

THE MILITANT

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

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in NY say:
'Restore
abortion
funds'**

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gov't retreat in
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Thousands protest as **CARTER WELCOMES BUTCHER OF IRAN**

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Militant/Nancy Cole

WASHINGTON, D.C., November 15: Iranian students and their supporters assail U.S. ties with shah's repressive dictatorship.

It was hardly surprising that thousands of angry protesters greeted Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi upon his arrival in Washington, D.C., November 15. The shah's regime is one of the most repressive in the world.

An editorial

Iranian exile groups estimate the shah holds between 25,000 and 100,000 political prisoners in his jails.

A report released last year by the International Commission of Jurists concluded that "there can be no doubt that torture has been systematically practiced over a number of years. . . ."

Forty prominent Iranian intellectu-

als said in an open letter last May: "We can cite numerous examples dealing with persons who have been incarcerated for years or are still in incarceration, whose sole crime is the writing, translating, or even the reading of a book."

Even as the shah prepared to leave for his visit to the United States November 13, fifty-six prominent Iranians appealed for the release of political prisoners, disbanding of the secret police, and free elections.

For the Iranian people, the shah's rule is a national tragedy, a reign of terror stifling every democratic right, a

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Editor: MARY-ALICE WATERS
Managing Editor: STEVE CLARK
Business Manager: HARVEY MCARTHUR
Southwest Bureau: HARRY RING
Washington Bureau: DAVID FRANKEL

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In Brief

RADICAL PRESS CIRCULATION FIGURES: The following are statistics reported to the government by several radical newspapers on their weekly circulation over the past year. The figures reflect average paid circulation.

	subscriptions	bundles	total
Militant	11,458	10,521	21,979
Daily World	5,707	28,049	33,756
People's World	6,682	630	7,312
Guardian	15,135	5,077	20,212
Weekly People	3,727	6,229	9,956
In These Times	5,500	2,500	8,000

KAREN SILKWOOD MEMORIAL: One hundred fifty people at Florida State University in Tallahassee, Florida, held a candlelight vigil in memory of Karen Silkwood November 13.

Silkwood died in a mysterious Oklahoma auto crash three

Arizona farm workers win strike victory

By Ellie Garcia

PHOENIX, Ariz.—Striking farm workers near here won an important victory November 1 when the huge Arrowhead Ranch gave in to their eight demands.

The strike was especially significant because so many of the workers are Mexicans in this country "illegally."

Organized by the Maricopa County Organizing Project (MCOP), the 200 workers demanded daily wage payments, toilets in the fields, blankets and tents, and medical care.

The workers are all migrants and live in company-supplied housing. The conditions are worse than primitive. Some workers actually lived in packing crates. Others strung blankets between trees.

One of the workers' demands was for prior notification of insecticide spraying so they could get out of the way.

Arrowhead Ranch is owned by Goldmar, Inc. U.S. Sen. Barry Goldwater's brother Robert heads this corporation.

During the strike the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service swept the ranches, picking up more than ninety workers. The local INS chief innocently claimed that he knew nothing of any labor dispute. Goldwater had denied to reporters earlier this year that Arrowhead employed any undocumented workers.

Meanwhile, another 2,500 workers, all of them "illegals," remain on strike against several ranches. The workers, who pick green onions, are asking for \$.40 per dozen bunches. They are currently paid \$.26. A dozen bunches usually sells in a local market for about \$2.40.

Compliant judges have yielded to grower requests for injunctions limiting the number of pickets at each ranch entrance to ten. The growers are so eager to break the strike that they have begun paying scabs more than the sought-for forty cents per dozen.

Spanish-language radio stations have carried false announcements that the strike is over.

years ago. She was on her way to meet with a reporter to expose the extremely unsafe procedures for plutonium handling used by her employer, the energy giant Kerr-McGee.

The meeting was sponsored by an anti-nuclear power group named the Catfish Alliance and the National Organization for Women. NOW representative Linda Thalman told the audience, "I think that Karen would agree that her work needs to be carried on. We must continue to educate ourselves and others to ask questions of our government officials, to have teach-ins, pickets, demonstrations, and rallies like we're doing tonight."

GANG ATTACKS BLACK STUDENTS: Twelve Black high school students from Pennsylvania will long remember their visit to the "Freedom Shrine" at Bunker Hill in Boston. They were attacked by a gang of club-wielding whites. Four of the students and one teacher were injured.

Police arrested three men and charged them with assault and battery. The students had been standing at a bus stop when the racists drove by in a car, jumped out, and began beating them.

The Bunker Hill monument is in the mostly-white Charlestown section of Boston, which has been the scene of violent racist opposition to school busing.

PASSPORT FRAUD FRAME-UP: Two anti-Vietnam War activists, Vicki Gabriner and Jimmy Reeves, were convicted of passport fraud earlier this year and sentenced to a year on probation.

The charge was based on a January 1970 incident when the two were members of the Weatherman grouping that emerged from the split-up of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). The government charged that Reeves used a phony name when applying for a passport and that

Gabriner vouched for him. However, the application was withdrawn before the passport was issued.

Gabriner, a lesbian feminist activist living in Atlanta, is fighting her conviction. The case is "totally political," she charged.

A hearing on Gabriner's appeal is set for early December in Boston. A recent benefit in Atlanta drew 350 supporters and raised \$850.

COURT OKAYS JOBLESS PAY FOR STRIKERS: Unionists across the country were stunned last spring when a federal district judge struck down the New York state law allowing strikers to collect unemployment benefits after eight weeks on strike. That antilabor ruling was reversed November 9 by a federal appeals court, which said the law was constitutional.

The case arose from a long strike by New York telephone workers in 1971 and 1972.

SEABROOK PROTESTER SENTENCED: Carter Wentworth of Kensington, New Hampshire, was sentenced to four months in jail November 7. He was convicted of "simple trespass" for participating in the April 30 occupation at the Seabrook, New Hampshire, construction site of a nuclear power plant. Another protester got two months, and a third, three months.

Wentworth's sentence went against the recommendation of the prosecuting attorney, who urged a fifteen-day term. Judge Wayne Mullavey declared, "This is one of the very few cases since I've been on the bench that sentencing may be a deterrent to future crimes of this type."

Representatives of the Clamshell Alliance, which sponsored the occupation last spring, pointed out that in the past ten years only twelve cases of "simple trespass" have reached superior court, and no jail sentences resulted.

INDIANS LOSE RIGHT TO REPRESENT SELVES: Judge Floyd Dodson has revoked the right of Paul Skyhorse and Richard Mohawk to act as their own attorneys. The ruling came November 7.

The two American Indian Movement activists are being framed up for the 1974 killing of a cabdriver. The revocation of their right to self-representation was based on the charge that they had participated in an attack on guards at the Los Angeles County jail.

Actually, the fracas began after guards attacked another prisoner.

Skyhorse and Mohawk will continue to be represented by a team of attorneys headed by Leonard Weinglass. Dodson's ruling will be appealed to the state supreme court.

GRAY PANTHERS MEET: More than 300 members of the Gray Panthers assembled October 27-30 in Washington, D.C., to discuss problems facing America's elderly. Workshops called for a total revamping of the profit-based health-care system and the regressive Social Security tax. Resolutions called for adequate housing, an end to mandatory retirement, and a halt to media discrimination against old people.

The conference voted to work for a "new economic system which will transcend the profit motive, eliminate the concentration of corporate power, and serve human ends."

RALLY FOR PUERTO RICAN PRISONERS: Three hundred fifty people rallied at the Marion, Illinois, federal prison October 31 to demand the release of the Four Puerto Rican Nationalist Prisoners.

The four have been held in federal prisons since the early 1950s because of their activities for Puerto Rican independence. They are the longest-held political prisoners in the Western Hemisphere.

Rafael Cancel Miranda, one of the four, is imprisoned at Marion. He has been in prison for twenty-three years.

Speakers included Myrna Salgado of the Midwest Committee to Free the Four and Vernon Bellecourt of the American Indian Movement.

PUERTO RICAN ACTIVIST HARASSED: Marie Rivera, director of the University of Connecticut Puerto Rican Center, has twice been the victim of vandals. In September rocks were thrown through the center's windows. In October rocks were thrown through the windows of Rivera's house.

At an October 19 news conference Rivera charged that the university administration had done nothing to halt the incidents. She said she was "shocked at the university's refusal to take a stand on this incident of harassment."

Rivera has been outspoken in defense of quotas for women and minorities to ensure an end to racist discrimination. She is a vocal opponent of the Bakke decision, which contends that such quotas are "reverse discrimination."

University officials claim the incidents are merely pointless vandalism.

—Arnold Weissberg

Cops tear-gas demonstrators Thousands at White House protest shah

By Nancy Cole

WASHINGTON—As the shah of Iran arrived at the White House November 15 to open a round of friendly talks with President Carter, thousands of Iranian students protested outside.

Wearing masks to prevent identification by SAVAK, the hated Iranian secret police, more than 5,000 demonstrators condemned the shah's brutal dictatorship and the U.S. government's support to it.

"Iran, the future Vietnam. U.S. get out of Iran," they chanted, as contingents organized by various Iranian student groups marched in Lafayette Park north of the White House and on the Ellipse to the south.

"Shah is a murderer. Down with the shah," they shouted in English and Persian from early morning until night.

While Carter praised Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi for maintaining a "strong, stable, and progressive Iran," the protesters exposed the shah's reign of terror.

Signs read: "There are 100,000 political prisoners in Iran," "Stop SAVAK terrorism," and "Expose Carter's hu-



Cops jump anti-shah demonstrator

Militant/Nancy Cole

man rights hypocrisy."

Nearby, several thousand pro-shah Iranians demonstrated their "admiration" for the butcher head of state.

"We love our king," they chanted. "Long live the shah."

Some arrived in chartered buses and in white vans marked, "Property of the U.S. Navy."

Seven hundred Iranian Air Force students in this country were given a three-day leave, presumably so they could be part of the "welcome committee."

The pro-shah crowd waved American and Iranian flags and carried signs and banners saying, "Shah is the answer," "Shah-Carter: great leaders," and "Iran is the key to Middle East peace." Many of them admitted to reporters that they had received free airplane tickets, hotel accommodations, and \$100 spending money apiece—supplied by the Iranian government or rich Iranian businessmen.

A student from Chicago told the *Washington Post*, "I was out of work and needed the money. I heard about this thing through word of mouth and decided to come along." He noted that the \$100 was passed out only when they reached the demonstration site because the organizers "feared that some people would take the money and

split. I know I would have."

Another student explained to the *New York Times*, "The Iranian government is paying for everything. I always wanted to see Washington. I hear the government has spent \$8 million to bring us all here and put us up."

"The shah of Iran is the first White House visitor to bring his own picket line with him," commented syndicated columnist Mary McGrory.

The entire pro-shah demonstration was clearly orchestrated by the U.S. and Iranian governments as a deliberate provocation to opponents of the shah's repressive policies.

At the shah's scheduled arrival time, a fight between the two opposing groups on the Ellipse broke out.

More than 100 persons were injured by the end of the day, and police officials reported arresting eleven. That tally appeared low to observers of the day's events.

At one point police used tear gas, and the gas drifted to the White House lawn where Carter and the shah were exchanging compliments. Carter apologized for the "temporary air pollution." The shah thanked Carter for the "very warm welcome."

"President Carter's guest, the shah of Iran, is directly responsible for gross

violations of the civil and human rights of the people of Iran," said a statement released November 15 by the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI).

The news release listed twenty-seven of the known political prisoners in Iran. "We call upon all who respect human rights to join with us in demanding that the shah immediately release the above-mentioned prisoners and all other prisoners of conscience held in his jails," CAIFI said.

In Philadelphia on November 15, CAIFI, Iranian Student Society, Student Coalition Against Racism, and other groups sponsored a picket line at city hall protesting the shah's U.S. visit.

Five hundred rallied in Austin, Texas, November 16 in defense of Iranian political prisoners and to protest the shah's arrival in this country. The meeting was sponsored by CAIFI and the Democratic Iranian Student Association.

Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran

... is a civil liberties organization publicizing the cases of victimized Iranian artists, intellectuals, and political prisoners.

CAIFI

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Militant/Nancy Cole

2,000 picket Califano, demand abortion funds

By Claire Moriarty

NEW YORK—A beleaguered-looking Joseph Califano faced the audience in his shirtsleeves. The secretary of health, education, and welfare (HEW) had been invited to appear on a panel at New York University Law School on November 15.

He was not prepared for the reception that greeted him.

Inside the closed meeting, abortion rights placards were propped up around the room. A baby nestled in her father's arms wearing a gigantic button that read, "It's her right to choose." As television cameras rolled, women faculty and law students presented Califano with a barrage of opposition to HEW's cutoff of Medicaid funds for abortion.

It was not a good day for the secretary.

It was, however, a victorious day for the women's movement. Outside, 2,000 people demonstrated against the policies represented by Califano, in the largest abortion rights protest since the Carter administration's crackdown on the right to choose.

The action to demand restoration of Medicaid funds for abortion had been



Abortion rights supporters gather for November 12 protest.

Militant/Donna-Marie Gilligan

called by an ad hoc coalition of the National Organization for Women (NOW), New York University Women's Center, Coalition for Abortion Rights and Against Sterilization Abuse (CARASA), and other groups.

Women from as far away as New Jersey and upstate New York braved the cold to join the demonstration.

Bobbing between the professionally painted banners were slogans crayoned on homemade signs.

A colorful line of banners represented NOW chapters and student organizations. Hospital workers from District 1199 and members of Distributive Workers District 65 marched together wearing union hats.

The Committee to End Sterilization Abuse and the Puerto Rican Socialist Party joined in. A sizable contingent gathered behind the Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights (CLGR) banner. Members of the Young Socialist Alliance unfurled their banner proclaiming, "It's a woman's right to choose."

Meanwhile about two dozen anti-abortion bigots huddled on the fringes with their placards.

Bella Abzug, former member of Congress, addressed the picketers who had assembled early. It is a fundamental right of all women to control their bodies and not just of the wealthy, she said, urging the demonstrators to continue defending abortion rights.

Dianne Feeley of New York NOW and Claudette Furlonge chaired the rally that followed the picket line. Feeley reported that on October 3 a twenty-seven-year-old Chicana from

Continued on page 30

'Militant' subscription drive gains in final week

By Nelson Blackstock

NEW YORK, Nov. 15—Halfway through the wrap-up week of the *Militant/Perspectiva Mundial* subscription drive, some good news was reaching the circulation office. The drive officially ends next Saturday, November 19.

At least three cities have already hit their goal—Salt Lake City; Tacoma, Washington; and Albuquerque.

Salt Lake City not only reached its goal of 150—it raised it to 180.

By all odds, other cities that have not yet reported to the circulation office have already reached or surpassed their goals, too.

An especially noteworthy element in the drive at this point is the number of cities once lagging on the scoreboard that have now come from behind to get within striking distance of their goals.

Cincinnati, for example, was running far behind in the opening weeks of the drive but is now only eighteen subscriptions away from reaching its goal,

according to Wendy Weissenberg.

(The scoreboard does not reflect all these latest developments, since it only records subscriptions on hand as of last Saturday.)

New Orleans was already less than twenty shy of its target when the last big week began.

As of yesterday, Atlanta had 515 subscriptions, Richard Rathers reported. He predicted they would overshoot their goal. A good share of recent sales came from the campus teams—including one-day teams to the University of Georgia in Athens and to the University of Tennessee in Knoxville. Weekday teams are slated to visit Birmingham and Chattanooga this week.

Rick Berman of Houston said yesterday he was "now confident we will reach our goal." In large measure the optimism was inspired by the results of a Saturday and Sunday team to Austin, Texas. The four members brought back fifty subscriptions sold at the University of Texas and in Austin's Black community.

"It's good to keep in mind that these regional teams are getting the *Militant* out into some key areas of political activity in this society," Berman said.

New York City netted 200 subscriptions this past weekend, the most striking results again coming from regional campus teams.

Subscription scoreboard

(Total received as of November 12)

City	Goal	Sent In	Percent
Tacoma	150	152 (6)*	101.3
Albuquerque	150	151 (19)	100.7
Baltimore	175	159 (3)	90.9
Lehigh Valley, Pa.	20	18	90.0
Salt Lake City	180	162 (12)	90.0
Raleigh, N.C.	120	107 (1)	89.2
St. Louis	375	319 (5)	85.1
Kansas City, Mo.	225	187 (26)	83.1
St. Paul	200	165 (3)	82.5
Dallas	250	195 (17)	78.0
Cincinnati	200	155	77.5
Los Angeles	1,100	846 (165)	76.9
Tucson, Ariz.	15	11	73.3
Louisville, Ky.	150	109 (2)	72.7
New Orleans	300	216 (3)	72.0
Portland, Ore.	250	180 (6)	72.0
San Diego	300	215 (43)	71.7
Berkeley	300	208 (16)	69.3
Morgantown, W.Va.	85	58	68.2
Washington, D.C.	600	406 (8)	67.7
Atlanta	600	403 (25)	67.2
Phoenix, Ariz.	250	167 (15)	66.8
Houston	600	400 (41)	66.7
New York	1,800	1,192 (130)	66.2
Miami	250	161 (11)	64.4
Milwaukee	400	255 (35)	63.8
Chicago	900	566 (32)	62.9
Albany, N.Y.	75	46 (1)	61.3
Grand Rapids, Mich.	10	6	60.0

Pittsburgh	450	268 (3)	59.6
Oakland, Calif.	600	352 (30)	58.7
Seattle	300	174 (4)	58.0
Cleveland	300	170 (6)	56.7
Denver	300	169 (11)	56.3
Newark, N.J.	350	195 (24)	55.7
Boston	825	445 (63)	53.9
Indianapolis	150	76	50.7
San Jose	350	172 (18)	49.1
San Antonio	350	159 (4)	45.4
Toledo, Ohio	150	67 (4)	44.7
Detroit	850	380 (14)	44.7
Minneapolis	350	123 (1)	41.0
San Francisco	600	244 (18)	40.7
Champaign-Urbana, Ill.	25	10 (1)	40.0
Gainesville, Fla.	10	4	40.0
Philadelphia	675	265 (17)	39.3
Penn State, Pa.	40	15	37.5
Bloomington, Ind.	50	15	30.0
Lexington, Ky.	25	6	24.0
Newark, Del.	40	9	22.5
Amherst, Mass.	40	8	20.0
Kent, Ohio	50	4	8.0
Total for Cities:	16,910	10,545 (843)	62.4

Teams & Miscellaneous	1,090	379 (30)	34.8
Total	18,000	10,924 (873)	60.7
Should Be		14,400 (400)	80.0

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



Militant/Donna-Marie Gilligan

Selling the 'Militant' at New York protest against Joseph Califano November 12.

**They think
you should
help the
'Militant'
keep doing
its job...**



'The "Militant" covers areas ordinarily ignored by the daily and capitalist press. It performs a great function for those who like to read something other than the run-of-the-mill material they are fed by the media. The "Militant" is worthy of publication and support.'

Robert F. Williams

'Lawsuits against the FBI by the SWP and other groups, and the release of FBI files under the Freedom of Information Act, have disclosed vital facts about the bureau that should be disseminated as widely as possible. We have found the "Militant's" coverage of this subject to be outstanding.'

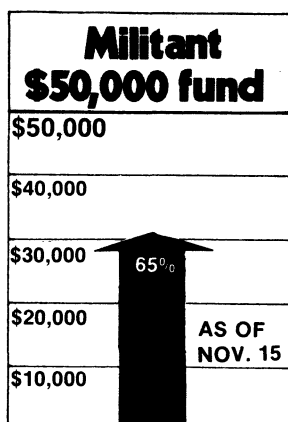
Miriam and Walter Schneir

Civil rights leader Robert F. Williams was framed up in 1961 for his activities as head of the Monroe, North Carolina, NAACP. Miriam and Walter Schneir are also familiar with government frame-ups. Their book, *Invitation to an Inquest*, exposed the lies used by the U.S. government to send Ethel and Julius Rosenberg to the electric chair.

Both Williams and the Schneirs know that the *Militant* tells the truth. But to keep on doing the kind of job our readers deserve, we need your help in reaching our \$50,000 goal by December 15.

So far, from eleven rallies for the *Militant* held around the country, supporters have pledged \$4,200. Because of a special matching fund contributed by a *Militant* supporter, that comes to \$8,400—a big boost for the drive.

Only a portion of these pledges have been collected and appear on this week's chart. As of November 15 we have collected **\$32,433—65 percent** of our goal. Send in your contribution today.



I am enclosing:

☐ \$500 ☐ \$250 ☐ \$100

☐ \$50 ☐ \$25 ☐ \$10

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

Carter endorses mass murders

Israeli jets spread death over Lebanon

By David Frankel

Azziye, a southern Lebanese farming village that once housed 400 people, no longer exists. It was leveled November 9 by Israeli pilots flying Phantom jets supplied by the United States.

Destruction of the village, according to United Press International reporter David Pearce, "was so complete that I could not count how many homes once stood there."

Although Azziye suffered the most, it was not the only target of the Israeli raids on southern Lebanon. The villages of Hanniye and Nabatiye, the city of Tyre, and three Palestinian refugee camps near Tyre were also hit by Israeli planes and artillery.

"Lebanese officials said that 13 civilians were killed in the city of Tyre and two more in the farm center of Nabatiye," Marvin Howe reported in the November 10 *New York Times*.

"Reports from Tyre quoted witnesses as saying that at least 30 bodies were removed from the rubble in Burjal-Shemali [refugee camp] and that it was believed that there were just as many dead in the Al Bass camp," Howe added.

In all, Lebanese officials estimated that the attacks took more than 110 lives and left about 150 wounded. Whole families were buried in rubble.

"The results were good," concluded Lieut. Gen. Mordechai Gur, the Israeli chief of staff.

Gur defended the Israeli butchery with lies reminiscent of those used by American officials during the bombing of population centers in Vietnam. He insisted that the raids were "very purely against terrorist bases," adding that "we did not hit any civilian places."

Carter backs 'retaliation'

Statements by Zionist officials described the savage raids on southern Lebanon as "retaliation" for a series of rocket attacks on the Israeli village of Nahariya. Three Israelis died in those attacks.

Seconding the Zionist claim was President Carter. The day after the raids on Lebanon he pointedly refused to condemn them. The Israeli regime, he argued, cannot be expected to "sit dormant and quiescent and accept repeated attacks on their border villages without retaliation. . . ."

Carter went further and justified the Israeli raids. "There ought not to be any attacks [on Israel] or if there are continued attacks," he said, "some retaliation is required."

But what did the people of Azziye, Tyre, and the other areas that were attacked do to suffer such savage "retaliation"? They fired no rockets. They simply happened to be Arabs who were living in the wrong place.

The real principle being invoked by the Israeli regime and supported by Carter is that of collective punishment. It is a method that was rightly denounced throughout the world when used by Nazi occupation forces during World War II.

For example, when Nazi chief Reinhard Heydrich was assassinated in Czechoslovakia in 1942, residents of Lidice, a village near Prague, were accused of aiding the assassins. The entire village was razed to the ground, the men of the village were shot, and the women sent to concentration camps.

To this day the site of Lidice is maintained as a monument to the inhumanity of the Nazi regime. But the creation of new Lidices by the Israeli regime is passed off by Carter—that well-known partisan



Rescue workers at Azziye. Zionist officials claimed Lebanese villages were 'military' targets.

of human rights—with the cynical comment that "loss of life is deplorable."

The hypocrisy of the Zionist regime and its backers can be better appreciated if it is recalled that Israeli tanks and artillery have been bombarding Muslim villages in southern Lebanon for months. *New York Times* reporter Howe reported in September that as a result of constant Israeli shelling, "there were only 50 old men and women still living in Kham, which was once a prosperous center of 25,000 inhabitants."

In fact, the UPI dispatch quoted above reported that among the villagers who had been attacked by Israeli jets in Azziye "were Lebanese who left their original homes in Yarin, a town less than a mile from the Israeli border, and moved north four months ago. They fled after troops backed by Israeli artillery staged a raid that killed more than a dozen people."

Talk about Israeli "retaliation" implies there would have been no Zionist attacks on southern Lebanon if it were not for "provocations" by Palestinian guerrillas. In reality, the Zionist regime has been carrying out such attacks all along. The Israeli casualties at Nahariya only served as an excuse for a bolder application of the existing aggressive policy.

New landgrab?

If the Israeli regime were really interested in cultivating friendly relations with the Arab peoples on its borders, the policy of spreading death and terror in southern Lebanon would clearly be madness. But the Zionist regime has other interests.

To begin with, Tel Aviv has sought to establish de facto control of southern Lebanon. It has built roads and water lines into the region, armed and trained right-wing Christian forces as auxiliaries, and intervened with its own forces.

While trying to integrate parts of southern Lebanon into the Israeli economy, the Zionists have also set up a puppet administration in the area compatible with their aims. *Jerusalem Post* reporter Hirsh Goodman recently described a trip through the Israeli-dominated enclave. At one point his guide showed him an empty house, explaining that "the family that used to live there—father, mother and children—were taken out and executed."

Goodman noted that the father had been a supporter of the Lebanese Left, "and it was decided to make an example of what happens to those whose loyalty to the new regime is questionable."

Falastin al-Thawra, newspaper of the Palestine Liberation Organization, reports that an Israeli security officer has been appointed to govern the enclave in conjunction with Lebanese rightists.

By driving out as much of the population as possible from southern Lebanon—an object that was helped by the latest raids—the Israeli regime can more easily expand the borders of the enclave that it controls. At the same time, this makes the option of Israeli annexation of the area south of Lebanon's Litani River a more tempting one from the Zionist point of view.

The effect of the Israeli attacks was indicated by Howe in a report on the shelling of Tyre the day

before the big raids by the Israeli air force.

"After today's Israeli bombardment [which killed ten people], witnesses reported from Tyre that people had begun to flee the city, which up to now had been considered safe," Howe reported.

"Sources from the Naqura region [between Israel and Tyre] said that the shelling there for the last two days had caused considerable damage to homes and a general flight northward."

Established in the first place through the expulsion of some 700,000 Palestinians from their homeland, the Zionist state is today continuing the same policies in Lebanon.

'Peace' talk redoubles as bombs fall

While Israeli artillery and aircraft were busy raining explosives on the people of Lebanon, talk of peace redoubled.

Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat began the charade half a day after Israeli jets slaughtered more than 100 innocent people. Without mentioning the bloody events in Lebanon, Sadat made clear that such atrocities were no obstacle to peace as far as he is concerned.

"Israel will be astonished," Sadat told his rubber-stamp Parliament, "when it hears me saying now before you that I am ready to go to their house, to the Knesset [Parliament] itself and to talk to them."

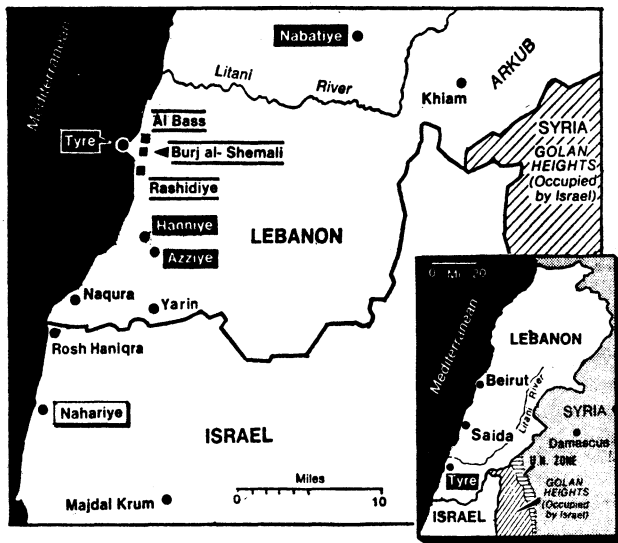
At his news conference the following day, Carter gave his approval to Sadat's approach. The events in Lebanon, he made clear, while unfortunate, were not too important. "I think it shows . . . the need for an immediate convening of the Geneva conference. . . ."

Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin, with the blood still wet on his hands, concurred. In a propaganda broadcast beamed to Egypt he called for "a silent oath between both peoples, of Egypt and Israel: no more wars, no more bloodshed, and no more threats."

Finally, on November 14, Sadat said in a CBS television interview that he was prepared to address the Israeli Knesset within the next week once he had received a formal invitation from Begin.

Sadat's betrayal triggered protest demonstrations by Palestinians living under Israeli occupation.

The hypocritical declarations about peace cannot cover up the reality of Israeli expansionism that was shown once again in Lebanon. The "peace" these men are talking about can only be built on the bones of the Palestinian people and at the expense of the Arab masses as a whole.



New York Times

Israeli warplanes leveled Lebanese farming villages of Azziye and Hanniye. Three Palestinian refugee camps and the city of Tyre were also attacked.

Was SWP campaign 'reformist'?

In reply to 'Guardian'

By David Frankel

For the past three years New York City has been in a financial crisis.

Tens of thousands of city workers have been fired.

Social services, from libraries to garbage collection and from health care to public transportation, have been slashed.

This situation presents an opportunity—and also an obligation—for socialists to make their ideas known to a broader audience. Socialists have answers to why the quality of life for New York's 7.5 million people is declining, but the only way that anyone can hear these answers is through the activity of an organized movement.

The Socialist Workers Party has met the challenge posed by the New York crisis by running an ambitious mayoral campaign. SWP candidates appeared on television and radio, and SWP mayoral candidate Catarino Garza was able to present the socialist view in a column in the *New York Times* (circulation, one million).

Socialist campaign supporters handed out 20,000 Spanish-language campaign platforms and 60,000 English-language platforms. The SWP platform explained what was behind the cutbacks, and who was responsible for them.

As the platform put it, "this crisis is not just a New York financial problem. New York represents the opening battle in a war by the ruling rich—the Rockefellers, the Morgans, the biggest banking and corporate powers—against working people. We are supposed to bear the burden of inflation,

unemployment and the crisis in the world-wide capitalist economy while their profits soar."

At the same time that it put the blame for the crisis where it belongs, the SWP platform raised specific demands.

Demands against racist and sexist oppression, against cutbacks and unemployment, and against the repressive internal policies and imperialist foreign policy were tied together by the call for a break with the capitalist parties and the formation of a labor party based on the trade unions.

Such a party, the platform said, could lead a fight against the ruling Democratic and Republican parties, which "have demonstrated that they place the profits of the banks and corporations ahead of human needs."

All this, however, was just so much electoral reformism according to the *Guardian*, a Maoist weekly published in New York. The *Guardian* finally broke its silence on the New York election in a one-column article by William Gurley in its November 2 issue—less than two weeks before the election.

Gurley's article lumps the mayoral campaigns of the Communist Party and the SWP together, despite the sharp political differences between the two. This technique enables the *Guardian* to more easily avoid discussion of the political questions involved.

For example, although the CP talks about independent political action, what it means by this concept includes supporting many candidates of the capitalist parties. It does not raise the concept of a class break with the



SWP mayoral candidate Catarino Garza marching against New York school cutbacks

Democrats and Republicans through the formation of a labor party. Gurley says nothing about the significance of this difference.

"In general," Gurley says, "the issues raised by both the SWP and the CP tended to be reforms that would make capitalism work more efficiently—or else grandiose schemes whose function would deepen illusions about the electoral process and the nature of capitalism."

Let's take up the question of reforms first. Which of the demands for reforms raised by the SWP—that is, demands short of the call for social revolution—is Gurley opposed to?

Is he opposed to demanding passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, or to opposition to the Hyde amendment that would end Medicaid payments for abortion? These are demands in the SWP platform that the *Guardian* has supported in the past.

What about the SWP's demand that the death penalty be abolished, or its support for affirmative-action programs to combat sexist and racist discrimination? Are these "reformist" demands?

Should the SWP do away with its demands for desegregation of the schools? Should it not demand a shorter workweek with no cut in pay in order to fight unemployment?

Gurley doesn't say. He gives no example of what he means by "reforms that would make capitalism work more efficiently."

The fact is that mobilization of the

working class and its allies around the type of immediate demands put forward by the SWP would blunt the capitalist offensive and lead to victories that could serve as the starting point for further mass struggles.

The second complaint made by Gurley is that the SWP campaign fostered illusions among the masses.

"By focusing on the Democratic and Republican Parties as the source of the problem of people's needs not being met," Gurley says, "the nature of the bourgeois state was not really taken into account. . . . The effect of the CP-SWP programs did not help the working class break from bourgeois influence, but rather fostered illusions about the state and politics."

Once again, Gurley fails to specify exactly what illusions were being fostered by encouraging the working class to break with the ruling capitalist parties and form its own class party.

States do not exist in the abstract. For more than a century the capitalist state in this country has been run by two specific political parties—the Democrats and the Republicans.

The central political problem faced by revolutionists in the United States is that the overwhelming majority of the working class is tied politically to these capitalist parties.

What political alternative does the *Guardian* propose to this dependence on the capitalist parties? It is all very well to educate about the need to dismantle and replace the capitalist

Continued on page 30

A labor party in New York City?

By Steve Beck

NEW YORK—The victory of Democrat Ed Koch in the New York City mayoral race was generally seen as a defeat for labor.

Only a handful of New York union officials backed Koch. Many opted for Mario Cuomo, running on the Liberal Party ballot line after losing in the Democratic primary. A few—notably American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees District Council 37—broke their tradition and made no endorsement.

The labor officialdom's real favorite was in-

Union talk

cumbent Mayor Abraham Beame. After Beame laid off thousands of city workers, froze wages, ripped up union contracts, and cut taxes for big business, the New York City Central Labor Council figured the logical answer was to *reelect* Beame.



Steve Beck is secretary of American Federation of Government Employees Local 3369 and a delegate to the New York City Central Labor Council.

The council devoted considerable time and resources to helping Beame in the Democratic primary. Mailings and phone calls went to some 250,000 union members registered in the Democratic Party. Campaign offices were set up in all five boroughs. But Beame was licked anyway.

In light of labor's many political defeats of late, a different direction was raised at a recent meeting of the Central Labor Council.

Irving Stern of the Meat Cutters suggested that a city-wide party of the labor movement be formed. While he joined in mourning "friend of labor" Beame, Stern said that henceforth in considering candidates the council should "let the selections be of our own choice." He referred to the short-lived Brotherhood Party as an organization that should be resurrected.

Does this mean that organized labor is considering launching an independent labor party in New York to fight the Democrats and Republicans? Not quite.

I asked an old-timer at the council about the Brotherhood Party. It seems that in a mayoral election in the early 1950s the union bureaucrats were backing Robert Wagner against Arthur Levitt, who was then the candidate of the Tammany Hall bosses.

To help Wagner in the *Democratic* primary, the Central Labor Council created its own slate, the Brotherhood Party, with Wagner as its candidate. This "labor" line got few votes, but the labor tops were satisfied that the maneuver had given Wagner the extra exposure he needed to beat Levitt.

So Stern was *not* suggesting that workers stop supporting the parties of the bosses and create one of our own. He proposed a tactical maneuver to restore the bureaucrats' clout in Democratic Party circles.

Independent political action by labor would mean just the opposite. It would mean running working people for office *against* the Democrats and Republicans.

It would mean mobilizing workers in the streets to oppose layoffs and cutbacks, and to demand abolition of the Pentagon war budget to provide funds for jobs and social services.

It would mean joining forces with the Black and Puerto Rican communities, and throwing the full weight of the labor movement into the fight against racial discrimination.

A real labor party cannot be created on the spur of the moment by the Central Labor Council. But preparations could begin now with discussions organized in every union local in the city on what kind of labor political action is needed.

A conference of labor should be projected to launch such a party, with delegates elected from every local and from such independent unions as the Teamsters and United Auto Workers. Representation should also be accorded to the Black and Puerto Rican communities and the women's movement.

Such steps are easily within the power of the labor movement today. As long as they are not taken, then talk about a labor party by bureaucrats such as Stern is nothing but sour grapes.

What '77 elections reveal

Working people need a party of their own

By Peter Seidman

"It was a bad day for the big city machines," said the *New York Times*, commenting on the November 8 elections.

Many machine-backed Democrats had been defeated—often by Democrats running "independently"—in major cities such as Pittsburgh and Cleveland.

But November 8 was also a bad day for working people.

None of the victors—neither Democrats nor Republicans of the "machine" or "independent" variety—offered solutions to the problems of unemployment, deteriorating social services, and segregated schools and housing.

In fact, these candidates of the two big-business parties tried to avoid serious discussion of these issues.

But the Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and other working people who live in America's cities are growing increasingly frustrated over the government's failure to do something about these social crises.

An Associated Press-NBC poll taken just before the election, for example, showed that 75 percent of New Yorkers thought President Carter was doing "only fair" or "poor" in improving urban life.

This dissatisfaction was reflected in a distorted way by the defeat of many incumbents and machine politicians.

But since there was no large-scale political alternative to the two capitalist parties, this growing anger had no way to register itself clearly at the polls.

The outcome could have been different if working people had an independent labor party to mobilize them in struggle against the ruling-class assault on their living standards and democratic rights.

Unfortunately, the current leaders of the labor movement and civil rights organizations help keep working people straitjacketed in the capitalist two-party system.

An analysis of the election returns clearly reveals the need for a working-class political alternative.

Municipal campaigns

Cities in this country have been hit with major slashes in social services during the past several years. A dominant mood in the election was to throw out the incumbent mayors—usually Democrats—who rammed through this aspect of the ruling-class offensive.

Most of the interest during the election in New York, the nation's largest city, was generated early in the campaign, when six candidates challenged incumbent Mayor Abraham Beame in the Democratic primary.

After Ed Koch triumphed over Beame in that contest—assuring the incumbent mayor's defeat—interest in the campaign quickly tapered off.

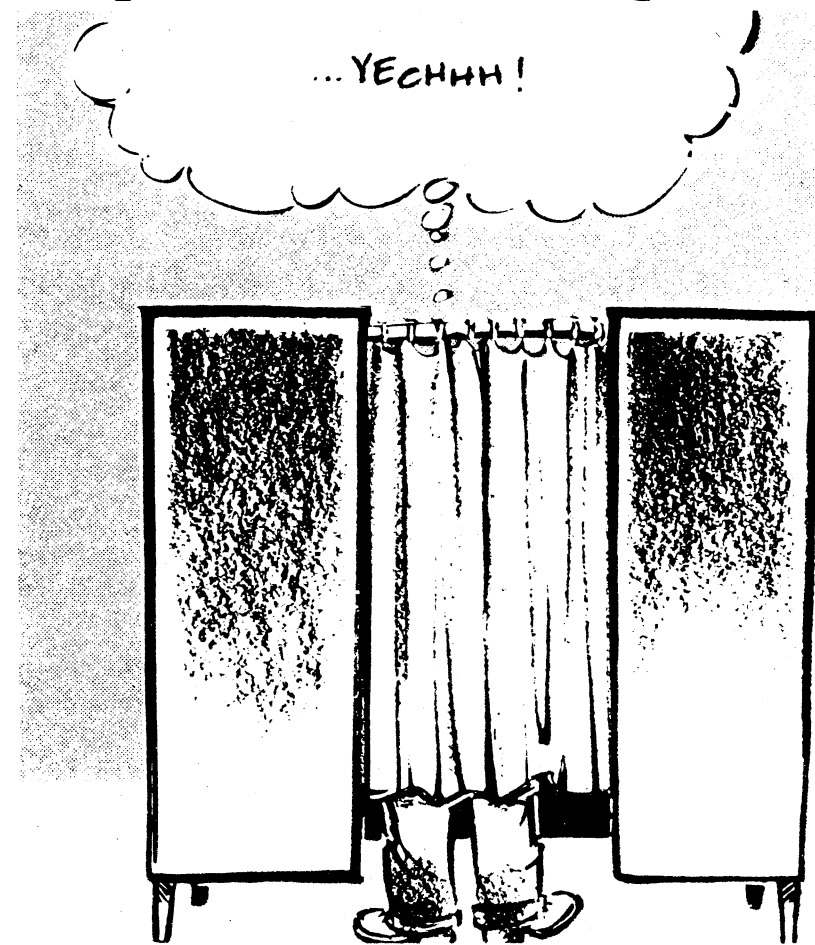
Two other notable big-city elections were in Boston and New Orleans.

The stunning defeat of three notorious antibusing bigots in Boston reflected the growing acquiescence, if not support, of the majority of Boston voters for the busing plan in that city.

This was also shown by the election for the first time in the twentieth century of a Black person to the Boston School Committee. John O'Bryant edged out Elvira "Pixie" Palladino, a top leader of the violent antibusing mobilizations in Boston.

Boston voters threw two other well-known anti-Black leaders off the city council as well: Louise Day Hicks and John Kerrigan.

Altogether, these results showed a growing understanding by white voters that the anti-Black program of Hicks and her cronies is no solution to the economic and social problems that



Toledo Blade/Ashley

confront working people in Boston and other cities.

Democrat Ernest Morial triumphed in his bid to become the first Black mayor of New Orleans, now the largest city in the South to have a Black mayor.

Besides carrying almost all the Black precincts, which make up 43.6 percent of the city's registered voters, the new mayor ended up with a total of 51.6 percent of the vote.

Morial's election offers no fundamental change for Blacks in New Orleans, however. As Atlanta's Black Democratic Mayor Maynard Jackson demonstrated earlier this year—when he brutally crushed a strike of city workers—Black elected officials tied to the big-business parties have been part and parcel of the economic offensive against working people.

There were two other big-city contests involving well-known Black candidates. Incumbent Coleman Young easily withstood a challenge to his Detroit mayoral seat from another Black candidate, Ernest Browne.

And in Buffalo, Assemblyman Arthur Eve was defeated in his bid to become the first Black mayor of a major city in New York state.

Reflecting the growing support for the democratic rights of gays, San Francisco voters—for the first time—elected an openly gay candidate, Harvey Milk, to the Board of Supervisors. And an attempt to gay-bait New York mayoral winner Ed Koch faltered in the wake of this sentiment for gay rights, which exploded in big mobilizations over the past summer.

Statewide races

There were two statewide races.

In Virginia, Henry Howell, who upset the old-line Democratic Party favorite in the primary, was defeated by Republican Lt. Gov. John Dalton.

One noteworthy outcome of the election in that state was the defeat of twenty-year statehouse veteran and majority leader James Thomson (D-Alexandria). Thomson was notorious among supporters of women's rights for his efforts to block ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment in Virginia.

In New Jersey, Republican Raymond Bateman failed to hold incumbent Democratic Gov. Brendan Byrne to only one term.

Bateman, who focused on opposition

to the state income tax passed during Byrne's first term, took an early lead in the campaign. But in late September, Bateman revealed his reactionary alternative: a selective freeze on state jobs, a tightening of welfare, and, if needed, a 20 percent increase in the 5 percent state sales tax.

Confronted with the perspective of social service cuts and an even more regressive tax, New Jersey voters returned Byrne to the statehouse.

'Choke or starve'

Capitalist politicians forced voters to choose between increased taxes and cuts in social services in a number of areas around the country.

In Toledo, Ohio, for example, the voters were asked to decide between an emergency 6.1-mill tax increase or keeping the public schools closed until January.

They decided by a big margin to increase their taxes and reopen the schools.

But school millage referenda were defeated in Dayton, Columbus, Canton, and Cincinnati.

Toledo officials are already warning that the present tax increase is insufficient. One estimate is that the 1978 budget will have to be cut by \$3.8 million under the present tax rates.

In Pittsburgh a referendum demanded a choice between weakening pollution control standards for the

steel companies or massive layoffs of steelworkers. There the vote was two to one in favor of relaxing pollution controls in order to convince the steel giants to "save jobs."

Higher taxes, or no public education. Choking to death, or starvation.

During the 1977 elections, voters were asked to decide not only which of the big-business candidates they thought was the lesser evil, but also between grim referenda options such as these.

The fact that these irrational alternatives are the only ones offered in the richest country in the world bares the warped, profits-before-human-needs priorities of America's capitalist rulers.

But there are rational alternatives. The billions spent on war could be devoted to providing jobs, education, and social services for all. The profits of corporate polluters could be taxed 100 percent.

But only a party representing the oppressed and the exploited will be able to lead the determined struggle to counterpose these human needs to the greed of big business.

Political alternative

A major obstacle to building such a party on a mass scale is the role played by the current leaders of the labor movement and the Black community. They channel the potential power of the oppressed into the dead end of the Democratic Party.

This gives the big-business politicians a free hand to ignore the real needs of working people.

In this election, only the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party put forward a strategy for how working people can unite in struggle to put human needs ahead of profits.

The SWP candidates called for a crash program of public works to provide jobs for all. The SWP advocated strict enforcement of affirmative action to combat discrimination against Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and women.

In sixteen cities this month, and in eighteen others earlier this year, SWP candidates explained the need for a total break with the capitalist parties and the formation of a labor party based on a revitalized trade-union movement.

Since election officials are notoriously slow in reporting even those socialist votes they bother to count, the *Militant* is not yet able to tally the SWP vote returns.

But it is clear from the increasingly favorable response this year to the party's campaigns among working people, Blacks, and women that there is a new interest in the SWP's ideas about how the labor movement can take on the bosses' offensive and win.



Toledo students protest closing of public schools. Only alternative offered by capitalist politicians was higher taxes.

INS grants deportation hearing

Protests force gov't retreat in Marroquin case

By Arnold Weissberg

A national campaign by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) has slowed the government's drive to send imprisoned student activist Héctor Marroquín back to Mexico.

A major break in the case came last week when the government announced it would grant Marroquín the right to a deportation hearing and the right to remain in this country while he appeals any negative ruling through the courts.

Earlier the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) had threatened to expel Marroquín from the country immediately.

Marroquín, facing fabricated charges of murder and "subversion" in Mexico, has asked for political asylum in the United States. He is currently jailed in Eagle Pass, Texas, serving a three-month sentence for illegally entering the country.

Marroquín faces torture and death at the hands of Mexican authorities, whose reputation for violating the

human rights of political activists has drawn criticism even from the U.S. State Department.

INS attorney Janice Podolny told the *Militant* November 10 that the INS won't try to "exclude" Marroquín but will instead recognize his right to deportation proceedings. This is a major concession.

The difference between exclusion and deportation is substantial. Marroquín could have been sent back to Mexico immediately after losing an exclusion hearing, even if he had appealed. Deportation, however, is held up during any appeal up to and including the U.S. Supreme Court.

Further, an exclusion hearing doesn't provide the same rights to produce evidence and call witnesses that a deportation hearing does.

The reason for the INS change of heart was offered by Fran Raley of the bureau's central office in Washington, D.C.

"We've got way over 100 letters," Raley said. "I received about 75 yesterday [November 9]. I can assure you that all of these are being taken into account—the public interest. The commissioner himself [Leonel Castillo] is vitally interested in this."

USLA has been soliciting letters and telegrams to Castillo in support of Marroquín's right to asylum. An "Appeal for Asylum" has already been signed by Nobel Prize-winning scientists George Wald and Salvador Luria; journalist I. F. Stone; Dick Gregory; Michael Meeropol, son of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg; Rubén Bonilla, Texas state chairperson of the League of United Latin American Citizens; Ruth Gage-Colby, Another Mother for Peace; and hundreds of others. (See box for text of appeal and more signers.)



MARGARET WINTER

Houston: wide support for Mexican activist

By José Alvarado

HOUSTON—Supporters here of Héctor Marroquín's right to political asylum have won important support for his case.

Marroquín lived in Houston for some time after he left Mexico, joining the Socialist Workers Party and becoming active in the antideportation movement.

He also became active in an organizing drive conducted by the Teamsters union at the Coca-Cola bottling plant where he worked. Roy Teague, a Teamster organizer, has endorsed Marroquín's asylum appeal.

So has Sergio Ponce, a Teamster organizer in another local.

Marroquín's supporters have organized a "Thanksgiving appeal" meeting for November 22 to ask Immigration and Naturalization Service Commissioner Leonel Castillo to let Marroquín out of jail before the Thanksgiving holiday, so he can be reunited with his family and friends.

Speaking will be Father Jack McGinnis, a leader of the Chicano community's fight against police brutality; Gertrude Barnstone, presi-



Militant/Margaret Winter

HECTOR MARROQUIN

dent of the Houston Women's Equity Action League; and C.B. Bonilla, president of Local 402 of the League of United Latin American Citizens.

The meeting will be held at the University of Houston's Caribbean Room at 8 p.m.

A press conference is planned for November 21 to publicize Marroquín's case and the next day's meeting.

The INS concession in the Marroquín case is part of a general government retreat on the asylum issue. Late in October the INS announced it would issue new, liberalized rules for processing asylum applications. The announcement came in connection with a

court suit filed by 147 Haitian refugees seeking asylum in this country. (See related story.)

Marroquín's case has started to get publicity in Mexico. The biggest paper in the northern part of the country, *El* *Continued on page 30*

USLA's 'Appeal for Asylum' and new endorsers

The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) is circulating this appeal for asylum for Héctor Marroquín. Signed copies are being forwarded by USLA to Immigration and Naturalization Service Director Leonel Castillo:

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

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

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

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

Understanding that he faces torture and death at the hands of the Mexican authorities, we urge you to decide in favor of granting him the simple democratic right of political asylum as provided by the "United Nations

Protocol and Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees," ratified and acceded to by the United States.

Hundreds of Chicanos signed this appeal at the October 28-30 Chicano/Latino conference in San Antonio.

Some of the most recent endorsers include Eduardo Morga, national president of the League of United Latin American Citizens; Vernon Bellecourt and John Trudell, American Indian Movement; Antonio Rodríguez, general secretary, CASA, Los Angeles; Koko Farrow, Committee for Racial Justice, United Church of Christ; Rulx Jean-Bart, Office of Haitian Refugees Concerns, Na-

tional Council of Churches; Father Jack McGinnis, Our Lady of St. John Church, Houston; Robert Chrisman, publisher, *Black Scholar*; Ernesto Chacón, field coordinator, Latin American Union for Civil Rights, Milwaukee; poet Allen Ginsberg; Robert Meeropol, son of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg; Gertrude Barnstone, president, Houston Women's Equity Action League; Michael Parrish, president, Teamsters Local 265, San Francisco; Belinda Lightfoot, Washington, D.C., chapter of National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision; and James Garrett, June 16 Coalition, Washington, D.C.

Haitian refugees win right to asylum hearings

The U.S. government announced October 28 that it is liberalizing procedures for applying for political asylum.

Under the old rules, if the government sought to "exclude" a refugee—that is, simply keep him or her out of the country after a perfunctory hearing—the refugee could not raise an asylum request at the exclusion hearing.

These rules meant that refugees could be sent back to the country from which they fled before their asylum request was even heard.

The new rules, announced October 28, will permit refugees to raise an asylum request at an exclusion hearing.

Among those immediately affected by the decision are thousands of Haitian refugees fleeing the murderous dictatorship of Jean-Claude "Baby Doc" Duvalier.

Washington's retreat on this issue is an important, though partial, victory for the Haitian refugees and their supporters, who have staged protests and filed lawsuits challenging the undemocratic procedures of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service.

One group of 280 Haitian refugees won an initial victory last February when a federal judge ruled that they couldn't be deported because they

hadn't been granted hearings on their asylum requests. All they had gotten was a fifteen-minute "interview" with an INS official.

The government appealed the decision.

Another group of 147 Haitians also sued for asylum hearing rights. The new INS rules were announced as the Supreme Court prepared to take up this case. The INS has asked the court to dismiss the suit.

All refugees seeking asylum who are awaiting exclusion hearings are affected by the INS rule change. In addition, refugees seeking asylum who have already been ordered to leave the

country will be permitted new exclusion hearings.

Some 2,000 Haitians have fled their home island for Florida in the past five years, most of them risking the 800-mile voyage in leaky sailboats.

The U.S. government denies that they are genuine political refugees, claiming they left Haiti "only" because of extreme poverty.

Several hundred have been forced to return to face imprisonment, torture, and death.

The Justice Department announced November 8 that it would release 120 Haitians held in custody and grant them work permits. —A. W.

No jobs, no funds in 'full employment' bill

By Andy Rose

The so-called Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment bill, having served the purposes for which it was intended, is now being buried with full honors.

That is, the bill has now been endorsed by Carter, will be introduced in Congress, and may even be enacted.

And that will be the end of it.

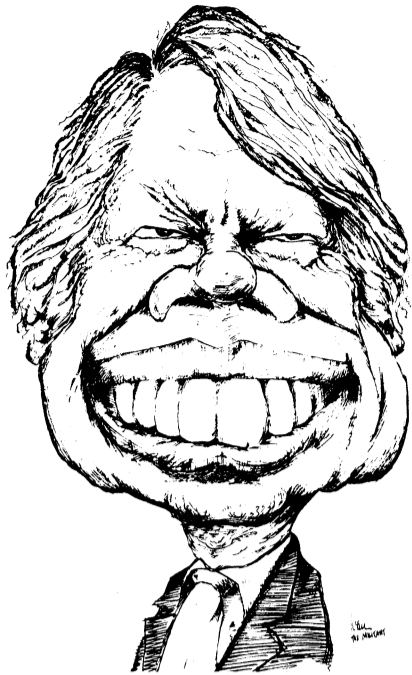
The Humphrey-Hawkins bill provides no jobs for the unemployed, as most news commentators now acknowledge. But that was never its purpose.

By fostering the *illusion* that the Democratic Party was doing something about unemployment, the real purpose of the bill was to win votes for Democratic candidates and divert working people from any independent struggle for jobs.

That worked. Carter and a Democratic-controlled Congress were elected on his promise "to put America back to work." This fraud was aided and abetted by the misleaders of the union and Black movements, who actively campaigned for Carter.

The Democratic platform pledged to reduce adult unemployment to 3 percent within four years, the same goal specified by that year's version of Humphrey-Hawkins.

Even then it was not explained why



CARTER: It got him a job

"full employment" meant leaving 3 percent unemployed, or why it should take four years, or why only "adult Americans" had a right to a job. But the impression conveyed to the electorate was clear: the Democrats would provide jobs.

The latest version of Humphrey-Hawkins, which Carter endorsed No-

vember 14, sets a "goal" of 4 percent unemployment by 1983. That would be seven years after Carter got elected by promising jobs.

The White House statement emphasized, however, that the president could "modify that goal if necessity requires."

In line with its current campaign to "reassure" big business that it will do nothing to aid working people, the Carter administration called attention to all the things the bill does *not* do:

- It does not authorize any new federal spending.
- It does not create even one job.
- It does not guarantee anyone the right to a job.
- It does not require the president or Congress to do anything to reach the "full employment" goal.

In fact, a "top administration aide" quoted in the *Wall Street Journal* said, the bill merely "regularizes the process by which the administration and Congress set economic goals over a five-year period."

The bill *does* say that "high rates of capital formation [that is, profits] are necessary" for economic expansion. And that, the *New York Times* noted, is "language that any banker or manufacturer would applaud."

The Congressional Black Caucus

promptly announced that its members—along with other civil rights, labor, and religious backers of Humphrey-Hawkins—were satisfied with the "compromise" bill.

Carter was asked about persistent unemployment at his November 10 news conference. "There's no easy answer," he replied.

That same day the administration leaked word it would ask for at least \$130 billion for Pentagon arms spending in the next fiscal year—the biggest war budget in history.

Jobs *could* be easily provided if this mammoth sum for war was instead allocated for a massive public works program to meet society's needs.

Jobs *could* be provided if the workweek was shortened with no cut in pay to spread the available work to all who need jobs. Last month local officials from auto, steel, electrical, and other unions met in Detroit and said they would launch a campaign for a shorter workweek.

The Humphrey-Hawkins charade should prove beyond any doubt that no serious fight for jobs can be carried out through the Democratic Party.

Jobs will be won only through the independent political organization and mobilization of the labor movement and the oppressed Black and Latino communities.

American Indian leaders welcome Hugo Blanco

By Peter Lazare

MINNEAPOLIS—Hugo Blanco, the exiled Peruvian peasant leader, toured this city November 1-3 speaking on "Carter and Human Rights in Latin America: Myth versus Reality."

The highlight of Blanco's visit was the enthusiastic reception he received from leaders of the American Indian Movement and other Native American activists. Blanco is best known for his role as a leader of a land reform movement among Quechua-speaking Indian peasants in Peru in the early 1960s.

During his visit, Blanco spoke to a conference sponsored by the American Indian Movement (AIM), the International Indian Treaty Council, and the Federation of Survival Schools.

Blanco emphasized the similarity of the plight of Native peoples in both North and South America under white rule. "They have stolen your lands, just as they have stolen ours, killed those who wouldn't work for them, and attempted to destroy our cultures."

To underline the solidarity of Native peoples throughout the Western Hemisphere, Blanco read portions of a letter from Indian political prisoner Leonard Peltier describing the inhuman conditions of his incarceration.

Blanco also spoke at three Minnesota campuses, including a meeting of 300 at the University of Minnesota.

Vernon Bellecourt, a member of the Central Council of AIM, introduced Blanco at the University of Minnesota meeting.

Blanco told the audience the source of repression in Latin America is U.S. economic exploitation of the region.

"For instance, the international Monetary Fund won't lend money to Peru unless the government carries out a certain economic policy. The International Monetary Fund is dominated by U.S. interests.

"The U.S. economic policy demands repression as a logical consequence. President Carter doesn't have to tell each police officer and military man in each Latin American country who to hit, who to imprison, who to torture, and who to assassinate.

"It's enough for him to urge that a certain economic policy be carried out, and repression comes as a consequence," Blanco said, because repression is the only way Latin American governments can force working people to accept such economic policies.

Blanco also pointed to the tremend-



Militant/Gillian Furst

Hugo Blanco (left) is greeted by Vernon Bellecourt of AIM at International Indian Treaty Conference.

ous dislocation of the local economy and culture caused by U.S. economic interests.

"Today in Peru the number of varieties of maize [corn] and potatoes are diminishing daily because different flavors are important only to the Indians," he said. "But the varieties of American chewing gum are continually increasing—now we are a 'developing' country."

Blanco ended all his talks with a

plea for international solidarity in the effort to free political prisoners in Latin America and throughout the world.

NEW YORK—More than 1,000 people attended meetings for Hugo Blanco during his visit here November 4-7.

The largest, held November 5 at Columbia University, drew 550 people. Some 200 attended a reception for Blanco held after the meeting.

Carter immigration plan: threat against Mexico

By Harry Ring

President Carter's immigration plan is a two-edged weapon. It is intended to more tightly control the flow of undocumented workers into this country. It is also intended as a blackjack against the Mexican government.

Mexico's economic situation is growing steadily worse. With last year's devaluation, the worth of the peso has been slashed in half. The current annual inflation rate is estimated at 30 percent.

According to the Mexican government, 35 to 40 percent of the work force is unemployed or underemployed. "Underemployed" means scratching out the barest existence selling lottery tickets or newspapers.

In the countryside a handful of

owners monopolize the land, bringing hunger and misery to the landless peasants.

The Mexican government has no program to resolve this social crisis. To deal with these problems requires a willingness to take on the landlords, employers, and bankers who profit from the misery. The Mexican government will not do that because it is a government that represents these powerful capitalist interests.

By the same token, it cannot effectively deal with the problem of U.S. imperialist exploitation of Mexico. To do so would require mobilizing the Mexican masses. And, like the capitalists and landlords it speaks for, the Mexican government fears the masses more than it fears the imperialists.

U.S. imperialism is directly responsible for the plight of the Mexican people. According to an estimate from Mexico in the October 9 *Los Angeles Times*, "28 percent of Mexico's industrial capacity is already U.S.-owned."

Nor can it be argued that U.S. dollars help industrialize Mexico and develop its economy. The Mexican revolution has remained "frozen" for almost three-quarters of a century because U.S. business wants it that way. Mexican steel or auto plants might be profitable, but they would also be competitive to U.S. manufacturing. That's why Carter now offers Mexico a handout to promote "light industry."

It is this strangulation of Mexico's development that breeds the poverty and hunger there. It is this that drives

thousands of Mexicans across the border in a desperate search for jobs.

For the capitalist Mexican government, that stream of emigrants is a vital safety valve. If the border were ever sealed, Mexico could well explode.

Now, with his proposed clampdown on immigration, Carter threatens to at least partially turn off that safety valve. One reason he does so is to extract even more economic and political concessions from Mexico.

Japan, Germany, and other capitalist countries are increasing their penetration of the Mexican market—a market that U.S. imperialism considers its own.

Mexico is also developing important new oil and gas reserves. The Sep-

Continued on page 30

...Carter welcomes butcher of Iran

nightmare of oppression and torture.

But President Carter takes a different view. As police tear-gassed thousands of demonstrators outside the White House November 15, Carter tried to pass over the protests against the shah's official visit as a joke. He apologized for "our temporary air pollution."

That night, while entertaining the shah at an elaborate state dinner—one of the biggest given during his administration—Carter cracked that the shah "certainly knows how to draw a crowd."

As for human rights, White House Press Secretary Jody Powell explained November 16 that "it did not come up in this discussion [between Carter and the shah]."

Instead, Carter gave a ringing endorsement to the regime of the royal butcher. A White House statement said that Carter "gave his personal commitment" to strengthen ties with the Iranian government. At his dinner to honor the shah, Carter hailed Washington's military relationship with the shah and spoke of the "beneficent" impact of this alliance.

"Beneficent" for who?

Certainly not for the shah's political prisoners, nor for those imprisoned for publishing forbidden plays or for writing forbidden poems.

What about those Iranians who are not in prison? How "beneficial" is the shah's regime for them?

Under the shah's rule, billions of dollars from oil exports have flowed into Iran, but virtually none of these billions have gone to benefit the poverty-stricken masses or to develop the industrial base the shah often talks about.

The shah boasts of progress in eradicating illiteracy, but one of his own officials has admitted that the number of illiterate persons in the country is *increasing* at the rate of 156,000 per year. Although almost half Iran's population is under age twelve, and 69 percent of all women are still illiterate, the regime spends only 6 percent of its annual budget on education.

Oppression of Iran's non-Persian population has been institutionalized under the shah. Only 40 percent of the people in Iran speak Farsi, but the children of Arabs, Azerbaijani Turks, Baluchis, Kurds, and others are required to attend schools where they are taught only in Farsi.

Discrimination against the non-Persian nationalities is matched by the oppression of women. Under Iranian law, a woman must have her father's permission to marry and her husband's permission to work or to leave the country. The family code gives men the right to kill or mutilate female relatives who have "dishonored" them.

This is the "beneficent" regime hailed by Carter. And this is the regime that is propped up by tens of thousands of American "advisers" and billions of dollars worth of American arms.

Since 1972, Washington has sold or agreed to sell \$18.2 billion worth of arms to the shah. Just last month, Congress approved Carter's decision to sell the shah \$1.2 billion in advanced radar equipment.

On his current trip, the shah is asking for more arms, including 140 F-16 fighter planes costing about \$2 billion, and 250 F-18 attack planes priced at about \$2.5 billion.

These arms are not intended to benefit the Iranian masses. On the contrary, they are intended for use against any who challenge the shah's regime inside Iran, and against any who challenge imperialist domination of the neighboring region.

As Americans, we must demand an end to our government's support of the shah's dictatorship, and the release of all the shah's political prisoners—prisoners who are held and tortured by CIA-trained guards.

Carter's support to the shah of Iran is a stab in the back of the Iranian people. It is a betrayal of the cause of human rights, which he claims to hold so dear. It is proof that American imperialism stands opposed to the needs and aspirations of the people of the world.

Yes, the shah, as Carter put it, "certainly knows how to draw a crowd." And as Carter continues welcoming the world's most hated dictators to Washington, it won't be too long before he too begins to draw similar crowds.

Questions accuracy

I enjoy reading the *Militant* and use it as a source often in compiling a news column in the Portland *Scribe* newspaper. However, I have a few questions that make me wonder if I should use the *Militant* as a source.

The October 28 issue carried a story about the Chicano movement. I have no doubt about the conclusions reached, but I do find several factual discrepancies and omissions. On page 18, concerning police attacks on the Crusade, the *Militant* speaks of Luis Martínez being murdered. No mention is made that the cop, Snyder, was seriously wounded in the incident. You must admit this colors the incident somewhat differently.

In referring to the explosion, the article says the building was demolished the next day under police orders. Since I lived in the neighborhood at the time, I know the building wasn't bulldozed, but was eventually reconstructed and is being used by the Crusade to this day.

Now this may sound like nit-picking, but I'm still concerned about the accuracy of your report. It's impossible to get the truth in the straight press. Is it also necessary to read between the lines in the left-wing press?

Larry Boyd
Portland, Oregon

[In reply—Boyd's points that the entire building wasn't bulldozed and that Snyder was wounded are true, and

were included in the *Militant's* eyewitness account of the attack published in 1973.

[How closely Snyder's wounding relates to the murder of Martínez is debatable. The official story was that police received sniper fire, but Martínez was shot at close range through the neck.

[Our October 28 story was incorrect in implying the entire building had been torn down. In fact, only the part of the building affected by the explosion was torn down under police orders.

[The *Militant* double-checks every fact in a story for accuracy, but sometimes errors creep in. When they do, we appreciate readers calling them to our attention so a correction can be published to set the record straight.]

CP on the language question

Wading through issues of the American Communist Party newspaper the *Daily World* is generally a depressing and thankless task. But occasionally one comes across an unintended bit of truth about the Stalinist system. Such an item is an article titled "Bilingualism a way of life among people of Estonia" by Arkadi Cherkasov in the October 28 issue.

Dated "Tallin, Estonia (APN)," the article begins, "Bilingualism is a way of life in Estonia." After some

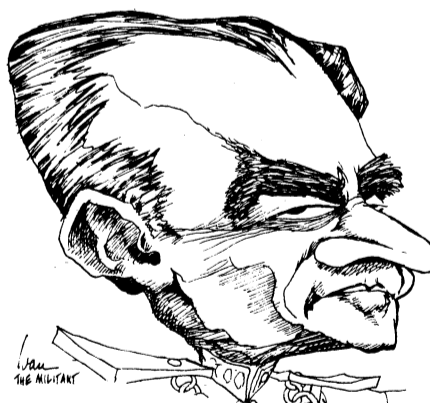
Words for the shah

[The following letter appeared in the November 24 *New York Review of Books*.]

To the Editors:

The Shah of Iran arrives in the United States November 15. I hope your readers will be interested in the following Open Letter to the Prime Minister of Iran.

Kay Boyle
San Francisco, California



'The crowned cannibal'

Prime Minister of Iran
Teheran, Iran

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

We have received a copy of a June 13, 1977 Open Letter to you, signed by forty of the most prominent Iranian intellectuals. In that letter, these distinguished literary figures make the following request of your government:

1) The Writers Association of Iran be activated as a gathering for the dialogue of Iranian intellectuals.

2) All existing obstacles to the creation of centers or clubs for gathering of members of the Association in Teheran and other cities of the country be removed.

3) Legal facilities be provided for the publication and unhampered distribution of an organ by the Association.

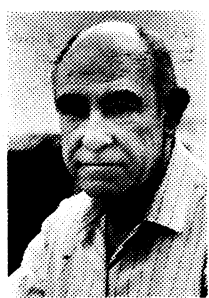
We sincerely believe that the fulfillment of the above requests will be a step toward the restoration of human rights and academic freedom in Iran. We urge your government to honor these basic human rights requested by the literary community of Iran.

Should punitive action be taken against any of the signatories of the Open Letter it will be strongly condemned by the world public opinion.

Bella Abzug, Frank Allaun (MP, England), Reza Baraheni, Eric Bentley, Philip Berrigan, Kay Boyle, Charles Cairns, Helen Cairns, Jacqueline Ceballos, Noam Chomsky, Ken Coates (England), Joan Crowell, Lawrence Ferlinghetti, Martin Flannery (MP, England), Frances Fitzgerald, Jane Fonda, Allen Ginsberg, Morton Halperin, Joseph Heller, Nat Hentoff, Irving Howe, Ahmad Karimi, Jerzy Kosinski, Pavel Litvinov, Felicia Langer (Israel), Norman Mailer, Joan Maynard (MP, England), Zhores Medvedev, Joan Mellen, Arthur Miller, Kate Millet, Lewis Mumford, Philip Oke, Muriel Rukeyser, Mahmoud Sayrafiezadeh, Ahmad Shamlou, I.F. Stone, Emile Touma, William Wilson (MP, England), Audrey Wise (MP, England), Babak Zahraie

(The original signatures are in the keeping of CAIFI.)

[For more information contact CAIFI (Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran), 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10003.]



The union business

material explaining that signs, billboards, films, etc. are in both Estonian and Russian, the article goes on to state, "Theoretically, it is enough to know only Estonian, the main language of the republic, but close ties with other republics make the knowledge of Russian necessary. The lifestyle in present-day Soviet Estonia, just as in other union republics, leads to bilingualism, which offers a solution to the so-called 'language question,' the subject of much discussion in many countries today."

With this buildup, I was expecting the writer to cite statistics on the overwhelming fluency in both languages by the vast majority of the population. True, 7 percent of the people in Estonia, we are informed, are neither Russian nor Estonian, so one would expect they might not know both languages, but would only need one in this paradise where "bilingualism is a way of life." But more than 68 percent of the population is Estonian, and 25 percent is Russian. But without pausing for breath the author goes on to state, "In 1970, 28 percent of the population of Estonia was fully bilingual."

In other words, in a country where knowledge of both languages is a necessity, less than one-third of the Estonian population is able to participate fully in society because they lack necessary language skills! What a commentary on the Stalinist educational system. And what a commentary on Stalinist chauvinism, that all the oppressed nationalities of this country—more than two-thirds of the population—are forced to learn the language of the dominant nationality to function in their own country.

Bob Schwarz
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

'Guilty' for being an Indian

Once again we see one of our AIM brothers incarcerated in the white man's jail.

The FBI was desperate to convict anybody on the killings, so after everything else failed, they concentrated on Leonard Peltier. (See October 21 *Militant*).

The FBI wanted a conviction on Peltier so they could discredit the American Indian Movement and at the same time get rid of another Indian, especially if he belongs to AIM.

Whether you're guilty or not, the FBI will do their best to throw you in jail or just kill you, like they did Anna Mae Aquash and Joseph Stuntz.

False evidence was submitted to the courts, and like all other cases involving AIM, Leonard Peltier was found guilty.

In the eyes of the government and the FBI, Peltier was not guilty of murder, but was found guilty for being an Indian, not just an Indian, but an Indian who belongs to the American Indian Movement.

S. Williams
Albany, New York

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

Business unionism is a cozy working relationship between union officials and employers. Part of the arrangement is that the union officials agree to police the industry and prevent "unfair" price-cutting and other forms of competition. The other side of the contract is that the employers agree to hire workers through the union hiring hall or otherwise impose a dues checkoff system.

This works to the mutual advantage of employers and union officials. Regulated prices insure high rates of profit. A steady flow of dues dollars into the union treasury is assured.

The idea of business unionism is that workers and bosses are a happy family, over which the union bureaucrat presides, safeguarding the interests of all parties. In practice nothing of the sort ever existed.

The myth that workers and bosses have a common stake in private business seems real only when the business is expanding, the employers are not greedy, and union bureaucrats are incorruptible. And that never was.

The crunch comes when too many entrepreneurs move into the field, attracted like flies to honey by above-average profits. They soon find ways to beat the competition by cutting prices or wages, usually both.

To gain this competitive edge, first one boss and then others bribe union officials with small favors and cash payoffs. In this way the union control of an industry, sometimes established for awhile by a successful industry-wide strike in the past, breaks down. The bosses then begin to hire nonunion workers. Their next move is to refuse further negotiations with the union.

This pattern of disintegration, speeded by new production methods, has virtually wiped out the building trades unions in some major cities. The same thing has happened in the restaurant business, largely taken over and transformed by the fast-food chains.

The once strong Hotel and Restaurant Employees union now has few members in most major cities, and less influence. A merger with the Bartenders International failed to add bargaining power. In Seattle, the enfeebled union recently suffered the ultimate humiliation when a restaurant owner picketed the offices of

Restaurant Employees Local 8.

Dick Smith, the owner, has a contract with Local 8. The reason he picketed the union was its failure to organize his competitors and properly police the industry.

"When I started in the business eighteen years ago 100 percent of the restaurants in my area were unionized," Smith said. "Now it's 11 percent."

Unless a restaurant grosses more than \$500,000 annually it is not subject to National Labor Relations Board regulations. Smith says his business is below the half-million mark and he plans to operate a nonunion house when his union contract expires.

One of the ironic consequences of business unionism was demonstrated when two members of the waitresses' union, not working at Smith's restaurant, joined him to demand that union officials try to organize the unorganized workers.

Local 8 President Joseph Yencich says there isn't much he can do because the labor law makes it hard to organize all the small restaurants, implying that he intends to wait for labor law reform from Congress. He will wait.

But nothing Congress does this year or next will help the kind of "organizing" Yencich knows about. A cardinal rule of business unionism is that the bosses have to be organized, not the workers. After the boss signs a union contract, the workers are then told that they are members of the union and must pay their initiation fee and regular monthly dues.

The Seattle case reveals how the practice of business unionism undermines and eventually destroys the union movement. This was demonstrated years ago by the inability of the old AFL craft unions to organize the mass production industries. It took the CIO to do that job. And the CIO was able to do it in the 1930s only because it organized the workers in industrial unions and abandoned the theory and practice of business unionism.

The weakness of the AFL-CIO today—including its Industrial Union Department—is the result, in large part, of the narrow outlook of the top officials and their return to the theory of business unionism in dealing with the giant corporations in basic industry.

Women in Revolt

Diane Wang



Hyde the hypocrite

The following is a guest column by Cindy Jaquith.

Henry Hyde, you are the self-appointed crusader in Congress against what you call the "murder" of "unborn children"—that is, the right of women to have abortions.

The law you are so proud of, the despicable Hyde amendment, has cut off all federal funds to pay for abortions for low-income women. These women can't afford abortions any other way.

It's all for women's own good, you tell us, and for the good of this country's children.

But wait a minute, Mr. Hyde. If you're really the God-given guardian of our "right to life," maybe you'd better answer some questions:

What about a poor woman who has decided she can't afford another child? You have argued that the government will amply provide for all the needs of her children.

You even went so far as to say, "I am prepared to pay the price to see that they get an education, decent housing, and adequate clothing."

But why weren't you willing to "pay the price" when Congress debated raising federal subsidies for school lunch programs? You voted against raising the subsidy a mere *five cents* per lunch!

You have also said, "The life of the little ghetto kid is just as important as the life of a rich person."

But you voted to cut back government food stamps. And you opposed a bill to increase funds for low-income housing by \$850,000, while supporting a bill to allocate \$1.89 billion for the B-1 bomber.

You proclaim that "millions of people are concerned about tax dollars paying for the slaughter of innocent, inconvenient, unborn children."

But how have you been spending our tax dollars, Mr. Hyde? Not for food, housing, or other social needs, but for a fatter war budget.

You voted for the neutron bomb, for example—a fiendish weapon for the "slaughter of the innocent" if there ever was one.

When your Democratic and Republican colleagues rained bombs on the Vietnamese people, where were you, Mr. Hyde? We didn't hear you on antiwar platforms speaking out for the "right to life" of Vietnamese children. Or do the people of Vietnam qualify for the same kind of "rights" you've promised for "ghetto kids"?

Finally, Mr. Hyde, you say that "an abortion is violent." You charge that terminating a pregnancy is treating a "human" life "like an empty beer can to be crushed and thrown out with the rest of the trash."

But when the life of a Chicana was crushed out by your law several weeks ago, when this sister died because she couldn't get Medicaid for a legal abortion, how did you respond?

You dismissed outrage at her death as "hysterical characterizations." You didn't utter a word of remorse, much less sympathy, for this first official victim of your law.

Your talk of the "right to life" is just hypocrisy, Mr. Hyde. It's hypocrisy shared by the other politicians in Congress—liberal and conservative alike—and by that man with the two-faced grin in the White House.

Beware, Mr. Hyde. And beware, "Mr. Jimmy." The women of this country believe we have a right to life too. And we won't stop demanding our rights until we have thrown out your vicious laws and forced you to recognize our demands.



Perish the thought—For San Clemente's fiftieth birthday celebration, the Nixon home will be open to visitors next February 26. Said the Chamber of Commerce: "We appreciate this offer from the Nixon family, and we want the public to know we are not paying them anything for the privilege."

Promoting American values— "Plenty of blood and guts, but virtually no sex. Suitable for older teen-age boys, and recommended for public libraries generally."—From a *Library Journal* review of Vardis Fisher's novel, *Mountain Man*.



"I say any family that can't show proof of residency prior to October, 1492, goes out on their ear."

At last, a safe tomato—A *New Yorker* reporter watched with dismay as a packing executive displayed a recently developed tomato that remained intact after a six-foot fall to a hard floor. The reporter found this was equivalent to a 13.4 mile-per-hour impact speed, nearly three times the current safety standard for auto bumpers.

Johnny-on-the-spot—Johnny Carson sued a portable toilet company for naming one of its products, "Here's Johnny." Now he wants the courts to make the toilet people stop advertising the fact that he's suing them.

Little boxes all in a row—Nelson Rockefeller's former D.C. neighbors are organizing to prevent a housing development going up on his former estate there. Declared one neighbor, "What you're really talking about is a typical tract development, ticky-tacky houses in the \$300,000-\$400,000 range."

Thought for the week— "WASHINGTON(AP)—New life forms developed through genetic research may be patented and owned by private industry, a federal patent court has ruled."

Capitalism in Crisis

Solving steel's problems

The ongoing crisis of the world capitalist economy affects both the working class and the owners of industry. Sales and profits decline. Jobs are lost. Therefore, declare the union officials to all who will listen, the workers can only save their own skins by helping the bosses survive the storm.

It is the capitalists alone, though, who control production and decide whether to close plants or build new ones, whether to hire workers or to fire them. And, through the Democratic and Republican parties, the capitalists alone control the government. In this way, they are in a position to impose *their* solutions to the economic crisis.

And despite the smooth-talking assurances of union officials, these solutions always come at the expense of working people.

This is exactly what is happening in the steel industry today. Some examples are straightforward, like the case of Wheeling-Pittsburgh Steel. In order to pay its debts to a consortium of banks, Wheeling-Pittsburgh made a modest proposal to its employees—to "defer" payment of the \$150 bonus each worker is supposed to receive each time the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement is renewed.

This proposal was accepted by United Steelworkers President Lloyd McBride behind the back of the local union involved. McBride wrote to company executives that the deal was "not to be construed as a precedent" and that workers who refused to pay should "suffer no adverse employment related consequences."

This was obviously an attempt at humor on McBride's part, since employees were being hit up precisely on the grounds that the company might fold if they didn't "voluntarily" relinquish their bonuses.

When this protection-money scheme got a poor response from the workers, Wheeling-Pittsburgh devised another plan. It is offering to sell stock to employees and other mill-town residents. The company says this will give workers "an opportunity to assist the company in overcoming its current financial difficulties."

The joke here is that Wheeling-Pittsburgh has stopped paying dividends on two earlier stock issues, so that the capitalists themselves won't buy the company's stock.

The beleaguered company has at least found some friends in government, though. It reports it is settling for "substantially less than \$500,000" a \$39.8 million fine for violating Pennsylvania air pollution laws.

Meanwhile, the Carter administration's task force on steel is preparing its own plan to "save" the industry. Under this plan, Washington would set a minimum price for steel and ban foreign companies from selling below that "reference" price. The U.S. steel companies say that's OK so long as the price is high enough.

If corporations get caught rigging minimum prices themselves it's illegal, so Washington will do it for them.

LTV Corporation, owner of Jones & Laughlin

Steel, and Lykes Corporation, owner of Youngstown Sheet & Tube, hope to solve their problems by merging.

A joint statement by the chief executives of the two corporations said the merger would give them "the production and other efficiencies needed to improve profit margins and better enable us to compete successfully. . . ."

Nothing was said about reopening the facilities shut down by Lykes in Youngstown, Ohio, or about rehiring the thousands of workers fired there. On the contrary, talk about "production efficiency" generally means speedup and layoffs on the way.

Indeed, the great hope of the industry, the November 8 *Wall Street Journal* reports, is that drastic reduction in steelmaking capacity (and jobs) will hasten a "tight steel market." Then, one analyst is quoted as predicting, "in the next shortage, prices are going to skyrocket."

Plant closings this year have already cut capacity by 5.5 million tons. Further cutbacks of up to 15 million tons are forecast in the next six months. That would mean 50,000 or more layoffs—permanent layoffs.

So these are some of the ways the steel corporations are arranging to solve *their* problems. Workers will bear the cost—through job losses, higher prices, and higher taxes.

Of course, there could be other solutions, solutions to the *workers'* problems. But those will only be won through a fight against the employers' power, their profits—and their political parties.

Capitalism Fouls Things Up

Arnold Weissberg



Carter's nuclear waste plan

The following is a guest column from 'Inter-continental Press'.

Under a proposal made public by the Carter administration October 18, the U.S. government would take responsibility for the management of spent nuclear fuel now piling up at power plants across the country. For a fee to electric utilities that could amount to \$3 million a year for each reactor, the government would acquire title to spent fuel and store it permanently.

Carter also offered nuclear waste storage to other countries, as long as they would agree to forego reprocessing of spent fuel to remove plutonium.

In the United States at present there are about 2,000 metric tons of spent nuclear fuel. According to estimates by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, there will be 3,400 metric tons at the end of 1977, and the figure will continue to mount at a rate of

1,000 metric tons a year. Unless some means of dealing with this material is found, twenty-three U.S. nuclear plants may be forced to shut down beginning in 1979.

No proven means of secure storage is yet available. The Department of Energy is embarked on a \$123.5 million study to evaluate possible burial sites in deep underground rock salt or hard rock formations in thirty-six states, with a target date for the first site of 1985 or 1986.

The study has already met with an unfriendly local response in a number of states. The Vermont legislature passed a law earlier this year requiring legislative approval of any atomic waste facility, to be granted only if it would "promote the general welfare" and "not have an undue adverse effect on health, safety, . . . and the natural environment." A similar law was passed in South Dakota, and

local officials and politicians in Michigan, Louisiana, New Hampshire, and Indiana have all expressed opposition to having nuclear waste facilities in their states.

The spent fuel problem will get worse if Carter's projection of 300 more U.S. nuclear power plants by the year 2000 is met. According to Carter environmental aide Gus Speth, "By 1985 nuclear power plants could be generating every three years an amount of radioactivity equal to the current inventory."

The Carter proposal was welcomed by the Atomic Industrial Forum, the nuclear public-relations outfit, which called it "a welcome step for the industry." Thomas Cochran of the Natural Resources Defense Council had a more accurate characterization: "It transfers spent fuel from one owner that is financially incompetent to one that is institutionally incompetent."

S. African students spread school boycott

By Ernest Harsch
From Intercontinental Press

A few weeks after the outlawing of virtually every major Black group in South Africa, the white supremacist regime is facing continued student unrest in Black townships across the country.

Although many of the most prominent Black leaders have been arrested or effectively silenced by the crackdown, the new repressive measures have so far been unsuccessful in breaking the spirit and resistance of the Black community as a whole.

After a visit to Soweto, the huge Black city near Johannesburg that has been a center of the recent upsurges, correspondent David B. Ottaway reported in the October 24 *Washington Post* that the students there "seem more determined than ever to challenge the government following last week's bannings and arrests."

Much of the active opposition to the racist system of apartheid is focused for the moment around a massive student campaign against "Bantu Education," the white regime's policy of inferior and segregated education. A boycott of classes was launched in early August by the Soweto Students Representative Council (SSRC), which has been in the forefront of the upsurge against the apartheid regime over the past year.

Although the SSRC itself has been made illegal, the boycott has continued to spread. It was originally limited to about 27,000 high-school students in Soweto, but has now extended to more than 300,000 high-school and primary-school students in a number of Black townships, as well as in some of the Bantustans, the impoverished and fragmented rural reserves in which millions of Africans are confined. In Soweto, the students won the support of about 500 teachers, who resigned their positions in protests against Bantu Education.

In an attempt to break the boycott, at the end of October the regime sent an airplane over Soweto to drop tens of thousands of leaflets. The leaflets urged parents to return their children to school and warned that if students did not take their examinations they would not graduate. The effort was unsuccessful.

The young student militants consider the boycott of classes as only one stage in an ongoing struggle against white supremacy. Ottaway reported that one activist "made it clear that the issue of Bantu education was being used by the students as a wedge to split the whole apartheid structure."

According to a November 4 dispatch from Johannesburg by *New York Times* reporter John Darnton, one

Black nationalist who was recently released from prison explained to him, "We're not interested in half a loaf anymore. We want the whole loaf." And Tamsanga Kambule, a Soweto high-school principal who was fired as a result of his support for the boycott, said that the issue is "now majority rule of our country."

Throughout the long history of the Black freedom struggle in South Africa, the leadership vacuums caused by repeated crackdowns have not long remained unfilled. Reporting in the November 11 *Christian Science Monitor*, June Goodwin noted that "new leaders are believed to be slowly coming to the surface, while older leaders are refurbishing their tactics." She also revealed that more protests were being held than have been reported in the newspapers.

As a result of the tensions that have been building up among the Black population in response to the October 19 crackdown and the earlier death in police custody of Steve Biko, one of the country's foremost Black leaders, Darnton predicted that "an outbreak could come at any time."

In a desperate attempt to head off such an eventuality, the Vorster regime has stepped up its repressive actions even more.

The November 5 Johannesburg *Star* reported that students who were absent from school without "valid" reason for more than five consecutive days faced expulsion. New disciplinary measures also seek to regulate student conduct in school. "Punishments include the imposition of work, withholding of privileges, administering of corporal punishment to male students and expulsion," the *Star* reported.

As part of its attempts to terrorize the Black majority into submission,



Inferior, segregated Bantu Education system is target of boycott

police conducted a massive raid on the Black township of Atteridgeville-Faulsville near Pretoria November 10. The police cordoned off the township for six hours while they carried out a house-to-house sweep.

The police announced afterward that they had arrested 626 Blacks, 198 of whom were students. Most of the rest were detained for violating the regime's pass laws, which strictly regulate African movement and residency. Despite the raid, students in the township continued their boycott of examinations.

The same day, police opened fire with shotguns on about fifty Black youths protesting in a township near Cradock in the Eastern Cape region.

A prominent part of Vorster's terror

campaign, especially over the past year and a half, has been the murder of imprisoned Black activists. In most cases, the regime has issued the flimsiest of explanations for their deaths.

For instance, Justice Minister James T. Kruger suggested November 9 that Biko, who died of brain injuries, might have caused them himself. "I don't know if they were self-inflicted," he said. "But I often think of banging my own head against a wall."

Thus, while formally denying responsibility for the deaths of dozens of Black political prisoners, the explanations issued by the regime are so transparent that the message conveyed to the country's 22 million Blacks is clear: The same thing could happen to any one of them.

Inquest into Biko murder opens



STEVE BIKO

New evidence pointing to the murder of South African Black Consciousness Movement leader Steve Biko came to light during the Vorster regime's official inquest into his death. The hearing took place November 14.

South Africa's white-minority regime has stubbornly denied Biko was murdered.

However, Black leaders in South Africa and other antiapartheid forces have cited evidence that Biko was severely beaten before his death September 12. Testimony from South African police officers at the inquest supported these suspicions.

While denying they had assaulted Biko, the cops were forced to admit they had kept the Black activist

locked naked in a cell for nineteen days. They also admitted to subjecting Biko to fifty hours of round-the-clock "interrogation" during which he was shackled in handcuffs and leg irons.

Maj. Harold Snyman, the cop in charge of the "interrogation," tried to explain away the beating Biko had suffered with claims that Biko had been injured only after he had attacked his interrogators.

Snyman, however, had submitted two earlier sworn accounts of Biko's death. Only in the third did he mention the possibility that Biko had been beaten. By that time he had seen an autopsy photograph that clearly showed bruises on Biko's forehead.

NSCAR meeting to map antiracist drive



Militant/Wayne Glover

By John Hawkins

How to end U.S. support to South Africa's apartheid regime and aid the victims of stiffening repression there?

What strategy to fight the mounting deportations of undocumented workers?

What must be done to force the Supreme Court to overturn the "reverse discrimination" *Bakke* ruling?

These questions will be at the top of the agenda at the National Student Antiracist Strategy Meeting on December 2 and 3 in Washington, D.C.

James Harris, staff coordinator for the sponsoring group, the National Student Coalition Against Racism, described the gathering as a "working meeting of NSCAR activists and others from across the country."

"This fall we've been involved in a

wide variety of struggles against racism in this country and abroad," Harris told the *Militant*. "The strategy meeting will give us a chance to assess these activities and make plans for ongoing work this winter and spring."

In many cities NSCAR chapters were active in organizing October protests against the *Bakke* decision. Many chapters conducted debates, teach-ins, and other activities on college campuses to explain to students the issues involved in this attack on affirmative action for women, Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and other oppressed national minorities.

"The National Coalition to Overturn the *Bakke* Decision," Harris said, "is planning further activities. We in NSCAR will be discussing how we can help build these activities."

Harris also pointed to NSCAR's participation in the recent Chicano/

Latino conference on deportations held in San Antonio, Texas, and to the group's role in protests against U.S. support to the South African regime. The strategy meeting will also discuss these NSCAR campaigns, Harris said.

The meeting will be launched with a rally December 2 at the Howard University School of Social Work. Speakers will include Harris; author C.L.R. James; Washington, D.C., Federation of Teachers President William Simons; and Jessica Chauncey-Manigat of the Haitian Refugee Concerns, United Church of Christ.

On Saturday, December 3, several reports and panel discussions are scheduled. These will take up NSCAR's major action campaigns.

For more information, write or telephone: NSCAR, 220 Fifth Avenue, Room 808, New York, New York 10001. Telephone: (212) 686-7020.

How can workers defeat new wave of union busting?

Discussion with Houston steelworker

By Joel Britton

HOUSTON—How can working people defeat employer attacks on job conditions and wages?

How can union members effectively fight management attempts to break their unions?

I discussed these questions recently with Tom Leonard, one of many victims of a union-busting drive at Hydril Company, an oil-tool manufacturing outfit here.

Leonard is fighting to win back his job as a machinist through the grievance procedure provided for by a contract between Hydril and Local 5801 of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA). An arbitrator will decide his case in coming months.

Hydril trumped up charges of "excessive absenteeism" against Leonard. But it's clear they wanted him out of the shop because he joined with other workers seeking a discussion in their union on how to defend their working conditions and wages.

Leonard, an elected union steward, is part of a layer of workers with one ten years seniority who have been hit hardest by Hydril's union-busting attack. Many have been fired or pressured into quitting. Others barely hang onto their jobs as pressure mounts for more work in less time from fewer workers under more hazardous conditions.

Caught off guard

"Our local union officials have enjoyed something of a honeymoon with Hydril management for a number of years," says Leonard.

"They were caught off guard by the harshness of the company's attack. They hoped that since production initially dropped as a result of the harassment and victimizations, the stockholders or board of directors would step in and replace their union-busting team with more reasonable bosses."

These false hopes are not uncommon among union officials at all levels. In the September issue of *Steel Labor*, the voice of USWA President Lloyd McBride, an article cites "ominous signs from throughout the country that a new hard-line philosophy may be gaining ground" among employers.

The article points to "overt challenges to the very concept of union representation" that "would return industrial relations to the pre-1935 era."

Steel Labor's solution? An appeal to "more responsible voices from the corporate world" to stem the "resurgence of old-time union-busting."

Leonard says, "This approach of assuming that workers and bosses, including 'responsible' bosses, have any interests whatever in common, is false."

"It leads to deals like the ENA [Experimental Negotiating Agreement] in the basic steel industry. Under ENA the USWA officials gave up the right to call an industry-wide strike in exchange for a few gains—mostly for older workers—and promised protection against layoffs."

"The bitter fruit of ENA is being harvested in Youngstown, Ohio, and other major steel centers where thousands of steelworkers are being laid



TOM LEONARD

Militant/Lynn Henderson

off. And on the Mesabi Iron Range in Minnesota, where iron ore miners are exercising their right under ENA to strike on local issues but can't get management to even discuss the union's demands."

ENA, says Leonard, "weakens the union, including in sectors like the oil-tool industry not directly covered by it. That's why I supported Ed Sadlowski and the other Steelworkers Fight Back candidates for top USWA offices when they ran on an anti-ENA program."

Whether to fight back

Given the lack of response to Hydril's attacks by Local 5801's officers, the first question many workers had was whether to attempt to organize any resistance. "Some felt there wasn't much hope—the company offensive was too strong, the union too weak. Resistance would only lead to victimization. But others felt that even if they didn't fight back their days were numbered."

Leonard reports that "modest forms of direct action" are resorted to by some workers rather than going through the grievance procedure.

For example, the company upgraded a pipemover without posting the job opening, thereby denying others their right under the contract to bid for the job.

In response, Leonard recalls, "about a dozen men got together at the end of the third shift and confronted the personnel director, protesting this violation of the contract. In this instance the company backed away and posted the job."

"Hydril's naked assault on job conditions and union rights and the seeming inability of the union to effectively fight back," says Leonard, "poses in the minds of some of the workers that their basic rights are being violated." An example one worker raised with him was the right of free speech.

"Doesn't the fact that the company is violating our contract and established norms of organizing the work, and the fact that they intimidate and harass us, generating fear in us that we cannot respond to a criticism of a foreman—isn't this a violation of a right that goes outside the union contract? Isn't this a violation of civil liberties?"

"A discussion in the union was clearly needed," continues Leonard, "a democratic discussion involving workers who don't usually attend union meetings. And drawing in workers who don't see the need to join the union because it isn't doing enough, because it isn't strong enough."

Texas is a "right to work" state where union membership is optional, even where a company has signed a union contract.

Leonard and some of his co-workers discussed the isolated position Local 5801 is in, with no allies that can readily be called upon for help in rebuffing Hydril's union-busting attacks.

One step toward reaching out to potential allies in the USWA has been participation by some Hydril workers in activities supporting Local 1742 during their recent strike at Hughes Tool Company.

Earlier, a few Hydril workers had met informally with USWA members from Hughes and other plants to discuss common problems and what could be done.

In his discussions with co-workers, Leonard says, he always points out that "the unions are more open to attack because they have for many years cut themselves off from potential allies by not supporting civil rights struggles of Blacks and Chicanos, by not taking positive stands on social issues, including the war in Vietnam."

"If a union doesn't back busing to desegregate the schools, women's rights, the rights of undocumented workers, how can the union expect much of a response when it appeals for help from Black and Chicano groups, or women's groups?"

"The employers' attacks on the unions are going to continue, and unions will be seriously weakened or smashed if they don't organize their forces and those of their potential allies and fight back. Many younger workers are beginning to understand this."

Leonard says that discussions on potential allies often get around to the "friends of labor" in the Democratic

Party. They are put in office with union backing but then turn their backs when the unions could use a little help.

Most of the young workers "are cynical about politicians but some responded well when literature from a different kind of politician was passed out at Hydril's gate. This was 'An Open Letter to the Working People of Houston' by Diane Sarge, who ran for mayor on the Socialist Workers Party ticket."

Sarge, a worker at Hughes Tool and member of the USWA, urged the unions to end their reliance on the parties of the employers—the Democrats and Republicans—and get into politics on their own by forming a labor party.

A massive, militant labor party, running working-class candidates, could sweep the big business politicians out of office.

Role of socialists

In addition to being a union militant, Leonard has been active in the socialist movement since he joined the Socialist Workers Party in 1952. He now serves on the party's national committee.

"At Hydril, I never hid the fact that I am a socialist," says Leonard, "though I didn't exactly go around broadcasting it either."

"Rumors went around the shop last spring that I was some kind of a radical. This was after I had talked at union meetings on the contract negotiations."

"One worker came up to me and asked if I was a socialist and I said 'yes.' He said, 'Damn it, everything you say I agree with. Maybe I've been a socialist all my life and didn't know it.'"

"When I decided to run for shop steward I told some of the guys who were pushing for me to run that I was a socialist. I asked if they thought this would be a factor in the campaign. They assured me it wouldn't be a problem."

In most cases, says Leonard, workers he discussed socialist ideas with said they though he had the right to be a socialist. "One pointed out that socialists helped build the union movement in the early days. And he had heard of Eugene Debs, the outstanding labor organizer and socialist."

Leonard's understanding of what makes capitalism tick has helped him to put Hydril's union-busting attacks in the broader framework of the general employer offensive against job conditions and living standards. And it's helped him to point out the need to change the unions into fighting organizations capable of defending the jobs, wages, conditions, and rights of all working people.

The discussion among workers has just begun at Hydril and the many other shops and mills around the country where workers face similar problems. The ideas of Tom Leonard and others like him will be an essential part of this discussion.



Steelworkers picket Hughes Tool during recent strike. Workers at Hydril discussed need to back Hughes strikers in order to cut across isolation of local unions.

Militant/Stu Singer

Canadian steelworkers protest layoffs

The following article reports the response by Canadian steelworkers to mass layoffs announced last month by Inco, the giant nickel-mining corporation.

The nickel miners of Sudbury, Ontario—members of United Steelworkers Local 6500, the largest USWA local in Canada—have a tradition of militancy. They shut Sudbury down tight during the one-day general strike against wage controls carried out October 14, 1976, by the Canadian labor movement.

The steelworkers union is one of the strongest supporters of the New Democratic Party (NDP), the social-democratic labor party in Canada.

This article is reprinted from 'Socialist Voice,' a revolutionary socialist biweekly newspaper published in Toronto.

By Gary Kettner

SUDBURY—"The whole situation is asking for disaster. There will be a lot

worse discontent. Maybe there will be violence . . . people are really against the wall.

"The union should put on a campaign . . . If the unions could get 20,000 people every week in Ottawa, then we could do something."

That's how one miner summed up the mood here in the wake of Inco's October 20 layoff announcement.

Almost 3,000 Sudbury workers and another 600 in Thompson, Man., members of Canada's largest industrial union, will join the growing ranks of unemployed February 13.

We were standing outside the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 6500 hall Sunday October 23, waiting for a protest rally against the layoffs to begin.

Inside, only 300 chairs were set up. But by 2:30 that afternoon, more than 1,000 workers and their families had packed into the room.

Angry and militant, they cheered and applauded repeatedly as union and New Democratic Party leaders attacked Inco and called for public

ownership of the mining industry.

"Industry is here for one purpose—to mine profits and profits only," said USWA area supervisor Gib Gilchrist. "When the workers get in the way, then the workers go!"

"Tax concessions don't create jobs—they just ensure profits for the companies," said Jack Gignac, president of Local 598 of the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers Union.

"The only solution is outright nationalization of the entire industry without compensation," Gignac told the crowd.

"We're prepared to negotiate a purchase price," said Elie Martel, a Sudbury-area NDP MPP [Member of Provincial Parliament].

"When you deduct the cost of the damage that Inco has done, we owe them about \$2.95 for bus fare." Martel pointed out that Inco had made \$1.7 billion profit in the last 10 years.

Labor Council vice-president Peter Desilets told the unionists "It's not enough to just make demands. We have to act; to demonstrate our

strength."

But there was a sharp contrast between the militant mood—and rhetoric—of the meeting and the perspective of labor and NDP leaders.

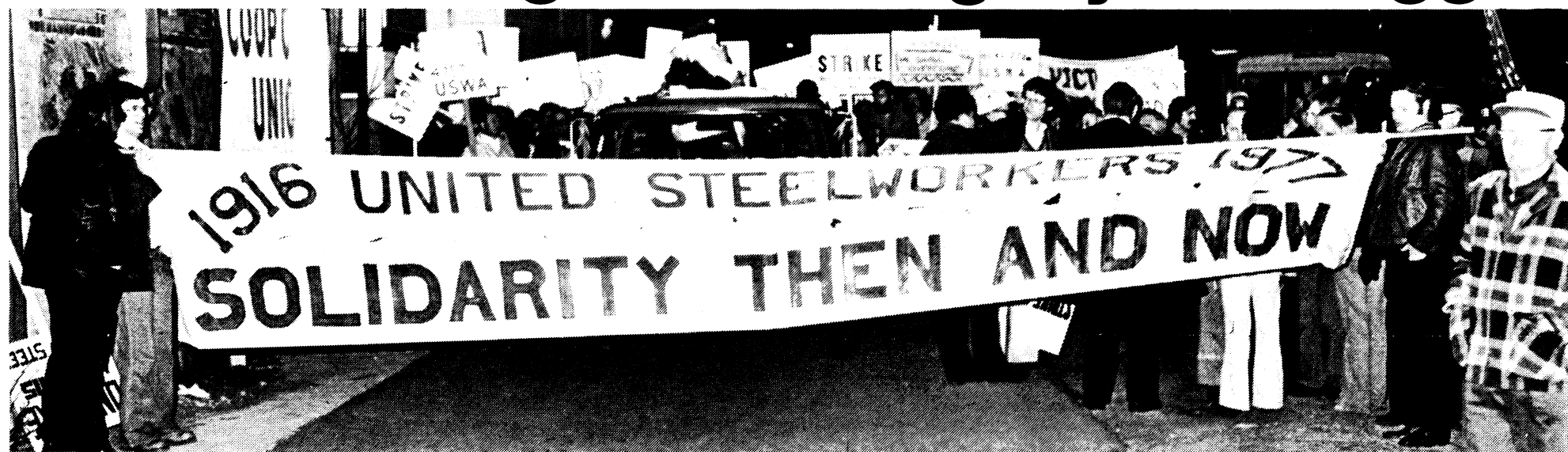
Despite talk of nationalization, they seemed more concerned with working out some deal with the company and the government.

Local 6500 leaders are negotiating with Inco to win implementation of a four-point program—no overtime; early retirement for older workers on full pension; adjustment of vacation schedules; and abolition of the bonus system and stricter enforcement of safety regulations.

NDP leader Ed Broadbent has put forward a four-point program of his own. As he explained it to the rally, he wants the federal government to end all financial aid to Canadian firms that encourages them to invest abroad; end loans to the nickel and copper companies; pressure every resource corporation to reinvest a certain percentage of their Canadian profits in

Continued on page 30

1916 iron range strike: legacy of struggle



Striking steelworkers march in Virginia, Minnesota, November 6

Militant/Mike Moser

By Andy Rose

"We will stick to the end; whether the end of the strike will bring victory or defeat will be decided, not by us, but by you who are on the outside and at work. The only enemy we fear is hunger and you can defeat that enemy for us. Do that and we will tame the Steel Trust."

That appeal for financial aid was written by striking miners on the Mesabi Iron Range of northern Minnesota . . . in 1916.

Sixty-one years later, iron ore workers are again on strike. Eighteen thousand members of the United Steelworkers are nearing their fifth month on the picket lines. Many are rediscovering and learning from the past struggles on the iron range.

The iron ore workers in 1916 were overwhelmingly immigrant laborers—Finns, Slovenians, Italians, Croatians, Serbians, and some forty other nationalities.

The companies stamped out all early attempts to organize, but the idea of unionism was kept alive by the many socialist miners, especially Finns.

U.S. Steel

The hated exploiter of the miners, then as now, was the U.S. Steel Corporation, whose Oliver Iron Mining Company dominated the range.

Wages were \$2.40 a day for miners and \$2.12 for laborers. Speedup and hazardous conditions were longstanding grievances.

"Always they are driving us in all manners of way," an Eveleth miner protested. "We must work like former slaves in the South . . . until the sweat

rolls off every hair on our head."

Although the eight-hour day was instituted in 1912, workers were not paid portal to portal, but only from the moment the picks were in their hands. Today, iron ore workers are still not paid for their time traveling to and from their work areas inside the giant mines and processing plants.

Underground miners had a special grievance—the treacherous speedup of the "contract system." Their pay was based on the amount of ore they shoveled. The rates—unwritten and arbitrarily set by the mine captains—were lowered whenever the company decided the men were earning too much.

'To hell with such wages'

On June 2, 1916, an Italian miner named Joe Greeni opened his pay envelope. Seeing the pathetic amount on the check, he cried, "To hell with such wages," and threw down his pick. To his surprise, his entire shift walked out with him. In days the strike had swept across the range. Miners marched from town to town spreading the word.

The miners had appealed earlier for organizing aid from the Minnesota AFL and been rebuffed. They now turned to the radical Industrial Workers of the World, which sent in such top-notch organizers as Sam Scarlett, Carlo Tresca, and Frank Little.

Under the leadership of the IWW, the miners held mass meetings, elected strike committees (usually with two representatives from each nationality), and drew up a list of demands.

U.S. Steel refused to negotiate. Instead it hired 1,000 special "guards"—

professional strikebreakers—and armed them with guns and clubs. These thugs were made deputy sheriffs by local authorities.

The IWW was red-baited mercilessly. One Duluth newspaper declared the strike to be "revolution, just that and nothing else."

The company strategy was to intimidate, terrorize, and starve the strikers back to work. Strikers were beaten and arrested. Their meetings were banned, their demonstrations attacked.

On June 22 company guards opened fire on a parade of strikers in Virginia. John Alar, a Croatian miner, was killed. No one was ever arrested for his murder.

About a week later, deputized company thugs invaded a striker's home in Biwabik. A fight ensued in which one guard and one bystander were killed.

All the occupants of the house were arrested. Miles away, the key IWW strike leaders were dragged from their hotel, manacled, and charged with first-degree murder. Their speeches were alleged to have "incited" the killings.

Eugene Debs, who was then campaigning for president on the Socialist Party ticket, wrote an impassioned appeal for solidarity in the *International Socialist Review*.

"The Steel Trust is itself the arch-criminal in the case and its clutches are red with the blood of the innocent," Debs wrote, "but no grand jury will find an indictment against these multi-millionaire murderers."

"It is only the poor who are indicted for being the victims of crime and only the rich who go free in spite of their guilt."

"I have said enough. You know the story. . . . Every one of us must do our part and contribute our share."

Although charges were eventually dropped against the IWW organizers (three miners served a little more than three years in prison for manslaughter), the removal of the central strike leadership for several weeks was a harsh blow.

The strike also suffered from lack of support from the state AFL, whose conservative leaders put their hostility to the IWW ahead of the workers' interests.

While many of the miners worked in the harvest fields to get money to survive, their wives took over picket duty. Soon they too were beaten and jailed, along with their children.

The last straw was the refusal of federal mediators to lift a finger to get the companies to negotiate. Finally, on September 17, the Central Strike Committee declared the strike ended.

Accomplishments of strike

The strike was not completely unsuccessful, though. Faced with the threat of a renewed walkout the next spring, the companies raised wages and instituted some reforms demanded by the workers. Union recognition was not won until the rise of the CIO in the 1930s.

The 1916 strikers had another lasting accomplishment. They set a tradition of militancy and struggle that is inspiring workers today who learn—as a Slovenian miner wrote then—that "only through organization can the worker live like a man in freedom."

Willie Mae Reid ran for vice-president of the United States in 1976 on the Socialist Workers Party ticket. In the late 1950s and early 1960s she was active in the civil rights movement in the South. Later, she participated in the struggle to legalize abortion. She joined the SWP in 1973.

Reid is currently the women's liberation work director for the SWP.

In the following interview, she discusses the Houston International Women's Year conference, the road forward in the women's liberation struggle, and how socialists view the fight to eliminate sexism, racism, and class exploitation.

Question. Why are socialists attending the IWY conference?

Answer. This national conference is one of the largest gatherings of women ever held in this country. It is a historic event.

A real debate is going to take place here. On one side there will be the opponents of equal rights for women, including some of the most openly racist, sexist, anti-working-class organizations in the country.

On the other side, socialist women, along with thousands of other feminists, will be striving to bring out the real issues, to expose the reactionary program of those who oppose women's



WILLIE MAE REID

equality, and to show that the majority of women want their rights now.

This conference has been organized by the U.S. government, supposedly to demonstrate its interest in and concern for women. But that very same government is today spearheading the attacks on many of our rights.

Message to gov't

So we want the U.S. government to get the message loud and clear. We're going to voice the demand of millions of women for a halt to the attacks on our rights by the courts, the Congress, and the Carter administration.

It's these attacks that have sparked trade-union women, Black women, Chicanas, students, and many others to come to Houston to talk about their problems and what can be done. Socialists are here to take part in that discussion and offer our ideas on how to stand up and fight back.

Q. What do you see as the big political issues at the conference?

A. Women are bringing a multitude of grievances to this meeting. Among the questions the conference must address itself to are:

The cutoff of Medicaid funds for

abortion. It's no accident that the first officially reported victim of these cut-offs was the Texas Chicana who died of an illegal, back-alley abortion.

Forced sterilization. The same politicians denying us the right to an abortion have stepped up sterilization programs against poor women.

The Equal Rights Amendment. This simple statement of women's equality is still blocked by the two ruling parties, fifty-four years after it was first proposed!

Affirmative action. The *Bakke* lawsuit now before the Supreme Court is a forewarning of more serious attacks to come against this gain by women, Blacks, and other oppressed minorities.

Child care. Day-care centers are closing down across the country. Those who own the wealth in this society tell us they have "no money."

Gay rights. We need laws in every city and state protecting lesbians and gay men from harassment and discrimination.

Q. In 1972 Congress passed the ERA. In 1973 the Supreme Court legalized abortion. Now there appears to be a backlash against women. What has changed?

A. When the new wave of women's struggles began to surface in the late 1960s, it scared the rich minority that rules this country. Our demand that society take responsibility for child care, our demand for jobs at equal pay, our demand to control our own bodies all threatened the prerogatives and profits of those who rule this country.

Faced not only with angry women, but with a powerful movement against the Vietnam War, militant Blacks, protesting students, and early signs of restiveness in the factories, big business decided to buy some time. They granted women some important concessions, in the hopes our movement wouldn't grow any bigger.

Those concessions cost them, however. Black women, Chicanas, Puerto-ricanas, and working women began to increasingly identify with the women's movement and its goals.

Some people say today that the country is "moving to the right." But women aren't moving to the right; Blacks aren't moving to the right; and neither are working people.

It's the bankers and corporation executives—and their government—who are more and more showing their true colors.

'Equality of sacrifice'

The capitalists can't afford to give as many concessions today because of their economic problems. Under the cover of "equality of sacrifice," they're making working people, especially women and oppressed nationalities, pay the price to keep business profits rolling in.

Q. If support for women's demands is growing, why is it that reactionary groups like Stop ERA seem to have so much influence?

A. The "influence" of such groups is based on the fact that they are active and visible, while the women's movement has been on the defensive. That defensive posture is tied to misplaced trust in our so-called friends in the Democratic and Republican parties.

In 1976, when I ran for vice-president as a socialist, many feminists told me they were voting for Jimmy Carter. They explained that he had promised to get the ERA ratified and expand opportunities for women.

I warned them not to put their trust in any politician. I argued that we must stay in the streets and keep our movement visible, or Carter would

drop even his promises—hollow as they were—within seconds of taking office.

Carter's sweet talk

But leaders of the women's movement who support the Democratic Party let Carter sweet-talk them into downplaying actions for the ERA and other issues. So as not to "embarrass" the Carter ticket, they counseled against protests when Congress started attacking abortion rights.

Subordinated to the dictates of the Democratic and Republican politicians, the women's movement became atomized, almost invisible. The energies of many women were totally consumed in lobbying various office-holders and electing "prowomen" capitalist candidates.

Without any strong public opposition, Carter proceeded to campaign against Medicaid for abortions. In fact, his administration has led this assault on one of women's most basic rights. As for the ERA, he simply sat around his office letting the amendment suffer defeat after defeat.

Q. Now Carter says he favors extending the ERA deadline. What do socialists think about this?

A. The real issue is not whether to extend the deadline, but what strategy we need to win the ERA. Do we wait for Carter to give it to us, or do we get out in the streets now and demand it?

Q. But if the deadline is not extended, there will be very little time left to win the ERA before March 1979. Do you think the movement can afford to fight around other issues as well if we face possible defeat for the ERA?

A. We can't afford not to! The fight for the ERA is one of our central priorities. If it is defeated, it will be a serious setback for women and all working people.

'We can't compromise'

But we don't have the luxury today of closing our eyes to the other issues as we press for ratification. Our enemies are attacking us on all fronts at once, and we cannot barter, bargain, or give up any of our rights. It is precisely by showing how all these fights are interrelated that we will be able to increase our support.

If Congress succeeds in returning us to the days when all abortions were illegal, can anyone believe we stand a chance of winning the ERA? If lesbians are denied equal rights, can anyone believe equality will be granted to other women?

No, we stand the strongest chance of pushing the ERA through to victory if we are united on every front, uncompromising in our defense of the rights of all women.

Q. What should the women's movement do after the IWY conference?

A. This conference is designed to come up with recommendations, labeled a "National Plan of Action," to be submitted to Congress. Many of the recommendations are positive.

But it would be a mistake for women to wait for Congress to act on them.

We have to take the offensive coming out of Houston, carrying out our own plan of action, in the streets, to show our power and strength.

We need demonstrations, picket lines, speakouts, and teach-ins. We need a powerful women's movement that decides its own program and priorities and confronts those smooth-talking politicians.

The response to the IWY conference gives us a hint of what the women's movement could do. Imagine if women's groups from all over the country, including the National Orga-

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nization for Women (NOW), the Coalition of Labor Union Women, and the many others, got together and called another national conference, independently organized and run by women, not by the government.

We would invite the labor unions, the civil rights groups, the students, and the gay organizations to all send representatives.

Such a conference would be conducted democratically. Unlike the IWY conference, it would be open to all women—with voice for all women. Unlike IWY, there would be no preselected delegate slates used to screen out women who don't support the Democrats and Republicans.

A real plan of action

A women's conference of this kind could develop a real plan of action—not just a set of "recommendations" to be studied by our enemies in Congress. It could develop a strategy to build the kind of movement that can force the government to meet our demands.

And the key to such a plan would have to be a break with the strategy of

Socialist Looks on Women's Liberation



Militant/Ginny Hildebrand

relying on the Democrats and Republicans. The leaders of NOW and the other major women's groups, like the leaders of the labor and Black movements, have gotten nowhere from coddling these politicians.

We need a new strategy. A strategy that tells the politicians we're not going to buy them dinners or whisper in their ears anymore. We're going to be loud. We're going to be militant. And we're going to be very "unladylike" in demanding our rights!

Q. What role would Black women, Chicanas, women of other oppressed minorities, and trade unionists play in the kind of women's movement you're describing?

A. In building this movement we would especially reach out to the women who right now are feeling the brunt of the attacks—Black, Chicana, Puerto Rican, Native American, and Asian-American women. These are the most oppressed layers of working-class women.

For these women, and all working

women, daily reality tells them that they have nothing to lose and the most to gain through the women's movement.

As these women become more involved, as they assume greater responsibility and leadership in the movement, they will also make it easier for us to win the support of the trade unions, the civil rights groups, and the communities of the oppressed nationalities. These are women's natural allies, potentially more powerful and certainly more reliable than capitalist politicians.

Q. But the labor movement has hardly been a friend of the women's liberation movement.

A. We make a mistake if we confuse the current leadership of the unions with the interests and aspirations of the union ranks.

When we talk about women's rights we're talking about rights that immediately affect not just the 40 percent of the working class that is female, but the wage levels and working conditions of every single worker. Fighting for women's rights is not some altruistic thing male workers should do. It's in their own interests!

The labor officialdom, which belatedly came out in support of the ERA, has barely lifted a finger to win its ratification. Their strategy is half-hearted lobbying at best. That hasn't won jobs, or a decent minimum wage, or anything else labor needs. So it won't help win ERA either.

Union power

But what if the unions were to really flex their muscles on behalf of issues like the ERA? What a powerful ally that would be! The women's movement can help in that transformation of the unions by educating workers to see why the labor movement and women's movement must fight together for the same demands.

Trade unionists in Virginia are setting an example of what the labor movement could and should do. At the initiative of the Meat Cutters union, a labor coalition for the ERA has called for a march on the Virginia legislature next January.

If the meat cutters, the auto workers, the miners, the teachers, and women's rights groups all march on the state capitol next January, you can bet that the Virginia gentry in the legislature will sit up and listen!

Q. Is it just a matter of building bigger and bigger demonstrations until the government gives in?

A. Independent action in the streets is important. It shows we mean business.

But then that raise a second question. If we're out demonstrating against the policies of the Democrats and Republicans one day, why should we elect them to office the next? Why can't we vote for a party that supports our needs?

There is no such party with mass support today because the forces that could inaugurate such a party—the labor unions, the Black movement, the women's movement—are all shackled to the parties that defend the interests of our enemies.

Working people today have the "choice" of voting for an individual selected by the antiwoman, anti-Black, antilabor Democratic Party or an individual put up by the antilabor, antiwoman, anti-Black Republican Party. Without a party of our own, our hands are tied in the political arena.

The capitalist parties offer us no alternatives. It's vote for higher taxes, or vote for no more schools. Vote for more pollution, or vote for no jobs.

Either way, big business wins, and

working people lose. And they call that "practical politics"!

But an independent labor party would face no such contradiction. Its interests would be dead opposed to the interests of the capitalist class. Therefore, it could champion women's, Blacks', and working people's needs and offer some real alternatives. Instead of placing profits for a handful of individuals before the needs of humanity, a labor party would fight for our class interests.

Q. Phyllis Schlafly says the women's movement is just a "socialist plot." How do you answer her charges?

A. The women's movement is made up of many different kinds of women—socialists, Democrats, Republicans, independents.

It is true that socialists have always championed women's rights. Some of the earliest writings that explained how and why women are subjugated in class society were written by Engels and Marx. The Socialist Party of Eugene V. Debs championed women's suffrage and birth control.

In fact, one of the pioneers in birth control, Dr. Antoinette Konikow, was a founding member of the Socialist Workers Party.

In recent years the SWP helped organize the 40,000-strong women's demonstration in New York City in 1970. We helped fight for abortion rights. Many socialists, like me, are active members of NOW and other women's groups.

But socialists have no secret plots or ulterior motives. We say what we think, and we act on what we say.

'Why I'm a socialist'

I believe that to finally win women's full liberation we will need a complete overhaul of society, a socialist restructuring of the economy. I'm in the SWP to fight for that.

But I don't think women need to wait for socialism to win some gains. We can organize and win victories now.

Moreover, it is only by fighting for our rights today that women will gain confidence and find out in practice who our allies are. Only through that

process will millions of women become convinced, as I am, that socialism is necessary.

And only with the support of the masses of women can a socialist society be built. That's why I believe it is necessary to organize a mass women's movement as well as a mass working-class political party. The two are complementary, and both are necessary.

Q. What would socialism mean for women?

A. If working people controlled this country, changes would happen quickly.

The ERA, for example, would, of course, be part of the Constitution.

We would guarantee every woman the right to choose. And we would provide not only free abortion on demand, but all health care would be free.

Antigay discrimination would be outlawed.

We would cut the war budget to zero and develop a crash public-works program to provide social services such as child care, schools, and hospitals. We would begin socializing all the chores that women have had the sole responsibility to provide.

If we spent money on public works instead of war, we could provide jobs for everyone at union-scale wages. And we would institute a comprehensive program of affirmative action guaranteed by quotas to wipe out race and sex discrimination.

And that would only be the beginning! Just as the Bolsheviks did in the Russian revolution, we would begin a great social experiment, organizing society around human needs.

Once we replaced the profit system, we could end the economic compulsion that warps human beings and distorts all human relationships today. Once we reorganized society on the basis of human needs, the job of completing the emancipation of women would be much easier.

It is to make that possibility a reality that I am in the SWP. And I urge everyone who shares that perspective to join our party.

Our party is your party!

Prospects for Socialism in America

Jack Barnes, Mary-Alice Waters,
 Tony Thomas, Barry Sheppard,
 and Betsey Stone



Militant readers who want to learn more about the Socialist Workers Party will want to get this book. *Prospects for Socialism in America* includes the main political resolution adopted at the SWP's 1975 convention, as well as important related materials. To order the book use the coupon on the right.

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Virginia trade unions set march for ERA

By Andrea Morell

RICHMOND, Va.—Under a banner reading "Labor Says: Pass ERA in Virginia Now!" 225 people participated in a trade-union-sponsored conference here October 30. They voted unanimously to throw the weight of the state's labor movement into the effort to win ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

Three more states must approve the ERA before it becomes law. Ratification by the Virginia Senate during its 1977 session was blocked by just one vote. Opponents of women's equality in the Virginia House of Delegates have prevented any vote on the equal rights measure there. Virginia legislators next convene in January 1978.

Members of twenty-three unions throughout Virginia enthusiastically endorsed an action proposal submitted by the conference by the Norfolk, Richmond, and Springfield locals of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen union.

The resolution calls for an intensive three-month campaign for the ERA, culminating in a mass demonstration in Richmond on January 22.

The week of January 16-22 is designated "Pass ERA in Virginia Week." Rallies, meetings, demonstrations, and other public activities will be held across the state.

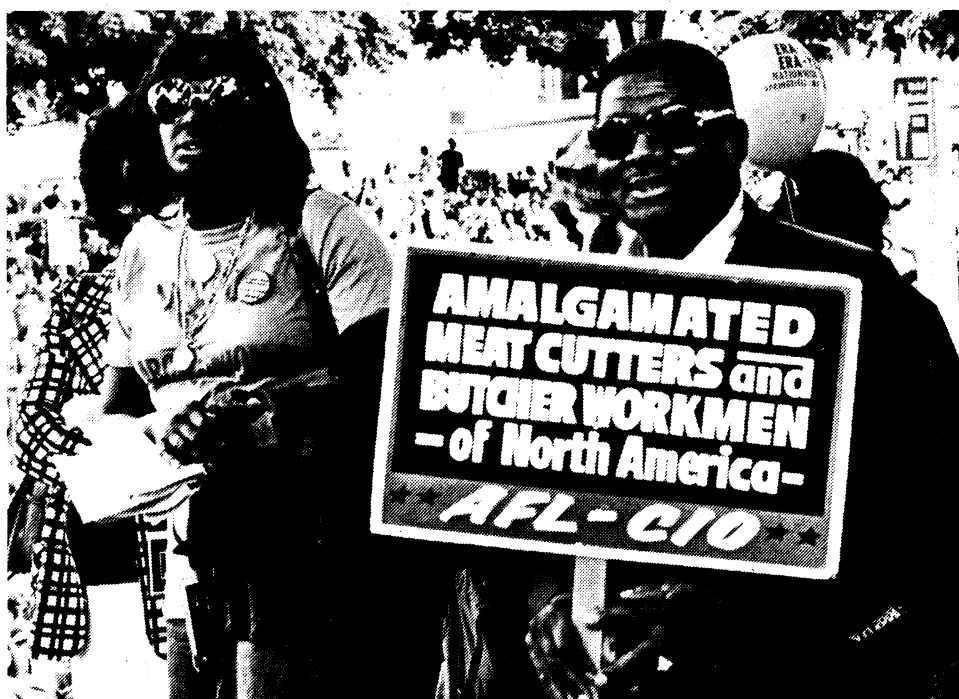
Unions are urged to establish "Pass ERA" committees and to send resolutions demanding immediate ratification to the legislators and to the media.

Jerry Gordon, conference coordinator and an international representative of the Meat Cutters union, met with applause when he explained:

"There are three themes to this proposal. The first is to involve the labor movement actively in the fight for the ERA. . . . The labor movement has great power and we must put it to work.

"Second, we want to work in combination with other organizations who have been working so courageously in this field—not just labor going it alone.

"Third, we've been advised not to have a mass demonstration, to keep a low profile, and depend on politicians. ERA forces did this in thirteen states



Meat Cutters union initiated ERA labor conference

this year, and the ERA went down to defeat.

"But in Indiana they didn't do that. They went ahead and held a march in a blizzard, and Indiana ratified the ERA."

This theme of independent action in the streets stands in sharp contrast to the strategy of lobbying and electing "pro-ERA" Democrats and Republicans that has thus far dominated the fight for ratification in Virginia.

Both officials of the labor movement and leaders of the National Organization for Women (NOW) have emphasized the strategy of reliance on politicians. Even on the day of the conference, many NOW members were unable to attend because they were out campaigning to defeat "anti-ERA" candidates in the November 8 statewide elections.

The ERA conference was initiated by the Women's Activities Committee of Meat Cutters Local 593 and sponsored by all three Meat Cutters locals in Virginia. It gained the endorsement of Region 8 of the United Auto Workers, Teamster Joint Councils 55 and 83, District 28 of the United Mine Workers,

Virginia Education Association, and the state AFL-CIO, whose president, Julian Carper, gave greetings.

The keynote speaker was Addie Wyatt, an international vice-president of the Meat Cutters and the recently elected executive vice-president of the Coalition of Labor Union Women. Her speech stressed labor's stake in passage of the ERA.

"Labor has to solve the problem of women's equality," she said, "because it divides us. We can't afford it."

Pointing to the crisis of the economy and its devastating effects on women and workers of oppressed nationalities, Wyatt said:

"Some are willing to believe women and minorities are to blame. They wish women would go home. But women can't go home. . . . We have to work; we need the money."

Wyatt hailed the January 22 demonstration as a "great historic day in the labor movement in Virginia." She received a standing ovation from conference participants, most of whom were women and nearly half of whom were Black.

A panel presentation on "What We

Need to Know in the Fight for the ERA" followed. Panelists included Mary Hatwood-Futrell, national chairperson of ERAmerica and president of the Virginia Education Association; Muriel Smith, chairperson of the Virginia Ratification Council; Sister Murine Fiedler, a Catholic nun and community activist; and Susan Holleran, a member of the Office and Professional Employees International Union in Washington, D.C.

The conference established a statewide coalition of labor organizations, Labor for Equal Rights Now (LERN), to help coordinate the campaign and the January 22 demonstration.

Barbara Lomax and Lizzie Corbin of the women's committee of Meat Cutters Local 593 were elected co-coordinators. Fifteen volunteers signed up to be area coordinators. The first statewide planning meeting is set for December 4.

For more information or to help campaign, contact: Labor for Equal Rights Now, c/o Local 593, Amalgamated Meat Cutters Union, 5240 Port Royal Road, Suite 213, Springfield, Virginia 22151. Telephone: (703) 321-7711.

For women . . .

. . . who want to fight the government attacks on their rights:

Defending Women's Rights Newsletter

A monthly newsletter discussing strategy in the women's movement. In the current issue: Will extending the deadline guarantee victory for the ERA? Battle for abortion rights; Why feminists support lesbian rights; Rise of Black feminism. Subscriptions: six months for one dollar.

Defending Women's Rights Newsletter, Post Office Box 597, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

Interview with leader of anti-'Bakke' fight

By Diane Wang

It is natural for Belinda Lightfoot to be concerned about the *Bakke* case, the challenge to affirmative action now before the Supreme Court. In nearly all her jobs as a school counselor, she has worked with affirmative-action programs.

In addition, Lightfoot, who is Black, has a racial-discrimination case pending against a Maryland college. "If the concept of affirmative action somehow or another is found illegal, then the case I'm fighting won't even be a case," Lightfoot explained in a telephone interview with the *Militant*.

The *Bakke* case threatens to do just that—wipe out the concept of affirmative action. Allen Bakke, a thirty-four-year-old white engineer, claims he was a victim of "reverse discrimination" because of a special-admissions program for minority students at the University of California Davis Medical School. He sued the school when he was refused admission.

Lightfoot is active in the fight to defend affirmative action as chairperson of the Washington, D.C., chapter of the National Committee to Overturn

the Bakke Decision (NCOBD). The committee coordinated the October 3-8 demonstrations against the *Bakke* ruling.

"Affirmative action has not just helped Blacks or minorities," Lightfoot pointed out. "Most affirmative-action plans include minorities and women. So if the programs and the concept are considered unconstitutional, then women lose, just as Blacks do."

"Also, it seems to be a trend that women are losing sex-discrimination cases," she warned. "I think that should be a cue to us that something's happening that really needs to be addressed."

Why is the attack on affirmative action happening? Civil rights gains were won during a time when jobs were more plentiful, Lightfoot answered. But now, "times are economically tight, and the forecasters are saying that it is going to be even tighter." Minorities and women are being singled out as the first victims of cutbacks.

Lightfoot said that the NCOBD has gotten an "overwhelming response



BELINDA LIGHTFOOT Militant/Omari Musa

from women. It's not only Black women, but white and Asian-American women presenting their points of view."

She urged women and women's organizations to become part of the

campaign. "They should help us with the NCOBD, help us with our work of establishing more chapters, getting more people informed about what's happening, and including more people in the work."

"If the anti-*Bakke* movement were just women or just Blacks it would not be as effective, nor if it were just Chicanos, Asian-Americans, or so forth. But people united—that makes a difference. I think the [Supreme Court] justices will sit up at attention when they see that these people are really concerned."

Lightfoot described the effort she thinks it will take to defeat the *Bakke* challenge. "The key thing is a unified effort of protest against what's happening. And there are several fronts on which people can be active—we need papers written, and so forth. But to have the most impact, we need people organizing other people to come out in demonstrations and go out and educate other people."

The NCOBD plans future national protest activities this winter and spring.

...women vs. the 'new right'

Continued from back page

"We're mad that these members of Congress have been pressured to restrict the rights of some of our most vulnerable citizens—pregnant women too poor to afford a necessary abortion. And we're scared, too, because right-wing pressure on Congress is mounting to force them to restrict *all women's* right to a necessary abortion. . . ." read a full-page National Abortion Rights Action League appeal in the October 23 *New York Times*.

The same approach has been taken by leaders of the National Organization for Women. A recent mailing by President Eleanor Smeal argues that abortion rights are in danger, "because a powerful, well-financed, well-organized anti-choice lobby calling itself the 'right to life' group is getting bolder by the day."

But to ascribe today's setbacks primarily to the ultraright is a mistake—a mistake that can lead the women's movement down a blind alley in seeking recourse. Such reactionary groups are well-organized, well-financed, and vocal. They are serious, and they should not be underestimated.

But to fix our attention on them is to miss the real source of their strength—the government's campaign against women's rights.

Capitalists' offensive

What has stirred up the Schlaflys and Bryants is not a "new conservatism" sweeping the country, as the media would have it. It is the calculated attack that the wealthy few who own the vast productive wealth of this country are waging upon the working-class majority.

That attack is geared to slashing living standards and restricting rights that stand in the way of the capitalists' race for profits. It begins by fostering racist xenophobia, national chauvinism, and sexism—hence the attacks on Blacks, on abortion, on affirmative action, and on undocumented workers. But it is aimed at all working people through unemployment, inflation, industrial speed-up, and school closings.

It is in the context of a deepening class polarization fostered by this ruling-class offensive that more reactionary forces have crept out of the woodwork. They are emboldened by administration policies and by the failure of the labor, Black, and women's movement to mount a counteroffensive.

Women's rights have provided one of the cutting edges for this class polarization.

Why is feminism abhorrent to the right? Why is the Carter administration—elected with the support of women's organizations—spearheading an attack on women's rights?

The most unabashed defenders of private property over human rights do not hesitate to answer. The women's movement is "an antifamily movement that is trying to make perversion acceptable as an alternate life-style," Schlafly says. "The federal ERA, violence on TV, pornography, abortion—these things are hurting the family."

"The fact that women are more and more encouraged to leave the home, that's hurting the family," adds Mary Ann Holman, a Texas Eagle Forum activist.

'Save the family'

For the reactionaries, the battlefronts of the ERA, abortion, and gay rights are major theaters in a war to "preserve the family"—and to safeguard capitalism. Their style, tone, and tactics have not yet been adopted by the ruling class as a whole, but their fundamental premises are shared.

Demands for women's equality are a threat to capitalist rule. They are a threat to the family system as it exists today, an institution built on the oppression of women.

The maintenance of the family system is central to perpetuating economic inequality and protecting the profits of a wealthy few. Why is the family so precious to the ruling class? Not because of the warmth and affection it is supposed to provide. Because of the dollars and cents the family represents to a class that measures all human relationships by a profit yardstick.

The family is the means by which the ruling minority forces upon the laboring majority the costs for care of children, the ill, and the elderly—whether they can afford it or not. The individual family—not



Carter is leading attacks on women. . .



. . . while 'new right' provides him cover.

society—provides home, food, and clothing for the work force; disciplines new generations to accept the inhumane social system they are born into. Through family inheritance, class privileges are protected and passed on.

The institution of the family forces a double burden upon women. Domestic labor is considered to be their duty. At the same time, they are paid less than men for the same work, assigned the worst jobs, and pushed in and out of the work force as the capitalists see fit—because their "natural" place is in the home. This superexploitation of women is a vital mainstay of the capitalist system.

Now that capitalism is in crisis, the rulers need to reinforce the family more than ever. They need to force the family to absorb the shocks they are administering.

Inflation? The family must tighten its belt.

Unemployment? Women and young people must leave the work force or settle for the lowest-paying work.

Social cutbacks? The family must provide for education, child care, welfare, health care, and Social Security. Too bad if the children suffer. As Carter put it, "life is unfair."

The demands of the women's movement challenge all these assumptions. The women's movement is not "destroying the family"; it is exposing the oppressive reality of family life, and demanding greater social equality, including the right of all children, rich or poor, to a decent life. That spells less profits for the ruling class. And that's what scares the capitalists and drives the right wing wild.

Strategy of liberals

Of course, liberals such as Jimmy Carter can't admit what they really think about the women's movement—or the Black and labor movements for that matter. They need female, Black, and union votes to get elected. And they know a head-on class

confrontation would be dangerous.

The government, however, doesn't mind the ultraright's efforts to mobilize opinion against women. "Extremist" stands on the right can be used to persuade women to accept the government's "moderate" antiwoman policies as a "lesser evil." And right-wing "lobbying" provides a convenient excuse for the legislators to vote down women's rights—while appealing for sympathy as victims of "right-wing pressure."

But the rulers also know that the demands of the women's movement appeal to millions of working people. This explains why Jimmy Carter presses the assault against women, while presenting himself as a sympathizer of women's rights. This distinguishes his approach from that of Schlafly.

As a presidential candidate, Carter declared, "If I'm elected, I want to be the president that will have done more in establishing the rights of women than any president before. . . ."

With somewhat more candor, Carter also stated that in every administration program, "the integrity of the family ought to be a factor."

Seen in this light, the endless debate in Congress over how stringent the Hyde amendment should be makes more sense. The Carter administration's aim is to create the false impression that "just about everybody" opposes abortion—the only issue to be debated is just "how far" to go in banning it. In this way the Democratic and Republican politicians hope to wear down, demoralize, and isolate the unrepresented majority that supports abortion rights.

The Houston IWY conference is also part of Carter's pattern. This government-sponsored conference is presented as a vast concession to the women's movement and denounced as such by the right.

Yet most of the progressive proposals before the delegates—abortion rights, the ERA, gay rights, child care, affirmative action—are taking a beating from Carter, Congress, and the courts. If the IWY "Plan of Action" is entrusted to these same politicians as recommendations, Schlafly will have little to fear.

Under these circumstances, relying on Carter to defend women's rights is suicidal. But this is exactly what supporters of the Democratic Party in the women's movement are doing. Alarmist fears about the "new" right often become an excuse for increasing this reliance.

Many leaders of the women's movement propose allying with Carter and other liberal politicians "against" the right. No matter how bad things get under Carter—they say—they could always be worse if the right took over. So the strategy becomes electing the liberals to defeat the right instead of fighting the government policies that feed the right.

The leaders of NOW and NARAL have followed this strategy. They laud their "political action committees" as high-powered weapons against the right wing. But their brand of political action—support to liberal Democrats and Republicans—has utterly failed to protect women's rights.

'Silent majority'

The women's movement should direct its attention not to winning the politicians whose job it is to administer sexism, but toward mobilizing our allies—the "silent majority" that has registered its support for women in polls on the ERA, abortion rights, and abortion funding. Here is where we will find our most powerful weapon against both Carter and Schlafly.

Women must assert their rights in the streets of this country. By doing so, many people who are now undecided or confused can be won over—as happened in the civil rights and anti-Vietnam War movements—provided our movement is not squirreled away in the corridors of the legislatures or fearful of raising our full program.

"The IWY Houston meeting will be the death knell of the women's lib movement," Schlafly predicts, "because it will reveal its radical goals for all the world to see: ERA, government-funded abortion, abortion mandated in all hospitals, prolesbian privileges including teaching and adopting children. . . ."

She's right about one thing. The Houston IWY conference is an important opportunity to make our "radical goals" known to the world. And we should aggressively seize this opportunity. Rather than sound the death knell of our movement, it can signal a mighty advance.

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This collection of essays by Evelyn Reed exposes the antiwoman, antiscientific bias that permeates biology, sociology, and anthropology.

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Sexism and Science, 190 pages, \$3.45

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The women Carter didn't invite to IWY

International Women's Year conference organizers have invited nearly 100 guests from other countries, including representatives of the U.S.-backed repressive regimes in Iran and South Africa.

But there are some international guests the U.S. government chose not to invite—the women behind bars or in exile around the world because they have fought for human rights. Freedom for these political prisoners would be a genuine tribute to International Women's Year:



TABRIZI

MANDELA

LEBRON

SHABATURA

• **Vida Hadjebi Tabrizi** is a sociologist. She was studying living conditions in the Iranian countryside in 1972 when she was arrested by SAVAK, Iran's hated secret police.

Charges against Tabrizi have never been made public. Yet a military tribunal sentenced her to seven years in prison.

According to *Dagens Nyheter*, a Swedish daily, Tabrizi has been so severely tortured that she has lost feeling in her hands and feet and developed meningitis.

To help free Tabrizi, write the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI), 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10003. Telephone: (212) 673-6390.

• **Winnie Mandela** is a Black nationalist leader in South Africa who has been "banned" by the apartheid regime. She is not allowed to meet with more than one person at a time except for her immediate family. She cannot legally write anything or even be quoted publicly in South Africa.

Five months ago, Mandela was forced from her home in Soweto, the Black township outside Johannesburg, and put under house arrest 200 miles away. On October 25 she went on trial on trumped-up charges of having violated the ban imposed upon her.

• **Lolita Lebrón** is one of the longest held political prisoners in the Western Hemisphere. But she is not incarcerated in a faraway country. Lebrón is imprisoned in one of Jimmy Carter's

own jails right here in the United States.

She is one of the five Puerto Rican Nationalists jailed in the 1950s for acts carried out in support of Puerto Rican independence. Three other Nationalists—Oscar Collazo, Irving Flores, and Rafael Cancel Miranda—remain imprisoned along with Lebrón. The fifth, Andrés Figueroa Cordero, was released October 6, suffering from terminal cancer.

To help free Lebrón and the other Nationalists, write to the U.S. Committee to Free the Five Puerto Rican Nationalists, 80 Fifth Avenue, Room 1204, New York, New York 10011. Telephone: (212) 673-0540.

• **Stefania Shabatura**, a Ukrainian tapestry designer, is one of the women who were arrested by the Soviet regime in 1972 for supporting Valentin Moroz, a historian fighting for democratic rights and Ukrainian national rights in the USSR.

In 1975, to commemorate International Women's Year, Shabatura and other women prisoners went on a strike to dramatize forced-labor camp conditions and demand freedom.

After serving a five-year term in the Mordavian prison camp, Shabatura was sent last January to Kurgansky province for three years of internal exile.

For more information on Shabatura's case write the Committee for Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners, P.O. Box 142 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003. Telephone: (212) 850-1315.

— Diane Wang

Come to the YSA convention

Students and young people are in the forefront of the fight to overturn the 'Bakke' decision. For the ERA. For abortion rights.

These and many other issues will be discussed at the Young Socialist Alliance national convention in Detroit, December 28 to January 1.

If you want to take part in discussions on the struggle for women's liberation, the fight against U.S. support to South Africa, and the fight for jobs and education, come to Detroit.

If you want to be part of the socialist movement, join the YSA!

☐ I want to attend the YSA convention

☐ I want to join the YSA

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Anita Bryant flees gay rights protests

By Michael Maggi

Wherever antigay bigot Anita Bryant appears these days, crowds of lesbians, gay men, and their supporters are there to answer her and show the broad support for gay rights that exists.

Bryant is on the road pushing her new book, *The Anita Bryant Story*. The front cover boasts that Bryant is "America's most prominent crusader against militant homosexuality."

In New York Bryant canceled her live appearances and only tape-recorded an interview. Trying to portray her victims as the criminals, Bryant claimed her life had been threatened by gay activists.

What she really feared was the massive display of support for gay rights sparked by her appearance. Bryant's publisher explained that the hotel had been told "there were going to be 5,000 to 10,000 persons marching outside."

With only seventy-two hours notice of Bryant's arrival in New York, the Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights, Gay Activists Alliance, Lesbian Feminist Liberation, and others called a November 2 picket line in front of NBC-TV studios. More than 300 people came to the 7:30 a.m. protest.

A short rally voiced support for gay rights, demanded equal time from NBC to answer Bryant, and called for passage of New York City's gay rights bill, which has been bottled up in the city council for six years.

Bryant encountered similar protests October 7 when she appeared at an Indianapolis "Rally for Decency." The antigay rally was in support of a proposed Indiana bill that would impose two-to-twenty-one-year prison sentences on "known homosexuals."

Outside the rally, 800 gay rights supporters marched. Mary Byrne, cochairperson of the Indianapolis Gay Rights Coalition, explained in a press conference that the protesters were demonstrating "our conviction that a decent society deserves something better than hatred and persecution of minorities."

Fritz Liever, the coalition's other cochairperson, added, "We support full democratic and civil rights for all American citizens as guaranteed in the Bill of Rights. We affirm the right of all people to equal protection from unjust discrimination in their jobs, housing, and public accommodations."

Los Angeles rally to oppose antigay initiative

Is California the next Dade County in the fight for gay rights?

California State Sen. John Briggs is seeking the 312,000 signatures necessary to put a proposition on the ballot to bar homosexuals or "advocates" of homosexuality from teaching positions.

A conference to plan a campaign against Briggs's proposal was held in Sacramento early this fall. The 200 people attending called for a week of educational meetings and action in support of gay rights for the first week of December.

In Los Angeles, Ivy Bottini and Morris Kight are sponsoring a "Speakout against Briggs" at Immaculate Heart College December 3 from noon to 6 p.m. For more information call (213) 463-3928.

A "California Conference to Defeat the Briggs Initiative" will be held at the University of Southern California in Los Angeles December 9-11.

In Review

Two films about women

Julia. Directed by Fred Zinnemann. Starring Jane Fonda and Vanessa Redgrave. 20th Century-Fox.

One Sings, the Other Doesn't. Directed by Agnes Varda. Starring Valerie Mairesse and Thérèse Liotard.

The purpose of reviewing *Julia* and *One Sings, the Other Doesn't* together is that they are two of a number of new movies categorized as "women's films." Oversimplified, this means the stars are women and the stories deal with women. These new films follow a lengthy period during which meaningful roles for women in movies were rare.

One Sings, however, is a film of such superior order that it is perhaps unfair to compare *Julia* with it too closely.

Dramatically, *Julia* is the true story of how playwright Lillian Hellman, portrayed by Jane Fonda, smuggled \$50,000 into prewar Nazi Germany. She does it because the request comes from *Julia*, played by Vanessa Redgrave, a childhood friend working inside Germany against the fascists.

More importantly, the film is Hellman's remembrance of her friendship with *Julia*.

Film

One Sings, the Other Doesn't is also the story of a friendship over time between two women. Pauline and Suzanne, played by Valerie Mairesse and Thérèse Liotard, meet in the early 1960s, when Pauline helps Suzanne get an abortion.

Separated for a decade, they meet again at a demonstration outside the abortion trial of sixteen-year-old Marie-Claire. Pauline, now calling herself Apple, sings for the crowd. The friendship is renewed and continues.

Julia was directed by Fred Zinnemann (*A Man For All Seasons*) and based on a section of Lillian Hellman's volume of memoirs, *Pentimento*. *One Sings* was written and directed by Agnes Varda, best known for her film *Le Bonheur*.

Julia is a film of grand excesses, thoroughly Hollywood in its use of the over-obvious, the towering mountains, the moments too tender or too brutal. It is also, in its way, quite enjoyable.

Fonda, as Hellman, is on screen much more than Vanessa Redgrave. Fonda smokes like Bette Davis; throws her typewriter out a window in a rage; eats bologna sandwiches on white bread, while smoking and typing; drinks whiskey from the bottle; fumes, broods, cries, fusses.

Vanessa Redgrave, as *Julia*, reads Einstein; assails Nazi hooligans with a broken chair; bears a child; studies with Freud; is enormous, rawboned, plain, striding, commanding, kind, and mythic. She is murdered by the Nazis shortly after Hellman successfully delivers the \$50,000 to Berlin.

Redgrave gives a wonderful performance, managing to add some touches of complexity to *Julia*'s character in the short moments we are allowed to watch her. Jane Fonda has acted better; for all her gesticulating, she appears tight and uncomfortable with the role.

Julia remains within the boundaries of the already-known. *One Sings* probes the wordless, ancient limitlessness of women together, women as friends.

Precisely why is *One Sings* so much better? It raises the question perplexing those concerned with art produced by women: Is there a separate female consciousness that sees and senses so differently from the male as to create virtually a different



Liotard and Mairesse in 'One Sings'

world, a different vision?

Do I think *One Sings* is better because Agnes Varda is a better director, or do I think *One Sings* is better because for the first time I have seen a movie made with the subtle, shrewdly subversive eye of a woman artist and feminist?

In truth, there's no doubt in my mind that Varda is a more competent, creative director than Zinnemann. However, the list of reasons why *One Sings* is superior turns out to be identical with a list describing Varda's female sensibilities.

One Sings, the Other Doesn't is a documentation of the changes in women's lives over the past twenty years. How things happen to women is notoriously undramatic, in part because masculine history has accorded drama to, for instance, war, but not birth. One result is repressed drama, expressed at odd moments in unexpected ways. Such scenes are Varda's forte.

Varda's technique utilizes a free camera, what could be called an accidental camera (or much modified cinema verité), capturing moments rather than taut structures.

Varda lingers on women's sombre faces in an Amsterdam abortion clinic; confronts a coarse-faced Iranian woman with suspicious eyes who is holding a child; uses free shots of children playing, such as Suzanne's daughter writing on a wall at the moment Suzanne discovers her lover's suicide.

Varda knows how things happen to women. Apple marries Darius, an Iranian, and moves with him to Teheran. She is writing a song; he wants dinner. She is cooking dinner, peeling a cucumber; he is telephoning a friend. Busy with the cucumber, she is deciding to leave.

Yet *One Sings* is not angry. It is the story of women surviving. It reminds us that feminism stems from the everyday existence of women, whose outrage at pain is born from a knowledge of beauty.

Thus Apple sings "Man is the Bourgeois, Woman the Proletarian" a phrase from Engel's (*Origins of the Family, Private Property, and the State*), in sweet melody and harmony. Free of ideology and stereotypes, the film presents men as gentle, although sometimes uncomprehending.

Society views birth and abortion, love and solitude as desperately opposed; women must marry, women must bear children. Yet Varda knows the truth is different from society's demands. Suzanne marries; Apple bears a daughter by Darius, whom she loves but with whom she cannot live.

The traditional male notion of female beauty has little to do with women's reality. Ultimately, it is the irregularity, pain, and experience that is knowable, therefore beautiful. To have captured women in this way is Varda's art; she films women with respect and love.

—Stacey Seigle

Free speech wins a round at Kent

By Alyson Kennedy and Michael Anderson

KENT, Ohio—The administration at Kent State University backed down November 9 from pressing for a permanent court ban on political demonstrations on campus here.

University lawyers withdrew the request under pressure from mounting protests against the flagrant violation of First Amendment rights. Earlier the same day, 300 students, faculty, and staff had rallied against President Brage Golding's plan to strangle free speech.

The rally, called by the Kent Committee Against Repressive Legislation, was endorsed by the Student Caucus, Kent Interhall Council, Hil-

lel, Kent Community Forum, May 4 Task Force, Kent Gay Liberation Front, American Indian Rights Association, Young Socialist Alliance, Alternative Lifestyles Collective, Communist Youth Organization, and the Portage County Committee to Defend Free Speech.

Golding had gotten the preliminary injunction on October 26. The ban prohibited 55 named individuals, 2,000 "John Does," and "all other persons and groups acting in concert with a group called the May Fourth Coalition" from participating in "any and all assemblies of persons engaged in rallies, marches, or demonstrations on the KSU main campus."

The administration claimed that rallies led by the May 4 Coalition opposing the construction of a gym on the site of the fatal shooting of four students in May 1970 had disrupted the education process.

In reality, the injunction was an attack on the rights of all students. Only a few days later, nine students were arrested for gathering to recite the First Amendment on campus.

"The court order is selective, interpreted on the whim of the administration," declared Cate Caldwell, student government executive secretary, at the November 9 rally. "You must stand up, tell them what you think, and fight."

George Ann Taylor, a student government representative, told the

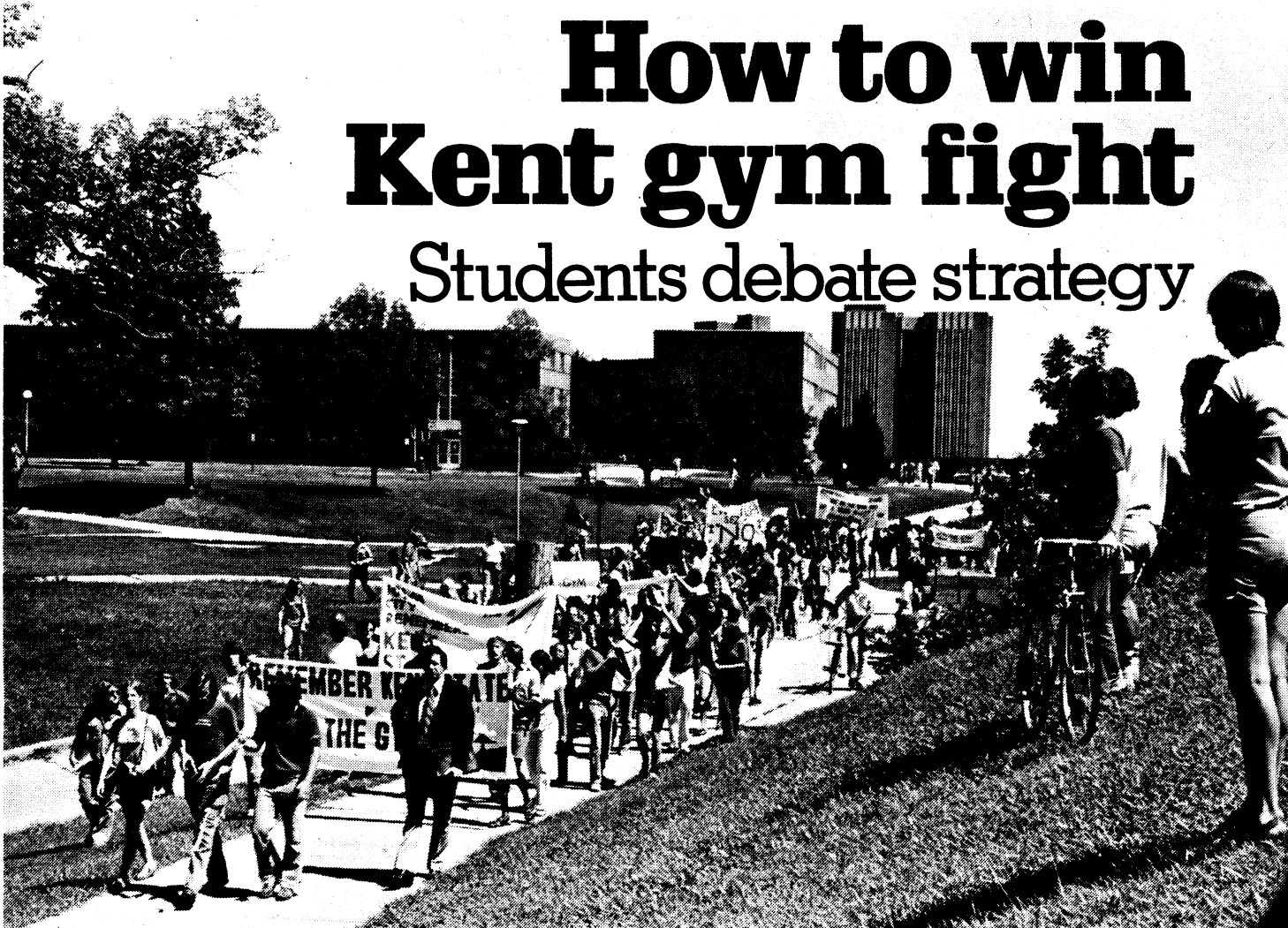
Militant she felt the injunction was withdrawn to keep free speech from becoming a focus of student protest. The rally "made apparent the fact that free speech was being repressed on this campus."

Restrictions on the rights of student organizations to sell and distribute literature remain in force.

The campus printing service, for example, rejected a leaflet submitted by the Young Socialist Alliance. Robert Buckley, director of administrative services, wrote the YSA, "Obviously, we considered your leaflet to be defamatory to President Golding and the University and we had the legal right to refuse to print it."

"We will also refuse to print any others like it in the future."

How to win Kent gym fight Students debate strategy



July 1977 demonstration against gym. Students are now debating why opposition to gym has slipped.

Militant/Bob Laycock

By Susie Berman

On May 4, 1970, the Ohio National Guard tried to silence hundreds of student anti-Vietnam War protesters at Kent State University (KSU). They fired into the crowd, leaving four students dead and others wounded.

These murders provoked the biggest mass student upsurge in the history of the United States.

Seven years later, a new wave of protests began at Kent State after the KSU administration announced plans to build a gym on the site of the May 1970 murders. Three hundred students staged a sit-in May 4, on the anniversary of the shootings, to demand the gym be moved.

The potential for mobilizing broad campus opposition to the KSU administration's plans was shown the following day, when 1,000 students attended a meeting to map activities against the gym. Later that day 2,000 people marched through the campus. Sentiment for leaving the hill as a memorial to the murdered students was widespread.

Moreover, the administration's eagerness to physically alter the site of the killings was seen as one more step in the cover-up of the May 1970 events.

Despite this wide opposition to the gym, fewer and fewer students from Kent State have been involved in the many protests on this issue during the past six months. At the same time, the KSU administration has carried out a

serious attack on students' rights.

At this stage of the struggle, it is worth stepping back to discuss what is the best strategy to meet these attacks and to continue the fight against the gym.

May 4 Coalition

The major organization responsible for the activities against the gym site has been the May 4 Coalition. This coalition was formed at the May 5 planning meeting mentioned earlier. Its activities have focused on attempts to occupy the gym site and stop construction.

In May, for example, tents were set up by students hoping to block the beginning of construction. After sixty-two days, the university trustees ordered the eviction of "Tent City." There were 194 arrests.

A national demonstration of 2,000 people was held at KSU September 24. In accordance with the May 4 coalition's strategy, the fence around the construction site was torn down, windows were broken, and slogans were spray-painted on buildings. Four more people were arrested.

The administration used the action as an excuse to ban the student group that sponsored the protest. (Since the May 4 Coalition was not formally recognized as a campus organization, the action was sponsored by a different group.)

A second national demonstration

was scheduled for October 22. However, on October 21 the KSU administration obtained a temporary restraining order prohibiting all marches and rallies. The May 4 Coalition went through with the action anyway. Police attacked the protest, and six more people were arrested.

RSB strategy

This strategy of leading relatively small groups of people into confrontations with the police is one that is advocated by the Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB). The RSB, which is the youth group of the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party, has played a central role in the leadership of the May 4 Coalition.

According to the October issue of *Fight Back*, the RSB newspaper, this strategy has been a big success. It claims that "through every battle the students gained support, got better organized and got a better understanding of who we're up against in this fight and how to win."

Unfortunately, the exact opposite is true. Over the past few months the coalition activists have become more isolated, their actions have involved fewer Kent students, and they have lost support both on and off campus. The May 4 Coalition was only able to turn out as many as 1,500 protesters October 22 by busing in people from around the country.

Instead of reaching out to the thou-

sands who could be drawn into the struggle, the RSB relies on trying to mobilize a relatively small number of already radicalized students. It acts as though this limited "vanguard" can by itself force the administration to halt construction of the gym.

The problem with this strategy is that it doesn't work.

A few hundred protesters, no matter how militant, do not have the power to stop the KSU administration. That will take a mass movement.

Confrontations with the police have led to the victimization of many militants through disciplinary action by the administration, arrests, and beatings by police. At the same time, this strategy has isolated coalition activists from potential supporters.

The confrontationist strategy makes it easier for demagogic administrators to try to shift the blame for violence onto the demonstrators. Unfortunately, many students who agree with the aims of the movement are taken in, at least partially, by this propaganda. Others are simply not willing to face victimization if they see no prospect of winning through such a strategy.

Rather than focusing attention on the issue of the gym and the KSU administration's complicity in the May 1970 murders, the tactics of the RSB and May 4 Coalition divert attention from these questions. Tactics become the main issue of debate, and the real politics of the struggle are lost in the shuffle. This makes it difficult to win new people to oppose the gym site.

At the same time, the administration has an easier time clamping down on the rights of all students. In the past month the administration has banned protests, deregistered student groups, and denied the RSB the right to hold their convention at Kent State.

The RSB has also been threatened with deregistration as a campus organization. Unfortunately, many students, because of their disagreements with the RSB, will not defend its right to remain on campus.

What strategy is needed?

The Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) is putting forward a different strategy in the struggle at Kent State. It is a strategy aimed at drawing into action every student, faculty, and staff member who opposes construction of the gym.

Rallies and demonstrations that encourage the broadest participation should be organized. Activities that focus on the political issues at hand, and not on "militant" tactics, are the best way to educate and win over new supporters.

Such an action—the November 9 rally for free speech—has already won one victory. (See story on this page.)

A movement built along these lines—one that reaches out to Black groups, women's organizations, and into the community—can win further victories. It can stop the KSU administration cold.

New Zealand

20,000 protest gov't spying



October 14 demonstration in Wellington was one of largest ever held in New Zealand

Socialist Action/Hugh Butler

By Hugh Fyson

From Intercontinental Press

WELLINGTON—The largest demonstration yet seen against the Muldoon government, and probably the largest single demonstration in New Zealand's history, was held here October 14.

Up to 20,000 persons, mostly workers, rallied outside Parliament at midday to show their opposition to the government's Security Intelligence Service Amendment Bill. Thousands more joined protests in other cities.

This bill gives the stamp of approval to some of the illegal and antidemocratic practices of New Zealand's secret police agency. The SIS is a close co-worker of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, the British MI-5, and the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation.

Police-state provisions

Among the bill's provisions (when first presented to Parliament) were the following:

- The minister in charge of the SIS is empowered to issue "interception warrants" for the seizure of any communication—to open mail, to tap phones, and to burglarise the premises of any citizen.
- It is an offence for anyone to disclose the existence of such a warrant.
- Nobody is allowed to publish the names of anyone connected or formerly connected with the SIS.
- State servants can be compelled to cooperate with the SIS in the carrying-out of "interception warrants." (This clause is directed in particular against postal and telephone workers, who have expressed strong opposition to phone tapping and mail opening.)
- The SIS can co-opt anyone to help with the application of an "interception warrant," and anyone involved in this dirty work would be immune from civil or criminal proceedings.

Ever since this proposed bill was first proposed voices have been raised in protest, but the momentum for mass action built up in an unusually short time, beginning about one month before October 14.

The call for action spread with the result that there were the following turnouts on and around October 14 in addition to the action in Wellington: Auckland, 2,000; Hamilton, 400; Christchurch, 3,000; and Dunedin, 2,500. There have been numerous public meetings and smaller protests.

These demonstrations testified to a nationwide sweep of public opposition to the bill.

Although the Wellington action went far beyond the rest in its scope, the difference was not in variations in opposition to the bill but in the level of union involvement in the protests.

Role of unions

Only in Wellington did the trade-union leadership effectively build the action. The key role in this development was played by the Wellington Trades Council, which groups all workers affiliated to the Federation of Labour in the Wellington area. The Trades Council called a strike of its unions for three hours on October 14, and transportation to the demonstration was organised for workers.

An important role was also played by the leadership of the Combined State Services Organisation, which called on its many members in the capital city—government employees—to take part. City office workers were very much in evidence on the day, alongside manual workers from the motor vehicle assembly plants, the waterfront, building sites, ships, public transport, trucking, and the meat industry. Several such groups arrived at Parliament in their own contingents, and union banners were sprinkled through the crowd.

Two other contingents to join the demonstration were from Victoria University and the Wellington Polytechnic. The latter was augmented by many students from Wellington High School, a working-class school situated next door to the Polytech.

Following the rally at Parliament, most of those present moved off in a long column through the central city streets to the headquarters of the SIS a mile and a half away.

The SIS has been under public attack for a decade now. During the period of the last Labour government (1973-75) this criticism mounted, under the impact of scandals involving the SIS together with the international publicity over the activities of the CIA and the FBI.

To deflect this pressure, Labour Prime Minister Wallace Rowling, a firm supporter of the SIS, commissioned a report on the secret-police outfit. Its author was Sir Guy Powles, former chief ombudsman and a reputed liberal.

Sir Guy was disturbed to find that

the SIS was acting illegally. His proposal to incoming National Party Prime Minister Robert Muldoon was therefore that what the SIS was doing should be made legal.

The bill now before Parliament stems from this report, minus some of the minor "checks and balances" that Sir Guy added to make his proposals more palatable. The parliamentary Labour Party has concentrated its fire on these insignificant omissions.

The mass upsurge against the bill caught Labour unawares. Barely days before the October 14 demonstration Labour leaders were forced to say that a Labour government would repeal it. However, if it were not for the mass pressure they would have been quite happy with the bill if some small amendments had been made.

Although claiming to have been quite unaffected by the mass outpouring, the government has had to introduce some amendments to the bill, now being debated in Parliament. State servants will now not be legally compelled to cooperate with the SIS. And it will not be against the law to publish the names of former agents or associates of the SIS.

Rising militancy

The demonstrations against the SIS were a manifestation of a mood of rising militancy among working people in this country.

New Zealand has experienced more than three years of continuous economic slump, and no end is in sight. The assault of the capitalist class on the living standards and democratic rights of the workers, women, the Maori people and the Pacific Island immigrant community was begun by the Labour government.

Disillusionment with Labour opened the door for the National Party in the 1975 general elections. Under the National government of Robert Muldoon the capitalists' offensive has been pursued more vigorously. Today working people have had nearly two years of this regime, which came in on the slogan of "New Zealand the way you want it."

This new level of political sentiment has also been reflected in the recent struggle of members of the Timber Workers Union, in the heartland of the country's timber industry in the central North Island, to transform their union into a fighting organisation.

The Timber Workers Union bureaucrats are noted for their mismanage-

ment of union assets and their collaboration with the bosses. A struggle erupted in August to oust these incumbents; it was organised by an unofficial union body, the Combined Council of Timberworkers Delegates.

This movement of the rank-and-file—who are predominantly Maoris and poorly paid workers—led to a wave of strikes directed against the employers and against the union leadership. It included three mass marches of timberworkers on the national headquarters of the union in Rotorua.

The heat of the situation was such that the government was careful to keep its distance, preferring to rely on the "peacemaking" skills of Federation of Labour President Sir Tom Skinner. He was able to secure a resumption of work, but only on condition that the union's undemocratic rules be restructured to the satisfaction of the Combined Council.

Socialists win support

A further indication of the deepening discontent in New Zealand was the sizable vote for candidates of the Socialist Action League (New Zealand section of the Fourth International) in the October 8 elections for local bodies.

The League ran candidates for public hospital boards in the three main cities—Auckland, Wellington, and Christchurch. For all other positions the League called for a vote for Labour.

The candidates—all women—made their central point opposition to a bill to tighten up the antiabortion laws, which was then before Parliament. Mass opposition to this repressive bill made it impossible for the legislators to agree on how to amend the bill so that it would be "workable." The bill has since been postponed to the end of the parliamentary session.

The socialist candidates said that the hospital boards should take the lead in organising opposition to the bill, and in making their substantial facilities available for all women needing abortions.

The Socialist Action League won its highest vote so far, with more than 7,000 persons including a League candidate on their list. This represented 9.7 percent of the voters choosing the Auckland Hospital Board candidate Helen Dee (3,429 votes), 7.6 percent for the Wellington candidate Pat Starkey (2,474 votes), and 3 percent for the Christchurch candidate Lois MacGregor (1,220 votes).

Australia

Massive opposition to uranium mining

By Fred Murphy
From Intercontinental Press

Australian Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser has called federal elections for December 10, in hope of winning a new "mandate" for his government's austerity policies, attacks on the right of workers to organize and strike, and full backing for uranium mining and export.

Uranium has emerged as one of the central political questions in Australia. The country has 20 percent of the capitalist world's known reserves of this key nuclear fuel material, but no nuclear power plants and no plans to build any. Thus Fraser and the mining companies see a lucrative potential for mining and export.

Opposition to this scheme has risen dramatically over the past year. Environmentalists, students, Blacks, and a substantial majority of the Australian labor movement want no further development of a uranium industry. They oppose the ecological and health hazards that will result from mining and transport of the radioactive material within the country, the encroachment of the mining industry on the lands and ways of life of the native Black Aborigine tribes, and the proliferation of nuclear technology and weapons to which Australian uranium could contribute.

Polls conducted by the *Sydney Morning Herald* indicate that such

sentiments are becoming increasingly widespread. The proportion of persons opposed to uranium mining and export rose from 34 percent in June to 42 percent in September.

This opposition has been expressed in mass demonstrations in Australia's major cities on several occasions. Last April 1, almost 20,000 persons marched against uranium mining, and during the weekend of August 5-6, 50,000 participated in protest actions. The most recent actions, coordinated nationally by the Movement Against Uranium Mining, brought out more than 60,000 persons on October 22 and reflected the growing participation of the labor movement.

A rally in Sydney that drew almost 25,000 persons was chaired by the federal secretary of the Australian Railways Union. In Melbourne, the state convention of the Australian Labor Party (ALP) was adjourned to allow delegates to attend a march of 25,000. And in Perth, ALP leader and former Prime Minister Gough Whitlam headed a march of 7,000 and was a featured speaker at the rally that followed.

The ALP's convention in August called for a moratorium on uranium development. The party went on record that any future Labor government would repudiate all export contracts signed by Fraser. A similar position was narrowly rejected by the September convention of the Australian



Part of October 22 protest against uranium mining in Melbourne. This demonstration drew 25,000 people.

Council of Trade Unions, but the ACTU did adopt a resolution giving Fraser two months to call a referendum on uranium—something the prime minister has refused to do.

This deadline expires November 15. Dock workers in Brisbane, Darwin, Sydney, and Adelaide have voted to refuse to handle uranium ore and mining equipment after that date.

Despite the growing combativity among Australian workers and their allies that has been reflected in the antiuranium demonstrations and union boycotts, the bureaucratic misleaders of the ALP and the ACTU have refused to lead a fight against Fraser's offensive.

Democratic rights are also under increasing attack in Australia, particularly in the northern state of Queensland. The state's right-wing premier, Joh Bjelke-Petersen, unilaterally im-

posed a ban on political street demonstrations September 4. "We were warned that anti-uranium demonstrations . . . were planned for Brisbane," he said. "That's why this action has been taken."

In the October 29 joint issue of the Australian socialist weeklies *Direct Action* and the *Militant*, the editors explained what is required to meet these ruling-class attacks:

" . . . the Liberals [Fraser's party] can only be defeated politically if the unions, the anti-uranium movement, Blacks, women, and students continue their independent struggles and pressure the ALP to defend the demands of all the oppressed. Only the continuation and expansion of these independent struggles can make an election campaign into another prong in a counterattack against Fraser's offensive."

Brezhnev makes an offer

A halt to nuclear tests?

By Fred Murphy
From Intercontinental Press

Speaking to a top-level gathering in Moscow marking the sixtieth anniversary of the October Revolution, Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev made an announcement November 2 that captured world headlines.

"We are prepared to reach agreement on a moratorium covering nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes along with a ban on all nuclear weapon tests for a definite period," Brezhnev said.

This offer should be welcomed by all opponents of nuclear testing and radioactive pollution. The history of underground weapons tests shows that such explosions are dangerously susceptible to "venting," or release of radioactive debris into the environment. In the first eight years of such testing, 30 percent of U.S. tests vented accidentally.

As for "peaceful" nuclear explosions for such purposes as excavation, diversion of rivers, or releasing natural gas deposits, they would also be accompanied by so much contamination as to be totally impracticable. U.S. government experiments with such projects were discontinued in 1970, and Soviet scientists have apparently reached similar conclusions.

Washington reacted cautiously to Brezhnev's proposal. Secretary of State Vance called it "a major step forward," but added that he wanted "to take a look at the details . . . before I can

comment further."

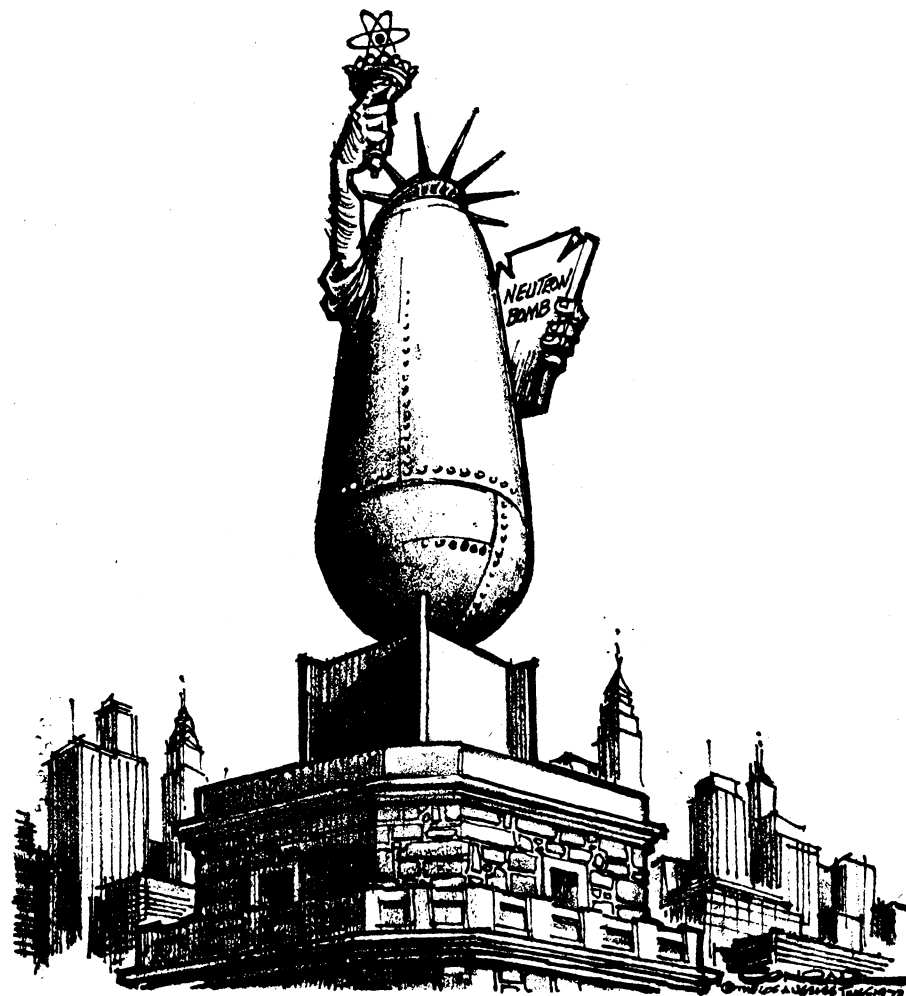
Secret negotiations between Washington and Moscow for a comprehensive nuclear test ban have been going on for a long time. Agreement has been thwarted in the past by U.S. demands for on-site inspection, and the *New York Times* reported October 30 that U.S. negotiators are still "pushing Moscow to accept a system for verification that would allow outside inspectors free access to testing facilities."

Jimmy Carter said last year that the Pentagon's "verification capabilities . . . have advanced to the point where we no longer have to rely on on-site inspection to distinguish between earthquakes and even very small weapons tests." So continued demands by Washington for on-site inspection will only indicate a desire to continue underground nuclear testing.

Even if a comprehensive test ban is soon achieved, the massive stockpiles of nuclear weapons on both sides will remain intact. The forthcoming "SALT II" agreement on strategic arms will have so little impact on the atomic arsenals as to be a joke. And the neutron bomb and the cruise and MX missiles remain poised for deployment by the Pentagon.

Brezhnev expressed the hope that his offer would be "properly appreciated by our partners at the negotiations."

The fight against nuclear war would be better served if the Soviet bureau-



'Give Me Your Tired, Your Poor, Your Huddled Masses...'

crats stopped treating U.S. imperialism as a "partner" with whom secret deals can be struck and instead opened a public campaign for the destruction of all atomic weapons. Such an initiative would be met with support from millions around the world who would

like to see the threat of nuclear holocaust ended once and for all.

Unfortunately, Brezhnev does not look to the potential power of these masses, but rather to secret diplomatic arrangements conducted with the imperialist warmakers.

World news notes

Workers prefer raises

Spanish CP & SP back wage freeze

By Gerry Foley

From Intercontinental Press

On October 21, the Spanish Communist Party and Socialist Party leaders signed a social pact with the Suárez government. The package included some minor fiscal reforms and promises that the government would create new jobs for youth and expand education. However, the predominant feature was a wage freeze.

In its October 26 issue, *Combate*, the weekly paper of the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria (LCR—Revolutionary Communist League, sympathizing organization of the Fourth International), pointed out:

"In 1977 alone, inflation cut the buying power of wages by 30%. The pact sets a ceiling of 22% on wage increases, and this is to hold until the end of 1978. This means that not only will there be no adjustment in wages to meet the increase in the cost of living in 1977 but the workers buying power will continue to deteriorate throughout 1978."

The Spanish social pact parallels the implicit and explicit deals the Communist and Socialist parties have made with their respective bourgeoisies in a number of European countries to try to hold the workers back from fighting the effects of the international economic crisis.

In France, this has taken the form of scuttling the Union of the Left under various pretexts in order to avoid a left victory in the coming parliamentary elections.

In Italy, it has taken the form of the Italian CP trading its chance of victory in the elections for a "popular front in the corridors" with the Christian Democratic government.

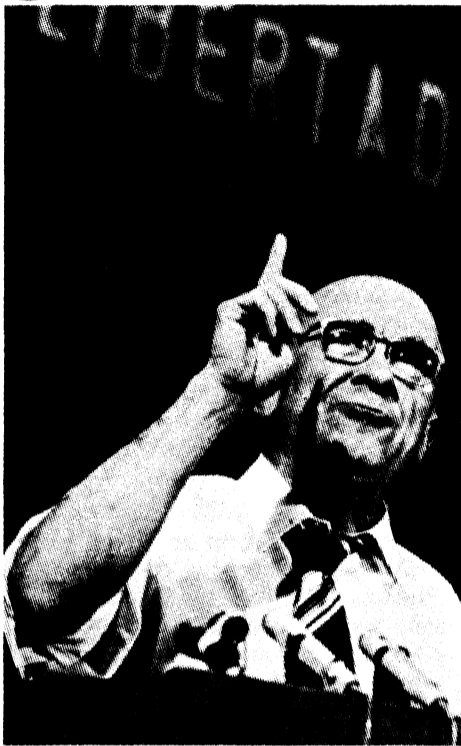
In both France and Italy, the big reformist workers parties want to look too weak to be able to do anything about the cuts in employment and in the workers' buying power. But in Spain, it is much harder for them to plead helplessness.

In the October 25 issue of the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge*, Michel Rovère pointed out:

"In the June 15 elections, the workers parties together got 14% more votes than Suárez's ruling coalition. And the relationship of forces has steadily worsened for the bourgeoisie. The most recent polls show that support for the Democratic Center Union [Suárez's coalition] has dropped from the 31% it got in the June elections to 17% today. At the same time, support for the neo-Francoist People's Alliance has dropped from 8% to 4%. There is scarcely any doubt that, despite the absence of a policy of unity between the CP and the SP, the coming municipal elections are going to be a landslide for the workers parties."

What the Communist and Socialist party leaders had done in fact in the negotiations in the presidential palace of Moncloa, *Combate* pointed out, was accept the program of the Democratic Center Union.

The capitulation of the CP and SP leaders contrasted starkly not only with the electoral strength of these parties but even more with the comba-



CP CHIEF CARRILLO: Tells Spanish workers to tighten their belts.

tivity shown by the masses in the streets. Only two weeks before the new "Treaty of Moncloa" was signed, more than half a million persons marched through the streets of Madrid to protest against rising prices and increasing unemployment.

The demonstration, held October 6, was called by the trade unions dominated by the CP and SP, but the marchers tended to raise slogans going beyond the limits the reformist parties have sought to impose. Large sections of the crowd started to call for the ouster of the monarchy and for a workers government.

In the November 5 issue of *Cuadernos para el Diálogo*, a Madrid weekly close to the SP, Luis Carandell commented that in the Moncloa agreement, the CP and SP had given the government a blank check all right, but now people were saying that they had better make sure they had the "funds to cover it," that is, that they could make the workers accept the agreement. Carandell, along with the other commentators writing in the issue, thought that this was dubious. There was plenty of evidence to justify their doubts.

On October 17, the Navarra Province Secretariat of the Workers Commissions, the union dominated by the CP, announced its refusal to be bound by any such pact. The Madrid District Council of the Unión General de Trabajadores (General Workers Union), the union dominated by the SP, announced:

"We cannot accept any social pact such as the Moncloa agreement that cuts our buying power. No workers organization can accept it."

On October 15, a general assembly of a thousand workers in one section of the large SEAT automobile factory in Barcelona denounced the pact as a "sellout." Other sections of the plant began to follow suit, and the SP organization in SEAT itself was forced to echo these protests.

Greek revolutionist arrested

On October 23 the Greek government arrested Giannis Felekis, a leader of the Trotskyist movement there.

Felekis was charged with "moral responsibility" for incidents in which members of anarchist groups clashed with the police during protests against the deaths of three imprisoned leaders of the Red Army Faction in West Germany.

The charge is based in part on an article that appeared on the tenth anniversary of the death of Che Guevara in a newspaper edited by Felekis. The paper, *To Odhophragma* (*The Barricade*), reflects the views of the Organization of International Communists of Greece, the Greek section of the Fourth International.

In addition to Felekis, who is being held in the Aegina Island prison, four editors of anarchist publications were also arrested and are in police custody.

New witch-hunt victim in Germany

West German authorities have charged Pastor Ensslin, father of Gudrun Ensslin, with defaming the state. Gudrun Ensslin was one of three members of the Red Army Faction who died under suspicious circumstances in a top-security German prison last month.

The charges against Pastor Ensslin are part of a government witch-hunt that has intensified since the kidnapping of industrialist Hanns-Martin Schleyer and the hijacking of a Lufthansa airliner last month. Ensslin's "crime" was to have said, "I'm convinced that Gudrun was assassinated"—thereby publicly challenging the official story that his daughter's death was suicide.

Under paragraphs 90a and 186 of the penal code, the pastor faces a penalty of two to three years in prison if convicted.

Another 'suicide' in Germany's prisons

Ingrid Schubert was found hanged in her Munich prison cell November 13 in what authorities called another apparent suicide. Officials said no note was found.

Schubert was serving a thirteen-year sentence in Stadelheim Prison on charges of bank robbery and having helped Red Army Faction leader Andreas Baader escape from a West Berlin prison in 1970.

Schubert was one of eleven jailed anarchists whose release was demanded last month by the kidnapers of Hanns-Martin Schleyer. She was the fourth person on that list to die in prison in a month.

Bonn annoyed with rights inquiry

The Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation has announced that it will conduct an international tribunal next spring to investigate violations of human rights in West Germany.

The tribunal was planned even before Bonn's latest crackdown "against terrorism." It had been called to investigate earlier curbs on democratic rights, including laws barring radicals and members of the Communist Party from teaching positions and other public jobs.

Willy Brandt, chairman of the governing Social Democratic Party, charges that the inquiry is designed to "insult and defame" West Germany.

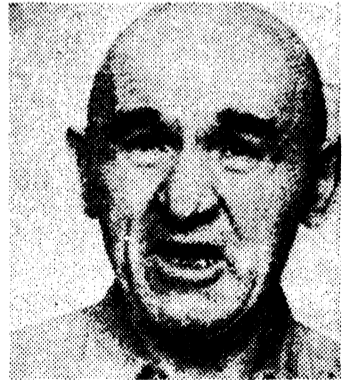
Commission organizers deny the charge. Among the twenty-six members of the tribunal announced so far are Prof. Eric Bentley, a well-known authority on Bertolt Brecht and an activist for human rights; and Otto Nathan, a refugee from Nazi terror in Germany who was an active participant in the movement against the war in Vietnam.

Grigorenko to visit United States

Pyotr Grigorenko, a Marxist dissident active in defense of democratic rights in the Soviet Union, has announced that he has been authorized to come to the United States for six months to undergo surgery.

Grigorenko, now seventy-one, was committed to a mental asylum by Kremlin bureaucrats for five years during the late 1960s and early 1970s as punishment for his outspoken views.

"We would not have accepted a visa if we didn't have the assurance of being able to return," Grigorenko's wife said in Moscow. Other prominent dissidents who have received permission to travel abroad, however, have had their Soviet citizenship revoked while they were out of the country.



South Africa widens Black wage gap

The pay gap between Black and white workers in South Africa is widening. According to the October 24 *Business Week*, white miners average \$1,027 per month, compared with \$124 for Blacks. That's a difference of \$903, up from the 1974 disparity of \$722. In manufacturing, the gap between whites and Blacks is \$552 per month.

Rohan Wijeweera freed in Sri Lanka

On November 2, Sri Lanka Prime Minister J.R. Jayewardene declared an amnesty for all prisoners arrested following an unsuccessful uprising against the Bandaranaike regime in April 1971. Among those released was Rohan Wijeweera. Wijeweera had received a life sentence in 1974 for his leading role in the People's Liberation Front, an organization that played a central role in the 1971 uprising.

Canada's Watergate

'Dirty tricks' by political police exposed

Solicitor General Francis Fox, the cabinet member in charge of law enforcement, admitted in the Canadian Parliament November 10 that the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) has been carrying out burglaries against Canadian citizens since 1950.

Declaring that this is a "complex" question, Fox declined to describe the break-ins as illegal. He condemned instead the investigative reporting of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation that had led to exposure of the RCMP's attacks on democratic rights, and suggested that the government should cut back funds to the publicly owned television network.

The day before, Fox revealed that the RCMP had been illegally opening and copying private mail since 1954. Confirmation of this operation contradicted repeated denials by police officials during an investigation last summer.

The following editorial on the "Canadian Watergate," written before the latest disclosure, appeared in the November 7 issue of 'Socialist Voice,' the newspaper of the Revolutionary Workers League/Ligue Ouvrière Révolutionnaire.

New, sensational disclosures prove beyond doubt that Canada's political police, the RCMP, are the enemies of Québec nationalists, the New Democratic Party [NDP—Canada's labor party], and the labor movement.

- The RCMP's break-in and theft at Parti Québécois [PQ] offices in January 1973, now revealed by Solicitor General Francis Fox, "was only a small part of a full-scale investigation of the party," the [Toronto] *Globe and Mail* reported November 1.

- RCMP sources say that a three-year security service investigation of NDP members in the early 1970s "was as intense as the investigation of the PQ," according to *Globe* reporter Lawrence Martin.

RCMP surveillance centered on the Ontario NDP, but the force also probed the B.C. [British Columbia] NDP, Martin reported.

- Trade unions have been targeted for RCMP dirty tricks. Conservative MP Eric Nielsen disclosed October 31 that the RCMP had infiltrated the leadership of the Québec public sector unions.

And there's more—much more—to come.

Can anyone still believe the Trudeau government's claims that it was not aware of these actions by its security forces, or that such actions no longer occur? The evidence now piling up makes it perfectly clear. RCMP surveillance and disruption of political parties, unions, farm organizations, Native



Socialist Voice/MacInnis

groups, and the Québécois nationalist movement is government policy.

And top government officials not only defend these actions. They are actually seeking more power for the political police!

Trudeau told disbelieving reporters October 28 that sometimes it is proper for police to break the law. There is "a very simple thing to do" to stop RCMP illegal activity, the prime minister said. "It is to make such types of surveillance permissible. . . ."

Francis Fox told CTV [Canadian TV] October 30 that unless the RCMP security service is given wider powers, it will continue to be forced to break the law. "And then they face criminal charges, which to my mind does not seem fair. . . ."

Trudeau and Fox are saying that police disruption against political dissidents is normal policy and will continue to be so, with no holds barred.

When details on the 1972 police break-in and theft at a left-wing Montreal news agency, the APLQ, first came to light a few months ago, Fox described it as an "isolated and exceptional" incident. Now he says such tactics may date back to 1966, when Ottawa began to beef up its security service, the

"red squad," to counter "the separatist threat."

In reality, the RCMP has been repressing movements for democratic change, and their supporters, since the force was founded in 1873. Throughout its history it has fought Native people, broken strikes, rooted out Québécois opponents of imperialist war, jailed radicals, and harassed refugees from dictatorships.

If the force's illegal activities are more widespread today, it is because the threat to the established order is greater. Police political harassment is an essential part of the ruling class's line of defense against the radicalization of broad social layers in this country.

Defending RCMP break-ins at his news conference, Trudeau invoked "the context of the times"—referring to the nationalist and labor upsurge in Québec in the early 1970s. Is the context today, with a PQ government pledged to take Québec out of Confederation, less threatening to his government? Are the police less likely to engage in such activities, or worse?

Testifying October 25 at the Keable inquiry into the APLQ break-in, Montreal police captain Roger Cormier of the anti-terrorist squad said that his force had no fewer than "250 to 350 movements" under surveillance, using spies, infiltration, wiretaps, and search techniques. He said Operation Odd Job against the APLQ was simply one among many such actions.

"Our main goal," said Cormier, "was to prevent these movements from functioning. . . ."

Fox seeks legal cover for RCMP dirty tricks in a 1974 secret cabinet order, now revealed for the first time, authorizing the security service to "counter" those who merely "encourage" the "creation or exploitation of civil disorder. . . ."

Such sweeping terms give police a blank cheque to do anything they want.

Whether or not the RCMP's "security" operations were authorized, and by whom, are moot points. As the 1968 royal commission on security, which endorsed current practices, pointed out: "A security service will inevitably be involved in actions that may contravene the spirit if not the letter of the law. . . ." (emphasis added)

The issue brought to the fore by current disclosures goes much deeper. The Canadian state is revealed to be organizing against the democratic rights of everyone the RCMP thinks might have cause to question the status quo. And that apparently takes in a lot of people.

The real "subversives"—subverting democratic rights most of us have taken for granted—are not the unions, the NDP, or Québec independentists, but the state security services and the governments responsible for them.

British revolutionists expose racist

Corporate chief forced to quit

From Intercontinental Press

Socialist Challenge, the Trotskyist newsweekly in Britain, became big news itself October 19.

Scooping the major British dailies, *Socialist Challenge* printed the virulently racist and antilabor remarks made by Sir Richard Dobson at a private dinner for business executives. Dobson headed British Leyland, the country's largest state-owned corporation.

Within forty-eight hours the public furor that resulted catapulted the exposé to the front page of the London *Times* and forced Dobson's resignation as Leyland's chief officer.

At the end of September Dobson had given what he described as a "light-hearted" after-dinner talk to the Twenty Club—an exclusive group of London merchandising magnates.

In the chummy atmosphere, Dobson evidently felt free to expound his real opinions on a variety of subjects.

At one point he brought down the house with a reference to allegations made last May that Leyland makes "special payments" to obtain contracts in Arab countries. Imagine, he said, accusing "the company of the perfectly respectable fact that it was bribing wogs."

The term "wogs" is a racist epithet for dark-skinned peoples.

On another topic, Dobson sought to discount the massive trade-union solidarity that has been mobilized for strikers at Grunwick, a north London film processing plant. The mostly Indian and Pakistani workers have been fighting fourteen months to secure union recognition.

"You can't tell me that the ordinary

British worker is passionately concerned that a number of blackish people in North London are being underpaid," Sir Richard protested.

On unions in general, Dobson rhetorically asked his cohorts:

"Would the position of the UK in the world market be better or worse if the unions hadn't multiplied? In fact have the unions benefited their members at all? Or have they in fact done total damage in the last decade?"

A likely cause of Dobson's speedy resignation was in committing the cardinal sin of biting the hand that fed him.

Hé was hired by former Labor Party Prime Minister Harold Wilson eighteen months ago to manage the financially ailing Leyland conglomerate. The company had been nationalized in 1975.

Dobson maintained his directorships of Exxon, Lloyds Bank, and several other corporations.

Castigating Wilson's successor as head of Britain's Labour government in his talk, Dobson roasted James Callaghan's performance in the fight "to curb the power of the unions."

"Well it got a bit hot," Sir Richard told his delighted audience, "and Mr. Callaghan turned and ran. It's not the first time in our history that it was thought that if you could run fastest you were therefore a leader—whatever direction you happened to be running in at the time."

How did *Socialist Challenge* get the scoop? Much to Sir Richard's everlasting dismay, one of the Twenty Club members invited his son, who is a sympathizer of the International Marxist Group. Suspecting that capitalists spoke differently in private than in public, twenty-seven-year-old Peter Cooper unobtrusively taped the proceedings.

He had not expected, he said, such a "dramatic confirmation" of his suspicions.

Scabs mobilized against Calif. teachers

By Jeff Mackler

OAKLAND, Calif.—Scab-herding school board officials in Oakland and Fremont, California, pulled out all stops in coordinated efforts to break teachers' strikes called by affiliates of the National Education Association (NEA) in the Bay Area.

In Fremont, the use of scabs and picket line arrests played a major role in driving teachers back to work November 7 and shaping the self-defeating settlement they were forced to accept to end the month-long strike.

Daily ads in several Bay Area newspapers, and strikebreaking agreements among school districts across the state, enabled the Fremont district to recruit more than 800 scabs.

Most of the scabs were notoriously unqualified, holding no teaching certificates and having no previous teaching experience.

On November 2 police arrested and beat several teachers as they tried to conduct a peaceful sit-in at the school board's headquarters to demand good-faith negotiations.

Despite active support from more

than 85 percent of the Fremont teachers, counselors, and nurses, and the support of the Fremont Federation of Teachers, an affiliate of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT), the school board's tactics put heavy pressures on the striking teachers.

Past failures to organize and promote the interests of substitutes also weakened the teachers' position in the struggle.

Initially the FUTA resisted school board proposals to reduce educational programs and cut student class time in return for a contract. This helped build broad community support for the strike. More than two-thirds of the parents refused to send their children to school.

In the final agreement teachers received a meager 18.6 percent wage increase over the three years of the contract and a binding arbitration clause on grievances, which the union had demanded.

But the agreement also included a reduction in the school day from six to five periods for high school students, other education cuts at the elementary school level, and reductions in teacher

preparation time.

All these cuts will go into effect next year unless a new round of tax increases is voted.

The contract reinforces the nationwide drive to saddle teachers with the responsibility for education cutbacks and the soaring tax burden on working people.

It also furthers the strategy of dividing teachers from their strongest potential allies—parents and students.

The leaderships of both the NEA and AFT continue to promote policies that play into this trap for teachers.

They refuse to demand an end to the mammoth arms budget that drains funds away from all social services.

They refuse to demand a fundamental change in the tax structure and economic policies that place the profits of the giant corporations, banks, and super-rich above the education needs of children.

And most decisively, they refuse to break with the Democratic and Republican parties, which are unalterably committed to defending these anti-working-class policies.

In Oakland, 90 percent of the

district's 3,000 teachers, counselors, and nurses were forced out on strike November 3 after months of fruitless negotiations with the Oakland Unified School District. The strike is led by the Oakland Education Association (OEA).

The school board immediately began hiring scabs at the unprecedented pay of \$100 for the first day and \$80 every day thereafter.

The first day of the strike, more than 800 outside scabs were hired, with the number expected to increase.

The strike has been further weakened by continued factional warfare between the leaderships of the rival NEA and AFT affiliates.

Teachers have also been demoralized by the realization that many of the public officials and school board members their unions endorsed and helped elect are now leading the attacks against them.

In Oakland, for example, both the AFT-affiliated United Teachers of Oakland and the NEA-affiliated OEA helped elect members of the present school board, which voted unanimously to crush their strike.

Meeting probes roots of Cleve. school crisis

By Chris Rayson

CLEVELAND—"The Cleveland School Board has spent millions in the last twenty years to perpetuate a separate, illegal school system," charged James Hardiman, attorney in the NAACP's lawsuit for school desegregation here.

Hardiman was a featured speaker in a panel discussion November 6 on "The Crisis in Cleveland Schools," sponsored by the Militant Forum.

The other panelists were Lynda Joyce, a teacher who is a member of the Socialist Workers Party, and Deborah Lloyd, an instructor at Cuyahoga Community College-Metro Campus and a candidate for the school board.

Hardiman explained that the Cleveland School Board, which is under a federal court order to desegregate, "even now is spending thousands of dollars on attorney fees to appeal the desegregation order. We expect them to use the desegregation order as an excuse for their financial troubles, rather than their own mismanagement."

The Cleveland School Board had moved to close schools for lack of funds October 24, but Federal District Judge Frank Battisti ruled they must stay open despite the financial crisis.



Lynda Joyce speaking at Militant Forum on school crisis

Joyce, who teaches at East High in Cleveland, pointed to the inequitable tax structure as another major source of the school financial crisis. She stated that twenty Ohio school districts claim they need new property tax levies to continue operating, while at the same time major corporations are receiving huge tax reductions.

In Cleveland, for example, Sheraton-Cleveland, National City Bank, and Sohio Corporation were recently granted tax abatements totaling \$36.8 million. That money

would have been used to finance Cleveland schools. Joyce pointed out that National City Bank made \$35 million in profits last year, while Sohio made \$135 million.

Joyce noted that 60,000 students in three Ohio school districts had been locked out of classes. "The right to a secure, quality education is threatened—in Cleveland, in Ohio, and around the country."

Joyce and Hardiman disagreed, however, on solutions to the school financial crisis.

Hardiman suggested the school

board consider placing a new tax levy on the ballot, reducing capital expenditures for schools, or cutting pay across the board for all school employees.

He admitted this last option was "rather drastic" but said if the alternative was closing the schools, the choice was "obvious."

Joyce, who is a member of the American Federation of Teachers, disagreed. She noted that teachers need an 8 percent raise next year just to keep pace with the cost of living.

She attacked the board for treating teachers with "contempt" during the financial crisis precipitated by the board and the banks. When it appeared schools would close, the board had threatened to fire teachers unless they agreed to work a week without pay.

"The crisis in the schools, like the general economic crisis," she said, "is used as a pretext for an attack on working people's standard of living and on our rights. Teachers need a decent wage, and we all need good schools."

Joyce called for political action independent of the Democratic and Republican parties. "We need to elect our own labor candidates to fight year-round in our interest," she said.

'We won't go for inferior education'

By Pat Wright

CLEVELAND—About seventy-five people rallied in support of the Cuyahoga Community College Student Government at the college's predominantly Black Metro campus here November 2.

Since the fall quarter began, the student government has come under attack by the college administration, which has blocked planned elections and taken over the drafting of a new student government constitution.

Behind this assault on student rights is the administration's desire to head off a confrontation around proposed cutbacks.

Led by the student government, Tri-C students successfully beat back some of the planned cuts in academic courses, child care, the library, and work-study programs. The administration has announced plans

to cut \$800,000 more from operating expenses next year.

Allying itself with the administration, the student newspaper, the *Mosaic*, has joined in attacking the student government, its individual members, and its record on campus.

The most vicious attack was leveled at Jay Fisher of the Young Socialist Alliance, a member of student government. The *Mosaic* printed an editorial entitled, "Jay Fisher is Playing with CCC Metro's Black Student Body."

Designed to arouse suspicion of Fisher, who is white, the editorial accuses him of using "manipulative tactics" and "advocating confusion." It also accuses Fisher of "constantly causing waves about a cutback issue on this campus."

The attack on Fisher, however, is a smokescreen for the *Mosaic's* capitula-

tion before the administration's assault. In the same editorial the *Mosaic* counsels Tri-C students that "the cutbacks are a form of constitutional racism and there is nothing that can be done about it" (emphasis added).

In a letter answering the attack on Fisher the Tri-C YSA chapter blasted the editorial as an attempt to divide the student body and warned that red-baiting only weakens the fight against the real enemy—the administration, which is trying to carry out the cutbacks.

Speeches at the rally indicated that students here are preparing to challenge the administration again. Student government Vice-president Ron Carson captured the sentiment of the crowd when he said, "We've got to let them know we won't go for inferior, cheap education, because it leads to inferior life."

Panama Canal treaties: Why capitalists back them —and why Stalinists join in



Carter and Torrijos (far right) signing treaties. Negotiators Linowitz and Bunker are at left rear.

By David Frankel

Anyone taking the news stories in the capitalist media at face value would assume that the Carter administration is in for a big Senate battle over ratification of the Panama Canal treaties.

Public opinion polls show widespread opposition to the treaties. A *New York Times*-CBS poll released November 2 found that 49 percent of those questioned disapproved of the proposed canal pact.

Ultraright groups have jumped on the treaty issue, hoping to use it to build their influence. The American Conservative Union has prepared a half-hour television program urging that viewers: "Tell them that the American Canal at Panama is vital to our economy, our national defense, and our spirit. Let your senators know in unmistakable language that we, the people, intend to keep it."

Appearing in the program, which will be shown in major cities throughout the country, are Republican senators Jake Garn of Utah, Jesse Helms of North Carolina, Paul Laxalt of Nevada, and Strom Thurmond of South Carolina.

Political analysts in the capitalist press are giving credence to the idea that a close Senate vote is in the offing. The editors of the *Washington Post*, for example, commenting on the outlook for the treaties in the Senate, said October 25 that "it need scarcely be noted, the prospects for the necessary two-thirds majority are very much in doubt."

Where ruling class stands

As is often the case, however, the picture drawn in the capitalist media has little to do with the underlying reality. Let's recall, for a moment, just who it was that negotiated the treaties and who it is that is supporting them.

The two chief American negotiators were Ellsworth Bunker and Sol Linowitz. It would be hard to find two more experienced or trusted representatives of the American ruling class.

Bunker entered government service in 1951 after a career as a corporate chief. He served as an ambassador under presidents Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon. From 1964 to 1966

he was the U.S. ambassador to the Organization of American States (OAS). After that he directed the U.S. embassy in Saigon through the fiercest years of the Vietnam War—from 1967 to 1973.

Linowitz is a member of the Trilateral Commission think-tank from which so many of Carter's chief advisers have been drawn. He succeeded Bunker as the U.S. ambassador to the OAS. He has also been a chairman of the board and general counsel to the Xerox Corporation, and a director of Time, Inc.

Nor has the ruling class left this matter to its less powerful lieutenants. David Rockefeller, chief of the Chase Manhattan Bank, and family head Nelson Rockefeller have both endorsed the treaties, as has Irving Shapiro, chairman of the board of the DuPont Corporation.

Other supporters include C. Douglas Dillon, secretary of the treasury under Eisenhower; George Ball and Walt Rostow, key policymakers under Kennedy and Johnson; and Averell Harriman and Henry Cabot Lodge, both prominent ruling-class figures, and both chief U.S. representatives to the Paris negotiations during the Vietnam War.

Former President Ford and former secretaries of state Henry Kissinger and Dean Rusk have also come out for the treaties. Support in the military has been indicated by figures like Gen. Matthew Ridgway, Gen. Maxwell Taylor, and Adm. Elmo Zumwalt.

Not a single significant section of the American ruling class has indicated opposition to the treaties. In the face of such a lineup, it is hard to imagine anything but approval of the treaties by the Senate.

After all, serving the interests of the ruling rich is what Democratic and Republican politicians get paid to do.

Carter's crooked game

Of course, all this does not preclude a big debate, or even a delay in the vote. The far right is capable of making considerable noise, and the Carter administration will have to use the media to whip public opinion into line.

Furthermore, Carter himself has an interest in playing up Senate opposition to the treaties. He has already been able to use this to his own advantage, answering critics of his South Africa policies that he cannot take too strong a stand for fear of alienating conservative senators whose votes he says he needs for passage of the treaties.

Stalinists get in on act

For its own reasons, the U.S. Communist Party is also playing up the right-wing opposition to the treaties. Conrad Komorowski wrote in the CP's *Daily World* August 27:

"The chauvinist jingoism of the ultra-Right gang of Ronald Reagan, Sens. Barry Goldwater, Jesse Helms, Strom Thurmond and others is a danger to the treaty—and to the interests of the U.S. people who will benefit from the development of the Panamanian and other peoples of the Caribbean and Latin America. . . ."

(Komorowski fails to mention the position of other right-wingers such as John Wayne and William F. Buckley, Jr., who have come out in favor of the treaties.)

In a September 27 article in the *Daily World*, Tom Foley says, "If we can refute the ultra-right campaign, we can do a great deal to ensure ratification of the treaties."

But the real danger today to both the people of Panama and the United States is *not* the ultraright. The real danger comes from the White House, from the ruling Democratic and Republican politicians, from the mainstream of the American ruling class that is supporting the treaties.

After all, it was *they* who sent troops to Panama. They were responsible for the CIA-inspired coups in Iran and Chile, for the war in Vietnam, and for the invasion of Santo Domingo. In each case, the ultraright only acted as cheerleaders.

By focusing their fire on the ultraright, the Stalinists let the main ruling class politicians, and the capitalist class itself, off the hook. Nor is this accidental.

The Stalinists know very well that there is no big

threat from the ultraright at this time. But they also know that this supposed danger can be used as an excuse to justify support to liberal politicians and their policies.

This is an old game. During the 1964 presidential election, for example, the CP played up Goldwater as a big ultraright danger. (He wanted to *bomb Vietnam*!) The scare campaign around Goldwater was intended to line up support for Lyndon Johnson—who, once elected, proceeded to bomb Vietnam. Today, the CP is using the same trick to justify support for the Panama Canal treaties and the politicians backing them.

'A legitimate triumph'?

It's not hard to see why anyone claiming to oppose colonialism would have to look for excuses to justify backing the canal treaties. When the outline of the treaties was first published, even the *Daily World* had to take exception.

In an August 18 editorial the CP newspaper pointed out correctly that the treaties legalize U.S. military occupation of the Canal Zone for the rest of this century, and that they give Washington the permanent right to intervene militarily in Panama.

"The military provisions should be excised from the proposed treaty," the editorial concluded, "as inconsistent with the Administration's stated concern for friendly relations with the nations of the Caribbean and of Latin America."

Of course, "the military provisions" are the heart of the treaties, so the imperialists have not deleted them—and in fact have gone out of their way to reaffirm them.

The Stalinists have now basically put aside their criticisms and are working to drum up support for the treaties.

This policy was expressed in its crudest form by the Panamanian Stalinists during their campaign for a "yes" vote in the recent plebiscite on the treaties staged by the Panamanian regime. According to a report in the October 21 *Daily World* that was repeated the following day, the general secretary of the Panamanian People's Party (the Panamanian CP) hailed the treaties as "a legitimate triumph of the people and of the patriotic determination of [Panamanian dictator] Gen. Omar Torrijos."

A slightly more defensive explanation of the Stalinist view was given in an editorial in the October 13 *Daily World*. "The Panama Canal treaties now being considered by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee have been assessed by anti-imperialists in Latin America and elsewhere as a step, though a far from adequate step, in loosening the grip of U.S. imperialism on Panama," the editorial said.

Let's take a closer look at this argument.

Step forward—or step back?

First of all, we are told that the treaties are a step "in loosening the grip of U.S. imperialism on Panama."

Exactly how will the U.S. grip be loosened? The Stalinists never say.

Fortunately, we don't have to rely on the *Daily World* for information. We can go directly to the treaties and see for ourselves.

In regard to the canal itself, Article III, Section 3 of the main treaty guarantees continued American control for the next twenty-three years. A nine-member commission will supervise operation of the canal. Five of its members—a majority—will be U.S. citizens named by the U.S. government. The other four members will be Panamanians, *but even the Panamanian members must be approved by the U.S. government and can be removed at its initiative.*

Is this a "loosening of the grip of U.S. imperialism on Panama"?

And what about the promise of control in twenty-three years? How should we assess that?

According to the Stalinists, the provisions of the new treaties allowing Panamanian control of the canal by the year 2000 are a big step forward—even "a legitimate triumph."

But opposition to U.S. occupation of the Canal Zone is so widespread throughout Latin America that U.S. negotiators have been seeking a new treaty for thirteen years in order to take some of the pressure off.

The capitalist class in this country is not worried about what will happen in Panama in twenty-three years. They are worried about the situation right now and in the years immediately ahead. Looked at from that point of view, the canal treaties will *strengthen* the imperialist grip on Panama.

U.S. occupation of the canal zone for the next twenty-three years is legitimized by the treaties and the image of American imperialism is polished up.

But that's not all.

Article IV, Section 2 of the treaty provides that, "For the duration of this treaty, the United States of America shall have primary responsibility to protect and defend the canal." Under the treaty the U.S. government can decide on its own to reinforce its 9,000 troops in Panama. Its fourteen military bases will also remain.

And on top of all this, the treaties affirm the right of Washington to send troops to Panama after the year 2000 any time it claims the canal is threatened.

Does this represent a loosening of the imperialist grip?

This point was taken up by the editors of the *Washington Post* October 25. Commenting with unusual frankness, they said:

"The arguments of the treaties' supporters is that [unless the treaties are approved] Panamanian frustration would grow, and ultimately explode in riots or sabotage of the canal or a violent change of government, and that one way or another this might oblige the United States to intervene with its own troops—and under the terms of a 74-year old treaty that is respected by almost no other country in the world.

"Opponents, of course, argue equally hypothetically that the same threat would exist under the new treaties—and so it might. But the difference, of course, is that in that case . . . the United States would have a clear, newly negotiated right—expressly confirmed in the recent joint interpretation of the treaties by President Carter and Gen. Torrijos, and accepted in the hemisphere and elsewhere—to act if the Panamanians could not or would not protect the canal. As we have noted more than once in this space, that strikes us as a far sounder position from which to deal with the considerable undercurrent of nationalism and anti-Americanism revealed in Sunday's plebiscite in Panama."

It could hardly be stated more clearly. The treaties give political cover to Washington's occupation of the Canal Zone and to any future use of American troops in Panama.

The vote in Panama

We have already seen how the Stalinists try to obscure this reality. They falsely claim that the treaties embody big new advances for Panamanian rights. They play on the fear of Washington's military might, arguing that it is impossible to win better terms. And they throw in some sugar coating by saying that if the treaty is accepted now, its negative aspects can always be altered by future struggles.

But the imperialists negotiated the new treaties precisely because of their fear of such future struggles. That is why virtually the entire capitalist class has lined up behind them. And the CPUSA has stepped forward to give them a hand.

This is a betrayal of the Panamanian people. "But the treaties were approved by the Panamanian people," the CP will say.

In an interview in the October 22 *Daily World*, Carlos Ortiz, a leader of the Stalinist youth organization in Panama, put it this way: "Generally,



treaties are approved in the Senate, or Parliament, or General Assembly, but the Panamanian government, consistent with its progressive nature, has decided to put it to a national vote, so that there will be no question as to whether the Panamanian people want or don't want this Treaty."

Ortiz was quite confident. "We are going to have a vote tremendously in support of the Treaty—more than 90% of the people are in favor."

That was also the prediction of the Torrijos regime before the plebiscite. However, despite tight government control of the media, the exile of some of the most prominent opponents of the treaties, and a massive campaign by the Torrijos regime, a third of those voting—according to the government's count—were opposed to the accord.

Moreover, even if the plebiscite had not been a show put on by the Torrijos dictatorship, the decision of the voters would have still been made under the threat of force.

After all, is there any doubt that if the Panamanian people had their choice the U.S. troops and bases would be out of their country tomorrow? Washington simply pointed a gun at the heads of the Panamanian people and told them they didn't have that choice. They could either accept what was offered, or else its troops would stay indefinitely. That was the essence of a belligerent letter Carter sent to Torrijos last July.

Nor are American threats of force merely an abstract question, a "hypothetical" matter, as the editors of the *Washington Post* cynically put it. U.S. forces invaded and occupied portions of Panama outside of the Canal Zone in 1908, 1912, 1918-20, and 1925. They were used against Panamanian protesters in 1959 and 1964 as well.

Why CP backs treaties

There are two basic reasons why the Stalinists are supporting the Panama Canal treaties. The first is that they support the Torrijos regime.

Ortiz, in the interview cited above, admits that the Torrijos regime has passed "anti-worker, anti-labor, anti-peasant, anti-Communist laws." He notes that "Our party [the CP] is not legalized. . . ."

But the Stalinists are willing to overlook such faults. After all, Ortiz says, "Torrijos received Tito of Yugoslavia, and he has permitted a delegation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to visit the country and talk to the peasants."

The second reason the Stalinists back the treaties has to do with their fundamental approach to politics. It is the approach of cooperation and collaboration with imperialism, the approach of détente.

Wherever the interests of imperialism come into conflict with the needs of the world working class—that is, everywhere—the Stalinists seek to mediate the opposing class interests, to make a deal. That is their approach in the Middle East, in Spain and Italy, and in regard to the Panama Canal.

Since the imperialists are not about to give up any of their basic interests through negotiations, the class-collaborationist policies of Stalinism inevitably lead to putting pressure on the workers and other oppressed layers to modify and give up *their* demands. That is what the CP is now telling the Panamanian people to do.

Revolutionists take a different approach. Here in the United States we have to clearly explain the predatory role of our own government, how it is seeking to preserve its domination of another people's country through the new treaties. Our demand must be for Washington to get out of Panama without any conditions, without any delays.

In Panama as well, the first duty of revolutionists is to *tell the truth* about these treaties, to show how they violate the rights of the Panamanian people and how they will be a threat to any future struggle.

Revolutionists in Panama, organized in the Trotskyist Revolutionary Socialist League, seek to lead the masses in an uncompromising struggle for their rights and against the imperialist-sponsored treaties. Such a class-struggle approach is not counterposed to the possibility of winning limited gains. In fact, militant mass action is the most efficient and effective way of forcing specific concessions from the imperialists without compromising the ongoing fight for everything that the masses are entitled to.

Finally, if the workers and the oppressed are to win any gains, they must have their own independent organizations and speak with their own voice. By attempting to subordinate the independence of the working class to the Torrijos regime in Panama, and to the capitalist liberals in the United States, the Stalinists stand in the way of real advances in the class struggle. Their betrayal of the Panamanian people is only the latest example of their counterrevolutionary role.

Calendar

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

WHAT IS HAPPENING IN CHINA TODAY? Fri., Dec. 2, 8 p.m. 2 Central Square, 2nd fl. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 547-4395.

CLASSES ON SOCIALISM. Thursdays, 7:30 p.m. Dec. 1: Racism, sexism, and revolution; Dec. 8: What is socialism?; Dec. 15: Making a revolution. 2 Central Square, 2nd fl. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (617) 547-4395.

DETROIT: EAST SIDE

SOUTH AFRICA: NEW CRACKDOWN ON BLACK RIGHTS. A memorial meeting for Steve Biko. Speakers: A.J. Stovall, professor of sociology, Shaw College; Nan Bailey, SWP; Jo Carol Stallworth, DSCAR. Sun., Dec. 4, 7:30-9:30 p.m. 12920 Mack. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 824-1160 or 961-5675.

HOW TO DEFEND WOMEN'S RIGHTS. Report from International Women's Year conference; report from Wayne County Community College women's conference; report on the Bakke decision, affirmative action, and women's rights. Sun., Dec. 11, 7:30-9:30 p.m. 12920 Mack. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 824-1160 or 961-5675.

LOUISVILLE, KY.

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.

NEW YORK: THE BRONX

MALCOLM X: THE BALLOT OR THE BULLET. A film showing. Fri., Nov. 25, 8 p.m. 2271 Morris Ave. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 365-6652.

INTRODUCTION TO SOCIALISM CLASS

SERIES. Saturdays, 3 p.m. 2271 Morris Ave. Ausp: Bronx SWP. For more information call (212) 365-6652.

PHOENIX, ARIZ.

CARTER AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN LATIN AMERICA: MYTH VERSUS REALITY. Speaker: Hugo Blanco, Peruvian peasant leader. Mon., Nov. 28, 1:30 p.m. Ariz. State U., Memorial Union, Pima Room. Ausp: Center for Latin American Studies, Student Committee for Human Rights in Latin America; MEChA, YSA, ASASU. For more information call (602) 255-0450.

TUCSON, ARIZ.

CARTER AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN LATIN AMERICA: MYTH VERSUS REALITY. Speaker: Hugo Blanco, Peruvian peasant leader. Mon., Nov. 28, 7:30 p.m. Liberal Arts Auditorium. Univ. of Arizona. Ausp: USLA, Viewpoint Speakers Bureau. For more information call (602) 326-9890.

...Califano

Continued from page 3

Texas became the first woman reported to die from a botched illegal abortion since the Hyde amendment cut off Medicaid funds.

Her death, Feeley charged, was stark evidence that women of the oppressed nationalities have been hardest hit by the new restrictions on abortion.

Dr. Helen Rodríguez described the special victimization of Spanish-speaking women, who are subjected to compulsory sterilization by the same forces intent on abolishing their right to abortion.

Goldie Chu of the Asian Women's Political Caucus and later Pauline Haynes, a Native American leader of the Coalition of Grass Roots Women, exposed the hypocrisy of the Carter administration's concern for human rights.

Cheryl Adams, chairperson of New York NOW's lesbian rights committee and a leader of the CLGR, linked the government's attack on abortion rights to the offensive against gay rights.

One of the most popular speakers was Jennie Lifridi of Catholics for a Free Choice. She told the cheering crowd that the vast majority of Catholics oppose the hierarchy's ban on contraceptives and abortion and support women's right to decide.

Meredith Tax of CARASA called for an end to the "Congress giveth and Congress taketh away" mentality and urged women to rely on their own forces to defend abortion rights.

New York NOW distributed leaflets announcing plans already underway to mark January 22, the anniversary of the Supreme Court's legalization of abortion.

The *Guardian* has no political proposals that address this question. By focusing on the state in the abstract, it ducks the whole issue and lets the Democratic and Republican politicians off the hook.

If the American working class is to defend itself against the ruling class offensive, it *must* break with the capitalist parties and unite in its own class party. That is the essential, immediate issue facing the American workers, and that was what the SWP campaign addressed.

In light of this, the *Guardian's* carping criticisms of the SWP campaign are dead wrong. Gurley poses the problem *abstractly*—and therefore incorrectly.

Having answered the criticisms made by Gurley, it seems reasonable to ask why the *Guardian* felt obliged to run such a miserable little piece.

In fact, this is a rerun on a smaller scale of the *Guardian's* abstentionist position during the 1976 presidential election. During that election, the *Guardian* claimed that there was nothing to choose from between Carter and Ford on the one hand, and the socialist campaign run by the SWP on the other.

The *Guardian* is incapable of running its own electoral campaigns, and it is too sectarian to give critical support to those working-class tendencies that do challenge the capitalist stranglehold in the electoral arena.

Like all true sectarians, the *Guardian* puts its own "prestige" above the interests of the working class as a whole. Thus, it must manufacture a "political critique" to justify its own inaction.

...asylum

Continued from page 8

Norte, published in Monterrey, ran a page 2 feature story. *El Norte* reprinted the story from *Perspectiva Mundial*, a Spanish-language socialist news magazine published in New York.

Marroquín's attorney, Margaret Winter gave a lengthy interview to *Proceso*, a magazine published in Mexico City. *Proceso* sent portions of the story out through its news service, and another Monterrey paper, *El Porvenir*, printed it.

The Monterrey coverage is particularly significant, because Marroquín was a university student there. After a university librarian was shot to death in the city in 1974, the papers featured police charges that Marroquín and several other students were guilty.

Marroquín felt his life was in danger if he stayed in Mexico. So he came to the United States.

That did not stop Mexican authorities from accusing him of participation in several shootouts between police and supposed guerrilla groups.

Marroquín is accused, for example, of taking part in a gun battle with the cops in August 1974. But he was in a Texas hospital at the time, recovering from an auto accident.

One of the other students accused with Marroquín of gunning down the librarian was arrested in Mexico in April 1975 and hasn't been heard from since.

To add your name to USLA's "Appeal for Asylum," or for more information, contact: USLA, 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10003.

...Mexico

Continued from page 9

tember 12 *New York Times* reported that Mexico's proven oil reserves stand at 16.8 billion barrels "and are growing steadily."

The United States wants ready access to that oil and gas. And it wants to be sure the price is right.

Because of this U.S. pressure, President José López Portillo announced recently that Mexico will not join the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries.

An October 15 United Press International dispatch from Mexico City re-

ported that U.S. Ambassador Patrick Lucey had challenged "leftist criticism" of a gas pipeline from Tabasco to Texas slated for completion in 1979. Disputing his Mexican critics, the ambassador asserted—without offering any proof—that the project is "Mexican, belongs to Mexico, and is controlled by Mexico."

According to the dispatch, the unnamed "leftist" critics argue that while Mexico will pick up the construction tab, the pipeline will be more beneficial to the United States than to their country.

The growth of a movement in the United States to defend undocumented immigrants—reflected by the recent San Antonio conference of 1,500 opponents of the Carter plan—is not only in the interests of all the oppressed and exploited inside this country's borders. At the same time, it is in the best interest of the Mexican people.

This movement is an authentic act of solidarity against U.S. imperialism.

...Canada

Continued from page 15

Canada; and to direct Inco to rescind the layoffs.

The NDP has also raised the demand that the government establish a nickel stockpile.

These proposals offer little perspective to the embattled workers in Sudbury. The company has already answered them with a flat no, and the federal and provincial governments have endorsed its stance. But these are the only concrete measures put forward by the union and NDP leadership.

Sudbury workers are ready for a militant fight to protect their jobs. They understand the need to fight for nationalization of Inco, and to bring it under public control. But union and NDP leaders are unwilling to mobilize them—and the ranks of the entire Canadian labor movement—around that goal.

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Women vs. 'new right' Which side is Carter on?

By Shelley Kramer

"LADIES! HAVE YOU HEARD?" it begins.

"Do you know who is planning *your* future for you? Are you sure they are planning what *you* really want?"

"... a tiny minority of dissatisfied, highly vocal, militant women insist that you are being exploited as a 'domestic drudge' and a 'pretty toy.' And they are determined to 'liberate' you—whether you want it or not!"

This appeal is circulated by the Texas-based "Women Who Want to be Women." It has gained notoriety as a manifesto of the antifeminist right.

Led by such figures as Phyllis Schlafly and Anita Bryant, the rallying cry of this anti-working-class movement is "protect the family" from the "libbers," "MSfits," "radical lesbians," and "communist homosexuals."

Followers of Schlafly and Bryant have come to the Houston International Women's Year conference to further their offensive against women

ALSO IN THIS ISSUE: Interview with socialist Willie Mae Reid; 2,000 at New York abortion rights protest; Virginia unions call ERA march. See pages 3, 16-21.

fighting for their rights—and all other socially progressive movements.

Their organizations go under such names as Stop ERA, Save Our Children, Right to Life, Happiness of Womanhood, and Eagle Forum.

These and other reactionary groups have also become more visible in racist struggles against school busing and open housing, in vigilante patrols against undocumented workers, and in anti-gay crusades.

The "new right" has become a lively topic of discussion. Who are these forces? Why are they concentrating much of their fire on women's rights? How do we fight back?

Phyllis Schlafly often pretends, with the aid of the capitalist media, that she is nothing but a contented housewife and mother from Alton, Illi-

nois, catapulted out of kitchen and nursery and onto the alien terrain of politics by the feminists' threat to "God, home, and country."

The media helps paint this image by ascribing to the Schlafly-Bryant forces a "grass roots" character.

"Much of the activist thrust comes from grass-roots America," *Newsweek* reports. The right-wingers' "mass support" from the "ordinary" woman is implicitly counterposed to the supposed narrow, upper-class appeal of the women's liberation movement.

Schlafly's carefully tailored homespun image is a hoax. Her campaign against feminism neither represents nor is in the interests of homemakers or any other women. She is, in fact, a slick demagogue whose program dovetails with that of anti-Black, antigay, and antilabor groups.

A prominent Goldwater supporter in 1964, Schlafly is or has been a member of the Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation, American Committee to Free Cuba, Americans for Law and Order, Christian Anticommunist Crusade, America Wake-Up Foundation, The Conservative Caucus, and the World Anti-Communist League—to name only a few. Hardly the credentials of a political novice.

She is not too eager to say where her funds come from—or go to. The various Schlafly-spawned anti-ERA organizations—Stop ERA, Eagle Forum, Happiness of Womanhood—have spotty or nonexistent public records. But the Birch Society alone has contributed some \$800,000 in anti-ERA funds.

Schlafly and Bryant's campaigns are supported by conservative sectors of the capitalist class. The Mormon Church—one of America's fifty largest corporations—is squarely in this camp.

Businessmen and rightwing fundraisers such as Joseph Coors, H. L. Hunt, Patrick Frawley, Richard Viguerie, and Henry Salvatori are closely associated with these groups.

Senators Jesse Helms, Dewey Bartlett, Orrin Hatch, S. I. Hayakawa, Barry Goldwater, Strom Thurmond, Gov. Meldrim Thomson, and Rep. Larry McDonald promote the Schlafly-Bryant effort.



PHYLLIS SCHLAFLY

So much for the "cookie-jar change" and "bake-sale proceeds" that allegedly subsidize this "grass roots" movement.

While thousands have demonstrated against abortion rights, largely organized through the resources and intimidation of the Catholic church hierarchy, Schlafly has never been able to turn out the same numbers for her anti-ERA rallies. And Anita Bryant's demonstrations have been dwarfed by the hundreds of thousands marching for gay rights.

None of these right-wing protests, moreover, have succeeded in stopping the spread of women's rights sentiment in the population as a whole.

But the prominence these enemies of women's rights enjoy in the media has led some in the women's movement to misestimate their role in the current offensive against women.

We frequently hear it argued that the small Schlafly forces are primarily responsible for the reverses women are suffering. Some women blame the rash of court decisions and legislation against women on the right wing's pressure, letting the Democratic and Republican parties responsible for these policies off the hook.

Continued on page 19

Where to meet socialists at IWY

'Militant' forums

"IWY and after: how women can win"

Speakers: Evelyn Reed, Willie Mae Reid, Olga Rodríguez
Sat., Nov. 19, 7 p.m.

"Feminism and Socialism"

Speakers: Cathy Sedwick, Betsey Stone
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