

THE MILITANT

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

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fights for
political asylum
in U.S.

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Ky. cops attack striking miners

By Nancy Cole

STEARNS, Ky., Oct. 19—Eighty riot-equipped state troopers brutally attacked striking coal miners and their supporters here October 17.

When the dust cleared, some dozen strikers required medical attention. A total of 117 were arrested—78 miners and 39 women, most of them members of the Stearns Women's Club.

As the *Militant* goes to press, one striker—Roy Keith—remains hospitalized with a punctured eardrum and broken arm.

It was the most vicious strikebreaking assault to date in Blue Diamond Coal Company's drive to keep the United Mine Workers out of its Stearns mine.

"They beat the hell out of me," reported a bandaged William King as

he sat waiting for a strike meeting to begin at the Whitley City UMWA headquarters today.

"Four or five state police pulled me off private property, knocked me down, and beat me. Then they dragged me across the road. One of them mashed his foot on my neck. They put handcuffs on me and they still beat me."

Some 150 miners and supporters had gathered near the mine entrance Monday morning, determined to halt Blue Diamond's running of a handful of scabs through the court-limited picket lines. It would have been the fourth day scabs had entered the mine.

Strikers overturned a truck and refused to leave, UMWA spokesperson Chuck Shuford told the *Militant*, "until Blue Diamond would sit down and

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CIA-FBI war against Chicano movement

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PUERTO RICAN ACTIVISTS WILL SUE: Vicente Alba and David Pérez, two Puerto Rican independence activists arrested after a midtown New York bombing in August, announced October 14 that they will sue Police Commissioner Michael Codd and "everyone else involved" in the attempted frame-up. Their arrest was aimed at discrediting the Puerto Rican independence movement.

A judge quickly dismissed all charges against them earlier this month.

'OPPRESSIVE AND BURDENSOME': An Oakland, California judge has turned down Black Panther Party leader Huey Newton's request for government documents that Newton says will prove a conspiracy to frame him on murder charges. Newton recently returned to the United States to face trial.

The judge said Newton's request would be "oppressive and burdensome on the federal agencies involved."

PROTESTS HIT NURSES' CONVICTION: Demonstrations across the country October 11 protested the conviction of Filipina Narciso and Leonora Perez, Filipino nurses at the Ann Arbor, Michigan, Veterans Administration hospital. The two nurses were found guilty last summer of poisoning patients.

Sixty-five people in Philadelphia, two-thirds of them Filipinos, heard Kathleen Robinson, an alternate juror at the trial. Robinson, commenting on the flimsy and circumstantial nature of the prosecution case, noted there was no direct evidence or eyewitness.

Sixty people rallied the same day in Detroit in an action sponsored by the Detroit Coalition to Free the VA Nurses. Speakers included Dick Collins, a former VA hospital patient and Linda Santos, president of the Filipino Nurses Association.

Seventy-five people picketed the Seattle federal building, calling on the government to stop the frame-up.

Arguments for a new trial were supposed to be heard October 11. However, the hearing has been postponed to November 2. Actions are now planned for that day.



HIGH COURT GIVES CONCORDE OK TO LAND: The U.S. Supreme Court refused October 17 to uphold an order barring the supersonic Concorde airliner from New York's Kennedy Airport. Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall had issued the order October 7 pending a full hearing by the court to decide whether the plane could land.

The Concorde is the world's noisiest commercial plane. It is as loud as two New York City subway trains passing at full speed. "They come in over the roofs and everything cracks," commented a woman living near London's Heathrow Airport.

New York's Gov. Hugh Carey, who had strongly opposed Concorde landings, did a quick about face after the court ruling and urged opponents to "respect the law" and continue their fight only in court.

The plane's opponents say they will organize demonstrations at the airport to register their opposition.

NEW ORLEANS DOCKERS' STRIKE: Two New Orleans locals of the International Longshoremen's Association rebelled this month against the limits to the dock workers' strike placed on them by the ILA bureaucracy. Their vote against handling any cargo—containerized or not—went against the game plan of union president Thomas Gleason. Gleason wanted an embargo of only containerized cargo.

On October 15 both locals agreed to abide by ILA dictates, however, after Gleason threatened to put them into receivership.

JOANNE LITTLE FLEES PRISON: The woman found innocent two years ago of killing her jailer while defending herself against a rape fled a North Carolina prison October 15.

Following her acquittal, state authorities threw Little back in jail to finish serving a seven-to-ten-year term for breaking and entering. Her demand for a new trial, based on irregularities in the original burglary trial, was rejected.

While in prison, Little had been in a work-release program, which allowed her to work at a local dentist's office. But prison officials recently dropped her from the program.

In addition, despite the ordeal she had already gone through, her parole request was turned down.

Little's attorney, Jerry Paul, said she had reported unfair treatment by prison officials to him.

NEW HEARING FOR GARY TYLER: Gary Tyler, an eighteen-year-old Black serving a life sentence in Louisiana for a murder he didn't commit, will get to argue for a new trial before a state district court.

The new hearing, scheduled to begin October 25, is based on charges by Tyler's attorney, Jack Peebles, that Tyler was not adequately represented at his trial by his original lawyer.

Peebles will also bring in new evidence to support Tyler's innocence.

CARTER SUPPORT SLIPS: The latest Harris Poll reveals that public support for President Carter has dropped substantially over the last six months. The new survey finds 48 percent positive and the same number negative about Carter, down from 69 percent positive in April.

Among Blacks, Carter scores only a 49 percent positive rating, with 45 percent negative, down from 71 percent and 26 percent in April.

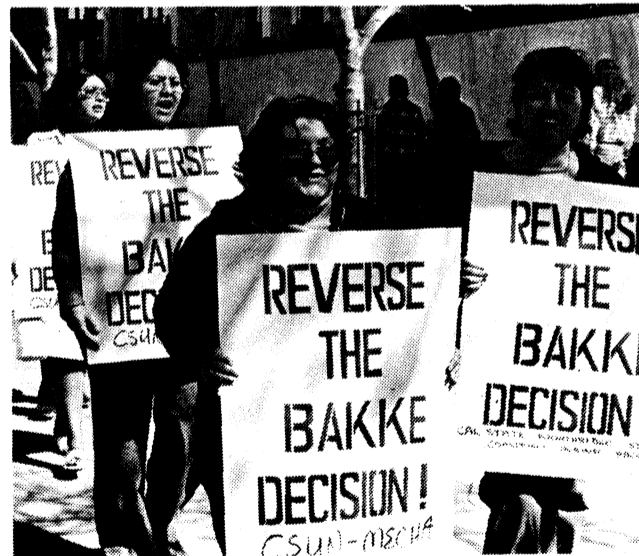
The poll indicates that Carter's support among union members has also dropped.

JUSTICE, AMERICAN-STYLE: Last May 14 six anti-abortion bigots attacked the Northern Virginia Women's Medical Center. Linking arms, they tried to block women who were going into the clinic for abortions. On October 17 the six went to trial for criminal trespass. Judge Lewis Griffith dismissed the charges, ruling that "the anti-abortion protesters were following their belief that their actions were justified to save lives."

—Arnold Weissberg

Special offer to new readers.

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...cops attack striking miners

Continued from front page
bargain in good faith."

Then the state police began assembling, complete with helmets, masks, clubs, and body shields. At 2:00 p.m. they attacked.

Many, if not most, of the strikers were on their own property—a small piece of land the UMWA bought early in the strike near the mine entrance—when the cop charge began.

Although the women blocked the road too and resisted as cops tried to barge through their line, some of the women were standing on the property of Lura Tucker, a sixty-one-year-old mother of a striker.

Tucker's daughter-in-law, Rita Tucker, told the *Militant* that Lura Tucker "hadn't done a thing. She was just standing there when a state policeman jumped out of his car and grabbed her."

Ila Corder, eight months pregnant, was also on Tucker's property when cops assaulted her. Fortunately, she suffered only a bruised arm.

"If this don't tell the people what they're doing to the miners, nothing will," Corder told the *Militant*.

Miners are quick to point out that they weren't the only ones walking

around with bandages the next day. Several state police were also injured.

In the two days since the attack, Blue Diamond has not tried to send scabs through the picket line. But there is no telling when they may try again.

"Those scabs are not going through," King matter-of-factly declared.

"The company starts it every time," explained striker Ken Ross. "First they brought in the gun thugs and the shooting began. Then it finally quieted down. And now they bring in scabs with the state police."

Union spokesperson Shuford said UMWA organizers were trying to get in touch with Gov. Julian Carroll all morning and early afternoon before the battle "to tell him the state police had to be pulled out of there." But Carroll was "unavailable."

"The governor could have stopped this thing if he wanted to," Shuford said.

Many miners here think that if Governor Carroll was forced to withdraw his troopers, it would take a lot of steam out of Blue Diamond's arrogant refusal to negotiate. They think it could be the turning point in the fifteen-month confrontation.



Club-swinging state troopers force arrested coal miners to sprawl on ground

Today, as strikers gathered for their closed meeting in Whitley City, women started trickling into the county courthouse a block away to be formally charged with destroying police property.

The strikers, having spent an average of twenty-four hours in jail, will be arraigned October 26 on charges of

violating the limit on pickets.

The trial of thirty-one men on serious criminal charges begins October 25.

Times are tense. But the miners to a man—and their supporters to a woman—are amazingly high-spirited.

"If it takes it, we'll fight the whole state of Kentucky," said striker Ross. "We're here to stay."

Socialist hits police strikebreaking

The following statement was issued October 19 by Debby Tarnopol, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Louisville.

The blood of striking coal miners is on the hands of Gov. Julian Carroll.

On Monday state troopers in full riot gear brutally attacked and arrested more than 100 Stearns miners



DEBBY TARNOPOL: "Call off the state troopers immediately."

and women supporters who were trying to protect their jobs from coal company strikebreakers.

Governor Carroll knew the troopers were going to be used to herd scabs for Blue Diamond Coal Company. He sent them in anyway.

What is the crime of the Stearns miners? Only this: they have stood up as human beings and demanded the right to be represented by the union of their choice, the United Mine Workers.

Blue Diamond doesn't care how many miners it kills to make its profits. And it seems that state authorities don't care how many miners they beat and jail to protect Blue Diamond.

I demand that Governor Carroll call off the state troopers immediately and drop the charges against the Stearns miners.

And I urge unionists, civil libertarians, students, and working people in Louisville to protest this outrageous government strikebreaking.

Union recognition is the big issue

Miners at the Justus mine in Stearns, Kentucky, voted in March 1976 to be represented by the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA).

That was just three weeks after two explosions at the Scotia mine in Whitesburg, Kentucky—about 100 miles away—killed twenty-three miners and three federal mine inspectors.

Both mines are owned by Blue Diamond Coal Company, one of the biggest scab outfits in eastern Kentucky and Tennessee.

Both mines had nothing but company unions in 1976. And both mines were notorious for their flouting of safety laws and regulations.

It took four months for the union representation election to be certified at Stearns. Then in July 1976, the miners voted to strike to win their first UMWA contract.

Blue Diamond refused to budge on the miners' contract demands. In particular, it scorned the demand for

a union-controlled safety committee with the authority to pull miners out of the mine if it is judged dangerous.

In January 1977 Blue Diamond broke off negotiations. In March they brought in private security guards to "protect" their property. From then on there was steady gunfire from within the mine compound.

The courts and cops quickly stepped in to aid Blue Diamond's strikebreaking. Circuit Court Judge J.B. Johnson issued an order limiting the number of pickets and giving the okay for company officials to enter the mine compound escorted each day by state police.

Thirty-one men—twenty-seven of them strikers and one a UMWA organizer—were indicted last spring on charges of kidnapping, assault, and robbery. This stems from an incident where two of the armed guards were shot after they turned up at a striker's home.

Lexington students hear Stearns miners

By Bronson Rozier

LEXINGTON, Ky.—"If you can't starve a man out in fifteen months, you can't starve a man out."

That's how Arnold Keith summarized the attitude of coal miners who have been on strike for more than a year to win a United Mine Workers contract at the Justus mine in Stearns, Kentucky.

Keith, three other Stearns strikers, a UMWA organizer, and members of the Stearns Women's Club all came here from the small southern Kentucky community October 13 to tell students at the University of Kentucky the truth about their fight against the Blue Diamond Coal Company.

Twenty-seven strikers, UMWA organizer Lee Potter, and three other men go on trial October 25 on charges of kidnapping, first-degree assault, and first-degree robbery. Convictions could lead to sentences of up to sixty years each.

The day before the meeting here, Blue Diamond escalated its strike-breaking efforts. State police units were sent into the area to escort scabs into the mine for the first time since strikers shut it down in July 1976.

Fifteen strikers were arrested, charged with joining a picket line that exceeded the court-ordered limit of six. Five days later, the cops savagely beat strikers, arresting ninety miners and some twenty women supporters. (See story on this page.)

Keith and the other strikers at the meeting here—Carlos Taylor, Mahan Vanover, and Sonny Vanover—all feel the company provocation is connected with the upcoming criminal trials. Every one of the fifteen arrested October 12 is on the list of the thirty-one indictees.

As Mahan Vanover put it, "The whole purpose was to get those strong for the union, to scare some of us back

in and weaken the picket line."

"I feel it was a deliberate move," stated UMWA organizer Jay Kolenz. "There's no doubt in my mind that they're doing this at this time to provoke these people."

Irene Vanover, Judy Taylor, and Fay Vanover, members of the Stearns Women's Club, told students here of their activities in support of the strike.

They have organized protests at Blue Diamond's headquarters in Knoxville, Tennessee, and at a local newspaper, which has insisted on giving coverage to the Southern Labor Union instead of the UMWA organizing drive. The SLU is a company outfit that announced last month it is trying to sign up strikers at Stearns.

Irene Vanover is looking forward to the victory demonstration when the strike is finally won. She said they were going to "fill up Stearns with marchers."

The meeting here, attended by sixty-five people, was sponsored by the Student Center Board on Contemporary Affairs. It was also endorsed by Lexington National Organization for Women (NOW), the *Militant*, and Charles Abner, organizer of the Kentucky American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

A collection was taken for the Women's Club, and nineteen people signed up to form a Stearns Defense Committee. The committee hopes to call a news conference or picket line to coincide with the trial's opening in Whitley City, Kentucky, October 25.

Jay Kolenz summed up the strikers' determination. "The majority of the companies control the courts, the laws, and the judges," he said. "They think they've got a handle on these 152 miners. But they don't. They're going to stick it out and not tolerate these scabs taking their jobs."

Save the life of Hector Marroquin!

Mexican activist fights for

By Arnold Weissberg

The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) has launched an urgent campaign to save the life of Héctor Marroquín Manríquez. Marroquín, a former Mexican student activist now held in a Texas jail, is seeking political asylum in the United States.

The Mexican government has falsely charged Marroquín with several murders and has indicted him on charges of "conspiracy" and "subversion," accusing him of membership in a guerrilla group.

There is a real danger that the Mexican government will summarily execute Marroquín if it gets its hands on him. Or he might just disappear

last March, "that leftist activists—and often their families and friends—frequently are kidnapped by the authorities rather than arrested, are kept incommunicado, are severely tortured during interrogation and held without trial indefinitely."

In his request for asylum, filed with the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Marroquín explained, "My intention in coming to the United States was . . . to escape torture and to wait until such time as I can demonstrate in a court of law . . . the falsity of the accusations against me."

"I have not committed a single one of the crimes of which I am accused. I was terrified that the police would torture me by placing me on an electrical bed or in an electrical bath to force a false confession—something that happens on a regular basis and is characteristic of the crushing of democratic liberties . . . in Mexico."

Political ferment

Héctor Marroquín Manríquez entered the Autonomous University of Nuevo León, in Monterrey, in 1969 at age sixteen. Monterrey is located in the northern state of Nuevo León.

He didn't have an easy time getting there. His father had died four years before, leaving the family—there were ten children—virtually penniless.

Marroquín began working at age thirteen to help support the family.

Mexico's campuses were highly politicized in 1969. A powerful student movement had arisen the year before, demanding major democratic reforms, including the release of all political prisoners.

On October 2, 1968, 15,000 unarmed, peaceful demonstrators in Mexico City—students, workers, and children—were attacked by government troops firing machine-gun volleys into the crowd. The massacre occurred at the Tlateloco Plaza.

At least 300 people were killed and hundreds more injured in the unprovoked assault.

The Tlateloco massacre had a radicalizing effect on a whole generation of Mexican youth. "It awakened their fighting spirit even more, a critical spirit in young people who instinctively rejected the suffocating atmosphere of oppression and exploitation," Marroquín recalled.

In his first year at the university Marroquín actively participated in a movement to democratize the school under the control of students and faculty.

The students relied on mass, peace-

Appeal for asylum

The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners has launched an emergency campaign to win political asylum in the United States for Héctor Marroquín. USLA is gathering support for the following appeal to Leonel Castillo, director of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service.

We have learned that the INS is currently considering an appeal for political asylum in the U.S. from HÉCTOR MARROQUÍN MANRÍQUEZ, a citizen of Mexico.

Reviewing the facts of his case, the charges of political crime levied against him by the Mexican government, and the overwhelming evi-

dence of his innocence of these charges, we must conclude that he is the victim of a political frame-up.

We are also cognizant of the mounting concern over the wholesale violation of human rights and due process of dissident activists in Mexico, as well as the torture, mistreatment and outright murder of political prisoners in that country's prisons.

Understanding that he faces torture and death at the hands of the Mexican authorities, we urge you to decide in favor of granting him the simple democratic right of political asylum as provided by the "United Nations Protocol and Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees," ratified and acceded to by the United States.



Militant/Margaret Winter
HECTOR MARROQUIN in Maverick County, Texas, jail.

while in police custody, as have at least 250 other political prisoners in the past few years.

USLA is circulating an appeal to U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service Director Leonel Castillo, calling on him to grant Marroquín asylum.

Trade unionists, students, women, Blacks, and antideportation activists are being asked to join the appeal (for text of appeal, see box).

The U.S. State Department, in an official report to Congress on human rights in Mexico, commented that human rights violations such as "cruel and degrading treatment are not infrequent."

"Arbitrary arrests and detentions occasionally occur of political oppositionists accused of illegal activities," the report went on.

"There is well-documented evidence," the *Washington Post* reported

ful demonstrations to present their demands. The government attacked some of the demonstrations, and several activists were arrested.

The movement won some concessions, Marroquín said, but failed to win real student-faculty control of the campus.

Students throughout Mexico rallied to the cause of the Monterrey students.

A June 1971 demonstration in Mexico City supporting their demands was brutally assaulted by a rightist paramilitary gang "Los Halcones" (the Hawks). A hundred people were murdered.

None of the assassins of October 1968 or June 1971 has ever been arrested.

Movement downturn

The student movement declined in activity after the 1971 killings, and soon some students were arguing in favor of small armed confrontations with the cops and for guerrilla warfare.

In January 1972 several Monterrey banks were robbed. The police went on a big manhunt, and the press began a screaming campaign against the entire radical movement.

One of the students the cops went after was Marroquín's roommate, Jesús Rivera, whom Marroquín remembers as "a brilliant student and a dedicated activist in the student movement."

Trying to "arrest" Rivera, the cops pumped fourteen bullets into him. He had to part in the robberies.

Rivera's death provoked a big student protest. Marroquín recalls that the students carried a coffin containing Rivera's bloody clothing at the head of the demonstration. The students also held a wake in the city plaza.

Marroquín said the protest was big because Rivera was quite well-known and like at the university.

The cops arrested three students for the bank robberies and claimed that their statements implicated all of them and Rivera as well.

But when the three were presented to the press, they were covered with bruises and had lost several teeth. Their lips and other parts of their bodies had been burned with cigarettes, and they had suffered electric shock treatment.

Aside from their "confessions," there was no evidence to link Jesús Rivera to the bank robberies.

In March 1973 Marroquín joined a discussion group. The students talked about the political and economic crisis facing Mexico and the political alter-

natives for newly radicalizing workers and students.

The group developed into the Comité Estudiantil Revolucionario (Revolutionary Student Committee—CER).

Other students joined. Soon the local press was writing about the "red menace" on campus.

In June 1973 two students were expelled for protesting unfair academic procedures. One of them was Miguel Angel Rodríguez, a founding member of the CER.

A student strike to win their reinstatement failed. Several students, including Marroquín, were suspended for a semester.

By August 1973 many members of the CER had begun to support the idea of guerrilla warfare.

Leaves CER

Marroquín disagreed with the notion that armed actions by small groups could bring about basic social change, so he left the CER.

(The CER later merged into the September 23rd Communist League, which was founded as a guerrilla organization. Despite his 1973 break with the CER, Marroquín is accused by the Mexican government of membership in this group.)

On January 17, 1974, a university librarian was shot down in the streets of Monterrey. Police arrested several students, tortured them, and extracted "confessions" that the CER was responsible.

Two days later, the Monterrey papers carried the names and pictures of the "guilty" ones: Carlos Renteria Medina, Héctor Camero Haro, Jesús Piedra Ibarra, Miguel Angel Rodríguez Medina, and Héctor Marroquín Manríquez.

After consulting an attorney, Marroquín decided against turning himself in to challenge the accusation.

"Carlos Solana, the police chief, was infamous for his bestial police practices," Marroquín explains. "He was known to have tortured prisoners, raped women prisoners, and crippled others mentally or physically."

Marroquín decided to seek refuge in the United States and left Mexico in April 1974.

Since that time, two of the students accused with him in Monterrey have been gunned down by the police under the pretext of trying to arrest them.

Disappeared

A third, Jesús Piedra Ibarra, was arrested by the police in April 1975. No one has heard from him since.

How you can help

Militant readers can help the campaign to save Héctor Marroquín's life in the following ways:

- Send a telegram to Immigration Director Leonel Castillo demanding political asylum for Marroquín.
- Circulate petitions in support of asylum for Marroquín. (See box on this page for text of appeal.)
- Fact sheets on the case and endorser cards have also been prepared. These may be ordered along with petitions from USLA.
- Contributions are badly needed for the defense effort. Please make checks payable to: USLA and earmark "Marroquín Manríquez Defense."

I/my organization endorse the Appeal for Asylum for Héctor Marroquín Manríquez and have sent a _____ letter _____ telegram to Director Castillo.

Please send me _____ appeals to circulate.

Please send me _____ fact sheets.

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political asylum in U.S.



MEXICO CITY, JUNE 1971: 100 died at hands of ultrarightists. Such events had deep effect on Marroquin

The Mexican cops claim they wounded Marroquin in a Monterrey shootout in June 1974—two months after he left the country!

They also claim he took part in a guerrilla attack on a bakery in Monterrey in August 1974. At the time of the attack Marroquin was in a Texas hospital recovering from an automobile accident.

Marroquin has lived in the United States since 1974. He is married and has a son, who was born in Chicago in 1975. He has been active in the movement against deportation of "illegal aliens."

Marroquin returned to Mexico briefly in September to consult a lawyer and was arrested by the Border Patrol as he tried to reenter the United States at Eagle Pass, Texas.

He was sentenced to two months and

twenty-eight days in jail on a charge of trying to enter the country illegally, a sentence is now serving in the Maverick County Jail in Eagle Pass.

He could be sent back to Mexico at any time.

Because Marroquin was arrested trying to come back into the United States, the government is, technically, "excluding" him, not deporting him.

Although he is entitled to a hearing under INS procedures, he won't be allowed to raise his asylum request at this hearing.

And although he can appeal a decision to keep him out, the INS says it will send him back to Mexico at once if he loses the first round.

Under these circumstances, his "right to appeal" is meaningless, since he would already have been turned over to the Mexican authorities.

This would be a violation of the INS's own rules, which bar any "final action" in a case pending appeal.

Also, under the INS rules Marroquin does not have the right to a hearing on his request for asylum. That decision is left up to the district director of the INS, who need not hear witnesses, examine documents, or allow cross-examination. By law, all the director has to do is seek the opinion of the State Department.

INS practice does not allow for an appeal of the decision. If it goes against Marroquin, he can be returned to Mexico at once.

Turning down Marroquin's request for asylum would be in clear violation of United States law.

Washington is a signatory to the United Nations Protocol and Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees,

and it has the force of law in this country.

The protocol defines a refugee as any person who "owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of his . . . political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country. . . ."

Sending Marroquin back to Mexico would be a clear violation of Article 33 of the protocol, which declares that a refugee has the right not to be "expelled or returned in any manner whatsoever to the frontiers of territories where his life or freedom would be threatened on account of his . . . political opinion."

Marroquin's attorney, Margaret Winter, is fighting to change the INS's blatantly unfair procedures.

Filed suit

Winter has filed suit in federal court in Washington, D.C., to block any move by the INS to return Marroquin to Mexico. The suit challenges the right of the INS district director to make a decision on asylum without so much as a hearing. The court action also challenges the right of the INS to send Marroquin back to Mexico before he has a chance to present his case and to appeal to the federal courts for a review of any unfavorable decision.

Despite the firm legal footing for Marroquin's request for asylum, the government's record on asylum shows that only a massive nationwide campaign can make it adhere to its own laws.

Fighters for social justice and democratic rights—such as Marroquin—have a hard time getting into this country.

But the half-million Cubans who opposed the Cuban revolution—they got heroes' welcomes.

The government has sent eighty Haitians fleeing the brutal, U.S.-supported Duvalier dictatorship back to Haiti and has refused to grant asylum to another hundred who have landed in Florida. The government barred the door to Chileans fleeing the murderous military dictatorship that came to power in 1973.

The USLA appeal is the place to start in winning support for Marroquin's right to asylum. Immediate action is necessary to keep him in the United States and to save his life.

What Mexico has in store for Marroquin

By Judy White

What is likely to be the fate of someone accused of being a member of the so-called "Liga Comunista 23 de Septiembre" (September 23 Communist League) in Mexico?

An article in the July 7 issue of the Mexico City daily *Excelsior* painted a graphic picture.

"Capitol police struck another blow at the Liga Comunista 23 de Septiembre, mowing down two of its main leaders, Angel Delgado Sarmiento (alias Héctor) and Olivia Ledesma Flores de Hernández (alias The Blond or Mariana), in a shoot-out with more than 100 police agents."

The two young people were shot down in their home, apparently while they were preparing breakfast, the article continued. "One hundred police and some 200 *granaderos* [riot police], all armed with machine guns, rifles, and pistols of all calibers, along with teargas guns" carried out the attack.

When reporters were allowed into the house, the two were lying in the living-

room. Olivia Ledezma had a gun in her right hand, which looked "as if it had been placed [there] after her death," *Excelsior* reporters noted.

Such police action is not unique. An August 11 Associated Press dispatch, datelined Hermosillo, Mexico, reported: "A gunfight in a park between police and [a] member of an outlawed Communist group killed two officers and one Communist, police said."

"They said two other suspected Communists were wounded in the battle Wednesday in this northern Mexican city," the report continued.

"A police spokesman said officers were called to the park while members of the 23d of September Communist League were trying to distribute literature to workers at a factory opposite the park."

"The gunfire broke out when the police attempted to arrest members of the league, he said. It was not immediately known who fired the first shot."

If, perchance, the suspect manages

to avoid being killed in a "shoot-out" and is arrested by the police, he or she often simply disappears.

The Monterrey-based Comité Pro-Defensa de Presos, Perseguidos, Exiliados y Desaparecidos Políticos (Defense Committee for Political Prisoners, Victims of Persecution, Exiles, and Missing Persons) has publicized several such cases. One poster issued by the committee lists the following cases:

- Jacobo Gamiz García, arrested March 15, 1974, in Acapulco, wounded in one leg.

- Jesús Piedra Ibarra, arrested in Monterrey April 18, 1975, savagely tortured and then taken to Mexico City.

- Ignacio Arturo Salas Obregón, captured in April 1974 and last seen in a hospital near Tlalneantla.

- Javier Gaytan Saldivar, arrested by the army in November 1975 in the state of Guerrero.

- César Yáñez Muñoz, Esq., last seen in Ocosingo in February 1974, according to data from the local police.

An interview with relatives of two of these missing prisoners, which was published in the August 8 issue of the Mexico City newsweekly *Proceso*, revealed that committee estimates of the number who have met this fate are upwards of 800 persons.

The August 4, 1974, issue of the Monterrey daily *Alarma!* gives an idea of the atmosphere whipped up against alleged members of the Liga Comunista 23 de Septiembre.

A rogue's gallery of mugshots of several young people, portrayed in disguises they supposedly use, was accompanied by screaming headlines—"One of the sorriest galleries of enemies of the people," "These are some of the subversives plaguing Monterrey!"

The caption below the main picture said: "These are some of the subjects already identified by the Monterrey police as participants in illegal acts, in which several persons have been killed. All of them are extremely dan-

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Local events in 9 states

Chicanos mobilize for San Antonio conf.

By Olga Rodríguez

SAN ANTONIO—Over the past several weeks supporters of the National Chicano/Latino Conference on Immigration and Public Policy, which will be held here October 28-30, have held forums, conferences, and rallies around the country to publicize and build participation in the gathering.

In addition to the events reported below, activities have been held in New Mexico, Michigan, Utah and Wisconsin. More reports will appear in next week's *Militant*.

Arizona

One hundred people attended the statewide Call for Action Conference held October 15 at the Arizona State University in Tempe.

Those speaking included Pedro Camejo of the Socialist Workers Party and Margo Cowan of the Manzo Area Council in Tucson. Cowan was one of four immigration counselors from the Manzo council who were indicted last year for their legal activities in helping immigrants obtain official residency permits. The charges against the Manzo four were dropped after a nationwide protest campaign.

At an afternoon plenary session participants unanimously voted to oppose the new Carter immigration plan and to call for full, immediate, unconditional amnesty for all immigrants without visas and a total halt to deportations.

A speaker from the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (Revolutionary Workers Party—PRT), Mexican sister organization of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party, was warmly received by participants. The PRT representative explained the terrible economic conditions that force Mexican workers and peasants to emigrate to the United States.

Chicago

Fifty people attended a bilingual forum at the offices of the Committee of Resistance Against the Eilberg Law.



Teatro Libertad performs at Arizona Call for Action Conference.

The meeting took place in Pilsen, a Chicano neighborhood in Chicago.

(The Eilberg Law, which went into effect about a year ago, effectively cut the immigration quota from Mexico in half and contained several other anti-immigrant provisions.)

The organizations sponsoring the meeting—the Committee of Resistance Against the Eilberg Law, the Center for Legal Services for Immigrants, and the Student Coalition Against Racism—brought in María Elena Martínez, state chairperson of the Texas Raza Unida Party, to address the meeting.

Martínez explained that the national conference on immigration had been organized because of the need to "tell our side of the story."

"You can't depend on the media for information about undocumented workers," Martínez said. "What the media fails to mention is that Mexican workers have contributed to the development of this country for more than 300 years."

She pointed out that Mexican workers pay taxes but often can't collect their benefits for fear of being branded "illegal aliens" and deported.

Martínez also ripped the propaganda lie that immigrants without visas are the cause of unemployment. "Why aren't the corporations accused of taking jobs away from Americans when they move out of the country?" she asked.

Linda Yañez from the Center for Legal Services for Immigrants, Rudi Lozano from the Committee of Resistance against the Eilberg Law, and Manuel Barrera of SCAR all said that their organizations would send representatives to the San Antonio conference.

Dallas

A forum and film on undocumented immigrants drew 100 activists to the Operation SER offices.

The majority-mexicano audience participated in a lively discussion on the fight against deportations after a showing of the documentary film, *The Unwanted*. Speakers included Alejandro Villareal, of the Chicano Actor Center; Leonard Chaires, Dallas League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC); Miguel Zarate, national field coordinator of the Student Coalition Against Racism (SCAR); and Carlos

Romero of IMAGE, a national organization that fights for affirmative action in federal employment.

Earlier in the week Dallas SCAR sponsored campus meetings at El Centro Community College, University of Texas at Arlington, and Southern Methodist University to generate campus support for the national conference.

Denver

Chicanos and other activists concerned with the rights of undocumented immigrants participated in a news conference sponsored by the Colorado Coalition for Immigration and Human Rights (CCIHR). The conference received major media coverage.

"The CCIHR will be at [the San Antonio] conference," Everett Chávez told the press. "And we will join with millions of people in pursuit of humane immigration policies."

Chávez, a leader of the CCIHR and director of the Mexican-American Education Program at the University of Colorado, Denver, chaired the news conference.

Benito Sandoval, chairperson of the CCIHR and associate director of Denver Opportunity, a community agency, was the main speaker. Sandoval blasted the Carter administration's proposed legislative package on immigration.

Speaking of the provision that will create a special category of immigrants who entered without papers after 1970 and before 1977, Sandoval said, "These people must live in limbo for five years with no guarantee that they will not be deported. This is unfair, cruel, and contrary to any genuine concern for basic human rights."

Other speakers were Joséphine Pérez, West Side Action Center; Reuben Escamilla, Chicano Law Students, Colorado University; and Philip Herrera, chairperson, Concerned Parents of North Denver.

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'La migra' deports strikers at Goldwater ranch

By Joe Callahan

PHOENIX, Ariz.—On October 3 and 4, 200 farm workers struck the huge Arrowhead Ranch just a few miles northwest of here to protest miserable pay and inhuman living conditions. The ranch is a subsidiary of Goldmar, Inc., a corporation headed by Robert Goldwater, brother of U.S. Sen. Barry Goldwater.

The bosses moved quickly to crush the strike. Beginning on the second day of the walkout, the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service's Border Patrol moved in. Ninety workers have been deported as "illegal aliens" over a two-week period.

In addition, local cops arrested strike organizers on charges of "criminal trespassing." The arrests stopped only when a federal judge issued an order granting organizers access to workers in the field.

Chief Herbert Walsh of the Border Patrol claimed that the INS had nothing to do with the strike: "Oh, we're not getting involved in the labor dispute. We're just sweeping the area. We have nothing to do with the labor dispute if, in fact, it is a labor dispute."

The superexploitation of undocumented Mexican workers at the Arrowhead Ranch was put in the spotlight last March by a team of reporters investigating the notorious circumstances surrounding the assassination of Phyllis Basset, a labor leader, in a San Antonio, Texas, hotel. The investigation exposed the greed and corruption in the area, the "pimping team" engaged by Arrowhead workers at the ranch, and

• Paid \$100 or more a head to 'coyotes' (alien smugglers), one of whom callously left a boy with an injured leg in the desert to face 120-degree heat with only a gallon of water and a bit of marijuana;

• Lived among their own excrement and garbage in orange-crate shelters and fly-infested camps shielded from curious eyes by black plastic sheets hung on trees;

• Worked from dawn to dusk for as little as five dollars a day, a pittance bled down by Social Security deductions and food prices they say were inflated by their overseers."

The reporters also wrote that all but one paycheck stub they saw began with the numerals "000." The FBI says no real Social Security numbers start with those digits.

The reporters said that while conducting the interviews they were harassed by a buzzing airplane, by Arrowhead employees in trucks, and by a shotgun-toting guard.

At the time, Robert Goldwater responded to the charges by saying he knew nothing of conditions on the ranch. Lawyers for Goldmar denied all the charges, saying Goldmar didn't hire *mexicanos*.

For its part, the Border Patrol said it couldn't do anything about Arrowhead because it had only five agents in the area.

The organizing drive includes the neighboring Fletcher and Bodine ranches.

The workers are demanding daily wage payments (they are now paid every other week, which means Goldmar could call *la migra* right before pay day and pocket the pittance the *mexicanos* would have received); a minimum rate of three dollars per hour or one dollar per bag of lemons; bathrooms in the fields where they live

and work; blankets and tents; medical care; trash pickups at the camps; notice of irrigation; and accurate records of workers' wages and hours.

The farm workers and their supporters have picketed the federal building several times and held a rally there to protest strikebreaking deportations. MCOP has demanded that President Carter respect the 1975 Helsinki Agreement, which includes provisions guaranteeing rights to immigrant workers.



San Antonio, a group of workers who have been organized by Manos Unidas, a community organizing group.

Broad array of speakers set for conference on immigration

By Harry Ring

SAN ANTONIO—Main outlines of the program for the October 28-30 Chicano/Latino conference here have been announced.

A Friday night rally will hear an array of prominent speakers, including Vernon Bellecourt, American Indian Movement; Jean Bart, Haitian Refugee Center, Miami; Peruvian peasant leader Hugo Blanco; Sister Mario Barron of Las Hermanas, a group of activist nuns; Pedro Camejo, Socialist Workers Party; Manuel Casanova, Texas director, GI forum; Margo Cowan, Manzo Area Council, Tucson, Arizona; Emilio Nicolás, general manager of San Antonio's Spanish-language TV Channel 41, representing the Mexican-American Unity Council; and Antonio Rodríguez of Los Angeles CASA.

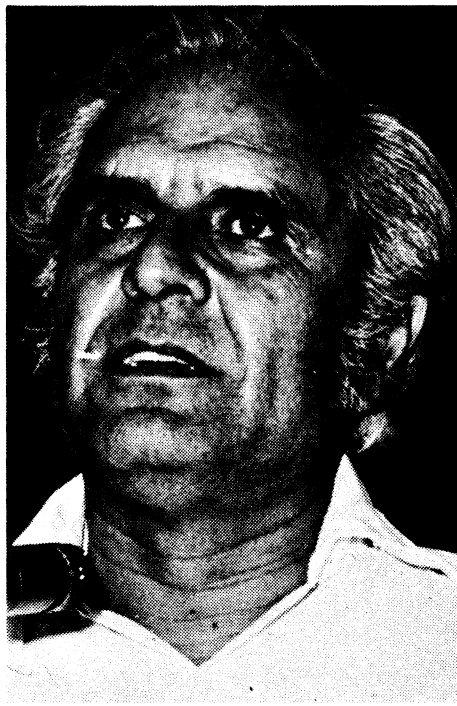
The rally will be chaired by Mario Campeán, Texas Raza Unida Party leader and conference coordinator.

A Saturday morning plenary will hear Dr. Jorge Bustamante, a Mexican authority on immigration, and keynote speaker José Angel Gutiérrez, who issued the call initiating the conference. Comedian and Black activist Dick Gregory will also speak sometime during the conference.

Time has also been set aside for a representative of the U.S. government to speak on behalf of President Carter's proposals on undocumented workers. This will be followed by a response from antideportation activist Bert Corona, Rubén Bonilla, Texas director of the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC); Rev. José Alvarez of the New York-based Committee for the Defense of Immigrants (CODI); and Vilma Martínez, national director of the Mexican-American Le-



MARGO COWAN (left) and BERT CORONA will be among the speakers at San Antonio.



Militant/Dave Warren

gal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF).

On Saturday afternoon there will be two sets of workshops. On Sunday there will be a plenary to act on workshop proposals.

There will be a gala dance on Saturday night featuring two of the outstanding south Texas bands, Los Clasicos and Los Chachos.

Registration will begin Friday afternoon at the Tropicano Hotel at 110 Lexington Avenue in downtown San Antonio.

The Friday night rally will be held at the municipal auditorium, immediately adjacent to the Tropicano. The Satur-

day plenary session will be at the convention center at Market Street and south Alamo, about seven blocks from the Tropicano. The Saturday afternoon workshops will be held at the convention center and at the hotel.

The Saturday night dance will be at the convention center, and the Sunday plenary will be at the hotel.

Housing information will be available at the registration tables at the hotel, convention center, and municipal auditorium.

For advance information, phone: **International Committee on Immigration and Public Policy in San Antonio. (512) 225-6773.**

Large meetings hear Hugo Blanco

By Judy White

More than 1,300 people have turned out to hear Peruvian peasant leader Hugo Blanco during the first three stops of his U.S. speaking tour, which began October 10.

In Boston on October 11, 300 attended Blanco's meeting at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. One hundred fifty came to hear him at the University of Massachusetts.

In the Black and Latino community of Dorchester, seventy came to a meeting at the Harriet Tubman House.

At the University of Delaware in Newark, Delaware, 60 activists in the Committee Against Repression in Latin America met with Blanco October 12 to discuss organizing work in defense of political prisoners. That evening 250 attended a public meeting.

More than 500 came to three meetings for Blanco in Ann Arbor, Michigan, October 13. The evening meeting was broadcast live over Public Broadcasting Station radio.

Blanco was also interviewed by several newspapers and radio and TV stations in the cities he toured.

The title of Blanco's talk is "Human Rights in Latin America—Myth or Reality?" He is well qualified to speak on this subject, having passed through the prisons of Peru and Argentina because of his political views, having had to flee Chile after the 1973 military coup, and having been twice forcibly exiled from his native land.

Blanco now lives in exile in Sweden, where he is active in the movement to defend Latin American political prisoners.

Blanco's talk documents the repression in Latin America and exposes Washington's collusion in its perpetuation and escalation. He reveals the hypocrisy of Carter's "human rights offensive" on the continent, showing how—even in the absence of direct military aid—Washington continues to apply massive pressure to the regimes that receive U.S. economic aid. If the local puppets cannot guarantee labor peace, economic aid will be withdrawn or the local rulers replaced with others more amenable to Washington's outlook.

Sponsorship for Blanco's meetings has been broad, including the Committee Against Repression in Latin America at the University of Delaware and the Ann Arbor Committee on Human Rights in Latin America at the University of Michigan. The attendance of Latinos has been sizeable at his talks.

Following is the itinerary for the last month of Blanco's tour:

October 24	St. Louis
October 25	Kansas City, Mo.
October 28-30	San Antonio
November 2	Minneapolis
November 3	Pittsburgh
November 4-7	New York
November 9	Seattle
November 10	Portland
November 11-15	Calif. Bay Area
November 16	San Jose

More information on Blanco's tour can be obtained from: U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners, 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10003. Telephone: (212) 254-6062.

Denounces amnesty hoax

Lawyer rips Carter on 'aliens'

By Harry Ring

SAN ANTONIO—Attorney Peter Shea is strongly opposed to President Carter's anti-immigrant proposal. Shea has a special interest in the Carter plan and what may result from it. Based in the Los Angeles-San Diego area, his legal practice for the past five years has centered around immigration issues.

Shea is director of the National Center for Study of Alien's Rights and has defended many people against the U.S. Immigration Service. Currently he is representing José Jacque Medina, who is threatened with deportation to Mexico and is seeking political asylum here.

In a telephone interview Shea discussed some of the legal and political implications of the Carter plan.

Concerning Carter's proposal to Congress to give legal residence to those who have been here since before January 1, 1970, Shea said that in some respects it represents a tightening up, not a liberalization, of present immigration statutes.

For instance, he said, a section of the present law provides that those who have been here seven years can apply for permanent status if they can show that deportation would bring extreme hardship to themselves or their families.

Those who can prove such hardship do not have to demonstrate eligibility for permanent status as defined under other sections of the law.

But under the Carter proposal, Shea said, the "extreme hardship" proviso would be abandoned. Instead, the applicant would have to prove that he or she is not subject to "exclusion" under one of thirty-one different requirements. These, Shea explained, relate to the person's physical and mental condition, their political beliefs, and their "morality."

The Carter plan is dangerous in other respects, Shea added, because it is deliberately vague on key points.

For example, according to Carter's message to Congress, those applying for permanent residence must provide "normal documentary proof" of "continuous" residence since 1970.

But, Shea said, there is presently no legally established "normal" documentary proof. "It leaves the question open," Shea said, "to the future discretion of the attorney general."

This ambiguity, Shea continued, is most obvious in relation to the section of the Carter plan dealing with proposed sanctions against employers who hire undocumented workers. The Carter proposal would leave to the discretion of a future attorney general the type of documentation that would suffice for a worker to establish the right to a job.

"One attorney general," Shea observed, "could say a driver's license would suffice. But four years later a new attorney general could, with relative legal ease, require every person in the United States to carry an internal passport and point to the

Carter law as the source of his power to establish such a requirement."

Actually, Shea added, the whole employer sanction section is filled with loopholes and, in his opinion, deliberately so. "Basically," he said, "the employer sanctions are there to placate the AFL-CIO leadership." He noted that as late as February 28 of this year, the AFL-CIO Executive Council had called on Congress to make it a crime to hire "illegal aliens."

Shea further noted that while the Carter proposal calls for civil penalties against employers who hire undocumented workers, it seeks criminal penalties for those "who receive compensation" for assisting undocumented aliens to obtain jobs.

While Carter insists that this is directed solely against smugglers of undocumented immigrants, Shea says he would not place too much stock in Carter's assurance that it is not intended to be used against unions whose hiring halls might send undocumented workers out on jobs.

Shea is firmly convinced that the Carter plan is not intended to seal the border but only to more effectively control the flow of immigrants. It will work hardship on immigrants and workers generally, he says, not on the employers.

And Shea emphatically adds: "I abhor the word 'amnesty.' As if they did something wrong and require forgiveness!"

New canal accord OKs U.S. intervention

By Peter Seidman

On October 14 President Carter and Panamanian Brig. Gen. Omar Torrijos issued a "statement of understanding" that spells out Washington's permanent right to intervene militarily in the Panama Canal Zone. According to the agreement under the proposed new canal treaty the United States:

- has the right "to act against any aggression or threat directed against the Canal" and,
- in case of "emergency," U.S. warships can "go to the head of the line of vessels in order to transit the Canal rapidly."

Carter hastily summoned Torrijos to Washington after influential senators told him that without such guarantees the proposed treaty would never win the sixty-seven votes it needs to pass in the Senate. Conservatives in Congress have mounted a jingoistic campaign around the slogan: "There is no Panama Canal. There's an American Canal in Panama."

Sen. Robert Dole (R-Kans.), a leading foe of the treaty, called the state-

ment "a step in the right direction." But Dole said he would continue to oppose the agreement until it contained even further Panamanian concessions.

Senate majority leader Robert Byrd (D-W. Va.), however, said that he thought the new statement was "a very important diplomatic achievement" that "will help in getting additional public support and senatorial support."

The editors of the *New York Times* said that rejection of the canal treaties now "would be a disaster for United States interests and prestige."

The *Times* editors also noted that Torrijos demonstrated "a willingness to take considerable political heat at home to help the package through the Senate." The Panamanian general had already "made substantial concessions in the [original] negotiations—so substantial that ratification by Panama might even be in question now if its political system were as open as our own."

Torrijos is staging an October 23

plebiscite in an effort to get the Panamanian people to rubber-stamp the new treaties. He is trying to portray the agreements as a major concession wrung from Washington.

To head off any serious debate during the treaty negotiations, however, Torrijos exiled revolutionary critics of his regime, such as Miguel Antonio Bernal.

"Nevertheless," the October 13 *Washington Post* reported, "the government has now clearly been taken aback by the growing wave of people

openly rejecting the treaty as a 'sell-out' and pledging to vote 'no' in the plebiscite. . . ."

Hoping to defuse this sentiment, Torrijos insisted that a clause be inserted in the "statement of understanding" that nothing in the proposed canal treaties gives the United States the right to intervene in "the internal affairs of Panama."

And upon his return from Washington, Torrijos assured the press that he had signed nothing, "not even an autograph."



CARTER & TORRIJOS: appeasing U.S. hawks fuels growing opposition to new canal treaty among Panamanian masses.

'Guardian,' CP on treaties

Socialists believe that working people in this country should actively oppose Washington's bullying of workers and peasants in colonial countries.

That's why the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance oppose the new treaties that the Carter White House wants to impose on Panama. After all, these agreements were "negotiated" with nearly 10,000 U.S. troops stationed in Panama.

The SWP and YSA say that those troops should be withdrawn immediately, so that the Panamanians can run their own country and their own canal as they see fit—and without any escape clauses forced on them by U.S. imperialism.

Unfortunately, some groups on the American Left have not been so clear in opposing U.S. colonialism.

The October 12 issue of the *Guardian*, a Maoist-leaning weekly, reports that "the emerging left position on the treaty argues that 'critical support' . . . is the least objectionable stand. . . . The left is wary of opposing the treaty outright for fear of playing into the hands of the ultraright."

The *Guardian* also reports that "this left view . . . analyzes the treaty as a step forward in the struggle for national sovereignty."

An editorial in the October 13 issue of the *Daily World*, newspaper of the American Communist Party, also backs the treaty as "a step, though a far from adequate step, in loosening the grip of U.S. imperialism on Panama."

Is the treaty a "step forward . . . for national sovereignty"? A "loosening of the grip of U.S. imperialism"?

Carter and Torrijos's October 14 "statement of understanding" should put an end to that myth!

Does opposing the treaty "play into the hands of the ultraright"?

No. The current feud over the treaty between Carter and some neanderthal politicians is simply over how best to maintain U.S. domination over Panama. Working people will come out the losers which ever gang of capitalist exploiters comes out on top.

Our job is to oppose *any and all* schemes to prolong Washington's grip on our Panamanian brothers and sisters. —P.S.

Carter's 'feud' with big oil: biggest rip-off ever

By Dick Roberts

President Carter hopes to come out looking like a champion of hard-pressed consumers after the debate over his energy package.

Up til now, Carter has had to take most of the heat for his proposals to help the energy trust boost its profits. Now, after the recent Senate vote to deregulate natural gas prices next year, Carter is trying to foist the role of villain onto Congress and the "oil lobby."

In a widely publicized news conference October 13, Carter declared that the oil industry is intent on "the biggest ripoff in history."

Actually, the energy proposal that Carter presented last April was itself a gigantic rip-off. Carter as much as admitted that at his news conference last week. "Our proposal, if adopted, would give the oil companies—the producers themselves—the highest prices for oil in all the world. But still they want more."

In fact, the *central aim* of Carter's plan was to drive up the prices of domestically produced gas and oil.

The two most important aspects of this initial plan were described in the May 6 *Militant*:

- A higher price ceiling for interstate gas and government control over the intrastate market. . . .

"This would immediately raise the prices of all natural gas about 20 percent. The energy trust is clamoring for even higher prices."

- Establish a category of 'new oil' and 'new gas.' This would in-

clude any well drilled more than five miles from an existing well, even in oil fields. 'New oil' would be allowed to rise to full world prices with no taxes over a three-year period.

"This is the grand prize for the oil trust. As more and more gas and oil come from new wells, more and more domestic oil will sell at world market prices, allowing the monopolists to reap superprofits. This has been the main goal of the energy trusts for more than a decade."

Hoping to soften public reaction to this sharp increase in oil prices and profits, Carter proposed a consumer rebate. But he never spelled out how this rebate scheme would work.

The oil companies quickly applauded Carter's energy proposal. In fact, they were so effusive in their praise that Carter let it be known that they should make some criticisms to take him off the hook.

When a few such criticisms did surface, the *New York Times* noted that this "appeared to confirm that the energy trust had grasped what the political grapevine [in Washington] has been saying—that the White House would welcome a broadside attack by the big energy companies because it would tend to build support for the program in Congress and divert public attention from the fact that the essence of the Carter plan was higher energy prices."

Carter's concern about public reaction to his plan was justified. A Harris poll released October 13 showed that 58 percent of those asked gave Carter a negative rating on his handling of the

energy crisis, while only 33 percent gave him positive marks.

A *New York Times*/CBS-TV survey in late August found that a majority of those polled did not believe that the energy shortages cited by Carter to justify his policies were as bad as the White House claimed. Fully 57 percent said that the situation was "not as bad," and 49 percent said they believed "we are just being told there are shortages so oil and gas companies can charge higher prices."

Fifty-nine percent said they opposed allowing natural gas companies to increase prices to finance more exploration for new wells.

In each case, those in lower income levels were even more skeptical of the Carter plan. "One seemingly obvious

conclusion," wrote *Times* reporter Anthony Parisi, "might be that the affluent—those with greater stakes in the system—would more readily cooperate with energy solutions than deprived Americans."

In the House of Representatives the Carter plan was passed pretty much unchanged. The House raised the ceiling price of newly discovered natural gas from \$1.46 to \$1.75 per thousand cubic feet and raised domestic oil prices to world levels as Carter requested.

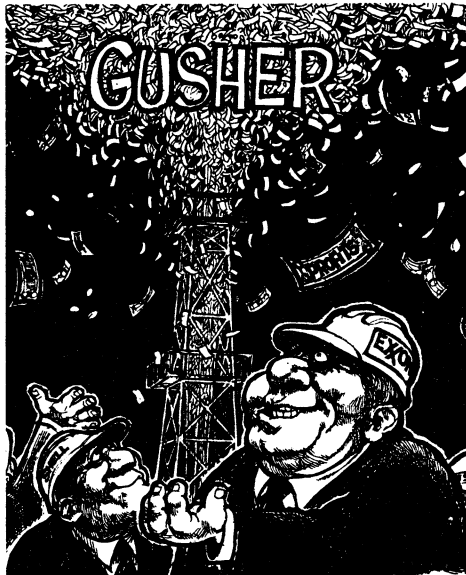
Little noticed was the fact that the House also went a long ways toward removing Carter's fig leaf of a tax rebate on increased oil prices: The House agreed to the rebate for 1978 but reserved judgement about later years.

The Senate went further, totally removing controls on natural gas. It also passed a package of new taxes and tax credits that has now gone to a Senate-House conference committee for further revisions.

President Carter said in his October 13 press conference: "In 1973 . . . the oil and gas industries had an income of \$18 billion. Under our proposal by 1985 their annual income would be about \$100 billion—an enormous increase."

"What the oil companies and gas companies are now demanding and making some progress [toward] is \$150 billion."

So one way or another the oil companies are in for a bonanza—just as Carter had planned all along. And all the ballyhoo is just one Georgia politician's way of pointing the finger of blame at someone else.



Encouraging new progress

'Militant' subscription drive at midpoint

By Nelson Blackstock

The subscription drive is at midpoint. It began September 10 and will end November 19. This is a good time to evaluate the results to date.

The scoreboard shows that the drive was running behind at the close of the fourth week.

Note that the goals of cities total only 16,595 of the 18,000 target. The remainder is slated to come from miscellaneous cities not on the chart and from special *Militant* teams. Since fewer teams than anticipated have been fielded at this point, that side of the drive is lagging.

A national mailing to get former readers of the paper to subscribe should give the drive a boost.

While several cities are ahead of schedule, most are behind. This, however, is not unusual at this point in a national subscription drive.

At the same time, a survey of the campaign reveals some encouraging progress.

One of the most striking successes of the drive to date has been *Perspectiva Mundial*, which aims for 500 new readers. *Perspectiva* sales are running well ahead of schedule. The results demonstrate there's a good basis for a Spanish-language socialist magazine.

During the course of the drive we have learned some important things.

Socialists have talked to literally thousands of people about the *Militant*. We've talked to people on the job, at political activities, in giant housing projects, in the barrios, on the campuses, and on the street corners.

In the process, a lot of people found out about the *Militant* for the first time. They learned something about who the socialists are in this country and what they stand for.

At the same time, we have learned something from the people we are talking to.

For one thing, we've learned how to talk to people



Selling the 'Militant' on the Mesabi Iron Range

Militant/Libby Moser

a little better. To do this, we've had to think carefully about how to explain our ideas in a way that makes sense.

We've also learned more about what working people are thinking these days. One of the best ways we find out about what's on people's minds is through building the circulation of our press—one of the main things all socialists do.

What we learned

Most areas report that subscriptions are selling a little slower than during last fall's subscription drive. What accounts for this difference?

The drive last year took place during the height of a presidential election campaign. There was generally more interest in political issues. The *Militant* was campaigning for the socialist candidates. That helped sales.

Local elections are occurring in many places this fall. But they seldom generate as much interest as a presidential race.

The big struggles in South Africa erupted not too long before the drive opened last year. Much attention was focused on the struggle against apartheid. *Militant* coverage aided sales, particularly among new Black readers of the paper.

This fall there has been no international issue like South Africa getting big play in the news—no issue about which potential readers have such strong interest and convictions.

There have been, however, important issues that have been big news in some areas of the country. In Chicago the busing conflict—covered thoroughly in the *Militant*—was on the minds of many people subscription sellers talked to. In Denver there was much interest over an incident of police brutality in the Chicano community.

The *Militant* has given major coverage to the antideportation question, featuring reports on the San Antonio conference later this month. Sales in Chicano communities are generally going relatively well.

The *Bakke* affirmative-action case has only recently begun to emerge as a national issue that a great many people know about.

In California, though, *Bakke* has been a focus of attention for some time. Reports from that state indicate this influenced sales, especially on campus and among Black and Chicano students.

During the war in Vietnam and the civil rights movement, those questions were the cutting edge of subscription drives. People who identified with the *Militant's* stand would be likely to subscribe. While there is no such big national issue that sparks sales in that way today, most people we talk to seem more interested in socialism and more willing to subscribe to a socialist paper.

Political discussions

What is required, however, is more discussions with potential subscribers about the political questions on their minds. More discussions about what kind of paper the *Militant* is and what it has to say about these questions. It's necessary to take the

time to have those discussions.

In this regard it's interesting to note that many more subscriptions this year are being sold on the job. This is a place where it's often easy to talk at some length with co-workers about the *Militant* and the political issues it covers.

Those who have been getting the best results from door-to-door canvassing say they talk to people about how the *Militant* is a paper that takes sides on important questions.

Frequently, someone will hesitate to buy a subscription but will get a single copy. On a subsequent visit—after they have had a chance to read the *Militant* and find out what it is all about—they will subscribe.

Similarly, in campus sales some of our most successful salespeople say they explain in some detail what sort of paper the *Militant* is and what it has to say on many questions—the economy, *Bakke*, international affairs, the women's movement, etc.

Other factors

An additional likely reason that sales are a little slower has to do with the effects of inflation. Working people are feeling the pinch and are likely to think twice before making any purchase.

A big factor influencing the level of sales in a city is whether or not subscription sellers jumped into the drive right at the beginning last month. Cities that got off to a fast start tend to lead the chart.

A promising development is that some cities that were slow in starting are now reporting significant headway. Some say that after a period of experimentation they are finding better sales locations and are sharpening their techniques. Their rate of return is climbing. And most are confident they'll make their goal.

St. Louis, for instance, sold forty-eight subscriptions last weekend in a Black community in which they had not previously sold—a suburban area where many trade unionists live.

A number of cities are running from a week to a week-and-a-half behind in the drive—a week constituting 10 percent of the total goal in a ten-week drive. All have set "catch up" weeks aimed at putting the drive back on schedule.

Cities doing well have tightly organized drives. Teams go out not only on Saturday and Sunday but at a variety of times and to a variety of locations. The locations are chosen with care. Teams are headed by experienced salespeople. Campus sales have been integrated into the other aspects of the drive.

Well-organized follow-up on areas previously visited pays off. This requires keeping careful records. In general, this drive takes meticulous organization.

If we apply the lessons we've learned and cities that got off to a slow start continue to move ahead, there's good reason for optimism about hitting our final goal.

Sales scoreboard

(Total received as of October 15)

City	Goal	Sent In	Percent
Lehigh Valley, Pa.	20	15	75.0
St. Paul	175	115 (3)*	65.7
Albuquerque	150	91 (15)	60.7
Salt Lake City	150	90 (8)	60.0
Raleigh, N.C.	120	65 (1)	54.2
Tacoma, Wash.	150	80 (5)	53.3
Portland, Ore.	250	133 (5)	53.2
Dallas	250	117 (5)	46.8
Kansas City, Mo.	225	103 (13)	45.8
San Diego	300	128 (17)	42.7
Denver	300	125 (7)	41.7
Miami	250	100 (8)	40.0
Los Angeles	1,100	399 (79)	39.8
Phoenix	250	98 (9)	39.2
Milwaukee	400	154 (14)	38.5
Louisville	150	53 (1)	35.3
Washington, D.C.	600	213 (1)	35.5
Cincinnati	200	70	35.0
St. Louis	350	122	34.9
New Orleans	300	104	34.7
Houston	600	201 (11)	33.5
Cleveland	300	100 (5)	33.3
Tucson, Ariz.	15	5	33.3
Baltimore	175	56 (1)	32.0
New York	1,800	575 (58)	31.9
Boston	825	263 (21)	31.9
Pittsburgh	450	142 (3)	31.6
Chicago	900	283 (12)	31.9
Detroit	825	254 (8)	29.9
Atlanta	600	161 (13)	26.8
Oakland	600	152 (10)	25.3
Toledo	150	38 (3)	25.3
Newark	350	81 (9)	23.2
San Antonio	350	79 (3)	22.6
Penn State, Pa.	40	9	22.5
Philadelphia	675	140 (6)	20.7
Berkeley	300	61 (2)	20.3
Seattle	300	54 (2)	18.0
Minneapolis	300	53 (1)	17.7
Amherst, Mass.	40	7	17.5
Bloomington, Ind.	50	7	14.0
San Francisco	600	80 (4)	13.3
Indianapolis	150	18	12.0
San Jose	350	39 (5)	11.1
Albany, N.Y.	75	6	8.0
Kent, Ohio	75	4	5.3
Total for Cities	16,585	5,243 (368)	31.7
Teams &			
Miscellaneous	1,415	230 (16)	16.3
Total	18,000(500)	5,473 (384)	30.4
Should be		7,200 (200)	40

*Figures in parentheses indicate number of 'Perspectiva Mundial' subscriptions included in the total.

Come to San Antonio

The national Chicano/Latino conference to be held in San Antonio October 28-30 can be an important turning point in the fight against racist deportations. More than 400 groups and individuals have endorsed the gathering.

How to respond to the Carter administration's crackdown on undocumented immigrants is an urgent issue for all working people. It is urgent for the immigrants themselves and for other Latinos, who bear the brunt of the attack. It is urgent for Blacks, Asians, and Native Americans, who are also victims of the government's racist offensive.

And it is urgent for the entire labor movement, because the government uses the "illegal alien" scare to draw fire away from the *real* cause of unemployment and other social ills—capitalism's people-be-damned drive for profits.

At San Antonio, activists from across the country will have an opportunity to plan a campaign of protests and educational activities to demand: Stop the deportations! Conference organizers have invited all who support human rights for undocumented workers to attend. We urge our readers to do so.

Equality under fire

Proof that the bosses are launching an all-out campaign against affirmative-action programs is now being given in the construction industry.

In Los Angeles, a group of building contractors have won a federal court ruling that declares unconstitutional a provision of the Federal Public Works Employment Act. The provision allocates 10 percent of some government spending to contractors of oppressed nationalities.

The judge in the case called quotas "invidious and unconstitutional." He cited approvingly the California court decision on the *Bakke* case—that affirmative action constitutes "reverse discrimination" against whites. The *Bakke* decision is now before the U.S. Supreme Court.

The racist, antiunion Associated General Contractors (AGC), without even waiting to see how the Supreme Court will rule on *Bakke*, is now seeking to have the construction quota provision struck down nationally.

Meanwhile, a new report exposes nonenforcement of existing affirmative-action programs by the Department of Labor.

The report, released by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, found that of twenty-nine cities studied, only three cities met or surpassed their federal goals for hiring Black workers. No sanctions were imposed on those who failed, even for the seven cities that recruited *less than one-fifth* of the Blacks they pledged to hire.

These two examples underscore the dangerous implications of the *Bakke* decision—a wedge the bosses and their government can use to turn back even the minimal affirmative-action gains won by the civil rights and women's movements.

...how to fight back

The October 3-12 protests demanding that the *Bakke* ruling be overturned were the first nationally coordinated actions against this offensive.

Thousands participated in these demonstrations, which were initiated by the National Committee to Overturn the *Bakke* Decision and the Black American Law Students Association.

Activists in the anti-*Bakke* movement are now discussing what to do next.

The national drive against full equality in education and employment must be met head on.

Activists can take advantage of the momentum of the October 3-12 actions to launch a national campaign of activities—teach-ins, debates, demonstrations, and picket lines—to defend affirmative action.

Many anti-*Bakke* activists have raised the idea of a national march on Washington next spring when the Supreme Court is expected to announce its ruling on the case.

Such a national march could galvanize thousands of equal rights supporters—Blacks and other oppressed nationalities, women, students, and trade unionists—in a powerful answer to the enemies of affirmative action. It could place the blame clearly on the federal government for its retreat on civil rights. And it would put the U.S. rulers on notice that, as the anti-*Bakke* demonstrators proclaimed, "We won't go back!"

Letters

Memorial for longtime activist

On Wednesday, September 15, a feminist memorial, organized by the New York National Organization for Women was held for Clara DeMiha at Community Church in New York. Clara, who died in July, was a seventy-seven-year-old activist who many of us knew and worked with in the antiwar and women's movements. She was an important advocate of independent, mass action as the necessary strategy for winning social change.

Both as a warm, vital, and compassionate human being and a tireless fighter on behalf of progressive causes for more than fifty years, Clara will be sorely missed.

About 100 people attended the memorial, and about 20 spoke of our experiences and memories of Clara.

The meeting was a fitting tribute to a heroine of the working class, who didn't give up the struggle in her old age but remained an enthusiastic participant in life. As such, she is a positive model for every revolutionary and activist.

Ron Wolin

New York, New York

Finds 'Militant' excellent voice

I think your paper is an excellent voice that is seriously needed to oppose the evils of laissez-faire and state-supported capitalism, which are the causes of so many of our nation's problems as well as those of the world.

Continue your work in documenting the exploitations that still exist in our society and the folly of the alarming right-wing drift it seems our society is taking.

V. Joel Bailey

Chesterfield, Maryland.

Better than the 'Gazette'

Enclosed is my contribution of \$20 to the Militant \$50,000 Fund. The *Militant* is essential to me. Without it I would have a much more difficult time gathering correct information about what goes on in the world.

Every morning when my big-city capitalist daily is delivered, I am thankful that I also take the *Militant*.

The daily is full of poorly written, distorted, and often factually incorrect news items, frequently containing a sly antisocialist bias. News, that is, that the editors stuff into column space available only because they have been unable to sell it to the advertisers of various consumer goods. If the column space is sold, then the news goes unreported.

Here's hoping that the *Militant* will continue to expand!

Frank Kermett

Menomonie, Wisconsin

American Indian solidarity

On September 20-23 the United Nations conference on Indians of the Americas unanimously decided to declare October 12 (Columbus Day) as an International Day of Solidarity with American Indians.

This call was made to draw attention to and initiate actions against colonial and genocidal policies that are carried out against American Indians.

Among those attending the conference were representatives of Native peoples in Europe, the Arab countries, Africa, the United States and Latin America.

Russell Means, American Indian Movement leader, addressed the

conference, saying, "We are people who live in the belly of the monster, the monster being the United States of America. Every country in the Western Hemisphere follows the lead of the monster. I come not to turn the other cheek. We have turned it now for almost 500 years. . . . Someone once said you can tell the power of a country by the oppression its people will tolerate. No longer are we going to tolerate the monster."

Representatives of the U.S. government were given several opportunities to address the conference but claimed they "were not ready" to speak. Obviously, they had nothing to say.

Those interested can write to the American Indian Treaty Council Information Center, 777 United Nations Plaza, New York, New York 10017.

José G. Pérez

New York, New York



'He says that his name is Columbus, and he's just discovered us!'

Golden years of childhood

Readers of the *Washington Post* may have noticed an item in the October 8 issue headlined, "Child Harvest-Laborers Have an Ally in the Senate."

It seems that the Senate voted October 7 to allow employers to hire ten-year-olds as harvest laborers under some conditions. The vote took place "amid reminiscences of childhood days spent milking cows, picking berries and splitting logs."

The senators found a good many virtues in the idea of an open-air life at an early age. Sen. Bob Packwood, a liberal Oregon Republican, said of the potential young workers, "I would wager today that children are safer picking strawberries, raspberries or beans than they are playing in the park. They are not likely to be mugged, or robbed or raped in the strawberry field."

If I may make a suggestion to the senator, it seems to me that if muggings are the problem, a far safer place than the harvest field is a coal mine. I have it on excellent authority that only one mugging took place in a coal mine over the past four years, carried out by a white rabbit with a gold watch and waistcoat. Surely, this alternative should have been considered by the senators.

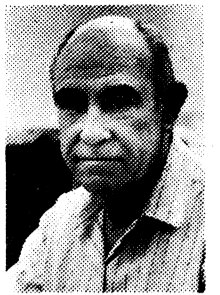
Sen. Mark Hatfield, another liberal, hailed the Senate's action as a "constructive opportunity for leisure time." Sen. William Hathaway said it will allow children to get out of doors, and "often-times they are engaging in play with one another" while picking crops.

The sort of games likely to be engaged in in the middle of a turnip field are not mentioned, but I'm sure the senators would be able to suggest something intriguing.

Sen. Edmund Muskie, a liberal Democrat, recalling the golden days of his childhood, noted that he split logs at age six. I have a momentary

National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



An illusion of success

vision of the senator copying the *Congressional Record* onto a wooden shovel by firelight, but I suppose this is a different story.

Muskie also attributed "much of the disaffection with government" to rules such as the previous twelve-year age minimum for farm work.

I can't say that I have noticed the massive marches of ten-year-olds on Capitol Hill crying, "Send us into the fields," but perhaps I expect too much.

Speaking for myself, my disaffection with the government began at age eleven when I learned about a dirty little war being fought against the Vietnamese people by the United States. Senator Muskie and others who supported that war have always tried to find another explanation for the disaffection that a whole generation has begun to feel for the system that gave us Watergate, Vietnam, pollution, the arms race, racism, sexism, and a good many other things. Sending ten-year-olds to work in the harvest fields is going to fuel that disaffection, not stop it.

Peter Archer
New York, New York

Move the scoreboard

In the last issue of the *Militant* the subscription sales scoreboard appeared on page 3. When I take the paper door to door selling subscriptions, I go through and show people the first few pages. I feel that it would enhance subscription sales to have a more attractive article on page three that would better indicate what is in the paper.

Don Bechler
Detroit, Michigan

UAW vote unanimous

Your "In Brief" item reporting that the United Auto Workers will not rejoin the AFL-CIO contained a factual error.

You stated that the UAW international executive board "voted down President Douglas Fraser's plan to hold a special convention for a formal vote on rejoining. . . ."

According to all news reports of the decision, the board voted *unanimously* against calling the special convention.

Although a majority of the board favors reaffiliation, informal polls had reportedly shown that a convention would reject the move. So the entire board decided not to bother with letting the delegates discuss and vote on reaffiliation.

G.A.
Hoboken, New Jersey

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.

The labor lobby in Washington has finally made some headway, and this is cause for top AFL-CIO officials to start crowing again about the virtues of their peculiar brand of class-collaborationist politics. On October 6 two labor-endorsed bills were passed, one in the House and the other in the Senate.

The Senate voted to up minimum pay to \$2.65 an hour in 1978, with increases to \$3.40 by 1981.

One feature of the new minimum-wage bill as "compromised" by House-Senate conferees is the expanding exemption of small businesses to exclude by 1982 all those grossing less than \$362,500 yearly. The Labor Department estimates that nearly 850,000 workers will lose minimum-wage protection as a result.

Sen. Harrison Williams (D-N.J.), a cosponsor of the bill, called it "the least we can do to provide a fair shake for minimum wage workers." It is the least, without doubt.

Efforts to further weaken the minimum wage law and lower wage standards were defeated, and on this account the inadequate legislation is hailed by union officials as a "victory."

The other bill, which has brought even more cheer to national AFL-CIO headquarters, is the Labor Law Reform Act of 1977, passed in the House by a 257-163 vote. This bill is limited to simple reforms in enforcement of the law, *plus some new features that will give the National Labor Relations Board broader powers to act against wildcat strikes and picketing of plants under union contract.*

The fight against section 14b of the Labor Relations Act (Taft-Hartley)—which encourages state "right to work" laws that severely cripple unions—was abandoned earlier this year by the AFL-CIO high command. This was in exchange for Carter's support of the milder reform measures.

At a dinner in Washington, attended by 1,800 supporters of labor law reform, Vice-president Walter

Mondale and AFL-CIO President George Meany were featured speakers.

Meany chided "decent, law-abiding employers" for not being present and for failing to support labor law reform. He also criticized conservative politicians "who profess respect for the laws. . . ."

"This measure is a conservative bill," Meany said. "It is designed to preserve law and order in labor-management relations. It only penalizes those corporations which are breaking the law."

The bill has yet to be passed in the Senate, and the vote won't be taken there until next year.

Meanwhile, Meany's sly appeals to "good" employers go unheeded. The Chamber of Commerce and other money-loaded employer groups are stepping up their campaign to defeat the labor law reform bill.

They claim that speedy NLRB elections and punitive measures against employers who refuse to accept the outcome of those elections are an "opening wedge to compulsory unionism."

Congress is controlled by the political parties of the employing class, where the working-class majority in this country has neither voice nor vote. When Congress has enacted legislation to recognize the rights of workers it has always been *after* the workers have militantly asserted their rights—never to protect workers against employer exploitation.

Meany and others who think working-class gains are made through collaboration with the bosses—both at the negotiating table and in government—have yet to demonstrate success. They may gloat over some illusory victory that momentarily benefits the union bureaucracy, but substantial gains for the workers on the job are made only through mass mobilization against the employers.

Legislation cannot be won to organize and strengthen the union movement without mobilizing the workers to protect and build their own independent class organizations.

Women in Revolt

Diane Wang



Califano's compassion

Starting with this week's issue, Diane Wang becomes our regular "Women in Revolt" columnist. A former staff member for the Illinois Women's Abortion Action Coalition and an abortion counselor, Wang has also written on Asian-American women's liberation and the gay rights struggle, in addition to her numerous exposés of government spying.

Willie Mae Reid, the previous columnist, is now devoting full time to coordinating the women's liberation work of the Socialist Workers Party.

Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Joseph Califano is full of compassion these days. "Califano Declares Dispute on Abortion Is Unfair to Poor," said the headline of an October 13 *New York Times* article.

It almost sounds like what women have been saying, doesn't it? If the government continues to ban Medicaid payment for abortions, poor women will be the victims.

But Califano has been leading the pack of women's foes to keep Medicaid funds frozen. And he hasn't changed his mind.

If you read the *New York Times* more closely, you see that Califano wasn't worrying about poor women who want abortions. He was just complaining about Congress's delay in putting the final touches on the anti-abortion bill, the Hyde amendment.

The House and Senate passed different versions of the amendment. For three months now they've been trying to agree on how far to go in denying women abortions.

Since the Hyde amendment is attached to the budget for Califano's HEW Department and the Labor Department, there is growing pressure to conclude the compromise. The old budgets ran out on September 30.

Califano and his cronies have used the budget deadline to build up steam to finally drive through the anti-abortion bill.

Califano lamented that it is "grossly unfair to hold the vulnerable people of our nation and thousands of federal and state employees hostage" by delaying the deal on the Hyde amendment. Some government workers may not get paid in mid-October, he warned, and "475,000 black lung beneficiaries cannot receive their checks due. . . ."

If the government was really concerned about "vulnerable people" being held "hostage," it would simply pay the wages and health benefits, and give back the Medicaid funds for abortion.

At least 261,000 women required Medicaid funding for abortions last year. Of those, 85 percent were welfare mothers. About one-third were less than twenty years old. Some 15,000 were under the age of fourteen. About one-third of all women getting abortions were Black, Latina, Asian, and Native American.

Now, fourteen states or territories under U.S. control have already cut off money for abortions. Another twenty-eight are in the process of doing so. Only twelve states and territories are continuing to provide state funds for poor women seeking abortion.

In states that have ended funding many women have given up seeking safe, medical abortions. In Memphis, for example, the number of women calling Planned Parenthood for abortion help has been cut in half. The head of the agency suggests that women have concluded that abortions are again illegal or that there is no use trying to get a safe one.

Dr. Louis Hellman, a former deputy assistant secretary of HEW, estimates that if the cutoff of abortion funds had been in effect last year, 850 women each week would have sought illegal abortions. Of those, 85 would have been hospitalized for botched abortions. And each week 5 of them would have died.

If you gross \$550,000 a year as Califano did practicing law in 1976, you don't have to worry about paying for an abortion. But, as Jimmy Carter noted not too long ago, if you are poor, well—life is unfair.

Labor political action then & now

Latest twist: Meany courts Republicans

By Frank Lovell

Top officials of the union movement are now deeply involved in what they call "political action," which has a special meaning for them, different from what it meant originally.

The first nationwide federation of labor was the National Labor Union (NLU), organized in 1866 by the indefatigable iron molder William Sylvis.

Sylvis was an advocate of political action. He understood this to mean the organization of a working-class party based on the unions that would struggle to replace capitalism with a just and equitable economic system.

"Capital," he said, "blights and withers all it touches." This ought to be more obvious now than a hundred years ago.

The NLU lasted only six years (1866 to 1872), partly because the leaders who succeeded Sylvis after his untimely death in 1869 had a different understanding of political action. Declaring that no reforms could be won through the unions, they organized the National Labor Reform Party. It campaigned for currency reform and was drawn into the vortex of capitalist politics.

Early AFL

The American Federation of Labor was founded in 1886 by men who thought they understood and believed in the socialist doctrine of Karl Marx. One of them was Samuel Gompers, the first AFL president until his death in 1924.

The early AFL leaders understood the difference between capital and labor. They wrote in the preamble to the constitution of the new federation:

"A struggle is going on in the nations of the world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between capital and labor which must grow in intensity from year to year and work disastrous results to the toiling millions of all nations if not combined for mutual protection and benefit."

Under Gompers's leadership, however, the AFL became strictly a federation of craft unions of skilled workers, opposed to independent working-class political action.

Business-minded craft union officials were convinced that their unions would be better off if they confined their political action to support of "labor's friends" in the Democratic and Republican parties. As Gompers put it, union members should "reward labor's friends and punish labor's enemies."

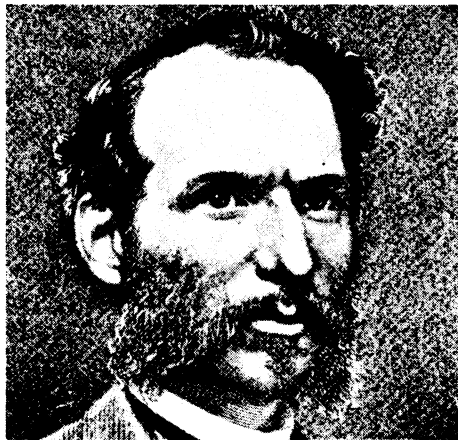
Union members had no friends in either the Republican or Democratic parties, then as now. But in the 1924 presidential election this fact was stressed by the candidates of both parties, and a movement for a labor party developed for a time within the unions.

Rise of CIO

During the 1920s the unions were under attack and declined steadily. The AFL sought help from "friends" in government but none was given.

The Great Depression of the 1930s taught that the unorganized workers would have to be organized into industrial unions, and the Committee for Industrial Organization was formed in 1935, headed by United Mine Workers President John L. Lewis.

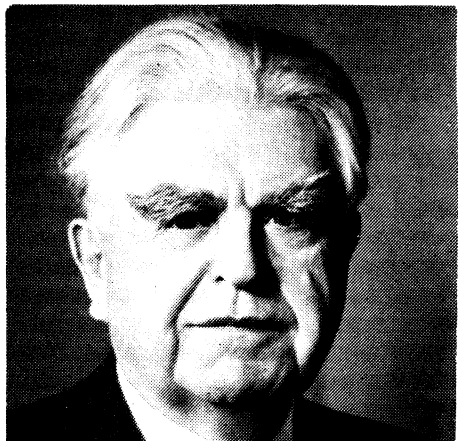
Lewis believed in political action, also within the capitalist two-party system. When the CIO was expelled from the old AFL it began to successfully organize the mass production workers in auto,



WILLIAM SYLVIS: 'Capital blights and withers all it touches.'



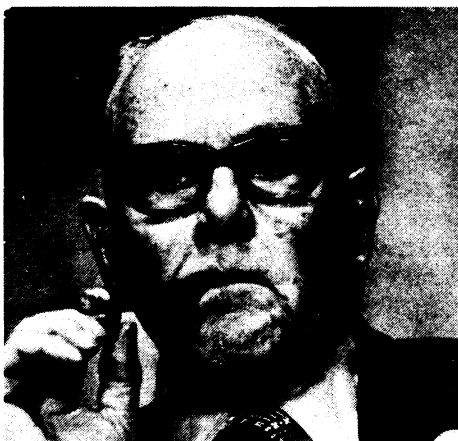
SAMUEL GOMPERS: 'Reward our friends and punish our enemies.'



JOHN L. LEWIS: 'The Democratic Party is in default to the American people.'



WALTER REUTHER: 'Now is not the time for a labor party.'



GEORGE MEANY: Invites Republicans to share in union funds.

rubber, steel, meat packing, and other basic industries.

These newly organized workers looked to the CIO to establish a labor party and put working men and women in public office.

Lewis established Labor's Non-Partisan League instead, but this was *different from the old Gompers policy*. It was intended as labor's political arm, an independent organization working within the Democratic Party.

In 1940 Lewis broke with Roosevelt, declared that "the Democratic party is in default to the American people" on every major issue, and endorsed Republican Wendell Willkie for president. Lewis then learned that Labor's Non-Partisan League had in fact become an arm of the Democratic Party, not of the CIO.

'Realignment'

During World War II, when the government imposed a wage freeze and no-strike pledge, there were renewed demands for a labor party from the ranks of the CIO unions, especially the auto union. But the officialdom fought against such a move.

In the postwar period the unions again came under attack. Top leaders of the CIO (most notably United Auto Workers President Walter Reuther) advised that "now is not the time for a labor party."

They recommended instead that the unions work for a "political realignment" within the two-party system. This was the political stance of the labor movement after the 1955 merger of the old AFL and the CIO.

President George Meany of the merged AFL-CIO seemed to adopt Reuther's policy—that is, to work within the Democratic Party to purge the anti-union "Dixiecrats" and woo liberal Republicans.

The result, union officials said, would be a Republican Party where all the conservatives would cluster and a prounion Democratic Party cleansed of its reactionary elements.

This never happened.

The union movement is today under the most severe and sustained attack since the "prosperous" 1920s. The employers are driving to roll back the gains of the great organizing campaigns of the CIO in its formative years.

Once again the labor officials say "political action" will solve their problem, nothing else can. And they have introduced a new twist to this.

Advice to Republicans

Somebody by the name of Victor Kamber, who is director of the AFL-CIO task force on labor-law reform, recently delivered a friendly lecture to the Republican Party. It was published in the *New York Times* where influential Republicans would see it.

Kamber—clearly speaking for Meany—advises Republicans to take a new look at their recent election losses and see if their defeats are not due to "the takeover of the party's mentality by the right wing." Kamber intimates that the Republicans might win over labor's powerful support. All that is required is some votes for labor-sponsored legislation that will cost the employers little or nothing.

An example is the common situs picketing bill, which the building-trades unions still see as their future salvation.

"The bill was basically a reform measure to correct a variety of existing inequities in the building trades," says Kamber, "but right-wing ideologues made it into an emotional Republican point of honor."

The result, according to Kamber,

was disaster. "Then-President Gerald R. Ford, who honestly supported the bill, was turned around by what he believed were the political realities of the party."

But that was last year, the previous Congress, and a Republican administration. What about now?

The same bill was introduced again this year and failed this time to pass Congress. It never got to Carter, who had promised to sign it but did nothing to help its passage. Does that mean that the Democrats, who this time were responsible for its defeat, have been taken over by the right wing?

Gravy train

Kamber says, "Labor groups contributed \$8.2 million to Congressional candidates in 1976. . . ." Few Republicans got on the gravy train. But he invites them aboard . . . to "seek revival in new alliances."

"I believe," he says, "labor is an important and necessary place to begin that search."

This must mean that Kamber and others like him who spend time around capitalist politicians have the false impression that these politicians or the voters in their districts have something to do with party policy. That isn't the case at all.

The Democratic and Republican parties are owned and controlled by big business, no one else. The banks, international cartels, and giant corporations dictate policy for both.

Both parties have a right wing and some liberals. They appear to be different. But there is a very easy and mutually beneficial understanding between them.

No lobbyist can bribe or trick or maneuver them into serving the interests of the working class—or even the interests of the union bureaucracy, which are different from those of working people.

The hundred-year history of political action by the union movement proves this.

Independent action

At those times when the union movement undertook to organize the working class in its own self-defense against the employing class, it succeeded. It succeeded initially in the nineteenth century when the unions were first formed. And the obstacles to organizing were greater then than now.

In the 1930s the successful organizing drives that were precursors of the CIO were conducted against government opposition, without help from capitalist politicians.

At every juncture when the unions have come under heavy attack, the labor movement—or a section of it—has turned to the unorganized workers for new strength and new hope.

On every occasion when this has happened the union movement has taken a fresh look at political action and sought to organize its own independent working-class political party, a labor party based on the unions.

This experience is bound to be repeated. Organizing the working class—in unions and as a political force in society—is an independent operation that depends entirely upon the workers' resources.

Political action is more necessary now than ever before. But to be effective it must be working-class political action, independent of the employers and their political parties and institutions.

The union movement today needs a labor party, not an overture to the Republicans.

Tacoma SWP candidate speaks out

Defend Washington Indian fishing rights!

By Allan Grady

TACOMA, Wash.—American Indians here are fighting to defend a major victory they won in 1974.

That year, U.S. District Judge George Boldt ruled that the 1854 Medicine Creek Treaty and subsequent treaties signed by the U.S. government guaranteed fishing rights to the Indian tribes of the Pacific Northwest "in perpetuity."

Boldt said the Indians had the right to up to 50 percent of the estimated yearly steelhead and salmon catch from Washington streams and rivers and that subsistence, ceremonial, and on-reservation catches would not count against this share.

This victory was the outcome of more than a decade of struggle by more than 150 Indian tribes and thousands of their supporters. But today it is under attack.

Democratic Gov. Dixie Lee Ray—working hand in glove with the Carter administration—is fighting implementation of the Boldt decision.

U.S. Rep. Lloyd Meeds, also a Democrat, is authoring a bill to curtail Indian rights on the grounds that "Indians have gone too far."

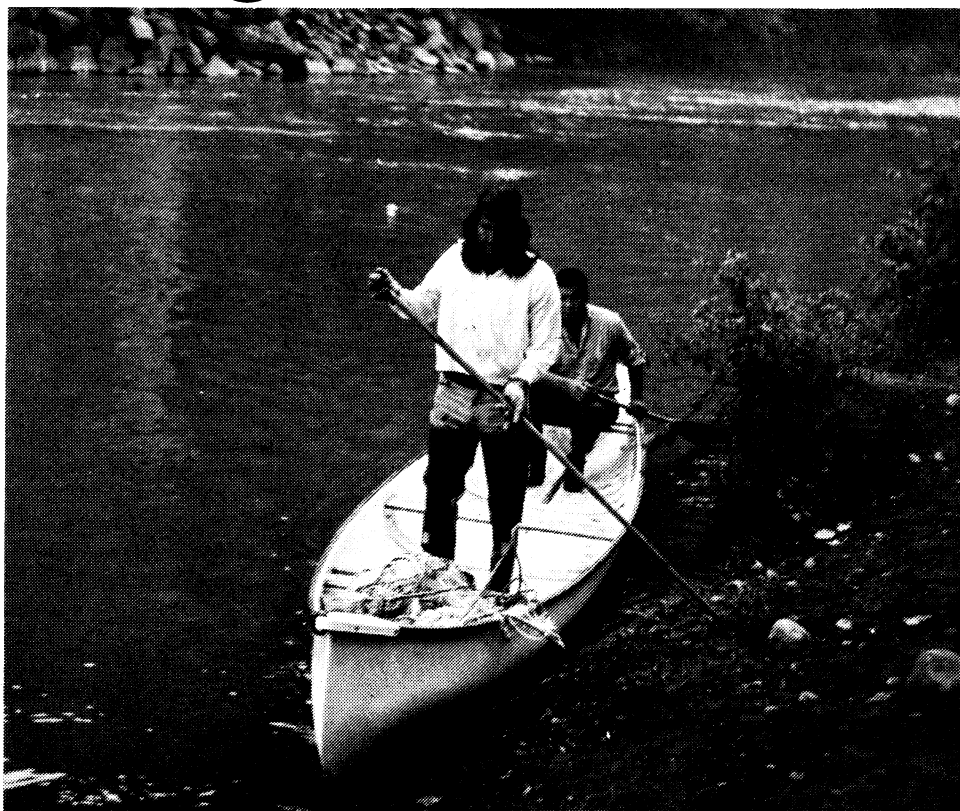
Meeds's Republican colleague, U.S. Rep. Jack Cunningham, has introduced a bill designed to end all Indian treaties and treaty rights.

In the mayoral race here Democrats Lorraine Wojahn and Mike Parker both oppose the Boldt decision.

Only David Zilly, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, is unconditionally supporting the Indians' struggle to defend their treaty rights.

"The Democrats and Republicans claim they are simply against 'special privileges' Indians enjoy at the expense of whites," Zilly says. "But this argument is a smokescreen designed to advance the interests of the big corporations these capitalist politicians serve."

"These corporations are on a drive to increase their profits by slashing pollution controls and the living standards of working people. Their opposition to Indian fishing rights is an attempt to



Washington Indians in 1968 'fish-in.' Gains won by years of protests such as this one are now under attack.

make the worst victims of their profit-driven drive look like the criminals instead."

The state of Washington, Zilly says, has been attacking Indian fishing rights ever since the 1890s when the perfection of canning made possible the development of a highly-profitable, large-scale commercial fishing industry.

- Indian nets were cut.
- Boats were confiscated.
- State courts authorized mass arrests of members of the Yakima nation.

• State authorities tried to stop the Quillette tribe from shipping their catch on commercially competitive transports.

• The State Department of Fisheries barred Indian net fishing from traditional fishing areas, while permitting non-Indian commercial fishing for salmon elsewhere on the same runs.

In response, Indians organized a fishing rights movement.

In 1962, the Nisqually tribe held a "fish-in" at Frank's Landing here in Tacoma.

The movement picked up support. There were mass demonstrations, including marches on the state capital.

By 1970 organized fish-ins, such as one on the Puyallup River, were attracting thousands of supporters.

Judge Boldt made his 1974 ruling under pressure from these protests. Almost immediately, however, the foes of Indian rights went back into action.

The commercial fishermen's associations organized a petition campaign to impeach Judge Boldt.

The state of Washington refused to enforce his ruling, going—

unsuccessfully—into court to overturn it.

This year the Washington State Supreme Court ruled that the Department of Fisheries did not have to enforce the Boldt decision because it "discriminates against non-Indians."

Judge Boldt overrode the state Supreme Court's order by stripping Washington authorities of all powers to evade his 1974 ruling.

The Carter administration's Task Force on Northwest Fisheries then succeeded in getting the Indians' share of the catch lowered to 45 percent for 1977. On-reservation, ceremonial, and subsistence fish catches were to be deducted from this lowered overall share.

The Carter administration claims it supports the Indians and that its recommendations are in the interest of conservation. But this is a crude attempt to divide the Indians from potential allies among sports fishermen and environmentalists.

The Indians' treaty rights are no threat to the fish supply. State Department of Fisheries statistics show that Indians took less than 20 percent of the salmon catch in recent years, far less than the allotted 50 percent.

"It's the very same big corporations that are campaigning against Indian fishing rights who are the real enemies of conservation in Washington waters," says Zilly.

On August 19, for example, a 125-foot-span of Milwaukee Road railway trestle collapsed. Freight cars carrying more than 800 tons of copper, lime, sulphur, and other chemical-bearing ore fell into the Nisqually River.

Thousands of steelhead and rainbow

trout soon turned up dead as far as twenty miles downstream.

In April 1976 more than one million salmon were lost when the Washington Public Power Supply System failed to return the Columbia to its proper level following tests related to nuclear power projects.

Zilly says these examples are typical of the daily pollution of the waterways by the state's largest corporations such as American Smelter and Refining, the St. Regis Paper Company, and Weyerhaeuser Paper.

This shows who the real enemies of conservation are, he says.

"It is in the interests of sports fishermen and conservationists to struggle with the Indians against these profiteering destroyers of the environment and not be suckered by claims that Indian fishing rights threaten the supply of salmon."

Zilly points to the hypocrisy of those who claim the Indians are enjoying special privileges at the expense of whites.

"Indians here have an infant mortality rate that is 31 percent higher than the national average," he points out. "Their life expectancy is forty-seven years, compared with seventy-one years for whites. Their death rate is 75 percent malnutrition-related."

The drive against Indian fishing rights, Zilly says, "will increase this racist discrimination—not enhance any imaginary 'special privileges.'"

Zilly agrees with Joe DeLaCruz, president of the National Tribal Chairmen's Association, that if the Indian treaties are dissolved, "the doors would be open to strike down other freedoms."

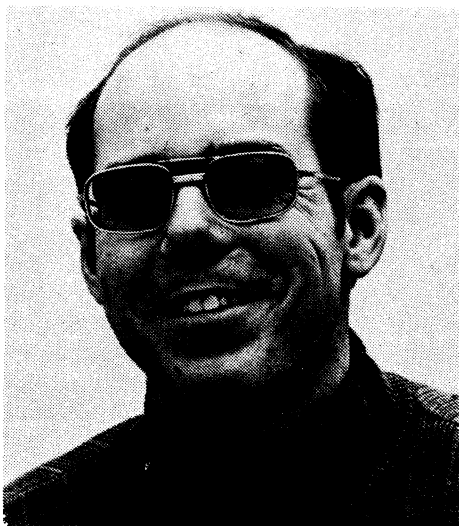
The socialist candidate says this attack on Indian rights is "part of the same racist and anti-working-class offensive being waged everywhere across the country by the capitalist rulers."

"It is a coordinated attempt to beat back rights won by the oppressed—Indians, Blacks, women, and all working people."

"The current offensive against Indian treaty rights must be answered in the only way that can prepare for a united fight back of the oppressed—an injury to one is an injury to all."

"Given the systematic refusal of Washington state and local authorities to obey Judge Boldt's decision, all working people should demand that the federal government enforce Indian fishing rights by any means necessary," Zilly says, "even if this means sending in the Coast Guard to do so."

"Just as it was only through years of protests that the gains represented by the Boldt ruling were won," the socialist candidate says, "those gains can only be defended today through the rebuilding of such a movement—not by reliance on Democratic or Republican politicians."



DAVID ZILLY

Militant/Lou Howort

200 rally for Garza in NYC

By Mary Gutekanst

NEW YORK—With only weeks left before the city elections here, the big-business candidates are winding down their campaigns.

But there has been no let up in the drive by the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party to win New Yorkers to the socialist alternative.

The SWP is running Catarino Garza for mayor, Jane Roland for city council president, Robert Des Verney for comptroller, and Nicomedes Sanchez for city council from District Two.

The candidates all addressed a campaign rally of 200 people October 8. The impressive array of activists who

also spoke showed that the party's fighting spirit has won it wide respect.

Vicente "Panama" Alba gave greetings from the Committee to Free the Five Puerto Rican Nationalists. Alba was jailed last month after a New York City bombing attributed to the mysterious FALN terrorist group. He was released when police could not substantiate their frame-up charges against him.

Maria Barreto, a member of the Lower East Side District One School Board from the Por Los Niños coalition, saluted Nicomedes Sanchez for his work in defense of the rights of Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Chinese in the Lower East Side community.

Pearl Clark, a Black woman who is a student at Queens College, explained why she joined the Socialist Workers Party as a result of her experiences in the fight for Black rights.

Liz González, a law student and leader in the fight for decent child and health care in the Bronx Puerto Rican community, told the rally how important affirmative-action programs are to people such as herself.

Robert Chamberlin announced that his organization, the New York Socialists, had decided to endorse Garza's campaign. The New York Socialists are affiliated with the Socialist Party U.S.A.

Dissident Teamsters hold nat'l convention

By Shelley Kramer

CLEVELAND—"In the coming year we're going to be laying the groundwork for the 1979 Master Freight Agreement. We'll be showing people that there is an alternative . . . to outrageous overtime, to six- and seven-day weeks, to three weeks out on the road, so that when you come home your kids don't know what you look like. . . . We're going to try to stop this seventy-hour slavery, because we've got a slogan: We work to live, we don't live to work."

Danny Kablack, a member of Teamsters Local 250 in Pittsburgh, is fed up with the worsening lot of truckers in this country. He's also fed up with his union leadership's willingness—even eagerness—to play by the bosses' rules. He is a leading member of Teamsters for a Democratic Union, a dissident grouping within the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, which held its second national convention here in Cleveland, September 24 and 25.

The TDU, formed in September 1976, sees democratizing the IBT as the first step in making the union respond to the needs of its many thousands of members. Together with the Professional Drivers Council (PROD), TDU's rise testifies to the increasing militancy of Teamster ranks, who confront not only stepped-up employer attacks but also the notorious corruption of the Frank Fitzsimmons leadership.

The Fitzsimmons team is committed to the policy of collaboration with the employers at the negotiating table and in the political arena. It is notorious for its misuse of union funds, deals with organized crime, and murderously repressive union regime. All of this has left the trucking companies a clear field for their profit-gouging schemes.

Speedup

Speedup begins on the roads. More freight is now being hauled by fewer workers. This means unsafe loads and hazardous driving conditions. Seventy-to ninety-hour weeks are not uncommon.

Bosses are increasing their use of "casual" and part-time workers who lack full union wages and benefits, "run away" terminals that close down and open anew to wreck seniority, production quotas for inside workers, scab outfits, and company union "sub-contractors."

Fitzsimmons's response? Only to dish out more of the same. "Sweetheart contracts" that make second-class citizens out of the most oppressed sections of the union's membership. The denial of every rank-and-file option for fighting back: company-biased grievance machinery, restrictions on the right to vote for union officers, no separate votes on supplementary agreements to the Master Freight Agreement, regular imposition of trusteeships on dissident locals, and the squandering of union funds for personal gain and underworld favors.



FITZSIMMONS: plays by the bosses' rules.



Workers Power TDU convention pledged to defend victimized Canadian unionist Jack Vlahovic (with arm raised).

And these are only the tamest of the bureaucracy's methods.

Physical violence, even murder, is an open threat to all opposition. Jimmy Hoffa's disappearance captured the headlines; many Teamsters are intimidated into silence by the less sensational fate of accident-rigged trucks and other mysterious industrial "mis-adventures."

TDU's challenge

The TDU is out to change all of this. As a result, its members are subjected to physical abuse, frame-ups, and red-baiting.

At last year's national IBT convention in Las Vegas, TDU leader Pete Camarata was badly beaten after casting the sole vote against Fitzsimmons's reelection. This year Fitzsimmons's lieutenants in Detroit tried to expel Camarata and fellow TDU leader Al Ferdnace from the union for their support to a car-haulers' wildcat strike.

This pattern of harassment extended right to the doors of the TDU's recent convention. Jackie Presser, IBT vice-president and Ohio's district director, headed a picket line that circled the convention center. Some 300 of his supporters and their wives and children carried placards reading: "Dad + mom + kids = teamster unity," "Teamster men, women, and kids are thankful for good life," "We support our elected officials," and "Teamsters: a part of American life."

Inside the TDU meeting spirits were high, despite a smaller turnout than predicted. (A preregistration figure of 400 was announced, but the largest session included only 175.) About 25 percent of the participants were women; less than 10 percent were Black.

The opening session on Saturday assessed the TDU's first year. Doug Allan, a steering committee spokesperson, summed up TDU's accomplishments: "The TDU has done only one thing: we have a group of rank-and-file people who can stand together and put across their opinions."

Pete Camarata reported to the convention on the outcome of TDU's first major campaign—reforming the union bylaws. According to Camarata, time and effort expended in defending TDU members from expulsion, firings as a result of wildcats, and systematic red-baiting cut short this effort.

Considered among TDU's chief accomplishments for the year was the adherence of Jack Vlahovic, secretary-treasurer of Canada's largest IBT local—the 8,700-member local 213 based in Vancouver, British Columbia.

Vlahovic won his office early this year heading up a popular reform

slate. The Canadian IBT leadership reacted by running Vlahovic out of office on trumped-up charges. He has been barred for life from union office.

Local 213's ranks are organizing a defense effort to protect their right to elect the officers of their choice. The TDU convention voted to support Vlahovic's case.

Delphina Lozoya, a woman cannery worker from Hayward, California, reported on her struggle to overturn discriminatory employment practices that keep "seasonal" Chicano and women workers on the bottom of the seniority list.

In 1974 she and nine other minority workers won an affirmative-action consent decree. In her speech Lozoya called attention to the threat the California *Bakke* decision against affirmative-action quotas poses to this and other gains women and minorities have fought for and won: "Now we're waiting for the *Bakke* decision. We're going to take a real hard blow if they don't overturn the state decision, and we'll really have a hard road to hoe then. But we're not going to let it get us down."

No action was taken by the convention in support of affirmative action.

'Dump Fitz'

Ken Paff, TDU national secretary, told the Saturday afternoon session that fighting for the right of the membership to elect their international officers will be the group's major campaign for the coming year.

"Our long-term goal is dumping not just Fitz but all the people who pull the strings," Danny Kablack declared in the discussion that followed. He added that TDU candidates "are not just the conventional reformers. They're not the people you've heard before, the smiling would-be bureaucrats."

Jim Davidson of Local 85, San Francisco, expressed concern over staking everything on a "Dump Fitz" strategy: "I'm nervous about dumping Fitz as an individual until we can build something really better to replace

him with, or we'll have a real sharp replace him, and we'll lose our momentum."

Plans were also made to run several TDU candidates in local elections across the country. Special attention will be paid to Bob Janadia's challenge to Robert Holmes, a powerful Hoffa heir, in Detroit's Local 337 and to Camarata's campaign for the vice-presidency of Fitzsimmons's home Local 299.

Harry Patrick

A highlight of the weekend convention was the guest appearance of Harry Patrick, secretary-treasurer of the United Mine Workers.

"I'm breaking ranks with your traditional labor leader. . . . I don't see any other one here, although they should be here. I went through the same thing that you people are going through. I know what a struggle is and what a fight is," Patrick, a founding member of Miners for Democracy, told the TDU audience.

Patrick charged that the labor movement today is "stagnant" and cited the decline in union membership. You look at the figures, they're terrifying, they're frightening." He attributed this decline—and the rise of reform movements such as the TDU, PROD, Miners for Democracy, and Steelworkers Fight Back—to the failures of the established union leaderships.

"Labor leaders are not responsive to the membership under any circumstances. They have grown fat, and as soon as the union dues started rolling in and the union dues got big enough to pay expense accounts, salaries, the organizing efforts stopped."

He cautioned the TDU, however, to "go very slow" in vying for union leadership. "Go very careful, change the union if you must, but make sure that you have the proper leadership to take over when the old leadership goes. And always remember that the real fight is with the company. You have to fight the union the way we did. I understand that, but never let the company get away from you," Patrick warned.

When asked whether he favored the creation of a labor party independent of the Republicans and Democrats, Patrick answered, "About three, or four, or five months ago I would have said—and I did say it—that I thought we could work within the Democratic Party to force the kind of legislation that's progressive to workers of this country. I will not say that today, and I think that if labor doesn't form some kind of coalition and make their own party we're going to continue to go down the drain."

He concluded by calling for today's reform movements to join forces in order to "wake up" the labor movement. "I think there's hope. I think we have to put the pressure on. That's why I said I hope I can stand here a couple years from now and see miners, and teamsters, and steelworkers, and auto workers and all others. We're not going to argue about jurisdiction. We don't give a damn about jurisdiction. And we're going to have a real, viable labor party in this country. That's the hope!"

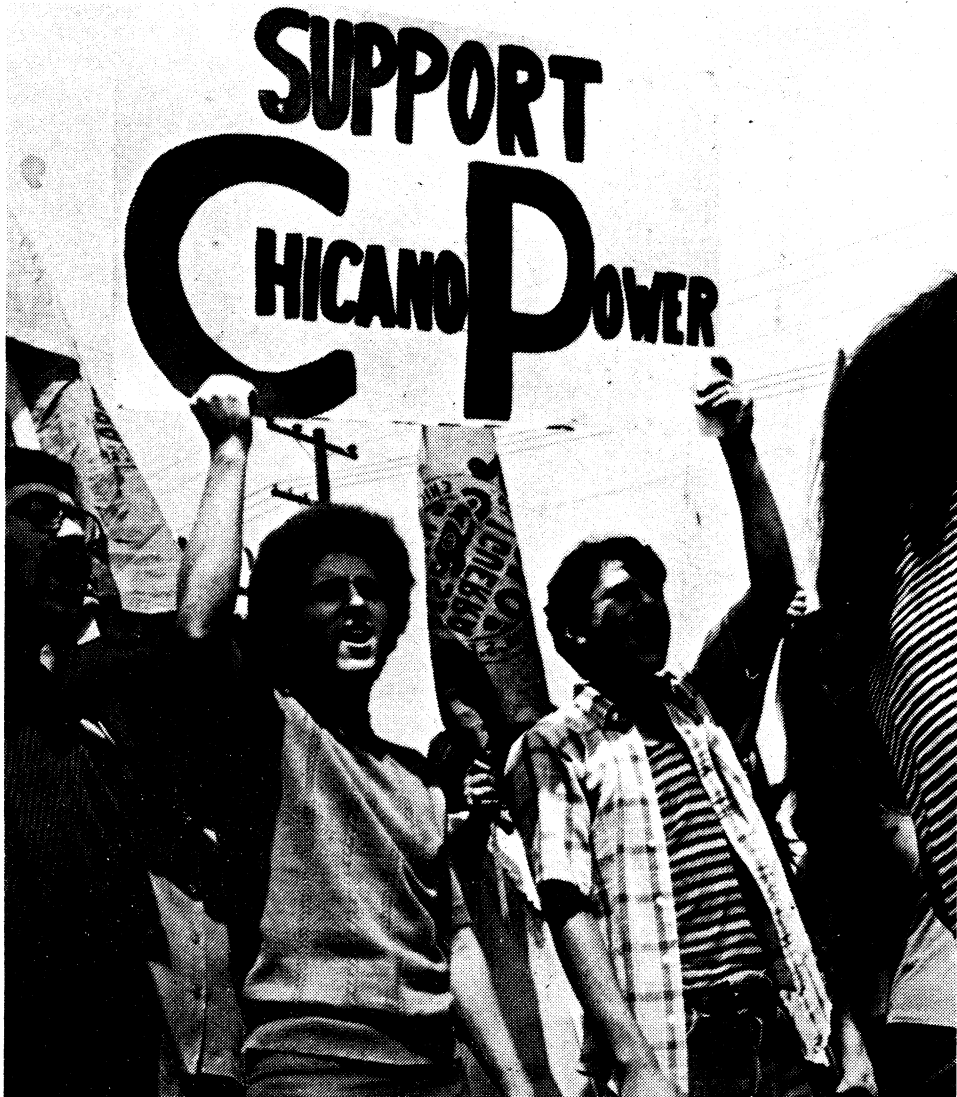
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Chicano Cointelpro



August 29, 1970, Chicano Moratorium

Militant/John Gray

The government's war against la Raza

Although not acknowledged by Washington, all evidence points to the existence of a coordinated 'Counterintelligence Program' to disrupt the struggles of la Raza. This article traces how an army of Democratic and Republican politicians, FBI and CIA agents, local cops, state and federal courts, as well as assorted informers, provocateurs, and right-wing terrorists, have conspired to destroy the Chicano movement.

Target: the Movement

José Angel Gutiérrez looked at the files he'd forced the CIA to hand over to him. Page after page was headed, "Operation CHAOS; Chicano Power Movement." CHAOS—an appropriate code name for the CIA's disruption plots against domestic dissidents.

By Miguel Pendás

Last fall José Angel Gutiérrez, a founding leader of the Texas Raza Unida Party, publicly released the file that the CIA had collected on his activities in the Chicano movement. He had obtained the materials through the federal Freedom of Information Act.

Long passages—sometimes whole pages—had been blacked out. Despite the censorship, Gutiérrez's file showed that CIA agents have targeted virtually every leading activist and organization in the *movimiento*.

Most of the entries in Gutiérrez's file fell under the heading "Operation CHAOS; Chicano Power Movement." Operation CHAOS was a special CIA squad launched while Democrat Lyndon Johnson was in the White House. Its aim—like the FBI's notorious counterintelligence programs (Cointelpro)—was to spy on and disrupt the growing social protest movements in this country.

Some entries in Gutiérrez's file are marked "priority" or "eyes only"—CIA lingo for top secret. A look at just some of the entries illustrates the extent of the government's operations against the entire Chicano movement.

There is, for example, a report on a visit to Mexico in 1972 by a delegation that included Gutiérrez and other Chicano figures such as Reies López Tijerina, leader of the land-grant movement in New Mexico; Arturo Sánchez of *La Raza* magazine in Los Angeles; Antonio Rodríguez, a movement lawyer; Olga Villa from Notre Dame University; Dr. Juan Gómez; Prof. Narciso Alemán; Texas activist Mario Cantú; and Bert Corona, a figure in the antideportation movement.

The CIA noted that the delegation was going to hold "public gatherings" that would "create embarrassment for [Mexican] President Echeverría."

To cite another example, the file contains a report on the national convention of Raza Unida parties held in El Paso, Texas, in September 1972. Certain passages were marked for special attention. One stated: "Gutiérrez has achieved considerable publicity from the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party."

(Someone in the CIA felt that was significant.)

The CIA also circled names of Chicanos who attended the gathering. In addition to Gutiérrez, Tijerina, and Corona, the agents circled the names of participants from Washington, D.C., Arizona, California, Michigan, Texas, and Colorado.

And the file also shows that the CIA spied on a Chicano conference held in the fall of 1970 at Highlands University in Las Vegas, New Mexico. It notes that the Raza Unida Party was among the participants.

Why the spies?

What was the CIA investigating at this meeting? The Operation CHAOS report states that the following were the main themes of the conference: "demand for the respect for the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo," which guaranteed land and other rights to Chicanos after the U.S. conquest of Mexico; "protest against the educational system which prohibits the rise of Mexican Americans. . . . demand for complete civil rights; denunciation of repressive police acts, . . . support for the strike movement of Cesar CHAVEZ."

"Unity of action of all Mexican organizations in a single program and the creation of a formal 'Chicano Power' movement; protest against all racial discrimination, which they refer to as 'institutionalized racism'; protest against the Vietnamese war; . . . and participation of Mexicans in that war; Spanish-language education in the schools; . . . and the improvement of living and working conditions of Mexican-Americans."

In another file, the CIA notes that the Mexican American Youth Organization "attempts to politically organize in areas where there are a large number of Mexican-Americans and to win political positions by elections, from 'white' politicians. MAYO advocates the need for a political program and united action by all Mexican-Americans."

Clearly, the government was spying on Chicanos solely because of their political views and legal activities.

Such operations are reminiscent of J. Edgar Hoover's 1961 memorandum initiating the FBI's "SWP Disruption Program." That memo, obtained by the SWP through its \$40 million lawsuit against government harassment, said:

"The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has, over the past several years, been openly espousing its line . . . through running candidates for public office and strongly directing and/or supporting such causes as Castro's Cuba and integration problems arising in the South."

Extensive CIA files obtained by the SWP through its suit show that the socialists, as well as the anti-Vietnam War movement, also were victims of Operation CHAOS.

As with Gutiérrez, the socialists' files were heavily censored. In sworn testimony, however, former CIA Director George Bush admitted that CHAOS operations against the socialists included break-ins, electronic surveillance, mail covers, and informers.

Black liberation movement

Files released on the government's campaign against the Black liberation movement graphically illustrate the goals of CIA and FBI operations against the Chicano liberation struggle.

In 1967, for example, the FBI launched a special Cointelpro drive against "black nationalist hate groups." The FBI urged its agents to "expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit, or otherwise neutralize" the Black movement.

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover listed several more specific goals. One was to "prevent the coalition" of Blacks. He also sought to "prevent the rise of a 'messiah' who could unify, and electrify, the Black masses; "to prevent militant black nationalist groups and leaders from gaining respectability"; and to "prevent the long-range growth of militant black nationalist organizations, especially among youth." (Emphasis in original.)

One Cointelpro action, for example, was designed to inflame a feud between the San Diego Black Panther Party and another Black organization. Four Panthers were subsequently killed in San Diego and four other Black activists wounded.

"As a result of our efforts the Black Panther party in San Diego is no more. It has been completely done away with," boasted a San Diego FBI memorandum to Hoover.

Has there been a Cointelpro against the Chicano movement as well?

All the evidence points to the answer, "yes," although specific government documents of such an operation have not yet been unearthed.

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The record shows, nevertheless, that from the very beginning of the Chicano struggles in the 1960s the government has tried to smash the *movimiento*.

The cases cited below single out just some of the most prominent individuals and organizations in the movement that have been victimized by government dirty tricks. Many other similar incidents have undoubtedly occurred.

Target: la Alianza

New Mexico Attorney General Stewart Hatch had written a memo on Reies López Tijerina: "In personal conversation T speaks approvingly of F. Castro's 'land reforms.'" Hatch added a scribbled note: "What to do about this . . . Communist Wetback?"

A classic example of how federal and local cops, capitalist politicians, and the big-business-controlled news media worked together to "disrupt, discredit and destroy" a movement for social change was the New Mexico land-grant movement.

In the 1950s, Reies López Tijerina and others began to organize Chicanos in northern New Mexico to reclaim lands that had belonged to their ancestors before the U.S. conquest of the Southwest. For more than a century these lands had been slowly taken away by outright robbery, as well as "legal" fraud and deceit, leaving thousands of Chicano farmers landless.

From the beginning, the land-grant movement met hostile resistance from powerful moneyed interests. In 1968 alone, timber from land-grant territory in the forests around Santa Fe brought in \$28 million for these profiteers. Some grants have great value as grazing lands; others contain some of the richest mineral deposits in North America.

Northern New Mexico is also one of the most impoverished places in the United States. A 1966 government study found that in Rio Arriba County, where two-thirds of the residents are either Chicano or Indian, 74 percent of the homes had no flush toilets; 70 percent had no electric or gas stoves; 66 percent had no television; 87 percent no telephone; half were on welfare; and 28 percent were unemployed. Ranch hands, the majority of them Chicanos, earned an average of \$805 a year.

The Alianza

By 1965 the Alianza, as Tijerina's movement was called, grew into a mass movement. *Newsweek* estimated its membership at 3,000 families—14,000 individuals. Its 1966 state convention drew 3,000 people, and the discussion went beyond the land question to include other issues affecting Chicanos.

The Alianza began denouncing the war in Vietnam, saying that Chicanos shouldn't be sent off to die for their oppressors. They protested suppression of the Spanish language in the schools.

The Alianza, like *la causa* of the United Farm Workers in California, became a rallying point for the rapidly developing nationalist consciousness among Chicanos, not only in New Mexico, but throughout the Southwest.

U.S. Sen. Joseph Montoya (D—N.M.) considered the Alianza a subversive development, and called on the FBI to investigate it.

He needn't have bothered. The FBI had started a file on the Alianza as early as 1964.

In February of that year the district attorney in Tierra Amarilla, Alfonso Sánchez, wrote a letter to J. Edgar Hoover advising him that the land-grant movement was "communistic" and should be investigated.

In a later memo, New Mexico Attorney General Stewart Hatch took note of Tijerina's growing influence.

"In personal conversation, [Tijerina] speaks approvingly of F. Castro's 'land reforms,'" wrote Hatch. He termed Tijerina a "potential danger to maintenance of order . . . may be controlled by accused and possible actual Communists."

The state attorney general scribbled a note: "What to do about this (so-called) Communist Wetback?"

On October 15, 1966, the Alianza held a protest at the Echo Amphitheater, a natural rock formation in a national park that was once part of the San Joaquín del Río de Chama land grant.

The authorities apparently decided never again to allow the Alianza to hold another protest. A short time later, when the Alianza called a public meeting in Coyote, District Attorney Alfonso Sánchez banned it.

FBI agents and local cops swarmed all over the small towns of northern New Mexico, illegally stopping and searching cars and handing out leaflets saying that anyone who wants to take over the land is a communist.

Authorities raided Alianza offices and seized membership lists. Wholesale round-ups took place. *alianzistas* lost their jobs.

Because of these arbitrary violations of civil liberties, the Alianza called a meeting where they decided to carry out a citizen's arrest of the district attorney at the courthouse in Tierra Amarilla, where some of those illegally rounded up were still being held. A judge later ruled that this was a perfectly legal thing to do.

So on June 5, 1967, a group of twenty *alianzistas* arrived at the courthouse looking for the D.A., who was not there. In the events that followed, a local cop was shot and wounded.

The next day newspapers across the country were filled with the story. "Land Grabbing Mob Guns Down 2 Cops" read the headline in the *New York Daily News*.

All-out war

This was the chance the authorities had been waiting for. They launched an all-out war on the land-grant movement.

Gov. David Cargo declared, "You can't sit down and negotiate with Jesse James." He called out the biggest National Guard mobilization since 1952 and put up \$500 out of his own pocket as a reward for the capture of one of the "raiders."

A massive manhunt was mobilized throughout northern New Mexico to track down the Alianza activists and terrorize the Chicano population.

A force of 500 hunters rolled out, including 350 troops, state and local police, forest rangers, and FBI agents. An additional 400 National Guard troops were put on standby. The force commanded 200 vehicles, including helicopters and tanks. The troops were issued 20,000 rounds of ammunition.

Gen. John Pershing Jolly, commander of the operation, ordered more ammunition, saying that "20,000 rounds won't last very long if we start shooting." He gave his troops an order to shoot anyone who resisted.

The invaders rolled down dirt roads, stopping at houses, shining searchlights, pulling people out of their homes. Many people compared the operation to U.S. tactics in Vietnam. It was three days of terror that the Chicanos of New Mexico have not yet forgotten.

About forty Raza—men, women and children—were rounded up at a picnic and kept incommunicado in a makeshift concentration camp for over twenty-four hours without food, water, or shelter.

The public campaign to discredit the Alianza reached a fever pitch.

Senator Montoya called Tijerina a "charlatan, monster, racist, creature of darkness" and a "rabble-rouser" who was "setting back race relations."

Solidarity builds

But while the Tierra Amarilla courthouse incident brought down the full wrath of U.S. ruling circles on the Chicanos of New Mexico, many people rallied to their side. Their cause became known everywhere.

Bert Corona and César Chávez traveled from California, and Corky Gonzales from Colorado, to show their solidarity. Chicano activists came from all over the country.

In the Black community, Martin Luther King, Dick Gregory, Elijah Muhammad of the Nation of Islam, the Black Panther Party, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, the Congress of Racial Equality, and others expressed solidarity.

Nonetheless, the next two years were a rough road for the Alianza. Most of its time and energies were consumed in trials arising from the incident and other charges.

Terrorism against the Alianza also increased. Three dynamite blasts occurred at Alianza headquarters. A building in Taos was bombed. A co-op clinic in Tierra Amarilla was burned to the ground.



United Farm Workers pickets

Members' homes were dynamited and shot at.

On April 16, 1968, a man stopped his car in front of an Alianza building, jumped out, and ran toward the building, carrying a stick of dynamite with the fuse lit. He tripped and fell. The bomb blew off his hand. It turned out he was a former Bernalillo County deputy. He was never punished for the attempted bombing.

In the summer of 1969 the FBI arrested Robert DePugh, top leader of the ultraright Minutemen, and another man. The government agents discovered a cache of arms in their possession so large that the inventory-sheet report was twenty-four pages long. It included aerial maps of land-grant villages, as well as dynamite, grenades, homemade pipe bombs, hundreds of fuses, a veritable armory of rifles, shotguns, and revolvers, twenty-five cans of cyanide gas, bows and arrows equipped to launch bombs, and thousands of rounds of ammunition.

Membership lists for the Minutemen were also found. They were said to contain the names of numerous cops. The lists disappeared. To avoid publicity, DePugh was taken out of the state.

Target: the

After cops killed three people at antiwar rally, Los Angeles that "known communist" Eustacio Cruz he had been a government committee.

The tumultuous growth of the anti-Vietnam War movement in the 1960s created big headaches for the government. And by 1969 something had begun to develop that gave the Nixon White House even more worries: the antiwar movement *plus* Chicano



REIES LOPEZ TIJERINA



Militant/Dennis Scarla

The extent of police cooperation with the right-wing terrorists is not known. However, it is interesting to note that during this same period, in San Diego, California, the FBI was actively promoting right-wing terrorism against antiwar activists.

In June 1975 a U.S. Senate subcommittee heard testimony that the FBI plotted to convert a disbanded chapter of the Minutemen in San Diego into the Secret Army Organization, placing FBI informer Howard Godfrey in a leadership position. The *New York Times* reported that "between 1967 and 1972, Godfrey, using F.B.I. resources, furnished firearms, explosives, other equipment and funds." Godfrey testified in court that the FBI had supplied him with \$10,000 to \$20,000 worth of weapons and explosives for the paramilitary group.

Despite the evidence New Mexico cops had on the right-wingers, they concentrated on railroading the *Alianzistas* into prison. Finally, Tijerina was jailed in 1969 for about two years. The Alianza went into a decline and has not played the same prominent role in the 1970s that it did in the 1960s.

Moratorium

ons at the Chicano morato-
geles city officials charged
ents" started the violence.
Frank" Martínez confessed
provocateur in the morato-

Power.

In Los Angeles a group of Chicanos began organizing opposition to the Vietnam War in the barrios. From the success of the initial protests, which drew several thousand Chicanos, it was obvious that

sentiment against the war ran particularly deep there.

Chicanos were dying in record numbers. One study found that 20 percent of the dead from five southwestern states were Chicanos, whereas Chicanos made up only 10 percent of the population there. Chicanos were being sent to the slaughter in twice their proportion of the population.

The Chicano moratoriums caught on all over the country.

In March 1970, at a national Chicano Youth Liberation Conference in Denver sponsored by the Crusade for Justice, a call went out for a national demonstration to take place in Los Angeles on August 29. Weeks later Nixon invaded Cambodia, and student protesters at Kent State and Jackson State were gunned down. These events sparked some of the biggest spontaneous demonstrations that had ever rocked this country.

May 1970 helped set the stage for the Chicano Moratorium, which began gathering unprecedented support in the community.

On the day of the march, the turnout surpassed all expectations. It is estimated that between 20,000 and 40,000 people participated.

Brutal police attack

A few blocks away a massive phalanx of cops in full riot gear assembled under the pretext of quelling a minor disturbance at a liquor store. They marched relentlessly toward the demonstration, brutally beating everyone they could get their hands on.

The police attacks went on all night. Three Chicanos were killed, including Rubén Salazar, a prize-winning reporter for the *Los Angeles Times*.

The news media and local authorities blamed the Chicanos for the violence, calling the demonstration a "riot." The mayor and city cops said that "known communist agents" provoked the violence.

Almost two years later, the unabashed cynicism of this charge was exposed when Eustacio "Frank" Martínez publicly admitted that he had acted as a government agent-provocateur in the National Chi-

cano Moratorium Committee.

Martínez worked for the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Division of the U.S. Treasury Department. He infiltrated the moratorium committee and unseated Rosalio Muñoz as chairperson by accusing him of being "too soft," "not militant enough," and not ready "to go all the way."

Martínez's job was to provide a pretext for police violence at demonstrations by shouting provocative slogans and throwing rocks.

Even after the Chicano Moratorium stopped functioning, the feds did not relent on their campaign to frame up its participants. One of the most militant contingents in the moratorium demonstration had been organized by Casa Carnalismo from Los Angeles. This community organization was involved in anti-drug addiction counseling, as well as a number of other issues in the community.

Los Tres del Barrio

In 1971 federal narcotics agents cooked up a plot to entrap some of its members. Robert Canales, a federal narcotics agent posing as a heroin dealer, offered to buy drugs from activist Rudy Sánchez.

Sánchez tried to tell Canales that he was an antidrug activist, not a dealer. But Canales was insistent. So Sánchez and two other activists, Juan Fernández and Alberto Ortiz, decided to meet Canales, tell him off, and kick him out of the community.

Canales pulled a gun. But before he could hurt the young Chicano activists, they shot him in self-defense. He ended up paralyzed. Half an hour later Los Tres del Barrio—the three from the barrio, as the brothers came to be known—were rounded up at their homes by federal authorities. The whole transaction had been a setup.

During the trial defense attorneys tried to bring Martínez, the former ATF agent, to the stand. Martínez would have testified that he knew of cooperative efforts between the Los Angeles Police Department and federal cops targeting Casa Carnalismo. But the judge would not allow his testimony.

Los Tres were convicted and are still in prison.

Target: the Farm Workers

The White House counsel sent an order to the Justice and Labor departments. President Nixon had a "personal interest" in stopping the United Farm Workers. "Only if you can find some way to work against Chavez's union should you take any action."

"I think a wholesale agribusiness conspiracy against our union started in 1970," United Farm Workers President César Chávez told his biographer Jacques Levy. "Agribusiness has strong government support—federal, state, county, local, the courts, and the police."

In 1970, the UFW scored a major breakthrough, forcing California's grape growers to grant union recognition and sign contracts. It had taken a five-year international boycott of scab grapes to win. But finally it looked like the multi-billion-dollar agricultural industry was on its way to unionization.

Then the Teamsters stepped in, signing "sweetheart" contracts with lettuce growers—the UFW's next major target—behind the backs of the field hands.

"[Nixon had] been harassing farm worker organizations since the late forties," said Chávez, "when, as a congressman, he took on the DiGiorgio strikers. . . . When he ran for president in 1968 he was the only politician to eat grapes publicly, stuffing himself with grapes before the cameras in Fresno."

Nixon and the Teamsters

Chávez charges that Nixon was an essential part of the drive by Teamster union bureaucrats and agribusiness to run the UFW out of the fields.

According to Chávez, "The White House set up the meeting between [Teamster President Frank] Fitzsimmons and the farm bureau after Nixon's landslide victory in 1972. That's when the deals were made to destroy us."

The August 15, 1972, Boston *Real Paper* published two memos from White House counsel Charles Colson to the Justice and Labor Departments and the National Labor Relations Board. The Colson memos stressed that these agencies were not to intervene in the Teamster-UFW fight—unless they could strike a blow against the UFW.

The president has a "personal interest" in the dispute, wrote Colson in May 1971. "Only if you can

find some way to work against Chavez's union should you take any action."

In a second memo a year later Colson wrote, "We will be criticized if this thing gets out of hand and there is violence, but we must stick to our position. The Teamsters Union is now organizing in the area and will probably sign up most of the grape growers this coming spring, and they will need our support against the UFW. . . ."

As Colson's memos prove, the Teamsters, Washington, and the growers were all working hand-in-glove. When the 1970 grape contracts came up for renegotiation in the spring of 1973, the growers signed sweetheart deals with the Teamster bureaucrats. The UFW was reduced to a handful of contracts during the summer.

What had started as a major obstacle to the union's expansion had become a pitched struggle for its life.

Chávez believes that the Watergate exposures of links between mobsters, Teamsters, and Nixon helped cool the Teamster bureaucrats-grower-government conspiracy somewhat.

But the union still faced plenty of hurdles. Court injunctions prohibiting picketing were issued in record numbers by rural judges friendly to the growers. Police intimidation, arrests, and beatings continued.

In August 1973, Naji Daifullah, an Arab farm worker, was beaten to death by a Kern County sheriff's deputy. The following day Juan de la Cruz was murdered by unknown assailants, also in the San Joaquín Valley. Neither case was investigated by state, local, or federal authorities. Daifullah's death was proclaimed an "accident."

The UFW eventually beat back this conspiracy. In response to mass pressure, the California legislature enacted a law providing for union representation elections in the fields. And, despite antiunion provisions of the law, the UFW scored such sweep-

Continued on next page



Continued from preceding page

ing victories that the Teamster bureaucrats were forced to negotiate a face-saving jurisdictional agreement and leave the organizing of field hands to the UFW.

But this was not the only time that the government had schemed to destroy the UFW.

At about the same time that Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms was plotting to destroy the Chicano Moratorium, that agency was also involved in covering up an assassination plot against César Chávez.

A U.S. Treasury Department report dated September 23, 1971, from the ATF's Bakersfield, California, office showed an informer named Larry Shears knew that a group of Delano growers had given \$25,000 to Richard Pedigo to hire a hit man to kill Chávez.

The ATF memo states that Pedigo told Shears: "The people who want the arson done are farmers in the Delano, Jasmine, McFarland area, and . . . they have so much money that they are probably not afraid of an inquiry."

Two days after learning of this, the ATF arrested Pedigo on an unrelated drug charge. Later the ATF dropped the investigation completely.

Robert Mardian, Nixon's assistant attorney general in charge of internal security (who was later convicted for the Watergate break-in), had written a letter to the ATF fifteen days before the decision to drop the investigation. Mardian's family in Arizona is deeply involved in agribusiness.

Democrats too

It was only after the Republican dirty tricks against the UFW unraveled before the public that the equally sordid history of antiunion attacks under Democratic presidents began to come out.

Target: the Crusade

Even cops described their star witness against Crusade for Justice leader Juan Haro as "a crook" who had been offered "thousands and thousands of dollars" and "a new life" for his testimony. The jury found Haro not guilty, and the foreman announced they hadn't "ruled out" that Haro was the victim of a government conspiracy.

The Chicano movement in Colorado has been the target of an especially brutal government campaign of repression and slander.

Since 1973, seven people associated with the movement have been killed, hundreds arrested, and scores have faced attempted frame-ups. Countless articles in Denver newspapers have been devoted to smears of the movement.

What is it about the *movimiento* that upsets the rulers so much?

One landmark event was the 1970 announcement by leaders of the Crusade for Justice that they were forming La Raza Unida, an independent Chicano political party, in Colorado.

At the same time, nearly forty Chicano Democratic Party officials handed in their resignations and cast their lot with the Raza Unida Party. A full slate of candidates was announced for the fall elections. They reflected sectors of the community that went well beyond the Crusade.

For an initial effort, the young party did very well. Marcela Trujillo, running for University of Colorado Board of Regents, polled 5 percent of the vote statewide. It was clear that the party could win local races in Chicano districts.

The Crusade developed ties with the antiwar movement and mobilized a large contingent in the November 6, 1971, demonstration in Denver of 15,000 people—one of the largest outpourings in the city's history.

And the Crusade played an increasingly important role in the Chicano movement nationally. Thousands attended its annual National Chicano Liberation Youth Conferences. At the September 1972 national Raza Unida convention in El Paso, Texas, the Colorado RUP delegation of several hundred played a leading part.

Escuela Tlatelolco attack

A few months after the El Paso convention, the Crusade and RUP became the victims of an attack that would match in savagery those leveled at the Alianza in New Mexico and the Chicano Moratorium in Los Angeles.

In the predawn hours of March 17, 1973, a large force of Denver police attacked an apartment building used as a dormitory for the Escuela Tlatelolco,

On April 19, 1976, Jerome Ducote, a former sheriff's deputy and a leader of the John Birch Society, pleaded guilty to charges stemming from a string of political burglaries he committed in northern California in 1966 and 1967—during a Democratic administration in Washington.

A major aim of the break-ins was to destroy the United Farm Workers. The black-bag jobs were partly financed by major growers.

Where did the stolen material go?

Ducote implicated the FBI, the CIA, two members of Congress, and the Pacific Gas and Electric Company.

The FBI as much as confirmed that it received Ducote's information by issuing vague statements such as "we never knowingly dealt with him," while refusing to comment on reports that they received the material through intermediaries.

Much more about FBI involvement was expected to come out during Ducote's trial. But Ducote plead guilty after a full day of negotiations between the defense, prosecution, and judge.

Thus, a more full public disclosure about the burglaries was avoided. It takes only passing familiarity with the FBI's methods, however, to know they almost certainly were deeply involved.

For example, after repeated denial the FBI was forced to confess last year that it had burglarized the national offices of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance ninety-two times over a period of six years. The FBI used the stolen files to try to get socialists fired from their jobs, run out of their apartments, and disowned by families, as well as to try to create friction within the socialist organizations and between the socialists and other groups.

The UFW material was undoubtedly stolen with similar aims in mind.

carrying officers Carol Hogue and Stephen Snyder pulled up to the building, where a birthday party was going on. The cops claim they tried to arrest Martínez for jaywalking after he objected to their presence. When he ran away, Snyder shot him.

The cops said that when police reinforcements began to arrive, they received sniper fire from the building. More cops arrived and began pouring ferocious volleys into the building.

Then an explosion tore through the second floor of the building. Police said bullets must have detonated some dynamite. Cops later reported they found an "arsenal" of more than 100 guns in the building.

Local newspaper headlines parroted the police version that "drunken," violent Chicanos had started the confrontation.

Setup and cover-up

The autopsy showed that Luis Martínez was shot from the front, very close up, through the neck, shattering his spinal cord.

There were no bullet holes in police cars to indicate sniper fire.

The "arsenal" discovered by police turned out to be mostly props for the school's dance company. No charges that the few real weapons were illegal were filed after the incident.

Was the Tlatelolco attack a setup? Witnesses reported that police officer Carol Hogue attended the birthday party dressed in street clothes a couple of hours before the incident. What was she doing there?

How did so many cops (an eyewitness reported 200 in the *Militant*) get to the scene in full riot gear so quickly?

As such questions piled up, Denver cops responded with an escalating cover-up.

The day following the attack, a construction firm acting under police orders demolished the remains of the building, making it impossible to determine what really caused the explosion.

The Denver district attorney got indictments against five of the Chicano victims. Despite flimsy evidence, he obtained one conviction.

The two cops who started the incident—Hogue and Snyder—were given medals.

Large protest meetings were held in Denver, and Chicano activists from all over the country expressed their solidarity. But police, prosecutors, courts, and the big-business news media succeeded in creating a climate that furthered their aim of destroying the Chicano movement.

Bomb hysteria

In the fall of 1973, a series of explosions and alleged attempted bombings in Denver—following closely on each other—attracted front-page attention for weeks. A near-hysteria prevailed. Public buildings were evacuated on the slightest suspicion there might be a bomb. Mysteriously, cops frequently arrived in the nick of time to defuse alleged



There was an explosion at dormitory of Escuela Tlatelolco during March 17, 1973, police attack. Cops said dynamite stored in building caused blast but then demolished remains of the building a day later, destroying all the evidence.

Militant/Harry Ring

explosives.

Soon police announced they had a suspect: Francisco "Kiko" Martínez, a young movement lawyer who had worked for Colorado Rural Legal Services (CLRS).

Martínez received a quick trial and conviction in the big-business press. One *Rocky Mountain News* headline claimed, "Martínez is remembered as save-the-world zealot." And the *Denver Post* offered a \$2,500 bounty for information leading to his capture.

(The "save-the-world zealot" headline is a good example of the press campaign against Chicanos. It is a falsification of what Martínez's former employer at CLRS had actually said: "He worked very hard. . . . He was all over the place—a fanatic, and I don't use that in a negative sense. I didn't always agree with him, but he did have a messianic zeal about what he was doing.")

Fearing for his life, Martínez dropped out of sight.

Thus, without any evidence, trial, or conviction, blame for the bombings was laid at the door of the Chicano movement.

A few months later, Gary Garrison, a Crusade activist, was arrested and charged with throwing a dynamite bomb through the window of a paint store.

In a slanderous attempt to establish a motive, a newspaper reported that the owner of the paint store was the landlord of the Crusade building.

A jury found Garrison not guilty.

Boulder explosions

In the spring of 1974 a tragic event in Boulder, Colorado, sent a chill through the entire Chicano movement. In two separate explosions, on May 27 and 29, six Chicanos were killed and another maimed for life.

Both explosions took place in parked cars in well-traveled public areas.

Making convenient use of their earlier smear campaign, police tried to portray the deaths as the result of the premature explosions of bombs being assembled in the cars. Yet no evidence was offered to link anyone in the cars with terrorist activities. Although several were well-known activists, at least one person was known to be completely apolitical.

Among those killed were Florencio Granado, Raza Unida candidate for University of Colorado Board of Regents in 1972 and Reyes Martínez, brother of Francisco.

Scattered debris from the explosion indicated the bombs were hidden between the seats and floorboard. But the courts clamped a suppression order on all evidence in the investigation.

Instead of following up possible angles that might indicate a plot against the activists, police used the tragedy to further their assaults on the movement.

A federal grand jury set out to investigate other Chicanos. Authorities threatened the lone survivor of the explosions with prosecution.

Cops raided the homes of Chicano activists in Denver, with the participation of the Treasury Department's Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Bureau, supposedly in search of bombs and arms.

Who carried out the Boulder bombings? No one has ever been charged with the crime.

Government role?

But the theory of right-wing and/or government involvement in the killings is not at all far-fetched.

For example, in 1973 the CIA was linked to a string of attacks three years earlier by counterrevolutionary Cuban exiles against the Los Angeles offices of the Socialist Workers Party and other radical groups.

In 1975, a member of the Chicago Legion of Justice gave a detailed accounting under oath of how the local police and the army's 113th Military Intelligence Group organized, financed, and gave cover to the legion's terrorist attacks against the socialist, Black, and antiwar movements.

In Los Angeles, shortly after a February 1975 near-lethal bombing of Socialist Workers Party offices, Joe Tommassi, a leader of a Nazi group, publicly claimed responsibility for the attack. "We know the cops aren't interested if we bomb the Left," Tommassi explained. As in the Boulder case, no one has ever been arrested for the crime.

Agent provocateur in Denver

The use of agent provocateurs against the Colorado Chicano movement was confirmed when Denver police arrested Crusade vice-chairperson Juan Haro and activist Anthony Quintana in the fall of 1974.

The state government charged them with plotting to blow up Denver police stations. The federal government also accused Haro of possessing illegal, unregistered firearms—practice grenades altered to explode.

The cases rested on the testimony of José Cor-

dova. At first, police pictured Cordova as a sincere Crusade member who turned informer to prevent bloodshed.

But Cordova in reality was a criminal who had been a Denver police provocateur for several months before the arrests of Haro and Quintana. Cordova became an agent after the police promised to drop pending charges against him.

At Haro's trial on the federal charges, police testified that Cordova was "a crook" who had been offered "thousands and thousands of dollars" and "a new life" for his testimony against Crusade members.

Although Cordova was the only person to testify that Haro ever possessed the grenades, the jury convicted Haro. That conviction is still being appealed.

Haro's trial on state charges came up in the spring of 1977. Again the government's case rested on Cordova's word. But this time, a nearly all-white rural Colorado jury found Haro innocent. The foreman announced the jury hadn't "ruled out" that Haro was the victim of a government conspiracy. After the verdict, the district attorney announced he would drop charges against Quintana.

Fits the pattern

The numerous attempted frame-ups of Crusade for Justice, Raza Unida, and other Colorado Chicano movement activists fits the pattern of other FBI-orchestrated harassment campaigns. Between the police attack on Escuela Tlatelolco and the Boulder explosions, more than 100 activists faced various charges. Since then there have been more cases.

In the past, the FBI has used this procedure to attack the Black movement. One "Counterintelli-

gence Program" (Cointelpro) memorandum encouraged actions such as one apparently directed against the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee in 1967. Local police, alerted by the FBI, arrested leaders "on every possible charge until they could no longer make bail" so that they "spent most of the summer in jail. . . ."

The government still uses this technique. Hundreds of trumped-up charges against the American Indian Movement leaders and supports followed the 1973 occupation of the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation town of Wounded Knee, South Dakota. For example, one prominent AIM leader, Russell Means, faced thirty-seven felony and three misdemeanor charges in twelve separate state and federal cases over three-and-one-half years. In addition, there have been four attempts to assassinate Means since Wounded Knee. Means says cops were involved in every one.

Although the only hard facts now available about the Colorado operation against the Chicano movement implicate mainly local authorities, evidence from the Socialist Workers Party lawsuit has proven the existence of a close working relationship between Denver cops and the FBI.

Timothy Redfearn, an FBI informer who burglarized the Denver SWP's office, had previously worked as an informer for the local red squad, for example. And Denver cops communicated back and forth with the FBI when it was discovered that the burglary had been carried out by an FBI informer.

Other information indicates that the Denver district attorney's office knew more about the Redfearn break-in than it ever revealed.

So there is every reason to believe that federal and local governments conspired against the Colorado Chicano movement as well.

Target: la Raza Unida

At first, it was just the Texas attorney general's office snooping around Crystal City, birthplace of the Raza Unida Party. But soon there followed five separate federal investigations, court suits by tax-dodging Anglo landowners, and red-baiting tirades from Gov. Dolph Briscoe.

Early this year, José Angel Gutiérrez received more government files in the mail—this time from the U.S. Fourth Army Intelligence Division.

The file was a summary of a March 27, 1970, article in the *Militant* reporting on a Chicano student conference in Houston.

Curiously, Gutiérrez has been unable to obtain any of his files dated later than 1972. Yet it is in that period that Raza Unida has made its greatest impact on Texas politics.

Maybe that's why the files are not being given out.

"When you view the events of the last year in Zavala County," Gutiérrez said earlier this year, "you get the clear picture that there is an organized, orchestrated effort to destroy not only the credibility of the party, but its actual existence."

In just one year:

- Texas Gov. Dolph Briscoe red-baited a cooperative farm project in Crystal City, calling it an attempt to establish "a little Cuba in Texas."
- The Texas Attorney General's Task Force on Organized Crime set up a special office in the small Chicano town to investigate "corruption."

The task force got three related indictments against school administrators from a mostly white grand jury. When the first case came to trial, evidence showed there was no basis for the accusation that a person had been put on the payroll while doing no work, and the defendant was exonerated.

- State officials went to court to block federal antipoverty grants. That, too, failed.

- A group of wealthy Anglo ranchers filed suit against the county to stop collection of taxes. When Raza Unida won control of the county government, they initiated a systematic review of tax rolls. They found wholesale tax dodging, with Anglo-owned ranch lands substantially undervalued. By reassessing properties closer to their true values, the county was able to increase revenues and lower the overall tax rate.

- The General Accounting Office (the investigating arm of Congress), the congressional Government Operations subcommittee, and the federal Office of Economic Development all sent delegations to pore over the affairs of the 8,000-resident town. The federal Community Services Agency sent down two teams. Again, no evidence of wrongdoing.

At this point, if anything needs investigating, it's why the state and federal government wasted so much money trying to get Raza Unida. And the



Militant/Harry Ring
JOSE ANGEL GUTIERREZ: obtained spy files from CIA and Army Intelligence, but none dates later than 1972.

Chicano party proposes to do just that.

On the basis of these indications of a coordinated government harassment campaign, and the files Gutiérrez has already received, the RUP voted at its September 1976 state convention to file a lawsuit similar to the one filed by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance four years ago. They are now soliciting evidence from participants in the Chicano movement in preparation for the suit.

Efforts such as this deserve the active support of all those in the *movimiento* who have been targets of the FBI, CIA, ATF or other political police agencies.

Such a united effort against government spying and harassment could help forge one of those "coalitions" that the Democrats and Republicans have been so eager to "disrupt, discredit, and neutralize."

Debate stand on ERA

Women for Racial & Economic Equality meets

By Suzanne Haig

CHICAGO—The first national convention of Women for Racial and Economic Equality (WREE) took place here September 23-25.

More than 500 women attended, one-third of them Black. Women of other oppressed nationalities, trade unionists, students, and international guests also participated.

WREE was organized in 1973 around support to the Women's Bill of Rights, a list of demands for equality on the job, against racism, and for rights to health and child care. Prominent among the group's founders were leaders of the Communist Party.

In contrast to virtually every other organization pledged to defend women's rights, WREE's founders adopted a stand against the Equal Rights Amendment. Throughout its four-year history, WREE has abstained from this major front in the fight for women's equality.

At the convention here last month, the ERA issue became one of the most important debates.

Other issues discussed included affirmative action, child care, welfare, racism, job discrimination, and unemployment.

Panelists and convenors for conven-

tioned the "petty bourgeois" feminist movement.

The CP has consistently argued that the ERA is not in the interests of Black and working women, clinging to this stand even as Black and labor support for the amendment mounted, and as right-wing reactionary groups took the lead in opposing the ERA.

The fact that the ERA is a central battleground for women's rights has placed those outside the ERA movement in an increasingly awkward position. This was reflected in the ERA discussion at the WREE convention and made explicitly clear in the resolution proposed by WREE leaders and eventually passed by the convention.

The resolution began by stating that "the Founding Convention of Women for Racial and Economic Equality . . . is in agreement with the vast majority of the women's movement and is in agreement with the reasons presented by this movement as to why the ERA is in the interest of women's equality."

Contradictory

The proposal, however, was contradictory. After resolving to "enter and campaign for the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment" and "work to

Women can use the ERA to fight to expand affirmative-action programs.

One woman suggested a change in the resolution to make it more positive. She proposed adding a statement that the ERA would not erase affirmative action and that legislation beneficial to women should be extended to men. This proposal was opposed by workshop leaders and never reached a vote.

Brenda Frazier, representing the minority women's task force of the National Organization for Women, participated in the workshop discussion. She said she was at the WREE conference to seek common goals around which the two organizations could work together.

Frazier welcomed WREE's support for the ERA but questioned the strategy of the "intent resolutions" campaign.

During discussion on proposals submitted to the political rights and equality workshop, a Chicago WREE member said that WREE members from several states opposed the public campaign for "intent resolutions."

Angela Davis chaired the workshop. She argued that the public campaign around "intent resolutions" was important because it would make it possible for "democratic forces" to enter the ERA movement. Up until now, she claimed, they had been unable to participate because of their concern about protective legislation.

When asked if the ERA resolution would allow WREE to join with other groups around actions such as the October 15 pro-ERA march in Chicago, Davis received applause when she answered that she "can't see why WREE wouldn't support October 15."

Unfortunately, no proposal to that effect was introduced by WREE leaders, and there was no opportunity during the plenary to move for formal endorsement of the ERA action.

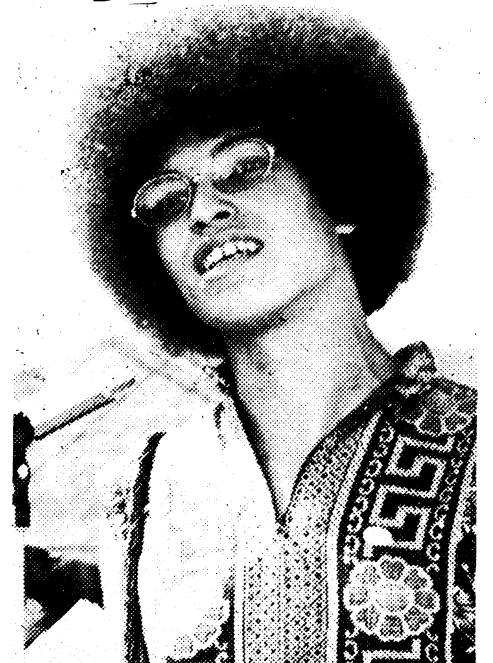
At the Sunday plenary, conference parliamentarian Lois Rosen proposed an amendment to delete the public campaign to "clarify" the ERA through "intent resolutions."

She questioned the "intent resolutions" campaign as a political tactic since it might inadvertently help defeat the ERA.

'Women united for ERA'

"Women are united around ERA as never before," she said. "We in Illinois need help urgently from around the country. If ERA fails, we're not going to get affirmative action, medical payment for abortion, child care, and all that women need."

Sondra Patrinos, WREE national coordinator, spoke against Rosen's amendment, arguing it would destroy the real meaning of WREE's ERA



ANGELA DAVIS: argued for resolution implying ERA might threaten affirmative action and protective legislation.

campaign. The amendment failed overwhelmingly.

The ERA was not the only issue to spark debate. Another controversial proposal submitted in the political rights workshop condemned discrimination against homosexuals and urged support for civil rights for lesbians. After Angela Davis rose to speak in favor of the resolution, it passed with some opposition.

WREE's attitude toward women's liberation groups and the role of the feminist movement was left in doubt at the convention.

In her speech to the political rights and equality workshop, Davis strongly implied that the struggle of women against their special oppression as women could be in basic conflict with the fight of Blacks, other oppressed nationalities, and the labor movement—rather than an ally of these struggles.

As WREE's discussion on the ERA showed, however, other conference participants felt that the independent women's movement is completely intertwined with the movements against race and class exploitation. Women's struggle for the ERA and other rights can only propel forward the fight against racism and against the employers.

It remains to be seen whether the stands taken at WREE's convention on the ERA, abortion rights, affirmative action, and gay rights will be reflected in its future activity. Hopefully, WREE will join with other women's groups in answering the drive against women's rights.



WREE meeting endorsed antideportations conference and protests against 'Bakke' ruling.

tion workshops included Brenda Eichelberger, National Alliance of Black Feminists; Sandra Graham, vice-mayor, Cambridge, Massachusetts; Anne Braden, Southern Organizing Committee; Angela Davis, Communist Party; and Pat Epps, United Postal Women.

The convention adopted resolutions supporting the October 28-30 anti-deportation conference in San Antonio and the October 3 and 8 actions demanding reversal of the Bakke ruling against affirmative action.

Participants also approved a proposal condemning the Hyde amendment that cuts off Medicaid funds for abortion.

ERA debate

In March 1976, a WREE national organizing conference approved a resolution condemning the ERA because it "makes no provision for eliminating the racism and discrimination that minority women face" and charging that the "ERA has been used to dampen, if not kill, the struggle for protective legislation."

This view reflected the influence of the Communist Party, which over the years has been outspoken in its opposition to the ERA and what it has

strengthen the movement for the ERA," the proposal added:

"Be it further resolved that we launch a campaign for resolutions and statements of intent both in the states where it has already been passed as well as in states where it has yet to pass, and that such statements should make clear that the intent of passing the ERA not be construed to deny affirmative action or other legislation, past or present, which is beneficial to women."

Some women here pointed out that pushing for such "intent resolutions" would undercut WREE's endorsement of the ERA and harm the struggle for ratification. Why should women be mobilized to win the ERA if its passage could bring retreats on affirmative action and other programs women also need?

At the workshop on Saturday, women had pointed to how some protective legislation is now used to deny women job opportunities. They argued that the ERA is in complete harmony with beneficial protective legislation, such as pregnancy benefits, since that is the only way women can have equal job rights.

Affirmative action is a means by which to achieve equality, they argued.

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1,000 in Chicago say, 'Ratify the ERA!'

By Marie Head

CHICAGO—Alice Paul, the suffragist who wrote the Equal Rights Amendment in 1923, would have been proud to see them. Nearly 1,000 people marched through Chicago's Loop October 15 to a rally at the Civic Center, demanding that Illinois ratify the ERA and commemorating Alice Paul's work.

"Equal rights, equal pay—ratify the ERA!" the marchers chanted. Shoppers lined the sidewalks. Many joined in the chant and raised their fists in solidarity.

Along with a sea of "ERA Yes" signs, there were banners from the League of Black Women, the United Farm Workers union, Japanese Ameri-

can Citizens League, Socialist Workers Party, and the Racine, Wisconsin, teachers association.

At the same time, not too far away, Phyllis Schlafly could muster only seventy-five members of her anti-ERA group to picket an International Women's Year regional conference.

Georgia Lloyd of the Northern Illinois Women's Party opened the rally, recounting women's struggle to win the vote.

Jo Della-Guistina from the University of Illinois Circle Campus women's union said, "We need the ERA as a battering ram to defend and extend affirmative action in the schools and on the job."

Luz María Pareto from Mujeres Lati-

nas en Acción declared, "Just as we have been out in the community fighting for bilingual-bicultural education, for decent housing, and for the farm workers, we must be out there fighting for the ERA."

Rally chairperson Christina Adachi read two of the many letters that the Committee for the ERA had received in recent weeks. A thirteen-year-old woman whose family would not let her come to the march wrote that she wanted to "feel the dignity and importance of being part of getting the ERA passed in Illinois."

An inmate at the state correctional center in Pontiac, Illinois, wrote, "Especially in this backward state you will need all the help you can get. You have

ours."

State legislators backing the ERA were at the rally, and Illinois Gov. James Thompson sent a message. A telegram was also read from Jimmy Carter's aide Margaret Costanza expressing White House support for the rally.

Endorsers for the march included James Balanoff, director of the United Steelworkers Union District 31; Muriel Tutuer, president of the Chicago chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union Women; and several chapters of the National Organization for Women.

The Committee for the ERA is planning a picket on November 8 when Phyllis Schlafly speaks at Northern Illinois University.

Organizing for IWY: Houston, here we come!

By Diane Wang

"Look out, Houston, here it comes!" warned right-wing columnist Patrick Buchanan. Shortly after the International Women's Year state conferences were held last summer, Buchanan wrote a diatribe against the national IWY conference scheduled for Houston November 18-21.

Some 20,000 women—delegates elected at state meetings, observers, women's rights supporters, and their opponents—are expected in Houston.

The conference is to come up with recommendations to the government about what women want. "What is certain to emerge," Buchanan wailed, "is a precooked, warmed-over package containing the unmet demands of women's lib. . . . Immediate enactment of ERA, abortion on demand, the legalization of homosexual marriages, the right of lesbians to adopt children, federal day care centers for working mommas, quotas for women in private and public jobs. . . ."

In a particularly vicious barb, Buchanan declared that the platform at Houston "will bear a striking resemblance to the bar scene in 'Star Wars.'"

No doubt he is upset because most state meetings elected pro-women delegations, including minority and working-class women. According to the



Feminists are taking unmet demands to Houston conference.

IWY commission, about 17 percent of the delegates are Black; 8 percent, Hispanic; 3 percent, Asian; and 3 percent, American Indian.

Oppressed nationalities were excluded from some delegations. In Alabama, where one-fourth of the population is Black, twenty-two of twenty-four delegates are white. In Mississippi, where more than one-third of the population is Black, the delega-

tion is all white and includes five men. The local Ku Klux Klan "Grand Dragon" boasted, "We controlled the one in Mississippi."

Women's rights supporters around the country are organizing to make Buchanan's nightmare come true:

- The IWY Black women's caucus in New York is having a conference to discuss issues on October 29 at the

Church of the Intercession, 155th Street and Broadway, from 9 a.m. to 4 p.m. All Black women, including delegates, are invited.

- The Minnesota Women of Color Caucus, which includes Black, Hispanic, American Indian, and Asian women, is preparing to make the long trip to Houston. The caucus walked out of the state IWY conference and filed a complaint after right-wing disrupters prevented its resolutions from coming to a vote. However, eight delegates from the caucus were elected.

On October 16 about 150 people attended a social at the University of Minnesota to raise funds to send those eight delegates and other feminists to Houston. National Organization for Women leader Esther Y'barra Kaw chaired the event.

The University Community Feminists group in Minneapolis is raising money and sponsoring a send-off rally based on the theme, "Defend women's rights against government attacks."

- A California IWY Support Coalition is publicizing the conference, contacting women's and community groups, and raising money.

- West Coast women are planning Freedom Rides to Houston. Los Angeles lesbians have chartered a bus, tagged the "Spirit of Sappho."

As deadline looms: how to win ERA?

Upon request from the White House, the Justice Department will decide soon whether it is constitutional to postpone the March 1979 ratification deadline for the Equal Rights Amendment.

When Congress passed the ERA in 1972 it attached a resolution to the amendment specifying a seven-year deadline for its ratification. Today only thirty-five of the necessary thirty-eight states have ratified the ERA. Three of these states—Tennessee, Nebraska, and Idaho—are attempting to rescind their earlier approvals. At least three more states must ratify before March 1979 or the ERA will fail.

Several Democratic Party politicians in the House, including speaker Thomas O'Neill, Eliza-

AS I SEE IT

beth Holtzman, and Barbara Jordan, are calling for an extension of the deadline to 1981. The leadership of the National Organization for Women and the National Women's Political Caucus are also pushing to extend the deadline.

Jimmy Carter is known to favor postponement. "He is committed to the ERA and will do anything to make sure it will pass. If this is a viable option, he is for it," announced daughter-in-law Judy, Carter's unofficial spokesperson for "women's affairs."

A defeat for the ERA in 1979 would be a tremendous setback for the women's movement. It would deliver a damaging blow to the struggles we are waging on every other front—for abortion rights and protection from sterilization abuse, for affirmative action, maternity benefits, and child care. Extension of the deadline would allow us additional time to build the kind of visible, massive movement needed to win the ERA.

But it would be a grave mistake to allow the politicians' promises of a postponement to deter us from our central task—mobilizing the independent power of the pro-ERA majority to force the legislators to ratify.

When Carter was elected with the backing of many women's rights advocates—including NOW leaders—he promised to get the ERA ratified. To give him room to "win" the ERA for us, NOW leaders called for the women's movement to slide into a low profile. Public demonstrations for the ERA were discouraged.

But Carter's meek phone-call diplomacy did not materialize into ratification. "Pro-ERA" candidates in states such as Florida and Nevada took campaign donations from women's rights supporters and then turned around to vote the ERA down.

The right wing used the hiatus of pro-ERA activity to step up its anti-ERA campaign. And then, to add insult to injury, Carter and his colleagues encouraged the reactionaries by their

attacks on other women's rights, especially abortion.

Despite their new-found concern that the ERA might not get ratified by 1979, it is these politicians and their parties who have blocked the ERA for more than fifty years.

If we frankly assess why the ERA has not yet been won, the reason has certainly not been inadequate time. Failure to gain ratification is the result of relying on lobbying and electing "pro-ERA" Republicans and Democrats instead of mobilizing ERA supporters in the streets.

Today political commentators are not even sure the new "climate" in Congress will tolerate a postponement vote. The only way we can restore the climate that forced Congress to support the ERA in 1972 is to rebuild the women's movement.

This means organizing demonstrations on the scale of August 26, 1970, and the May 1976 National Rally for Equal Rights in Illinois. It means recruiting more Black women, Latinas, and trade unionists to the ERA struggle. It means organizing pro-ERA forces by the thousands to attend the International Women's Year Conference in Houston.

This is the only sure way to win the ERA and, for that matter, to gain postponement of the 1979 deadline. We need a strategy that will win the ERA the only way it can be won and defended—on the basis of our own independent strength and through our own independent efforts.

—Shelley Kramer

A big step forward

Socialist groups unite in Canada, Mexico

By David Frankel

Trotskyist forces were significantly strengthened this August as a result of unifications between groups of revolutionists in Canada, the United States, and Mexico.

A united Trotskyist party in Canada was established August 8 by the fusion of three organizations. Five hundred people attended the Montréal congress that established the Revolutionary Workers League/Ligue Ouvrière Révolutionnaire (RWL/LOR).

A few days later, in Ohio, a convention of the Socialist Workers Party voted to fuse with the Revolutionary Marxist Committee. (For a full report on this fusion, see the September 30 issue of the *Militant*.)

Finally, more than 700 persons attended the Mexico City convention of the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (Revolutionary Workers Party—PRT) August 25-28, at which two other Trotskyist organizations fused with the PRT.

Good prospects in Mexico

As a result of the unification in Mexico, a Trotskyist party with more than 1,000 members and branches in twenty cities was established. The new prospects to influence the class struggle in Mexico were indicated by the greetings the fusion congress received from the secretary-general of the Sindicato de Trabajadores de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (Union of Workers of the Autonomous National University of Mexico—STUNAM).

STUNAM represents some 20,000 employees and professors. A strike by the union last summer was broken when the government called out 25,000 soldiers.

Greetings were also presented by representatives of three independent peasant associations.

Revolutionary alternative

Mexico has been hit hard by the world economic crisis, and the growing opportunities for revolutionary work in defense of working people, youth, and poor peasants were one of the factors that helped to bring about the unification there. The economic problems facing Mexican capitalism were brought into harsh focus last year when the government sharply devalued the peso.

Since then, inflation has continued unabated, and the government's own figures show that 40 percent of the economically active population is either unemployed or "underemployed."

Opposition to the Lopez Portillo regime's austerity program was a major theme of the PRT convention. The PRT also voted to carry out a campaign against repression in Colombia, and to endorse and participate in the Chicano/Latino conference on U.S. immigration policy that will be held October 28-30 in San Antonio, Texas.

With the successful fusion this August, the great majority of Trotskyists in Mexico are now united in a single organization. The first step in the fusion came on August 6, when the Liga Socialista (Socialist League) united with the Leninist-Trotskyist Faction of the Liga Obrera Marxista (Marxist Workers League). The new organization established by this fusion then united with the PRT.

In a report to the PRT congress, Manuel Aguilar pointed out that "this unification, based on clear and principled programmatic agreement, will make the PRT an important pole for all the forces in Mexico searching for a revolutionary alternative."

Convergence in Canada

In Canada, the three organizations that joined together to found the RWL/LOR had to overcome a history



Montreal, October 14, 1976. Process of unification in Canada began around October 14 pan-Canadian strike

of sharp political disagreement. Shortly before the fusion was completed John Riddell, editor of *Socialist Voice*, the RWL/LOR's new English-language newspaper, recalled the problem.

"We were separated by a wall of factional hostility and by wide-ranging differences over the tasks of revolutionists in the Canadian state," Riddell said.

However, about a year ago, acting independently of each other, the groups involved in the fusion began to reach the same conclusions about some of the key events in the Canadian class struggle.

This process of convergence began around the October 14, 1976, pan-Canadian strike, an action called by the Canadian Labor Congress to protest government-imposed wage controls. Although the three groups started out with differing slogans and perspectives, the experience of the strike eventually resulted in a common assessment.

A similar process took place when each group worked out its answer to the proposals of the labor bureaucracy on "tripartism"—a scheme for institutionalizing collaboration between the employers, the government, and the labor movement.

Labor party discussion

The central issue in these discussions was what attitude to take toward the New Democratic Party (NDP), Canada's labor party. This had been a long-standing issue of debate among the Canadian Trotskyists.

While it is based on the organized labor movement in English Canada, the NDP is not a workers party from the standpoint of its program. It is a class-collaborationist party, incapable of fighting for socialism. The existence of this mass reformist party is the main obstacle to winning the Canadian workers to a socialist perspective—and therefore it is the main obstacle to the socialist revolution in Canada.

All Trotskyists agreed on this, but they did not agree on what tactics to follow in regard to the NDP. The Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG), for example, had often taken a sectarian position toward the NDP.

Since the NDP was an obstacle to the revolution, the RMG argued, it would be wrong to urge workers to vote for the NDP, to join the NDP, or to support affiliation of their unions to

the NDP. In keeping with this approach, the RMG opposed calling for the establishment of NDP governments wherever possible.

A different attitude was taken by the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière (LSA/LSO). Since the majority of the working class still follows capitalist parties, the LSA/LSO insisted that promoting a break with capitalist politics through supporting the NDP against these parties was a necessity of the class struggle in Canada.

At the same time, such an approach would be most effective in exposing and discrediting the social-democratic leadership of the NDP. It would enable revolutionists to gain a sympathetic hearing from the masses of workers with illusions in the NDP.

Agreement on the need to work within the NDP and on the principles on which such work would be based was crucial to the successful unification in Canada.

Test in Québec

Another big test faced the Canadian Trotskyists with the electoral victory of the Parti Québécois (PQ) in November 1976. With the election of the PQ, the issue of national oppression against the French-speaking population in Canada was raised in a new way.

Although it is a capitalist party, the PQ built up its mass base by posing as a defender of the rights of the French-speaking population in Québec and as an advocate of Québec's independence. Its victory in the provincial election and the establishment of a PQ government evoked a hysterical reaction from the English-Canadian ruling class, complete with thinly veiled threats of civil war if the PQ dared to go too far with its Québecois nationalism.

In this situation, the LSA/LSO, RMG, and Groupe Marxiste Révolutionnaire (Revolutionary Marxist Group—GMR, the third organization involved in the fusion) were able to carry out a joint campaign in defense of Québec's right to self-determination.

The struggle against national oppression in Québec directly challenges the Canadian state. Much of Canada's industry and more than one-quarter of its population is centered in Québec. In a speech to the Socialist Workers Party convention just after the fusion in Canada, Yves Desjardins, a member of the political committee of the RWL/LOR, pointed out the importance to the fusion of the agreement reached

on the progressive character of the struggle for the independence of Québec.

"... the need to respond to the national struggle of the Québécois constitutes today the acid test for all revolutionaries in the Canadian state. Many of the tendencies claiming to be socialist have failed miserably on this question. . . . In Québec only the ex-GMR and ex-LSO have clearly come out in favor of national independence, linking this perspective, of course, to the struggle for socialism."

Other areas of agreement

Other basic points of agreement that were incorporated in documents approved by all three groups were:

- Recognition of the imperialist character of Canadian capitalism and unconditional rejection of all forms of Canadian nationalism.
- Adherence to the Fourth International as the future world party of the socialist revolution, and acceptance of its statutes.
- Agreement that democratic-centralist norms will govern the internal life of the newly formed organization.

Andrea Goth, a member of the central committee of the RWL, discussed the agreement on democratic centralism in the September 28 issue of *Socialist Voice*. She noted that what is really involved in this concept is more than formulas such as "democracy in debate, unity in action."

What is involved "is in large measure the art of revolutionary politics—militants with numerous disagreements on many issues learning to work together and live together in a common organization, which is based on a fundamental revolutionary program."

"If this is not learned now, how will a revolutionary party, which will encompass thousands of the most critical-minded and outspoken militants with very diverse views, ever see the light of day?"

"From this angle," Goth continued, "the fusion involved a tremendous maturation in our understanding of how to build a revolutionary party capable of influencing the course of history."

"Through grappling with these problems, we began to have a clearer vision than ever before of the shape of the future revolutionary workers party—a party that will combine seething controversy with united action against the class enemy."

Massive antinuclear protest in Germany

By Susan Wald
From Intercontinental Press

Demonstrators from various European countries converged on the small town of Kalkar in the Rhine Valley on September 24, in one of the most massive turnouts yet achieved by the antinuclear movement in Western Europe.

The demonstrators, estimated by West German police to number between 40,000 and 50,000, included contingents from France, Belgium, and Denmark, as well as all parts of West Germany. Many were members of the *Bürgerinitiativen*, the local "citizens committees" that initiated several earlier protests against the construction of nuclear plants.

The main banner of the demonstration read, "Down with the fast breeder reactor," and "No nuclear plants in the Rhine Valley or anywhere else!" Banners were also carried by the political organizations participating in the demonstration, including the West German Communist Party, the Young Socialists (the Social Democratic youth organization), and the International Marxist Group, German section of the Fourth International.

The size of the demonstration was particularly impressive in view of the concerted effort by the government and the mass media to discourage participation by mounting a scare campaign aimed at portraying the antinuclear movement as "violent." A news program shown on West German

television the night before the march showed film clips of the 1976 antinuclear demonstration at Brokdorf, where some of the demonstrators clashed with the police.

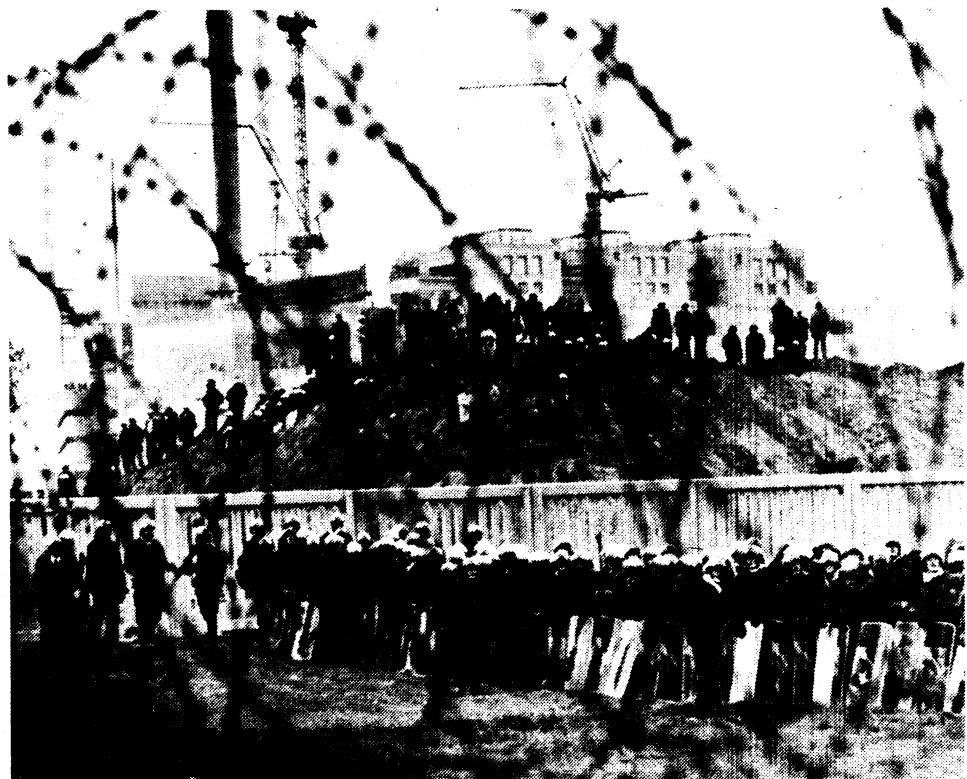
In addition, the size of the repressive forces mobilized for the occasion indicated that the authorities were preparing for a confrontation. On Friday, September 23, public schools were closed to use them for housing police detachments. That night, police began setting up roadblocks on routes leading to Kalkar. By Saturday morning, between 8,000 and 10,000 police were deployed in the area around the site of the Kalkar nuclear plant.

A September 25 Associated Press dispatch reported:

The start of the demonstration was delayed for hours because of roadblocks manned by submachine gun-armed police and armored cars in a ring 30 miles around Kalkar.

Authorities said police on the Hamburg-Bremen expressway stopped 4,500 demonstrators heading for Kalkar aboard scores of buses and cars. Police detained 33 persons after confiscating thousands of masks, helmets and protective shields, 500 batons, 41 walkie-talkie sets, steel ball projectiles, slingshots, steel rods, knives and signal guns, officials said.

However, an eyewitness report of the demonstration published in the September 25 issue of the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge* revealed that most of the "dangerous weapons" confiscated by police included rain slickers, silk



Antinuclear movement scored victory in holding massive, peaceful demonstration, despite efforts by West German authorities to provoke confrontation through deployment of 8-10,000 cops.

scarves, tent poles, and thermos bottles filled with tea!

The fact that the confrontation the authorities were hoping for did not materialize, and that a peaceful, massive demonstration was held, represented a victory for the forces opposing nuclear power.

The 300-megawatt fast-breeder prototype the West German government wants to build at Kalkar is an important target for the antinuclear movement. The place it occupies in the West German nuclear energy program is

similar to that of the French "Super-phénix" plant.

A joint statement by the German and Dutch Trotskyists was handed out at the Kalkar demonstration. The statement concluded with the following demands:

"Shut down all nuclear construction sites!

"Cancel the construction permits for nuclear plants immediately!

"No exports of nuclear technology!

"No nuclear plant at Kalkar or anywhere else!"

Marcos extends martial law in Philippines

By Ernest Harsch
From Intercontinental Press

On September 21, the fifth anniversary of the imposition of martial law in the Philippines in 1972, President Ferdinand E. Marcos told the country that martial law would remain in force.

Marcos claimed that he had no choice in the matter. He sought to pin the blame for the continuation of authoritarian rule of the opponents of his regime: Muslim rebels in the south, Maoist guerrillas in the north, and students and other political activists in Manila.

"Largely because of remaining problems in the areas of peace and order and national security," he said, "it is not possible for us to implement the lifting of martial law."

The announcement brought an angry reaction from students. On September 23, about 3,000 young protesters gathered on the Avenida Rizal in Manila. They sang songs and chanted: "Marcos, the puppet dictator." Their banners proclaimed, "Enough of Martial Law" and "We Want Democracy."

Squads of uniformed riot police blocked off both ends of the avenue to prevent the demonstrators from marching to the presidential palace. They then attacked the protesters with clubs and powerful water hoses. Hospitals reported that four persons had been treated for injuries. The police arrested more than 100 demonstrators.

The September 23 protest was but the most recent of a growing number of antigovernment actions in Manila and another sign of the rising discontent with Marcos's "New Society," under which thousands of political dissidents

have been arrested and a number of them tortured to death.

One of the biggest actions earlier this year took place on May Day, when 4,000 workers and students marched to protest Marcos's repressive rule. After the demonstration was broken up by riot police, the Filipino Workers Alliance announced that "more vigorous and bigger mass actions" would be held in the future.

A few weeks later, student unrest was heightened by a decree that tuition fees throughout the country would be increased by 15 percent. Students at eight universities and colleges in Manila, with a combined enrollment of 200,000 students, organized a series of boycotts and demonstrations to protest the tuition hike, occasionally clashing

with security police. The demonstrations forced Marcos to postpone implementation of the tuition hike.

By the time Marcos had backed down, however, students were already raising other grievances and demands. At a press conference at the University of the Philippines in late July, students condemned the presence of military agents on campus, called for the restoration of independent student councils, and demanded the right to publish their own campus newspaper, free from outside control.

The ferment on the campuses erupted again on August 25, when about 2,000 students and other activists demonstrated against the abuse of human rights by the Marcos regime. About 100 persons were injured when police attacked the protest.

The action coincided with a symposium held by students, workers, and religious figures at the University of the Philippines that called for the release of political prisoners. Students at the symposium distributed a manifesto that stated:

What makes us hunger more for justice is the way human rights are being denied to our people in order to protect and enlarge the interests of foreign capitalists, chiefly U.S. multinationals, and their native partners. While our people are denied the right to speak up, organize, strike and protest, these foreign and native exploiters are given every imaginable incentive, privilege and freedom of activity in our country. [Quoted in the September 1-15 issue of *Ang Katipunan*]

Marcos has responded to the renewed opposition to his regime by threatening to "utilize force and violence to stop illegal force and violence

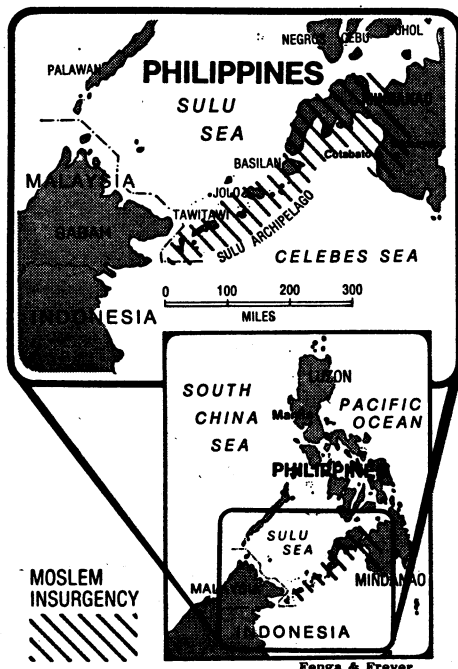
utilized against the state." Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile has warned that schools may be closed down and students arrested.

Marcos has at the same time sought to defuse the unrest by promising a "move towards normalcy," which might include local elections for provincial governors, mayors and councilors by the end of next year. With martial law still in force, the elections—if actually held—would be little more than a democratic veneer for Marcos's dictatorial rule.

The real meaning of Marcos's "move towards normalcy" was revealed September 20, the day before the martial law anniversary celebrations. An estimated 1,000 to 2,000 troops, supported by air and naval cover, launched a new attack against the Muslim rebels of the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) on Basilan Island in the south. Fighting was also reported on Jolo, southwest of Basilan. This new round of clashes marked the most serious breakdown in the ceasefire that had been negotiated between Manila and the MNLF in December 1976.

The MNLF, which began sizable guerrilla actions in 1973, is demanding regional autonomy for the Muslim-populated southern areas, which include much of Mindanao. The Muslims have resisted domination by the central regime in Manila for decades.

There are also signs that the Maoist New People's Army may have stepped up its actions in the north. Maj. Gen. Fidel Ramos, the head of the Philippine Constabulary, has charged that the NPA, which is based mostly in Luzon, was "once again rearing its ugly head."



Spain: LCR wins battle for legality

From Intercontinental Press

The Liga Comunista Revolucionaria (LCR—Revolutionary Communist League), a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Spain, has won its months-long battle for legalization, according to the September 25 issue of the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge*.

Two other organizations, the Organización de la Izquierda Comunista (Organization of the Communist Left) and the Front Nacional de Catalunya (National Front of Catalonia) were granted legal status at the same time as the LCR.

Up to August, only six Spanish workers parties had been able to achieve legalization under the laws of the post-Franco regime. On August 27, all of these parties joined together to release a statement in Madrid charging the Suárez government's minister of the interior, Rodolfo Martín Villa, with illegal delay on a request for legal status from the LCR.

The LCR filed its request for legalization on February 14. Subsequently, Martín Villa failed to meet three deadlines for notification of the LCR of the status of its request, as set out in the complex provisions of the Law on Associations.

A number of central leaders of the already legalized workers parties signed the statement supporting the LCR. Among them were Felipe González, leader of the Spanish Socialist Workers Party, the largest workers party in Spain; Communist Party Chairman Santiago Carrillo and CP trade-union leader Marcelino Camacho; and Enrique Tierno Galván, who heads the Popular Socialist Party.

The text of the statement follows:

The undersigned parties charge that the minister of the interior has failed to comply with any of the legal time limits that should have been considered in responding to the request for legalization of the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria.

They consider that this situation shows once again the arbitrary and discriminatory criteria that are being utilized in the application of the already anachronistic Law of Associations inherited from the old regime. They demonstrate their solidarity and demand that the LCR be legalized without any more delay, together with those parties whose legalization is pending or whose legalization has been denied.

Partido Socialista Obrero Español (Spanish Socialist Workers Party), Partido Comunista de España (Spanish Communist Party), Partido Socialista Popular (Popular Socialist Party), Partido del Trabajo de España (Labor Party of Spain), Organización Revolucionaria de Trabajadores (Revolutionary Workers Organization), Movimiento Comunista (Communist Movement).

Open letter to CP

[The following open letter was sent to Santiago Carrillo, chairman of the Spanish Communist Party, on August 25, 1977. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

Dear Comrade:

During your interview on French television several months ago, you affirmed that you are willing to participate in a public debate at any time on the problems related to "Eurocommunism." For our part, we propose that you have that debate with one of us, in Madrid, Barcelona, Paris, Milan, or some other city. We are ready to dis-



Militant José G. Pérez

During May 1977 election Spanish Trotskyists of the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria organized many rallies, such as the one in the Basque country shown above, demanding legalization of all political parties and full democratic rights.

cuss with you or with representatives of your party all the material conditions necessary for the fair organization of such a debate.

In your book *"Eurocommunism" and the State*, you call the murder of Andrés Nin by the GPU an "abominable crime." At the same time, you think that Trotsky—with whom you say you have fundamental differences—was a great revolutionist whose writings you will distribute inside the party that you lead. Thus, we suppose, you consider his murder—committed by a GPU agent who was a member of the PSUC—an equally abominable crime. And you cannot judge this victim of Stalin any differently from all the old guard of the Bolshevik Party, among them the majority of the members of the Central Committee in Lenin's time.

On the other hand, we will soon be celebrating the sixtieth anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution, the most important event of the twentieth century. So we call on you and your party, as the PCE or together with the Italian CP, the French CP, and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia if they agree, to declare yourselves

publicly in favor of the rehabilitation of those who, together with Lenin, led the Bolshevik Party and the Communist International during and after the October Revolution: Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Bukharin, Rykov, Rakovsky, Pyatakov, Preobrazhensky, and all their comrades who were murdered by Stalin and his followers. We also call on you to demand the publication and distribution of their writings so that the young Soviet generations can make up their own minds about whether the opinions of Stalin's victims were correct or erroneous in the light of history. This is an elementary question of communist dignity and the necessary struggle against falsification of history; it is a question that will continue to be raised in many forms, in the Soviet Union and on a world scale, until it is definitively resolved.

Communist greetings,

Ernest Mandel, member of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.

Alain Krivine and *Daniel Bensaid*, members of the Political Bureau of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire of France.

Miguel Romero and *Jaime Pastor*, members of the Political Bureau of the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria of Spain.

*Partit Socialista Unificat de Catalunya (United Socialist Party of Catalonia)—the Catalan branch of the Spanish CP.—IP

Four more Argentine Trotskyists 'disappear'

From Intercontinental Press

Four supporters of the Argentine Trotskyist group *Política Obrera* (Workers Politics) were kidnapped by the Videla dictatorship in separate incidents during the last two weeks of September. An international campaign is being organized to find out where these militants are being held and to win their release.

Three of the victims are trade-union activists: Fernando Sánchez, Gustavo Grassi, and Guido Puletti. The fourth, Juan José Cuello, is a leader of the student movement.

A number of trade-union militants and socialists in Argentina have disappeared after being seized by Videla's police in the past few months, including members of the Communist Party and of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers Party).

A fact sheet by the Unión de Juventudes por el Socialismo (UJS—Union of Youth for Socialism), the youth organization of *Política Obrera*, describes the latest victims of right-wing terror.

Fernando Sánchez, thirty-four, was active in the metalworkers union and ran for office on an antibureaucratic

slate in the last union election. He was arrested in May of 1975 and held in prison for three months without any charges being brought against him. The company took advantage of this to fire him upon his release. Recently he has been working for a construction firm.

Sánchez was kidnapped in a public street in the middle of the day September 23. Nothing has been heard of him since.

Gustavo Grassi, twenty-five, was kidnapped the same time as Sánchez, but in a separate incident. There has been no news of him since his disappearance. Grassi is a textile worker at the SELSA factory.

Guido Puletti is a state worker and a leader of the union of public workers at the Ministry of Social Welfare. An army contingent came to his house the evening of September 20, blindfolded his wife, and took Puletti away. The authorities deny holding him.

Juan José Cuello is a leader of the student and youth movements. His fiancée, Diana Quatrocci, has been in prison for more than two years, and Cuello's disappearance is thought to be a direct reprisal against someone close

to a political prisoner.

Two carloads of heavily armed men in civilian clothes came to the factory where Cuello worked the afternoon of September 15 and took him away. They claimed to be from the security forces.

There was a report that Cuello was taken to the First Army Corps in Palermo, where he was brutally tortured. A subsequent report indicated that he was taken away from the First Army Corps to an unknown destination. The authorities deny holding Cuello.

The UJS appeal for international support notes that Videla's terror squads use the excuse that they are fighting "guerrilla terrorism" when they round up leftists. But the UJS points out that *Política Obrera*—like the PST, which has also been hit with kidnappings and murders—is well known for its opposition to guerrilla tactics.

"Sánchez, Cuello and Puletti are comrades who belong to the organization *Política Obrera*, which has been banned by the military junta. It is an organization that supports united action by the workers and not the methods of individual terrorism, that

favors establishment of a workers and peasants government, and that is a partisan of international socialism. *Política Obrera* struggles in the trade unions for the full legality of the workers movement, against all types of victimization, and for the complete independence of the workers organizations from both the government and the employers.

"It struggles in the student movement for the reconstitution of the student centers and for full access to education.

"*Política Obrera* struggles for democratic rights and for the construction of an independent labor party so that the working class can have its own political expression. It calls for a constituent assembly where the problems of the country can be dealt with by the masses of citizens instead of by a minority of exploiters."

The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) asks that telegrams protesting the kidnappings be sent to General Jorge Videla, Casa Rosada, Buenos Aires, Argentina. Copies should be sent to USLA, 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, N.Y. 10003.



Cambodian refugees in Thailand. Their reports of compulsory evacuation of millions of Cambodians from urban areas after fall of Lon Nol government have now been officially confirmed by new regime.

Cambodia: gov't breaks three years of silence

From Intercontinental Press

For the first time, the Cambodian regime has lifted a tiny corner of the official veil of secrecy that has enveloped that country since the end of the war in April 1975.

On September 25, Pnompenh radio announced that a government and Communist Party delegation, headed by Prime Minister Pol Pot, was to visit China. It was the first public mention by the Cambodian leadership that a Communist Party as such actually existed in their country.

Pol Pot arrived in Peking September 28. He was greeted at the airport by Chinese Communist Party Chairman Hua Kuo-feng and Vice-Chairmen Teng Hsiao-p'ing and Li Hsien-nien. More than 100,000 persons were mobilized to greet him at Tien An Men Square as he drove through the city.

Hsinhua, the Chinese news agency, identified Pol Pot, again for the first time, as secretary of the Central Committee of the Cambodian Communist Party.

Reflective of the secrecy under which the Cambodian regime has been operating was the uncertainty among foreign journalists of Pol Pot's real identity. The name Pol Pot was not mentioned publicly until April 1976.

Pol Pot used the occasion of his visit to Peking to officially confirm the reports of the Khmer Rouge's mass evacuation of the cities in 1975. At the time, refugees, as well as a few Western reporters who stayed in Cambodia after the fall of the Lon Nol regime, told of the compulsory evacuation of millions of Cambodians from urban areas, particularly Pnompenh, in which many persons were said to have died.

Until now, however, the Khmer Rouge remained silent on these reports. But at an October 4 news conference in Peking, Pol Pot revealed that the evacuation policy had been decided upon two or three months before the Khmer Rouge captured Pnompenh. He justified the measure on the grounds of security. According to a Hsinhua account, Pol Pot said:

This was decided on before victory was won, that is, in February 1975, because we knew that before the smashing of all sorts of enemy spy organizations, our strength was not great enough to defend the revolutionary regime. Judging from the struggles waged from 1976 to 1977, the enemy's secret agent network lying low in our country was very massive and complicated. But when we crushed them, it was difficult for them to stage a comeback. Their forces were scat-

tered in various cooperatives which are in our own grip.

A few days earlier, however, he hinted that other factors may also have been involved, such as the Khmer Rouge's strong distaste for what they regarded as an imperialist-imposed culture in the cities.

Coinciding with Pol Pot's visit to Peking, Pnompenh radio broadcast, on September 29, a five-hour speech that he made two days earlier. In it, Pol Pot also seemed to confirm the reports of executions after the Khmer Rouge takeover, but he denied that they were massive.

Stating that the regime treated domestic "enemies" as it did foreign ones, Pol Pot said that they were dealt with "by separating, educating and training elements that can be won over to the people's side, neutralizing any reluctant elements so that they will not undermine the revolution, and isolating and eradicating only the smallest possible number."

In an apparent effort to counter the reports by thousands of refugees of widespread hunger and disease, Pol Pot claimed on his arrival in Peking that the situation in Cambodia was "excellent," that the regime had "wiped out illiteracy by 80 or 90 percent," that the country produced enough grain to feed "our people an average of 312 kilos [a kilo is 2.2 pounds] of rice per capita," and that a "network of hospitals and pharmaceutical centers" had been built so that there was a clinic with twenty beds for every hundred families.

If true, this would be quite remarkable for a generally poor country that had been devastated for years by war and massive American bombing. But Pol Pot offered no proof of his claims, nor has the Cambodian regime allowed independent observers to survey the situation for themselves.

In his five-hour speech over Pnompenh radio, Pol Pot also gave what was purported to be a history of the Cambodian Communist Party. He claimed that it had been founded seventeen years ago, in 1960, but offered no explanation of why it waited until September 25 to reveal its existence. At one point in the speech, he noted that "some capitalists and feudalists agreed to cooperate with the revolution."

Stressing agricultural development and the role of the peasantry, he stated that 95 percent of the population lived as "middle peasants." He added, "Our workers were not the main force of our revolution."

World news notes

Indonesia holds 100,000 political prisoners

The human rights organization Amnesty International has confirmed charges that Indonesia's rightist regime has held up to 100,000 political prisoners for more than ten years. "In no other country are so many political prisoners being held without trial for so many years," said an Amnesty International leader.

Political dissidents sentenced in Czechoslovakia

Four Czechoslovak political dissidents went to trial on charges of subversion October 17. The next day, after a trial behind closed doors, they were given sentences ranging from more than one year to three-and-a-half years.

Vaclav Havel, a playwright; Frantisek Pavlicek, a theater director and playwright; and Jiri Lederer, a journalist, pleaded not guilty. The three had been among the first of 700 people who signed Charter 77, an appeal that the Czechoslovak government enforce civil liberties that are guaranteed by that country's constitution. (For text of Charter 77 see February 25 *Militant*.)

Ota Ornest, a theater producer, did not sign Charter 77. According to the *New York Times*, he pleaded guilty to having maintained links with Czechoslovak emigrés.

Havel's and Pavlicek's sentences were suspended for three years.

Black leader demands S. Africa pull out of Namibia

Speaking at the United Nations on October 18, Sam Nujoma of the South-West Africa People's Organization called for an economic and military embargo against South Africa if that country does not withdraw its troops from Namibia (South-West Africa). Nujoma charged that if the South African troops are not pulled out before the UN-supervised elections in Namibia, the troops will be "both a physical and a psychological inhibition" or will install a South African puppet.

Swiss women win equal pay for equal work...

The Swiss Supreme Court ruled October 12 that women public employees have the right to equal pay for equal work. Although the decision only covers government workers, it is being welcomed as a victory for all women. In Switzerland women won the right to vote in national elections only six years ago.

...but lose in vote on abortion rights

A proposal to amend Switzerland's abortion law by removing restrictions on abortion in the first twelve weeks of pregnancy was defeated by a narrow margin in a nationwide referendum. The total vote was 994,677 against and 929,239 for the proposed liberalization.

A reactionary anti-abortion propaganda blitz leading up to the vote was lavishly financed by the Catholic church hierarchy, with the backing of Christian Democratic politicians and leading Protestant clergymen.

Argentine police attack, arrest women protesters

On October 15 cops in Buenos Aires broke up a demonstration of 350 women who were protesting the kidnapping of their relatives. In recent months thousands of people have been kidnapped by right-wing gangs working with the army and police. Many victims are still missing. Argentine cops arrested about 150 of the demonstrators along with several Argentine and foreign journalists covering the protest.

Soviet dissident goes into exile

Valentin Turchin, head of the Moscow branch of Amnesty International, has left the Soviet Union to live and teach in New York. After speaking out in defense of dissident Andrei Sakharov in 1974, Turchin was fired from a Moscow computer institute. Last summer Turchin asked to leave the Soviet Union temporarily to work, since he had been unable to get a job in the USSR. The Soviet bureaucracy told him he could leave the country only if he left for good.

Spanish CP and SP back Suarez's austerity plan

Spanish Prime Minister Adolfo Suarez, a political confidant of the late dictator Gen. Francisco Franco, has won the support of both the Spanish Communist Party and Socialist Party for a new austerity plan aimed at holding down wages. CP leader Santiago Carrillo declared that a recent summit meeting of all the Spanish political parties had resulted in "a program common to all." Socialist Party leader Felipe Gonzales called it "some basis of understanding."

The Spanish CP also helped Suarez push through a bill limiting the parliament's ability to censure the Suarez government. This is the latest of the CP's betrayals of Spanish workers made in the name of "consolidating democracy."

Iran signs deal for two more nuclear power plants

Iran signed \$3 billion in contracts with France on October 16 for two nuclear power plants and a ten-year supply of atomic fuel. Iran already has a West German company building two other nuclear power plants, which are scheduled to go into operation in 1983 and 1984.

Appeal issued for support to Thai students

Eighteen of the thousands of Thai students arrested during the bloody military coup last year went on trial in a Bangkok military court September 5. The eighteen face death sentences for charges of communist activities, insult to the royalty, treason, murder, attempted murder, and possession of weapons.

The Committee for Solidarity With the Thai People, based in Paris, has issued an appeal that "calls on all democratic organizations and individuals to lend their support to the eighteen defendants. Nothing else can save them."

Yemen declares martial law

On October 12 the new military rulers of Yemen declared martial law, mobilizing the country's 30,000 armed forces. The announcement was made following the assassination of Yemen's president, Lt. Col. Ibrahim al Hamdi, and his brother.

Steelworkers on strike across country

The following reports are from participants in strikes by the United Steelworkers of America. John Sarge is a member of USWA Local 1742 in Houston; Andrew Pulley, USWA Local 1834 in Chicago; and Lucy Matthews, USWA Local 5726 in Paramount, California.

Hughes Tool goes back to court for more antistrike aid

By John Sarge and Stu Singer

HOUSTON—Hughes Tool management announced October 12 that it is going back to court for more help to defeat its employees, who have been on strike here since September 18.

Hughes Tool Company is the largest producer of oil field drilling equipment in the United States. Most Hughes workers, more than 2,000, are members of the United Steelworkers of America Local 1742. Several hundred electricians and pipefitters are also on strike.

For two weeks after the strike, the plant was closed for "inventory." When management tried to reopen October 3, the gates were crowded with more than 500 pickets. Only a few cars went through the picket line, and they had to be escorted by police.

In the face of this militant show of strike solidarity, the company went to State District Judge John Compton, who promptly issued an injunction against mass picketing.

The court order limits pickets to two per gate per union.

On October 12, lawyers for the company went back to court, claiming the union has violated the order by "intimidating or coercing" people entering or leaving the plant. The judge set a hearing for Monday, October 17.

The unions have abided strictly by the terms of the October 4 court order. In addition to the two to six pickets allowed at each gate, hundreds of other strikers have been gathering every morning and evening in an empty parking lot across the street from the main gate.

On Monday, October 10, about 500 workers gathered there. This was two days after an all-white jury in Huntsville, Texas, found two Houston cops guilty only of a misdemeanor in the murder of Joe Campos Torres.

The Torres case was the main topic of discussion in the strike headquarters and on the picket line all weekend. When the cops showed up to escort some scabs through the picket line, the crowd of strikers shouted, "murderers!"

More than half of the strikers are Black and Chicano. Women, who represent a small percentage of the plant, are very active in the strike.

Some of the scabs driving through the gate have intentionally hit pickets with their cars. Fortunately no one has been badly hurt yet. The police saw these incidents and have taken no action.

The company has launched a massive and expensive advertising campaign to lure striking workers back and to hire new workers. This campaign has generated an interesting debate in the letters columns in the newspapers and on local radio call-in programs. Many people are debating

and discussing the role of unions, the right-to-work law, what causes inflation, and the role of the cops.

The company has announced it is processing thirty to forty job applications a day. The unions responded with a special leaflet to the new job applicants urging them to wait until the strike is over before applying for a job.

The company has also tried a number of provocations against the unions. Well-known company officials have walked back and forth through the strikers across the street from the plant. On October 11 Steelworker local President W. R. Morris reported that a group of men walked out of the company administration building, walked through the crowd of strikers, and dropped a package that turned out to be filled with marijuana.

The company seems intent on spending a lot of money to deny its employees the rather small improvements in wages and benefits that the unions are asking for. No negotiations between the company and the unions are now scheduled.

On Thursday, October 13, the international office of the USWA began paying strike benefits of thirty dollars. Many of those on strike have found temporary new jobs. There is a strain from being on strike four weeks. But many have been preparing for this strike for more than a year.

Local 1742 has issued a sticker with the words, "I'm ready to hit 'em" printed on a background of bricks. Hughes strikers seem ready to keep hitting the bricks for a while.

Pullman-Standard workers shut down plants in 4 states

By Andrew Pulley

CHICAGO—Sixty-five hundred workers of Pullman-Standard struck at 12:01 a.m. Saturday, October 1, as the national contract expired. This walkout shut down all five Pullman plants—three in the Chicago-Hammond (Indiana) area, and one each in Butler, Pennsylvania, and Bessemer, Alabama.

Pullman-Standard is the largest U.S. manufacturer of railroad freight and passenger cars. Its workers are members of the United Steelworkers of America.

Pullman-Standard's belligerent stance on both national and local issues forced the strike.

The company wants to eliminate the contract clause that allows workers to strike over incentive pay. Pullman wants to eliminate incentive pay altogether and replace it with what the bosses call a "15 percent increase in benefits, wages, cost of living, and an additional paid holiday."

This issue applies only to workers in the freight-car plants, who will never see most of this so-called 15 percent increase unless they get hurt, become ill, or die.

Another important national issue, which applies to all 6,500 striking workers, is the basic steel wage agreement. The union is seeking the whole basic steel package, but the company so far has refused to agree to this.

The company has been equally adamant on

important local issues. Pullman wants to maintain the provision that allows it to use favoritism in determining shift assignments. Workers with less than five years seniority have no right to choose what shift they work.

The company presently has a category of pay reserved only for its favorites called "red circle" pay. The union is demanding that this exclusionary circle be eliminated. It is calling for equal pay for equal work.

Altogether, there are sixty-seven unresolved local issues over which Chicago's Local 1834 is striking. Pullman-Standard has agreed to only a few insignificant demands, such as exterminating the pigeons in one of the shops.

This strike is the first company-wide strike at Pullman since the 1894 strike led by the great labor and socialist leader, Eugene V. Debs. But there have been local strikes in more recent times.

The attitude on the picket lines is one of willingness to fight. The workers also recognize we may be in for a long and tough battle.

Anaconda employees reject wage-cut demands

By Lucy Matthews

PARAMOUNT, Calif.—At midnight on September 30, 200 brass workers from the United Steelworkers Local 5726 gathered at the Anaconda plant gate here.

The news they finally received was that Anaconda, the biggest brass-fabricating outfit in the world, owned by the giant Arco corporation, refused to budge from its original offer. Twenty-five hundred workers nationwide were on strike.

The offer rejected by the union boiled down to eliminating cost-of-living adjustments for at least a year and cutting wages and benefits by about two dollars per hour.

Union members in Paramount, a city adjacent to Los Angeles, are holding firm despite continual company propaganda threatening plant closings, an injunction against picketing a so-called contractor's gate, and efforts to keep the machines running with management personnel.

Anaconda workers have received a barrage of company mailings, including one with a three-page scab manual giving advice on how to cross a picket line.

On October 5, a company-hired truck carrying finished metal hit a picketer. The union promptly tried to get the news of this criminal act into the local news media, and charges are being pressed against the hit-and-run driver.

More and more long-time brass workers are saying, "They [the company] never did this before."

In fact, Anaconda is following an industry trend, forcing workers in small shops out on strike with demands that they give up previously won wage and benefit gains.

Most of Anaconda employees nationwide are organized in the United Steelworkers of America (USWA). Some are in the United Auto Workers and International Association of Machinists.

The unions' proposal is the same as the settlement reached recently for the biggest copper mines. The aim is to bring closer coordinated bargaining in all phases of the copper and brass industry.

The mining contract would mean for Anaconda workers the same cost-of-living adjustment formula, an across the board twenty-one-cent-an-hour wage increase each year, and increased pension, medical, and life insurance benefits.

Locally, anger has been building over the issues of forced overtime, premium pay (individual production quotas that create speedup), company disciplinary procedures, and the backlog of grievances.

"I'd be willing to stay out six months to get voluntary overtime," said one striker.

Many younger workers oppose the no-strike provision in the local contract. It is modeled on the Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA) in the national USWA contract.

A recent issue of the Local 5726 newsletter, initiated during the negotiations at the beginning of September, said:

"Being mad and angry is not enough. We must be organized. . . . We should be very clear that it will be only the active mobilization, organization and unity of the rank and file that will bring Anaconda to their knees."



Strikers at Hughes Tool plant in Houston

Militant/Stu Singer

... iron range strikers appeal for support

Continued from back page

court but lost after the dispute was ordered to arbitration.

"We will see that no striker loses anything," Wampler pledged, "that they will be fully covered by the insurance. This is going to take some doing, because it's about a million and a half bucks a month going into the insurance rates."

Both Wampler and Samargia reported on an October 5 negotiating meeting that brought together all the companies and all the union locals. "We thought maybe we would see an end to the strike, or at least the beginning of an end," Wampler recalled.

Instead, Samargia said, "They brought in [U.S. Steel Vice-president] Bill Miller, who's one of their chief honchos in Pittsburgh, to come up and tell us to go to hell—that they were going to hold us out for a while yet."

"Well, we in turn shot back, we'll sit here 'til hell freezes over if we have to."

Samargia also noted that the companies have gone to court trying to have the strike declared illegal under the Experimental Negotiating Agreement. The ENA prohibits a national

steel strike, but is supposed to allow local strikes over local issues.

"They've filed suit against the steelworkers international [union] for \$1 million a day in damages," Samargia said. "They've hauled us into court, taking depositions, back and forth, trying to break the morale of the people."

This harassment and the prospect of a long strike, he indicated, made support from the rest of the labor movement all the more crucial for the iron ore workers.

The report to the conference by District 31 Director Jim Balanoff emphasized the need for solidarity.

"We have to back up our brothers and sisters on the iron range," Balanoff said, "not just because it's the right thing to do, but because the outcome of those strikes will directly influence the settlements we get in District 31 next time around."

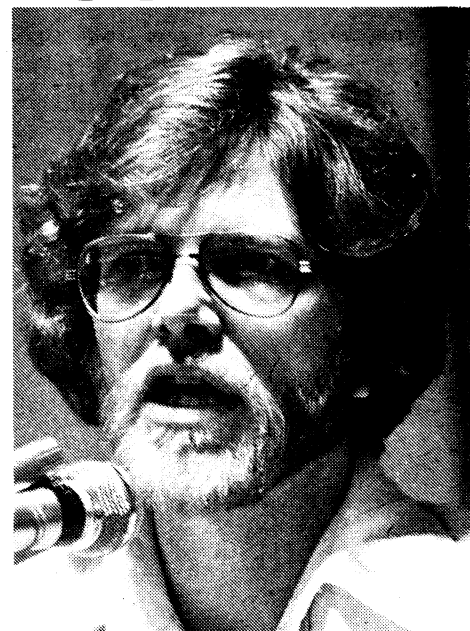
"The aid you send today to the iron range is really an investment in your own next contract."

Union activists in District 31 are now discussing how to follow up the conference resolution with local sup-



Militant photos by Andy Rose

WAMPLER: 'We're just waiting—waiting until the companies get ready to sit down and bargain with us.'



SAMARGIA: 'Go back to your locals, talk to your membership, pass resolutions, and send letters of support.'

port activities. They want to make sure every steelworker in the district knows about the strike and has an opportunity to contribute to winning it.

* * *

The 959 delegates at the District 31 steelworkers conference also voted to reject the campaign by the steel companies and the top union officialdom to blame layoffs and plant closings on imports.

USWA President Lloyd McBride and District 28 (Cleveland) Director Frank Valenta addressed the conference, demanding that District 31 steelworkers toe the line on imports.

McBride has also sought to undercut the Balanoff leadership by naming

anti-Balanoff staff representatives to the district without consulting the elected district officials.

Delegates reacted sharply to these attacks on their democratic rights. In other actions, the conference voted to:

- call a district women's conference and establish a women's committee;
- support busing for school desegregation and oppose racist violence;
- oppose U.S. support to the South African regime;
- demand that steelworkers be allowed to vote on the ENA; and
- call for a shorter workweek with no cut in pay to create jobs.

Full coverage of the District 31 conference will appear in next week's *Militant*.

Socialist discussion group

In recent weeks more than 100 people on the Mesabi Iron Range, most of them striking steelworkers, have subscribed to the *Militant*. Now several of these subscribers have decided to launch a socialist discussion group on the range.

The first session will be held on Saturday, October 29, beginning at

2:00 p.m. It will meet at 710½ Garfield Avenue in Eveleth, Minnesota. A leader of the Socialist Workers Party from Minneapolis will be present to answer questions.

The discussion group is open to all interested persons. For more information call (218) 741-5910 or write to Box 343, Eveleth, Minnesota 55734.

'Militant' readers boost fund drive...

Two *Militant* readers renewing their subscriptions this week gave a boost to our \$50,000 fund drive. One supporter in Chicago included a check for \$100 along with his renewal. And from St. Louis we received an \$85 donation.

These contributions, plus money sent in by other readers, added another \$461 to the fund this week, bringing us up to **\$29,850.73** or nearly 60 percent.

Our goal is to reach and go over \$50,000 this fall so that the *Militant* can catch up with rising printing and postage costs and still continue to bring you the news and socialist analysis you expect.

Although we're making steady progress, we still have more than \$20,000 to go—a lot of money to raise in the next few weeks. One of the ways we plan to do this is through the tours of ten Socialist Workers Party leaders, who will be crisscrossing the country speaking on "Carter's first year: a socialist view—Washington's record on human and democratic

rights."

Every city where SWP speakers stop will feature a *Militant* fund-raising rally. We urge all our readers to attend.

Militant supporters in Cleveland and Toledo will have that opportunity this week. Cathy Sedwick, the national chairperson of the Young Socialist Alliance and a member of the SWP

National Committee, will make these two cities her first tour stops. Sedwick's speaking schedule is:

TOLEDO **OCT. 26** Bowling Green State Univ., Student Union, 7:30 p.m.

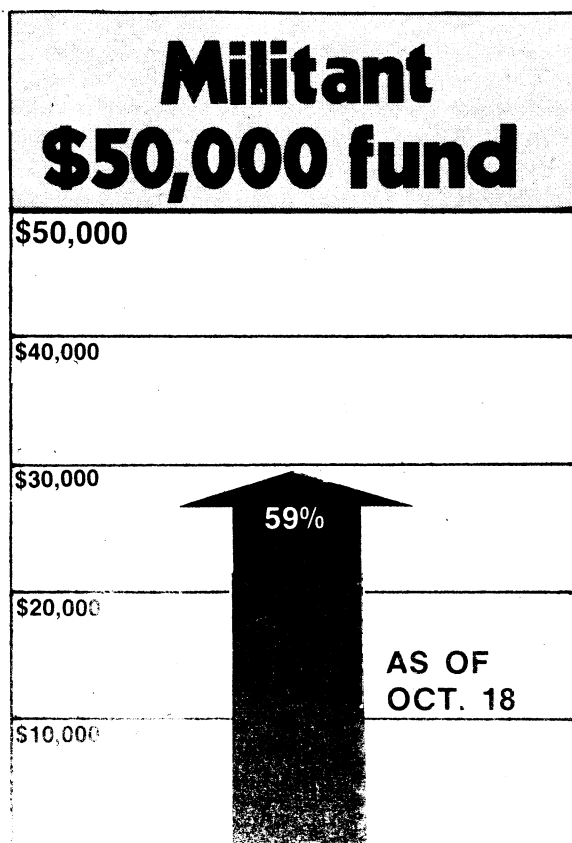
OCT. 28 Rally at 2507 Collingwood, 8 p.m.

CLEVELAND **OCT. 29** Rally at 2300 Payne, 8 p.m.

Remember, every dollar you contribute now will be doubled by the \$10,000 matching fund set up by one of our readers. This supporter has agreed to match all contributions, up to \$10,000, that we receive.



SEDWICK



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.**

...we now have \$20,000 to go

Bluegrass Opera of Detroit

The Original Bluegrass Opera of Detroit written and composed by Lowell McKirgan. Performed at the Attic Theatre in Greektown, Detroit, September 2-18. Recording and engagements available by writing P.O. Box 796, Royal Oak, Michigan 48068.

They traveled the nation's "one-way" highways from the South to the northern industrial cities. Thousands came to Detroit seeking their fortunes at Ford's, while leaving their hearts and their families back home. To this day, workers from Kentucky, West Virginia, Tennessee, the Carolinas, and Alabama continue the northern migration, as did earlier generations. Now they drive up I-75, seeking employment at the stamping plants, the steel mills, the assembly line. It's hard work, but the pay is better and mostly steady.

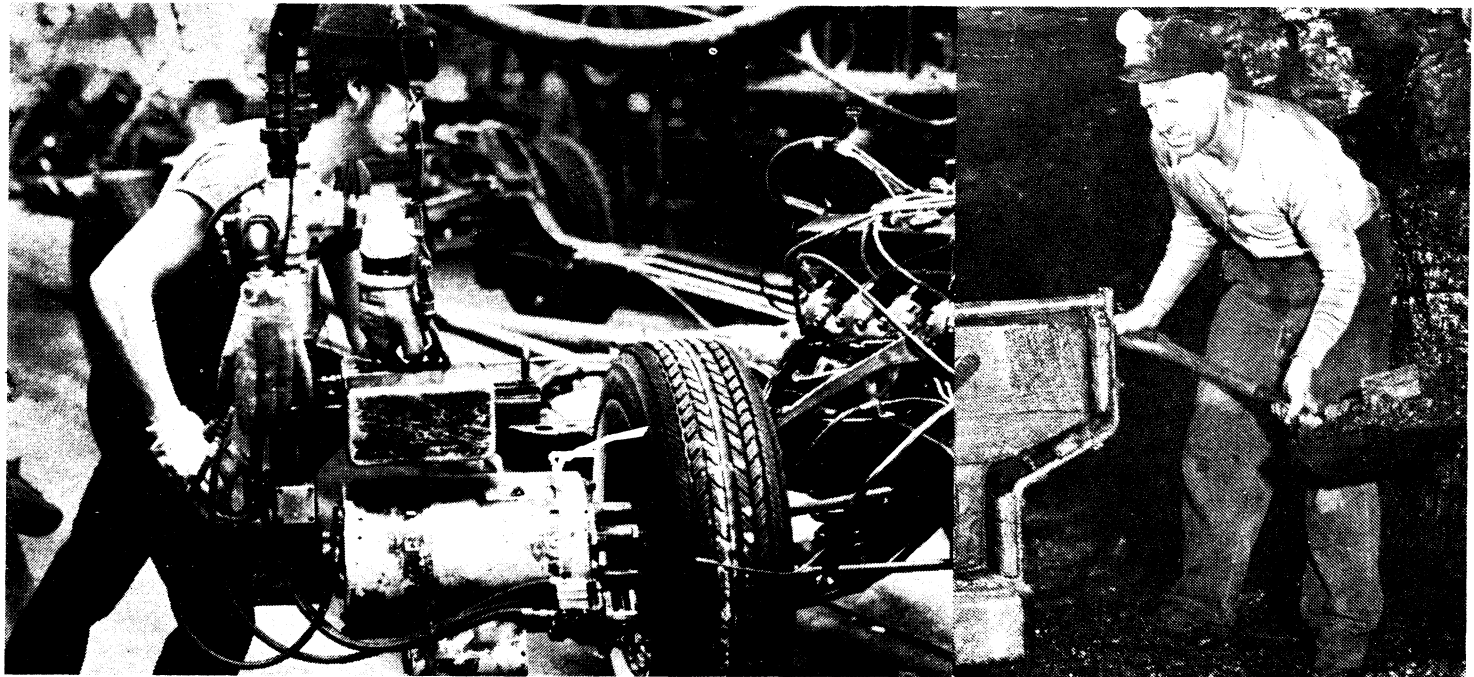
True, you might never go back home, though you talk about it and dream of it often. You're likely to get assimilated instead. And you might actually start to like Detroit and your new car and the little bungalow in the suburbs. Besides your "Children Can't Stand

Theater

Bluegrass," your wife doesn't cook biscuits with gravy, and you discover that, after all, "home" is where your job is.

And that's the moral of the story, to the extent that the *Original Bluegrass Opera of Detroit* has a storyline.

Written and composed by Lowell "Bud" McKirgan, a native of southern Illinois, the opera is a set of songs loosely connected by narratives in "Grand Ol' Opry" style. It is performed by five hard-playing, lightning-fingered instrumentalists: Steve Whalen on fiddle, Lee Kaufmann on banjo, Tim Wilson on bass, David Cahn on mandolin, dobro, etc., and Herschel Freeman on guitar. They're accompanied by a slide show that illustrates the



Working on the auto line. . .

. . . or in the mine

umbilical-cord highway and the two worlds it connects.

Life in the mines is hell and good enough reason to leave home. The song "Blood on the Coal" is a moving eulogy to all those who have died in the mines and from the black dust. But life on the assembly line is not much better. So everyone develops their own coping mechanism.

One fellow tells us that "Jesus is Working in Detroit" ("on the assembly line and in the board room," perhaps because he knows no class lines) while the other workers "ride" him.

Another worker hopes to "Sell my Songs" and go to Nashville, never to return to the line.

For others hankering for home, "Ilene's Restaurant" keeps a shelf of jars filled with dirt from their home states, so they can touch a bit of home when they get lonely.

Some, like Jerry McGee, put a mark on every Cadillac that passes overhead on the line. ("(Body by Fisher) Frame

by Jerry McGee" is a perfect song of alienation, with the chorus, "Pick it up, put it in, here comes another one, pick it up. . . .")

Part of coping is joining in the workers' struggles. The narrator and musicians recall Kate Miller, the union organizer. "Remember how they used to say she was a commie, and she never denied being a communist. Then again we never asked or cared 'cause boy, were we glad she was on our side." The song is "You Put the U in the UAW." The slides depict the struggles that victoriously organized the auto industry, first with the sit-down strikes at GM's Flint plants and later the final battles at Ford's. Says the song, "The women showed the way."

Solidarity was the critical factor, between northerners and southerners, Blacks and whites, the workers and their families and their neighbors. And as the storyline goes, red-baiting wasn't going to stand in the way.

When offered a job at the new truck

plant back in Kentucky, the singer figures out he's already "home" in Detroit. Besides, he's "indebted" to the city and has no time to leave, what with the overtime he needs to pay off those debts.

Explains the narrator, "Why do we always want to leave?" Because everyone's looking for "home" and happiness, not just for another job.

The working conditions, whether in the Kentucky mines or on the Detroit assembly lines, can't provide happiness or fulfillment. Neither does the weekly paycheck, even if it does provide the means to buy that Lincoln Continental or, more likely, the cheaper Ford.

Until we who work hard for a living find a better way to make the things we need and take control over our own destinies, we'll seek our happiness in dreams and in struggle. And when we can find the time, an evening of foot-stomping music is not only entertaining, but also solace.

—Claudia Hommel

Birth control: whose control?

Population Target: The Political Economy of Population Control in Latin America by Bonnie Mass. Published by Charters Publishing Company, for the Latin American Working Group, Box 2207, Station P, Toronto, Ontario. 299 pages.

Birth control has long been a demand of the women's movement. "Our bodies, our lives—our right to decide!" feminists have insisted. To women, birth control has meant control of their own destinies.

But for others, for Malthus-style theorists and State Department planners, birth control has meant

understanding the two-sided offensive of U.S. capitalism against women's reproductive rights. Whether the attack comes in the form of denying legal abortion, or in the form of forced sterilization, the goal is the same—maintaining state control over women's bodies.

Well-documented (with more than 400 footnotes) and readable, Mass's book covers a history of the birth-control movement, the expansion of imperialist population schemes into underdeveloped countries, the relationship of world hunger to population and foreign policy, and a study of population research programs in the 1970s.

Using case studies from Puerto Rico, Chile, Guatemala, Brazil, Bolivia, Peru, Colombia, and Iran, Mass examines some of the schemes and experiments aimed against women in these countries under the tutelage of U.S. imperialism.

Inserting IUDs into Brazilian women and cutting off the strings to make them "more effective." Turning Latin America into a dumping ground for drugs proven unsafe and declared unfit for sale in the United States. Testing the possible effectiveness of paraformaldehyde as a sterilization agent on Guatemalan women. Sterilizing more than one-third of the Puerto Rican women of child-bearing age.

Mass explains convincingly that these incidents fit into a consistent pattern of violation of the rights of women.

In the chapter "Abundance and Starvation," Mass talks about the real problem that the rhetoric of "overpopulation" and "population explosion" covers up. The "hunger crisis" is really a hunger for profits on the part of U.S. agribusinesses. Del Monte, United Fruit, Kraft, Ralson Purina, A&P, Dolé, United Brands, Minute Maid, and General Mills—these companies have an insatiable appetite for profit.

Those who wish to read further on the question of food supply and population should obtain Joseph Hansen's pamphlet *The "Population Explosion"* (Pathfinder Press, 1970). This is a Marxist refutation of population control theories.

"Under capitalism," Hansen explains, "the distribution of hunger in the population is not due to the abundance of the poor, but to poor distribution of society's abundance."

Women in underdeveloped countries suffering abuse from population-control experts and women in this country fighting for access to abortion and birth control are all part of the international struggle for women's emancipation. Whether it's against the outrages of population projects or against the Hyde amendment, which will cut off Medicaid funding for abortions, women are fighting to control their own lives.

Feminists will find Mass's book valuable and interesting reading.

—Linda Thalman

Books

population control. It has been a tool for those hoping to manipulate the social forces that might shake continents.

The myth of overpopulation in Latin America is the focus of Bonnie Mass's *Population Target: The Political Economy of Population Control in Latin America*. The book provides a comprehensive picture of the broad social, economic, and political factors that shape U.S. population-control policies.

This is important background information to

'Friends of labor' pass the buck

Wisc. state workers hit with criminal charges

By Bob Schwarz

MILWAUKEE—Wisconsin Democratic Party politicians are continuing their attack on state workers. Last month Attorney Gen. Bronson La Follette announced he would seek criminal contempt charges against 1,800 workers who ignored court back-to-work orders during last July's two-week strike by the Wisconsin State Employees Union.

Seventeen thousand state workers struck when state negotiators refused to consider demands for substantial wage increases and other benefits. State employees are among the lowest-paid public employees in Wisconsin.

Before the strike 56 percent of WSEU members earned less than the U.S. Labor Department's low-budget standard of living for a family of four.

After a bitter strike they were able to win wage increases of 7 percent and 7.5 percent over the next two years, with a formula that gave the lowest paid workers substantially higher raises. They also won improvements in pay progression, health benefits, and a cost-of-living adjustment to be instituted at the end of the contract.

The state also promised there would be no reprisals against any

state employee who struck. This demand was particularly important because the union had appealed to student workers, who are not unionized at most state universities and were being used as scabs.

During the strike, Acting Gov. Martin Schreiber, favored as one of the best "friends of labor" when he was lieutenant governor, launched an all-out attack on the union. National Guard troops were mobilized to replace striking prison guards and to work in three state-run mental hospitals called Centers for the Developmentally Disabled.

The big-business media concentrated its fire on workers at these centers, accusing them of disregard for the care of the patients. Newspapers published daily stories on bad conditions at the centers and appeals for volunteers to staff them.

They made no mention of union offers to provide emergency care for those patients who could not be placed in private facilities.

As one striker at the center in Union Grove told this reporter on the picket line, "Where were all these volunteers when we wanted to take patients to the zoo or the park?"

In an attempt to single out the workers at the centers, who were among the most militant and deter-

mined, Schreiber ordered Attorney General La Follette to seek an injunction forcing these 1,800 workers back to work.

When three county courts issued the back-to-work orders, strikers at the centers burned them in defiance. It was such militancy and determination that finally forced the state to begin negotiating.

Once agreement had been reached, Schreiber, trying to recapture his tarnished "friend of labor" image, hailed the settlement as "fair to both sides" and urged immediate ratification.

While most state employees supported the new contract, Democratic politicians in the legislature stalled approval. They demanded renegotiations of part of the agreement and finally forced the union to accept further retreats on the cost-of-living provision.

Meanwhile, claiming the no-reprisals clause was not in effect until the legislature approved the contract, Attorney General La Follette was proceeding with contempt of court charges against the 1,800 workers who had ignored back-to-work orders.

Schreiber, still playing "friend of labor," "demanded" that La Follette stop the proceedings. But when La

Follette "backed down," the county judges "refused to go along," claiming that since proceedings had already been started, La Follette no longer had the authority to withdraw the action.

Recently union lawyers won an appeal before the state Supreme Court staying all civil proceedings against the workers until oral arguments in the case could be heard next January.

However, La Follette now claims that since civil charges have been stayed he is free to institute criminal proceedings against these same workers. No comment has yet been reported from Schreiber.

This latest round in the "pass the buck" routine between different branches of state government—all of which are controlled by the Democrats—confirms the statement issued by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance in support of the strike last July.

The socialists pointed out that "Schreiber and his Democratic Party are not the friends of labor—they represent business. AFSCME [American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees] and the labor movement need their own candidates and their own party—a labor party."

Divide-and-rule policy succeeds

Phila. schools face five-year austerity budget

By Ben Bailey and Haskell Berman

PHILADELPHIA—The third largest local of the American Federation of Teachers is located here. It is in big trouble.

Last month members of the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers (PFT), at one of the largest meetings in the history of the local, overwhelmingly voted down a recommendation by the union executive board to honor the picket lines of Local 1201 of the Firemen and Oilers.

Local 1201 represents school depart-

ment bus drivers and maintenance workers. It has been on strike since the opening of school.

The news media and union officials attributed the vote to lingering bitterness among PFT members over Local 1201's refusal to honor picket lines during the 1972-73 teachers' strike.

The real reason goes deeper.

Philadelphia's school budget crisis took on a cold reality this spring, as school department officials claimed the school system hovered on the brink of bankruptcy.

A group of bankers headed by John Bunting, president of the city's largest bank, "bailed out" the system with a \$31.5 million loan. The price of this was not only 7 percent interest, tax free of course, but also an agreement by the board of education to "balance" the 1977-78 budget.

The board, appointed by Democratic Mayor Frank Rizzo, complied by cutting school programs to the bone and firing 10,000 teachers and other school department employees—more than a third of the work force.

The PFT leadership went hat in hand to Harrisburg, the state capital, to beg Democratic and Republican "friends" to raise taxes (which would



June 1977 protest against Philadelphia school cuts

Militant/Jon Hillson

have fallen primarily on working people) to fund the schools.

Shortly before the opening of the school year, the second "bailout" began. The state granted the school system \$20 million in aid and a \$30 million loan. City bankers, headed by Bunting, completed the package with a new \$50 million loan.

This allowed the board of education to rehire 7,500 fired employees in a frantic week before school reopened.

The conditions attached to the bailout again amounted to extortion—a five-year budget-balancing scheme that places a 7 percent ceiling on budget increases.

For teachers and the public schools this means five years of no increases, because the 7 percent will be eaten up by increased unemployment payments, costs for required federal programs, and rising interest payments on loans.

On the contrary, estimates of yearly budget deficits range from \$25 to \$35 million. On September 28, the Pennsylvania state auditor announced the

results of a study that predicted a \$183 million deficit at the end of this year's budget! This will mean further drastic cuts and layoffs.

The first casualties of the banks' five-year plan were unionized cafeteria workers, who are among the most downtrodden school employees. They were forced to okay a four-year, wage-freeze contract.

Next, nearly half of the 5,000 members that Local 1201 represents were fired and not rehired. The racist and sexist nature of the cuts was reflected in the fact that the union is majority Black and 60 percent of those fired are women. The average wage of these workers is \$8,000 a year.

When several teachers raised the question of the PFT's response to the pending local 1201 strike, union officials stated the matter would be dealt with when, and if, the local struck and asked for support.

Instead of evasion, the leadership should have organized a campaign to

explain the importance of the strike—the first test of the banks' austerity plan—and the need for PFT solidarity with it.

A majority of the 2,000 predominantly Black non-teaching aides, who are represented by the PFT, were also fired and not rehired.

Three days after the PFT rejected solidarity with Local 1201, an injunction against mass picketing was obtained by the board of education.

The board refused Local 1201's offer for binding arbitration and forced the local leadership to agree to a tentative settlement on September 28. The board agreed to rehire less than half the fired workers and gutted previous contract guarantees over scheduling and working conditions. The proposed agreement included no wage increase.

In a stormy ratification meeting October 6, the membership voted down the agreement 1,269 to 1,109. More than sixty school buildings have been shut down as the strike continues. The school board has served notice on Local 1201 that it intends to begin hiring scabs to replace striking members.

Whether playing the suicidal game of "lesser evil" politics, begging for crumbs, or letting the banks off the hook by calling for higher taxes—it was the logic of the PFT leadership's no-win strategy that led to the spectacle of the city's biggest union being used as a strikebreaker against the embattled Local 1201.

The victims of the banks are the working people of Philadelphia. The school system's students (the majority of whom are Black and Puerto Rican), their parents, and the whole labor movement in Philadelphia have an immediate stake in responding to the racist, antiunion offensive against public education.

Their power, organized independently of and against the banks and the city government it rules, is the only effective weapon to counter such an offensive.

Calendar

BALTIMORE

THE NEW THEFT OF THE PANAMA CANAL.

Speaker: Jim Sarsgard, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Oct. 28, 8 p.m. 2117 N. Charles St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (301) 547-0668.

RALLY FOR THE 'MILITANT' NEWSPAPER.

Speaker: Mary-Alice Waters, editor of the *Militant*. Fri., Nov. 4, 8 p.m. 2117 N. Charles St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (301) 547-0668.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

CAMPAIGN RALLY FOR SOCIALIST WORKERS

CANDIDATES. Speakers: Carol Henderson Evans, Socialist Workers Party candidate for city council; Hattie McCutcheon, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Boston. Sun., Oct. 23, 5 p.m. Cambridge Community Center, 5 Callendar St. (5 min. from Central Square off Western Ave.) Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (617) 547-4395.

IN DEFENSE OF ABORTION RIGHTS.

Speaker: Carol Henderson Evans, SWP candidate for Cambridge City Council. Fri., Oct. 28, 8 p.m. 2 Central Square, 2nd fl. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 547-4395.

CHICAGO: NORTH SIDE

PROSPECTS FOR UNITY ON THE LEFT.

Recently the Revolutionary Marxist Committee fused with the Socialist Workers Party. How did this happen? Is it possible for other socialist groups to get together? Hear discussion of these issues. Speaker: David McDonald, former member of RMC. Fri., Oct. 28, 8 p.m. 1870 N. Halsted. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 642-4811.

CHICAGO: SOUTH SIDE

THE CRISIS IN STEEL: DO IMPORTS CAUSE UNEMPLOYMENT? Speaker: Jack Marsh, longtime trade-union activist and socialist, member USWA Local 65. Fri., Oct. 28, 7:30 p.m. 2251 E. 71st St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 643-5520.

CINCINNATI

CAPITALISM FOULS THINGS UP: THE POLLUTION CRISIS AND HOW TO END IT. Speaker: John Stiller, SWP candidate for city council. Fri., Oct. 28, 8 p.m. 970 E. McMillan. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (513) 751-2636.

DETROIT: EAST SIDE

THE VA NURSES ARE INNOCENT! Speakers: Angelo Figueroa, program director of el Grito de mi Raza—Cry of my race (WDET-FM); Sheryl Rousseau, Coalition to Free the VA Nurses; speaker from Narciso-Perez Legal Defense Committee; Meg Hayes, SWP. Sun., Oct. 30, 7:30 p.m. 12920 Mack. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 824-1160 or 961-5675.

NUCLEAR POWER: DANGER TO HUMANITY.

Speakers: representative from Safe Energy Coalition; Sandy Knoll, SWP. Sun., Nov. 6, 7:30 p.m. 12920 Mack. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 824-1160 or 961-5675.

DETROIT: WEST SIDE

THE 'BAKKE' CASE AND THE RACIST ATTACK ON AFFIRMATIVE ACTION.

Speakers: John Sanford, Michigan Coalition to Overturn the Bakke Decision; Jo Carol Stallworth, SCAR; Mac Warren, SWP. Sun., Oct. 30, 7 p.m. 18415 Wyoming. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 341-6436.

TEN DAYS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD.

A film by Sergei Eisenstein. Celebrate the 60th anniversary of the Russian revolution. Sun., Nov. 6, 7 p.m. and 9 p.m. 18415 Wyoming. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 341-6436.

KANSAS CITY, MO.

VIEWPOINT: THE SWP DISCUSSES THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY IN EASTERN EUROPE. Speaker: Scott Cooper, SWP. Fri., Oct. 28, 7:30 p.m. 4515A Troost. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

LOUISVILLE, KY.

TEN DAYS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD. Widely acclaimed film on the Russian revolution. Party to follow. Fri., Oct. 28, 8 p.m. 1505 W. Broadway. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

MESABI IRON RANGE

SOCIALIST DISCUSSION GROUP. Sat., Oct. 29, 2 p.m. 710½ Garfield Ave. Eveleth, Minn. Ausp: Militant, SWP. For more information call (218) 741-5910.

MINNEAPOLIS

MINNEAPOLIS SWP CAMPAIGN RALLY. Who rules Minneapolis—and who should? Speakers: Jim Carson, SWP candidate for mayor; Peggie Perrone, 2nd Ward; Faith Einerson, 8th Ward. Fri., Oct. 28, 8 p.m. 23 E. Lake St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (612) 825-6663.

LOS ANGELES: CRENSHAW

JUSTICE IN AMERICA: THE CASE OF NARCISO

a well-known member of the PRT. Leyva was seized at his workplace in the Institute.

"2. Juan Alberto del Pardo, dental technician and sympathizer of the Trotskyist movement, along with his brother-in-law Eloy Serna. They were seized inside their home, which was ransacked by the cops.

"3. Adriana Serna del Pardo, a telephone worker, member of the democratic opposition in her union, and companion of Juan Alberto. She was picked up while she was at work at Telefonos de México.

"4. Alejandro Martínez Duarte, student and former political prisoner who was recently released after several years in jail for alleged guerrilla activities.

"5. Two student activists at the Colegio de Bachilleres who were handing out a leaflet protesting the previous arrests."

These arrest victims reported seeing hundreds of other prisoners.

"The majority of them," *Bandera Socialista* reports, "were brutally beaten and tortured with water and electric current applied to different parts of their bodies. The cops tried to drag confessions out of them about the 'Liga' and the alleged relations between this organization and the PRT."

Further evidence of torture of Mexican political prisoners was provided in an article in the March 20 issue of the *Washington Post*. "There is well-documented evidence that leftist activists—and often their friends—frequently are kidnaped by the authorities rather than arrested, are kept incommunicado, are severely tortured during interrogation and held without trial indefinitely.

"During interviews," the report continues, "seven political prisoners said that torture by the military or by members of the Federal Security Directorate included intimidation, beatings, electric shocks, cigarette burns and

AND PEREZ. Speakers: Hermina Aquino from the Narciso & Perez Defense Committee; Patti Iiyama, SWP. Fri., Oct. 28, 8 p.m. 2167 W. Washington. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 732-8196.

NEW YORK: BROOKLYN

CARTER'S PLAN TO SCAPEGOAT UNDOCUMENTED WORKERS. STOP THE DEPORTATIONS! Fri., Oct. 28, 7:30 p.m. 220-222 Utica Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 773-0250.

NEW YORK: LOWER EAST SIDE

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Catarino Garza, SWP candidate for mayor; Nicomedes Sánchez, SWP candidate for city council. Entertainment by Guadencio Thiago de Mello, Brazilian composer and guitarist. Sat., Oct. 22, 8 p.m. Loaisida Town House, 300 E. 4th St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (212) 260-6400.

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

REPRESSION IN HAITI. Speaker: Yvon Rosemond, Haitian exile. Fri., Oct. 28, 8 p.m. 786 Amsterdam Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

OAKLAND, CALIF.

HOW TO MAKE A REVOLUTION IN THE UNITED STATES. Speaker: Art Sharon, veteran socialist educator and trade-union organizer. Fri., Oct. 28, 8 p.m. 1467 Fruitvale Ave. Donation \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 261-1210.

PHOENIX, ARIZ.

RALLY FOR THE 'MILITANT' NEWSPAPER. Speaker: Willie Mae Reid, speaking on Carter's first year—a socialist view. Fri., Nov. 4, 8 p.m. 314 E. Taylor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore. For more information call (602) 255-0450.

ST. LOUIS: WEST END

PANAMA CANAL TREATY: JUSTICE FOR THE PANAMANIAN? A debate on the Left. Speakers: Pat Hayes, SWP; others. Fri., Oct. 28, 8 p.m. 6223 Delmar. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (314) 725-1570.

SAN DIEGO

CRISIS FACING TEACHERS. Speaker: Jeff Mackler, national coordinator, AFT desegregation committee; Ann Ziesleski, CLUW, Santee Teachers Association. Fri., Oct. 28, 8 p.m. 1055 15th St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 234-4630.

SAN FRANCISCO

WHAT SOCIALISTS STAND FOR. Speakers: Paul Boutelle, SWP; Milton Chee, SWP candidate for board of supervisors; Joy Becker, YSA. Fri., Oct. 28,

being pushed under water until near suffocation."

Prisoners who survive the torture are seldom given the chance to clear themselves of charges by going to trial. The August issue of the newsletter of the Comité Pro-Defensa de Presos, Perseguidos, Desaparecidos y Exiliados Políticos reported that "scores of activists who have been arrested in the last two years throughout the republic have not reached the courts or civilian prisons (except in a few cases you can count on the fingers of one hand). The police authorities have cynically gone along with their 'transfer to the Military Camp for investigation' and they have still not gotten out of there."

... 'Bakke'

Continued from back page

resistance to this court's decision. . . ."

There was another important similarity in the arguments made by Cox and McCree. Both chose to limit their defense of affirmative-action programs by emphasizing that the program at Davis was initiated voluntarily by the university.

If the court were to make such a distinction, it could conceivably rule in favor of the Davis special-admissions program, while leaving open the issue of court-imposed quotas and of government-enforced affirmative-action programs in employment.

The exchange that came closest to reality was between Colvin and Justice Thurgood Marshall, the only Black on the Supreme Court. At one point, Colvin declared, "it is the principle of keeping a man out because of his race that is important."

Marshall responded, "You are arguing about keeping somebody out, and the other side is arguing about getting somebody in."

Colvin: That's right.

8 p.m. 973 Page St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 626-6288.

TACOMA, WASH.

THE CASE FOR INDIAN FISHING RIGHTS. Speakers: Joe DeLaCruz, president of the Quinault Nation & president of National Tribal Chairmen's Association; John Klinebell, attorney for the Puyallup Indian Tribe; Elizabeth Furse, board member of the National Coalition to Support Indian Treaties and staff member of American Friends Service Committee. Fri., Oct. 28, 8 p.m. Tacoma Community College bldg. 22, room 1. Ausp: Militant Forum; Student Coalition of Indian Natives at Tacoma Community College. For more information call (206) 627-0432.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

CONFRONTATION IN PANAMA. Speakers: Philip Wheaton, codirector of Ecumenical Program for Inter-American Communication and Action; representative, SWP. Slides of Central America will be shown. Fri., Oct. 28, 8 p.m. 2416 18th St. NW. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7706.

Hear Lea Tsemel

POLITICAL REPRESSION IN ISRAEL: AN ISRAELI JEW SPEAKS OUT FOR PALESTINIAN HUMAN RIGHTS. Hear Lea Tsemel, a prominent attorney for Palestinian human rights in occupied Palestine.

DETROIT

Sun., Oct. 22, 7:30 p.m. Central Methodist Church, 23 E. Adams. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum, Viewpoint Speakers Bureau. For more information call (313) 824-1160.

SEATTLE

Fri., Oct. 28, 12:30 p.m. HUB Ballroom, Univ. of Washington. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Viewpoint Speakers Bureau. Sponsors: UW Organization of Arab Students; Lyman Legters social theory program; Iranian Student Association; UW Minority Affairs Commission; YSA. For more information call (206) 543-6106.

Fri., Oct. 28, 8 p.m. Ethnic Cultural Theater, 3941 Brooklyn Ave., NE. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Viewpoint Speakers Bureau, Militant Forum. For more information call (206) 329-7404.

NEW YORK

Sun., Oct. 30, 7 p.m. Arab Social Club, 89 Atlantic Ave., Brooklyn (Boro Hall stop on any Brooklyn-bound train). Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum, Arab Social Club. For more information call (212) 773-0250.

Marshall: You are talking about your client's rights. Don't these underprivileged people have some rights?

Colvin: They certainly have the right to compete—

Marshall: To eat cake.

...round-up

Continued from page 6

The CCIHR also announced that they would picket Carter when he appears at the Denver Hilton on Saturday, October 22, at 1 p.m.

Los Angeles

A one-day "California Conference on Immigration and Public Policy," attracted 250 activists to East Los Angeles Community College. Among those sponsoring the October 15 event were: One-Stop Immigration Center; Coalition for Fair Immigration Laws and Practices; the American Civil Liberties Union; and the Western Center for Law and Poverty.

Mario Compeán, a longtime leader of the Texas Raza Unida Party and a leader of the San Antonio-based International Committee on Immigration and Public Policy (ICIPP), was the keynote speaker.

In addition to attending several workshops, participants heard California State Rep. Art Torres; antideportation leader Bert Corona; Los Angeles Deputy Mayor Grace Montaña Davis; and Alberto Juárez of the One-Stop Immigration Center.

The gathering was marred when members of Los Angeles CASA prevented the distribution of leaflets announcing a teach-in on the Carter plan scheduled for October 22. The teach-in is sponsored by the Los Angeles Call for Action Committee, which has been actively building participation in the San Antonio Conference since May.

...Mexico

Continued from page 5

gerous."

Those whose pictures appeared were identified as "members of a gang of thugs known as Liga '23 de Septiembre.'" Héctor Marroquín Manríquez's photo was prominently displayed. (See accompanying article.)

The aftermath of the Hermosillo shoot-out with alleged members of the Liga Comunista 23 de Septiembre reveals another common way the López Portillo regime deals with those "suspected" of membership in that organization.

The September 5 issue of *Bandera Socialista*, the weekly newspaper of the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT—Revolutionary Workers Party), the Mexican section of the Fourth International, gave this report:

"An obvious act of provocation by the so-called 'Liga 23 de Septiembre,' provided an excellent pretext for the judicial police and other repressive forces to initiate a wave of arbitrary arrests, which threatened to become a real witch-hunt directed first and foremost against members and sympathizers of the PRT in Hermosillo, Sonora.

"On the morning of August 10," the report continues, "a group of armed individuals shot two workers at the Frigorífica y Empacadora Company for refusing to take copies of the newspaper *Madera*, which is said to be the 'clandestine' paper of the LC 23 de Septiembre."

"Twelve hours later," the article went on to say, "the following compañeros were forcefully kidnapped by agents of the federal judicial police armed with machine guns and high-powered rifles:

"1. Isidro Leyva Leyva, a member of the shop stewards executive committee of STINFONAVIT [the Union of Workers at the Institute of the Workers' Housing National Fund] and

Pathfinder Chicano liberation

The Politics of Chicano Liberation

Edited by Olga Rodríguez

The war of the grapes, the lettuce boycott, Raza Unida Party's challenge to "Anglo Power," the racist campaign of the Immigration Service against Mexican workers and its harassment of all Chicanos in the United States, bilingual-bicultural education, and the economic crisis of Chicanos are discussed. This book analyzes the development of the Chicano people as a native oppressed nationality, forged over time by racist practices in white society. How are the conditions of oppression changed and eventually ended? This book provides some practical proposals for Chicano liberation. 160 pages, cloth \$8.00, paper \$2.45

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Come to YSA convention



Dec. 28 to Jan 1

The Young Socialist Alliance is out to change the system. This means fighting *right now* for the things we believe in.

Today, for example, the rights of oppressed nationalities and women are under attack. We are helping to build a broad movement to overturn the *Bakke* decision, the current spearhead of this attack.

The YSA is also fighting for abortion rights and the Equal Rights Amendment. For an end to U.S. support of the white racist regimes in South Africa and Zimbabwe. For decent jobs and education for all. For gay rights and an end to FBI and CIA spying.

All these issues and more will be discussed at the YSA convention to be held in Detroit, December 28 to January 1. If you want to be a part of this discussion, come to the convention. And if you want to be a part of this movement, join the YSA!

☐ I want to attend the YSA convention.

☐ I want to join the YSA.

☐ Send me more information on the YSA and the convention.

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Equal rights on trial Supreme Court hears 'Bakke' case

By David Frankel

WASHINGTON—While pickets protesting attacks on affirmative action stood outside, the U.S. Supreme Court heard arguments on the *Bakke* case October 12.

Archibald Cox, representing the University of California Medical School at Davis, and Solicitor General Wade McCree, Jr., representing the Justice Department, argued the case for affirmative action—but within strictly defined limits. On the other side was Reynold Colvin, the lawyer for Allan Bakke.

The arguments began with Cox, who pointed out that the Davis medical school had twenty-five qualified appli-



Seattle marchers demand reversal of 'Bakke' decision in demonstration on eve of Supreme Court hearing Militant/Wayne Glover

An editorial on the fight to overturn the 'Bakke' decision appears on page 10.

cants for each available seat in 1973, and thirty-seven applicants for each seat in 1974. The problem, Cox said, was how to choose from among this pool of qualified applicants.

Race, he argued, was a valid consideration in view of the reality of discrimination that for centuries has kept Blacks and other oppressed minorities "shut out of American life."

As Cox put it: "There's no racially blind method of selection which will enroll today more than a trickle of

minority students in the nation's colleges and professions."

At Davis medical school, prior to the establishment of an affirmative-action program in 1969, "the process excluded virtually all minority groups. . . . There were no Black students and no Chicanos in the class entering in 1968."

In his presentation, Cox tried to sidestep the issue of quotas, but the question was pressed by justices Potter Stewart and John Paul Stevens.

"I want to emphasize that the designation of sixteen places [for minority students] was not a quota, at least as I would use the word," Cox said.

Stewart replied, "It did put a limit on the number of white people, didn't it?"

Stevens also took up this argument, stating that "the question is not whether the sixteen is a quota; the question is whether the eighty-four [other places in the class] is a quota."

Only the most accomplished hypocrite could seriously suggest that whites in American society need their rights as a race protected. However, Cox spent more time on terminological dispute of what a quota is than on the essence of the question.

In his argument McCree also justified affirmative-action programs by recalling America's racist record. Ra-

cism, he noted, was even written into the U.S. Constitution, with its provision that slaves would count as three-fifths of a person in computing the population of states for purposes of representation in Congress.

Turning to the current situation, McCree said: "Indeed, many children born in 1954 when *Brown* [the case outlawing segregation] was decided, are today, twenty-three years later, the very persons knocking on the doors of professional schools. . . . They are persons in many instances who have been denied the fulfillment of the promise of that decision because of

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Iron range steelworkers appeal for strike support

By Andy Rose

CHICAGO—Leaders of the long and bitter strike by 18,000 iron ore workers in northern Minnesota and Michigan received a rousing ovation, financial contributions, and pledges of ongoing support from the United Steelworkers District 31 conference, held here October 14-15.

The conference delegates voted to send \$1,000 plus \$500 a month to aid the strikers. (See resolution reprinted on this page.) A collection totaling nearly \$1,000 was also taken.

"You've heard our appeal for money," said Joe Samargia, president of Local 1938, the largest local on the Mesabi Iron Range. "But we're really not appealing just for money."

"What we're really looking for is for you guys to go back to your locals, talk to your membership, pass resolutions on the floor [of local meetings], and send us letters of support."

Samargia suggested also trying to get news of the strike into local media. "Whatever you can do to try to spread out what the hell is happening."

Linus Wampler, director of USWA District 33, reported that "there's no end in sight" to the strike, which began August 1.

"There's been no meaningful negotiations held in the last eight or ten days," Wampler said. "There's none scheduled, to my knowledge. We're just waiting—waiting until the companies get ready to sit down and bargain with us."

The strike involves hundreds of local issues—reduction of dangerous levels of taconite dust, better ventilation, correction of safety hazards, protective clothing, drinking water, seniority agreements, vacation schedules, and many more.

One key demand is to close the approximately eighty-cent-an-hour gap between the wages paid in the steel mills and those paid in the iron ore mines and processing plants.

These grievances, Wampler said, have been "festering in the iron ore miners' minds and bodies for some twelve or fifteen years."

He said the steel companies (which own and control the iron ore industry) are using "some of the dirtiest tricks you've ever seen" to break the strike.

The companies have, for example, been trying to cut off medical insurance premiums for the strikers and their families. The union fought this in

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District 31 resolution

The following resolution was adopted by the United Steelworkers District 31 conference on October 14. It was first passed by USWA Local 1033 on September 1 for presentation to the district meeting.

Whereas: 19,000 of our brother and sister members of our Union in 15 Locals are engaged in a bitter strike against various iron ore mining companies in Minnesota, and

Whereas: The Steel Companies who control these mines are trying to use the ENA [Experimental Negotiating Agreement] to have the strike declared illegal, and

Whereas: These striking brothers are now in the 4th week of their strike and badly in need of financial and other support to keep their strike going, be it

Therefore resolved: That we of Local 1033 declare our full support to our striking brothers and sisters in District 33 of the United Steelworkers of America, and be it

Further resolved: That District 31 donate \$1,000 to District 33's Strike Support Fund, and they pledge an additional \$500. a month for the duration of the strike, and be it

Further resolved: That we invite the Strike committees from the Locals involved to send a spokesman to our next local meeting to report on their situation, and finally be it

Further resolved: That we notify the Press and all labor groups of our action.