the AFL-CIO will count for very, very little.

For further reading



A Political Biography of Walter Reuther: The Record of an Opportunist by Beatrice Hansen. 23 pp. 40 cents.

The Fight for Union Democracy in Steel by Andy Rose. 38 pp. 50 cents.

A Struggle for Union Democracy: The Story of the Right to Vote Committee in the United Transportation Union by Ed Heisler. 46 pp. 75 cents.

Construction Workers Under Attack: How to Fight Back and Rebuild the Unions by Nat Weinstein, Frank Lovell, and Carol Lipman. 23 pp. 35 cents.

Teachers Under Attack: An Alternative to the 'Business Unionism' of Albert Shanker by Jeff Mackler. 31 pp. 50 cents.

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

CP youth group fails on two fronts

Human rights in the U.S. and the USSR

By Cathy Sedwick

When the Soviet government and its supporters claim that there are no violations of human rights in the USSR, they have about as much credibility in the eyes of most workers as Julie Nixon proclaiming her father's innocence.

Even the big West European Communist parties have been forced to back down and admit to the repression that exists in the so-called socialist countries. Nevertheless, the American Stalinists continue to insist that the mountains of evidence about the politi-

Cathy Sedwick is national chairperson of the Young Socialist Alliance.

cal system in the Soviet Union and the other Stalinized workers states are simply anticommunist fabrications.

Workers in total control?

Indications are that things will be no different at the October 7-10 convention of the Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL), the youth group of the Communist Party USA. The main document slated for approval at the YWLL convention, titled "A Better Life for Our Generation," calls violations of human rights in the USSR "non-existent."

"Under the leadership of revolutionary working-class political parties," the document argues, "the workers are in total control in the socialist lands."

If this is true, one wonders why the workers of Poland felt it necessary to take to the streets in massive strikes and demonstrations in June 1976 to let the authorities know they objected to increased food prices.

Such questions, unfortunately, will not be welcome at the YWLL convention. Instead, the obvious hypocrisy of President Carter's human rights rhetoric will be offered as "proof" of democratic practice in the Soviet bloc countries.

The YWLL claims that rather than concern itself with "the non-existent violations of human rights in the Soviet Union," it will fight against the violations of human rights in the United States. But just what is the YWLL's record on fighting for human rights here in America?

No mention of abortion

Let's begin with the YWLL's abstention from the women's liberation movement. The YWLL has consistent-



Young Workers Liberation League has opposed Equal Rights Amendment and abstained from abortion struggle.

ly denied the importance of an independent women's movement. Out of the forty-five pages in the YWLL's "main political discussion document," one-and-a-half are devoted to "special discrimination against young women."

Not once in this skimpy section are the two main issues facing American women even mentioned: the right of women to safe and legal abortion and the fight over passage of the Equal Rights Amendment.

Right-wing groups all over the country have mobilized around these two issues. They have been debated in the press, in the halls of Congress, on high school and college campuses, on the job, and in the streets.

But the Stalinists prefer to avoid this debate. On the ERA, they have sided with the right wing, opposing the amendment. And although the Stalinists give lip service to abortion rights, they are well aware that under Stalin abortion was made a crime in the Soviet Union.

Today, the legal status of abortion varies in different workers states, but the basic attitude of the Stalinist bureaucrats is that the right of women to control their own bodies must be subordinated to the convenience of economic plans and population factors.

Is this what the YWLL resolution means when it talks about fighting for human rights in the United States?

Another movement for human rights—one that did the most to popularize the slogan "human rights begin at home"—is the gay liberation movement. But the YWLL document makes no mention of the rights of gays—not a single word.

The September-October issue of *Young Worker*, the YWLL newspaper, does have an interview with YWLL National Chairperson James Steele, who speaks of the fight "against decadent cultural trends and degenerate forms of behavior."

Unfortunately, Steele is not speaking here of Anita Bryant and her fellow bigots. Stalinist leaders have repeatedly made clear that they think it is gay people who are the "decadent" and "degenerate" ones. In the Soviet Union, the bureaucratic regime enforces Anita Bryant's repressive antigay demands.

What about Black rights?

If the YWLL refuses to fight for the rights of gays and would rather not talk too much about the major issues facing women, could it be because it's so busy defending the rights of Blacks and other oppressed minorities?

No, the YWLL talks a lot about defending minority rights, but when it comes to action it doesn't do much. In fact, while the YWLL was holding its last convention in Philadelphia on

December 14, 1974, 12,000 people in Boston were marching in a broadly sponsored demonstration to protest racist violence in that city.

YWLL leader Steele characterized the December 14 protest as a "routine exercise in left sectarianism," and the YWLL refused to build—or even endorse—either that protest or an NAACP-called demonstration there on May 17, 1974. The struggle to desegregate the Boston school system was the biggest fight facing the Black movement at that time, but the YWLL abstained from it.

Similarly, while talking loudly in favor of affirmative-action programs to help alleviate the effects of past discrimination, the YWLL has played virtually no role in helping to build the protests around the *Bakke* case.

Courting liberal capitalists

How do YWLL leaders explain their group's abstention from major struggles facing American workers?

According to James Steele, in the interview cited above, "We see the struggle to end unemployment as the number one issue before the youth movement. The struggle for jobs is the heart of the struggle for youth rights and should be the central concern of the young generation's contribution to the fight against racism."

Of course, the fight for jobs is important. But jobs won't be won by counterposing this fight to the current struggle for women's rights and school desegregation. In fact, many of those active in one movement will also be active in others, and their activities are complementary, helping to create a climate in which it is easier for everybody to win progressive gains.

At the heart of the fight for jobs today—especially for minorities, students, and women—is the struggle to overturn the *Bakke* decision.

But the main focus of the YWLL's jobs campaign is to demand passage of Rep. Michael Harrington's (D-Mass.) Youth Employment Act of 1977. A mass struggle by the working class could win concessions from the government and important relief for the unemployed, but such gains won't be won by lobbying for the proposals of congressional liberals.

However, the YWLL's orientation is precisely to such liberals. This, along with its defense of the reactionary policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy, is what impels the YWLL to abstain from the struggles where real mass forces are in motion.

Machinists strike Boeing as contract expires

By Alicia Merel

TACOMA, Wash.—The International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers (IAM), representing 24,000 production and maintenance workers, struck the Boeing Company as their contract expired at 12:01 a.m., October 4.

Most of the striking IAM members are located in the Puget Sound area. Boeing is the largest private employer here, with a work force of over 50,000.

At a meeting to consider Boeing's final offer October 3, IAM members voted by an 85 percent majority to strike.

Money is a major issue in the strike. Boeing offered only a five-cent-an-hour increase for lower-grade workers in the first year of its contract proposal.

Momentum for a strike has been building. Two weeks earlier 26,000 people attended a mass stop-work rally in Seattle's Kingdome called by the

two major unions at the Boeing Company.

For the first time, contract negotiations with the company have been carried out by a joint negotiating team from the two unions—IAM District Lodge 751 and the Seattle Professional Engineering Employees Association (SPEEA), representing over 15,000 members.

Surrounded by banners reading "Save COLA," "Upgrade local jobs," and "The Force is with our negotiators," the keynote address was given by William Winpisinger, president of the IAM.

Winpisinger received an enthusiastic response when he told the union members that their demands were just and that the company could afford to pay.

Winpisinger also said not to be taken in when people claim that the union wage demands are inflationary.

Among those things he listed as "inflationary as hell" were the multinational oil companies, which have quadrupled the price of oil, and the monopoly market controlling new car prices.

What Winpisinger did not discuss was the primary cause of inflation—the war budget. As producers of the cruise missile and other weapons of destruction, Boeing is a major recipient of funds from the war budget.

But Boeing does not have to produce goods primarily for human destruction. With the knowledge, skills, and machinery already existing, they could produce goods that would enhance the quality of human life, such as the development of nonnuclear energy sources, mass-transit systems, and antipollution technology.

This meeting was a first step toward unity among the unions at Boeing, which could strengthen the position of

the workers. But real unity would mean the IAM and SPEEA working with the other unions at Boeing, such as the Teamsters.

It would also mean working toward common expiration dates on contracts (SPEEA's contract expires December 15) and honoring each other's picket lines.

The IAM is making no attempt to have SPEEA or the Teamsters honor the present picket line. This represents a danger to the success of the strike.

The Tacoma Militant Labor Forum is holding a public meeting Friday evening, October 14, entitled, *Aeromechanics vs. Boeing: Which Way Forward for the Machinists Union?* Speaking will be a member of the IAM Local 751-F. The meeting will be held at the Militant Bookstore, 1022 South J Street, admission one dollar, strikers free.

Oct. 3 rallies: 'We want equality!'

By Laura Moorhead
and Craig Landberg

WASHINGTON—Almost 1,400 Black students and supporters demonstrated here October 3 against the *Bakke* decision and in support of affirmative action. The march was sponsored by the Black American Law Students Association (BALSA) and the National Committee to Overturn the *Bakke* Decision.

With spirited chants of "We won't go back—send Bakke back," and "B-A-K-K-E—we want equality," students from Howard University, McKinley Technical High School, Georgetown University, the University of Maryland at College Park, Antioch Law School, and American University marched from Lafayette Park, in front of the White House, to the west steps of the Capitol.

The McKinley Tech students numbered 400.

Other participating groups included Lawyers for Affirmative Action, Student Coalition Against Racism, and Young Socialist Alliance.

The march stopped at the Department of Justice and the Supreme Court to emphasize government responsibility in the *Bakke* case.

The rally at the Capitol opened with a moment of silence for slain South African student leader Steve Biko. The Howard University Singers then led the marchers in the Black national anthem, "Lift Every Voice and Sing."

The first speaker, Charles Ogletree, national president of BALSA, explained the three main reasons for the demonstration. He pointed to the collusion of officials at the University of California at Davis with Bakke, the opening of the *Bakke* hearings in the Supreme Court on October 12, and the lies and distortions of the media in their coverage of *Bakke*.

Ogletree said, "We're not talking about law students or medical students, but the rights of each and every Black person."

Grantland Johnson, a member of the national coordinating committee of the National Committee to Overturn the *Bakke* Decision (NCOBD), outlined the attacks on the rights of Blacks, Chic-

nos, Filipinos, and Native Americans. He told the demonstrators, "The tide of racism must be defeated."

Johnson pointed to the need to continue the movement against *Bakke* after October 12 and called for support for the NCOBD proposal for a week of activities against *Bakke* January 22 to 28 and a national day of protest in April, when the Supreme Court ruling is expected.

Marion Berry, D.C. City Council member, announced that the city council had unanimously passed a resolution declaring the week of October 3-8 "Overturn *Bakke* Week."

Nat Herndon of the National Conference of Black Lawyers declared that Black people are "engaged in a war for our legal existence." He stated that people who think the *Bakke* case pertains only to higher education should remember the *Plessy v. Ferguson* case of 1896. That case centered on segregation in public transportation, but established "separate but equal" as the law of the land, a setback for Black rights that lasted sixty years.

Speakers representing Black, student, and legal groups also spoke.

The rally concluded with a speech by Rep. Parren Mitchell (D-Maryland), chairperson of the Congressional Black Caucus. Mitchell said: "There comes a time in the lives of the oppressed and exploited when you retreat, retreat, retreat, and can retreat no further, when you draw the line and say 'Enough.' You have said that here today, you have drawn that line. . . ."

"If the children of Soweto dare, dare we not?"

Demonstrations against the *Bakke* decision were held October 3 around the country in response to a call by the NCOBD and BALSA. One of the largest was at Indiana University in Bloomington, where 750 students, 90 percent of them Black, rallied in defense of affirmative action.

The protest was sponsored by BALSA and the law school women's caucus, and was endorsed by the Student Coalition Against Racism and the Campus Women's Task Force.



Washington, D.C., October 3

Chairing the rally was Prof. Edwin Marshall, head of the university affirmative-action committee.

Speaking were representatives of campus, community, and women's groups.

Three hundred people marched from Wayne State University to a rally in Kennedy Square in downtown Detroit. The action was sponsored by the

Michigan Coalition to Overturn the *Bakke* Decision.

The rally heard speakers from the NAACP and other Black and Latino organizations, as well as representatives from various political groups.

Militant correspondent Anne Chase reports that 200 people marched

Continued on next page

YSA: Reverse 'Bakke' ruling!

The following is a statement by the Young Socialist Alliance National Executive Committee.

The nationwide protests against the *Bakke* decision on October 3 and 8 are an inspiration to supporters of equal rights everywhere and an example of what can and must be done.

The stakes in the *Bakke* case are high. If the U.S. Supreme Court upholds Bakke's position the stage will be set for the wholesale elimination of affirmative-action programs in education and employment. These programs were won by Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and women through massive struggles during the 1960s.

Bakke's charge of "reverse discrimination" turns the real issue on its head. For years, colleges in this country followed a policy of "special admissions" that meant for whites only. The door to equal opportunity was shut tight for everyone else.

Inferior education in public schools, combined with exorbitant college costs, prevents the majority of Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican and Asian youth from pursuing a higher education. As a result, they find themselves channeled into the worst paying jobs, if they're lucky enough to get a job at all.

The attack on affirmative-action quotas is part of a national offensive against the rights of all oppressed people. Those fighting to uphold the *Bakke* decision, including the U.S. government, represent the same forces attacking school desegregation, women's right to abortion, and the freedom of undocumented immigrant workers to live and work in the United States.

Recognizing the explosive nature of the issues raised in the *Bakke* case, the Carter administration has attempted to portray itself as a supporter of the general "goals" of affirmative-action programs. But it is steadfastly opposed to use of racial quotas, which is the only effective means of enforcing such programs.

The same kind of mass pressure that forced the government to institute affirmative-action programs in the first place is needed today to force the Supreme Court to reverse the *Bakke* decision.

Already an impressive array of organizations have taken a stand against *Bakke*.

But it will take more actions like October 3 and 8—more forums, speak-outs, pickets, rallies, and marches that can educate and mobilize the American people—to force the government to back down.

REVERSE THE BAKKE DECISION!

Come to Detroit Dec. 28-Jan. 1

The Young Socialist Alliance will hold its seventeenth national convention in Detroit, Michigan, December 28 through January 1 at the Michigan Inn hotel.

The YSA convention is open to all young people interested in socialist ideas. For further information clip the coupon below and send it to YSA, P.O. Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003; (212) 989-7570.

- ☐ Send me more information about the YSA and the YSA convention.
- ☐ I want to join the YSA.
- ☐ Enclosed is \$1.00 for a six-month subscription to the *Young Socialist*, the monthly newspaper that reflects the views of the YSA.
- ☐ Enclosed is \$.50 for six months of the *Young Socialist* (special high school rate).

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Join the YSA

Rulers attack equal rights

By John Hawkins

As the U.S. Supreme Court prepares to hear arguments on the *Bakke* decision, protests demanding that it be overturned are taking place in many cities.

At an anti-*Bakke* demonstration of 1,400 in Washington, D.C., October 3, Nat Herndon of the National Conference of Black Lawyers compared the *Bakke* case to *Plessy v. Ferguson*. In that 1896 decision the Supreme Court established "separate but equal" as the law of the land. That ruling brought federal law into line with the reactionary overturn of Radical Reconstruction in the South following the Civil War.

Herndon's is an apt comparison. Allan Bakke, a white male engineer, claims he was discriminated against when the University of California's Davis Medical School rejected his application. Bakke bases his claim on the admission of sixteen minority students through the school's special admissions program.

Bakke contended that he was more "qualified" than the sixteen minority applicants. The California Supreme Court agreed with him and charged the Regents of the University of California with "reverse discrimination."

A ruling in Bakke's favor in the case would not mean a return to "Whites Only" signs on rest rooms. But it would lay the basis for a sweeping reversal of affirmative action and other gains that have begun to move in the direction of equality.

It would encourage opponents of affirmative action to challenge already existing programs. It would also discourage the establishment of more affirmative-action plans by universities, employers, and the government.

Government offensive

The Supreme Court hearings on the *Bakke* decision come during a wave of government attacks on the rights and living standards of oppressed nationalities, women, and working people in general.

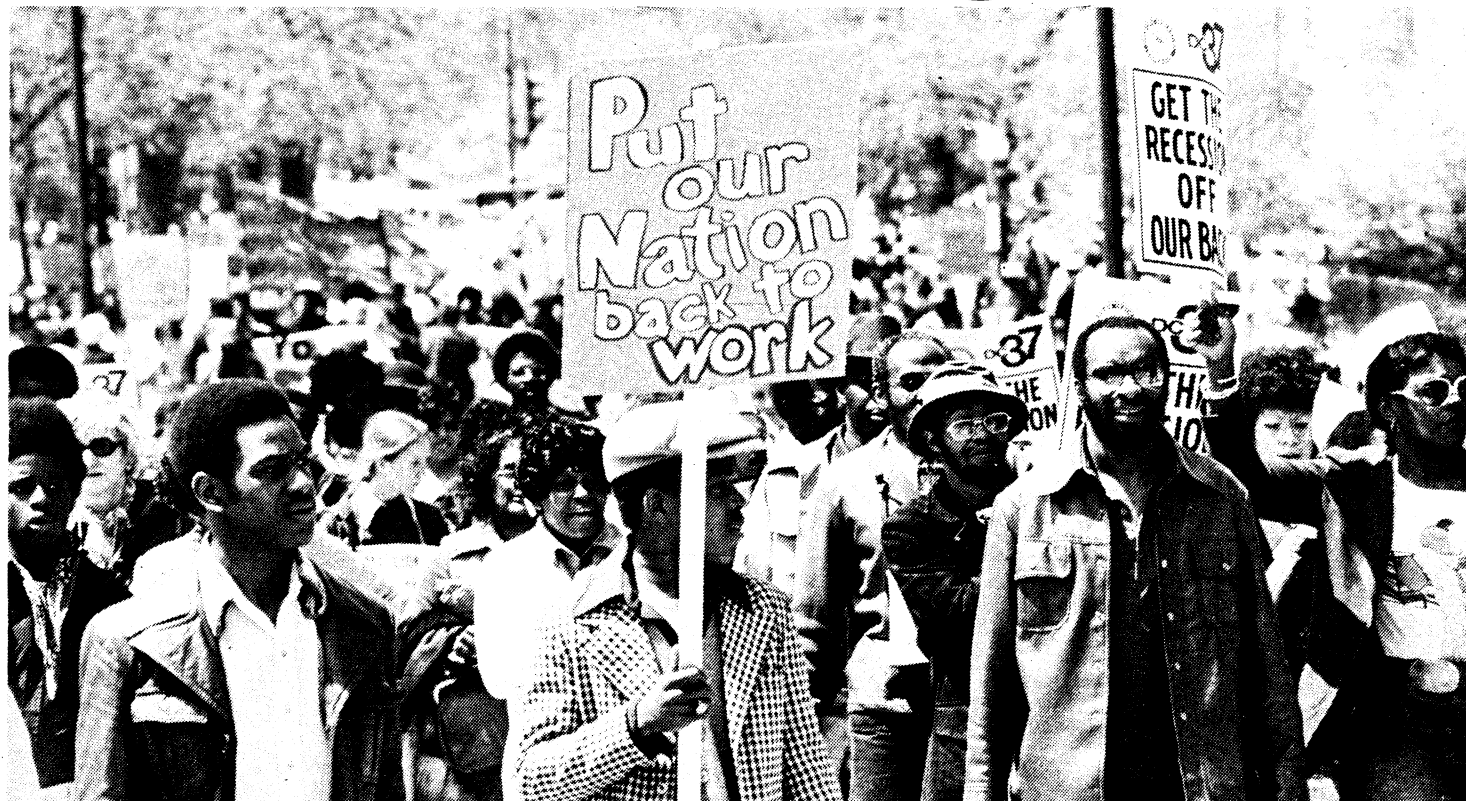
School desegregation, open housing, and affirmative action in employment have all come under attack by the Carter administration, Congress, and the Supreme Court.

Maternity benefits, Medicaid funds for abortion, and the Equal Rights Amendment for women are also under fire.

Unemployment benefits for striking workers, welfare payments for children of strikers, and a decent minimum wage are targets of the government assault as well.

Meanwhile, the cutbacks continue—Carter's proposed revision of the welfare and food stamp programs; the administration's slashing of mass transit funds; and the recent reduction of federal education funds.

This government onslaught falls most heavily on Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and other oppressed



Capitalists' offensive has hit Blacks, other minorities, and women hardest

Militant/Dennis Scarla

nationalities. It comes on top of the devastating impact of the 1974-75 depression.

In its August 29 issue, *Time* magazine published a lengthy article titled "The American Underclass" as its contribution to the racist hysteria following the New York City electrical blackout and the massive social explosion in the Black and Puerto Rican ghettos there.

Despite its bias, the article sheds light on a number of facts:

- During the 1974-75 depression minority workers were laid off at nearly twice the rate of whites. Black unemployment, by official estimates, rose from 10.4 percent to 14.7 percent in 1975.

- Since then, Blacks have been called back to work more slowly than whites. Black unemployment stands officially at 14.5 percent, more than twice the rate for whites. For Black teen-agers, unemployment is officially 40.4 percent—close to three times that of whites.

- While 8.9 percent of white families exist below the poverty level, defined by the government as \$5,500 for a family of four, almost one-third of all Black families live in poverty.

Though the *Time* magazine article doesn't explicitly mention it, what it describes is the result of an all-out offensive by the employers against working people—with minority workers and women bearing the brunt of the attack. This drive, which began in 1971, reached a new level during the 1974-75 depression.

But carrying out this offensive on the economic front would not have been possible without attacking the social gains that minority workers,

women, and youth have come to see as rights.

Inequality is built into the capitalist profit system. Even in good times, any measures toward equality cost money. The employers and their representatives in government oppose this. And in times of economic crisis such measures, in their minds, must be ruled out.

This can be seen in recent Supreme Court decisions.

On the one hand the employers and the government seek to hold the line against any new steps that would lead to equality. That is the meaning of the Supreme Court's ruling that proof of discrimination in fact is no longer sufficient and that intent to discriminate must now be proved.

On the other hand they seek to eliminate as "wasteful" measures already enacted. What better legal cover for this reactionary aim than the false doctrine of "reverse discrimination"—the main argument underlying the *Bakke* decision.

Hatched in board rooms

The government-employer assault on affirmative action and other demands for equality is no fluke. It was mapped out in the highest circles of the American ruling class.

Business Week, an authoritative financial journal, published a series of three articles in December 1975 outlining the capitalists' concern with "the egalitarian movement."

The series takes special aim at the demand for affirmative action in employment. It also levels fire at Social Security, federal aid to education, school desegregation, Medicaid, and tax reform.

"Today's egalitarians," *Business*

Week complains, "want to use the federal government to redistribute wealth and incomes, to equalize differences in education and family backgrounds, and to override the classic principle that what a man consumes must be determined by what he produces or what he owns. . . ."

"Business for its part," the article continues, "sees the egalitarian push as a threat—not just to its pay scales but to the fundamental principles of a market economy."

The problem for the capitalists, *Business Week* asserts, is that demands for equality have a certain logic. They grow beyond demands for rights before the law to demands for equality in "economic well-being." Once motion begins in this direction, demands arise for faster progress.

The capitalists' solution is to reverse what they call the trend toward equality—under the watchwords of fending off inflation and reducing the role of government.

High stakes in 'Bakke' fight

But reversing this trend will be no easy task. As *Business Week*, Carter, Congress, and the Supreme Court know, millions of people have come to regard equality as their right. The protests taking place across the country demanding that the *Bakke* decision be overturned are proof of that.

And as the massive civil rights movement during the 1950s and 1960s forced the granting of legal equality against the government's will, so a massive movement to reverse the *Bakke* ruling can force a favorable decision by the Supreme Court.

Organizing such a movement is a major task confronting the anti-*Bakke* forces.

...protests

Continued from preceding page
through downtown San Francisco chanting, "We are the people, we are the nation, there ain't no such thing as reverse discrimination." The vast majority of the crowd was Black, Chicano, or Asian-American.

The action was cosponsored by BALSAs and the National Committee

to Overturn the Bakke Decision.

Speakers included Rev. Cecil Williams of Glide Memorial Church and Alameda County Supervisor John George.

About 175 people participated in a noontime rally at City Hall Plaza in Boston sponsored by BALSAs and the Asian-American Student Organization.

The crowd, mostly Blacks, Asian-Americans, Latinos, and women, was largely made up of students.

Representatives of BALSAs, the National Lawyers Guild, and the Nation-

al Conference of Black Lawyers spoke. Lunchtime observers joined the crowd and cheered several speakers.

A crowd of 150, mostly Blacks and women, picketed the Chicago Federal Building. The demonstration was sponsored by BALSAs, La Raza National Law Students Association, and the National Lawyers Guild, and endorsed by a broad range of organizations, including CASA, Operation PUSH, and the National Conference of Black Lawyers.

Representatives of the Student Coalition Against Racism, Youth in Action,

African Liberation Support Committee, and others joined speakers from the sponsoring organizations in addressing the rally.

A hundred people chanting, "*Bakke* must fall, justice for all," picketed the federal courthouse in New York's Foley Square at noon. The action was sponsored by BALSAs. Protesters carried signs reading, "Stay Tuned for the Return of Separate but Equal," "Overturn *Bakke*," and other signs.

Demonstrations also took place in St. Louis, Los Angeles, and Lexington, Kentucky.

Labor & affirmative action

By David Frankel
and John Hawkins

With the approach of its October 12 hearing before the U.S. Supreme Court, the *Bakke* case has emerged as one of the most important political issues in the country.

It is generally acknowledged that the outcome of the case will have far-reaching consequences for Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Asian-Americans, and women.

But less serious attention has been paid to the stake of the American labor movement in its outcome.

The only nationally known trade-union leader to aggressively address the *Bakke* issue is Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers.

Shanker's position on the case is dead wrong for the labor movement.

For more than a decade Shanker has campaigned against affirmative-action quotas. Shanker argues that special admissions or hiring programs for oppressed nationalities and women threaten the interests of white and male workers and constitute "reverse discrimination."

Against large opposition within the union, Shanker and the AFT leadership have filed a friend-of-the-court brief on the side of Allan Bakke in the case.

Shanker, who uses union funds to pay for a weekly column in the *New York Times*, explained his position September 25. He quoted Ben Wattenberg, cochairperson of the Coalition for a Democratic Majority, to bolster his antiquotas argument. "What opponents of 'quotas' oppose," Wattenberg said, "is the idea that individuals should be treated on the basis of their race rather than on the basis of their individual abilities."

400 years too late

This certainly sounds like a high-minded approach. Wouldn't it be desirable, as Shanker puts it, "to banish race as a factor" that must be taken into account?

Unfortunately, Shanker's offensive against "race as a factor" is a bit late. Race has been very much a factor in American society for the past 400 years, beginning with the conquest and near-extermination of the American Indians and the enslavement of Blacks from Africa.

The system of legally enforced segregation in the South was ended less than fifteen years ago. The disproportionately high unemployment of Blacks, their low income levels, and

the racist antibusing violence in cities such as Chicago show that "race as a factor" continues today.

For oppressed minorities and women affirmative-action quotas have only begun to achieve a modest measure of equality in the work force and education.

A Supreme Court decision upholding Bakke's claim that he was a victim of "reverse discrimination" would set back these small steps toward equality. It would also encourage other legal actions against affirmative-action plans.

One such suit has already been filed by a group of white workers in Ashland, Kentucky—American Male Equality Now (AMEN). The AMEN suit seeks to reverse the steel industry consent decree, a court ruling that has forced the steel bosses to halt some of their most flagrant discriminatory practices.

Only the bosses gain

Shanker's opposition to affirmative-action quotas is in line with the long-standing policy of the trade-union bureaucracy. For years the labor officialdom has collaborated with the employers to discriminate against women and racial minorities. In many unions minority workers were even barred from membership.

Many individual white or male workers, who may agree that oppressed minorities and women should have equal rights, have questions about affirmative-action quotas.

Many argue, "I never discriminated against anybody. Why should I be called upon to sacrifice in order to remedy ills that I had nothing to do with creating?"

This line of thought, however, misses the real point. *Labor as a whole is sacrificing today because of race and sex discrimination. Such discrimination leads to lower wages and worse conditions for all workers.*

In 1976, for example, Blacks had a median family income close to 40 percent less than that of whites.

It is estimated that half of this difference—20 percent—resulted solely from overt racial discrimination.

Not only does this lower average wage enrich the employers—it also serves as a brake on the wages of all other workers.

It is also well known that workers of oppressed nationalities and women workers are more likely to end up in unsafe, unhealthy jobs. What the employers save by forcing inferior

working conditions on these workers is matched by a growing loss of life and limb by all working people.

Such unsafe, unhealthy conditions have a way of extending beyond departments where minorities and women work. In addition, this assault on working conditions goes hand-in-hand with the employers' destruction of the environment—which all working people must live in.

Race and sex prejudice

How do the employers get away with separating out sections of the work force to bear the burden of unemployment, lower wages, and inferior working conditions, as well as a host of other inferior conditions off the job? By fostering race and sex prejudice to block the development of working-class solidarity.

They help cultivate the false idea among white and male workers that layoffs, lower wages, inferior working conditions for "them" are of no concern to "us."

Without broad sections of the work force subscribing to that idea, the employers could not get away with subjecting women and oppressed minorities to second-class treatment.

White and male workers would view an injury to these sections of labor as a personal injury. And labor action based on such an understanding would pose grave problems to the profits and rule of the capitalist class.

Acceptance of race and sex discrimination hampers the union movement. It gives the employers a handle to divide and conquer labor.

Unemployment & the unions

A closer look at the problem of unemployment shows this.

Nearly three years after the beginning of the 1974-75 depression, official unemployment rates are still hovering around 7 percent. The rate for Black workers is more than double that for whites, and financial publications are discussing the danger of a new economic downturn.

Shanker and other top union officials frequently argue that, instead of affirmative-action programs to provide jobs for women and oppressed minorities, a fight should be launched for jobs for all.

But the union officialdom refuses to mobilize labor in such a struggle. The officials cling to the policy of protecting the existing jobs of older, white, and male workers at the expense of young workers, women, and minorities.

In fact, when push comes to shove, they collaborate with the employers in laying workers off. But playing along with the bosses in their divide-and-rule maneuvers doesn't work—for any section of labor.

During the New York City financial crisis, Shanker tried to preserve the jobs of teachers by calling on the city government to fire other municipal workers—especially low-paid minority and women workers.

As a result he led teachers into a trap set by the banks and city hall. Other public employees certainly were fired, but so were thousands of teachers.

This "lay-off-somebody-else" strategy helped the employers divide the workers in face of the bosses' austerity drive. The New York municipal unions were isolated from each other. But equally important, they were isolated from a large section of the working population as a whole. This damaged the allegiance of many of their members.

Why should Blacks, Puerto Ricans,



Militant/Lou Howort

SHANKER: opposes quotas and ignores 400 years of racism.

and other minority workers in New York help defend the jobs of teachers and other municipal workers? These same unions refused to fight for minority rights such as affirmative-action quotas while helping the employers fire them, their friends, and their relatives.

What happened in New York is part of a general problem. Currently, massive layoffs are taking place in steel, copper, television, and other industries. Membership in American trade unions dropped by 767,000 between 1974 and 1976, the first absolute drop in fifteen years.

Tomorrow the layoffs are sure to hit elsewhere. If the union movement remains shackled by policies such as Shanker's, the result will be at best a weaker union movement with a shrinking membership.

The building trades

This brings us back to the question of affirmative-action quotas. The opposition of the bureaucrats in the building trades to such quotas shows how disastrous these policies are.

In 1969, when the Labor Department adopted the "Philadelphia Plan," setting quotas for hiring minority workers in construction jobs on federal projects, the building-trades unions fought the plan with all their might.

Racist to the core, the construction union bureaucrats have kept Blacks and Hispanics out of the union's ranks for years.

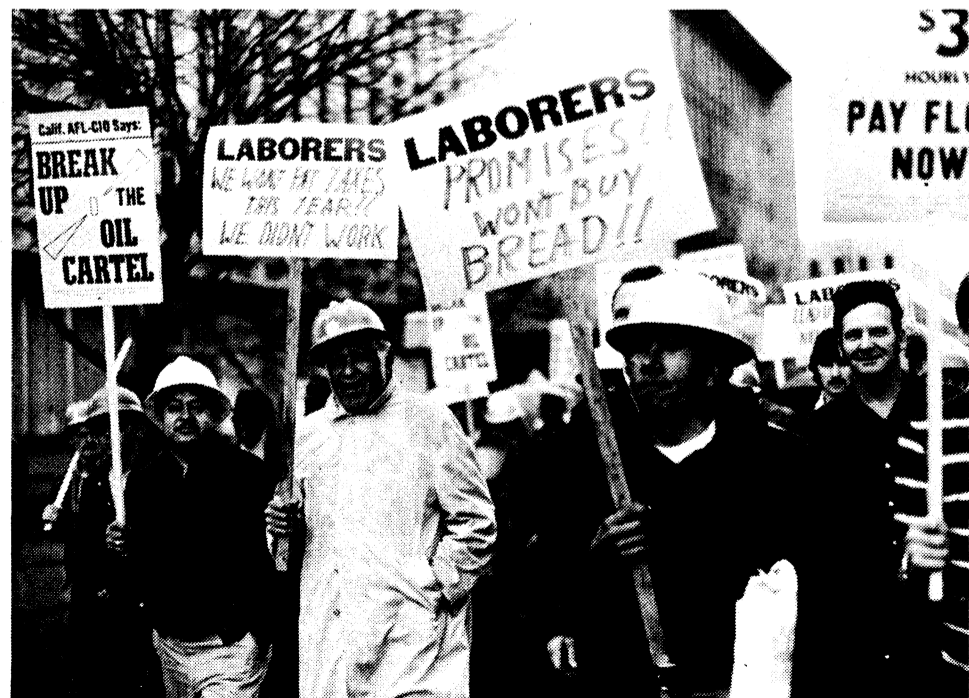
Meanwhile, membership in the building-trades unions dwindles, non-union outfits capture a bigger and bigger share of the industry, and unemployment is endemic. The bureaucrats claim to be defending union jobs against Black, Hispanic, and women workers. But in reality they are losing jobs and wages to the construction bosses.

The fact is that the problems of white and male workers cannot be solved at the expense of women or the oppressed minorities, even in the short run.

To the extent that there is massive unemployment among minority workers, the bosses will have a weapon for keeping the wages and working conditions of all workers depressed.

If the trade-union militants of the 1930s had failed to take this fact into account, the industrial unions could not have been built in the first place. The CIO unions had to break with the old policy of segregated unions in order to win Blacks to the struggle and counter the bosses' attempts to use them as strikebreakers.

Continued on page 26



Militant/Howard Petrick

March for jobs in Sacramento. Policies of labor bureaucrats—pitting white workers against minorities—have failed to win jobs.

Challenge to women's rights

By Nancy Cole

With considerably more fanfare than accorded the average medical student, Rita Clancy began classes at the University of California at Davis September 26. Clancy—like another Davis applicant, Allan Bakke—filed a legal challenge to the special-admissions program for oppressed nationalities at the medical school.

She charged "reverse discrimination" because she is white.

Pending the outcome of Bakke's similar challenge now before the U.S. Supreme Court, a federal judge ordered her enrolled. Another hearing on her case is scheduled for October 13.

To some observers, it must have appeared an obvious conflict between the rights of women and the rights of Blacks and other oppressed nationalities. At first glance, it might even be construed that a victory for Bakke would be in the interests of women.

After all, in a profession where women are grossly underrepresented, isn't it discrimination if Black, Asian, and Chicano men are admitted to medical school at the expense of women?

Nothing could be further from the truth. To begin with, there are thousands of *women* of oppressed nationalities struggling to get into medical school. It would be a dangerous step indeed for supporters of women's rights to support Bakke or remain neutral in this controversy.

The magnitude of the *Bakke* case demands that women *take the lead*, along with Blacks, Chicanos, students, and trade unionists, in fighting to overturn this decision against affirmative-action quotas.

The outcome of this case—especially if it ends in victory for Bakke—will have an undisputed impact on affirmative action for women.

And if the government and employers can scrap affirmative action, they'll turn with even more enthusiasm to their drive against abortion rights, maternity benefits, the Equal Rights Amendment, and child care.

Clancy's story

The details of Clancy's challenge to the special-admissions program at Davis are somewhat different than those of Bakke, a white, male engineer. Clancy applied for one of the sixteen slots in the special-admissions plan because, along with race, its criteria include language and economic disadvantage.

Clancy, who emigrated from the Soviet Union seven years ago, has a Russian accent and argued that her family is poor. Her husband, an attorney, announced that he took a \$7,000 salary cut to move from Los Angeles so that she could attend medical school.

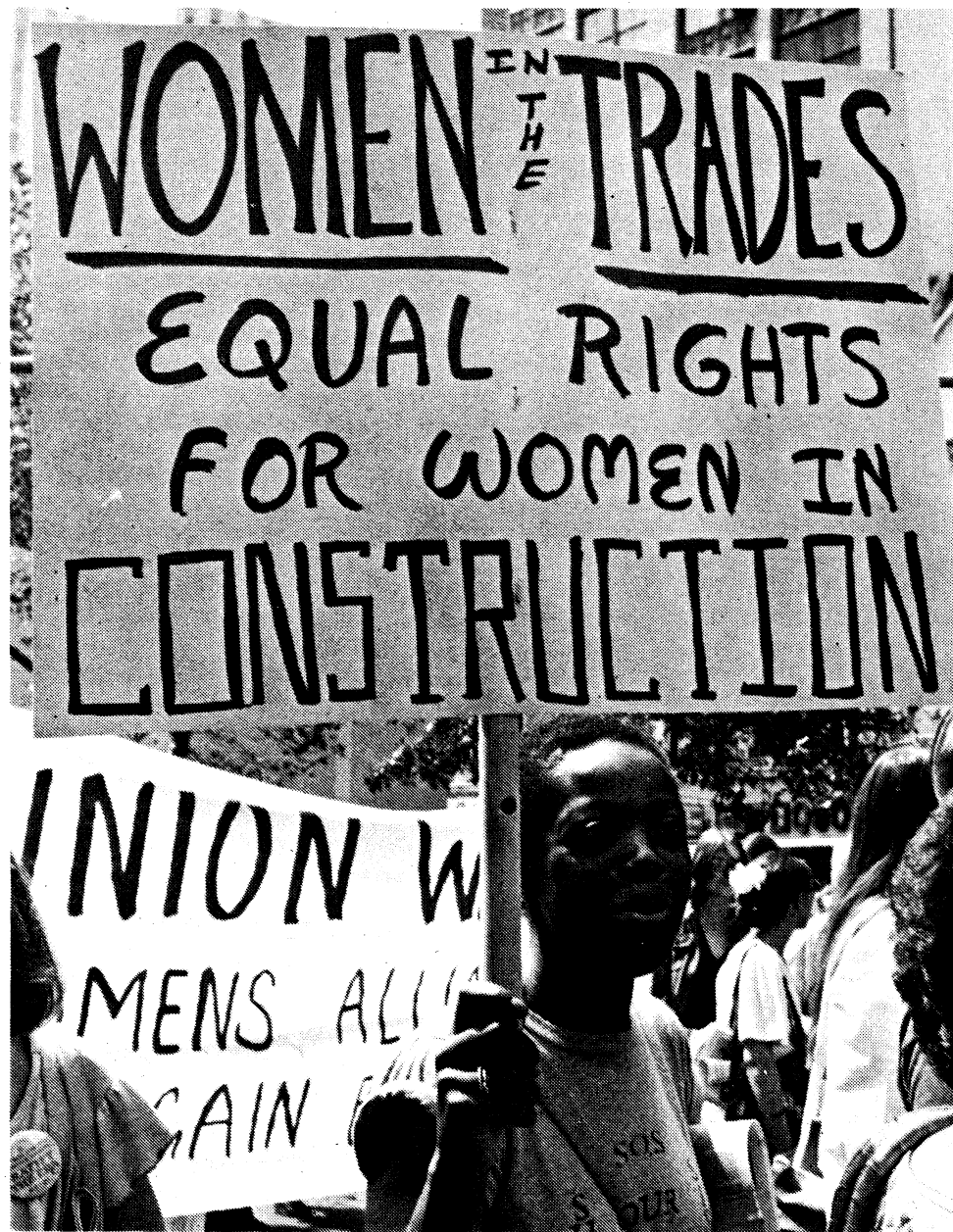
The school, however, considered her application under the regular admissions plan. Out of 4,400 applicants it named her fourth alternate for one of the eighty-four regular places. She was the first alternate by the time classes began.

But rather than challenge the plan that denied her, a qualified woman, one of eighty-four places, she chose to attack the special-admissions program, already threatened by Bakke's lawsuit.

She added new fuel to a racist—and sexist—drive against affirmative-action gains.

It wasn't the minority-admissions program that denied Clancy a place in medical school. It was the *absence* of a parallel program guaranteeing a certain number of seats to women.

The interests of Clancy and other women struggling to become doctors



Militant/Lou Howort

lie with a fight to reverse the *Bakke* decision so that special quotas in education and jobs can be maintained and expanded to include more women and more oppressed nationalities.

Take the profession in dispute. Ninety-three percent of American doctors are male; 98 percent are white.

A 1965 survey of thirty-eight countries found only three with fewer female physicians than the United States—Spain, South Vietnam, and Madagascar.

Inadequate health care

These statistics indicate social ramifications far beyond the individual women or Blacks denied entrance to the profession of their choice.

In no small way do the sexist and racist attitudes of much of the medical profession add to a situation where at least 45 percent of American women are prescribed mood-altering drugs, one-third of frequently performed hysterectomies are unwarranted, and poor women are forced to have sterilizations.

Sex discrimination in medical school admissions is, of course, illegal. But schools can easily avoid such laws by establishing tests and standards oriented to the cultural and educational backgrounds of white males.

What is needed to ensure more Black and women doctors—and to open up other professions and skilled jobs—are affirmative-action programs, enforced by quotas. And the Black, labor, and women's movement must see that they are implemented.

Such quotas are necessary to put some punch into anti-sex discrimination statutes, as shown by the statistics on women in the work force. Despite gains made during the last decade, the situation is still grim.

Between 1950 and 1975 the total number of employed women doubled. In 1975, women were 40 percent of the work force.

Yet the gap between women's and men's wages has *widened*. In 1955 women took home 64 percent of men's earnings. By 1974, the percentage had dropped to 57.

Despite women's growing numbers in the work force, they are still channeled, along with Blacks and Chicanos, into the lowest-paying jobs.

Between 1964 and 1975, women gained a paltry 2 percent of skilled craft jobs, reaching a total of one out of every twenty skilled workers.

For families supported solely by women, this job discrimination has devastating effects. One-third of such families are below the government's abysmally low poverty level. While the number of poor families headed by men has decreased in the last couple of decades, the number of poor families headed by women has grown.

Won through struggle

The principle of affirmative action was translated into reality only under pressure from the civil rights and women's movements in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The modest victories won were a giant step forward in the fight for equality.

One of the most important affirmative-action cases was the 1973 American Telephone and Telegraph Company settlement. Found guilty of discrimination against both Blacks and women, AT&T was ordered to cough up \$38 million in back pay and raises.

Specific goals for the hiring of women by AT&T were established—38 to 40 percent of inside craft jobs and 19 percent of outside jobs.

AT&T could legally junk this plan if

the Bakke decision is upheld.

Recently the spotlight was on the sacred white, male job trust in the construction industry.

Under the gun from a lawsuit demanding 20 percent of construction apprenticeships for women, the Labor Department set a timetable—admittedly as a legal "defense"—for government contractors. With just over 1 percent of skilled construction workers now female, the new guidelines would require that the percentage rise to 6.9 percent within the next three years.

If the Bakke ruling is not overturned, even this modest construction goal could be tossed out the window.

The state of Kentucky, where fewer than 1 percent of the 48,000 coal miners are women, has ordered coal companies to hire one woman for every two men until a 20 percent quota is reached.

Such a quota would quickly be dropped if the Bakke decision were allowed to stand.

Industry opposed

The owners of industry are dead set against opening up all-male trades and professions to women through affirmative-action quotas. The lower wages paid to women, their segregation in the worst-paying jobs, is an indispensable source of profits. And it helps keep down the wages of all workers.

Affirmative action is also a political question. It is the cutting edge of the struggle for full democratic rights. If the rising expectations of women, Blacks, Chicanos, and youth for a better life are not crushed, the whole structure of the profit system is in jeopardy.

If women think they deserve higher-paying jobs, then why not expand child-care services so women with children can work? If child care should be a right, what about pregnancy disability plans and abortion services, so that the woman's choice of whether or not to have a child cannot be used to discriminate against her at the work place?

The Carter administration is on a campaign against these demands. It is a battle to both take back gains won by women and to deepen the race and sex divisions that already exist in the working class.

For example, government economists have been on a campaign to blame high unemployment on "too many women" in the labor market. In reality, women's unemployment is going *up*, while that of white males has gone *down*.

The rulers of this country seek not only to pit women against men, but to foster divisions among the most exploited as well. The Clancy suit fits in perfectly with their strategy—making it appear that quotas for Blacks and other minorities are a hindrance, not an aid, to the fight for women's equality.

To counter this divide-and-rule strategy and push the struggle for affirmative action forward, a united campaign by the women's movement, the Black and Chicano movements, and the labor movement is needed.

At the recent New York State meeting of the National Organization for Women, former NOW president Karen DeCrow stressed that the "most important thing we can talk about today is the *Bakke* case."

NOW members were urged to join the October 8 protests planned nationwide against the *Bakke* ruling.

Continued on page 26

Avoids debate on 'Bakke'

CLUW reaffirms ERA, abortion stands

By Nancy Cole

WASHINGTON—More than 600 women gathered here September 17-18 for the third national convention of the Coalition of Labor Union Women. The nearly 400 delegates represented CLUW's current membership of 4,400.

This year's convention—the first to be delegated—was smaller than the previous two. A sizable number of the delegates were Black unionists.

Joyce Miller, from the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, was elected president by acclamation. Outgoing president Olga Madar was made "president emerita."

In her acceptance speech, Miller called on CLUW members to "organize, organize, organize." She pledged a revitalization of CLUW chapters and a drive for new members.

"Although our cause is union women," she added, "we in turn will help all working women, organized and unorganized. We will form coalitions with other women's groups."

The only contested election was that for second vice-president. Delegates nominated Chicago Teamster Clara Day to run against Velma Hill of the American Federation of Teachers. Day won by a two-to-one vote. All three CLUW vice-presidents elected are Black.

Convention organizers encouraged participation in the International Women's Year conference scheduled for Houston, November 18-21. In addition to a brief get-together for interested women after the convention adjourned, Carmen Delgado Votaw, chair of the delegates at-large committee of the IWY Commission, was invited to address the convention.

"We want the full participation of



Militant/Nancy Cole

CLUW President Joyce Miller pledges drive for new members.

labor-union women at our conference," Votaw said. "You are a very vital element of the movement of American women. You must all be there, you must make your voices heard."

Challenge for CLUW

Since the last national convention of CLUW in 1975, the battle against the rights and living standards of working-class women has escalated.

This presented a challenge and opportunity for the CLUW convention: to mold a program of action to tackle the drive against abortion rights, affirmative action, pregnancy benefits, and the Equal Rights Amendment.

The convention took steps toward that end by approving overwhelmingly several resolutions of importance to trade-union women.

These included a resolution that called on chapters and unions to "redouble their efforts in the struggle to ratify the ERA."



Delegates at Coalition of Labor Union Women convention



Militant/Nancy Cole

It urged CLUW "to work closely with other groups mobilizing support for ERA and where appropriate to establish ERA coalitions."

A resolution on the anti-abortion Hyde amendment reaffirmed CLUW's unconditional support to a woman's right to choose. It directed CLUW to make known its opposition to the Hyde amendment, and it condemned sterilization abuse.

Another resolution supported legislation requiring employers to include pregnancy benefits in disability plans and called on unions to negotiate such clauses in future contracts.

'Bakke' case

One issue of vital concern to women unionists, however, was shunted aside. The CLUW national leaders successfully prevented a resolution opposing the *Bakke* ruling from reaching the floor for debate.

The *Bakke* case, soon to be considered by the Supreme Court, is an all-out assault on affirmative action for women and oppressed nationalities. Although white, male Allan Bakke specifically attacks special admissions for Blacks and Chicanos in higher education, the case's outcome will have a major impact on affirmative action in education and on the job.

Many delegates here thought it crucial that an organization aspiring to represent all union women speak out loud and clear in support of affirmative action and against *Bakke*.

This sentiment was echoed by several of the guest speakers, who naturally assumed the *Bakke* case would be a topical concern at the CLUW meeting. Votaw, for example, began her remarks by noting the *Bakke* case was important as a "women's issue."

"We must try very hard to vigorously oppose any dilution of affirmative action," she said. "This is the lifeblood of our future as women and as minorities. . . . Every inch of ground we have covered is at stake."

A resolution putting CLUW on record against the *Bakke* decision was submitted prior to the convention by the Los Angeles CLUW chapter.

But the resolutions committee did not bring this or four other affirmative-action proposals to the floor. Instead, the committee proposed the convention reaffirm a 1975 resolution passed by the national executive board.

The 1975 statement was drawn up during a debate in CLUW over discriminatory layoffs. Many CLUW members felt the organization should call for protection of affirmative-action gains and condemn layoffs by strict seniority. Otherwise the "last-hired, first-fired" principle automatically drives out women and Black workers first.

But by a slim majority, the 1975

national executive board approved a resolution that ducked the strict-seniority-layoffs issue. That statement also took no stand on quotas, the central issue in the *Bakke* case.

Sentiment for discussion

At this year's convention, Cleveland delegate Jean Tussey, from the International Typographical Union, proposed that the *Bakke* resolution be considered as an amendment to the statement brought in by the resolutions committee. She was ruled out of order.

A motion later to suspend the rules to discuss the *Bakke* resolution was voted down, although it won considerable support.

Roberta Wood, a Chicago delegate from the United Steelworkers, proposed that a resolution she had submitted on affirmative action be amended to the 1975 statement.

Wood spoke of the importance of affirmative action for CLUW, and added, "Many of us got our jobs and are here only because of affirmative-action programs."

Her proposal denounced Supreme Court decisions requiring that victims of discrimination prove the employers' intent to discriminate. It urged measures to increase the effectiveness of the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission. And it called for a united movement of CLUW and women's, labor, and Black groups to further the fight for affirmative action.

With little opposition, the amendment passed, showing that the majority of delegates agreed a stronger statement in support of affirmative action was needed.

Unfortunately, so little time was set aside for resolutions that no further discussion of affirmative action took place.

The resistance by the CLUW leaders to confronting the *Bakke* issue reflected the pressure of the conservative labor bureaucracy, which opposes quotas. The failure of the convention to take an unequivocal stand against the *Bakke* decision is a contradiction for CLUW—an organization that has pledged to take the lead in fighting for affirmative action and pressuring the unions to follow suit.

What now?

How CLUW will now move forward to implement the resolutions it passed on the ERA, abortion rights, and affirmative action was not decisively settled by the convention.

If CLUW is to realize its goal of unifying all union women, it will have to reach out to those 5 million women with a program of action.

A major portion of this convention, however, was devoted to lobbying

Congress. A two-day legislative conference immediately preceded the convention and was pointed to as a significant highlight.

Notables such as AFL-CIO chief George Meany and Sen. Edward Kennedy addressed the legislative conference. Discussion centered around bills now before Congress, including those on pregnancy benefits, minimum wage, national health insurance, full employment, and labor law reform.

Scheduled into the two-day event was a lobbying trip to Capitol Hill.

The conference was modeled after similar lobbying efforts by the AFL-CIO and other labor organizations. Such efforts to coddle legislators, based on the idea that labor has "friends" in the Democratic and Republican parties, have failed to achieve victories for the unions, especially in the most recent period.

The participation of Meany in the legislative conference was pointed to by CLUW leaders as a sign of growing cooperation between union officials and CLUW.

"George Meany showed that CLUW had arrived," AFT member Pat Halpin declared in her convention report on the legislative conference.

She added that they had made Meany an honorary member of CLUW. After her report, AFT delegate Mary Ellen Riordan rose to praise Meany for his "help to women over the years, off and on." To some snickering and a few hisses, she added, "sometimes more, sometimes less."

Under another report, the constitution committee recommended that future conventions be nondelegated, open to all members of CLUW. There is strong sentiment in CLUW chapters for such a change.

But the proposal was defeated after some delegates argued that the "unions will treat us more seriously if we talk about delegated conventions." A few said that open conventions would be disruptive.

Perspectives for the fall

This fall's anti-*Bakke* protests, the continued campaign for abortion rights and the ERA, and the Houston IWY conference point to opportunities for CLUW.

With the government/industry campaign against working women continuing, and with growing resolve among union women to fight back, an organization such as CLUW has the potential to play an important role. Realizing this objective will require a vigorous campaign to mobilize union women in action and an uncompromising stand in defense of their rights.

Hits anti-boycott ads

Brewery union leader exposes Coors lies

By Alan Gummerson

GOLDEN, Colo.—The strike by Brewery Workers Local 366 against the Adolph Coors Company is now entering its seventh month. The union has called for a boycott of Coors beer. The company recently took out full-page ads in daily newspapers throughout the West in an effort to influence potential boycotters.

The "Militant" interviewed Ken DeBey, business agent for Local 366. DeBey characterized the "facts" presented by the Coors ads as "twisted facts at best."

Question. In the ad, Coors claims to have an excellent record of hiring minorities and females. Would you say that's true?

Answer. I would say that they have made some moves in this direction. They have tried to clean up their act. I remember they wouldn't comply with the Civil Rights Act of 1964 until the late sixties when the federal government forced them to begin hiring Blacks and Chicanos. They did not hire any women until after the Colorado Equal Rights Amendment was passed in 1972. Still, of those people the union represented in the bargaining unit at the beginning of the strike, only 6 percent were Chicanos, 4 percent Blacks, and 3 percent women.

Q. What is Coors's relationship with Chicano groups?

A. The American GI Forum and LULAC (League of United Latin American Citizens) had a boycott of Coors for several years because of the company's discriminatory practices. The GI Forum has again instituted this boycott.

In the case of LULAC, Coors hired a guy named Joe Benitos, who was president of LULAC, and made him part of management so he could fight some of these boycotts. Coors also gave LULAC \$50,000 when they called off their boycott.

Q. Didn't the GI Forum lose some money for supporting the boycott?

A. Yes, a Coors foundation offered them \$50,000, but withdrew the offer in May when the forum supported the boycott.

Union busting at Coors

Q. Let's move on to Coors's relations with unions. In trying to prove that those relations are good ones, Coors argues that it has not faced a strike by brewery workers in twenty years. Why have there been no strikes?

A. One reason is that Coors beat the brewery workers in the last strike, and it's taken us a long time to gain the strength and belief in ourselves to take on the company again. It isn't that we have had good labor relations. It isn't because we have had a good contract. It's because we've never felt we've had the strength to take on the company.

Q. The company claims that the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) has not found it guilty of

So, they've asked you to boycott Coors beer Before you do, consider these facts

On April 5, 1977, some 1,472 members of Brewery Workers Local 366 walked off their jobs at the Coors Brewery in Golden, Colorado. (The union represented 25% of all the employees at the brewery.) The strike was called by the union leaders after they rejected the company's new contract proposal.

The strike had little effect. More than 85% of the striking workers have returned to their jobs and the brewery is in full production. Although the company and union have met repeatedly, negotiations remain deadlocked.

Since the overwhelming majority of Local 366 members aren't striking, the union is now spreading false propaganda to try to persuade consumers to boycott Coors beer.

We simply cannot allow these falsehoods to go unchallenged. So, we've printed this to make the truth known. We have an obligation to our valued customers, distributors, employees, retailers, suppliers and shareholders to set the record straight.

For additional or more detailed information please write: Adolph Coors Company, Dept. 802, Golden, Colorado 80401. We'll appreciate hearing your views and will be happy to answer your questions.

Securely,
Bill Coors
Bill Coors, Chairman of the Board

August 1977

Coors Has Excellent Record in Hiring Minorities & Females

Local 366 claims Coors discriminates, but the facts are:

• Coors has received awards from minority groups, veterans organizations and many others for its efforts to hire, train and advance minorities and women including veterans, handicapped, and ex-offenders.

• Coors work force includes 13% minorities and 17% women. Of this, 7% are Spanish-Surnamed. This shows Coors has one of the best hiring records of any major company in the Rocky Mountain region.

• Coors is certified as an Equal Opportunity Employer by the U.S. Government. This federally approved Affirmative Action Program has been in effect continuously since 1972.

• Coors has job openings with over 80 minority specialties, enters the help of minority employment agencies and recruits minorities through paid ads.

• Since 1968, Coors has had a special program to hire and train ex-offenders and ex-convicts.

• Minorities are members of Coors management.

• Five Coors distributions are owned by Spanish-Surnamed people.

• Coors works with many groups to advance women including Better Jobs for Women, American Society of Women and many others.

• Coors contributes funds to groups like Latin American Educational Foundation, League of United Latin American Citizens, United Negro College Fund, NAACP and many others to help minorities and women.

• No court has ever found Coors guilty of discrimination.

Unions Have For Many Years Represented Coors Employees

Local 366 claims Coors is anti-union, but the facts are:

• Coors has the best labor record of any major U.S. brewer. Local 366 has not gone on strike at Coors for the past 20 years.

• Coors has recently signed three-year contracts with Operating Engineers Local 9 and Laborers Union Local 750—both of which are affiliated with the Building Trades Council and the AFL-CIO. Also, Coors has over the years signed contracts with the Brewery Workers Union which went on strike.

• Local 366 has had a union shop contract with Coors since 1954. But now Local 366 doesn't even have the support of the majority of its own members. Of the 1,472 workers who lost their jobs, 965 or more than 65% of the total membership—have crossed the picket lines and returned to their jobs. Only 507 people are on strike.

• The National Labor Relations Board has not found Coors guilty of any unfair labor practices.

• Each year thousands of people apply for jobs at Coors. The company has the reputation of being one of the best employers in the entire Rocky Mountain region.

• The gross average annual income of a Coors production worker on universal shift schedule is \$19,500 per year, plus many fringe benefits.

• Two months before the strike, Coors put into effect the increase in wages and fringe benefits it had offered Local 366 as these

employees wouldn't be deprived of well-deserved increases because of stalled negotiations.

• Coors does not force employees to take physical checks. Like many other companies, Coors uses pre-employment polygraph tests and physical checks to help evaluate job applicants. Both the company and Local 366 have used the polygraph in arbitration cases to get at the truth. Only questions relevant to the job are asked. No questions about sexual background or preference.

• Coors has achieved the utmost achievement in the art of brewing. Since 1959, Coors has replaced old fashioned hand bottling with technologically advanced brewing, packaging and distribution methods. This produces a beer equal or better in quality and shelf life than pasteurized beer.

• No other brewer can match Coors' sanitary procedures and stringent quality control.

• Coors beer is as pure as beer can be. It contains no additives or preservatives.

• Of course, Coors beer meets all Food & Drug Administration standards.

• Coors conserves enough fuel to heat 13,000 Colorado homes each year by utilizing the heat from pasteurization.

Other Questions?

It is impossible for us to reply here to all the falsehoods being circulated about Coors. So, if you have questions which aren't covered here, or would like more detailed information, please write:

Adolph Coors Company, Dept. 802, Golden, Colorado 80401.

August 1977
Adolph Coors Company • Golden, Colorado 80401

Coors's antiunion ad appeared in many newspapers

unfair labor practices. What has the NLRB done?

A. The NLRB regional director has filed five complaints against Coors. The hearings on them have been held, and we are just waiting for the administrative law judge to make his decision.

Also, Coors says in that ad that they are not antiunion. But when you run down their record you find that they have destroyed seventeen building-trades unions at Coors over the last fifteen or twenty years, unions that have been decertified at Coors.

Q. The Coors ad mentions that 65 percent of the members of the Brewery Workers union have gone back to work. Why do you think those union members went back?

A. The basic reason was the intimidation campaign that the company ran on them—through letters sent to them when we first went out on strike declaring that they were going to lose their jobs, that they were going to be permanently replaced, and that they were never going to have employment at Coors again. I think it was because of the scare tactics Coors used.

Gag rules & lie detectors

Q. In another part of the ad Coors argues that its employees are treated fairly. Would you agree?

A. No. For example, the contract says the company has the right to discharge you if you make a disparaging remark about the employer, even if you

are off company premises. And they have done it in the past. We also find the polygraph (lie detector) is a very restrictive thing.

Q. Well, the ad says workers are not forced to take lie-detector tests.

A. Under the contract, if the company has reason to believe you have committed certain acts, they have the right to submit you to a polygraph test. Or you are terminated.

Q. Coors claims in the ad that they don't ask questions about sexual preference and background. Is that true?

A. They have in the past. I personally took a polygraph test when I hired into the company in March 1963. I was asked, "Have you had any deviate sexual relationships?" We find now that the question they ask is, "Have you ever done anything in your past which would be embarrassing to the company?" That's not job-related at all. It's none of their damn business!

Lying about wage scales

Q. The ad claims that the average annual income of a Coors production worker on universal shift schedule is \$19,500 per year. What is the universal shift schedule, and do workers really make that much?

A. On universal shift you work seven days in a row, starting with Monday, and then get the following Monday off. Then you work seven more days in a row, getting Tuesday and Wednesday off. Then you work another seven days and get Thursday through Sunday off, unless they force you to work overtime that weekend—which they have the right to do under the contract.

Those days off are not guaranteed. And to make anything near \$19,500 you would have to work an awful lot of overtime. Who could stand a pace like that?

But wages have nothing to do with this strike. The issue is the company's philosophy that as long as we pay you the bucks, we've got the right to control everything else you do.

Issues Coors won't mention

Q. What are the issues the Coors ad leaves out?

A. At the first negotiating session after the strike began the company proposed an open-shop clause, even though the union has had a union-security agreement with Coors since 1934, and 92.4 percent of the Brewery Workers had voted to retain it in December.

Q. What effect would that have?

A. With an open shop, a person in the bargaining unit does not have to pay dues or tender any money toward the representation that the union is required by law to provide to him. With these free riders, the union would not have enough money to take up grievance, arbitration, and legal procedures to protect the workers.

Q. So an open shop would sap the union's strength by depleting its funds?

A. Very definitely. And then Coors says he's not antiunion.

The ad also doesn't address itself to seniority rights. Coors has unilaterally stripped the employees of a lot of their seniority rights, which protect older workers.

It doesn't address itself to the retirement program, which we are trying to upgrade. Right now a person with forty years' service retires with about \$176 per month. Coors doesn't tell the public those issues.

Q. One last question. A group identifying itself as the New World Liberation Front has engaged in a series of bombings and attempted bombings, both in California and Colorado, against Coors distributors. What is the union's opinion of that kind of activity?

A. Well, of course the union does not condone that kind of thing. If groups want to help us in our struggle with Coors they should go out and discourage 5,000 or 10,000 people from drinking Coors beer through spreading the word on what the issues are and that there is a boycott on. Blowing up buildings won't help. What is needed is organizing, not terrorism.



Los Angeles rally to support boycott of Coors beer



CARTER

U.S.-Israeli 'feud': no threat to anti-Palestinian alliance



DAYAN

By Peter Seidman

What appeared at first to be the most serious public feud in years between the U.S. and Israeli governments was quickly mended October 4.

The argument was sparked by a joint statement issued by Washington and Moscow October 1, and rejected by Tel Aviv "with both hands." The Israeli regime claimed the declaration threatened Israel's survival and violated private understandings with the United States.

Describing the mood in Jerusalem, *New York Times* correspondent William Farrell reported that "the depression and gloom, the anger and resentment among Israeli officials and politicians are palpable."

Considering the near-hysterical reaction in Israel, the "concessions" to the Arab side supposedly made by Carter are meager indeed. The sole substantive change in the U.S.-Soviet declaration compared to previous statements was that instead of Palestinian "interests," the "legitimate rights of the Palestinian people" are now referred to.

Nevertheless, the October 3 *New York Times* reported that Israeli officials claimed that the declaration

"marked a step toward imposition of a Middle East solution from outside, which Israel has long rejected; leaned toward the concept of a separate Palestinian state, which Israel also rejects; and tended to favor the Palestine Liberation Organization, which the Israelis have labeled 'murderous' and with which they refuse to negotiate."

But the U.S.-Soviet statement never mentioned the PLO, and it left the "legitimate rights" of the Palestinian people undefined. Carter underlined this point October 4 in a speech to the United Nations designed to calm Zionist fears.

"How these rights [of the peoples of the area] are to be defined and implemented is, of course, for the interested parties to decide in detailed negotiations, and not for us to dictate," he said.

While making no mention of the PLO in his UN speech, Carter stressed that "the commitment of the United States to Israel's security is unquestionable."

Although later meetings between Carter and Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan appeared to patch up the frictions between the two governments

for the time being, there will undoubtedly be further instances of disagreement between Washington and Tel Aviv as Carter's Middle East maneuvers continue.

The main concern of the Zionists is to keep the Arab land they conquered in 1967 and to resist with all their might any idea that the Palestinians have rights as a people. The idea of Palestinian national rights directly challenges the basis of the Israeli state, which was built through the expulsion of the Palestinians from their homeland.

As one Israeli official told *Times* reporter Farrell, "We hang onto [previous UN statements on the Middle East] with all our strength, because they say nothing about the Palestinians."

Washington, on the other hand, approaches the problem of the Middle East from a broader perspective. Carter has to contend with increasing international pressure around the issue of Palestinian human rights.

Moreover, while recognizing that in the long run Israel is the only stable base for imperialism in the region, the U.S. has no desire to reject the help offered by the Soviet bureaucracy and

the conservative Arab regimes.

By dangling the prospect of U.S. pressure for an Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories before the Arab regimes, Carter has been able to get these regimes to put pressure on the PLO to recognize the Israeli state. Moscow, as part of its policy of détente, has also been pressuring the Palestinians along these lines.

Already, this campaign has had some effect. After discussing the Soviet-American declaration for four hours, a meeting of PLO leaders, including Yassir Arafat, issued a statement proclaiming that "the declaration gives rise to the feeling that a genuine effort has been made to insure a just and permanent peace in the Middle East."

But such a peace can only be achieved with the victory of the struggle by the Palestinian masses to liberate their homeland, *all of it*, from the Zionist conquerors who stole it.

Whatever short-range conflicts of interest may arise between Washington and Tel Aviv—and no matter how Israel may use theatrics to enhance its bargaining position—the two countries are united in opposition to that just struggle.

Tsemel touring U.S. on Palestinian rights

By Peter Seidman

The increasingly prominent reports, such as the one in the June 19 London *Sunday Times*, that Israel regularly tortures Palestinian political prisoners, are becoming a growing embarrassment to the Zionist regime and its supporters in Washington.

"It was reported in the Israeli press that Carter even asked Menahem Begin about these reports during their secret July meeting at the White House, when the Israeli prime minister visited Washington," Lea Tsemel told me in an interview October 1. Tsemel is a prominent Israeli attorney who has defended Palestinian prisoners.

"One important paper, *Maariv*, even accused me and Felicia Langer, another attorney who defends Palestinian prisoners, of being the main source of the information that got to Carter!" Tsemel continued.

"Of course, this is not true, although I do publicize as much information as I can. I do hope that in my tour of the United States during the next month I can open as many eyes and ears here as possible to the extent of Israeli government violations of Palestinian human rights."

Tsemel will be speaking on "Political Repression in Israel, an Israeli Jew Speaks Out for Palestinian Human Rights."

Tsemel is well qualified to speak on this subject, as she herself has been



Militant/Susan Ellis

ISRAELI ATTORNEY LEA TSEMEL: accused of being 'champion of the enemies of the state.'

victimized by the Israeli government.

This summer the Israeli Supreme Court ordered that she could no longer represent Israeli soldiers before military tribunals because she was "a champion of the enemies of the state."

The Zionist authorities launched a vicious red-baiting attack against Tsemel, accusing her of being part of a "Trotskyite terrorist international" with links to the Japanese Red Army Faction.

Tsemel, who sympathizes with the views of the Revolutionary Communist League, a sister organization of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party, denies these charges. She thinks the Israeli government compiled them from slanders concocted by the FBI in Washington.

Tsemel says these slanders are a government smoke screen designed to cover up the real issue: Israel's brutality and terrorism against the Palestinians.

In an effort to publicize these human rights violations, Tsemel has authored numerous reports. Following the release of her "Detentions of Palestinian Youths in East Jerusalem" in December 1976, Tsemel was invited

to testify before the United Nations Commission on Human Rights in Geneva, Switzerland.

Tsemel appeared before this commission in May. She then toured Switzerland, France, Germany, and Great Britain speaking out in defense of Palestinian human rights.

Tsemel, thirty-two years old, was born in Israel. She served in the Israeli army in 1963-64. She broke with Zionism after the 1967 war.

Tsemel's tour schedule in the United States is:

Albany, N.Y.	Oct. 5
Pittsburgh	Oct. 6
Philadelphia	Oct. 7
Atlanta	Oct. 9-11
Washington, D.C.	Oct. 12-13
Houston	Oct. 14-15
Boston	Oct. 17-19
Detroit	Oct. 21-23
Los Angeles	Oct. 24-25
San Francisco Bay Area	Oct. 26-27
Seattle	Oct. 28
New York City	Oct. 30

For more information, contact: Viewpoint Speakers Bureau, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Telephone: (212) 741-0690.

Leader of Black party speaks out

Black liberation struggle in Costa Rica

From Intercontinental Press

[Following are excerpts from an interview that appeared in the August 1977 issue of *Qué Hacer?*, the monthly newspaper of the Organización Socialista de los Trabajadores (Socialist Workers Organization), a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Costa Rica. The introduction is by *Qué Hacer?* The translation and footnotes are by *Intercontinental Press*.]

[We are publishing this interview with Guillermo Joseph Wignal, who has long been a revolutionary militant and fighter for the rights of his oppressed people. Although Wignal was not a member of the OST at the time of the interview, our party unconditionally defends all the positions that appear in this interview, and we take them as our own.]

Question. We understand that your history is one of a revolutionary-socialist fighter.

I am a revolutionary-socialist militant because I believe that only socialist revolution can eliminate the conditions of misery that capitalism imposes on a world scale. But I am also a Black militant in the struggle for the emancipation of my people, who are oppressed by capitalist society.

Q. In describing your struggle, you draw a distinction between racial discrimination and the exploitation of workers. Don't you think both struggles are the same?

A. Within the world political-sociological panorama, we have to start to analyze the Black problem in capitalist and imperialist societies. The main goal should be to determine clearly the role of the Black struggle in the process of world socialist revolution.

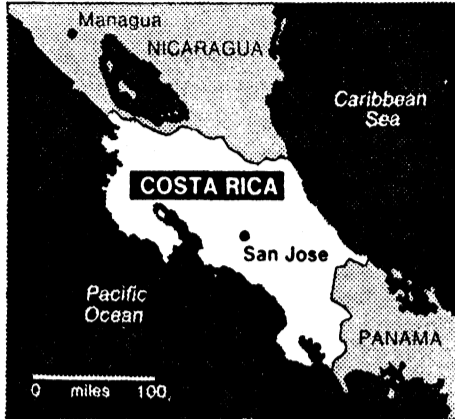
Racial discrimination against Blacks has been and continues to be one of the basic elements that keeps the social organization at the service of the bosses. So an analysis of this situation can in no way be limited to the dimension of racism or sectarianism.¹

Workers are exploited in all capitalist societies, in the most dictatorial as well as in those that preserve some democratic forms won by the workers. In the same way, Blacks are racially discriminated against in all capitalist countries—and for the same purpose. Costa Rica is no exception to this tragic rule.

This is particularly evident in the countries to which Blacks were brought against their will to serve as laborers. In this context, Blacks as a people are an integral part of the marginal social sectors exploited by capitalism and world imperialism.

Blacks are exploited as workers and as Blacks. We are the last to get work and the first to be dismissed. Working conditions are the worst, and wages are the lowest.

1. Wignal uses "sectarianism" to refer to divisions within the Black community based on the fact that many Costa Rican Blacks are immigrants from various other countries.



New York Times

But in the case of Blacks this situation of marginality and exploitation has a more acute character because Blacks are truly ignorant of their origins. Their ancestors were cruelly ripped from their African homes and transported across many, many miles to be inhumanly sold as slaves on the American market.

In that passage from Africa to the slave markets, the total number of Blacks that succumbed under the brutality of their abductors is unknown, although it is known that out of five million taken from Africa, only two million arrived in the Americas.

Although it is capitalist society that exploits workers and discriminates against Blacks, and therefore neither the one nor the other can completely achieve liberation without destroying capitalist society, Blacks have their own special problems as Blacks. In their struggle they confront capitalist

the proper languages of their culture. In other words, Blacks have been forced to speak the language and practice the culture of their masters. Nevertheless, Blacks do have their own languages: Patois and Creole. They have music, songs, and dances that are part of their true culture. They also have foods, celebrations, forms of dress, and ways of relating to each other that identify them as a distinct group in Costa Rican society. Capitalism in Costa Rica does everything in its power to make Blacks lose their identity. Blacks are taught to hate themselves and to hate others as well.

Hatred, racism, and sectarianism have been the traditional weapons used internationally by capitalism and imperialism to keep workers and peoples of different races divided. In the case of Blacks, there is serious sectarianism that divides Caribbeans, North Americans, Latin Americans, Africans, and Europeans. Such sectarianism has been fostered and fed by those who have been the masters; it corresponds to interests foreign to those of Blacks.

This has made fraternity, solidarity, and international unity of Blacks around their own interests as a people more difficult. It impedes the development of full consciousness of their social condition as part of the vast legion of exploited and marginalized workers in the dominant society.

Q. What is the way forward, the alternative for Blacks in Costa Rica?

Guillermo Joseph Wignal

Guillermo Joseph Wignal is the founder and general secretary of the Partido Auténtico Limonense, a Black political party recently formed in Limon Province, Costa Rica. The large population of primarily English-speaking Black people in Limon Province descends from West Indian Blacks brought there as laborers during the nineteenth century.

A trade-union and political activist for more than twenty years, Wignal



began his political work as a supporter of the Acción Democrática Popular.

He left this group, disgusted with its role as a front for the class-collaborationist politics of the Costa Rican Communist Party. Wignal then became a founding leader of the Partido Revolucionario Auténtico, a Castroist guerrilla organization. He has since broken with this current as well. Wignal is now a member of the Organización Socialista de los Trabajadores (Socialist Workers Organization), a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Costa Rica.

society both as workers and as Blacks. This is not to say that Blacks subordinate their own struggles to workers' struggles, but rather that we struggle to defend our interests as Blacks and in that way participate in the process of overthrowing capitalism.

Q. How do you view Blacks in Costa Rican society?

A. Blacks in Costa Rica are an oppressed national minority. They have all the characteristics of a nationality. As direct and indirect descendants of slaves, American, Latin American, and Costa Rican Blacks do not really know their history, their culture, their original language. The languages that they now have to use for communication—Spanish, Portuguese, English, French, or whatever—are not

A. A moment arrives for any exploited and marginalized group of people when inaction and silence become a form of betrayal of their emancipation. Many Black peoples today have come to understand this. They have ceased being silent and inactive, and have taken the road of revolutionary social action, with the result that those who were the masters are no longer.

In Costa Rica, the Blacks most conscious of their past have well understood that it is time to take action for the future—not only as Blacks, but also as workers, as the most marginal and exploited sector in our country. They have understood very well that it is by no means certain that the Partido de Liberación Nacional [the ruling bourgeois party] will emancipate them and give them opportunities to study,

to work, to get ahead. They also know that if they have won anything at all it has always been by defying discrimination, dogmatism, and sectarianism—by struggling for the right to be Black.

They have also seen how the so-called revolutionary parties, out of prejudice or because of complicity with the parties of the ruling classes, have failed to come to grips with the problem of the Black nation and have thus contributed to the loss of Black identity.

Q. So you don't see a political solution to the Black problem in the workers parties?

A. The Black struggle forms a part of the struggle of the oppressed against the capitalist oppressors. In this sense, it is linked to the need for a political leadership that would struggle consistently for socialism.

The recent birth and development of the OST has awakened enormous interest among Black revolutionists. The consistent and educational way the OST has defended revolutionary principles, not just in the abstract, but by seeking to link up with the struggles of oppressed sectors—not only workers, but also women and Blacks—by concerning itself with their special problems.

In face of the vacuum of revolutionary leadership, the existence of the OST and its positions present the serious possibility that it can be transformed into the embryo of a revolutionary party to fill that vacuum. In that sense, I have seriously posed for myself the problem of strengthening and building it. That is the very context in which I have agreed to this interview.

Q. What is the present political situation among Blacks?

A. Not all Blacks who feel oppression are conscious of the need to destroy capitalism, or of the need to have the right to form our own movement, a Black party; to identify ourselves as Blacks, since we suffer the same oppression and have the same need to struggle. No one can impose on Blacks the idea that in order to struggle around their own demands they have to belong to a workers party, and forget their own organizations as Blacks. It is necessary to break with all ruling-class sectors, so that the oppression of Blacks will be seen more clearly as part of their condition as workers.

A vigorous and healthy Black political movement is coming to life in Costa Rica. What is being posed is not power for Blacks, but power for the people. In other words, the movement in progress has an eminently revolutionary and socialist content, since it correctly tries to place the struggle for the rights and emancipation of Costa Rican Blacks in the context of the struggle for the rights and emancipation of the whole sector of exploited and marginalized workers.

I struggle to build a revolutionary party, and I also struggle to build an independent Black movement—one in which all Blacks, socialist or not, can be represented. These activities are not incompatible; on the contrary—they are profoundly complementary.

Dominican gov't frees Claudio Tavarez

By Judy White

[The following is an English translation of an article scheduled to appear in the next issue of *Perspectiva Mundial*.]

An important victory for democratic rights in the Dominican Republic was won on September 30, when Judge Sergio Rodríguez Pimentel ruled that Claudio Tavárez was not guilty of "subversion."

Tavárez's case went to court September 27, at which time the prosecuting attorney, Reynaldo Pared Díaz, in a total reversal of the authorities' earlier stance, asked that all charges be dropped against Tavárez whom, he said, had not committed any crime.

Tavárez, a Dominican teacher prominent in activities to defend democratic rights, was accused of violating three Dominican anticommunist statutes by "introducing a far-reaching plan of agitation, mobilizing the masses of the communist parties, and encouraging the youth to commit disorderly acts directed against public and private property."

Tavárez was arrested in the Santo Domingo airport September 9. The materials used by the police as the pretext for the arrest and indictment were copies in his possession of *Perspectiva Mundial*, a Spanish-language fortnightly magazine published in New York. Tavárez was freed on a bail of 50,000 pesos (US\$50,000). Bail had originally been set at 200,000 pesos.

Protest in Santo Domingo against this violation of democratic rights built with unusual speed. The September 18 issue of the Dominican daily *Despertar* described the arrest and charges as "one more blow against the precarious freedoms enjoyed by the Dominican people."

The unsigned article continued:

It has been pointed out that the use of the term "subversive" to describe any sort of literature is nothing more than a way to prevent the people from getting ideas that differ from those held by the current administration.

Editorials in the September 21 and 22 issues of the most important Dominican daily, *El Caribe*, condemned Police Chief Neit Rafael Nivar Seijas's action in bringing charges against Tavárez and urged him to withdraw the indictment.

The Asociación Dominicana de Diarios (Dominican Press Association), alerted to the arrest of Tavárez by a September 10 telegram from the editor of *Perspectiva Mundial*, took up the case. In addition to moving immediately on the magazine's request that the association help win Tavárez's release, the organization made its offices available to *Perspectiva Mundial* supporters and civil libertarians in the city to organize a defense effort.

Protest telegrams were sent to Dominican authorities from organizations and individuals that Tavárez had worked with in the United States—the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), the Puerto Rican Association for Community Affairs (PRACA), the New York-based Dominican human rights group Derechos Humanos, and others.

In view of the rising protest against the violation of democratic rights, Nivar Seijas contacted the official distributors of *Perspectiva Mundial* on the island, Enrique de León and José Díaz, and offered to return the two packages of the magazine the police had seized from Tavárez.

The victory means it will be possible for supporters of *Perspectiva Mundial* to carry on in the way Tavárez indicated in a telephone interview with the magazine shortly after his release on bail:

"We will continue to sell the magazine. We will deliver it to the subscribers, and we plan to continue moving forward in increasing sales of the magazine. . . .

"We have and will continue to exercise our right [to sell *Perspectiva Mundial*] as we have been for the last nine months."

World news notes

Two Czech dissidents sentenced to prison

Vladimir Lastuvka and Ales Machacek have been sentenced to three-and-a-half years in prison for distributing copies of Charter 77 at a factory. Charter 77 is an appeal calling on the government of Czechoslovakia to enforce civil liberties guaranteed by the Czech constitution. (For the full text of the appeal, see the February 25 issue of the *Militant*.) Some 500 people have signed Charter 77.

Pakistan gets extended martial law . . . instead of elections

On October 1 Pakistan's military ruler, Gen. Mohammad Zia ul-Haq, canceled the elections scheduled for October 18 and extended martial law indefinitely. "I have great respect for the institution of elections," said Zia, "but I cannot allow the country to face disaster for their sake."

In July Zia took over the government to stop nationwide protests and strikes against the vote-rigging that occurred during last March's election. At the time Zia claimed he was "purely a caretaker" trying to prevent "a civil war, a free-for-all" until elections were held in October.

Israeli terrorist really knows his job

In mid-September Gideon Paglin became adviser on combating "Arab terrorism" for Israeli Prime Minister Menahem Begin. Paglin was chief of operations for the Irgun Zvai Leumi, the Zionist terrorist outfit. He planned and led the 1946 terrorist attack on the King David Hotel in Jerusalem that killed ninety-one people and injured forty-five others.

Vietnam finally admitted to United Nations

On September 20 the United Nations General Assembly approved the admission of Vietnam to the UN. Three times in the past the United States government—after waging war on Vietnam for more than a decade—vetoed that country's UN membership.

Hard blows, not hunger strike, killed Biko

An autopsy has shown that Steve Biko, the Black consciousness leader who died September 12 while being held by South Africa's police, was severely beaten. According to the autopsy, Biko had several broken ribs and inflammation of the kidneys. He died of brain damage, the result of a blow to the head. The South African government had previously claimed that Biko, thirty years old, died from a one-week hunger strike. The murder has already touched off international protests.



Biko's widow Nsiki and friends at ceremony before funeral

Bonn law isolates political prisoners

On October 1 West Germany enacted a new law that puts about ninety prisoners suspected or convicted of "terrorist" crimes into total isolation. The prisoners cannot even meet with lawyers. Supposedly the isolation period is limited to thirty days, but it can be renewed.

The new law was rushed through parliament in just three days, in the wake of the hysteria whipped up by the government after the kidnapping of a West German industrialist. All four political parties in parliament, including the Social Democrats, supported the law.

French CP pleases arms merchant

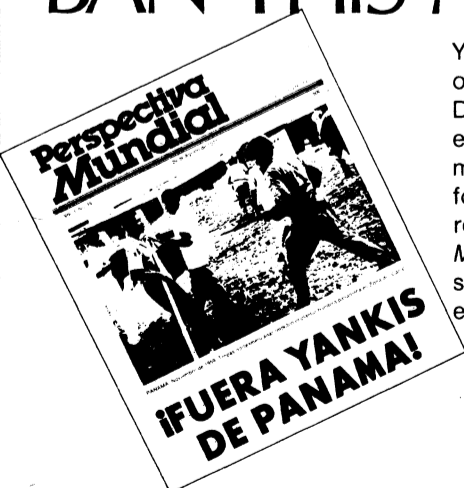
Retired air force Brigadier-General Pierre-Marie Gallois, now a top executive for Avions Marcel Dassault, the main French arms manufacturer, likes the French Communist Party.

According to Agence France-Presse, Gallois told the Lille CP daily *Liberté* July 10 that "President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing was adopting perilous military policies."

"Ex-Brig. Gen. Gallois said he was very pleased by the French Communist party's stand in favor of an independent French nuclear strike force."

"The reason, he told *Liberté*, was that this policy establishes a strict correlation between the idea of national independence which the Communist party puts forward and the instruments [needed to preserve] this national independence" (*Mainichi Daily News*, July 11).

WHY DID DOMINICAN AUTHORITIES TRY TO BAN THIS MAGAZINE?



You can read the article above and find out the reasons given by the Santo Domingo police. Or you can read the exciting new Spanish-language biweekly magazine *Perspectiva Mundial* and decide for yourself. Our growing number of readers tell us they like *Perspectiva Mundial* because it gives them news and socialist analysis they can't get anywhere else. Articles like:

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Calendar

ALBUQUERQUE, N. MEX.

REVERSE THE 'BAKKE' DECISION—DEFEND AFFIRMATIVE ACTION. Speakers: representatives from NAACP, National Lawyers Guild, Raza Unida Party, SCAR. Fri., Oct. 14, 8 p.m. UNM Student Union Bldg. Rm. 231C. Donation: \$1. Ausp: SWP, YSA. For more information call (505) 256-1796.

BALTIMORE

ABORTION: A WOMAN'S RIGHT TO CHOOSE. Fri., Oct. 14, 8 p.m. 2117 N. Charles St. Donation: 71. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (301) 547-0668.

BOSTON: ROXBURY

THE UNWANTED: CARTER'S ATTACK ON UNDOCUMENTED WORKERS. Film: *The Unwanted*. Speakers: Marie Rivera, U. of Conn. Puerto Rican Student Union, SWP; Herman Hernández, staff member, Boston Public Education Program. Fri., Oct. 14, 8 p.m. 612 Blue Hill Ave., Dorchester. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 288-0753.

UNEMPLOYMENT: THE DILEMMA FACING BLACK YOUTH. Fri., Oct. 21, 8 p.m. 612 Blue Hill Ave., Dorchester. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 288-0753.

CHICAGO: SOUTH SIDE

NINE MONTHS OF JIMMY CARTER: MORE UNEMPLOYMENT, INFLATION & RACISM. Speaker: Thabo Ntweng, member of Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, SWP. Fri., Oct. 14, 7:30 p.m. 2251 E. 71st St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 643-5520.

CINCINNATI

WHAT REALLY HAPPENED BEHIND WASHINGTON'S CLOSED DOORS: THE ATTACKS ON THE MOVEMENTS FOR SOCIAL CHANGE. Speakers: John Stiller, SWP candidate for city council; speakers from the ACLU, All-African People's

Revolutionary Party, National Lawyers Guild, and U. of Cincinnati Law Women. Fri., Oct. 14, 8 p.m. 970 E. McMillan. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (513) 751-2636.

DENVER

NUCLEAR ENERGY AND CORPORATE POWER. Speakers: Morey Wolfson, Rocky Flats Action Group; Jeff Hamill, SWP. Fri., Oct. 14, 7:30 p.m. 916 Broadway. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (303) 837-1018.

DETROIT: WESTSIDE

REVERSE THE 'BAKKE' DECISION—DEFEND AFFIRMATIVE ACTION. Fri., Oct. 14, 8 p.m. 18415 Wyoming. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 341-6436.

HOUSTON

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN DINNER AND RALLY. Speakers: Diane Sarge, SWP candidate for mayor; Willie Mae Reid, 1976 SWP vice-presidential candidate. Sat., Oct. 15, cocktails 5:30 p.m.; dinner 6:30 p.m.; rally 8 p.m. Green Leaf Cafe, 2602 Navigation. Donation: \$3.50. Ausp: Houston Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (713) 526-1082.

KANSAS CITY, MO.

WHAT'S BEHIND THE PANAMA CANAL TREATY? Speaker: David Walters, SWP. Fri., Oct. 14, 8 p.m. 4715A Troost. Donation: 71. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

MINNEAPOLIS

MINNESOTA ABORTION RIGHTS UNDER ATTACK: HOW TO FIGHT BACK. Fri., Oct. 14, 8 p.m. 23 E. Lake St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 825-6663.

NEW YORK CITY

HUMAN RIGHTS AT HOME AND ABROAD. Speakers: Leonid Plyushch, former Soviet political prisoner; Martin Sostre, former U.S. political prisoner; Robert Maurer, speaking on Wilmington Ten case; representative, Antifascist Committee of Chileans in Exile; others. Tues., Oct. 11, 7:30 p.m. Washington Square Methodist Church, 133 W. 4th

St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 982-8214.

NEW YORK: THE BRONX

CHICAGO BUSING STRUGGLE: AN EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT. Speaker: Peter Seidman, *Militant* staff writer. Fri., Oct. 14, 7:30 p.m. 2271 Morris Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (212) 365-6652.

NEW YORK: BROOKLYN

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION ON TRIAL: THE 'BAKKE' CASE. Speakers: Lou Howort, member, AFT, SWP; representative from SCAR; others. Fri., Oct. 14, 8 p.m. 220-222 Utica Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 773-0250.

PHILADELPHIA: WEST PHILADELPHIA

ATTACKS ON WOMEN'S RIGHTS. Speakers: Mary Hoover, professor at U. of Penn.; Rashida Abdullahad, SWP; others. Fri., Oct. 14, 8 p.m. 218 S. 45th St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) EV7-2451.

PHOENIX, ARIZ.

WHY WE NEED SOCIALISM. Speaker: Peter Camejo, Southwest field organizer, SWP. Fri., Oct. 14, 8 p.m. 314 E. Taylor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (602) 255-0450.

PORTLAND

THE 60TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION: ITS MEANING FOR TODAY. Speaker: Tim Wohlforth, first YSA national secretary. Fri., Oct. 14, 8 p.m. 3928 N. Williams St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 288-7860.

THE STUDENT MOVEMENT, 1960-1977: A HISTORY OF THE YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE. A series of three classes. Speakers: Tim Wohlforth and Tony Thomas. Sat., Oct. 15, 11 a.m. Origins of the YSA; 1:30 p.m. The YSA and the civil rights movement; 3:30 p.m. The YSA and the antiwar movement. Rm. 294 Smith Center, Portland State U. Donation: \$1 per session. Ausp: YSA. For more information call (503) 288-7860.

ST. LOUIS: NORTH SIDE

DESEGREGATION ON TRIAL IN ST. LOUIS. Speakers: James DeClue, chairperson, St. Louis NAACP, Educational Committee; Minnie Liddell, Northside Concerned Parents; Glenn White, chairperson, St. Louis YSA. Fri., Oct. 14, 8 p.m. 4875 Natural Bridge. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (314) 381-0044.

ST. LOUIS: WEST END

TRIBUTE TO STEVE BIKO & SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENT MOVEMENT. Fri., Oct. 14, 8 p.m. 6223 Delmar. Donation: 71. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (314) 725-1570.

ST. PAUL

THE REAL MEANING OF THE PANAMA CANAL TREATY. Speaker: Jim Kendrick, SWP. Fri., Oct. 14, 8 p.m. 176 Western Ave. North. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 222-8929.

SAN ANTONIO

STUDENTS SPEAK OUT AGAINST THE 'BAKKE' DECISION. Speakers: Panel of activists. Fri., Oct. 14, 8 p.m. 1317 Castroville Rd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (512) 432-7625.

SAN DIEGO

CARTER'S ATTACK AGAINST AFFIRMATIVE ACTION: THE 'BAKKE' CASE. Speakers: representatives from Black American Law Students Association, SCAR, others. Fri., Oct. 14, 8 p.m. 1053 15th St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 234-4630.

SAN FRANCISCO: MISSION DISTRICT

'BAKKE,' TIP OF AN ICEBERG. Speakers: David Fishlow, ACLU; Nikki Trassina, SCAR; others. Fri., Oct. 14, 8 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

SHOWDOWN IN THE COAL MINES. Speaker: Steve Bride, SWP. Fri., Oct. 14, 8 p.m. 2416 18th St. NW. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7706.

...labor

Continued from page 19

For white and male workers today, the labor officialdom's policy of accepting race and sex discrimination is at a dead end. It stands in the way of uniting the working class as a whole, along with its potential allies, in a fight for common interests.

Far from sacrificing, white and male workers—as well as oppressed minorities and women—will be the winners if this policy is reversed.

A growing understanding of this is developing in sections of the labor movement, as shown by support within the AFT for the fight to reverse the *Bakke* decision. It is also shown by the brief in support of minority admissions filed by the United Auto Workers and other unions along with several civil rights groups.

How labor can best help lead this fight will be the subject of a future article.

...Badillo

Continued from page 6

two-party system. The capitalists use these Brown and Black faces in high places to fool people, to lure them into the shell game of picking the "lesser evil," of picking which one of the bosses' representatives should rule us for the next few years.

For this reason, it is always a mistake for a socialist to support Democratic or Republican politicians—even if this is done backhandedly by prettifying their positions or simply for "tactical" reasons.

When López's article appeared, I was afraid that it might represent not only his own position but that of his party or at least its leadership. These fears have turned out to be unwarranted.

In personal conversations, several PSP leaders and members have told me that López was speaking only for himself in the article.

In addition, the September 16-22 *Claridad* carries a column by José Velásquez reiterating the PSP's opposition to the Democratic and Republican parties. Writing about Badillo and Black Democrat Percy Sutton, Velásquez says, "the campaigns of both of them were locked within the framework of the politics of the Democratic Party. . . . Their campaigns weren't directed at confronting the big

financial interests that are to blame for the fiscal crisis and the situation of both communities."

I firmly agree with this viewpoint, and I'm the only mayoral candidate that does. I would very much welcome the PSP's support. And now that Badillo is out of the race, I am appealing to his supporters, including López, to back my campaign.

...women

Continued from page 20

The active involvement of NOW, campus women's liberation groups, and organizations such as the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) is needed to strengthen the emerging anti-*Bakke* movement.

By championing the *Bakke* fight, the women's movement will win allies in the Black and Chicano communities and attract more women of the oppressed nationalities to its ranks.

In the labor movement, activities around the *Bakke* decision can become an important focus for bringing more women workers into the equal rights struggle.

It's no surprise that the same right-wing forces waging a war on women's right to abortion, gay rights, and the Equal Rights Amendment have also placed themselves in Bakke's camp.

In a column on the *Bakke* case, STOP ERA guru Phyllis Schlafly rails against race and sex quotas that "unjustly reward and penalize persons today who had nothing to do with the sins of the past."

She suggests that if there aren't enough jobs to go around, preference should be given to those "supporting a family."

At the Utah International Women's Year meeting, opponents of women's rights extended Schlafly's arguments, charging affirmative-action quotas make for "breadwinner discrimination."

"Women are not qualified to do hard physical labor," one woman said. "If men don't have enough jobs anyway, we shouldn't take jobs away from them."

The *Bakke* case—like abortion rights and the ERA—is an emergency issue requiring immediate attention.

Affirmative action and *Bakke*, specifically as they relate to women, should be a central theme of the November International Women's Year conference in Houston.

Women have more than just a stake in this fight. Affirmative action is an unavoidable bridge on the path to equality.

...abortion

Continued from page 9

children, spoke about her ongoing court battle.

Other speakers linked the fight for abortion rights to opposition to sterilization abuse, pointing out that forced sterilization also takes away women's choice and is used as a racist tool.

The rally was endorsed by more than thirty groups, including the San Francisco chapter of the National Organization for Women, the American Civil Liberties Union, Planned Parenthood, and many health clinics.

By Elizabeth Jayko

LOUISVILLE, Ky.—"Abortion is our right, keep the clinic open!" chanted fifty angry picketers at the Louisville city hall September 29. The picket line protested the eleven-to-one vote by the board of aldermen two days earlier to cut off funding for the only city-supported abortion clinic at Louisville General Hospital.

In addition to eliminating all funding for the clinic, the aldermen voted that "as a matter of public policy, Louisville General Hospital should not be used in any manner to provide abortions, except where the life of the mother would be endangered."

Less than twelve hours after the board's vote, representatives of fifteen groups gathered on the steps of city hall for a press conference called by the Reproductive Freedom League. Speakers demanded that Louisville's Mayor Sloane veto the anti-abortion ordinance and called for the September 29 picket line in defense of women's rights.

Among those at the press conference were representatives of the National Organization for Women (NOW), Planned Parenthood, Kentucky Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights, National Lawyers Guild, the Kentucky Women's Agenda Coalition, both the Kentucky and Louisville Civil Liberties Union, and the Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

Mayor Sloane has publicly agreed with the anti-abortion ordinance and said he would not veto the ordinance.

In contrast, Debby Tarnopol, SWP

candidate for mayor, declared that if elected she would veto the ordinance. She also answered right-wing arguments that abortion is "a middle-class program of genocide" against the Black community.

The real "program of genocide," she explained, is the elimination of abortion funds, which forces Black women into the hands of butcher abortionists.

In 1976, Tarnopol pointed out, 336 Black women chose to get abortions at the General Hospital clinic. Moreover, public opinion polls have shown widespread support in the Black community for women's right to choose.

Tarnopol urged support for continuing actions in defense of women's rights, saying, "Supporters of Black rights and women's rights must rally behind the right of all women to choose abortion."

The Louisville NOW chapter is organizing a conference November 12 to discuss defense against attacks on women's rights. Among the actions that will be discussed is a statewide demonstration called by the Reproductive Freedom League for January 22, 1978, the anniversary of the Supreme Court ruling legalizing abortion.

...miners

Continued from back page

provisions.

But the coal operators slyly changed all that. By refusing to reallocate funds to avoid the medical cuts—claiming it would only "encourage" more wildcats—the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) issued a stern warning to the "unruly" ranks of the UMWA.

BCOA head Joseph Brennan spelled it out in a September 1 speech to the West Virginia Chamber of Commerce. In return for production stability, Brennan said, "management promises wages, benefits, and other amenities for its work force."

He continued, "We must come from the bargaining table with some type of contractual mechanism to control and ultimately eliminate the wildcat strike."

The coal industry wants a shackled work force.

The miners want their benefits restored *and* the freedom to strike to enforce their contract.

Neither side will give in easily, and a hard-fought battle looms this fall.

Chicano Liberation and Socialism

By Miguel Pendás

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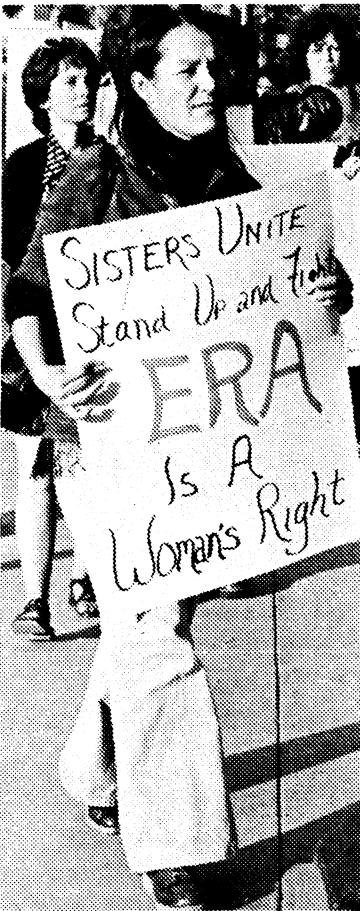
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What's behind steel jobs crisis?

By Andy Rose

"It is unfortunate that our economic system of profit and loss results in such drastic actions."

That was the response of Lloyd McBride, president of the United Steelworkers of America, to Bethlehem Steel's announcement in August that it was firing 7,300 workers and closing two plants.

In recent weeks thousands more steelworkers have lost their jobs as other companies followed Bethlehem in a devastating wave of plant shut-downs and mass layoffs.

McBride, parroting what he is told by steel executives, blames the job losses on imports.

He says that some other countries "sell steel at whatever price it takes to keep their mills producing. American steel producers, who must make a profit to generate capital, cannot compete under such conditions" (emphasis added).

McBride's intention is to rally support for the anti-import campaign of the steel corporations. But his comment also puts the spotlight on the responsibility of "our economic system of profit and loss"—namely capitalism—for the steel job crisis.

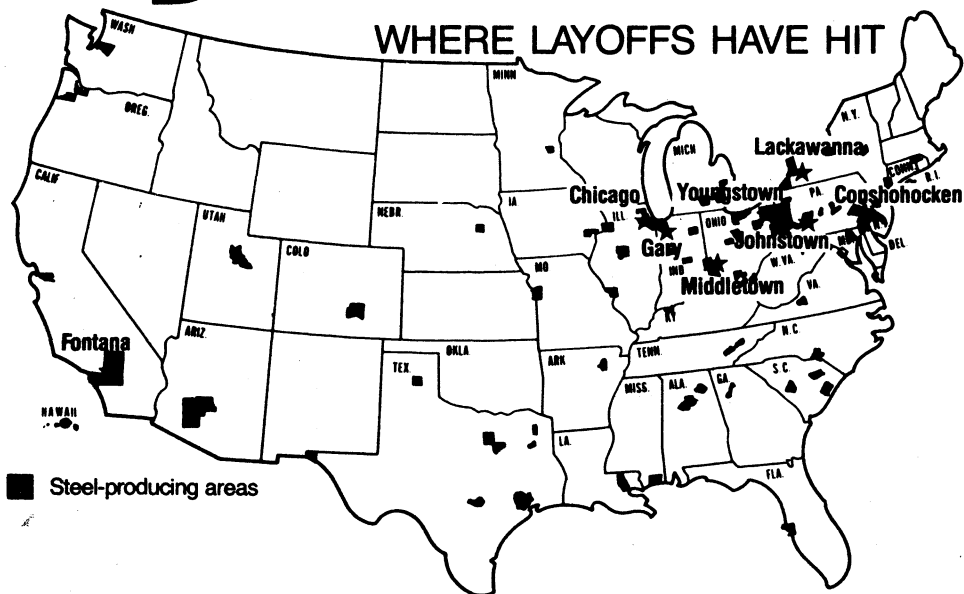
100,000 jobs lost

The problem goes way beyond the steel industry. Total manufacturing employment dropped by more than 100,000 in August—the first such decline in factory jobs in nearly a year.

Several thousand copper miners and smelter workers have recently been laid off.

Zenith Radio is eliminating 5,000 jobs in the United States and moving operations to Mexico and Taiwan.

With 7 million workers already unemployed in this country—by official count—there is growing specu-



tion that the world economy is slipping into a new depression. Millions of workers want to know—how can we save jobs?

The steel companies say they have the answer: restrict imports, roll back pollution standards, increase productivity, and provide tax "incentives" for investment. Congress and the Carter administration are moving toward granting these demands to bail out the industry.

Reading the slick "Buy American" advertisements of the steel companies, you might get the idea they are philanthropic associations, established and operated in order to provide jobs for American workers.

Not so.

The sole aim of the steel corporations—just like all other capitalist enterprises—is to make a profit for their owners. Plants will be built or closed, workers hired or fired, depending on what nets the highest profit.

Production for private profit is by its very nature unplanned, anarchic. Defenders of capitalism insist that the "invisible hand" of the market—competition, supply and demand—allocates labor and raw materials to meet society's needs.

Capitalist anarchy

The sudden shortages, explosive inflation, breakdowns, and mass unemployment of recent years, however, are leading many people to question whether this "invisible hand" is an adequate guide.

Take steel, for example. In 1971 there was worldwide "overproduction" of steel. Plants were closed and thousands of workers laid off.

Then the short boom of 1973-74 brought a shortage of steel. Prices and profits soared.

Today there is again "overproduction" and crisis.

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Iron Range strikers face new attack

Steel companies will be allowed to cut off medical insurance October 20 for 18,000 striking iron ore workers, an arbitrator ruled in Pittsburgh October 3.

Soon after the strike began August 1, the companies announced they would stop advancing insurance premiums.

Federal District Judge Miles Lord enjoined the companies from stopping payments, but an appeals court ordered the dispute to binding arbitration.

Joe Samargia, president of United Steelworkers Local 1938, the largest local on the Mesabi Iron Range, told the *Militant* that the companies "are doing everything they can to bust our ass," but that the strikers are "more determined than ever."

He said one striker had stopped at the union office, asked about the insurance, and commented, "Well, just don't let that damn negotiating committee think us guys are going to get scared and settle for something that's not worthwhile. Stick in there, 'cause we can make it."

Samargia added, "We're trying to hammer on the fact that the steel companies are blackmailing workers down in the steel mills to fight imports—but 600 miles to the north you've got an iron ore strike, and they're using imports to try to break us."

—A.R.

Coal talks kick off contract battle

Study proves strikes did not cause medical cuts

By Nancy Cole

Contract negotiations between miners and the coal industry are just beginning as the *Militant* goes to press. The current contract expires December 6.

The major issue going into the talks is that of medical benefits for members of the United Mine Workers of America. Last July, the UMW health and retirement fund, run by representatives of the union and industry, cut the benefits due miners and their families.

This was necessitated, proclaimed the mineowners, by frequent wildcat strikes. (The fund is financed by royalties paid by the companies based on hours worked and coal mined.)

When miners took to the picket lines in a ten-week strike protesting the cuts, the coal operators and their friends in the news media threw up their hands incredulously: The miners were only worsening the fund's financial crisis with more of these suicidal work

stoppages, they opined.

But last month, as the wildcats drew to a close, the West Virginia Health Systems Agency quietly released a



UMW Journal/Earl Dotter

study that concluded:

"The walkouts are not the cause of the crisis but a result."

The wildcat strikes "have complicated an already grave fiscal situation," the report conceded, "but neither short- nor long-term solutions will result from even a quick and universal back-to-work movement."

Instead, the report found the main culprit to be inflationary health-care costs. Also listed as causes for the fund's crisis were "overestimation of coal production and underestimation of beneficiaries," "increased utilization by beneficiaries," "indirect subsidy of nonbeneficiaries," and rapid growth of the UMW subsidized coalfield clinics.

Nowhere in the list was "illegal and unauthorized work stoppages."

Caught with its pants down, the West Virginia *Charleston Gazette* suggested a "reappraisal of much that has been said here and elsewhere."

"We welcome the opportunity to

correct an error and set the record straight on why the UMW health care fund was cut in the first place," the *Gazette* editorialized. "We will continue to say, however, that the wildcat strikes in protest of the cuts could only have the effect of further depleting the fund."

So much for "apologies." As for the mineowners, the report did little to dampen their union-busting spirits. They still aim to do all the taking in these contract talks and leave the giving for the UMW.

Before the cutbacks of July, most miners probably saw the negotiations shaping up differently.

It seemed then that the central issue would be a right-to-strike clause, mandated by the last UMW convention and agreed to by union President Arnold Miller. Other crucial issues appeared to be an expansion of benefits, a raise in pay, and better safety

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