

THE MILITANT

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

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bankrolls
S. Africa
racism**

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No more
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Blacks hardest hit in JOB CRISIS



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fight rising unemployment**

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Help get out the truth

Unlike the big-business-owned press, the Militant tells the truth. With this issue we are launching an eight-day campaign to spread the truth as widely as possible through an all-out subscription, sales effort. (See page 5.)

The Militant tells the truth about the struggle against racist oppression; about the fight for women's liberation; about the struggles of coal miners, steel

workers, and others for economic justice and union democracy.

The Militant tells the truth about struggles around the world for basic human rights.

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THE MILITANT

VOLUME 41/NUMBER 43
NOVEMBER 18, 1977
CLOSING NEWS DATE—NOV. 9

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

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

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

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

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

INDIANS' DEFENSE EXPOSES COP LIES: Los Angeles County is trying to deny Paul Skyhorse and Richard Mohawk, two American Indian Movement activists on trial for a murder they didn't commit, the right to act as their own lawyers.

Arguments over the county's move occupied about a week in October.

The county is using the excuse of a cop attack on the two while they were in the county jail to claim that they actually assaulted jail guards.

This fabrication was torn to shreds by testimony from inmate after inmate.

Prisoner Ronald Escobedo testified during the hearing that one sheriff's deputy offered him a reward if he would kill Skyhorse and Mohawk.

A decision is expected soon.

Kent State rally

By Alyson Kennedy

KENT, Ohio—Three hundred students and faculty rallied here November 9 against a Kent State University plan to choke off campus political activity.

The rally opposed university President Brage Golding's request for a permanent court injunction that would, in effect, outlaw free speech at the school.

Golding obtained a temporary injunction earlier, supposedly aimed only at the May Fourth Coalition, a group that has opposed construction of a gym on the site of the shooting of four students by National Guardsmen in May 1970.

The temporary injunction, in effect until November 10, prohibited public speaking on campus by fifty-five named people, 2,000 "John Does," and "all other groups acting in concert with" the May Fourth Coalition.

Golding seeks to extend the ban until July 1, 1978.

The November 9 rally was sponsored by the Committee Against Repressive Legislation and was broadly supported on campus. Speakers emphasized that the administration scheme was an attack on the First Amendment rights of all Kent State students, faculty, and staff.

Protest messages can be sent to Brage Golding, Kent State University, Kent, Ohio 44202, with a copy to the Committee Against Repressive Legislation, c/o Kent Student Center, Kent State University, Kent, Ohio 44202.

MINORITY WOMEN ORGANIZE: More than 200 Black, Chicano, and Native American women met October 22 in Coolidge, Arizona, in the first Arizona Minority Women's Conference.

The meeting voted to oppose the *Bakke* decision, restrictions on the use of Medicaid funds for abortions, deportations of undocumented workers, forced sterilizations, and to support the Equal Rights Amendment.

Committees were established to carry out activities. A community-organizing workshop laid out plans for a pro-ERA rally in Phoenix January 21.

OREGON OKAYS ABORTION FUNDING: The Oregon Legislative Emergency Board voted eight to seven November 4 to provide \$200,000 to fund abortions through January for women on welfare. Gov. Bob Straub had asked for \$1.8 million to pay for an estimated 5,000 welfare abortions through June 1979. The board will meet again in January.

SCIENTISTS DEMAND NUKE CLOSINGS: The Union of Concerned Scientists, based in Cambridge, Massachusetts, called on the Nuclear Regulatory Commission November 5 to close all operating nuclear power plants at once to repair design flaws in the reactor safety systems.

UCS said the flaws meant that reactor safety systems were most likely to fail when they were most needed. The group based its charges on an NRC safety study. According to the study, virtually every operating reactor is subject to control-cable fires.

FILIPINA NURSES GET OUT OF JAIL: Filipina Narciso and Leonora Perez, Filipina nurses convicted of poisoning patients at the Ann Arbor, Michigan, Veterans Administration Hospital, were released from federal prison November 7 after six weeks of court-ordered "psychiatric tests."

Meanwhile, Federal District Judge Philip Pratt deferred ruling on defense motions for a new trial November 2. Attorneys argued that the convictions were based on flimsy

circumstantial evidence and that the prosecution had failed to provide the defense with important materials.

Petitions bearing 30,000 signatures calling for freedom for the two women were handed to Pratt's clerk, while sixty people picketed the Detroit federal courthouse.

'BRITISH TROOPS OUT': Prince Charles's visit to the United States wasn't all watercress and tea.

His arrival at a luncheon for a carefully selected group of students at the University of Chicago October 19 was greeted by a picket line calling for British troops out of Ireland. The protest was reported in all three Chicago dailies.

If that didn't give him indigestion, the 5,000 balloons reading, "You're as welcome as George III," meeting him in San Francisco a few days later may have.

The Irish Republican Clubs organized protests at virtually every public appearance by the prince, demanding, "Britain out, peace in."

Charles's visit to the University of California at Berkeley wasn't any better than his visit to Chicago. Thousands of curious students gathered as he shook hands and sought to fend off questions about Ireland. But pretty soon some of the students began asking him their own questions about British investment in South Africa.

AMNESTY TAKES UP 18 CASES IN U.S.: Amnesty International, the human rights group that won the Nobel Peace Prize, said November 6 it was investigating the cases of eighteen U.S. prisoners, including the Wilmington Ten, Paul Skyhorse and Richard Mohawk, Gary Tyler, and Imari Obadele, president of the Republic of New Africa.

Amnesty says it believes the eighteen have been imprisoned for their political beliefs or activities.

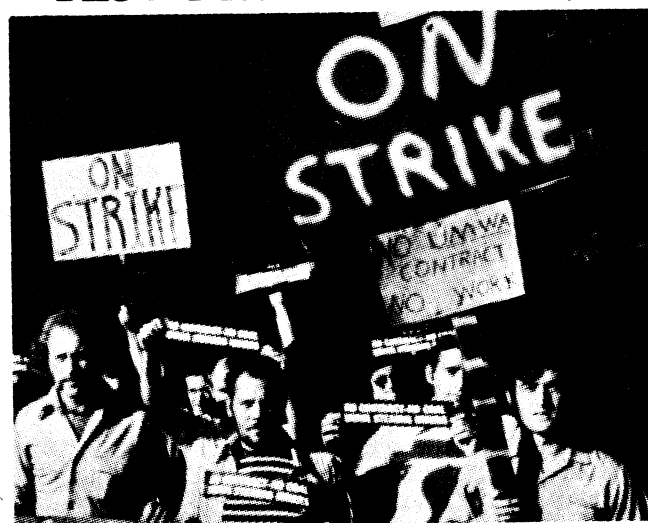
Most of the prisoners had already been "adopted" by Amnesty. "Adoption" is a declaration that the organization believes the person is unjustly imprisoned and should be freed.

The fact that Amnesty International had "adopted" several American prisoners was conspicuously absent from news coverage of its Nobel Prize win.

—Arnold Weissberg

Special offer to new readers.

The Militant—10 weeks/\$2



Coal miners in Stearns, Kentucky, have been on strike for fifteen months. The Blue Diamond Coal Company's only answer to their demands is gun thugs, police attacks, and arrests. For regular coverage of the miners' struggle and other labor news, read the *Militant* every week.

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Unemployment up again—what solution?

By David Frankel

"This is, of course, a disappointment."

That was what one White House aide said when the official jobless rate rose to 7 percent in October.

But for the victims, unemployment is not a "disappointment." It is a disaster. And it is a disaster that strikes Black workers hardest.

While overall unemployment went up 0.1 percent in October, the official jobless rate for Black workers soared from 13.1 percent to 13.9 percent. The

An editorial on the job crisis and affirmative action appears on page 10.

rate for whites remained steady at 6.1 percent for the fourth month in a row.

Julius Shiskin, the commissioner of labor statistics, dismissed a similar jump in Black unemployment in August as a fluke. After the latest figures came in, however, he told one interviewer he was "not as sure of that as I was last month."

"We have two separate economies," he added. "This is a great expansion—for whites."

In point of fact, Shiskin himself noted in testimony before the Joint Economic Committee of Congress that even for whites, the expansion wasn't that "great." Unemployment during the last six months, he said, has remained at "an unprecedented high level for an economic expansion period."

Moreover, the government unemployment figures do not include those millions who have given up looking for work, nor those women who want to work but who are unable to do so because of lack of child-care facilities.

Depression-level unemployment among Blacks has produced considerable pressure for action. A meeting of Black leaders November 4—the same day the October unemployment statistics were released—called for a meeting with President Carter to discuss the "crisis of unemployment" among Blacks and other oppressed nationalities.

Referring to the rise in Black unemployment, Jesse Jackson of Operation PUSH said, "This rise clearly indicates that Carter's commitment to put America back to work is going in the wrong direction."

In addition to Jackson, the group of Black leaders included Vernon Jordan of the National Urban League; Rep.



Black unemployment is double that of whites. It shows no sign of improvement

Parren Mitchell (D-Md.), chairperson of the Congressional Black Caucus; Richard Hatcher, mayor of Gary, Indiana; Julius Chambers, president of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund; Coretta Scott King; and others.

A statement by the group declared: "A generation of young blacks is being destroyed in our urban and rural ghettos while the media records the mood of apathy that some of our political, intellectual and media leaders have helped create."

An earlier meeting of the same Black leaders last August called for a "coordinated counterattack on the callous neglect of blacks, poor and the American cities."

Until now, however, both the Black leaders and the trade-union officials who echo their concern about unemployment have made their chief focus lobbying for passage of the so-called Humphrey-Hawkins full employment bill.

This bill is a cruel hoax.

Far from providing a "decent job at a decent wage" for every American willing and able to work—as its trade-union backers claim—this "full employment" bill would not provide a single job for any unemployed worker.

What the bill does is to set general policy goals and instruct the president to propose legislation on how to meet these goals. Any practical measures for creating jobs would have to be proposed by the president and ap-

proved by Congress separately. There is no guarantee that such measures would ever be proposed or passed.

Moreover, the general goals set by the bill are totally inadequate. "Full employment," for example, is defined as about 4 percent unemployment. The bill suggests that any public works projects proposed by the president should be "mainly in the lower ranges of skills and pay."

This is the best that the Democratic Party can come up with to meet the problem of unemployment. It is what those who insist on supporting the Democrats at all costs are stuck with.

A real program to deal with the problems facing unemployed workers would include the following points:

- Unemployment compensation set at a level that workers and their families could live on. This means union-scale wages, paid as long as the worker is unemployed.

Instead of raising unemployment benefits, however, the Carter administration is lowering them. Federal supplementary unemployment benefits, extended from thirteen weeks to twenty-six weeks during the 1974-75 depression, have been cut back to thirteen weeks, and in some states they have been eliminated altogether.

- Stop all war spending.

The money from the Pentagon's massive arms budget should be used for a program of public works. Every city in the United States needs schools, hospitals, parks, clean-ups of polluted waterways, and new housing. A pro-

gram of public works such as these, with the workers paid at union wage scales, could really provide jobs for all.

- Affirmative-action programs designed to fight the effects of race and sex discrimination must be expanded, including the use of quotas to enforce equality in hiring.

The continued gap between Black and white unemployment shows what a lie it is to talk about whites in this society suffering "reverse discrimination." In order to unite Blacks and whites in a fight for full employment, it is necessary to fight against the special discrimination suffered by Blacks right from the start.

- Finally, to prevent new layoffs and to put the unemployed back to work, it is necessary to shorten the workweek with no cut in pay.

Despite the enormous gains in productivity made by American industry over the past forty years, the length of the workweek has not changed since the 1930s.

A program such as this could solve the problem of unemployment. But the capitalist parties will never implement it. The Democrats and Republicans are dedicated to the profit system and to the interests of the ruling class that runs them.

We need our own independent voice—a workers party based on the trade unions. As long as we rely on capitalist politicians, we will get more "full employment" of the type proposed in the Humphrey-Hawkins bill.

One year later, trust in Carter slipping

By Steve Clark

A year ago this month growing dissatisfaction over unemployment, Watergate-style government, and declining living standards swept Gerald Ford out of the White House and Jimmy Carter in.

"I think the real issue in this campaign . . . is whether you should vote for [Carter's] promises or my performance," Ford remarked prior to the election.

By a small margin, a majority of voters opted for Carter's promises. But the election-day turnout, the lowest since 1948, reflected widespread skepticism that either candidate had much to offer.

One year later, more and more Americans are having doubts about Carter's promises—apparently because they've now had a taste of his performance.

According to the latest *New York*

Times-CBS News poll, Carter's overall approval rating slipped to 55 percent in October from 62 percent in July and 66 percent in January. The poll is taken quarterly.

Carter's promise to "put America back to work" was his biggest selling point during the 1976 campaign. Jobs were a major thing on the minds of 87 percent of those who voted for him, according to an NBC News poll at the time. And that issue helped him win more than 60 percent of all trade-union voters.

Today the *Times*-CBS poll reports, only 36 percent of those interviewed think that Carter will be able to "reduce unemployment to any real extent." That's down from more than 50 percent in January.

It's not hard to see why.

The official jobless rate for Black workers in October was higher than it was a year ago, while the level for

white workers was only a percentage point lower. Overall, Carter hasn't made even a dent in the problem since he took office (see article above).

This helps to explain another finding in the *Times*-CBS poll: the precipitous drop in Carter's popularity among Blacks. The new poll shows that only 57 percent of Blacks now approve of Carter's handling of the job. That's down from 69 percent in July and 83 percent in April.

Studies at the time of last year's election estimated that between 83 and 93 percent of Blacks who went to the polls voted for Carter.

The slide in Carter's popularity among Blacks certainly also reflects their disillusionment over White House attacks on affirmative-action quotas, busing plans and the availability of federal Medicaid funds for abortions.

Carter also promised to restore trust in government. Last April, according to the *Times*-CBS poll, nearly 70 percent of those interviewed thought he could.

But today that figure has dropped to 51 percent.

Again, it's not hard to see why.

Most recently there is the decision by the Carter "Justice" Department to forego perjury charges against former CIA Director Richard Helms because the trial might "jeopardize national security." Helms had lied to a Senate committee about the CIA's role in plots to overthrow the elected government of Chile.

Added to the Bert Lance affair, the kid-glove treatment of Helms doesn't quite jibe with Carter's statement in his acceptance speech at the Democratic Party Convention that "I see no reason why big-shot crooks

Continued on page 30

'Divide and rule' settlement rejected

Iron range steelworkers march and rally in mass demonstration of strike solidarity

By Wendy Lyons

VIRGINIA, Minn.—Some 2,500 striking steelworkers and their supporters rallied here November 6 in a massive show of strength against the steel companies.

The rally followed a spirited march through this Mesabi Iron Range town of 12,000.

A banner at the head of the demonstration read: "1916-1977—Solidarity then and now." The thousand people who marched behind the banner were retracing the footsteps of angry iron ore miners who had marched down these same streets in 1916 during a militant strike led by the Industrial Workers of the World.

A sound truck blared "Solidarity Forever," "Joe Hill," and other labor anthems.

The walkout by some 18,000 iron ore workers in northern Minnesota and Michigan was in its ninety-eighth day, but morale remained high.

Demonstrators waved signs saying: "We are stronger than steel," "We are

Under the companies' proposal, a maximum of 75 percent of the iron ore workers would have gotten incentive bonus pay. It would not begin until November 1979, at a rate considerably lower than the rate in basic steel.

The companies would be able to choose who was to get incentive pay. *Those not covered would take a pay cut.*

The bosses would have knocked the thirty-cent-an-hour attendance bonus now in the iron ore workers' contracts down to the ten-cent rate in basic steel. The result would have been a twenty-cent-an-hour pay cut for at least 25 percent of the workers.

As one official put it, "They're asking us to go back and say, 'We've been out ninety-eight days so that at least a quarter of you can take a pay cut.'"

The company proposal said nothing about the hundreds of other unresolved issues around health and safety, working conditions, and other demands.

In his attempt to sell the companies' proposal to the strikers, McBride told the rally, "I would be the first to admit that the proposal does not mean parity [with basic steel], but if we expect 100 percent victory we are talking many more months of strike."

"There are strong convictions on both sides of this controversy" between the strikers and the steel firms, McBride proclaimed. "We are no longer passing judgment on who's right and who's wrong. You have before you a proposal that represents substantial motion on the part of the companies."

He maintained that although he was enthusiastically endorsing the bosses' proposal, if the strikers voted to reject the proposal and continue the strike, "it will be carried on with 100 percent support of the international."

Inadequate strike benefits

McBride made no mention of raising the pitifully inadequate thirty-dollar-a-week strike benefits the international is paying the strikers out of its \$100-

million strike fund built up from their dues payments over the years.

District 31 Director Jim Balanoff spoke right after McBride. He got a big ovation when he said, "Your fight is our fight. You win, we all win."

Balanoff outlined plans to meet with local union presidents in his district to obtain money and other assistance "so you can carry this fight to a successful conclusion."

Local 4757 President Bill Larson from Babbitt, Minnesota, got one of the best receptions from the crowd.

"We're serious about resolving these issues," he said, "and we won't go back to work until we do. We've already paid too high a price for justice. . . ."

"None of us should go back to work until we all go back together. We have to win this battle or our right to strike will never be an effective weapon again."

State AFL-CIO head Roe sounded the same theme in his speech. "One of the main issues you face is the right to strike, and we won't let anybody take that away," he told the crowd.

Joe Samargia, president of Local 1938, explained to the rally, "When we decided to have this march, we looked back in history to our forefathers—the men and women of 1916. Someplace they are smiling tonight. They got their heads busted, they got shot, and they got jailed to get a union—to get the kind of unity we have here tonight."

Eugene Debs

He ended his speech to the rally with a quote from Eugene V. Debs, the great labor and socialist leader, who had campaigned for solidarity with the iron range strikers while he was running for president on the Socialist Party ticket in 1916.

"Ten thousand times the labor movement has stumbled and fallen and bruised itself and raised again, been seized by the throat and choked into insensibility, been enjoined by the courts, assaulted by thugs, charged by the militia, shot down by the regulars,

ground down by public opinion, deceived by politicians, threatened by priests, repudiated by renegades, preyed on by cowards, betrayed by traitors, infested by spies, and sold out by misleaders.

"But notwithstanding all of this and all of these the labor movement is the most vital and potential power on this planet."

One local president summed up the march and rally after the event. "It made us feel good," he said, "and when we go into negotiations we are going to keep foremost in our minds these people here tonight, and to hell with the company."

"This rally showed the companies how well-informed the people are. It showed they want to know what's going on. This strike is not being run by special secret meetings. The rank and file decide and no one can force them back to work unless they think they should go."

Counteroffensive

The march and rally were part of a stepped-up counteroffensive on the part of the striking miners that can force the steel companies to give in over time.

The fact that the companies came up with any kind of offer on incentive pay is a tribute to the effect the united strike is having on them.

Up until the day of the demonstration the steel bosses maintained that the strike is illegal under the Experimental Negotiating Agreement, which prohibits national strikes or strikes over national issues.

The steel trust has even filed a million-dollar-a-day lawsuit against the union, on the grounds that incentive pay is a national and nonnegotiable issue. Their offer now undermines this position.

The bosses' proposal is an attempt to break up the miners' powerful unity by offering the possibility of pay increases for some at the expense of others.

Continued on page 30

MORE STEEL COVERAGE

'McBride's war on union democracy,' 'Strikebreaking perils Husmann union,' 'Steelworkers discuss 'Bakke.' See pages 18, 19.

not second-class citizens," "Equalize wage disparity now," and again and again, "Remember 1916!"

A large number of the protesters were women, many of whom have gotten jobs in the mines in recent years. Others carried signs such as: "Steelworker's wife and proud of it."

Jan Larson, who was marching with a baby carriage, told me she was there because almost all her relatives are on strike. "We have to stand up and let them know what this fight is all about."

'Reminds me of 1960s'

The crowd marched to Miners Memorial Hall, where Gene Skraba of United Steelworkers Local 6860 in Eveleth opened the rally.

"We are here to show the mining companies that you're solid and you're going to remain solid," he said. "This march tonight reminds me of the 1960s, when you used to see the civil rights marchers down South."

"They marched to show their unity. . . . They had a cause, just like you people here tonight have a cause. Our cause is to fight the mining companies and show them we are to be reckoned with!"

The strikers cheered, as they were to do often when the theme of solidarity was sounded.

Speakers at the rally included USWA President Lloyd McBride, District 33 Director Linus Wampler, USWA Vice-president for Human Relations Leon Lynch, District 31 Director Jim Balanoff, Minnesota AFL-CIO President David Roe, and several presidents of striking locals.

Several hours before the march McBride came to town to peddle a surprise proposal from the steel companies. It was unanimously rejected by the union locals' eight-member negotiating committee the next day.

One local president told the *Militant*, "I can't take that proposal back to my local. I'd have to go with my head hung down to my knees."

The proposal would have raised the wages of some of the workers at the expense of others. One of the key issues in the strike has been the demand of the workers for incentive-pay bonus plans similar to the plans in basic steel.



Strikers march through Virginia, Minnesota, retracing steps of miners in 1916 walkout led by IWW

Militant/Mike Moser

'Militant' target week: all out!

By Andrea Baron
and Harvey McArthur

It's an eight-day week. From Saturday to Saturday—November 12-19. It's the final big, national push in the *Militant* subscription drive.

It comes on the heels of local target weeks during which areas netted totals like these: Washington, D.C.—100. Oakland, California—134. Philadelphia—87. Houston—100. Pittsburgh—80.

The know-how gained so far in the drive has made these results possible. They point to good returns during the last week.

Many cities are reporting good results on "call backs." Often people visited during the drive will buy a single copy of the *Militant* when first contacted, but are hesitant to subscribe right away. Experience has shown that a high percentage of these people will subscribe when visited a second time.

An important part of the projections in many cities is sending sales teams to campuses inside cities and to surrounding areas. Results from these teams have been impressive.

An Oakland team sold forty-two subscriptions in two days at Cal State Fresno. And San Jose sent in fifty-one from a weekend visit to the UC Santa Cruz.

In New York City, a special leaflet and well-organized sales teams were the key to very successful sales at a meeting for Hugo Blanco. With a crowd of more than 500, eighty-one subscriptions were sold—forty to the *Militant* and forty-one to *Perspectiva Mundial*.

The final weeks of the drive will get a big boost in Texas from the newly launched *Militant* traveling team. Three team members will spend the next two weeks selling subscriptions throughout Texas.

Pedro Vásquez, one of the team members, reports they sold seventy-five subscriptions the first week.

The team has been in Austin and Crystal City this week. They will also go to Dallas where they will sell at a demonstration against the Carter deportation plan and then to the International Women's Year conference in Houston.

Bay Area sales teams will be going to Sacramento this weekend for a statewide conference of the National Organization for Women. They are also planning to visit the California State campus and other city locations to sell subscriptions.

Salespeople found an enthusiastic response to the *Militant* at the rally of striking steelworkers on the Mesabi Iron Range last week. Ilona Gersh reports that twenty-one subscriptions were sold by the Minneapolis and St. Paul teams.

More than fifty subscriptions have been sold to workers in the big auto plants in Detroit. Robin Mace and Brian Elam recently explained how they and other auto workers have done this.

"The important thing is to be open about your ideas—and about the *Militant*," says Mace. "I find a lot of interest in Black rights, especially affirmative-action issues. Also South Africa. And when people see how the *Militant* covers these things, they want to read it."

"Most of our sales have come from talking with

individual workers before or after work and during lunch. We usually sell a single copy of the *Militant* to someone, and then talk to them about a subscription after they have had time to read it."

"I find a lot of interest in socialism," Elam says. "Most workers here know that the system we have is rotten and are glad to discuss something new."

"Many want to do more than just talk. Several workers, who started reading the *Militant* just this fall, are already selling subscriptions to their friends on the job. And several more have gone out to help leaflet the plant about an upcoming conference on affirmative action and the *Bakke* case."

Pat Wright has sold nearly fifty subscriptions in Cleveland—most from regular door-to-door canvassing in the Black community.

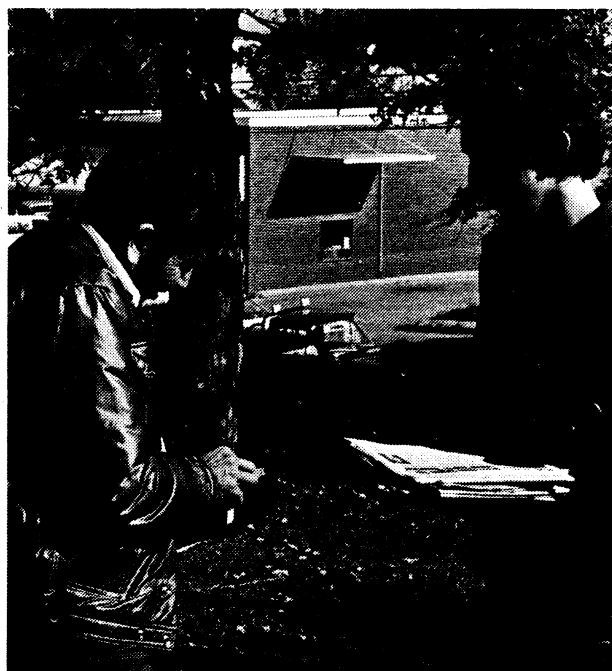
"The big thing is to realize that people need the *Militant*, and that it is our job to get it to them," she says.

"The first thing I do when talking with someone is to find out if they are in a union or concerned with Black or women's rights. Then I can leaf through the *Militant* and show them articles they would be interested in."

"Many people like the diversity of the *Militant's* coverage. I show them the columns, like the 'National Picket Line,' 'Women in Revolt,' and 'By Any Means Necessary.'"

"I always stress that the *Militant* supports working people. It reports on conferences, strikes, and demonstrations that we are organizing to fight back. And we should certainly read and support the paper that supports us."

"I find I often spend ten minutes or more having a good political discussion with someone before they buy a subscription. And if they don't have the money right then, I always arrange to come back and talk with them another time."



Militant/Nancy Cole
Selling the 'Militant' in Kentucky coal country. Subscription sellers are finding 'a lot more interest in socialism.'

Subscription scoreboard

(Total received as of November 5)

City	Goal	Sent In	Percent
Tacoma, Wash.	150	126 (6)*	84.0
Lehigh Valley, Pa.	20	16	80.0
Salt Lake City	150	119 (10)	79.3
Dallas	250	195 (17)	78.0
Raleigh, N.C.	120	93 (1)	77.5
Albuquerque	150	114 (17)	76.0
St. Paul	200	145 (3)	72.5
St. Louis	375	267 (5)	71.2
Kansas City, Mo.	225	155 (22)	68.9
Los Angeles	1,100	744 (136)	67.6
Baltimore	175	117 (2)	66.9
San Diego	300	198 (39)	66.0
Portland, Ore.	250	164 (6)	65.6
Berkeley	300	184 (5)	61.3
New Orleans	300	184 (3)	61.3
Houston	600	367 (34)	61.2
Cincinnati	200	120	60.0
Grand Rapids, Mich.	10	6	60.0
Oakland, Calif.	600	352 (30)	58.7
Chicago	900	525 (32)	58.3
Milwaukee	400	232 (31)	58.0
Phoenix	250	144 (13)	57.6
Washington, D.C.	600	345 (7)	57.5
Denver	300	169 (11)	56.3
New York	1,800	1,010 (79)	56.1
Cleveland	300	167 (6)	55.7
Pittsburgh	450	250 (3)	55.6
Albany, N.Y.	75	41	54.7
Miami	250	136 (9)	54.4
Morgantown, W. Va.	60	32	53.3
Tucson, Ariz.	15	8	53.3
Louisville, Ky.	150	78 (2)	52.0
Boston	825	410 (58)	49.7
Newark, N.J.	350	174 (24)	49.7
San Jose	350	171 (18)	48.9
Atlanta	600	291 (20)	48.5
San Antonio	350	159 (4)	45.4
Indianapolis	150	68	45.3
Detroit	850	380 (14)	44.7
Toledo	150	67 (4)	44.7
Seattle	300	132 (4)	44.0
Champaign-Urbana, Ill.	25	10 (1)	40.0
Gainesville, Fla.	10	4	40.0
Philadelphia	675	250 (17)	37.0
San Francisco	600	197 (14)	32.5
Penn State, Pa.	40	13	32.5
Bloomington, Ind.	50	15	30.0
Minneapolis	350	98 (1)	28.0
Newark, Del.	40	9	22.5
Amherst, Mass.	40	8	20.0
Lexington, Ky.	25	5	20.0
Kent, Ohio	50	4	8.0
Total for Cities	16,855	9,268 (708)	55.0
Teams & Miscellaneous	1,145	277 (23)	24.3
Total	18,000	9,545 (731)	53.0
Should Be		12,600 (350)	70.0

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

NY students condemn Zionist attack on YSA

By Kathleen Neese

NEW YORK—When right-wing Zionist students here at Queens College overturned a Young Socialist Alliance literature table and attacked YSA member Norman Rensnick October 27, they ran into some unexpected opposition. Although the thugs who attacked Rensnick were prepared for a physical confrontation, they weren't ready for a successful campaign in defense of free speech.

The attack occurred when a member of the Concerned Jewish Youth (CJY) took a pamphlet defending the rights of the Palestinian people off of the YSA literature table. He was asked to pay for the pamphlet or else take some free literature on the Socialist Workers Party mayoral campaign.

Instead, the CJY member and two of his friends took more literature from

the table. When Rensnick, who was staffing the table, protested, he was told: "Shut up, or you'll be picking up your teeth from the floor." One of the thugs grabbed Rensnick in a wrestling hold and held him against a wall.

The disrupters left when a campus security guard appeared, but they returned a few minutes later with several more people. The Zionist thugs completely surrounded the table and began taking literature. Then one of the gang overturned the table.

Socialist Workers Party mayoral candidate Catarino Garza arrived for a campaign meeting on the campus soon after. He telephoned acting college President Nathaniel Siegel to protest the attack on his campaign supporters.

Siegel issued a statement the following day noting that "the use of intimidation, harassment, physical

force, or threats of violence can only prevent the full exchange of ideas on campus."

In addition, both campus newspapers printed editorials condemning the attack on the YSA's right to free speech. The "quote of the week" featured on the masthead of *Newsbeat*, one of the papers, cited the YSA's response to the attack:

"It threatens the free exchange of ideas and it deprives the majority of students from hearing all points of view."

A YSA statement urging people to "support the right of any campus group, regardless of their views, to set up tables, distribute literature, and hold meetings," was signed by twenty-nine individuals and organizations, including leaders of the Black Student Union, the United Latin American

Students, and the Haitian Club. The statement was also endorsed by the entire Asian Society at Queens College.

Although Zionist organizations refused to sign the YSA statement, the pressure forced the Council of Jewish Organizations (CJO) at Queens College to endorse the statement of acting-president Siegel. Student Association President Bob Citelli also endorsed Siegel's statement.

In addition, *Ha-Or*, the CJO newspaper, printed an editorial titled, "Hands Off YSA." It concluded that "freedom of speech must apply to all students, even if we disagree with their views."

The right-wing thugs were isolated even within the Zionist milieu, and the onus for violence and for attacks on democratic rights was placed exactly where it belongs.

Asian, Chicana delegates speak

Feminists rally forces for IWY conference

By Shelley Kramer

"Abortion and the ERA are things that the majority of people in this country are for. It makes you really reexamine democracy at this moment, when it is such a struggle to get those things."

This is why Ruth Lindeman, chairperson of the South Dakota National Abortion Rights Action League, is going to the International Women's Year Conference in Houston November 18-21. She will be joined there by thousands of other women determined to defend the rights they have won in the last decade of struggle.

The government-sponsored conference will be a confrontation between supporters of women's rights and reactionary groups seeking to impose their antiwoman program on the meeting. The threat of a right-wing mobilization has galvanized feminist groups to organize as many observers as possible to attend. Women of the oppressed nationalities have been among the most active in building prowoman caucuses for the conference.

In Seattle, the *Militant* interviewed Rita Elway of the Asian-Pacific Caucus and Patricia Benavidez of the Hispanic Caucus about their concerns and goals. Elway, an IWY commissioner, spoke about the need for Black, Asian, and Latina women to join forces in Houston.

One issue the Asian-Pacific Caucus will address is immigration. "This is an issue shared by Hispanic women," said Elway. "We have to clarify why immigration is a women's issue. For instance, women who are immigrating

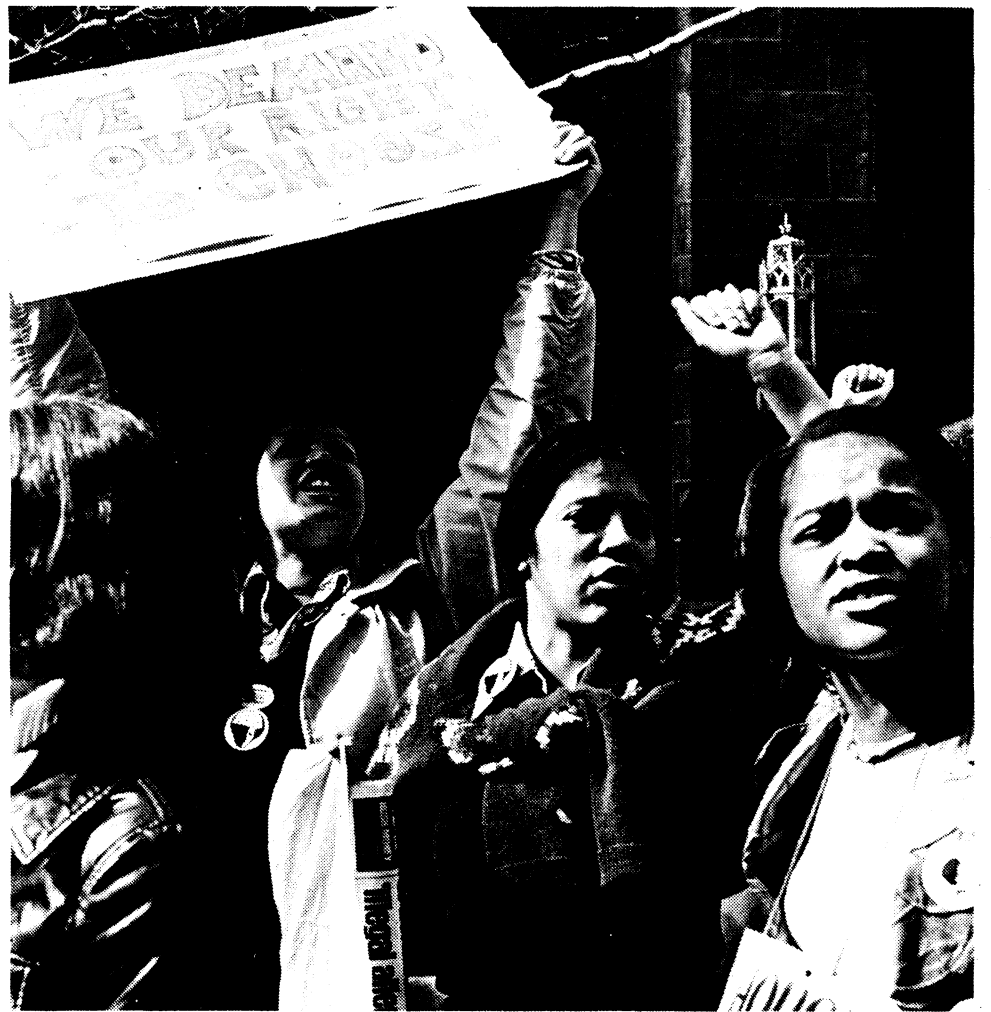
to this country and are not citizens very often do not speak English, so they are ignorant many times of their legal rights.

"If their husbands threaten to deport them or abuse them, they have no recourse . . . They're unemployable, or if they are employed they're shunted into very low-paying, unsafe working conditions. This is even more applicable to women than it is to men immigrating to this country," she explained.

The needs of "lower-income women and elderly women should not be sacrificed" in Houston, Benavidez told the *Militant*. She added that "minority women have been lumped together without taking into account the specificity of their different groups." The IWY conference should address "the different needs of different minority groups," she said.

The Hispanic caucus will pay special attention to resolutions dealing with bilingual-bicultural education, full employment, and affirmative action.

Neither Elway nor Benavidez sees the conference as an end in itself. "Just because the Plan of Action [the resolutions before the conference] is adopted and sent to the president and Congress doesn't mean anything in and of itself," Benavidez said. "It is a stepping stone . . . a beginning, but we need to continue to educate and organize when we return. Houston is the starting point." The Asian-Pacific Caucus has already planned a "report back" meeting to bring the results of the conference to the Seattle Asian community.



Militant/Anne Teesdale

Women of oppressed nationalities have organized caucuses to champion demands at IWY meeting.

IWY activities

Women's rights supporters attending the Houston IWY conference will want to participate in these events:

- **Equal Rights for Women welcoming rally.** Friday, November 18, at 4 p.m., on the steps of city hall.

Speakers and moderators will include: Betty Friedan; Dolores Huerta, United Farm Workers; Florynce Kennedy, Black feminist lawyer; Liz Gutiérrez, Raza Unida Party; Dr. Nikki Van Hightower, City of Houston Women's Advocate.

- **National Organization for Women welcoming reception.** Friday, November 18, 9-11 p.m., at the Hyatt Regency Hotel. NOW hospitality suites will also be open throughout the conference at the Hyatt Regency and Lamar hotels.

- **Picket line to protest Carter's attacks on undocumented workers.** November 19, 10 a.m., outside Sam Houston Coliseum. (See story on page 13.)

- **Forums sponsored by the 'Militant.'** Christ Church Cathedral, 1107 Texas, Saturday, November 19 during the dinner break: "At IWY and After: How Women Can Win." A discussion with Evelyn Reed, Willie Mae Reid, Olga Rodríguez, and others.

Sunday, November 20, during the dinner break: "Feminism and Socialism." Speaker: Betsey Stone.

- **Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance movement center** open throughout the conference in the Auditorium Hotel.

Seattle women who cannot get to Houston have planned an equal rights conference for November 19 to solidarize with feminist goals at IWY. The conference will focus on how to win the ERA. It will take place in Savary Hall at the University of Washington. The Washington ERA Coalition and Women Emerge, a campus women's organization, are cosponsoring the conference.

In Los Angeles several organizations are working to bring women's rights supporters to Houston. One of the most active is Freedom Ride-IWY, which is organizing a lesbian contingent from L.A.

"The Freedom Ride-IWY was formed so lesbians would be visible as a group," Judy Freespirit, Freedom Ride task force coordinator, told the *Militant*.

"We need to be visible, because if we hide now, we will be easy to pick on. We are not willing to give anything up that we have gotten." She also stressed the identity of interests among women, gays, and oppressed nationalities.

The California IWY Support Coalition is also organizing fund-raising activities for IWY. Agreement around

four "non-negotiable" demands unites coalition supporters: ratification of the ERA; reproductive rights for women, including the right to abortion on request and an end to forced sterilization; laws guaranteeing gay rights; and child-care centers financially accessible to all.

California NOW is urging a big mobilization for Houston to counter the effects of the Phyllis Schlafly and Anita Bryant forces. NOW has organized special charter flights for IWY.

The Lesbian Rights Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union is also raising funds to send members to Houston.

In New York, meetings have been held to discuss issues and strategy for the IWY conference. New York NOW held a special IWY program night on November 2. More than forty women heard Betty Friedan; Francis Kolb, NOW national chairperson for IWY; Elayne Livingston, NOW representative to the United Nations; Diane Daniels, NOW IWY delegate; and Cheryl Adams, NOW IWY delegate and lesbian rights coordinator, discuss strategy for feminist forces in Houston.

Continued on page 30

Texas governor, LoVaca attack Raza Unida

By Harry Ring

SAN ANTONIO, Texas—The LoVaca utility company has filed suit against Crystal City, demanding more than \$800,000 it claims the city owes it.

The court action comes on the heels of a blistering new attack on Crystal City's Raza Unida Party administration by Texas Gov. Dolph Briscoe.

The LoVaca action and Briscoe's attack were responded to by Zavala County Judge José Angel Gutiérrez, founding leader of the Crystal City Raza Unida Party.

In a telephone interview, Gutiérrez told the *Militant*:

"It's an attempt to bankrupt the city. That's their ultimate goal—to create havoc and chaos. In that way they hope to extinguish the symbol of Chicano resistance."

The 8,000 residents of the impoverished south Texas town, which is 85 percent Chicano, have been without gas since September 23 when LoVaca shut off service for nonpayment.

The cutoff came after more than two years of resistance to an illegal 600 percent rate hike. The city refused to pay the new rate, and after extensive litigation, LoVaca won a final court order for the shutoff.

Governor Briscoe's attack on Crystal City came at an October 15 press conference here. The governor is seeking reelection.

Commenting on the gas shutoff and Crystal City's economic difficulties, Briscoe asserted:

"In practical terms, there is no room for La Raza Unida.

"The severe economic decline in

Zavala County," he added, "is the result of Raza Unida dominance."

The next day, LoVaca announced its court action against the city. Actually, it is initiating a countersuit to one filed against it by the city.

The city's suit charges LoVaca did not deliver 60 percent of the gas it is claiming payment for.

The LoVaca suit is clearly intended to make a further example of Crystal. When the city refused to pay the outrageous rate hike, a number of other communities followed suit. Since the gas cutoff at Crystal City, several have begun paying the money they had been holding in escrow.

LoVaca is particularly determined, since it is now awaiting state approval of its request for still another rate hike.

Commenting on Briscoe's latest outburst, Gutiérrez said that like LoVa-

ca, Briscoe is out to realize the "self-fulfilling prophecy that Chicanos can't administer."

When Briscoe says things were better in Crystal City before Raza Unida, Gutiérrez continued, "He's really talking to white Texans. He's saying, look, when you're in control, a la South Africa, you have a whole slew of Chicanos as laborers working in the fields, being pushed out of schools, and remaining ignorant. You're continuing to hold onto your bank and your chamber of commerce and running your institutions of government. Why, that's good. It couldn't be better.

"But that's not what's important for us or in our interests. As Chicanos, we need a voice, we need to make changes, so we can cope better with this society."

Black Law Students leader:

Actions needed to overturn 'Bakke' ruling

Printed below are major excerpts from a speech delivered October 27 at the University of Rhode Island by Charles Ogletree, national chairperson of the Black American Law Students Association (BALSA). Ogletree was one of several speakers at a "Speak-out Against the 'Bakke' Decision" organized by the Young Socialist Alliance and other groups on the campus.

Allan Bakke, who is white, sued the University of California Board of Regents in 1973 charging "reverse discrimination." Bakke bases his false claim on the admission of sixteen students of oppressed nationalities, whom he claims are less qualified than he, to the university's Davis medical school through a special-admissions program. The school rejected Bakke's application twice.

A lower California court and the state supreme court both decided in Bakke's favor. The case is currently before the United States Supreme Court.

Ogletree is a student at Harvard Law School. He was a coordinator of the October 3 and 8 anti-'Bakke' protests and the October 12 vigil outside the Supreme Court, which opened its deliberations on the case that day.

The 'DeFunis' case that Ogletree refers to was another "reverse discrimination" case, which reached the Supreme Court in 1974. The Court refused to rule on the case, thereby ducking the issue.

The *Bakke* case comes at a critical time when most of us who are of the post-*Brown* era—children of the fifties—are just reaching the age where we should enjoy the benefits that *Brown* was supposed to bring. Those benefits have not really been realized.

It's important to understand that the *Bakke* case is going to result in the most detrimental loss to affirmative action if the Supreme Court affirms it.

Bakke is not an isolated situation in terms of the Supreme Court.

If we look at the Court's history, it has not been a friend of poor people. It has not been a friend of Black people. The Court has not been a friend of women.

Take one of the most historic decisions made by the Supreme Court—*Dred Scott v. Sanford*. In that case the Supreme Court said that Black people have no rights that the white race is bound to recognize.

In the 1940s this country took an unprecedented step in terms of attacks on racial minorities, the internment of Japanese-Americans during World War II.

Take *Plessy v. Ferguson*, where the Supreme Court stated that it was possible to have separate institutions for Blacks and whites and have equality. We have seen the fallacy of that argument.

Walter Leonard, former dean of admissions at



D.C. protesters demand: overturn 'Bakke'

Militant/David Nudel

Harvard Law School, made it quite clear that the *Bakke* case and the *DeFunis* case, which raise the same arguments, are part of a campaign to destroy affirmative-action programs.

Leonard said, "The record does not show how many white students with less spectacular records were admitted when white students with more attractive records were being denied.

"The record does not show any protest by white students against the admission of other white students. The record does not show any white students of Western European stock contesting the admission of a student of Eastern European stock.

"Nor do we see on the record any protests by Catholics against Protestants, Jews against gentiles, or any white student against any other white student, regardless of the academic records involved.

"No, it is only when more than an absolutely insignificant number of minority students began to compete for spaces to which white students and their parents, because they never had to compete with minorities for anything, thought they had merited by the accident of their birth and the color of their skin, that we've noticed the hue and cry.

"Not being brave enough to admit their stance is racist and sexist, DeFunis, Bakke, and their followers concocted an argument overcoated with a transparent layer of constitutional abstraction."

That's the issue we're faced with. Now that Bakke has confronted us, people are looking to it as a way

to disguise the fact that those out to defeat affirmative action are in reality part of a privileged class who falsely claim that they simply want the same advantages as others.

We in BALSA have decided that there is an important step that must be taken in response to the *Bakke* case—and that is direct action.

We have to protest, we have to resist, we have to struggle. The kind of struggle that resulted in affirmative-action programs in the fifties, sixties, and seventies is the exact kind of struggle that we're going to need in order to continue these programs in the future.

There was no judicial decision that forced universities to open their admissions programs. There was no court edict, there was no legislative edict.

There were the demonstrations, the protests, the demands of people who wanted change—the same opportunities, the same rights and privileges that others enjoyed.

There were demonstrations and protests on campuses across the country, sit-ins at lunch counters, demands for the right to ride anywhere on the bus, for a decent place to live, a decent wage, an opportunity to eat three meals a day.

This kind of grass-roots movement, which made it possible for affirmative-action programs to come into being, is necessary now in the seventies to make sure those programs continue. That's the kind of struggle that confronts us today.

'Bakke' case sparks debate at U. of Penn.

By Jay Johnson

PHILADELPHIA—Allan Bakke's challenge to affirmative action has sparked a running debate at the University of Pennsylvania.

The campus paper, the *Daily Pennsylvanian*, has been running numerous letters for and against quotas. One racist student went so far as to suggest lobotomizing advocates of quotas.

Supporters of affirmative action on campus are sporting black and white "Reverse *Bakke*" buttons distributed by the Black American Law Students Association, one of the groups that sponsored last month's nationwide anti-*Bakke* protests.

The campus chapter of MEChA, a Chicano student organization, and the Caribbean-American Intercultural Organization have been especially active in opposition to the *Bakke* decision, bringing sizeable contingents to an anti-*Bakke* protest here October 8.

On November 4, MEChA sponsored a debate on the *Bakke* decision on the university campus. An earlier debate, organized by political science students,

had drawn a large crowd, dominated by racist whites. Not one Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, or woman was included on the panel.

This time things were different. Of the 225 people attending the debate, one-third were Black, Latino, or Asian-American, and the six panelists included a woman lawyer and a Black law professor.

Moderator for the debate was Dr. Monte Pérez, president of the National Association for Equal Educational Opportunities.

Defending Bakke's false claim of "reverse discrimination" were Dr. James Piereson of the university political science department, Dr. Louis Schwartz of the law school, and Pennsylvania State Rep. Bob O'Donnel.

Anti-*Bakke* speakers were Dr. Louis Pollack, dean of the law school; Assistant Professor of Law Ralph Smith, who is Black; and Harriet Katz, an attorney with the Public Interest Law Center here.

Following initial presentations centering on legal arguments, the debate livened as Smith described the threat

to equality posed by the *Bakke* decision.

"*Bakke* is the latter-day great white hope," Smith said. "They have decided to use the *Bakke* case to prove their willingness to abandon the modest gains made by the civil rights movement of the sixties.

"If this effort succeeds," he said, "it will represent a perversion of the Constitution, for it will use the Fourteenth Amendment to frustrate the goals of the Fourteenth Amendment."

Bakke supporters on the panel responded by claiming they had always opposed discrimination and were only being "consistent" by opposing affirmative-action quotas.

But their real concerns and fears were candidly expressed by Piereson, who evoked the "danger" of a society dominated by quotas. Such a state of affairs, he said, could lead to a future America "like Lebanon today."

"You'd have to have a WASP president for six years," said Piereson, "a Catholic for two, a Black for two, a Puerto Rican for one."

This, he implied, could result in a race war. What's more, he said, he could foresee a coalition of minority groups dominating the government and discriminating against whites.

Smith laid the specter to rest, pointing out that America's oppressed nationalities have a long way to go simply to achieve equality.

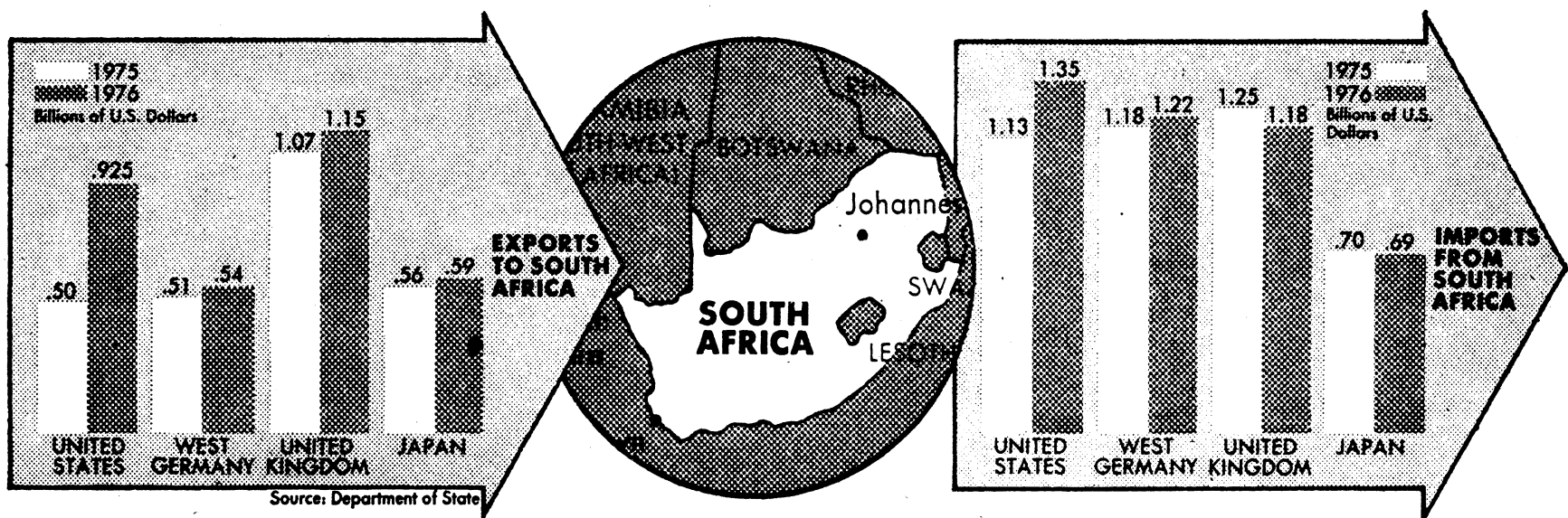
As one pro-*Bakke* speaker after another lashed out at affirmative-action quotas, Smith cited centuries of discrimination and widespread failure of business, government, and other institutions to comply with civil rights laws preceding the use of quotas. "You have to demand results, or you're not going to get them," he said.

During discussion from the audience, the majority of speakers aggressively defended affirmative action and quotas. Unlike the previous debate, which left Black, Latino, and women students furious, this debate was a clear victory for anti-*Bakke* forces.

Racist whites leaving the room were marked by grim silence, while Chicano and Black students held a spirited coffee hour.

Profiting from apartheid

Why U.S. vetoed economic sanctions against South Africa



By John Hawkins

When the United Nations Security Council debated proposed economic sanctions against South Africa October 31, United States Ambassador to the UN Andrew Young attempted to justify the impending U.S. veto.

"We cannot win the progress we want [in South Africa] without holding out some hope of reconciliation in return," he said.

The West German ambassador to the UN took a similar approach. "A complete isolation of South Africa at this time would leave us with no possibility of exercising any influence," he said.

The two capitalist envoys were simply repeating in slightly altered form a well-worn argument of the U.S. imperialists and their allies—namely that their investments in South Africa are a motor force for progress.

This argument has two basic themes:

- First, foreign investment helps develop the South African economy, creating jobs for Blacks and raising the standard of living of the Black population as a whole;

- Second, economic growth itself leads to a breakdown of racial barriers, the undermining of the apartheid system, and the inevitable attainment of greater political rights by Blacks.

Some imperialist concerns and their apologists point to their "progressive" employment policies as proof of this contention. They fondly cite the wages they pay Blacks and the movement of Blacks into skilled jobs. Some go so far as to argue for increased foreign investment as a means of fighting apartheid.

Young and his West German counterpart added nothing new to this fabrication when they argued, in essence, that capitalist investments could serve as a lever for lifting apartheid exploitation and oppression from the backs of South Africa's Blacks.

Imperialist investment

Young's humanitarian rhetoric notwithstanding, the real motive for the U.S. veto of economic sanctions springs from the American capitalists' desire to protect their South African investments. The passage of such sanctions would have dealt a blow to their ability to freely exploit the country's resources and Black labor as they see fit.

It would have given a powerful weapon to Black opponents of the colonialist, white-minority regime. It would have forced the imperialists to openly go against an internationally adopted statement of public opinion in order to continue their investment policy.

Time magazine, in its November 7 issue, pointed to some of the "discomfiting problems for Western nations" that economic sanctions on South Africa would pose.

"Britain," *Time* reports, "has \$5 billion invested in South Africa; the U.S. has \$1.5 billion. Last year the U.S. exported \$1.5 billion in goods to South Africa, mostly high-technology equipment, machinery, aircraft, vehicles and chemicals, and imported \$925 million in goods from South Africa. . . ."

While *Time's* trade figures may be on the mark, the figures on investment are low. According to John Burns, writing in the November 6 *New York Times*, U.S. investment stands at \$1.7 billion.

In addition *Time* leaves out indirect investments in the form of loans by U.S. banks and their subsidiaries. These amounted to more than \$2

billion in 1976, double the amount of the preceding year.

The dollar value alone of U.S. investment in South Africa does not convey the full involvement of American imperialism in the South African economy, nor the role it plays in propping up the racist white-minority regime.

Of the top fifteen American corporations, only three do not have holdings in South Africa. American investment in South Africa is concentrated in the oil and manufacturing industries—most importantly, the automobile and related industries—where it plays a significant role in the development and expansion of the South African economy.

What's good for GM. . .

General Motors and Ford subsidiaries in South Africa, for example, rank among the top fifteen companies in the country. Along with Chrysler's South African subsidiary, they controlled 60 percent of the South African auto market in the early 1970s.

Close on the heels of U.S. investment in the auto industry follows American investment in related businesses. Oil refining and exploration drew investment from Mobil, Texaco, and Standard Oil of California. Goodyear and Firestone have large tire- and rubber-manufacturing plants in South Africa, along with such major auto parts manufacturers as Borg Warner and TRW.

In 1973 American auto investments in South Africa were estimated at between \$240 and \$260 million. The value of auto parts industry investment was expected to reach \$300 million by last year.

American oil's stake

The same picture emerges in the oil industry. American investment here plays an even more strategic role in maintaining the apartheid regime in power, since South Africa must import 90 percent of its oil needs.

Mobil and Caltex (a jointly owned subsidiary of Texaco and Standard of California) refine more than half of South Africa's imported oil. Mobil has \$333 million invested in South Africa and controls 20 percent of the oil market there, producing 100,000 barrels of refined petroleum products a day.

U.S. corporations are also heavily involved in mineral extraction and processing: Union Carbide produced 20 percent of South Africa's chrome in 1976; Phelps Dodge, American Metal Climax, and Kennecott are among some of the larger American firms mining zinc, copper, lead, silver, and other minerals.

In addition, Americans own 20 to 30 percent of the country's gold shares. Total South African gold shares were valued in 1976 at \$5.5 billion. This would place U.S. holdings in the gold industry at \$1.1 to \$1.8 billion.

Superprofits

Far from investing in South Africa under the prod of an abstract humanitarianism, the American imperialists and their allies invest there because of the profits to be gained.

The average rate of return on direct U.S. investment worldwide was 11 percent during the decade of the 1960s. For the same period American capital in South Africa earned 18.6 percent. The same difference turns up in manufacturing, where U.S. capital

is heavily invested—9.4 percent worldwide, 16 percent in South Africa.

These profits derived from the starvation wages American corporations paid Black South African workers.

Many American corporations paid Black workers in South Africa well below the Poverty Datum Line (PDL), the officially defined subsistence wage level. However the PDL does not include the cost of education, clothing, rent, and other essentials.

In 1973 only one American corporation, IBM, paid Black workers above the Minimum Effective Level. The MEL is about 50 percent higher than the PDL and amounts to a wage of \$170 a month.

Where Blacks are moved into skilled jobs, they are paid less than their white counterparts *though no South African law specifically stipulates a mandatory wage differential or a limit on wages for Blacks.*

In addition American firms have responded to attempts by Black workers to organize in the same fashion as their South African counterparts—by massive firings.

In fact the gap between wages paid white and Black workers is enormous and in some sectors is even widening. In mining, the ratio of white to African wages was more than nine to one in 1975. The wage differential in manufacturing increased from 120 rand in 1957 to 403 rand in 1975.

Propping up apartheid

Contrary to the claims of American businessmen that they are opposing apartheid, their investments in South Africa help to prop up the entire system of racist rule. Besides providing much-needed infusions of foreign capital, they are an open sign of American imperialist confidence in the apartheid regime, thus aiding Pretoria politically in its drive to intimidate and suppress the country's Black majority.

The consciously political side of American economic involvement in South Africa has been most obvious in times of crisis.

Following the 1960 Sharpeville massacre, investor confidence in South Africa plummeted under the impact of mass Black unrest. However, American bankers and businessmen secured loans for South Africa totaling \$150 million from the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, Chase Manhattan, and First National City Bank.

Investing between \$40 and \$56 million a year over the next decade, the American capitalists, along with their British allies, played an indispensable role in stabilizing South Africa's economy.

A similar slump in investor confidence followed the collapse of the Portuguese colonial empire and the massive Black rebellions that began in Soweto in June 1976. By early November of that year, more than \$777 million in loans flowed to South African corporations and the racist Vorster government from U.S. banks. Among them were Chase Manhattan, Citibank, Morgan Guaranty Trust, Manufacturers Hanover, and Bank of America.

Protecting American business profits in South Africa is at the heart of the Carter administration's southern Africa policy. The U.S. veto of UN economic sanctions against the racist, colonialist regime underscores the need to mount a powerful movement in this country to demand an end to all U.S. investment, trade, and military aid to South Africa.

S. Africa arms ban in UN full of loopholes

By Ernest Harsch
From Intercontinental Press

Four days after vetoing African proposals for stringent United Nations sanctions against all economic and military assistance to the hated apartheid regime in South Africa, the American, British, and French governments reluctantly agreed November 4 to support the imposition of a largely symbolic arms embargo.

This was in response to international protests over Pretoria's October 19 crackdown on Black political activism, in which about twenty antiapartheid organizations were banned and scores of Black leaders were arrested.

By a unanimous vote, the fifteen members of the UN Security Council approved a resolution calling on all states to "cease forthwith" the provision or sale of arms, ammunition, or military vehicles or equipment to Pretoria. It also urges governments not to supply spare parts or issue new licenses for the manufacture within South Africa of foreign-designed weapons.

Though the measure is unprecedented in the UN's thirty-two-year history, Pretoria's Western allies were successful in blocking crippling economic sanctions. They were also able to keep the political grounds for the imposition of the arms embargo on as narrow a basis as possible. For instance, while the African states demanded that the entire system of white supremacy itself be declared a "threat to the maintenance of international peace," the Western powers managed to restrict this characterization to only the "acquisition by South Africa of arms. . . ."

In fact, the major imperialist powers voted for the UN arms embargo largely as a cover for their much more significant economic assistance to the apartheid regime, which amounts to billions of dollars in investments, loans, and trade.

Even if enforced, the embargo will have little real impact, since Pretoria has in recent years established a significant degree of self-sufficiency in armaments production. This was largely accomplished with the direct help of its Western allies.

But even now, the UN Security Council vote may not mean an end to direct military collaboration with Pretoria, since the terms of the embargo contain numerous loopholes:

- The resolution does not call for an end to existing licenses that allow Pretoria to produce a wide range of military equipment, including French Mirage jet fighters, within the country (though it does urge a "review" of them).
- It does not demand a halt to all

nuclear collaboration, just that specifically relating to military purposes. This is meaningless, since the apartheid regime has been able to build up its nuclear industry, including its capacity to construct nuclear weapons, under the guise of developing "peaceful" applications for nuclear energy. Andrew Young, Washington's representative in the UN, has specifically stated that American collaboration with Pretoria in the field of nuclear energy will continue.

- It does not provide for an end to the sale of ostensibly "civilian" equipment, such as planes, computers, trucks, etc., that can be converted by the South African racists to military uses if need be.

• Furthermore, as correspondent Kathleen Teltsch commented in the November 5 *New York Times*, the success of the embargo "will depend on the willingness of governments to observe it." One example of what this may mean was Washington's own voluntary arms "embargo," initiated in 1963, under which millions of dollars worth of planes, spare parts, and other military equipment was sold to Pretoria.

The UN sanctions against the apartheid regime are so limited that the editors of the *New York Times* were forced to acknowledge November 5 that they were "just about the mildest possible response to Pretoria's recent actions to silence its black opposition." They went on to pay "tribute to the diplomacy of Andrew Young" for his success in getting the African representatives in the UN, who had earlier criticized the ineffectiveness of the Western-proposed measures, to agree to them.

Though the South Africans are well aware of the limitations of the arms embargo, they felt it necessary to place their opposition on record. Foreign Minister Roelof F. Botha declared November 4 that "as a matter of principle, South Africa protests in the strongest terms against this action." Chastising his Western allies, he termed the embargo "an incitement to violence," apparently meaning that it could encourage Blacks in South Africa.

He was right in a different sense, however. The actions of Pretoria's allies in the UN, especially their vetoes of economic sanctions and efforts to limit the effectiveness of the arms embargo, are an "incitement to violence"—by the apartheid regime against the country's Black majority.

Nothing could be more encouraging to the white supremacists than the willingness of Washington and other Western powers to continue collaborating with South African racism.



UN arms embargo leaves Pretoria the ability to build advanced weapons such as French Mirage fighter above.

Phila. protest hits S. Africa repression, U.S. investments

By Terry Hardy

PHILADELPHIA—On Saturday, November 5, sixty people participated in a picket line here protesting the latest wave of repressive measures in South Africa. The protest was jointly sponsored by the Philadelphia Student Coalition Against Racism and the United People's Campaign Against Apartheid and Racism.

Picket signs demanded an end to the banning of Black and other antiapartheid organizations and the release of all those detained by the white-minority regime.

Speaking to the demonstrators, Aquil Hasim of the Student Coalition Against Racism blasted the crackdown. Hasim indicated that the best way people in this country can support the struggle for Black majority rule in South Africa is to stay in the streets, organize more

picket lines, and mount more demonstrations.

Following the picket line, the sixty protesters marched to the Philadelphia National, Providence National, and First Pennsylvania banks, all of which have investments in South Africa. The demonstrators carried a coffin symbolizing the murdered leader of the South African Black Consciousness Movement, Steve Biko, and others killed in the South African freedom struggle.

At the door of each bank a wreath and a copy of a proclamation were delivered. The proclamation demanded an end to the banks' investments in South Africa.

During the picket line and demonstration many bystanders expressed their support and solidarity with the South African freedom struggle and their condemnation of Vorster's crackdown.

Young: 'Steve Biko murder not planned'



Andrew Young vetoing UN economic sanctions against South Africa.

By John Hawkins

Six days after he voted to veto United Nations economic sanctions against South Africa, United States Ambassador to the UN Andrew Young absolved the Vorster regime of complicity in the murder of Steve Biko, leader of the South African Black Consciousness movement.

Biko's murder September 12 sparked a new wave of Black protest against the racist South African regime. In response to these protests and the mounting movement for Black majority rule, on October 19 Vorster unleashed the most sweeping repressive measures to hit that country in nearly twenty years. These measures included the banning of every major Black organization and the detention, arrest,

or banning of scores of Black opponents of the regime.

In an interview aired on British television November 6, Young called Biko's murder "totally unplanned."

"I am sure no one in the South African government intended to see Steve Biko killed," he said. "Every country has its neurotics and sadists in its prison service."

But in fact, the chief "neurotics and sadists" are Vorster and his ruling group. If they did not give the order for Biko's murder themselves, they certainly have perpetuated and further perfected the brutal, racist social order that breeds a climate in which Steve Biko can be murdered with impunity.

Just two days before Young performed his absolution, Vorster and his

cohorts showed again that they have no intention of altering this setup.

On November 4 the South African government announced more repressive measures—this time aimed at students boycotting classes and examinations to protest the inferior Bantu education system.

The government ordered the expulsion of any student absent from classes for more than five days without an excuse acceptable to the authorities.

According to the November 6 *New York Times* the South African government estimates that 200,000 students are boycotting classes and examinations across the country. However, the same figure was reported several weeks ago before the boycott in Soweto spread to primary schools.

Job bias vs. jobs

The October unemployment figures released last week show a rise in the official jobless rate from 6.9 percent to 7 percent. They also show a lot more.

They show Black unemployment jumping to 13.9 percent, well over twice the 6.1 percent rate for whites.

Government officials say that unemployment has decreased this year. *But the entire decline is among whites.* Black joblessness has *risen* half a percentage point in the past year. That's 100,000 more Black workers unemployed.

Blacks—along with other oppressed nationalities and women—are being forced to bear the brunt of the deteriorating economy. The gap between Black and white unemployment—like the gap between Black and white incomes—is widening.

These facts, of course, do not stop the opponents of Black rights from complaining that whites suffer “reverse discrimination” because of affirmative-action job quotas for Blacks. But the facts do expose “reverse discrimination” as a racist myth.

The unemployment figures also expose the excuses of the trade-union bureaucracy for its refusal to defend Black workers from discriminatory layoffs. The bureaucrats' constant refrain is: “Only jobs for all can solve the problems of Black workers. Quotas for minorities and changes in seniority systems will only make whites suffer unjustly.”

Yet the plain fact is that the union movement today is not fighting *either* for jobs for all *or* against racist discrimination in hiring and firing. This double default is no accident.

For decades the labor bureaucracy has been a willing accomplice of the bosses in racist discrimination. Blacks were long excluded from unions altogether or segregated into second-class locals.

When Blacks began to be admitted to unions in the organizing upsurge of the 1930s, they were still restricted to the dirtiest, lowest-paid jobs. Seniority systems were deliberately manipulated to keep them there. The pattern continues to this day.

Discrimination is highly profitable to the bosses. That is why they and their political agents, the Democratic and Republican politicians, are on the rampage against quotas or any other measure that could effectively challenge discrimination. And the union bureaucrats take their cue from the bosses and capitalist politicians, who the bureaucrats think are their allies.

In addition, the bureaucracy rests on the support of a relatively privileged minority of high-seniority, white male workers. It fosters the fears and prejudices of this layer of workers that gains for Blacks will come at their expense.

In fact, however, white workers have lower wages and higher unemployment today than they would if the labor movement were united to fight the real enemy—the employers. And after the unions' long record of complicity in discrimination, such unity can only come about through uncompromising support to the demands of Black workers for genuine and full equality.

The fight against discriminatory layoffs and for affirmative-action quotas is not an obstacle to the fight for jobs for all. It is the only way to build the kind of united, fighting labor movement that can *win* jobs for all.

A right to life

No screaming headlines announced her death. No manhunts were launched to track down her killers. She died quietly—*young, poor, Chicana.*

She had a Medicaid card and needed an abortion. But since August, the Hyde amendment has slammed the door in the faces of her and countless others in desperate need of safe, legal abortions.

She didn't meet the criterion Congress had set—her life wasn't “endangered” . . . but she's dead. She was forced to turn to a forty-dollar back-alley butcher.

Hers is the first officially reported death resulting from the federal fund cutoff. But no one disputes that there have been others. “What happened here is going to happen everywhere—all over the country,” said the doctor who treated her before she died.

She was murdered by Congress, Carter, and the Supreme Court. Killed by those who profess a concern for the “right to life.”

She had a right to life. But the government declared that right a privilege only for the rich to enjoy.

Tip from a reader

I don't belong to the SWP, but I have been reading the *Militant*. I was particularly impressed with the article “Carter: Image and Reality” in your September 16 issue. I have been trying to get copies of that issue to mail to people I know. If you can send me some, or just that article, I would appreciate it.

I was thinking that one plan you might consider to sell more *Militants* is to sell or donate them to public libraries around the country. I think this is particularly important as so many people are cut off from access to left-wing papers.

It was only by a fluke that I came across the *Militant*, so I think this is something you should not overlook. It would be costly at first, I assume, but the benefits in terms of enlightenment for many people would be immeasurable, plus in the long term it would bolster subscriptions. People must be educated!

Stansfield Smith
Chicago, Illinois

On ‘green revolution’

I am dismayed by the lack of awareness of ecological issues and the complete irresponsiveness present in Dick Roberts's letter published in the October 7 *Militant*.

He states: “. . . The urgent problem is that *right now* hundreds of millions of people the world over are starving. The fact is that American agricultural technology is so advanced that it could make a gigantic step towards providing this desperately needed food. . . .”

The damage to our world ecosystem caused by capitalist agricultural technology is so enormous that not to address it as a socialist is utterly irresponsible. Just a few of the points to consider are damage to soil, as crops are not rotated; poor nutritional quality of plants grown on devitalized soil; poor nutritional quality of plant hybrids developed primarily to increase yield; and health damage caused by use of inorganic pesticides and herbicides.

How the Other Half Dies, the Real Reasons for World Hunger by Susan George (Allanheld, Osmar, and Company, 1977) illustrates the social consequences of a program such as “the green revolution.”

I can't see that the same social disruption would not occur with Roberts's proposal, in that it apparently differs from our present imperialist ventures only in that the food produced would be “given away free.”

Mallen Kear
Moscow, Idaho

More on ‘green revolution’

I see from Dick Roberts's letter of October 7 that the *Militant* is once again rushing off to defend its revolutionary virginity from its traditional despoiler, “counterculturalism.”

I am surprised that an organization that has recently adopted an orientation toward the antinuclear movement knows so little of the underlying concepts of it. I am amazed that Roberts has not, judging from his letter, read any of the excellent critiques of the “green revolution” he espouses. I am appalled that a professed socialist would put himself in the same camp as the Bud Antles, Gulf and Westerns, and other giants of U.S. agribusiness, to say nothing of the U.S.

State Department, and advocate the exporting of capitalism to the Third World. Lenin, I am confident, would have characterized this as imperialism.

It is far past the time for socialists to realize that we are living in a finite world. The concept of planning, which is inherent in socialism, offers the best hope for human survival in a finite world. But planning can't be confined only to the experiences of the past or our own particular socio-political cultural heritage. True socialist planning would, to be sure, draw upon these sources, but it would also incorporate the cultural wisdoms of many traditional societies, environmental and ecological limits, and the mixed blessings of modern technology.

Ron Yankey
Moscow, Idaho

Likes Chicano coverage

I subscribe to your newspaper. The reason I enjoy your periodical is due to the constant wealth of information on Chicanos throughout the country. Keep up the good work.

I hope to see more material on the Chicano movement in your great newspaper.

Carlos Larralde
Long Beach, California

Government vs. la Raza

Miguel Pendás's valuable study of “The government's war against la Raza” (*Militant*, October 28) is so well done I trust it will be published as a pamphlet. Your staff did a beautiful job of picture selection and layout.

Pendás wrote that some entries in the intelligence files on Judge José Angel Gutiérrez were marked “eyes only.” That classification is considerably more restrictive than top secret. “Eyes only” restricts a document to the eyes of an addressee only.

The nature of intelligence agencies is such that they cannot trust most of their staff. They fear that some “wishy-washy” human rights advocate on their staff will squeal about an agency's unconstitutional and other illegal activities.

So intelligence supervisors protect themselves by tightly restricting access to “sensitive” information. Only those who have “a need to know” (another bureaucratic expression common to intelligence types) are made witting.

C. G. Andrews
Washington, D.C.

Choosing sides

Like yourselves, I am deeply concerned about human rights and justice.

I wear no party label, but am a committed follower of Jesus Christ and his church. (By no means am I “the perfect Christian”!)

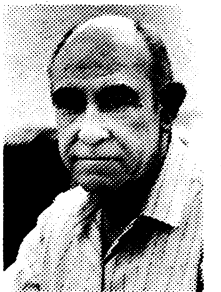
As a recent subscriber to the *Militant*, I am interested in dialogue on current issues. However, I have been disappointed in the one-sided rhetoric I too often find in your pages. For example:

“If Carter had an atom of human decency and compassion in him. . . .” (10/21, editorial page).

The same kind of rhetoric is unfortunately true of some writers. For example:

“As if there is an enlightened, preferable way to deny women the right to choose abortion!” (10/14, page 9, article by Diane Wang).

Any intelligent person who wants a dialogue on the issues will likely be



High rollers, sure losers

They try to keep up a cheery front, but top officials of the AFL-CIO are unhappy with the Carter administration and the Democratic-controlled Congress. They spent an estimated \$10 million on the general election last year, not counting the cost of publicity and personnel in local campaigns. And they are beginning to get the idea that they were shortchanged.

Here it is a year after the election, and everything is about the same as before, maybe worse. Union membership is declining as unemployment rises. Employers are not cooperative, even openly antiunion.

These union officials badly want legislation that will establish them as recognized collective bargaining agents, and they also expected some job-creating subsidies in the government-regulated maritime industry.

But nothing is working out right.

Their surefire common-situs picketing bill, designed to regulate the construction industry, was shot down early in the game. The minimum-wage legislation was cut to ribbons, benefiting fewer workers than previously and establishing below-poverty-level wages.

Labor law reform was gutted when Carter refused to back repeal of the Taft-Hartley right-to-work clause, and the watered-down House version has yet to pass the Senate. And on top of all this came the defeat of the "cargo preference" bill, a cruel blow if ever there was one.

Maritime unions spent close to half a million dollars to line up votes for that bill. The maritime industry put on an expensive advertising campaign, claiming "national defense" dictated that an adequate percentage of all imported oil be shipped in American-flag ships. It was truly a union-management joint effort.

They thought for sure all the necessary votes were lined up for it. After all, a similar bill had sailed through the previous Congress when it appeared certain that then-president Ford would veto it without batting an eye. This time Carter seemed to be in favor

of it and said he would sign it when it passed the Congress. But a funny thing happened.

A government report indicated that the bill would cost U.S. consumers as much as \$600 million a year in higher oil bills. Despite this damaging information, all paid-for votes seemed in place when the bill easily passed the House by voice vote.

But that changed when a roll call was taken and 275 representatives voted against it to only 165 for. It was a bad day for the handicappers who don't know what true form is when they see it.

Alexander Barkan, director of the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education, says it's time now for a shift in "political tactics." He thinks the unions made a mistake by supporting lesser-evil Democrats last year. He has announced a "big change" for 1978.

What is this big change?

"We are ready to take some Republican victories," he said. "We are willing to give up the seats of Democratic summer soldiers who desert us when there is a real fight."

And that's a change . . . without meaning. A bluff and a sham.

The real change will come when the union movement recognizes the need to confront and solve the urgent problems of this society: unemployment, inflation, inadequate housing, poor schools, environmental pollution, and the twin social pollutants—racism and sexism.

The trouble with the AFL-CIO political strategy is that the bureaucrats pick the wrong issues, mostly. They always bet high on sure losers.

There is no chance that they will change in this respect. They have no confidence in the union membership or in the ability of the working class to change society or to correct any of the evils of capitalism. They are forever looking for "good" employers and "honest" politicians who will solve their problems for them . . . for a price, of course.

turned off by closed-minded blasts. Regarding abortion, I would champion the right of every human being to life and liberty—I believe the fetus in the womb is a human being with such a right to life, not to be exterminated for the sake of some lesser value.

As sisters and brothers we can work together with the weapons of truth, mutual respect, and loving service. Let us bury the hatchet of rhetoric which breeds the offspring of hate and violence. Only a society under God is capable of true freedom and justice.

Rev. David B. Conner
Miami, Florida

RMC fusion

Larry Seigle's article in the November 4 *Militant* did a good job of exposing the Communist Party's lies about the fusion of the Revolutionary Marxist Committee with the Socialist Workers Party. Curiously, the CP's stance has won the endorsement of the Spartacist League, a sect that fancies itself to be Trotskyist but vies with the CP in denouncing those who demand democratic rights in the Soviet Union.

Under the headline, "Even With Lies, CP Nails SWP," the October 7 issue of the SL's *Workers Vanguard* echoed the Stalinists' charges. It said that the fusion proved the SWP no longer favors defense of the USSR or other workers states against imperialism. To "prove" the point, the anonymous author took a truncated quote from Jack Barnes's report to the 1977 SWP convention and followed it with the assertion that Barnes and the SWP hold that "Brezhnev should be the first to give up nuclear weapons."

In reality, Barnes's report (reprinted in the September 16 *Militant*) stated the opposite: "We have held for more than two decades . . . the position for the immediate unconditional nuclear disarmament of all the imperialist powers.

"We do not advocate this for the Soviet Union. The SWP does not insist upon the Soviet Union disarming unilaterally in the face of Washington's arsenal."

Why did *Workers Vanguard* falsify Barnes's view? As a sect, the SL believes that telling the truth is not important.

The important thing is to "nail" a working-class opponent—"even with lies."

F.F.
Jersey City, N.J.

Blasts Henry Hyde

Rep. Henry Hyde let his true voice be heard recently in St. Louis.

Hyde was quoted as saying that some people "seem to think more of animals than of the unborn."

Sorry, Hyde, but it's women's lives that supporters of abortion rights consider more important than the "lives" of the "unborn." Or might it be that Hyde considers women less than human and more like animals? Most likely so.

Jenny Oswald
St. Louis, Missouri

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

iLa Raza en Acción!

Dred Scott, 1977

Back in 1857, the U.S. Supreme Court issued the *Dred Scott* decision holding that Blacks were "beings of an inferior order . . . [who] had no rights which the white man was bound to respect."

It took the Civil War to reverse the *Dred Scott* decision. In 1868, Congress added the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution: "No State shall . . . deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

And it took a hundred years or so, but Congress finally got around to passing civil rights laws saying those who violated the Fourteenth Amendment would be punished. The days when people could be tortured, branded, or lynched as "beings of an inferior order" were supposedly over.

Yet today, 112 years after *Dred Scott*, a case in Douglas, Arizona, has posed the question: Do Mexicans who enter the United States without permission have any rights that whites are bound to respect? State courts said no, and the Carter administration seems willing to go along with this new *Dred Scott* decision.

The facts briefly:

In mid-August 1976 three Mexicans entered the United States near Douglas looking for work. They were intercepted by Anglo ranchers who robbed them, beat them, branded them with hot irons, threatened them with castration, and pelted them with buckshot before the Mexicans escaped back across the border.

Tom and Pat Hanigan, scions of one of the wealthiest families in the area, were duly indicted for twenty-two crimes, including robbery, assault with a deadly weapon, and kidnapping.

Main witnesses for the prosecution were the three Mexicans. They described how they had been tortured and identified the torturers.

The main factor working for the Hanigans wasn't evidence, but the racist hysteria the government has whipped up against "illegal aliens."

Local and federal officials, as well as the news media, tried to justify the Hanigans' barbarism. "Every illegal alien is a potential burglar," explained the head of the border patrol.

On October 7, the Hanigans were acquitted. In a county that is mostly Chicano, the Hanigans had a jury with not one Chicano on it.

Southern Arizona Chicanos and Mexicans responded angrily to the verdict. "They just opened the hunting season for every illegal Mexican who comes into the U.S.," declared Raúl Aveleyra, Mexican consul in Douglas.

According to Margo Cowan, director of the Concilio Manzo in Tucson, there have been numerous protests and demonstrations in the wake of the acquittal. Manzo helped organize two meetings in Douglas October 16 and 23. Each brought out 1,500 people in a town with a total population of 12,000.

The meetings demanded the federal government prosecute the Hanigans for violating civil rights laws.

But the federal government has, so far, refused to act. "There could be a problem of jurisdiction," claimed Assistant U.S. Attorney A. Bates Butler. He explained that for federal laws to apply, it must be shown someone was prevented from engaging in an activity protected by federal statutes.

Apparently, Butler can't find where it says you have a right to breathe air without getting tortured for it.

This is a case that concerns a lot more than Arizona and a lot more than Mexican immigrants. I've yet to hear of a racist who can tell the difference between an undocumented brown person and one of us "legals," or between a Haitian refugee and an Afro-American.

Manzo is appealing to all supporters of human rights to send messages to U.S. Attorney General Griffin Bell, Butler's boss, demanding the federal government prosecute. If this new *Dred Scott* decision is allowed to stand, anyone could be next.

—José G. Pérez

San Antonio conference

Latino leaders rip Carter deportation plan

At the National Chicano/Latino conference held in San Antonio October 28-30, representatives from a wide spectrum of organizations spoke out in defense of human rights for undocumented immigrants. As reported in last week's 'Militant,' 1,500 people attended the gathering, which voted to oppose the Carter administration's proposal for a crackdown on undocumented workers.

Nearly thirty speakers addressed the Friday night rally that opened the conference and the following day's plenary session. Following are excerpts from some of these presentations. Translations are by the 'Militant.'

Sister Mario Barrón, representing HERMANAS, an organization of Catholic nuns.

It is very significant that we have started this conference on immigration with a rally for human rights. This is a statement itself. A statement that immigration is a question of human rights.

Who among the powerful would deny their own needs for food and shelter? Who among the wealthy would deny the human need for rest and relaxation?

And yet these are the same rights that are denied human beings who cross the border, a man-made border, in search of human rights.

Human rights are violated by unjust laws—laws which put the profits and the affluence of the few above the human rights of the many. Laws that try to solve complex problems with greed. I think of Carter's plan as something like that.

* * *

José Angel Gutiérrez, leader of the Texas Raza Unida Party. Gutiérrez issued the "Call for Action" that initiated the San Antonio conference.

We should learn well, so that we don't miss a single ñ, nor a single accent, nor a single period in the threats made by President Peanut Carter. Let us learn well that this is an attack.

We must learn to work together, respecting each other for the work of all elements, organizations, and individuals that we have with us in the hall this morning; so this can be the beginning of a base of work, of a coalition, of an alliance, of a group of compañeros and compañeras who will continue to struggle.

I ask each of you to make a commitment to formulate our plan and our position, no matter where it leads to. We're going to take to the streets, go to the halls of Congress, go after the politicians, do what we can inside the academic institutions. Because our obligation is to defend and protect the undocumented.

* * *

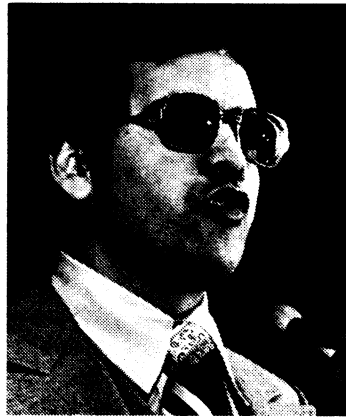
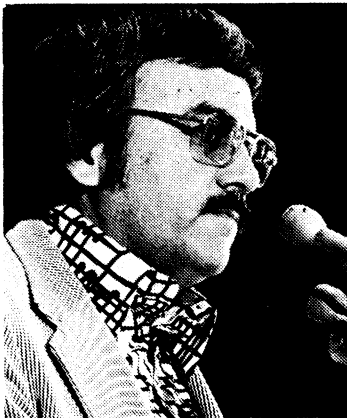
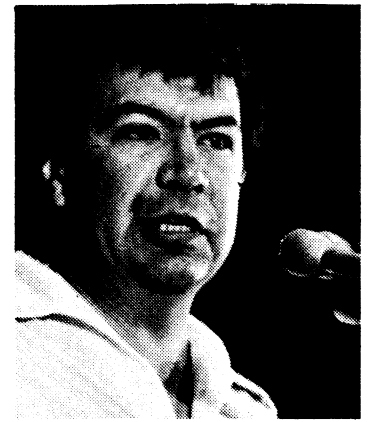
San Antonio City Council member Rudy Ortiz.

What we're about here is the business of people. And so the problem of so-called illegal aliens is the problem of people, of human beings who are hungry and need help.

They come to the United States because they need jobs or are looking for sanctuary from political persecution. But they face arrest, deportation, beating, even death. And now they will also face the Carter plan. The Carter plan fails; it is no solution.

* * *

Juan José Peña, former chairperson, New Mexico Raza Unida



Militant/Harry Ring

Left to right, top row: Sister Mario Barrón, Juan José Peña, Jorge Zaragoza, and Jorge Bustamante. Bottom row: Edwin Morgia, Vilma Martínez, Rubén Bonilla, and Bernardo Eureste.

Party and RUP candidate for U.S. Senate.

The most important industries in Mexico are not controlled by Mexico. A large part of the employment is in companies controlled by outside interests, mostly the United States. That's why I feel Mexico has become the new slave state to the South.

And this is where we have a lot in common with our *hermano, el negro*, the Black, who was a physical slave. The *mexicano* is a wage slave, he is living in slavery, working for companies that are not from his own country for the most part. These companies in Mexico keep unemployment at about 40 percent, so the *mexicano* has no choice but to come to the United States.

And yet, when the *mexicano* comes to the United States, people working for the government say that we are going to downgrade the United States system.

But what they really fear is that we are going to establish a new society, that we'll do what they should have done a long time ago, which is redistribute the wealth.

* * *

Rev. José Alvarez, chairperson of the New York-based Committee for the Defense of Immigrants (CODI), was one of the scheduled speakers but was unable to attend. Following is part of the message from Reverend Alvarez read by Rev. Roberto Peña, national president of PADRES.

On Saturday, November 19, in commemoration of the arrival of the pilgrims, the first immigrants of the United States, CODI will sponsor a massive demonstration in front of the United Nations to ask for total amnesty for all immigrants without visas.

CODI proposes and asks all the organizations united in this conference that there be organized simultaneous demonstrations in each and every city of the United States.

* * *

Jorge Zaragoza, vice-president, Texas Farm Workers Union.

Since it was formed in 1975, the Texas Farm Workers Union has taken a firm and positive position in defense of every *mexicano* worker who crosses the Rio Bravo or who crosses the

frontier of wire in California.

The way we see the brothers from Mexico is that they aren't taking jobs from us or from anyone. Because if this were true, we field hands would be the first out of a job. So this is a great lie, and you can ask all the professors, and attorneys, and politicians who say this, when did they ever see a Mexican worker take their job?

* * *

Prof. Jorge Bustamante, Colegio de Mexico.

This is not the first time that a situation of public hysteria has been created around Mexican immigration in the United States, blaming Mexican immigrants for many social maladies whose causal factors are rooted in the United States.

In 1954 you had something that was very similar to what is taking place right now. You had a situation of increased unemployment in the United States. Then you had statements being made by public officials, making a causal relationship between the situation of unemployment and the factor of Mexican immigration. Then you have public campaigns that led to massive deportations and police actions.

As a *mexicano* I feel proud of this conference. That is, it is not the Mexican government, it is not the United States government, it is the Chicano and *mexicano* brothers who have taken the leading role in defending the human rights of the people to which I belong, the *mexicanos*.

* * *

Edwin Morgia, national director, League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC).

It is important that we as Chicanos, Latinos, as individuals and members of organizations, and as Chicano organizations unite in this cause. We should show the people of the world that we are aware of the continuing political repression, the repression of human rights that is ongoing not only against Blacks, but certainly against Chicanos, against *mexicanos*, and other brother Latinos.

* * *

Pedro Camejo, national field organizer of the Socialist Workers Party in the southwest region.

Carter's whole program begins

upside down. He begins by saying the problem is the immigrant. But the problem is poverty and hunger. That's the problem. What we need is immediate, unconditional amnesty to stop all the raids and deportations. All we're asking for is that Latinos and Chicanos be treated the same way the 40 million Anglos that came over here were treated.

* * *

Vilma Martínez, general counsel of the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Educational Fund.

With respect to the administration's proposal for a five-year temporary work permit [for some immigrant workers], MALDEF vigorously opposes this proposal.

We must invoke the inevitable comparison. The proposed formalization of a nondeportable subclass of workers sounds strangely like another peculiar institution, slavery.

* * *

Rubén Bonilla, Texas state director of LULAC.

The United States government has institutionalized this immigration. The United States in World War I and World War II encouraged the "illegal alien" to work in the fields. In 1942, the United States government went one step further and established the Bracero program to further allow the entry of undocumented workers with government permission. And it's far too late to say fifty years later we don't belong here. We're here to stay, and we're going to have an impact on the political process.

* * *

Bernardo Eureste, member of the San Antonio City Council and mayor pro tem.

The concern that I have is the Carter policy, or proposed policy, on immigration. I think that there are two points to that policy. Those who came prior to 1970 will be given some kind of permanent status. People who are here after 1970 will be given a temporary status for five years. They will not have full rights. I don't think that's proper, and for this administration that talks about human rights internationally, I think it should start applying the human rights policies here at home.

Set November actions against deportations

By José G. Pérez

Actions to demand full human and civil rights for undocumented immigrants have been scheduled for a number of cities in mid-November.

The protests have been called by coalitions that supported the national Chicano/Latino conference held in San Antonio October 28-30. That conference adopted a resolution urging November 18-20 protests.

In New York, the National Committee for the Defense of Immigrants (CODI) will hold a march and rally November 19. Demonstrators will gather at Dag Hammarskjöld Plaza in front of the United Nations at 1:00 p.m. and march to the statue of Simón Bolívar at the Sixth Avenue entrance to Central Park.

Rev. José Alvarez, chairperson of CODI, told the *Militant* this protest was set more than two months ago to highlight the significance of Thanksgiving. "Thanksgiving commemorates the arrival of the first immigrants, the pilgrims, so it seemed a good time to urge respect for the human rights of the immigrants who are now arriving, the new pilgrims."

Among CODI's demands are total amnesty for all immigrants and an immediate halt to roundups of immigrants without documents by the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

In Texas, the Houston Committee on Immigration and Social Action, Raza Unida Party, and other groups are organizing a picket line November 19 outside Sam Houston Coliseum. President Carter will be there addressing delegates to the International Women's Year conference.

The San Diego Call for Action Committee and the Student Coalition Against Racism are sponsoring a noontime picket line November 19 outside the Federal Building. One focus of this action will be a demand that authorities stop Ku Klux Klan



Rev. José Alvarez, chairperson of the Committee for the Defense of Immigrants.

attacks on antideportation activists.

In Miami, the Coalition for Human Rights for Haitian Refugees will march November 19 from the Federal Building at S.W. First Avenue and Flagler Street to the "Freedom Tower," a building where Cuban refugees coming to the United States in the 1960s were processed. The protest will dramatize the different treatment given to the right-wing Cuban exiles, who were welcomed with open arms, and the refugees from the U.S.-backed Haitian dictatorship, who are being threatened with deportation.

In San Francisco, the Mission Committee Contra la Migra will hold a 5:00 p.m. picket line on November 18 at the INS offices at 630 Sansome.

Activists in Phoenix, Albuquerque, and Denver also plan protests.

Blanco well-received at Latino conference

By José G. Pérez

SAN ANTONIO—Among the best-received speakers at the national Chicano/Latino conference was Peruvian peasant leader and revolutionist Hugo Blanco.

Blanco received a standing ovation when he spoke at the Rally for Human Rights that opened the conference. More than 150 people attended a reception for him the following evening.

Blanco began his talk to the rally explaining that he, too, was "a little bit undocumented," since U.S. authorities warned him his visa could be revoked at any time, presumably if he strayed from the scheduled topic of his U.S. speaking tour, human rights in Latin America.

Blanco then briefly discussed repression and exploitation in Latin America, and how the system that breeds such violations of human rights can be done away with.

At the reception more than 150 activists attended a long, informal question-and-answer session with

Blanco. The few copies of Blanco's book, *Land or Death*, that hadn't been sold before the reception were quickly grabbed up by participants.

The interest in Blanco as a personality reflected a widespread interest in socialist ideas by conference participants. During the three-day conference, \$450 worth of socialist books and pamphlets were bought by those attending.

Among the bestsellers was the new bilingual pamphlet from Pathfinder Press, *¡Que Cesen las Deportaciones! Stop the Deportations!* Written by Pedro Miguel Camejo, more than 100 copies of the booklet were sold, the bulk of these after Camejo's address to the opening plenary session.

In addition, members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance sold 189 copies of the *Militant*, 99 copies of *Perspectiva Mundial*, and 32 copies of the *Young Socialist* to conference participants. Forty subscriptions to the *Militant* were sold, as were thirteen to *PM*.



HUGO BLANCO: Received standing ovation at San Antonio rally

Statement by U.S., Mexican socialists

Full rights for undocumented workers!

The following is a joint statement on the rights of undocumented workers by the Trotskyist organizations of the United States and Mexico—the Socialist Workers Party and the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (Revolutionary Workers Party). The statement was distributed in Spanish and English at the San Antonio Chicano/Latino conference.

U.S. President James Earl Carter has shown again that his support for human rights is empty rhetoric.

Carter has sent to Congress an immigration law reform that calls for an intensified crackdown on immigrants without work or residence permits.

Under the name of "amnesty," Carter proposes to formalize and legalize the superexploitation and deprivation of rights that millions of immigrants suffer.

Carter proposes to double *la migra*, the justly hated immigration police that devotes itself exclusively to persecuting immigrants and other residents of communities where immigrants live and work.

And since Carter appointed Leonel Castillo as head of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, deportations have hit record highs.

Carter's actions and proposals feed the racist propaganda against "illegal

aliens," which has led to renewed racist violence against *mexicanos* and Chicanos, violence that has gone unpunished.

For its part, the Mexican government has taken no effective steps to defend the rights of its citizens who live in the United States.

And neither the U.S. nor the Mexican governments propose anything that can eliminate the tremendous poverty and unemployment that force millions of workers and peasants to emigrate.

Working people in the United States are told that Mexican immigrants are the cause of unemployment. But Mexican workers are no more responsible for U.S. unemployment than U.S. workers are responsible for the terrible economic conditions in Mexico. Although on different sides of the border, workers face a common enemy—the international capitalist system, dominated by giant U.S. monopolies, with its people-be-damned drive for profits.

When U.S. capitalists want cheap labor from Mexico, they tell the border patrol to look the other way. Should the immigrants try to organize to better their conditions, they are immediately deported, as recently happened to striking farmworkers in Arizona.

When U.S. capitalists get in trouble, they lay off millions of workers, charging their jobs were "stolen" by "aliens." In this way they seek to

deepen divisions in the working class and to create scapegoats for the economic crisis.

The capitalists also use their borders to further their political control. Right-wing puppets of U.S. imperialism know that no matter how great their crimes, they can always find safe haven in the United States, as happened in the cases of Cuba and Vietnam.

But pleas for asylum from left-wing dissidents who are trying to escape persecution for their political ideas are met with hostility. For example, Haitians fleeing the dictatorship of president-for-life Jean-Claude Duvalier have been imprisoned, and many have been deported. Another prominent case is that of José Jacques Medina, a Mexican lawyer who fled that country in 1973 fearing he would be assassinated for his activity in defending political prisoners and organizing labor unions.

One political asylum case in particular demands emergency attention. Héctor Marroquín Manríquez faces imprisonment, torture, and death if returned to Mexico, although the charges against him are crude fabrications. Yet U.S. authorities could deport him at any moment without as much as a hearing on his request for asylum.

The Socialist Workers Party and the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores believe the right to travel and live where one wishes is a fundamental

human right.

We believe foreign-born workers in the United States or any country are entitled to the same rights and opportunities as other members of society have.

We believe the workers and oppressed masses of the entire planet have a common interest: a world where there are no exploiters and exploited; a world where decisions are made on the basis of human need, not private profit; a world where there will be no borders to divide us.

Carter's proposals embody precisely the opposite concepts: continued racial and national discrimination, continued exploitation and oppression, continued pitting of workers on one side of a border against those on the other.

A massive educational and protest campaign, both in Mexico and the United States, is needed to defeat the Carter plan. A good beginning has been made in the organizing for the October 28-30 Chicano/Latino conference in San Antonio.

This positive step should be followed by continued actions aimed at involving more forces in the fight against deportations.

Down with the Carter plan!
Asylum for the Haitians, Medina, Marroquín, and all political refugees!
Stop all deportations!

Abolish *la migra*!
Full human and civil rights for undocumented workers!

Mexican student seeks U.S. refuge

Chicanos back appeal for political asylum

By Arnold Weissberg

Hundreds of Chicano leaders and activists attending the October 28-30 San Antonio Chicano/Latino conference endorsed Héctor Marroquín Manríquez's appeal for political asylum in the United States.

Marroquín is a Mexican student activist falsely accused of murder and "subversion" by the Mexican government. Currently jailed in Texas, he faces torture or death if sent back to Mexico.

The United States Committee for

According to USLA, Marroquín would appreciate hearing from his supporters. Mail can be sent to him at Maverick County Jail, Eagle Pass, Texas 78852.

Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) is circulating an "Appeal for Asylum" on Marroquín's behalf, addressed to U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service Director Leonel Castillo.

New signers of the appeal include Maria Elena Martínez, chairperson, Texas Raza Unida Party (RUP); Ruben Bonilla, Texas state director, League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC); Dr. Armando Gutiérrez, director, Chicano Legal Defense Fund; Miguel Angel, Ethnic Studies chairperson, Laney College, Oakland, California; Juan José Peña, New Mexico RUP candidate for U.S. Senate; and Mario Cantú, movement activist from

San Antonio. (See box for more endorsers.)

The Mexican government's record in cases such as Marroquín's makes arrest and torture a certainty, and death a probability, if the U.S. government forces him to return.

As a student at the Autonomous University of Nuevo León, in Monterrey, Mexico, Marroquín was active in campus struggles for democratic rights.

In 1974, in the midst of severe repression by the Mexican government, he was accused of a murder he didn't commit. Fearing for his life, he came to the United States.

Two other students, also falsely accused of the murder, have since been gunned down by Mexican police under the pretext of arresting them (see story below).

Marroquín was arrested by the U.S. Border Patrol in September and jailed. His "crime" was reentering the country after a brief visit to Mexico to talk to his lawyer.

The U.S. government could "exclude" Marroquín—that is, simply throw him out of the country—at any time. Although he has applied for political asylum in the United States, current INS rules don't allow Marroquín to raise that appeal as a reason for holding up his expulsion from the country.

Nor do they require the government to grant him a hearing on his asylum request. The decision is entirely up to the INS district director.

Marroquín's attorney, Margaret Winter, has filed court challenges to these undemocratic procedures.

In the meantime, the broadest possible publicity around the facts in this case is needed to strengthen Marroquín's asylum fight.

Thirty people attended a San Antonio Militant Forum November 4 to discuss "Torture, Death, or the Right to Asylum—the Case of Héctor Marroquín."

Ramón Chacón, a Texas Chicano activist, described his own imprisonment and torture in Mexico after conviction on phony conspiracy charges. Chacón said a public campaign on his behalf saved him, and he urged the same kind of campaign to save Marroquín's life.

Representing USLA, Bruce Kimball explained that refusing to grant Marroquín asylum was equivalent to

Signers of appeal

Among those at the San Antonio antideportation conference signing Marroquín's appeal for asylum in the United States are:

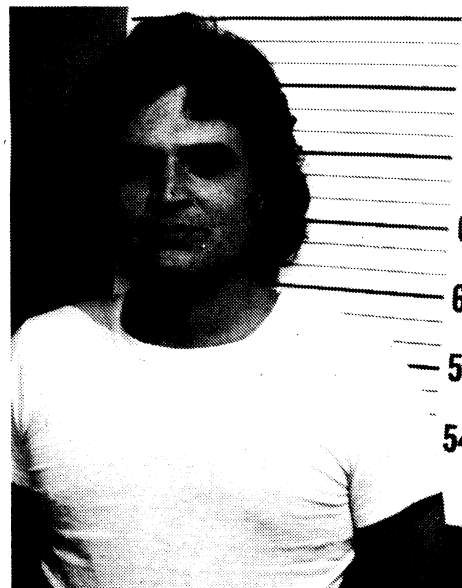
Rodolfo Acuña, author of *Occupied America*; Demetrio Almaguer T., reporter, Vera Cruz, Mexico; Manuel Archuleta, New Mexico RUP candidate for lieutenant governor; Luis Castro, Univ. of Massachusetts-Boston; Concepción Chacón, Ramón Chacón Defense Committee; Hector Domínguez, reporter for *Sucesos*, Mexico City; Bernardo Euseste, San Antonio City Council; Ignacio García, board of directors, Trabajadores Unidos, Kingsville, Texas; Peta Henderson, president, Evergreen State Coll. Federation of Teachers, Olympia, Washington.

Also, Bob Klingenberg, vice-president, Latin American Studies Student Organization, San Diego State Univ.; Joe López, American GI Forum, San Antonio; Scott Lubeck, Young Workers Liberation League, Austin, Texas; Adela Mancias, *Para la Gente*, Austin; Juan Mora, CASA, San Diego; Virginia Muzquiz, Ciudadanos Unidos de Cristal, Crystal City, Texas; Robert Niemann, New American Movement, Los Angeles; Father Roberto Peña, PADRES, Eagle Pass, Texas; Olga Ramírez, director, Barrios Unidos Westside de Los Angeles; José Raymundo, CASA, Chicago; Eunice Redondo, Tucson, Arizona National Organization for Women Minority Women's Caucus.

Also, Frank Sánchez, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 4227, Houston; Bolo Soto, Brown Berets, Lovington, New Mexico; Joe Treviño, LULAC, Houston; Frank Valdez, chief steward, Teamsters Local 968, Houston; Delfino Varela, New American Movement, Los Angeles; Aileen Adams, Amnesty International, Los Angeles; Carlos Anzoategui, executive director, Maryland Commission on the Concerns of Spanish-speaking People; David Ayón, political chairperson, Chcano Caucus at Princeton; Daniel Bustamante, chair, Texas RUP state organizing committee; Isabel García, Manzo Area Council, Tucson.

Also, Juan Gómez-Quinones, UCLA; Patricia Gonzales, chairperson, Chicano Caucus at Princeton; Jorge Zaragoza, vice-president, Texas Farm Workers Union; Miguel Centeno, coordinator, Coalition of Mexican-Americans, Chicago; Juanita González, Norwalk, California RUP; Pablo Hernández, Brown Berets, Austin, Texas; Eugene Hernández, San Fernando, California RUP; Donna Herría, *El Sol*, Edinburg, Texas; Frobén Lozada, Chicano Studies, Merritt College, Oakland, California; Edward McCaughan, North American Congress on Latin America; Rudy Ortiz, San Antonio City Council.

Also, David Rodríguez, CASA, Los Angeles; Alex Rodríguez, Workers World Party; Richard Trujillo, Chicano Caucus, Amalgamated Transportation Union Local 265, San Jose; Alexander Viera, president, Mexican-American Student Organization, St. Mary's University, San Antonio; and Richard Vigil, Human Rights of Denver.



Militant/Margaret Winter
HECTOR MARROQUIN

Mexico : campaign for missing activists

Héctor Marroquín Manríquez is not the first activist to be victimized by the Mexican government.

Five Monterrey student activists, all framed up on various charges, have disappeared after their arrests by Mexican cops. One of them is Jesús Piedra Ibarra.

In January 1974, a librarian was murdered in Monterrey. Marroquín and Piedra are two of the students falsely accused of the crime.

Piedra was arrested in April 1975. No one has seen him since.

A nationwide defense committee in Mexico, spearheaded by Piedra's mother, is campaigning to force the Mexican government to explain the whereabouts of the five missing prisoners. (See leaflet on this page.)

Rosario Ibarra de Piedra has addressed an appeal to the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners:

"Tired of fighting for justice in my country without attaining it, I have decided to initiate a campaign to denounce what is happening in Mexico by means of the most widely read press throughout the world, and through the informa-

tion organs of organizations like USLA that defend the victims of the repression in Latin America. . . .

"Many other youths, just like my son, can be found confined in secret jails throughout the country, in which they are subjected to the most savage torture.

"WE FEAR FOR THEIR LIVES!"

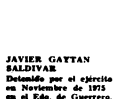
"Through letters like this one I am launching an 'J'accuse' against the Mexican Government that constantly violates the individual guarantees established in our constitution, while traveling abroad it hypocritically proclaims itself the beacon of Justice, Liberty, and Human Rights.

"... I assume responsibility for an accusation of this nature, because I have enough evidence to make it, and because I have the support of hundreds of organizations and families that have seen, as have I, their rights trampled upon.

"Please accept, along with mine, the greetings and thanks from hundreds of Mexican mothers."

The defense committee can be reached at Garibaldi 716 Sur, Desp. 103, Monterrey, Nuevo León, Mexico.

¡SE BUSCAN!



LOS BUSCAN SUS MADRES, PADRES, ESPOSAS, HIJOS, HERMANOS Y SUS FAMILIARES TODOS. FUERON DETENIDOS POR DIFERENTES CUERPOS POLICIALES Y SE IGNORA SU PARADERO. AL IGUAL QUE ELLOS HAY MUCHOS OTROS JOVENES DESAPARECIDOS. SI ALGUN PARENTE TUYO SE ENCUENTRA EN CIRCUNSTANCIAS SEMEJANTES POR FAVOR ENVIA DATOS Y FOTOGRAFIAS A LAS OFICINAS DEL COMITE O LLAMAMOS POR TELEFONO, SI ES NECESARIO POR COBRAR.

¡AYUDENOS A ENCONTRARLOS!
¡ES PRECISO SALVAR SUS VIDAS!

EXIJAMOS QUE SE LES PRESENTE PUBLICAMENTE.

COMITE PRO-DEFENSA DE PRESOS, PERSEGUIDOS, EXILIADOS Y DESAPARECIDOS POLITICOS.
Garibaldi 716 Sur, Desp. 103 Monterrey, N. L.
Guayaquil 205 Col. Alta Vista Tel. 58-45-26 Monterrey, N. L.

MEXICO

'Wanted! Help us find them!' reads Mexican defense committee leaflet. Jesús Piedra Ibarra is at top center.

Informer privilege vs. democracy

Court tells FBI: open spy files to SWP lawyers

By Diane Wang

The U.S. Court of Appeals has upheld federal Judge Thomas Griesa's decision to make files about FBI informers available to attorneys for the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. On October 21 and November 3 Griesa reviewed and reaffirmed his ruling.

Griesa's decision is a major blow to the government claim that the dirty work of its political spies, no matter how criminal or unconstitutional, must be kept secret.

As Griesa explained, the informers' work has been "the most important activity undertaken by the FBI against the YSA and SWP. It is a major issue in the socialists' \$40 million lawsuit against government harassment and disruption.

At stake in the current decision are twenty-five file drawers of material documenting the activity of eighteen FBI informers. The socialists demanded the eighteen files as a sample, a first step in uncovering the facts about political spies.

The socialists have waged a legal battle for the files over the past year. As an interim decision last May, Judge Griesa decided to allow attorneys for the socialists to see the files. The government appealed his decision to the U.S. Court of Appeals in August.

The appeals court ruled on October 11 that Griesa could release the files. Two of the judges on the three-judge panel, however, recommended that Griesa review his decision.

Just 'bare bones' so far

After reviewing the record at hearings on October 21 and November 3, Griesa rejected the government's claim that the FBI has already produced enough evidence.

Since the lawsuit was filed in 1973, it has pried out of the government more than 100,000 pages of documents, evidence of FBI burglaries, illegal wiretaps, harassment, and Cointelpro disruption programs.

But when it came to informers, the government released only highly sanitized summaries of informers' activities and vague answers to written questions.

As Griesa explained at the October 21 hearing, these summaries and answers are "bare bones."

"We also found last summer that to some extent they were incorrect and incomplete," Griesa recalled. In 1976 when FBI informer Timothy Redfearn admitted burglarizing the SWP headquarters in Denver, his file was turned over to the socialists.

Earlier FBI summaries had said nothing about how Redfearn stole documents. Only the complete file documented that, "showing what was an intentional falsification in at least one interrogatory answer furnished by the FBI," said Griesa.

The judge warned that if the government lawyers had told the Court of

Appeals that the informers' files only duplicated other evidence, "I say quite frankly that you were misleading the Court."

Must have evidence

Griesa also weighed the government arguments about tort claims, statutes of limitations, and whether the socialists are entitled to sue the FBI for damages. The government's argument boils down to a claim that to get the informers' files and sue the government, the socialists would have had to file damage claims earlier than they did.

But, as Griesa explained, to file damage claims the socialists need the evidence! At least the socialists' attorneys have to read the eighteen files to decide what damages to claim for informer activity.

If there is to be a trial on damages, Griesa explained, "there is no way in the world for that to be handled in any just and fair manner without the evidence. That evidence has not been produced. There is no question about that in my mind, whatsoever, that that evidence simply has not been produced."

Spies on the line

In fighting the release of the eighteen files the government has insisted that "What is at stake on this motion is nothing less than the ability of the FBI and other law enforcement agencies to obtain information. . . . The FBI's informant network would suffer irreparable injury."

The government claims that "the very nature of [the socialists'] political ideology" justifies the FBI's army of political spies. In other words, anyone who is opposed to the status quo is "fair game" just because of their ideas.

The spies must be kept secret, says the government, because "anonymity provides a free flow of information."

What the government tries to cover up is that the "free flow of information" has actually been a flood of dirty tricks.

Files released in lawsuits and congressional hearings have shown that the FBI does not use informers simply to snoop and collect information for government blacklists (repellent as that work is).

Rather, the informers have also been carrying out disruption plots, burglaries, and other criminal work. Consider just a few examples:

- The FBI bankrolled Howard Godfrey to set up an arsenal. His right-wing paramilitary group in San Diego harassed and actually shot anti-Vietnam War activists.

- William O'Neal infiltrated the Black Panther Party for the FBI. As "captain of security" in the BPP, he tried to sow distrust and brand other members as FBI informers. O'Neal is heavily implicated in the cop murder of Panther leader Fred Hampton.

- Timothy Redfearn broke into SWP and YSA members' homes and into the socialists' office to steal documents.

Clearly, as the SWP and YSA's legal briefs put it, informers are "offensive weapons employed to attempt to manipulate . . . to sow and exploit discord."

That is what the "informer privilege" is meant to hide from the public.

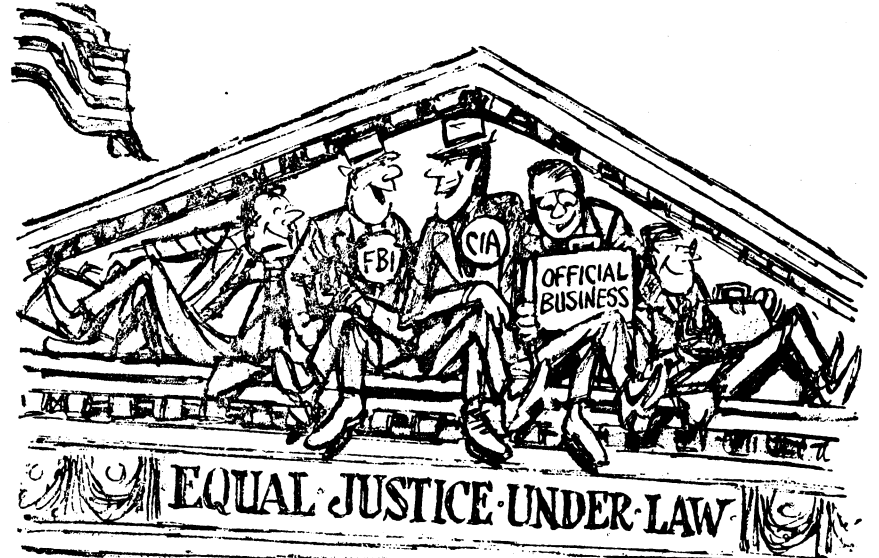
Still stalling

The government is still not allowing the socialists' attorneys to see the eighteen informers' files. The FBI's lawyers have until November 16 to decide whether to appeal the ruling. They may appeal again to the U.S. Court of Appeals or the Supreme Court.

But the socialists intend to press for disclosure. "We intend to fight this issue through to the end," said Syd Stapleton of the Political Rights Defense Fund, the group organizing support for the lawsuit. "The so-called

informer privilege, which is being defended so vigorously by Carter's Justice Department, is nothing but another 'national security' trick to hide government crimes from the American people."

Protecting whose security?



'Except for those of us who are above it.'

Herblock

National security.

Remember? Those were the code words when the government tried to keep the Pentagon Papers secret. When Nixon tried to cover up Watergate evidence. When former CIA Director Richard Helms lied to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee about U.S. attempts to manipulate elections in Chile.

Now Carter's so-called Justice Department is using "national security" to explain why Helms was not brought to trial for perjury.

Instead Helms has been allowed to plead "no contest" to misdemeanor charges.

Federal Judge Barrington Parker told Helms November 4, "You dishonored your oath and you now stand before this court in disgrace and shame." But when the huffing and puffing was done, it was clear the judge's pronouncement meant very little.

As the government promised Helms, he now faces no more trials, no cutoff of his pension, and no prison term.

Helms was merely fined \$2,000. But he doesn't even have to pay that. A group of 400 former CIA agents is paying the fine for him.

No wonder Helms so proudly told news reporters after his hearing that he considered the experience a badge of honor. "I don't feel disgraced at all," he boasted.

Attorney General Griffin Bell claimed that bringing Helms to trial could have jeopardized national security.

Actually, a trial might have ex-

posed the extent of the CIA's plot in Chile and the role of the White House and Henry Kissinger.

Since Helms's career is a long one—spanning the CIA coup that put the shah on Iran's throne, the CIA's Operation Chaos against the anti-Vietnam War movement in this country, attempts to assassinate Fidel Castro, and the Watergate cover-up—putting him on trial could have brought many crimes to light.

The Helms cover-up is only the Carter administration's latest. Along with it goes the supposed prosecution of former FBI official John Kearney for supervising illegal mail openings and wiretaps. That prosecution is at a standstill.

Carter's Justice Department is also trying to extend the cover-up to the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance lawsuit. Several months ago officials from three major foundations—the Field Foundation, the Stern Fund, and the DJB Foundation—wrote Attorney General Bell, complaining about the government's refusal to produce evidence in the socialists' lawsuit.

The foundation officials recalled Carter's campaign promises: "Each time our nation has made a serious mistake the American people have been excluded from the process."

Recently Bell answered the complaint, saying that withholding evidence about the FBI's crimes is "consistent with the best interests of the United States."

Whose "best interests" and whose "security"? Only that of the ruling rich who run this country behind the backs of the working people.—D.W.

Political Rights Defense Fund



The Political Rights Defense Fund is organizing support and raising funds for the Socialist Workers Party's lawsuit against government spying and disruption.

Will you help? To get more information about the lawsuit and to send your contribution, write: Political Rights Defense Fund, P.O. Box 649, New York, New York 10003.

By Nancy Cole

The new agreement must "help move the coal industry forward to the future which now beckons," explained Joseph Brennan last month in his opening statement to negotiators for a new United Mine Workers contract.

Brennan is president of the Bituminous Coal Operators Association, the bargaining arm for much of the soft coal industry.

The future, as seen in the coal industry's crystal ball, is one without the UMWA, or at least without it in any form recognizable to the UMWA's 277,000 members.

Confident that their union-busting drive will have the active support of the Carter administration, Congress, and the courts, the coal operators have scheduled a showdown with the UMWA.

High noon comes December 6 when the current contract runs out. Unless by some remote chance a new agreement is ratified by then, UMWA miners will walk out in a strike this country's rulers hope will break the powerful union.

Brennan laid it all out in his opening speech. He pointed to the coal industry's "potential growth," which is "unparalleled in this century."

Yet there is an "impediment" to this growth, Brennan warned, and that is "labor instability."

Armed with a battery of charts and statistics, the BCOA chief devoted his entire speech to wildcat strikes and "low productivity."

'UMWA extinction'

The question, concluded Brennan, "is whether or not a proud labor union will meet in good-faith bargaining with an industry and together forge a contract that will permit us to grow together, or whether we will fail, and, therefore, see the decline and possible extinction of the United Mine Workers of America as a force in the national collective bargaining" (emphasis added).

Posing the extinction of an eighty-seven-year-old major industrial union is no off-the-cuff threat. It's been a campaign in the making for some time, and it had life breathed into it when Carter announced his energy plan early this year.

Carter proposes the United States curtail its use of natural gas and oil and rely increasingly on coal and nuclear power. Built into the plan is more hardship for American working people—higher taxes and fuel bills. It's what Carter called the "moral equivalent of war."

Only thing is, the corporations that control the nation's supplies of oil, natural gas, and coal aren't subject to

the draft. Instead, they stand to gain billions of dollars in increased profits.

And they plan to do it at the expense of working people, especially coal miners.

Never mentioned in all the grandiose projections of doubled and tripled coal production were the lives and health of the workers who will bring that coal out of the earth. That is the least concern of Carter and the coal owners.

What *does* concern them is that miners, traditionally and especially of late, are the least docile of American industrial workers.

Coal miners know the danger of their work. And they know that standing between them and death or injury is only their power to force the mine-owners to abide by the contract and safety laws.

Wildcats

For the past three summers, miners have joined national unauthorized walkouts. In 1975 the wildcat protested unsettled grievances. It was sparked by the firing of a local union president.

In 1976 UMWA members struck over the role of the courts, which quickly jump into coal disputes on the side of the coal companies.

The walkout this year—the longest of the three—came in response to cuts in miners' medical benefits.

To the mineowners, the UMWA ranks are "unruly" and "undisciplined." It's a dangerous bunch of workers, in the coal barons' view, who act in their own behalf even when union officials counsel them to stay quiet.

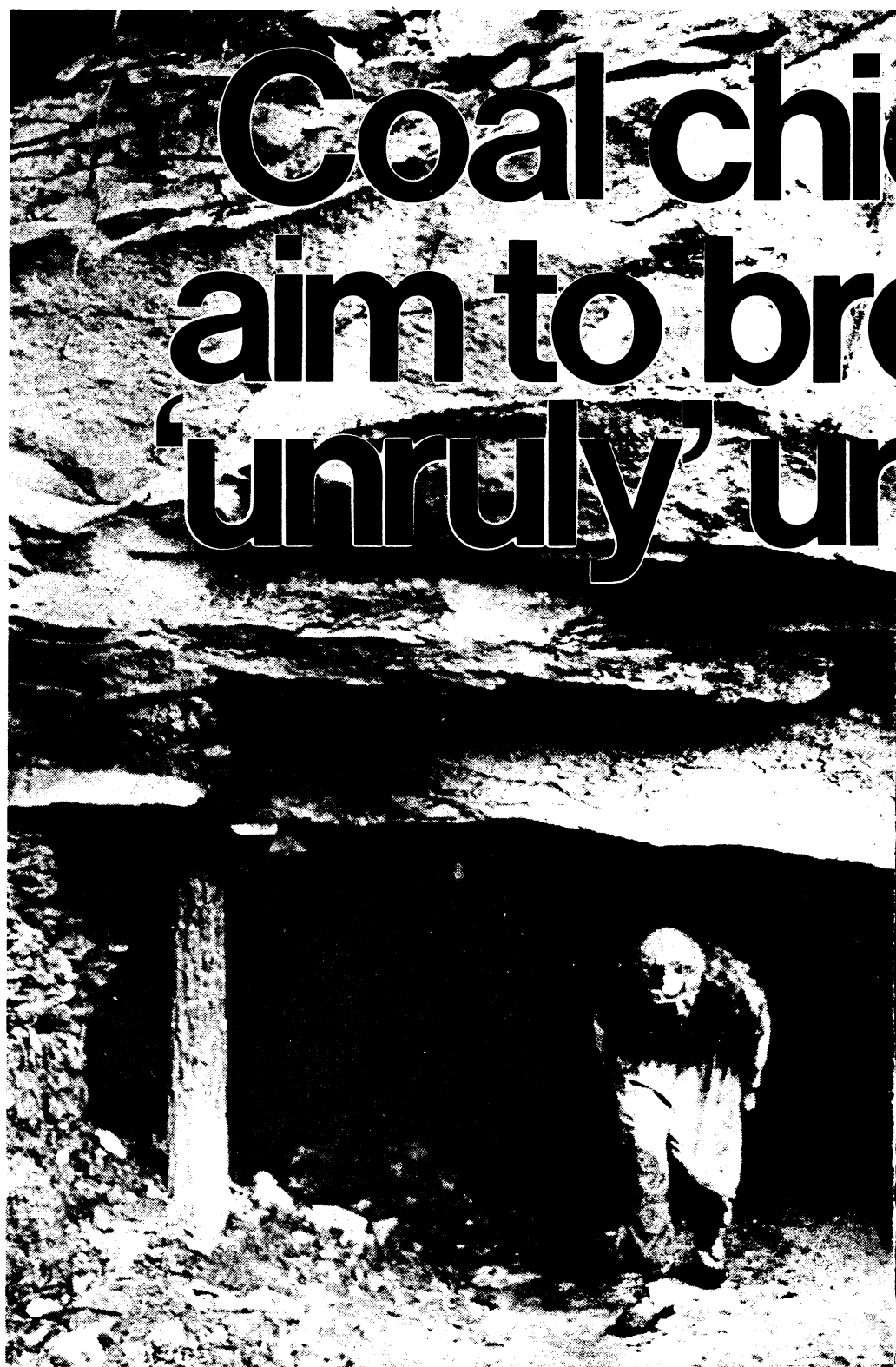
The coal industry traces many of its problems with the UMWA ranks to the reforms introduced in the union when the Miners for Democracy movement ousted dictator Tony Boyle in 1972.

"Democracy will destroy unionism," coal operator Charles Jones told the Charleston, West Virginia, *Gazette*. "John L. Lewis was a very militant leader and there was no democracy in his union. . . . None of the major unions that are well-run have any democracy."

Jones and others plan to tame the UMWA ranks. It is the only way the coal operators will be able to impose the measures bound to accompany the coal boom: continuous operation schedules, speedup, and abandonment of all but the most rudimentary safety precautions.

In preparation for the contract fight, the mineowners began warning the miners last July. Rather than shift benefit funds from surplus accounts to low ones as had been done in the past, the BCOA insisted on cutting the miners' health benefits.

The fund is financed by royalties



Lives and health of miners don't figure into plans for coal boom

paid by the coal companies on hours worked and coal mined. The operators claimed that wildcats had depleted the fund and caused the cutbacks.

To reallocate the funds, the BCOA said, would be "counterproductive" because it would "divert attention from the basic cause—the wildcat strikes."

Media join in

The big-business news media joined the chorus. Editorials blamed the miners for causing their own problems and then went on to charge the

wildcatters were threatening the very lifeblood of Appalachia by forcing the coal industry to search for more stable labor markets elsewhere.

An independent study later concluded that strikes had not caused the benefit cuts at all. The West Virginia Health Systems Agency found that the fund depletion had resulted from other factors, primarily the soaring cost of health care.

Despite this finding, the coal industry and its friends continue to link the medical cuts with previous work stop-

What miners want in new UM

The current United Mine Workers contract was the first ever to be ratified by the union's ranks.

When it was proposed to the membership at the end of 1974, many voted against it, believing miners deserved more. But the majority approved the agreement and judged it the best contract they had ever had.

At the 1976 UMWA convention, 2,000 delegates spent days deliberating over proposals for the upcoming contract negotiations. Thousands of resolutions were considered by convention committees, which then brought in summaries for all the delegates to discuss.

The approved recommendations to the UMWA negotiating committee aim to strengthen the current contract, plug loopholes, expand benefits, and assure ways for miners to enforce the agreement.

Much of the convention's time was devoted to discussion of health and

safety. Between the 1973 and 1976 conventions, 395 miners died on the job—two of them during the 1976 meeting itself.

The miners' proposals for a new contract are in sharp contrast to demands reportedly made by the Bituminous Coal Operators Association during contract talks so far this fall. A comparison follows.

Right to strike

The UMWA convention insisted there be a right-to-strike clause in the next contract.

The current contract makes no mention of strikes, but the U.S. Supreme Court has ruled that if contracts have grievance procedures, strikes over grievances are illegal. The coal companies ensure that grievances are bogged down in the early stages.

The BCOA wants a no-strike clause. In addition, it is proposing that miners involved in wildcat strikes be

penalized 40 percent of their daily pay, and that they be required to pay the health fund any money lost because of the work stoppages.

The coal industry also wants special pay incentives for miners who would work through a wildcat strike.

Health and safety

UMWA delegates recommended that a top priority of contract negotiators be full-time health and safety committee-persons paid by the company, but elected by and solely responsible to the local union.

These full-time representatives would be in addition to the union-controlled committees made up of working miners under the current contract.

All safety committees would continue to have the authority to shut down a job site or mine for health and safety reasons.

To tighten up lax enforcement and

outright company falsification of federal dust-sampling programs, the UMWA delegates directed negotiators to demand automatic, continuous dust-sampling procedures. High levels of coal dust give miners respiratory problems and eventually black lung.

The new procedures would be enforced by a miner employed on each shift as a full-time monitor.

The miners also approved a demand for X-rays on company time so that miners could be regularly checked for black lung and apply for transfers to less dusty areas if their lungs show damage.

The BCOA wants to eliminate the authority of the safety committee to close an unsafe mine.

Instead, the coal industry proposes reserving that power only for federal or state mine inspectors, who are notorious for cooperating with the companies, to cover up unsafe conditions.

The BCOA also proposes there be no



pages.

That way, all demands by the union for restoration and expansion of health benefits can elicit the coal operators' refrain, "Let's take care of this labor instability first."

In fact that's the way it has gone so far in contract talks. "There are at least equally important issues" to that of the cuts, says Brennan. What are they? "Wildcat strikes, absenteeism, and declining productivity."

UMWA President Arnold Miller broke off negotiations October 27

because of the BCOA's stand. Miller charged the coal industry was offering a "1930 contract." Talks resumed November 8.

To be sure, the BCOA proposals are a far cry from provisions the 1976 UMWA convention mandated for the union negotiating committee (see accompanying story).

But the coal operators are proposing more than a retreat from the 1974 contract. They are offering terms that would leave the union powerless—terms almost certain to be unacceptable to the union ranks.

If they force the union out on strike, the mineowners believe they can destroy the union.

Part of their battle is to convince the miners their union is weak, that it will do them little good to fight the coal companies.

Forecasts change

Months ago the big-business news media were solidly forecasting a long, bitter, debilitating strike this December. It boded ill for Carter's energy plans, they all predicted.

Then early last month, the prognosis changed. The strike was no longer inevitable. And even if it did occur, the union could no longer "bring the country to its knees," as it did during the days of John L. Lewis.

"The union's grip on the coal industry—and on the nation's economy—has slipped significantly since 1970," wrote the *Wall Street Journal*. The union's organizing campaigns have not kept pace with the expanding industry, and the percentage of coal mined by the UMWA has dropped to about half.

Because of this factor, and the coal companies' stockpiles, the "experts" contend a strike wouldn't cause a "national crisis" unless it lasted for more than two months.

And the "experts" are equally convinced that the UMWA ranks aren't prepared to last two months.

Occasionally, a note of caution is thrown in. "All these things weigh against a long strike," one Associated Press dispatch quotes an unnamed "union observer" as saying. "The only thing not taken into account is the unpredictability of the UMWA membership."

"Unpredictability" translates as "militancy." UMWA miners fought bloody battles to organize the mines. The ranks still take on coal companies with uncompromising resolve, as shown in the long organizing strike in Stearns, Kentucky. They're not about to politely surrender their union.

The coal miners' response to the bosses' offensive will be the subject of future articles.

WA contract

More helpers for operators of the mining machines, a measure that would be sure to cost scores of miners their limbs or lives.

Work schedules and time off

Miners at the UMWA convention recommended that the basic workweek be Monday through Friday, and that the workday be six hours for inside miners and construction workers and five hours and fifteen minutes for outside and surface miners. They wanted compulsory overtime abolished. They believe the times when coal miners go for weeks without seeing the sun should be ended for good.

The miners also demanded more personal- and sick-leave days, maternity leave, and additional holidays.

The BCOA is demanding that personal-leave days be combined with vacations and that vacations be scheduled around continuous operations, rather than being the set two summer

weeks they are now.

Coal operators also want to require miners to work any five days out of seven with no premium pay.

Wages

UMWA delegates recommended a "substantial" wage increase (the figure thrown out recently is \$100 a day), and a change in the cost-of-living formula to better adjust to inflation.

The industry won't talk about it.

Medical benefits

The UMWA convention approved proposals for the health benefits fund to begin providing eye care, full dental care, birth control, and full coverage of all ambulatory prescription drugs and long-term nursing care.

Big medical cuts went into effect after the convention. The demand now is for full restoration of all medical benefits as well.

The BCOA refuses to discuss it.

—N.C.

Ky. women win bias case against coal co.

By Beverly Crain

In 1974 five women worked as coal miners in Kentucky. Today there are almost 200 women miners.

But there are hundreds, probably thousands more who are kept out of the decent-paying mining jobs in that state and others because of discrimination.

Seven of those women scored a victory at the end of October when they were awarded more than \$41,000 in damages and back wages from the Island Creek Coal Company.

The women had filed discrimination complaints with the Kentucky Commission on Human Rights charging they were not hired as miners because of their sex.

Island Creek employs about 2,000 miners at six mines in western Kentucky. At least 276 women have applied for mining jobs with the company but were not hired. Island Creek denies all charges of discrimination.

The settlement between Island Creek and the state commission requires the coal company to fill at least one of every two entry-level jobs with "qualified" women from the list of 276 women previously rejected.

After the list is exhausted, one of every four new jobs must be filled with women until 20 percent of the nonsupervisory work force at the company's mines is female.



The commission says this agreement follows a pattern it has set in similar sex discrimination complaints against coal companies. It is the fourth case in which the commission required companies to adopt the "one-in-four" hiring policy.

Miller visits jailed Stearns strikers

By Nancy Cole

Eleven striking miners from the Justus mine in Stearns, Kentucky, remain in jail awaiting the outcome of their appeal.

"We expect a decision soon," United Mine Workers organizer Jay Kolenc told the *Militant*. "We're hoping for a favorable decision. There's been a lot of pressure put on the judge."

The eleven were sentenced to six months imprisonment October 26 by circuit Judge J.B. Johnson, Jr., who found them guilty of violating his order limiting pickets at the mine entrance.

The jailed strikers were arrested along with more than 100 other men and women last month after eighty state police attacked the picket line.

The miners have been on strike for a UMWA contract for fifteen months.

UMWA President Arnold Miller spoke to a gathering of 200 strikers and supporters in Whitley City, Kentucky, October 31. He then visited the jailed strikers. It was Miller's first trip to the strike area.

"They're not going to work that mine, so they might as well get it out of their minds," striker Leamuel Meadows told Miller. "They can put us all in jail."

On November 2, Miller met with Kentucky Gov. Julian Carroll.

"Carroll didn't openly agree to anything, but he promised that some of the incidents with the state police would be checked into," Kolenc told the *Militant*. Some of the police have been pulled out of the area, but there are still about fifteen two-cop units left.

A videotaped film of the October 17 police attack on the strikers is being shown widely, reports Kolenc. Strikers and members of the Justus Mine Women's Club have made themselves available to speak at showings of the film and other strike support activities.

For information on setting up meetings for the strikers, contact the strike committee at the Old Post Office Building, Whitley City, Kentucky 42653. Telephone: (606) 376-8047. Contributions may be sent to the Justus Mine Women's Club at the above address.



Picket line at mine entrance in Stearns, Kentucky

Militant/Nancy Cole

Sabotages District 31 leadership

McBride's war on steel union democracy

By Andy Rose

CHICAGO—Defending even the most elementary gains for union democracy is an ongoing struggle for steelworkers in District 31.

Efforts by the international union officialdom to sabotage the district's elected leadership were spotlighted at the District 31 conference held here last month.

With 115,000 members in the Chicago-Gary area, District 31 is the largest district in the United Steelworkers of America. It has been a center of opposition to the procompany policies and bureaucratic rule of the top USWA officialdom since Ed Sadlowski first campaigned for district director in 1973.

Defeated by vote theft in that election, Sadlowski won a landslide victory in a government-supervised rerun in 1974. He went on to challenge Lloyd McBride for the union presidency in last February's election.

Sadlowski's Steelworkers Fight Back slate was defeated in an election marked by red-baiting, intimidation, and vote fraud. But Jim Balanoff, a longtime opposition leader from Local 1010, was elected on the Fight Back



Militant/Andy Rose

USWA President Lloyd McBride (left) warns District 31 conference that criticism of his policies will not be tolerated

ticket to succeed Sadlowski as District 31 director.

The October 14-15 district conference was made up of local union officers, not delegates elected specifically for

this gathering. It included contingents from some big steel locals where Sadlowski supporters had won office in the 1976 local union elections.

McBride loyalists

There was also a sizable number of McBride-machine loyalists. Some identified themselves with lapel stickers: "Mac's Our Man."

Virtually none of the pro-McBride delegates took the floor to defend the officialdom's policies—even though the conference was run in an open and democratic manner that contrasted sharply with international USWA conventions.

Nor did the McBride forces try to vote down the militant resolutions presented to the conference—resolutions condemning the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement, repudiating the anti-import campaign of the steel companies, demanding a shorter workweek to create jobs, and defending civil rights for women and minorities. No doubt they figure these resolutions are meaningless scraps of paper, just like the resolutions at international conventions.

The machine's attack on the Balanoff leadership was carried out differently, in typical bureaucratic fashion.

The president of the USWA has the exclusive right to appoint international staff representatives. The union staff is not elected by the members and not accountable to them. Traditionally, the president appoints staff in each district based on proposals from the district director.

Throughout Sadlowski's term as district director, then-President I.W. Abel refused to appoint any staff recommended by Sadlowski.

Now McBride has gone a step further—he has begun appointing opponents of the elected district leadership as staff representatives to "serve" District 31 steelworkers.

One of McBride's first appointees was Harry Piasecki, former president of Local 1014, who ran as a McBride-backed candidate against Balanoff in the district director race.

Respect election results

At the district conference, Balanoff criticized the lack of "cooperation and good faith" from the international. He reported that the staff appointments had been made "without any discussion with me."

Noting that he was "elected by the rank and file members of District 31," Balanoff said, "the will of our members is entitled to full respect. Actions affecting our district should be discussed with us. Orders should not just be handed down. It only hurts our union and the membership when personal political concerns take precedence over the good of the union."

The conference adopted a resolution demanding that McBride "recognize the fact that James Balanoff was elected our District Director and approve his recommendations for Staff Representatives and stop running our District for us. . . ."

Other resolutions were also passed defending the democratic rights of union members. These called for a membership vote on the ENA, for removal of the anticommunist clause from the union constitution, and for preserving the referendum election of international officers.

At a news conference the day of Balanoff's speech, McBride openly vowed never to appoint any "active member or supporter of Steelworkers Fight Back" to the union staff.

'My standards'

"I'm going to appoint people that meet my standards of union representation," McBride declared. He complained of "a continuing program of harassment, printing of literature aimed at criticizing my administration of the union."

The union president then delivered a belligerent speech to the district conference demanding that everyone follow his anti-import line.

Balanoff's response to the speech was low-key. He said that despite differences on major issues, there was "no difference between brother McBride and myself on building this union."

McBride's sabotage campaign has escalated since the conference. Now subdistrict directors—seven out of eight of whom are McBride backers—are asserting that they, not Balanoff, have the authority to make assignments for staff within their jurisdiction.

The union bureaucracy clearly intends to isolate Balanoff as a powerless figurehead and build a staff machine that can reassert total control over District 31.

The real power of union leadership, however, has nothing to do with appointments, assignments, or directives.

McBride and his overpaid cronies are officeholders, not leaders. They are held in contempt by a vast section of the membership, including the best union builders.

Leadership authority can flow only from the power of the union ranks, organized and mobilized behind a program to defend their interests against attacks from the corporate profiteers.

If the membership of District 31 is mobilized for such a fight, McBride's sabotage can be readily exposed and defeated, and further steps taken toward democratizing the union.

Steel notes...

STEELWORKERS DISCUSS 'BAKKE': The October meeting of United Steelworkers Local 1294 in Kansas City, Missouri, was not your usual union meeting, reports local member Bruce Lesnick. What made it unusual was that an important social issue of interest to the membership was discussed.

A resolution was introduced urging the local to go on record against the *Bakke* decision. The *Bakke* decision by the California Supreme Court struck down an affirmative-action program in a California medical school, ruling that it was "reverse discrimination" against white males.

A written motivation for the resolution argued: "If *Bakke* wins his case [before the U.S. Supreme Court], it will lay the basis for dismantling all affirmative action programs. These programs were established to counter years of discrimination against women and minorities in education, employment, and promotion. The fact that Black unemployment in August of 1977 was reported at 14.5% while unemployment among white workers remained at 6.1% points to the inequities that still exist."

The workers who proposed the resolution said that for the labor movement to "oppose inequities and infringements of rights wherever they occur" would strengthen the unions.

Local 1294 includes some 400 workers at Butler Manufacturing. A large proportion are Blacks and women. The discussion among the 35 union members at the meeting was intense, lasting more than thirty minutes. In the end it was agreed that all would benefit from more information on the *Bakke* case and affirmative action. The motion was tabled for further discussion and a vote at the November meeting.

In the meantime, supporters of the resolution have mobilized to turn out the membership for the vote. A leaflet has been distributed to nearly all Butler workers with the resolution, the motivation, and an anti-*Bakke* editorial from a local newspaper. Despite company restrictions on leafleting and the likelihood of heavy layoffs before the November local meeting, the response has been good.

"That's worth coming for," said one Black worker who had never before attended a union meeting.

CAN CONTRACT SHAPED TO BOSSES' NEEDS: A new contract covering 30,000 USWA members employed by the four major can manufacturing companies was ratified shortly before an October 31 strike deadline. It is expected to set the pattern for another 10,000 workers at smaller companies.

Judging from news reports, the union made major concessions in return for phony "job security" provisions similar to those in basic steel. Wages will increase only ninety-seven cents over a four-year period.

The union negotiators gave up previous contract provisions requiring premium overtime pay for weekend work. The *Wall Street Journal* reported that this concession will give the companies "new freedom to negotiate work schedules that allow them to operate new facilities continuously." The workers whose jobs will be lost in this productivity drive are of course not eligible for the "job security" benefits, since those only apply to high-seniority employees.

Union bargainers also scuttled cost-of-living increases for retirees' pensions, a gain won just three years ago.

USWA Research Director Otis Brubaker explained that these past gains for the workers threatened to make the can companies "uncompetitive" and that the union giveaways should help the bosses "get their share of the business."

Can workers do not have the opportunity to express their opinion of Brubaker's tender concern for corporate profits, since they are denied the right to vote on the contract.

—Andy Rose

Strikebreaking perils Hussmann union

By Dave Welters

ST. LOUIS—The United Steelworkers union has called for a nationwide consumer boycott of all Pet, Inc., products and stores.

Steelworkers President Lloyd McBride made the announcement October 21 in St. Louis, where 1,500 steelworkers have been on strike against a Pet subsidiary, the Hussmann Refrigeration Company, for more than six months.

McBride also announced that the union has filed a charge of unfair labor practice with the National Labor Relations Board. Hussmann is charged with illegally replacing strikers with more than 1,000 scabs.

The striking steelworkers, members of Local 13889, have been on strike since May 1.

Hussmann began hiring strikebreakers June 6. There are now about 1,000 scabs crossing the picket lines daily at the company's plant in Bridgeton, an industrial St. Louis suburb.

Refusal to negotiate

McBride said that Hussmann has refused to meet with union negotiators since August 26.

One union negotiator said that the company never did bargain seriously. "They made an offer and said take it or leave it," he explained.

The union has backed off on its original demands for improvements in health and pension plans, cost-of-living protection, and a substantial wage increase. "The main issue now is getting the permanent jobs back," said Charles Rogers, international staff representative and head union negotiator.

Hussmann made its final offer on July 13 and notified strikers that they would be replaced if they did not return to work on company terms by July 18. Union members turned down the offer in a near-unanimous vote.

The company's demands for large-scale combination of job classifications and crippling the grievance procedure were key reasons for the rejection.

The strike at Hussmann is the most serious union-busting effort in recent St. Louis history. Stonefaced company negotiating, antistrike court orders, wholesale arrests of pickets, and the massive scab operation have alarmed union activists and prompted support for the strikers.

Ninety-nine pickets were arrested August 1 during a police assault on about 500 strikers and supporters who had gathered across from the plant at daybreak. A force of seventy-five police from Bridgeton, St. Louis County, the State Highway Patrol, and nearby municipalities began grabbing protesters as they were peacefully dispersing.

Those arrested were charged with violating a court injunction that limits the picket force to two per gate and bars other union members from gathering within 100 yards of the gate.

Many strikers said police ignored the 100-yard injunction line in their charge after the retreating pickets.

One striker said the police tried to club him "even though I was outside the injunction line. They just charged right at us." Many pickets were beaten by police and required hospital treatment for their injuries.

Last June, in a display of contempt for the unionists' rights, St. Louis County Circuit Judge Robert Campbell tightened an earlier antipicket order after about 300 strikers prevented many scabs from entering the plant. Campbell left his courtroom to deliver his order personally to pickets at the plant.

Strike support grew as news of these incidents leaked out. Members of many local unions initiated resolutions and motions for financial support.

Such support was discouraged by District 34 USWA officials. District 34 Director Buddy Davis sent a letter to

union locals saying, "finances are not needed" and denouncing "radical groups outside the Local Union" for "interfering."

Nevertheless, more than \$6,000 has been donated to the Local 13889 Strike and Defense Fund in the past three months.

Bombings

Incidents of bombing and vandalism have marked the strike recently. On September 27 a pipe bomb exploded in the car of a scab. Two other bombs were aimed at Hussmann foremen, and a large explosion blew out doors at the plant October 17. There have been no injuries.

Local 13889 President Jack Bunton has disavowed any union connection with the bombings, which have not stopped the scabs and have not helped win support for the strike.

On the contrary, Hussmann now portrays itself as a "victim" of violence, when in fact the strikers are the victims of Hussmann's violent strike-breaking. It is possible that antiunion provocateurs are involved in the bombings.

At the same time it is clear that the frustration of union members is growing because of the union leadership's refusal to organize the massive, united labor support necessary to win the strike.

At none of the earlier critical points in the strike did steelworkers officials appeal to the labor movement for

active support. Thus Hussmann knew that it could proceed with its union-busting plan without confronting the potentially powerful allies of the strikers.

Had the besieged local received urgently needed support early in the strike, it could have forced Hussmann to abandon this plan and return to the negotiating table.

Weak tactic

A consumer boycott of Pet products by itself is a weak tactic for winning the strike. A vast array of Pet subsidiaries is involved—Pet Dairy Products, Stuckey restaurants, a liquor store chain, and various manufacturers of grocery and specialty products. At best it would take years of sustained boycott activity to make an impact on this billion-dollar conglomerate.

The present call for a boycott can, however, be useful as part of an aggressive overall campaign to inform the public about the issues and mobilize support for the strikers.

Such a campaign would be most successful if it included mass solidarity rallies and a union-sponsored support committee to draw the widest possible involvement.

There is already widespread support in the St. Louis-area labor movement for the Hussmann strikers. The test now for the USWA and the entire labor movement is to mobilize that support in a massive campaign to force Hussmann back to the negotiating table.



Strikers and guard at Hussmann plant, where 1,000 scabs cross picket line daily

Progress seen in printers' referendum

By Jean Tussey

CLEVELAND—The key problem facing the International Typographical Union, like every other labor union today, is how to more effectively organize the unorganized and mobilize the organized.

As the employers escalate their technological, ideological, and political campaign to increase

Union talk

their rate of profit at labor's expense, working people need to unite to defend our standard of living and make our unions shape up as the



Jean Tussey has been an active member of Cleveland Typographical Union No. 53 for twenty years.

organizations through which to fight back against the bosses' offensive.

Delegates to the ITU convention in Cincinnati last August took some steps in that direction. Brother George Johnson of California Bay Area Typographical Union No. 21 discussed the importance of the moves toward merger of the printing-trades unions in a guest column in the October 21 *Militant*.

The delegates also voted to send a proposed assessment for organizing and several amendments to the union constitution to the membership for approval in a November 16 referendum. If adopted by the membership, the changes in ITU laws and the assessment will go into effect January 1, 1978.

A "yes" vote for the organizational assessment, Proposition 1 on the ballot, will cost each working member two dollars a month for twelve months. The money will be used to assist local union organizing efforts in the face of the more sophisticated union-busting campaigns of the employers.

The ITU is moving away from the obsolete craft-union basis for organizing in favor of bringing all unorganized workers in printing establishments into a single, industrial union. In this light, the organizational assessment will help restructure the union for greater effectiveness and should be supported.

The most important feature of Proposition 2 is

that it would increase the strike fund from \$1 million to \$5 million without an increase in dues. This helps increase the clout of ITU locals in contract negotiations. It is also a step in the right direction—toward a fighting labor organization rather than an insurance agency.

Proposition 3 is simply an economy measure that eliminates an extra audit without cutting back on any services to or rights of the members.

Proposition 4 changes the oath of obligation for new members. It eliminates the old craft-union requirement that they be either "journeymen" or "apprentices."

It also drops the lengthy "loyalty oath" features, such as disavowal of membership in "any group or organization which advocates the overthrow of the government of the United States or Canada by force and violence. . . ."

It retains the best of the old obligation with the simple affirmation that:

"... I will in good conscience and to the best of my ability, comply with the laws, rules, regulations and decisions of the International Typographical Union and of any local union to which I may belong; that I will accord courtesy, fair treatment and co-operation to other members, and will not wrong a brother or sister member, or see him or her wronged, if in my power to prevent. To all of which I pledge my most sacred honor."

Eight months on picket line

Essex UAW strikers defy union busting

By Tom Campion

ELWOOD, Ind.—Now in the eighth month of their strike, members of United Auto Workers Local 1663 here continue to hold out against Essex International, a manufacturer of wire components for automobiles.

Local 1663 has been on strike since April 6 trying to improve the basic wage of \$2.76 an hour. Four-fifths of the strikers are women.

Three times the strikers have overwhelmingly rejected a company offer of sixty-two cents over three years—not enough to keep up with inflation. In the most recent vote the Essex offer was rejected by a two-to-one margin, against the advice of international UAW officials.

In addition to proposing a cut in real wages, Essex has offered no increase in the current thirty-five dollars a week in sick pay, no increase in pensions, and no cost-of-living allowance.

The company has offered one concession—workers filing for bereavement pay would no longer have to submit newspaper clippings of the burials of family members.

In the sporadic negotiations since the beginning of the strike, Essex has insisted it will not allow all the strikers to return to work. It proposes to fire eleven strike leaders, keep eighty scabs on the job, and bring back the remaining strikers "as needed."

Essex employs more than 26,000 workers in 155 plants. Many are in small towns such as Elwood, where Essex can exploit a mostly female work force that cannot easily find other jobs.

Essex is a subsidiary of United Technologies, the twelfth largest industrial employer in the United States, which last year had sales of \$5.2 billion and profits of \$157.4 million. It brings powerful resources into its war



Essex workers—four-fifths of them women—vow not to return to work until all are guaranteed jobs and decent pay.

against this small group of workers.

Essex first tried to break the strike with scabs brought in to work for ten cents an hour less than the union wage. An injunction limited picketing at the gate to five people. Nevertheless, the strike gained support, and scabs were greeted by crowds of up to 200 people.

Essex then resorted to violence. On the night of July 11, striker Carol Frye was shot in the back. Although strik-

ers are convinced company security guards were responsible, no one was arrested for the attempted murder.

Frye, a twenty-five-year-old mother of two children, still has the bullet lodged near her spine.

After the July 11 shooting, Gov. Otis Bowen sent in state police, supposedly to prevent violence. Actually the cops served to enforce the strikebreaking injunction and to allow in more and more scabs.

Essex aims to eventually get 111 scabs into the plant. That would be half the original work force and enough for the National Labor Relations Board to conduct an election—in which only the scabs could vote—to decertify the union.

State cops have now been removed, but the threat of their return is posed by continued company violence.

On October 12, Georgia Ellis, the "fighting grandmother" who has been a major union spokesperson, was severely beaten in her home by an intruder who made no attempt at robbery. The next day another striker was hit by a supervisor's truck.

The strikers are gaining wide support. A caravan of almost 100 cars drove past the Essex plant and through Elwood October 16 to demonstrate this support. Then a spirited rally of 200 persons heard speeches from strikers and supporters from throughout the region.

Representatives spoke from several UAW locals, a United Steelworkers local, and the Tippecanoe County National Organization for Women Labor Task Force. Women's organizations have played an important role in organizing strike support around the state.

The best-received speaker was Georgia Ellis, still recovering from the beating a few days before. "They wanted to keep me from being at this rally," she said, "but I'd be at this rally if they had to carry me in on a stretcher."

The Essex strikers are determined not to go back unless all of them go back at a living wage.

"We're here for a fight," says Local 1663 President Paul Couch. "This corporation's got to be brought to its knees."

Boeing machinists seek to strengthen walkout

By Phil Kingsley

TACOMA, Wash.—Machinists here have stepped up strike activity as their walkout against Boeing Company enters its second month.

This increase in activity is the result of pressure from union members for a more visible response to Boeing's antiunion campaign.

The International Association of Machinists represents 18,500 Boeing workers in the Puget Sound area and 5,000 more around the country.

After initial quiet weeks of the strike, Boeing publicly released its version of the contract proposal. The company included under wage increases \$1.14 in cost-of-living increases that had accumulated under the old contract.

Thus, what the company claims is a \$1.19-an-hour offer is actually only a nickel an hour above present wages!

Boeing cut off medical benefits of striking workers November 1 in another move to stampede them back to work.

In the first several weeks of the strike, the union voluntarily limited its pickets to two per gate. Union officials said they did not want to aggravate the company into getting an antipicket injunction.

The IAM has made no official effort to keep the other unions at Boeing—the International Union of Operating Engineers, Teamsters, and Seattle Professional Engineers Employee Association—from working.

Many union members think more activity is needed to win the strike. On October 28, 150 people showed up to picket and leaflet at the Auburn plant. They were successful in closing the plant for several hours. Members of

other unions were generally friendly to this effort.

October 31 and November 1 also saw picket lines at Auburn despite threats of arrest from Auburn police. The plant was not closed down either of these days.

Al Schultz, chief IAM negotiator, has challenged Boeing to a televised debate on the strike issues. Even though the union offered to pay the full cost, the company refused.

Union members are still overwhelmingly behind the strike. They believe that with Boeing making record profits (\$84.6 million for the first half of this year alone), they deserve more than the paltry company offer.

Suggestions from union members for strengthening the strike include:

- Have the union organize phone-calling to let members know when larger picket lines are occurring. For

now, the union's refusal to publicly support the increased picketing means that most members are not informed.

- Expand the daily strike bulletin so strikers at one plant know what is going on at others.

- Hold a debate even if the company fails to show up.

- Stage public rallies to attract community support for the strike.

- Make a greater effort to convince members of other unions to honor IAM picket lines.

In past strikes, as well as in this one, all of the unions have crossed each other's picket lines. These divisions work only to the benefit of Boeing. If the unions acted together, the bargaining position of each would be improved.

The IAM could take a step in this direction by pledging to honor future strikes by the other unions.

Already the Seattle Professional Engineers Employee Association has moved to aid the strike, giving the IAM several thousand dollars and the use of a van for pickets.

The SPEEA leadership also voted unanimously for a voluntary assessment on each member each payday until the strike ends. The money collected will go to IAM members for emergency medical assistance.

SPEEA further says that any SPEEA member who does a machinist's work will be expelled from the union. The SPEEA contract expires December 15.

Boeing has received more than \$250 million in orders since the strike began. But airplane production has come to a virtual halt and—with the mood of the strikers as it is now—is likely to remain stopped for some time to come.

Socialist backs aerospace workers

By Sandi Sherman

SAN JOSE—Claudette Begin announced her candidacy for mayor of San Jose at a press conference held here October 20 at the campaign headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party.

One issue Begin strongly addressed was the continuing strike of Lockheed machinists.

"I unconditionally support the strike taking place right now in Sunnyvale and other Lockheed plants," she said.

On October 10 more than 15,000 International Association of Machi-

nists (IAM) members struck Lockheed's three California plants, located in Burbank, Palmdale, and Sunnyvale.

A week later they were joined by 5,000 IAM members at Lockheed's Marietta, Georgia, plant. It was the first time in almost twenty years that the Georgia plant had been struck.

The Lockheed workers are demanding an 8 percent wage increase in the first year of a new contract. The company is offering 3.5 percent.

Local union President Rick Celebron pointed out at a union meeting

that the company has been "badly mismanaged in the last few years." He told union members that the miserly contract offer was the company's "way of making you pay for their mismanagement."

In supporting the strike, SWP candidate Begin stressed: "One of the things that sets us apart from Mayor Janet Gray-Hayes and the other Democratic and Republican party politicians in this race is our support for struggles of working people for decent wages and working conditions."

Fights, shootings on rise

Speedup sparks violence in auto plants...

By Tom Headley

DETROIT—Individual acts of violence are on the rise in Detroit auto plants. The latest incident erupted in Chevrolet's Detroit Forge plant, where a worker was provoked into attacking his foreman with a shotgun.

According to news reports, Robert Smith, a thirty-seven-year-old crane operator with ten years' seniority, reentered the plant October 12 after being ordered home. He fired several blasts at his foreman, James Gaston.

Gaston was severely wounded. Mary Gaye, a "labor relations" specialist who is the daughter of former General Motors Chairman Richard Gerstenberg, was also struck by stray shotgun pellets.

The incident got wide coverage in the news media, probably because the daughter of a former top executive was involved.

The news accounts were sketchy, however, on what lay behind the shooting. Most simply referred to the fact that Smith was angry because he had been suspended for refusing to punch his time card.

Workers at Chevy Forge who knew Smith gave the *Militant* a fuller story.

Forced overtime

Smith had recently returned from a medical leave, workers said. He had requested permission to work no more than eight hours a day because he was still on medication.

Smith's request was ignored and he was forced to work overtime.

Then—without prior notice or explanation from management—Smith's time card was moved from Plant No. 2, where he worked and lockered, to Plant No. 1 of the four-plant Forge Complex.

Smith notified his supervisor that he

couldn't find his time card. He was told that for the time being he could continue working without punching the clock.

But when payday came, the company told Smith it had no check for him for those hours worked, since he hadn't punched in or out.

When Smith finally learned what had become of his time card, he refused to punch in or out. Apparently he was protesting the inconvenience of having to work and locker in one plant and punch in and out in another.

His supervisors responded by penalizing him with a two-week suspension from work.

The suspension was the last straw. Smith left the plant, then returned to vent his rage on his foreman.

The company harassment that led to Smith's breakdown involves more than a personal tragedy. After months of murderous overtime and speedup in Detroit-area auto plants, worker exhaustion and frustration are reaching epidemic proportions.

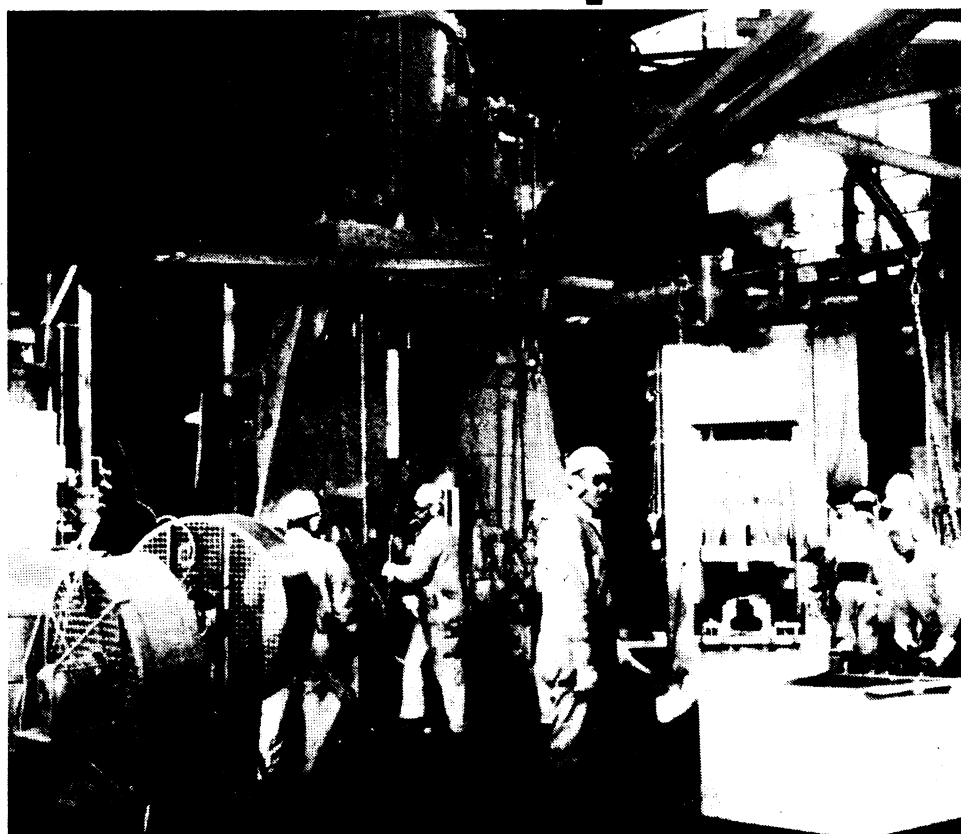
Jobs wiped out

The auto corporations' relentless drive to increase productivity and profits has wiped out thousands of jobs. The remaining workers are forced to bear an ever-increasing load.

At Chrysler's Lynch Road Assembly Plant, for example, 900 jobs have been eliminated in the past two years, while full production has been maintained.

At GM's Detroit Diesel Plant, many workers are still forced to put in ten to twelve hours a day, seven days a week, despite the so-called voluntary overtime provisions negotiated in the 1973 union contract.

This inhuman strain on workers' nerves and muscles is what really lies



Steam hammer area of Chevrolet's Detroit Forge plant, where harassed worker was provoked into attacking foreman with shotgun.

behind the increasing individual violence.

Assaults on foremen and fights between workers have become more common. The full extent of company-provoked violence is unknown, because both the corporations and the union leadership do their best to minimize or cover up incidents.

But the shooting at Chevy Forge was clearly not an isolated case. Earlier this year a young worker was killed by

a stray bullet during a fight at Chrysler's Outer Drive Stamping Plant.

A foreman was shot to death at Chrysler's Lynch Road Assembly Plant several months ago.

At GM's Detroit Diesel Plant, where overtime has been especially brutal, there have been three shootings in the past two months. Two were disputes between workers. The third involved an unidentified person taking potshots at a foreman from the plant roof.

...how can union win shorter workweek?

DETROIT—In response to the oppressive working conditions that provoke violence, the leadership of the United Auto Workers union recently unveiled the Paid Personal Holiday Plan.

Negotiated during the 1976 contract talks, this plan is supposed to give workers twelve more days off over the next two years.

The program is trumpeted as a historic "reduced worktime program" in the September issue of *Solidarity*, official UAW publication. According to UAW President Douglas Fraser, the

plan is aimed at "increasing job security and stimulating new job opportunities, while providing workers with more leisure time."

But an additional four hours off per month will mean little to workers now forced to work sixty or more hours a week.

In fact, the companies are turning the Paid Personal Holiday Plan into an "absentee control plan" by launching a full-scale attack on employees who miss work, regardless of the reason.

Using the additional days off as a

pretext, many plants are now denying excused absences, even with a doctor's note. At the Lynch Road Assembly Plant, for example, management has slashed the number of allowable days off in a year from twenty-five to fifteen.

After fifteen missed days a worker is classified a "chronic absentee" and can be fired for missing another day, even for verified illness.

To create jobs

Contrary to Fraser's claims, the Paid Personal Holiday Plan does nothing to protect present jobs or create new ones.

By forcing workers to show up even when they are sick, and by maintaining heavy overtime schedules, the auto companies can avoid hiring significant numbers of new workers even during periods of peak auto production.

A genuine reduced worktime program would be a giant stride toward eliminating both unemployment and brutal working conditions. Such a solution would be based on the principle of shortening the hours of work to divide the work equally among all available workers, with no reduction in weekly pay.

At the same time, wages should be protected from inflation with a full cost-of-living allowance that raises pay dollar-for-dollar to match price increases.

This kind of solution would be a real victory over the capitalist economic cycle that alternates massive layoffs with periods of killing overtime.

Democratic Party

But the present UAW leadership is incapable of fighting for such a solution because they remain committed to the Democratic Party and share its program and outlook.

The Democratic Party—owned and

controlled by the ruling rich—places defense of capitalist profits above the needs of working people. This makes it an obstacle to winning higher wages, shorter hours of work, and better conditions.

The impetus for a fight for a shorter workweek will come from the ranks of the UAW as they struggle to regain control over their own union.

In this struggle for union democracy, auto workers will have to forge a new leadership that understands the political needs of the labor movement and that aims to create an independent labor party based on the unions.

Such a party—if it championed the struggles of all the exploited and oppressed—would quickly win mass support against the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties.

It would be a powerful political instrument in fighting for a shorter workweek throughout industry.

—T. H.



UAW's DOUGLAS FRASER: looks to Democratic Party

Reading on UAW history

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

Labor's Giant Step: Twenty Years of the CIO by Art Preis. 538 pp. \$3.95 paper, \$14.00 cloth.

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

NEA still promotes him

Carter flunks in support for schools

By Bruce Kimball

SAN ANTONIO—The leadership of the National Education Association, the nation's largest teachers' organization, has found itself in a profound dilemma.

Teacher's pet, Jimmy Carter, has been found guilty of shameless lying during his election campaign. He has viciously attacked public school funding while in office. This has been witnessed by teachers all over the country.

But instead of expelling him, NEA leaders have fought to keep Carter at the head of the class. They think if his

Bruce Kimball is a teacher in San Antonio, Texas, and a member of the Harlandale Teachers Association.

real record is covered up and some fast education is pounded into his head, they can still promote him as a winner.

A half-page headline in the September issue of *NEA Reporter*, official newspaper of the NEA, declares: "Teacher—It's Time for You to Talk to Jimmy Carter."

Talk about what?

"It's time to tell him you want a cabinet-level Department of Education for our nation," says a subheadline. And another headline points out that Carter promised the NEA a Department of Education last year as a candidate.

The NEA endorsed Carter and Mondale last year and spent hundreds of thousands of dollars of teachers' money to get the Democratic ticket elected.

It was the first time the NEA had endorsed a presidential candidate. In return, Carter promised not only a Department of Education but also a federal collective bargaining law for public employees and a significant boost in the federal government's share of public school costs.

'Political clout'?

Carter began his term by telling teachers to sit down and shut up. This proved highly embarrassing to NEA leaders, who have bragged loudly about their "political clout."

By summer, the Carter administration's antilabor and antieducation stance had become so bold that when Mondale addressed the NEA convention in July he didn't even mention the three big promises from the campaign.

NEA officials were upset. "I thought it was a terrific performance," NEA Executive Director Terry Herndon told the *Washington Post*. "But I didn't think there was any sign of substantive administration commitment to education."

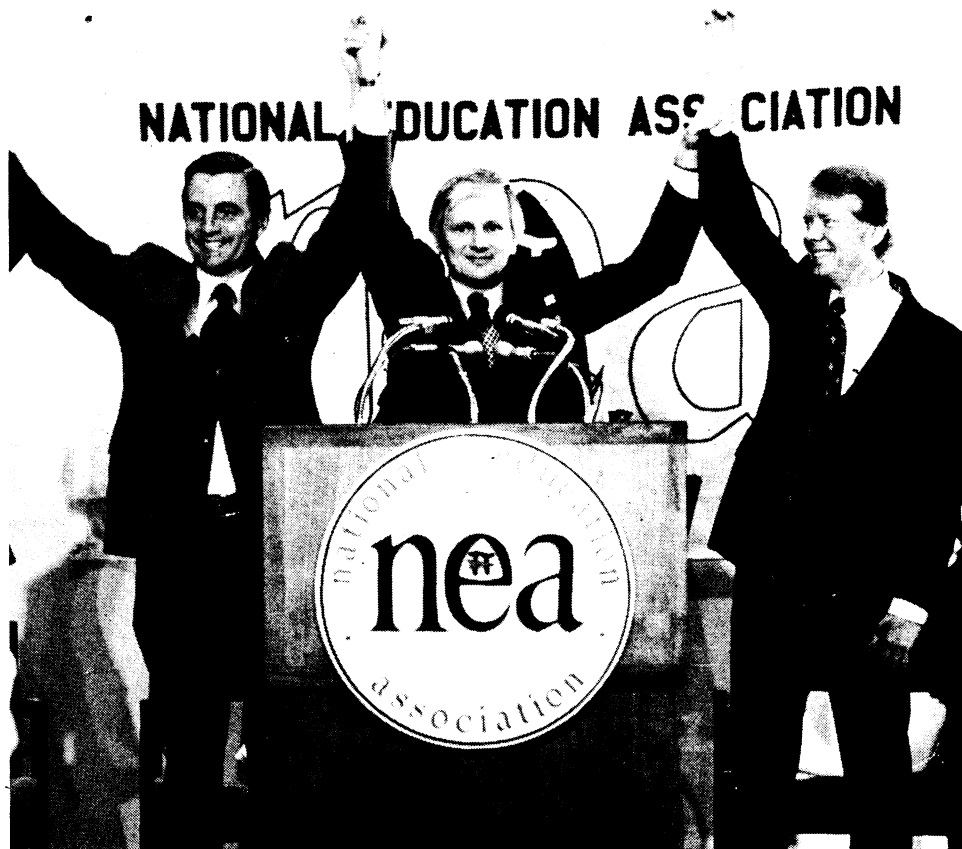
That Carter is no friend of teachers or students is certainly true. But the NEA leadership sees no way to resolve this dilemma.

To desert Carter would not simply be an admission of a past error. It would open the question of what kind of political action can serve the interests of teachers and other working people.

If the Democratic Party is not committed to education—and the Republican Party is certainly no better—then shouldn't teachers consider running as independent candidates for public office?

If the NEA broke with the Democratic Party, it could set an example for other labor organizations. It could initiate moves toward an independent labor political party.

The NEA officials fear the dynamic of such a course. Instead, they simply moan over Carter's "not keeping his promises" and shift their efforts to



WHOSE VICTORY? Candidates Carter and Mondale with NEA President John Ryor in 1976.

campaigns for minimum concessions from the administration. Their goal becomes to make only those demands on Carter that he will have little difficulty in meeting.

No challenge

Instead of publicly standing up to Carter, the NEA leaders have chosen to "speak to him" on only one issue, the question of a cabinet-level Department of Education. Of all Carter's promises to teachers, this one involves the least challenge to Carter's attack on schools.

It doesn't challenge the restrictive laws against teacher strikes and representation. Nor does it challenge the Democrats' downgrading of education as a financial priority. Changing the department name and location won't deter these attacks.

The clearest evidence of the NEA leaders' refusal to stand up to Carter is their handling of his near-veto of education appropriations last winter.

After being elected, Carter proposed substantial cutbacks of student loans, milk programs, impact aid, and other federal education spending. He said he would veto any increases.

Because of massive opposition to these cutbacks, however, Carter was forced to sign the education appropriations with most programs intact.

In spite of this near-veto, when Mondale addressed the NEA convention he took credit for the continued funding and cited it as part of Carter's proeducation attitude.

Bill Peterson, an education reporter for the *Washington Post* at the convention, observed, "The feeling among NEA lobbyists was that Mondale was claiming administration credit for something it didn't do and almost had thrust down its throat."

Peterson quoted an NEA staff member as complaining, "We know that. But most of the teachers who heard him out there don't know it. It makes the administration look good to them."

Flatters Carter

But the NEA officials themselves are the real experts at making Carter look good to teachers.

This is flagrantly done in the September *NEA Reporter*. The lead article, a summary of convention proceedings, goes out of its way to flatter Carter and to cover up the betrayal by the administration.

It quotes NEA President John Ryor: "This year's education budget contains over a billion dollars more for education than did last year's. . . . [The defeat of the Ford-Dole ticket means that] NEA can concentrate its lobbying efforts on making real gains for education rather than trying to override Presidential vetoes of vital legislation."

What is the best response for teachers in this situation? Part of the answer was revealed at the NEA convention. There, NEA delegates voted overwhelmingly to urge that the association, along with other public-employee unions, call for an emergency national conference of public employees.

Such a conference could discuss the cutbacks in education and other social services as well as the denial of collective bargaining rights for public employees.

It could unite all public-employee unions behind a program to defend social services. It could discuss ending the unproductive policy of relying on the latest Democratic Party administration or politician instead of our own independent strength and actions.

And it could discuss how working people can form our own political party based on industrial and public-employee unions and independent from both the Democrats and Republicans.

Instead of sending telegrams to Carter asking him to set up a Department of Education, teachers should send telegrams to President John Ryor and other NEA officials urging them to carry out what the majority voted for at the NEA convention—an emergency conference of all public-employee unions.

Affirmative Action vs. Seniority

by Linda Jenness, Herbert Hill, Willie Mae Reid, Frank Lovell, and Sue Em Davenport. 30 pp., 50 cents
Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014

Phila. banks gut education system

By Jon Hillson

PHILADELPHIA—Despite what appears to be another in a long line of last-minute rescues, Philadelphia's crisis-racked school system remains on the ropes.

The Pennsylvania State Senate voted November 1 to exempt the city from loan regulations, allowing a \$50 million school bail-out loan from local banks to stand.

The loan had been deemed improper by a Philadelphia judge earlier in the month. His decision had been upheld by the state supreme court.

In response to the judicial setbacks, city bankers withdrew a previously committed \$45 million loan, immediately plunging the school system into an enormous \$95 million deficit and a "cash flow" crisis that threatened to shut it down on October 28.

Philadelphia's moneylenders, headed by First Pennsylvania Bank President John Bunting, have been in virtual command of the school system since its financial bottom dropped out last spring.

They demand rigid enforcement of "balanced budgets," and all cutbacks and layoffs necessary to maintain them, as a condition for their loans. They also receive a tidy 7 percent tax-free interest rate.

This ruthless austerity has already meant the firing of 1,000 teachers, approximately 2,000 nonteaching assistants, and more than 2,000 maintenance and custodial workers. The majority of the fired employees are Black.

Both the bankers and the Democratic and Republican politicians clearly intend to carry out further firings and cutbacks. The loan bailouts have increased interest payments and thus set the stage for bone-deep slashes in the spring.

For school department employees not yet laid off, the future looks worse than bleak. Before school opened, unionized cafeteria workers signed a four-year, no-wage-increase contract.

School employees of Local 1201, representing bus drivers and custodial workers, after striking and initially resisting, finally approved a contract that ratified the firing of nearly half its members and secured a maximum 4 percent wage increase over three years.

The Philadelphia Federation of Teachers (PFT), the largest school employee local, is now negotiating its contract. Any new wage increases for other sections of the school work force are tied to those won by the PFT.

PFT President Frank Sullivan did little to inspire the union membership when he joined other school union heads in calling for the workers to work without pay for two weeks in response to the crisis.

For years, teachers, other school employees, and parents have been lulled into a false sense of security by ritual rescues of a school system on the brink of shutting down.

But now the wolves are at the door. And the banks, their government, and their politicians are letting go of the leash.

Hostages in tax rip-off

52,000 students locked out in Toledo

By Tony Dutrow

TOLEDO, Ohio—This city's 52,000 public school students were locked out of an education here when Toledo's eighty schools closed their doors for lack of funds October 28.

Schools only reopened after voters had approved a new property tax increase rammed down their throats in a November 8 referendum.

Even with the new tax levy, the cost of which will fall heavily on the shoulders of working people, drastic cuts are scheduled for the Toledo school system.

Norma Saldaña, Socialist Workers Party candidate for city council in the primary election September 13, placed responsibility for the school crisis squarely on Toledo banks, corporations, and the Democratic and Republican parties.

"The real culprits," Saldaña said, "are the banks that earned more than

\$10 million in interest from school bonds since 1975 and want to continue doing so."

Saldaña is a teacher and member of the Toledo Federation of Teachers (TFT). She explained that the relatively small deficit of \$6.7 million forcing the schools to close was mainly a pretext for the banks and corporations to "ram through cutbacks in education and strongarm votes for another tax levy, the brunt of which will fall on the average working person and homeowner."

Toledo's corporations pay notoriously low taxes and in addition are routinely granted attractive tax "breaks."

As the school crisis developed, the board of education commissioned an "impartial" committee, composed primarily of businessmen, to draw up a report on the management of the schools. Alfred Hawkins, a vice-president of Libbey-Owens-Ford, a major Toledo-based corporation, heads the committee, called Citizens Committee for Effective Government (CCEG).

This committee recommended the tax levy and proposed the closing of eight schools and a \$4 million cut in school operating expenditures.

The CCEG also recommended that contracts with school labor unions be "modified" to remove provisions that place "unwarranted" costs on the school system, and to reestablish "management rights."

Toledo teachers have worked without a contract for a year and a half and have had no pay increase since 1976. They are the lowest-paid teachers in Ohio's eight major school systems.

Dal Lawrence, president of Teachers Local 250, characterized the CCEG as a "union busting" committee run by big business.

The school board and the CCEG also



Toledo students march to demand tax rise. Corporations have manipulated students in drive to increase taxes.

appointed Chester Devenow, chairman of the board of the Sheller-Globe corporation, to lead a committee to win public support for the levy. Sheller-Globe is among the top 500 corporations listed in *Fortune* magazine.

Devenow's committee, called the United Toledo Committee (UTC), has mobilized elementary and high school students to parade through the streets to appeal for "Schools... Please," the cynical slogan of the UTC.

The UTC has also lined up the active support of the city's PTAs, the United Labor Committee (the political arm of the United Auto Workers), the Teamsters, and the building and maritime unions in the city.

Meanwhile, the day after the Toledo Board of Education voted to close the schools for lack of funds, Ohio Gov. James Rhodes signed an emergency funding bill that gives private religious schools in the state \$88 million. That's

enough money to fund the Toledo school system for an entire year.

At the same time, Attorney Gen. William Brown is leading a drive in the state capitol to deny school employees unemployment compensation during the school shutdown.

The Socialist Workers Party proposals for funding schools by taxing the rich and the corporations have won a broad hearing in this city.

Running on the theme, "Jobs, housing, schools before profits," Saldaña won more than 10 percent of the total votes cast in the city council race.

"We have to rely on ourselves," Saldaña said. She proposed the TFT call a meeting of all public-employee and other unions to "discuss the crisis and work out a plan of action to save our schools, defend our unions, and stop the average taxpayer from being soaked."



Militant/Walter Lippmann

Norma Saldaña, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Toledo City Council, says: "Real culprits are the banks."

Profits & racism—threat to Cleveland schools

By Chris Rayson

CLEVELAND—The on-again, off-again threat to close Cleveland's public schools continues to seesaw.

On November 6, in their latest move, a federal district judge barred the Cleveland Trust Company and National City Bank from pursuing their suit with the Ohio Supreme Court to force payment of \$15.4 million that the Cleveland Board of Education owes the banks.

The Cleveland School Board had originally moved to close the schools October 24 rather than use funds earmarked for repayment of the \$15.4 million loan due December 29.

But on October 19, Federal District Judge Frank Battisti, who is presiding over the Cleveland school system's desegregation case, ruled that schools must stay open despite the financial crisis.

The Cleveland school system is under a federal court order to desegregate. It's been found guilty of consciously perpetuating segregated schools for more than twenty years.

Battisti maintains that federal law supersedes state law, and thus schools must remain open.

The real reasons for the school financial crisis are the millions squandered by the school board to maintain segregated schools and the mammoth tax giveaways to Cleveland's major corporations and banks.

In his decision, Judge Battisti strongly emphasized that the board itself was responsible for the crisis.

"The state and city defendants," Battisti said, "have been found liable for intentionally fostering and maintaining a dual school system of racially identifiable schools. In the process,

defendant state and local school boards expended millions upon millions of dollars to perpetuate this dual system—well over \$100 million for the last year. These dollars were spent in a costly effort to keep Black schools Black and white schools white. . . .

"The defendants cannot now take the indefensible position that the system must be closed and thus effect the complete denial of education to these people."

In addition to the money spent in the past to maintain segregated schools the board has spent \$10 million this year alone fighting the desegregation order.

The other major source of the financial crisis is the erosion of Cleveland's tax base through tax giveaway schemes designed to benefit the super-rich.

National City Bank, Cleveland's most profitable bank, was granted a twenty-five-year tax abatement to expand and renovate properties it owns in downtown Cleveland.

The total tax gift to National City Bank amounts to \$14 million. In addition National City is entirely exempt from paying city income tax.

Sohio Corporation, which realized nearly \$1 billion in profits in the past decade and expects to do even better in the next as a result of the Alaska pipeline, was granted a \$21 million tax abatement to expand its corporate headquarters here.

The relationships between continuing sabotage of school desegregation, the board's willingness to close down schools in order to pay banks, and the huge tax giveaways are neither accidental nor innocent.

George Dobrea, a key school board

member and head of its financial committee, is also vice-president of the Cleveland Growth Association. The Cleveland Growth Association has been a major promoter of tax abatement for National City Bank. National City is also one of the two banks holding the \$15.4 million school loan.

Gerald Sweeney, another school board member, is vice-president of the Cleveland Trust Company, the other bank demanding prompt payment of the school loan.

In addition, Squire, Sanders and Dempsey—the law firm defending the school board in its desegregation case against the federal Office of Civil Rights (and making a pretty penny at it)—is also the school board's bond and financial consultant.

In his report to Judge Battisti on the financial crisis, the court-appointed special master for desegregation, Daniel McCarthy, took note of all this. In

a classic understatement he concluded: "This is not an accusation of illegality, but the atmosphere seems unhealthy."


To add insult to injury, as the crisis developed the board told teachers there were no funds to pay their salaries. They demanded that teachers work a week without pay while the board lobbied the state legislature for emergency funds.

The board implied that those who didn't work without pay would be fired.

Under the gun, the Cleveland teachers union, an affiliate of the American Federation of Teachers, acquiesced. After Battisti ordered the schools to remain open, funds were found to pay the teachers.

Meanwhile, the financial crisis continues. And Cleveland's politicians and school officials are as determined as ever to sacrifice students, parents, and teachers to the profit demands of the banks and corporations.

Teachers Under Attack



An alternative to the "business unionism" of Albert Shanker

by Jeff Mackler

- How can teachers organize effectively against massive education cutbacks?
- Why should teachers stop supporting Democrats and Republicans?
- Why have the present policies of both the NEA and AFT proved so inadequate in defending teachers' living standards?

This thirty-two-page pamphlet offers a program for teachers to fight to defend public education.

32 pp., 50 cents
Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

'Arriba, Ariza!'

Congreso Boricua convention hears socialist

By Andy Farrand

NEWARK, N.J.—Shouts of "Arriba, Ariza" punctuated the standing ovation for Rich Ariza, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of New Jersey, after he spoke to 300 people at the eighth annual convention of the Congreso Boricua (Puerto Rican Congress) of New Jersey October 30.

Ariza, Democratic candidate Brendan Byrne, and Republican candidate Raymond Bateman were all invited to address the gathering.

Although the gubernatorial candidate's panel was scheduled to start at 10:30, neither Byrne nor Bateman had shown up by then. The delegates, visibly angered, decided to begin

discussing the political resolutions before them.

Soon after they began, Bateman swept in, completely disrupting the proceedings. The delegates voted to continue their discussion and left the Republican nominee cooling his heels for an hour.

When Bateman finally got to speak, instead of talking about the important problems facing Puerto Ricans, such as unemployment and poor schools, he told the crowd "how friendly Puerto Ricans are" and how much he had learned walking through Puerto Rican neighborhoods.

The chairperson had to ask the convention to treat Bateman politely and to applaud.

Ariza, speaking next, got a standing ovation when he explained that the Democrats and Republicans, the twin parties of the ruling rich, would continue the policies that oppressed Puerto Ricans.

Originally, Congreso leaders had tried to prevent Ariza from speaking. Protests from Puerto Rican Socialist Party members and others finally won the SWP candidate a place on the podium.

Congreso members continued a discussion begun last year of the need for political action independent of the Democrats and Republicans.

The Congreso is a statewide organization that sponsors development programs in the Puerto Rican community.

Part of its money comes from federal antipoverty funds. Its activity as a civil rights organization has attracted many political activists.

Ariza's supporters distributed 450 copies of a statement calling for a break with the two capitalist parties.

The meeting adopted several important resolutions. One called for an overturn of the *Bakke* decision and for affirmative-action quotas to prevent discrimination in employment and education.

Another resolution established a task force to work on freeing the four Puerto Rican Nationalist prisoners. The proindependence activists have been held in U.S. prisons for more than twenty years. A fifth Nationalist prisoner, Andrés Figueroa Cordero, was recently released by President Carter.

The task force will organize educational and protest activities around the state.

A third resolution called for defense of the rights of undocumented workers and opposed deportations. This resolution was adopted unanimously, despite a Congreso board recommendation against it.

The women's committee of the Congreso spearheaded a caucus calling for a Congreso del Pueblo (Congress of the People). This group included PSP activists and other militant members of the Congreso. The Caucus called for electing the Congreso board at local conventions and for holding local Congreso meetings at least four times a year.

Supporters of the Ariza campaign sold more than \$120 in socialist literature and twenty-one subscriptions to the *Militant* and the Spanish-language news magazine *Perspectiva Mundial*.

First SWP candidate on Cinn. ballot

By Dean Athans

CINCINNATI—When voters went to the polls here this week, a candidate of the Socialist Workers Party appeared on the ballot for the first time.

Twenty-year-old John Stiller ran on the SWP ticket for city council.

Stiller's supporters received a good response when they distributed his election brochures to striking hospital workers and to members of the teachers union. Every union local in the city was sent a mailing with the socialist's campaign literature.

Stiller also went door to door in the Black community, campaigning and selling subscriptions to the *Militant*.

The city manager's office at first attempted to deny Stiller the right to visit prisoners at the Cincinnati jail. Later the officials relented and

allowed the candidate to tour the facilities and talk with inmates.

Another part of Stiller's campaign has been in support of a city ordinance that would protect homosexuals against job harassment.

Stiller joined other candidates for an appearance on "NAACP Presents," a half-hour TV show. A news conference held by Stiller to denounce government spying and publicize the SWP's suit against the FBI drew media attention, especially from Black radio stations.

Among the organizations that invited the socialist candidate to address them during his campaign were the Harriet Tubman Black Democratic Women's Club, Women's City Club, United Negro Improvement Association, B'nai B'rith, and the National Organization for Women.



STILLER

They think you should help the 'Militant' keep doing its job...



'As an alternative voice trying to convey the truth of the American government's militarism, violence, racism, and control of world resources and markets, I think the "Militant" has been extremely valuable, and I hope it will be even more valuable as it reaches more people.'

Daniel Berrigan

'When Americans stood up against the policy of their government in Vietnam, no one helped more than the Socialist Workers Party, especially the young people in the SWP, and the "Militant."'

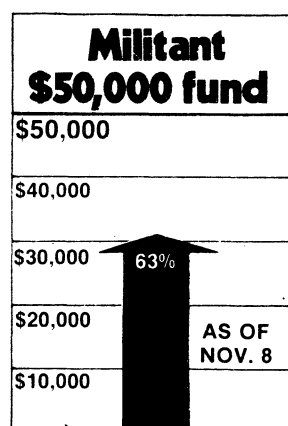
Ruth Gage-Colby



Daniel Berrigan and Ruth Gage-Colby were leading figures in the anti-Vietnam War movement. They are among the thousands who appreciate the *Militant's* consistent role in exposing and opposing the warmakers in Washington.

But to keep providing the kind of coverage you've come to expect from the *Militant*, we need your help to keep pace with our spiraling costs. As of November 8, readers have contributed \$31,676 toward our \$50,000 goal—that's 63 percent. Help us reach 100 percent by December 15.

Send in your contribution today. It will be matched dollar for dollar through a special matching fund contributed by a *Militant* supporter earlier in the drive. So your donation counts double.



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Anti-Zionist Israeli tours U.S.

Thousands hear Tsemel on Palestinian rights

By Peter Seidman

Lea Tsemel completed a thirty-day, ten-city tour of the United States October 30. Some 300 people jammed into the Arab Social Club in Brooklyn, New York, to hear the Jerusalem-born, thirty-two-year-old attorney.

Tsemel had spoken directly to some 3,000 people in the course of her tour. She reached tens of thousands more through extensive coverage of her views in media interviews from coast to coast.

Tsemel is a well-known defender of Palestinian human rights in Israel. The Israeli Supreme Court accused her of being a "champion of the enemy" and a "security risk."

This ruling was made after Tsemel played a prominent role in providing material for a report documenting Israel's systematic policy of torture of Palestinian prisoners. The report, highly embarrassing to the Zionist regime, appeared in the prestigious *London Sunday Times* in June.

Tsemel's tour was organized by Viewpoint Speakers Bureau. In a number of cities, meetings were co-sponsored by additional individuals and organizations committed to defending Palestinian rights.

These included: Fouad Moughrabi, president, Arab American University Graduates; Jim Zogby, an AAUG vice-president who is chairperson of the Palestine Human Rights Campaign; various chapters of the Organization of Arab Students; the Palestine Solidarity Committee and Middle East Information Center in San Francisco; the Middle East Research and Information Project in Washington, D.C.; and the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

Tsemel was interviewed by a large number of newspapers, including: the *Times-Union* and *Knickerbocker News* in Albany, New York; the *Atlanta Journal* and Georgia State University *Signal* in Atlanta; the *Seattle Times*; the *Boston Globe*, *Harvard Crimson*, *Boston University Free Press*, and *Phoenix* in Boston; the *South End* at Wayne State University and the *Michigan Free Press* in Detroit; *Ms.* magazine; UPI; and *Israel Today*, the largest Jewish community magazine in Los Angeles.

Human rights violations

At her talk in Brooklyn, cosponsored by the Arab Social Club and the Militant Forum, Tsemel detailed violations of Palestinian human rights carried out by the Israeli government:

- "In the occupied territories," she said, "we know of 500-800 people, potential leaders of the Palestinian struggle, who were expelled from the West Bank by the military governor."

- "In every district there is a military governor. He can make orders under the defense regulations. This gives him almost unlimited powers," including administrative detention.

"People can be imprisoned under administrative detention without being brought to court. They can be held without charges being brought against them for unlimited periods." Tsemel said she knows of close to forty such cases at the present time.

- The Zionists have also stepped up the brutality used against Palestinian protesters on the West Bank. Tsemel cited the growing numbers shot by Israeli soldiers while engaged in demonstrations.



Militant/Ann Teesdale



Lea Tsemel wound up one-month, ten-city U.S. speaking tour with packed meeting at the Arab Social Club, Brooklyn, New York.

She recounted a sick "joke" circulating in Israel that "Arab children must have wings, since so many of them are shot by Israeli troops who are only firing their rifles into the air."

In addition, Tsemel said, the authorities have introduced "collective punishment" (including the blowing up of houses) against the relatives of people suspected of committing an offense.

- Tsemel said that Israeli Prime Minister Begin's claims to the contrary, her clients' files show that the regime regularly tortures its Palestinian victims.

Ashkelon prison

- Tsemel also told about the Palestinian prisoners in Ashkelon prison. She helped defend some of them and was therefore familiar with the facts about the hunger strike they conducted at the beginning of the year.

The strike lasted for forty-five days. Then, after a month-long pause, many prisoners struck again, this time for about two weeks. The prisoners were simply demanding that they be treated equally with "regular criminal Jews," Tsemel said.

But their demands have still not been met. "They have no beds. Terrible medical care. And nothing to read but one Arabic paper published by the

Israeli government.

"Some of the prisoners have been kept thirty, eighty, even one hundred people in a crowded cell twenty-three hours a day, for ten years, because they refused to do the only job offered them . . . making camouflage nets for the Israeli army."

"It's as though they were sentenced to the death penalty in monthly installments," Tsemel said.

She said these harsh measures flowed from the nature of Zionism.

'Land without people'?

The first Zionist settlers in Palestine carried out their colonization under the banner, "Let us give the land without people to the people without land."

But this slogan was a myth. "There were *Palestinians* in Palestine." Despite the Zionists' efforts to get rid of these native inhabitants, "the main problem that confronts the Zionists today is that the so-called Indians of the Middle East are still alive."

Rather than seeking to live in peace, Tsemel explained, the Zionists came as conquerors. They have expelled the Palestinians from their lands. They are constantly expanding into neighboring Arab territories. And they have created an internal system for the Palestinians "resembling the Sowetos

surrounding Johannesburg" in South Africa, she said. Soweto is an all-Black township.

The "Zionist bulldozer" has set up more than ninety Jewish settlements in the occupied territories, Tsemel noted. These surround every big concentration of Palestinians.

And now Israeli Minister of Agriculture Gen. Ariel Sharon has presented a new plan "calling for the concentration of no more than 20,000 Palestinians in any one place and dividing the Palestinian population up by strips of Jewish settlements."

Tsemel believes that Israel—despite some frictions—is basically backed to the hilt by Washington. "Whoever thinks that the Arab oil countries will succeed in getting the United States to put pressure on Israel on behalf of Palestinian interests," she said, "is a daydreamer."

Israeli Jewish workers

As long as the Israeli Jewish workers accept the basic premises of the Zionist state, Tsemel said, they—although more privileged than the Palestinians—will continue to be the ones who pay the price for wars, inflation, and new weapons.

"They are not aware of it. Right now, they support national unity." But, Tsemel went on, "as Marx said, a people who oppress others cannot themselves be free. This is especially true of Israeli workers."

"When there is a strike," for example, she said, "the workers are told, 'Who needs Fateh? You are the real enemies of Israel.'"

"Any struggle for democratic rights in Israel," Tsemel said, "becomes a confrontation with the Zionist state." As an example, she cited the challenge the women's liberation movement poses to the regime.

What happens, she asked, when Jewish women demand free abortion in Israel?

Tsemel reported that when former Prime Minister Golda Meir was queried about this demand, she said, "I cannot sleep at night knowing that every five minutes a Palestinian is born, and *they* want abortion?"

Tsemel commented: "So we are told to increase 'internal immigration'! Not only are they judaizing Galilee, but also the wombs of Israeli women!"

'New friends'

Israel's foreign policies and alliances flow from the oppressive character of Zionism, Tsemel explained.

"Israel is isolated internationally except for Uncle Sam."

"But it has found new friends."

"It is well-known that Israel receives uranium from South Africa and ships weapons back in return."

"It should have been a shock to Israel when the government brought South African Prime Minister John Vorster, the ex-Nazi, to an Israeli memorial for the 6 million Jews killed by the Nazis in Europe."

"The Israeli government also transferred an arms factory to Rhodesia, which now uses a modified version of the Uzi machine gun to shoot Blacks."

"Israel also makes helmets for the Chilean police. And trains Iranian police and paratroopers."

Altogether, Tsemel concluded, "Israel is a hunting dog" for Washington "against social change in the Middle East."

Opposition to Somoza grows in Nicaragua

By Fred Murphy

From Intercontinental Press

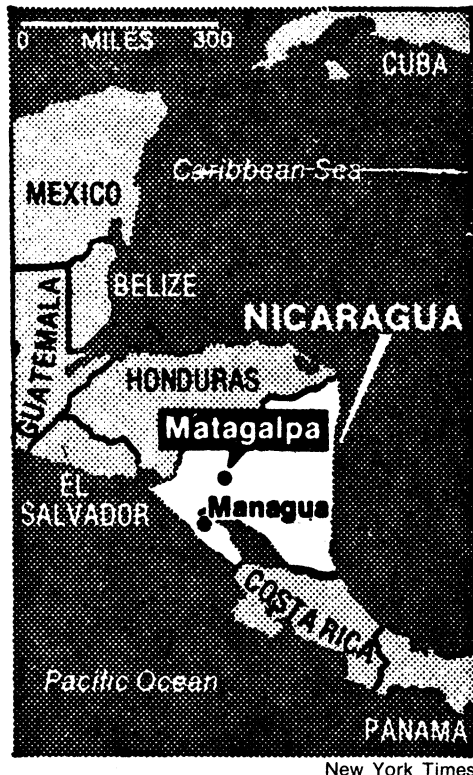
Broad opposition to the Somoza dictatorship has emerged in Nicaragua in the wake of a renewal of guerrilla activity during mid-October.

The Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) carried out attacks on National Guard installations in several areas of Managua, the country's capital, on October 17. Clashes were also reported at a military barracks in Masaya, eighteen miles to the south-east, and a troop convoy on the road between the two cities came under fire. In addition, fighting between National Guard troops and FSLN guerrillas occurred in the north near the Honduran border and in the south in areas adjacent to Costa Rica.

The FSLN followed up its offensive with a statement released in Tegucigalpa, Honduras, on October 23, announcing that "prolonged popular war" will continue until President Anastasio Somoza Debayle is driven from office.

The Somoza family has ruled Nicaragua as its personal fiefdom since the 1930s, when Anastasio Somoza García was installed in power with the aid of the U.S. Marines. The current Anastasio (Somoza García's son) has held the reins since 1967. From its inception the family dictatorship has been propped up by vast amounts of economic and military aid from Washington.

Coinciding with the wave of guerrilla actions, twelve prominent Nicaraguans issued a statement in San José, Costa Rica, October 17 praising the FSLN's "political maturity" and saying the front should participate in solving the country's problems. The signers included several "wealthy and conservative businessmen and law-



yers," according to the October 20 *New York Times*.

The statement may reflect a growing feeling among the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie that the dictatorship's days are numbered. Somoza suffered a heart attack in late July and spent two months in a Miami hospital. In his absence, Alan Riding said in the October 30 *New York Times*, "his friends and foes began mobilizing to fill the political vacuum in case he did not recover, all of them apparently agreed that the successor should not be the President's son, Maj. Anastasio Somoza Portocarrero." Somoza is back

in the saddle, but he remains under doctors' orders to work only three hours a day.

For its part, the FSLN has expressed willingness to work with the bourgeois layers opposed to Somoza. In an October 20 dispatch from Managua, Riding quoted FSLN leader Plutarco Elias Hernández as saying, "Our basic program is not communist. It is a threat to no one who favors a just society." Riding noted that a "minority of Marxist-Leninist 'purists'" have left the main guerrilla group.

Riding also said Hernández "insists that the front will continue fighting if General Somoza is merely replaced by another military ruler, or if some political deal worked out with opponents of the regime does not include participation by the guerrillas."

The Mexico City daily *Excelsior* reported October 24 that representatives of the Catholic church and of the "private sector" have called for a "national dialogue to promote democratization of the country and assist in bringing about social peace through a change in the structure of the present political system. . . ."

"At the same time," *Excelsior* said, "they warned that if such a confrontation of ideas . . . is not held soon they will declare a national economic strike."

Somoza's response has been to blame the unrest on the "conscious and unconscious agents of international communism" and to step up repression.

Excelsior reported October 24 that a number of professionals—doctors, attorneys, professors, and an engineer—had been detained in Managua on suspicion of links to the FSLN. Despite

the lifting of press censorship in September, three radio announcers were arrested for reading over the air the document released by the twelve prominent Nicaraguans.

The regime has also accused the neighboring states of Honduras and Costa Rica of allowing the guerrillas to use their territories as staging areas. According to reports in *Excelsior* these charges were indignantly denied. But the ambassadors to Mexico from Honduras and El Salvador also said that the doors of their countries' embassies and consulates in Nicaragua are open to any opponents of Somoza who wish to seek asylum.

Although the Costa Rican ambassador warned that "his country lacks specialized personnel for antiguerrilla struggle," the Oduber regime has cooperated in repressing Nicaraguan oppositionists.



Somoza (right) with aides

'Chronicle' report on Mustafa Dzhemilev

By Marilyn Vogt

New information on the condition of Mustafa Dzhemilev has filtered out of a labor camp in the far eastern reaches of the Soviet Union.

Many months after its original appearance in the Russian language underground journal *A Chronicle of Current Events*, the news finally reached the *Militant*. (The *Chronicle* issue, number 43, is dated December 31, 1976.)

Dzhemilev is serving his fourth term in a labor camp. His crime? An uncompromising commitment to the struggle of his people, the Crimean Tatars, to return to the Crimean homeland from which they were forcibly deported by Stalin in May 1944.

Dzhemilev's case reveals how far the Stalinist bureaucrats in the Kremlin have departed from the revolutionary policies of the Soviet government of Lenin and Trotsky in 1921. In that year, the Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic was established.

Stalin abolished the CASSR twenty-five years later. Dzhemilev's case makes it clear that the Kremlin continues to treat the victims of this chauvinist crime as the criminals.

The newly available *Chronicle* report covers the first six months of Dzhemilev's fourth term, a sentence of two-and-one-half years ordered after an April 1976 trial in Omsk, Siberia.

Dzhemilev's new trial was ordered just as his third term of imprisonment was to have ended in June 1975. He was charged with having made "anti-Soviet statements" to a campmate.

To protest this new harassment, Dzhemilev went on a ten-month hunger strike before the April trial.

The *Chronicle* reports:

- Dzhemilev, despite poor health, was sent June 18 on a difficult two-month journey to a labor camp in the far east.

- The courageous dissident detailed some of the difficulties he encountered in the camp in a letter he wrote his brother:

"I regret that I cannot write to [my relatives] because letters from here can only be written in Russian.

"I would ask you to bring me more books in Turkish and English, but the books I had have been taken away because these languages 'are not languages of the peoples of the USSR and fraternal socialist countries.' That's what they said. . . ."

Several days later, some of Dzhemilev's books were returned to him.

- Fearing that the authorities would again try to use campmates as false witnesses against him, Dzhemilev demanded to be kept in a isolation cell.

He began a hunger strike when authorities refused his demand. He stopped this protest after five days when camp officials told him he would not be able to meet with his relatives if he continued.

- In a September 9 letter, Dzhemilev stated that in general he was being treated well by the camp administration and that "the initiative in the organization of foul play did not come from the labor colony employees."

- Mustafa's sister, Vasfie, and his brother, Asan, were—after numerous protests by supporters—finally allowed to visit him. They arrived at the labor camp October 4. But before they were permitted to see Dzhemilev, the two were subjected to a body search. Officials confiscated all the written matter, photos of relatives, books, food, and medicines they had brought for their brother.

During their meeting with Dzhemilev, the two visitors found he looked healthy. They learned however, that he has difficulty eating "because of tooth decay and pains in his stomach."

A camp official broke into the

meeting and said, "See, your brother is completely healthy, but you put out bad news. Western radio stations say that he is treated with disdain and has been doomed to a slow death. You must write a refutation [for the record]."

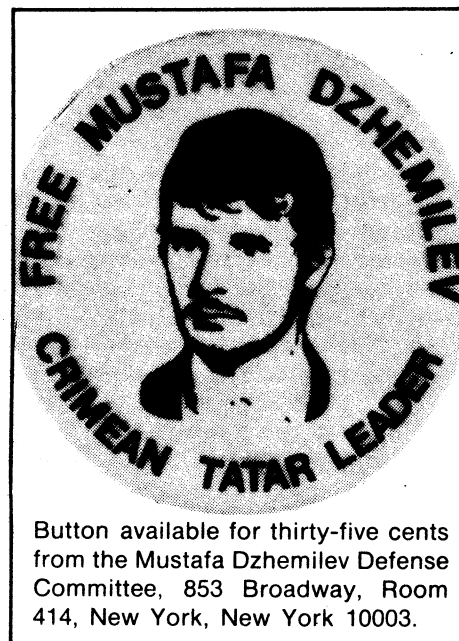
Vasfie and Asan were also told to dissuade Mustafa from another hunger strike. "There'll be nothing like the 'Omsk incident' here," the camp official stated, referring to the international publicity around Dzhemilev's case as a result of his previous ten-month hunger strike in the Omsk prison.

Vasfie and Asan agreed to write a statement that Mustafa was receiving adequate treatment in the labor camp but also stated the reasons for his new hunger strike.

- "News of Mustafa's new hunger strike," the *Chronicle* reports, "provoked a massive response from Crimean Tatars. Dozens of people signed appeals to him expressing solidarity with his struggle but urging he not go on a hunger strike."

Dzhemilev had set December 5, 1976, as the date he would begin the new strike if his demand for an isolation cell was not met. However, he apparently heeded the requests of his supporters. As of December 31, 1976, he had not begun fasting.

Dzhemilev's fourth prison term is supposed to end December 19, 1977. Will the Stalinist rulers really release him this time? Or will they again frame up this courageous fighter as another blow against the freedom struggle of the Crimean Tatar masses?





Stiffened airport security in Germany includes searches of hand baggage and frisking.

Bonn cracks down as 'suicide' story unravels

By David Frankel

As additional information continues to come out about the supposed "suicides" of three West German political prisoners found dead in their cells October 18, the improbable scenario described by the West German government is becoming increasingly unbelievable.

Until now, the Bonn regime has been successful in sweeping aside the questions raised by the deaths of its prisoners. It has successfully exploited the type of terrorist actions the prisoners were associated with to increase its repressive powers and to generate a witch-hunt atmosphere.

A long article in the October 24 issue of *Der Spiegel*, the most prestigious mass-circulation weekly in West Germany, put much of the blame for the growth of international terrorism on government "liberalism." The French government in particular was singled out for granting political asylum to victims of repression.

"About 140,000 exiles, more than in any other European country, are living in France today," the article complained. "While the West German authorities reject about 90 percent of applications for asylum by non-Europeans, and Italy grants the right of asylum only with 'geographical conditions,' France grants up to 90 percent of the requests for asylum coming from all parts of the earth."

Whether the West German government will succeed in the long run in laying to rest suspicions about the prisoners' deaths is open to question. If the report released October 26 by a hurriedly appointed commission of police officials and government functionaries is any indication, the "suicides" will be haunting the regime for some time to come.

Not surprisingly, the government report concluded that "there can be no doubt" that Andreas Baader, Jan-Carl Raspe, and Gudrun Ensslin committed suicide. Irmgard Möller, a fourth member of the Red Army Faction, also "tried to take her own life," according to the report.

These findings were in accord with the comments of West German officials immediately after the deaths of the prisoners. Michael Getler reported in the October 20 *Washington Post*:

"Officials conceded that two of the terrorists had died from bullet holes in the back of the head, but they argued that the gang leaders had deliberately staged their deaths to embarrass the government.

"Interior Minister Werner Maihofer charged: 'Some people will push their treachery so far as to make their own suicide look like an execution.'"

While backing the story given out by

their superiors, however, the commission was forced to release factual details that went far toward proving the opposite of its conclusions. Perhaps the most stunning detail reported by the commission was the fact that *there were no fingerprints* on the guns used to kill Baader and Raspe, nor on the knife with which Möller was wounded.

There was no mention of Baader and Raspe having been found with gloves on. Were they supposed to have shot themselves and then risen from the dead to wipe away the evidence? This is treachery indeed!

The commission admitted that it had "no explanation" of how Baader and Raspe obtained pistols. However, other government officials suggested that the pistols—along with explosives, ammunition, a butcher knife, a transistor radio, a camera, and a morse-code communications system—were all smuggled into the maximum security prison by defense lawyers.

How this was done when the cells were supposed to be under constant observation and subject to daily searches has yet to be explained. Moreover, the lawyers who were supposed to have done the smuggling had frequently been accused of being in league with terrorist groups. Is it believable that they would have been allowed into the cells without any search?

But this is not all we are asked to believe. In order to set up the communications system, somebody had to string electrical wire between the four maximum security isolation cells in which Baader, Raspe, Ensslin, and Möller were being held. Were the lawyers supposed to have done this too, or did the prisoners sneak out of their cells at night?

In any case, one wonders why there was no escape attempt if the prisoners had pistols, explosives, a communications network, and guards whose incompetence staggers the imagination.

Möller, the only one of the four prisoners who survived the night of October 18, was not allowed to speak with her lawyer for five days. She had been stabbed four times in the chest and throat. When she finally was allowed to speak to her lawyer, she denied trying to commit suicide.

With true Alice-in-Wonderland logic, every indication casting doubt on the "suicides" has been turned into an example of the fiendish "treachery" of the victims. Thus, the commission cited as proof of the "suicide" plot a letter written by Baader shortly before his death. In the letter, Baader said, "None of us plan to kill ourselves. If we are found dead, we have been killed."

World news notes

Appeal for Iranian political prisoners

The Families of Iranian Political Prisoners and Martyrs, a London-based group, has issued an appeal to the American people. It urges Americans to respond to the shah of Iran's upcoming visit to the United States by protesting political repression in Iran.

Reports by the Nobel prize-winning Amnesty International and other human rights groups have documented that the shah maintains one of the most barbaric police states in the world. The prisoners' families specifically ask that protests denounce U.S. complicity with and support to the shah's repression.

New amnesty in Spain

A new amnesty law adopted October 14 by the Spanish government will free 89 of the reported 120 political prisoners in the country. The amnesty covers political "crimes" before December 15, 1976, the date of Spain's referendum on political reform. It also affects more limited categories of acts committed before October 6, 1976. There is no amnesty for acts committed after that date.

The law also has a section covering "wrongs committed by the forces of public order"—referring to the executioners and torturers of the fascist dictatorship—which will prevent further prosecution.

Over the past years, huge demonstrations and several city-wide and regional strikes have demanded complete, unconditional amnesty.

Argentines protest repression

Hundreds of people joined a demonstration in front of the Argentine Congress October 14 demanding freedom for all political prisoners who haven't been brought to trial. They also demanded an inquiry into the fate of 571 persons who have "disappeared" after being seized by police. A petition supporting these demands signed by 24,000 people was delivered to the military junta the same day.

The government responded by breaking up the protest with tear gas and arresting nearly 600 people.

French CP raps Czech trial

After the conviction of four dissidents in Czechoslovakia October 18, *L'Humanité*, newspaper of the French Communist Party, called their trials "a caricature of justice."

"Even though this time the prosecutor never referred to Charter 77," the editors said, "it is clear that the four intellectuals . . . were arrested because they expressed ideas different from those of the present leaders of Czechoslovakia."

"To the argument that they violated the law by publishing outside the country works that Prague calls subversive, we answer that the law ought to be changed immediately."

Soviet 'amnesty'

The Soviet bureaucracy proclaimed on November 5 a limited amnesty in commemoration of the sixtieth anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution. The amnesty does not affect the many dissidents imprisoned or facing charges in the Stalinist courts.

Pyotr Grigorenko, acting leader of a dissident group monitoring compliance with the 1975 Helsinki Agreement, charged that "not one prisoner of conscience" will be freed under the measure.

Andrei Sakharov said, "Many remain excluded, including those whose only crime has been free expression of their beliefs."

Israel frees Catholic archbishop

Israel freed Catholic Archbishop Hilarion Capucci November 6. Capucci had been serving a twelve-year term on charges of smuggling guns for Palestinian resistance fighters. The archbishop was freed after Pope Paul VI struck an agreement with Israeli authorities that reportedly included forbidding Capucci to speak in support of the Palestinian cause and assigning him to an area far away from the Middle East.

After his release, Capucci was hospitalized in Rome. A delegation from the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) met Capucci at the airport.

Stakhanov dies

Aleksei Stakhanov died in Moscow November 5 at the age of seventy-one. In the 1930s Stakhanov was a miner in the Soviet Union's coal-rich Donets Basin. His superhuman achievements on the job led Stalin to name a movement of exemplary workers after him.

Stalin trumpeted the Stakhanov movement as "preparation of the conditions for the transition from socialism to communism." Actually, it was simply an application of time-honored capitalist methods of speedup and piece work to boost production and hold down costs.

Responding to Stalin's prettification of Stakhanovism, Leon Trotsky wrote in *The Revolution Betrayed*: "The consideration that in the Soviet Union the workers 'work for themselves' is true only in historical perspective, and only on condition . . . that the workers do not submit to the saddle of an autocratic bureaucracy."

"In any case, state ownership of the means of production does not turn manure into gold, and does not surround with a halo of sanctity the sweatshop system, which wears out the greatest of all productive forces: man."

"As to the preparation of a 'transition from socialism to communism' that will begin at the exactly opposite end—not with the introduction of piecework payment, but with its abolition as a relic of barbarism."

'Simple Justice' isn't easy

Simple Justice by Richard Kluger. Published by Alfred A. Knopf, 1976, and in paperback by Vintage Books, 1977. 790 pages. Hardcover, \$15.95. Paperback, \$6.95.

The 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision by the United States Supreme Court.

Perhaps no single court order in recent American history has provoked such massive tumult in social life in every corner of the country. The results of that response are today codified in civil law and statutes, in every subsequent gain made by Black people in the fight for equality.

Jim Crow, the unfunny nickname given to a system of racism and terror that legally dominated the lives of Black people, was dealt a mortal blow

Books

by the *Brown* decision. On May 17, 1954, the Supreme Court declared the apartheid-like Jim Crow doctrine of "separate but equal" to be "inherently unequal" in the sphere of public education.

Today, with the *Bakke* challenge to affirmative action being considered by the Supreme Court, the *Brown* decision seems less secure as an unbreachable fortress of human dignity.

Brown was treated as a scrap of paper by America's rulers until the forward march of the civil rights movement made it real. Then it became the legacy of that struggle. It is the document whose real power was the civil rights movement, which gave it life and blood.

The victory of implementing *Brown* laid a foundation for Black rights solidified in the cement of social struggle.

Richard Kluger's *Simple Justice* is a painstaking, partisan account of the legal and political drive waged for the *Brown* decision. It is a long book (790 pages), exhaustive in detail (therefore a bit slow reading), but rich in scholarship and source material.

Kluger's analysis begins with slavery and follows the history of Black America from there through the Civil War, through the betrayal of Radical Reconstruction and its promise of Black emancipation, to the founding of the Jim Crow system.

Debunking judicial neutrality

Kluger utilizes extensive quotations from key court decisions. The citations make clear the function of the judicial system: to protect the interests of society's rulers and reinforce the government's policies.

Any belief in the impartiality of the legal system or the quasi-divinity of judges is shattered by reading documents such as the infamous *Plessy v. Ferguson* Supreme Court decision, which made white supremacy the law of the land.

The fundamental feature of the judiciary is to validate governmental social policy. This task remained the same, but applied with different results in the *Brown* decision.

A history of the NAACP

Kluger's history of the fight for equality in education is bound up with numerous personality sketches, interviews, and letters by founders, leaders, and lawyers of the NAACP. In fact, from one standpoint, *Simple Justice* is an abbreviated, specific history of the NAACP's campaign for Black equality through the court system.

While drawing out this history, Kluger paints a more general, highly informative social picture of the United States. His history is that of the muck-raker. He spares no "liberals" from accuracy—neither Abraham Lincoln's fundamentally racist philosophy nor Woodrow Wilson's role as one of America's pioneer Jim Crow presidents.

Kluger's zeal for correcting "official" history only flags somewhat with the rise of the civil rights



Rufus Hinton

movement. He notes the opposition of presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson to civil rights. But he is seduced by Kennedy's and Johnson's concessions to the surging Black movement as proof of their "friendship" to the Black community.

Actually, Kennedy and Johnson were only compelled to grant concessions to the civil rights movement as the Black community nationwide rose up against the government in the streets, in years of protests, threatening to break out of the shackles of the racist two-party system.

The logic of Kluger's presentation of history and the implications of what he says are more radical than his own ideas. In this, the reader will note Kluger's uncritical attitude towards the NAACP's utilization of the courts as the virtually exclusive strategy for winning Black rights.

It should be clear, however, that despite the deficiency of its court-oriented strategy, it was the NAACP that shouldered the enormous burden in the decades before and in pursuit of the *Brown* victory. It stood virtually alone as a Black organization while Jim Crow exercised a steel grip on the nation.

Militant persistence

The NAACP's strategy was what one might call "militant persistence" in the courts, as its batteries of lawyers took on case after case challenging various aspects of Jim Crow. Sometimes they were victorious, other times defeated. But they persisted.

It was not until after World War II that a series of challenges to Jim Crow in five southern and border states were eventually joined and later decided in the *Brown* case.

The question is: why did the *Brown* decision come when it did? Simply the final penetration of the high court by a morally powerful and legally cogent series of appeals? Or other factors?

Kluger sets the stage for the changes in government policy by noting, though only in passing, the impact of the rising revolution in Africa after World War II. He notes that as a unique and important precedent the secretary of state testified in Congress for civil rights legislation. Africa's upsurge exerted great pressure on Washington to at least modify its racist Jim Crow system.

At the same time, the long-term denial of Black rights after two world wars for "democracy" was beginning to bear fruit of ferment in both the South and North. And Black people were moving off the land and into industry.

These international and domestic political, economic, and demographic changes combined with the "militant persistence" of the NAACP. That historical intersection produced *Brown*.

But *Brown* was not implemented anywhere until the civil rights protests began with the Montgomery bus boycott.

What made *Brown* real

Kluger's identification with the NAACP's strategy blurs his assessment of why *Brown* was implemented. Again, he stresses a commitment of Kennedy and Johnson to civil rights instead of the power, drive, and impact of the civil rights and Black liberation movements. He substitutes political goodwill for the immense social force of the mobilization of the Black community, whose pickets, rallies, marches, and rebellions monopolized the streets and wrung concessions from the government.

Despite these weaknesses, Kluger's work is a major contribution to the resources of activists determined to extend and defend the legal vitals of *Brown*: that "separate but equal is inherently unequal." Kluger helps further with chapters dealing with subsequent important Supreme Court decisions that were based on and amplified *Brown*.

This defense and extension of *Brown* is a burning task. Recent Supreme Court decisions in hiring, housing, and education have come out squarely against equal protection under the law for Blacks. A decision on the legality of affirmative action in the *Bakke* case is on the immediate agenda.

Brown is more than a bit of contemporary roots. *Simple Justice* does it justice.

There is an unfinished quality to the *Brown* decision. Its security in real life is jeopardized. The next chapter, indeed the next volumes, will be written in the battles of the 1970s and 1980s.

And it would be a mistake to believe that in winning them, simple means easy.

—Jon Hillson

Says smears 'strengthen government's hand'

YSA demands retraction of Stalinist slanders

By Steve Clark

Slanders as a substitute for political debate and discussion always end up strengthening the repressive hand of the government against all radical groups and progressive causes.

That important principle is the theme of an effort launched by the Young Socialist Alliance demanding the retraction of outrageous accusations against it by the Young Workers Liberation League. The YWLL, youth group of the Communist Party USA, made the charges in the main resolution passed at its recent national convention.

In that resolution, entitled *A Better Life for Our Generation*, the YWLL states that, "more and more media coverage and in some cases money—as the revelations about the CIA and FBI show—is given to fake socialist grouplets, to Trotskyite, Maoist, and other ultra-left disrupters. . . ."

The resolution specifically points a finger at the YSA and Socialist Workers Party, as well as several other groups.

Ironically, most of the revelations referred to in the YWLL resolution have come to light through the landmark lawsuit against the FBI, CIA, and other government police agencies filed by the YSA and SWP in 1973.

Twisted logic

If you accept the YWLL's twisted reasoning, then why has the YSA spent so much time and effort over the past four years prying out government secrets? Just to prove that it is a "fake socialist grouplet" propped up by the ruling rich?

The YWLL also charges that "these groups" play a "counterrevolutionary role" and "do the class enemy's work by attempting to impose provocative, dangerous actions that invite police repression."

In an open letter to the YWLL, the YSA National Executive Committee points out that "if allowed to stand, [these slander] will do a grave disservice to the fight against government harassment and victimization of political dissidents."

Responding to the false accusations, the open letter explains that the YSA "has a proud record spanning more than seventeen years in the fight against capitalist oppression and exploitation."

"It is precisely because of our revolutionary views and activities that the

To this end, more and more media coverage and in some cases money—as the revelations about the CIA and FBI show—is given to fake socialist grouplets, to Trotskyite, Maoist and other ultra-left disrupters like the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, Revolutionary Communist (formerly Revolutionary Union), October League, CIA-inspired National Caucus of Labor Committees—U.S. Labor Party, ad nauseum. It is not an accident that these groups are venomously anti-Soviet and anti-CPUSA. This is the reason they exist.

Monopoly uses these groups to confuse, mislead or to turn off left thinking youth, especially workers in basic industry (young and older) from the real Marxist-Leninist revolutionary forces in U.S. society—the CPUSA and the YWLL—as well as from existing socialism. Parading under the banner of "socialist revolution" and "workers power" while in practice playing a counter-revolutionary role, these elements do the class enemy's work by attempting to impose provocative, dangerous actions that invite police repression. They disrupt unity and divert attention from the main issues.

Section from YWLL resolution containing slanders against YSA

YSA has been a prime target of government harassment."

The YSA's attitude toward other victims of government attacks, the open letter explains, can be summed up by the slogan, "An injury to one is an injury to all."

YSA's consistent record

For example, the open letter cites the YSA's efforts to defend the YWLL and its predecessor, the W.E.B. DuBois Club, against right-wing and government attacks.

"Unfortunately," the open letter continues, "the YWLL seems to attach little importance to closing ranks in defense of political groups it disagrees with."

Why is this so? Why do YWLL leaders resort to lies and slanders?

Their aim is to inoculate their members against the YSA's political views—in fact, to inoculate them against the very idea of thinking for themselves about political issues.

What are these issues that YWLL leaders want to avoid discussing with the YSA, and with their own members?

Uppermost there is the YWLL's notorious support for the totalitarian practices of the privileged bureaucrats who rule the Soviet Union.

The YSA, on the other hand, supports the struggle for democratic rights in that country. It believes that the restoration of workers democracy there is in the true Marxist tradition of Lenin, Trotsky, and other leaders of the Russian revolution—a tradition crushed in blood under Stalin and his heirs.

The undemocratic practices of the privileged Kremlin bureaucrats have so repelled radicalizing students and

workers throughout the world that even some large European Communist parties—and their youth groups—have been forced to take some distance from these crimes.

YWLL leaders fear that some of their own members will begin to raise questions about these flagrant departures from the socialist goal of liberating humanity.

The YWLL leaders also want to nip some other questions in the bud.

Questions about the YWLL's opposition to the nationalism of oppressed Black and Chicano youth.

Questions about the YWLL's opposition to the women's liberation movement and to the Equal Rights Amendment.

Questions about the YWLL's support for liberal politicians in the big-business-controlled Democratic Party.

The YSA has a lot to say to YWLL members about these and other issues.

"Serious political differences divide the Young Socialist Alliance and the Young Workers Liberation League," says the open letter to the YWLL. "That is a fact."

"But you demonstrate a notable lack of confidence in your ability to confront the YSA politically when you stoop to the preposterous charge that we are promoted and financed by big business to 'do the class enemy's work.'"

The real fight

If the YWLL is concerned about fighting those who *really* do the class enemy's work—that is, the political police—the YSA offers a suggestion: "The way to fight back . . . is not to go around spreading slanders about other political groups. What is needed is a united campaign by all victims of political persecution to expose and halt the government schemes that endanger the rights of all Americans."

The open letter urges the YWLL to retract its false charges and "to join with hundreds of other organizations and prominent supporters of civil liberties in endorsing the Political Rights Defense Fund, which is coordinating support for our massive lawsuit against the government dirty tricksters." Both the YWLL and the CP have refused to endorse the socialists' suit.

This important lawsuit, the open letter explains, "is a challenge to the kind of government disruption suffered not only by socialists but by *all* progressive movements for social change: Black organizations, trade unions, the women's movement, anti-war groups, and political organizations such as the Young Workers Liberation League."

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.

Name _____

Address _____

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

YWLL learns lessons well

The hatchet job against the YSA in the YWLL resolution is nothing new for the Stalinist movement. It simply shows that the YWLL leaders have learned their lessons well from their Communist Party teachers.

During last year's presidential election, for example, CP leaders made similar slanderous charges against rival political parties, especially the SWP.

Matty Berkelhammer, a CP campaign worker and YWLL leader, said in a speech reprinted by the *Daily World* that America's rulers were putting up "all kinds of political parties and tickets to divert people from the only meaningful alternative, the Communist alternative. . . ."

He went on to charge these groups with using illegal practices to fulfill restrictive government ballot requirements.

These charges were echoed by veteran CP leader Victor Perlo, who wrote that the government consciously helps the SWP get on the

ballot because it wants the SWP to be "built up as 'the leading left party.'"

After protests from prominent movement figures and civil libertarians began to arrive at the CP headquarters, CP campaign chairman Henry Winston and campaign manager Simon Gerson were forced to make a retraction.

"Comrade Berkelhammer states self-critically that the speech contains passages referring to independents and minority parties which are fundamentally incorrect," they wrote. Perlo also wrote a correction.

The SWP welcomed these retractions.

Unfortunately, less than a month later the CP was back to its old tricks. At a California news conference in August 1976, CP presidential candidate Gus Hall stated that the YSA and SWP's lawsuit against Washington's political police proved that the SWP is "the main staging area for the FBI in the left movement in general." —S.C.

Calendar

BALTIMORE

POLLUTION CRISIS. CAUTION: BETHLEHEM STEEL IS HAZARDOUS TO YOUR HEALTH. Speakers: Barbara Stevenson, member of Local 33, Industrial Union of Marine & Shipbuilding Workers; Gordon Fox, SWP. Fri., Nov. 18, 8 p.m. 2117 N. Charles St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (301) 547-0668.

BOSTON: ROXBURY

CARTER'S RECORD ON THE BLACK COMMUNITY. Speaker: Maceo Dixon, SWP National Committee. Fri., Nov. 18, 8 p.m. 612 Blue Hill Ave., Dorchester (corner of Columbia and Blue Hill Ave). Donation \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 288-0753.

CAMBRIDGE

THE DEATH PENALTY AND THE CASE OF THE DAWSON FIVE. Speaker: Dr. Hugo Bedau, professor of philosophy at Tufts U. and an expert witness on the death penalty at the trial of the Dawson Five. Fri., Nov. 18, 8 p.m. 2 Central Square, second floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 547-4395.

CHICAGO: WESTSIDE

THE BAKKE CASE: A NEW THREAT TO CIVIL RIGHTS. Speakers: Richard Wright, Black American Law Students Association; Representatives, SCAR, SWP. Fri. Nov. 18, 7:30 p.m. 10 N. Cicero Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 261-8370.

CLEVELAND

THE ENERGY RIP-OFF. Speaker: to be announced. Refreshments available before and after forum. Fri., Nov. 18, 8 p.m. 2300 Payne Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: The *Militant*. For more information call (216) 861-4166.

INDIANAPOLIS

NUCLEAR POWER: BOON OR BOONDOGGLE? Speakers: Mark Megenity, I.U. Paddle Wheel Alliance; Tom Campion, SWP. Fri., Nov. 18, 7:45 p.m. 4163 N. College. Donation: \$1. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (317) 925-2616.

LOS ANGELES

CARTER AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN LATIN AMERICA: MYTH VERSUS REALITY. Speaker: Hugo Blanco, Peruvian peasant leader. Fri., Nov. 18, 7:30 p.m. Immaculate Heart College Auditorium, 2021 N. Western Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: USLA, Viewpoint Speakers Bureau. For more information call (213) 385-2131.

LOUISVILLE, KY.

DEFENDING WOMEN'S RIGHTS CONFERENCE. Speakers: Mary Pritchard; Susie Post; Darlene Couch; Peggy Pearson; Mrs. Keith, member, Justus Mine Women's Club; others. Sat., Nov. 12, 9 a.m.-5:30 p.m. Downtown YWCA, 3rd and Chestnut. Ausp: Louisville NOW. For more information call (502) 451-7630 or 282-8555 or 775-6211.

THE HISTORY OF THE WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT. Speaker: Dianne Feeley, member SWP National Committee, former head of New York NOW ERA subcommittee. Sat., Dec. 3, 12 noon; Sun., Dec. 4, 1 p.m., 4 p.m. Slide show on women in industry, Sat., Dec. 3, 3 p.m. 1505 W. Broadway. Donation: \$1.50 per session. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

RALLY FOR THE 'MILITANT.' Speakers: Jack Barnes, SWP national secretary; Debby Tarnopol, 1977 SWP candidate for mayor of Louisville; Bob Cunningham, Louisville Black community activist; others. Sat., Dec. 3, reception, 6:30 p.m.; rally, 7:30 p.m. 1505 W. Broadway. Adm. free. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

MIAMI

THE SOCIALIST ALTERNATIVE TO CARTER. Rally for the *Militant* newspaper. Speaker: Linda Jenness, 1972 SWP presidential candidate. Sat., Nov. 19, 7:30 p.m. YWCA, NE 2nd Ave. & 18th St. Donation: \$1.25. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (305) 266-4381.

MILWAUKEE

WILL CARTER BRING PEACE TO THE MIDDLE EAST? Speakers: Tom Mauer, SWP; a Palestinian student. Fri., Nov. 18, 8 p.m. 3901 N. 27th St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: The *Militant*. For more information call (414) 442-8170.

NEW YORK CITY

DEFENDING AFFIRMATIVE ACTION: REVERSE THE 'BAKKE' DECISION. Speakers: Dr. Joseph Cox, Chairman, Education Committee of Village-Chelsea NAACP; Joseph Pacheco, vice-president of Puerto Rican Educators Association; Dee Alpert, National Employment Compliance coordinator, NOW; Raymond Burroughs, National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision; Judy Kleinberg, AFT Caucus on Desegregation and Equality in Education. Fri., Nov. 18, 8 p.m. Village-Chelsea NAACP, 42 Grove St., Adm. free.

NEW YORK: THE BRONX

INTRODUCTION TO SOCIALISM CLASS SERIES. Saturdays, 3 p.m. 2271 Morris Ave. Ausp: Bronx SWP. For more information call (212) 365-6652.

ST. PAUL

HOUSING: FOR PEOPLE . . . OR PROFITS? Speakers: Grant West, housing director, St. Paul Urban League; Pauline Eichten, co-op housing activist; Ginny Burke, SWP. Fri., Nov. 18, 8 p.m. 176 Western Ave. (corner of Selby and Western). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 222-8929.

SAN FRANCISCO: MISSION DISTRICT

WHAT STRATEGY TO FIGHT LAYOFFS? Speakers: Percy Edmunds, Local 50, United Steelworkers of America; Joe Ward, Bay Area Steelworkers Fight Back; Nat Weinstein, SWP. Fri., Nov. 18, 8 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

SAN JOSE

CARTER AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN LATIN AMERICA: MYTH VERSUS REALITY. Speaker: Hugo Blanco, Peruvian peasant leader. Tues., Nov. 15, 7

p.m. San Jose State U. Student Union, Loma Prieta Room. Ausp: USLA, Stanford Amnesty International. For more information call (408) 297-8361 or 292-5641.

DOES AMERICA HAVE A SOCIALIST FUTURE?

Speaker: Art Sharon, veteran socialist educator and trade union organizer. Fri., Nov. 18, 8 p.m. 942 E. Santa Clara St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (408) 295-8342.

TACOMA, WASH.

STOP THE DEPORTATIONS! A REPORT FROM THE NATIONAL CHICANO/LATINO CONFERENCE. Film, *The Unwanted*, a documentary on the plight of undocumented workers. Speaker: Kate Daher, SWP. Fri., Nov. 18, 8 p.m. 1022 S. J St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (206) 627-0432.

Forums on South Africa

DENVER

SOUTH AFRICA AFTER BIKO. Speakers: Ali Thobhani, associate professor of Afro-American studies, Metropolitan State College; John Cotman, SWP. Fri., Nov. 18, 7:30 p.m. 916 Broadway. Donation: \$1. Ausp: The *Militant*. For more information call (303) 837-1018.

PHILADELPHIA: GERMANTOWN THE NEWEST WAVE OF ATTACKS IN SOUTH AFRICA. Film, *The Last Grave in Dimbaza*. Fri., Nov. 18, 8 p.m. 1st Methodist Church, Germantown & High streets. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: SWP & YSA. For more information call (215) 844-2874.

PITTSBURGH

CRACKDOWN IN SOUTH AFRICA. Fri., Nov. 18, 8 p.m. 5504 Penn Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (412) 441-1419.

...poll

Continued from page 3

should go free, while the poor ones go to jail."

And it's equally hard to square with his campaign promises: "I welcome the scrutiny of the American people," and "It is time for us . . . to strip away the secrecy" in government.

The *Times*-CBS poll also showed that only 42 percent of the American people believe Carter's claim that this country faces a real shortage of gas and oil. In fact, 51 percent of those polled agreed with the statement, "We are just being told there are shortages so oil and gas companies can charge higher prices."

This confirmed findings in another *Times*-CBS poll released last August. That survey showed stiff opposition to Carter's energy plan, which he has called the most important domestic issue of his first term. For example, 59 percent opposed allowing natural gas companies to increase prices to finance more exploration for new wells—a key part of the plan.

According to the August survey, opposition to Carter's scheme to boost oil and gas prices runs highest among those in low income groups—precisely those who voted most heavily for Carter last November.

A CBS News poll a year ago showed that 57 percent of those in the \$8,000-\$12,000 income group voted for Carter, along with 62 percent of those in the below \$8,000 group. On the other hand, those with income above \$20,000—who back the Carter energy plan—voted heavily against him.

Responses to several other questions in the *Times*-CBS poll show the continued impact of reactionary propaganda doled out by the wealthy rulers through their control of the newspapers, television and radio stations, and schools.

- Although 70 percent of those polled said that victims of past discrimination should "get a better break in the future," most did not back quotas to ensure equal treatment for oppressed nationalities and women in hiring and college admissions.

- Sixty-four percent said they thought that Washington should send troops to reopen the Panama Canal if it were shut down.

- A majority thought that the United States should give its "strong-

est support to Israel," and said that either the Palestine Liberation Organization, the Soviet Union, or the Arab countries—not Israel—was at fault for the Mideast dispute.

These findings show the importance of continuing to educate on what's really at stake in the fight for affirmative-action quotas and in the struggles for self-determination by the Panamanian and Palestinian people. As the general disillusionment in government continues to mount, the opportunities to win a hearing on issues such as these will also expand.

It will be easier and easier to convince people that the same government that won't put them to work also profits from keeping women, Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans at the bottom of the job heap.

That the same government that lied to them about Vietnam also lies to them about Israel.

And that the same government that is scheming to raise their utility bills also profits from denying the Panamanian people control of their own canal.

...IWY

Continued from page 6

On October 29 the IWY Black women's caucus met in New York and discussed issues of concern to Black women in Houston—child care, education, employment, health, welfare reform, housing, sexual preference, and South Africa. Twenty-seven members of New York's delegation are Black. One hundred women attended the caucus meeting.

Lolita Lacson, a member of New York's Asian-American caucus and an IWY delegate, told the *Militant* that she intends to raise the case of the Filipina nurses in Houston. The two Ann Arbor, Michigan, nurses were unjustly convicted of murdering several patients.

"It's a clear example of racism and the oppression of women. Women in inferior positions are harassed first," Lacson explained.

She stressed the importance of a large feminist contingent in Houston, warning that "the state department may flood the observers' section with right-wingers."

In other cities, conferences and rallies are being called in defense of women's rights and in solidarity with

feminists in Houston. On November 14 a rally will be held at the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis to protest government attacks and defend women's rights. The central demands of the rally will be ratification of the ERA, and an end to attacks on abortion funding and affirmative action. Rally cosponsors include Minneapolis and St. Paul NOW; Abortion Rights Council of Minneapolis; Lesbian Feminist Organizing Committee; YWCA; Local 1164 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Socialist Workers Party; and Young Socialist Alliance.

...steel

Continued from page 4

McBride tried to downplay the impact of the mass march and rally by telling the strikers that while such demonstrations make unionists feel good, they "don't have much effect on the employers."

But if this is true, why did the employers send him off to unveil their proposal at precisely the time the rally was taking place?

The truth is that the steel firms sent McBride to the range to sell their divide-and-conquer scheme because the strike is winning more support every day.

They are afraid the fighting spirit of the strikers will set an example for steelworkers and other workers under attack throughout the country.

In recent weeks teams of strikers have been touring Chicago-Gary steel locals, winning the support of steelworkers there, who have joined them in fund-raising efforts.

At the rally, union leaders announced that they are launching a strike newspaper for mass distribution on the iron range to tell the truth about the strike and counter the lies of the daily papers in the area.

They recently put out an appeal for funds to more than 5,000 steel locals throughout the United States and Canada.

The Mesabi Iron Range steelworkers can win this fight. But if they are to win, their cause much be supported by greater numbers of steel and other workers throughout the country.

Financial contributions should be sent to United Steelworkers of America, District 33 Strike and De-

fense Fund, 334 West Superior, Duluth, Minnesota 55802.

Copies of messages and resolutions of support can also be sent to USWA Local 1938 (the largest of the fifteen striking locals) at 307 North 1st Street, Virginia, Minnesota 55792.

...nuclear

Continued from back page

before she died? Was someone trying to scare her off?

- An auto accident specialist hired by Silkwood's union declared her car had been hit from behind and forced off the road. Why was the road resurfaced the next day, covering skidmarks that could have been evidence?

- Jean Jung was a co-worker of Silkwood's who saw her carrying the documents into her car just before she died. Who broke into Jung's home and ransacked it two days after her story was revealed in court documents?

- *Who killed Karen Silkwood?* Answers to some of these questions may come through a lawsuit filed by Silkwood's parents and former husband against Kerr-McGee, three FBI agents, and Jacque Srouji.

The collusion between Kerr-McGee and the federal government to keep the wraps on the Silkwood case reveals their fear that the truth may some day come out.

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ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 314 E. Taylor, Phoenix, Ariz. 85004. Tel: (602) 255-0450.

Tucson: YSA, SUPO 20965, Tucson, Ariz. 85720. Tel: (602) 795-2053.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley: SWP, YSA, Granma Bookstore, 3264 Adeline St., Berkeley, Calif. 94703. Tel: (415) 653-7156.

East Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 1237 S. Atlantic Blvd., East Los Angeles, Calif. 90022. Tel: (213) 265-1347.

Los Angeles, Crenshaw District: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 2167 W. Washington Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif. 90018. Tel: (213) 732-8196.

Los Angeles: City-wide SWP, YSA, 1250 Wilshire Blvd., Room 404, Los Angeles, Calif. 90017. Tel: (213) 482-1820.

Los Angeles, Southeast: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 2554 Saturn Ave., Huntington Park, Calif. 90255. Tel: (213) 582-1975.

Oakland: SWP, YSA, 1467 Fruitvale Ave., Oakland, Calif. 94601. Tel: (415) 261-1210.

San Diego: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 1053 15th St., San Diego, Calif. 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630.

San Francisco: City-wide SWP, YSA, 3004 16th St., San Francisco, Calif. 94110. Tel: (415) 626-6288.

San Francisco, Mission District: SWP, Socialist Bookstore, Liberia Socialista, 3284 23rd St., San Francisco, Calif. 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992.

San Francisco, Western Addition: SWP, 973 Page St., San Francisco, Calif. 94117. Tel: (415) 626-6814.

San Jose: SWP, YSA, 942 E. Santa Clara St., San Jose, Calif. 95110. Tel: (408) 295-8342.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 916 Broadway, Denver, Colo. 80203. Tel: (303) 837-1018.

FLORIDA: Miami: SWP, YSA, Box 431096, South Miami, Fla. 33143. Tel: (305) 266-4381.

Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Linda Thalman, 1303 Ocala Rd. #140, Tallahassee, Fla. 32304. Tel: (904) 576-5737.

GEORGIA: East Atlanta: SWP, 471A Flat Shoals Ave. SE, P.O. Box 5596, Atlanta, Ga. 30307. Tel: (404) 688-6739.

West Atlanta: SWP, Militant Bookstore, 137 Ashby, P.O. Box 92040, Atlanta, Ga. 30314. Tel: (404) 755-2940.

ILLINOIS: Champaign-Urbana: YSA, 284 Illini Union, Urbana, Ill. 61801.

Chicago: City-wide SWP, YSA, 407 S. Dearborn #1145, Chicago, Ill. 60605. Tel: SWP—(312) 939-0737; YSA—(312) 427-0280.

Chicago, North Side: SWP, Pathfinder Books, 1870 N. Halsted, Chicago, Ill. 60614. Tel: (312) 642-4811.

Chicago, South Side: SWP, Militant Bookstore, 2251 E. 71st St., Chicago, Ill. 60649. Tel: (312) 643-5520.

Chicago, West Side: SWP, Pathfinder Books, 10 N.

Cicero, Chicago, Ill. 60644. Tel: (312) 261-8370.
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Indianapolis: SWP, 4163 College Ave., Indianapolis, Ind. 46205. Tel: (317) 925-2616.

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Anti-abortion law takes life of Chicana

By Diane Wang

The Hyde amendment, which cuts off Medicaid payment for abortions, has begun to take its toll. On October 28 the government released details about the first officially reported victim of its anti-abortion policies.

The woman was twenty-seven years old, a Chicana with a four-year-old child. A few months ago, finding herself pregnant, she wanted an abortion. But, like so many other women, she did not have the money.

If it had happened last summer, she would have been eligible for a government-paid abortion.

But, as someone told her, on August 4 Medicaid funds for abortions were cut off. The combined efforts of Congress, the Supreme Court, and the Carter administration saw to that.

So in September the woman crossed the border and had a forty-dollar abortion at a pharmacy in Reynosa, Mexico. Soon afterward she showed up in a Texas hospital with fever, chills, anemia, and jaundice.

On October 2 she died.

Abortion foes (who have the spite to call themselves "right to life" people) were apparently unconcerned by the

report. Rep. Henry Hyde, for example, dismissed talk about the Chicana's death as "hysterical characterizations."

The results of the abortion cutoff are not "hysterical" talk, although they certainly are shocking.

Former Health, Education and Welfare official Louis Hellman has estimated that without government funds for abortion, about 850 women each week would seek illegal abortions. Of those, 85 would end up hospitalized. And each week 5, like the Chicana, would die.

Those estimates are already becoming hard facts. The Center for Disease Control recently began a study of abortion and pregnancy-related admissions at several hospitals. In just two weeks fourteen hospitals reported admitting fifty-five women for such cases.

It isn't clear whether all these cases are the result of illegal abortions, but most probably are. The Texas hospital where the Chicana died, for example, reported four other cases in which the women survived. All four had suffered serious infections after abortions in Mexico. Two of the four had Medicaid

cards.

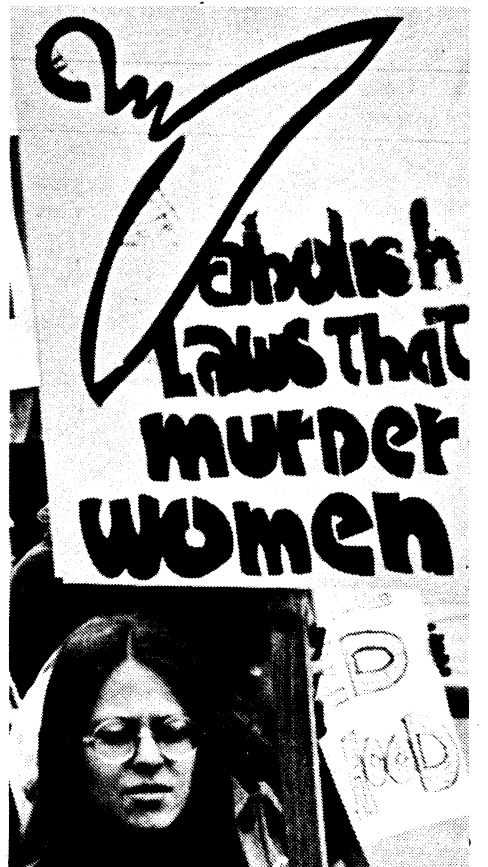
The Hyde amendment has taken women a step closer to the pre-1973 days before abortion was legalized. Back to the days when Kings County Hospital in Brooklyn had thirty beds set aside just to deal with women suffering botched abortions. Back to 1960 when the Center for Disease Control reported 250 deaths from illegal abortions.

(By contrast, in 1975, when abortion was legal and Medicaid funds available, the center identified only five deaths from illegal abortions nationwide.)

On November 2, 500 people in Washington, D.C., held a memorial for the Chicana who was killed by the Hyde amendment.

The night before a *New York Times*-CBS poll was released, showing that 47 percent of the public favors government funding for abortions, while 44 percent opposes it.

A fitting memorial for the Chicana will be a movement to mobilize the sentiment for abortion rights that exists and to publicize the deadly results of the government's anti-abortion offensive.



Militant/Mark Satinoff

Who killed Karen Silkwood?

New facts confirm her charges of nuclear hazards

By Arnold Weissberg

Three years after the mysterious death of Karen Silkwood, many of the charges she leveled against her employer, the giant Kerr-McGee energy firm, have been confirmed. And the cover-up surrounding her death continues.

Silkwood was a worker at Kerr-McGee's plant in Crescent, Oklahoma. On November 13, 1974, she died in an auto accident while going to meet a reporter. She was carrying documents proving Kerr-McGee's lax safety precautions for handling plutonium posed a serious threat to the health of plant workers and surrounding communities.

The documents disappeared in the crash.

Kerr-McGee assembled plutonium rods for atomic reactors at its Crescent plant. Silkwood's job was to test the rods.

Plutonium, which does not exist in nature, is fiendishly poisonous. One-millionth of a gram, if inhaled, will cause lung cancer. It is a necessary ingredient in some nuclear power plants and can be used in atomic weapons.

The Crescent plant shut down in 1975. When it closed, thirty-eight pounds of plutonium could not be accounted for.

In the October 20 issue of *Rolling Stone*, reporter Howard Kohn reveals that two former Kerr-McGee managers have confirmed Silkwood's charges.

The two men, Jerry Cooper and Jim Smith, were department heads at Kerr-McGee.

Smith described the "devil may care" Kerr-McGee attitude, which, he



KAREN SILKWOOD

said, became most obvious after the company won a \$9.6 million contract for plutonium fuel assemblies in 1972.

"I think they underbid the job because after that it was just push, push, push," Smith told Kohn.

As many as 200 workers may have been contaminated by plutonium, Smith said. Kerr-McGee reported fewer than half that many exposures to the Atomic Energy Commission.

The company also frequently violated the AEC rule that production must shut down when leaks are discovered.

"We were told to operate or else," Smith said. "We didn't have a choice." Kerr-McGee was also indifferent to

safety in shipping nuclear wastes, both men said.

Liquid radioactive wastes were poured into forty-five-gallon metal drums and hauled by truck to a dump in Kentucky.

"It sometimes leaked out of the barrels before the trucks pulled out of the plant," Cooper said.

When Kerr-McGee switched to another, more expensive method of waste disposal after Silkwood's death, it sparked embarrassing questions, Cooper said. The company also started tightening up on safety procedures following plutonium leaks.

It took several months to train the workers to respond to radiation alarms, Cooper commented. "Workers had gotten so used to doing it the other way that we had to train them all over again," he told Kohn.

But problems remained. Plutonium kept disappearing. Forty pounds were unaccounted for in 1974, and the plant had to close twice to search for it. The company convinced the AEC that the plutonium had been caught in pipes and that it was flushed out with acid.

Smith told reporter Kohn, however, that in one case, the pipes were never flushed. "Three days later, we were told, 'Forget it,' and we were back in operation. It seems to me that somebody must have pulled some strings."

Smith ridiculed the regular "surprise" AEC inspections. "There wasn't one time we didn't know about an inspection three days ahead of time," he said.

Both men, career nuclear workers, finally quit Kerr-McGee in disgust. Government agencies weren't eager

to pursue the questions Silkwood's death raised. The AEC's successor, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, merely slapped Kerr-McGee's wrist, despite the company's numerous violations. The Justice Department closed its investigation without taking any action.

Meanwhile, the FBI was trying to bury the truth along with Karen Silkwood. Newly released FBI files indicate that Kerr-McGee's security chief, James Reading, believed that FBI agents investigating the plant after Silkwood's death were more interested in "proving" she had been smuggling out plutonium or in falsifying company records.

FBI involvement in the case became public during a House investigation of the Silkwood case in 1976. Jacques Srouji, a Nashville reporter, told a House committee she had been granted access to previously secret FBI and Kerr-McGee files—documents that had been kept hidden from all other government agencies.

Srouji told the committee that certain top FBI officials had ordered an end to the investigation of Silkwood's death. FBI agent Lawrence Olson, who had conducted the Silkwood investigation, later admitted the bureau had a "special" relationship with Srouji—a polite way of saying she was an informant.

Too many questions remain unanswered:

- What happened to the documents Silkwood had with her when she died?
- How did her apartment become contaminated with plutonium six days

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