

# THE MILITANT

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

## SOUTH AFRICA OUT OF ANGOLA!

### Stop all U.S. aid to apartheid regime



MACEO DIXON



OSBORNE HART

The following statement on the South African invasion of Angola was issued May 10 by Maceo Dixon and Osborne Hart, Black work directors for the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For news of the invasion see page 7.

There will be no peace in Africa, and no social progress for the masses of oppressed Blacks there, so long as the racist bastion of South Africa continues to exist. The apartheid regime's savage aggression against Angola has proved this once again.

The massacre in Angola should be answered at once by protests—especially here in the United States.

Without the support of U.S. corporations and the U.S. government, the racist minority regime in South Africa could not stand.

The American people have a direct stake in this struggle. The U.S. intervention in the Angolan civil war in 1975 was a warning of what the future holds in store if Washington's backing for the South African regime goes unchallenged.

Unless the U.S. government is restrained by mass pressure at home, it will be only a matter of time before U.S. troops are sent to intervene in southern Africa.

Students have taken the lead in the fight against U.S. complicity with the apartheid regime. The wave of student protests this spring against university investments in corporations operating in South Africa drew nationwide attention to the U.S. role there.

In the Black community as well, tens of thousands have protested the U.S. role in Africa. This represents only a small part of the potential. Civil rights groups and other Black organizations can play a major role in mobilizing that potential.

Trade unions, too, must become involved in this fight. Many unions have gone on record against the apartheid regime. Such resolutions can aid in mobilizing the power of the union membership in actions to protest U.S. complicity with the South African government.

Demonstrations against the terrorist regime in South Africa have been called for the weekend of May 13 and May 20. These African Liberation Day actions offer an opportunity for antiracist activists to oppose the South African invasion of Angola and U.S. complicity in such actions.

Protests, teach-ins, and rallies on June 16, the second anniversary of the Soweto rebellion, will also contribute to organizing a mass movement to aid the fight for national liberation in South Africa.

Black activists, students, and trade unionists can show solidarity with the peoples of southern Africa by demanding:

South African troops out of Angola and Namibia!

End all U.S. government and corporate aid to South Africa!

### ABORTION RIGHTS IN CRISIS

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Chicano youth rebel  
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## Moro's death & Carter's hypocrisy

When news of the death of former Italian Premier Aldo Moro reached Washington, the Carter administration released a statement saying, "This contemptible and cowardly act offends the conscience of all Americans."

Carter's hypocrisy ought to "offend the conscience of all Americans."

When did he ever issue a statement calling the torture and murder of *thousands* of helpless political prisoners by the shah of Iran "contemptible and cowardly"?

Never. Instead, Carter spent New Year's Eve at a party in one of the shah's palaces.

The truth is that Carter stands at the head of a ruthless government that slaughtered hundreds of thousands of innocent Vietnamese to preserve its imperialist interests. It provides the money that keeps afloat bloody dictators from South Korea, to Chile, to South Africa.

This same hypocrisy was displayed by the Italian government, which vowed never to negotiate with the Red Brigades who kidnapped Moro. Yet this same government is more than willing to negotiate with—and support—terrorist regimes such as the one in South Africa.

Moro's own family bitterly acknowledged the Italian state's responsibility for his death, saying that government leaders will not be welcome at the funeral.

In fact, Moro has become more useful to the capitalist rulers dead than he was alive.

They will cynically pump these events for all they are worth to generate support for repressive laws and attacks on civil liberties. Italy's rulers already took dangerous new steps after the kidnapping. Now they will push even harder to restore the death penalty, outlawed following the overthrow of Mussolini.

In the United States Carter will use the Moro affair to further his efforts to legitimize FBI and CIA use of informers and other illegal tactics against dissenters.

All this points to the futility of the terrorist strategy of groups such as the Red Brigades. No matter how committed they may be to the cause of socialism, their actions leave the masses of working people and the oppressed confused and on the sidelines.

They give the government an ill-deserved chance to falsely portray opponents of capital-

ism as the source of violence.

Actually it is that outmoded social system—and those who administer and grow wealthy from it—who are responsible for the exploitation, degradation, starvation, murder, and countless other forms of violence.

In their greedy pursuit of profits, they even threaten humanity with the ultimate violence—nuclear annihilation.

Only collective action by the working masses—not terrorist acts by a desperate handful—can take the world's destiny out of the hands of these contemptible, cowardly, and conscienceless capitalists.

## Webster's snoops

Speaking to the American Newspaper Publishers Association on May 3, FBI Director William Webster defended the use of undercover informers as "the most effective tool in law enforcement today." Webster was trying to influence not only the publishers, but the U.S. Supreme Court.

As a result of the Socialist Workers Party's lawsuit against the political police, courts have ordered the FBI to turn over evidence about eighteen of its snoops. The FBI and the Justice Department have appealed that order to the top court.

Already the SWP suit and others have brought to light the bureau's "effective" use of informers as burglars, provocateurs, and disrupters, recruited from an unsavory milieu of Nazi admirers and right-wing thugs.

So it's no wonder that Webster is on the defensive, or that Justice Department lawyers have declared there is a "strong possibility" the FBI will defy a Supreme Court order to hand over the evidence.

Webster tried to be reassuring: "We are out of the business of investigating organizations simply because they say things that are unpopular in this country." The FBI has only sixty-one individuals and twelve organizations under investigation, he claimed, and only forty-two informers are assigned to "domestic security" cases.

Even FBI agents ridicule that claim. Informers are still on the job. "They're the same people and they're doing the same sort of work against the same group, but now they're being called by a different name," one agent told the *New York Times*.

Webster's smooth talk can't cover up the crucial civil liberties issue the SWP suit has

highlighted: Should the political police be allowed secrecy for its sneaks and snoops? Should informers who have committed crimes escape being brought to account before the law?

Does the government have the right to use informers at all?

Most Americans, we're sure, would disagree with Webster.

All the FBI's records, including the informer files, should be made public.

That would be a big step toward taking away from the political police one of its "most effective" weapons for intimidating and harassing the civil rights and women's movements, trade unions, socialists, and other political dissidents.

## Build July 9!

More than half the women in this country work outside the home, the May 7 *New York Times* reported. What the *Times* did not report are the conditions these women face on the job—low wages, discrimination in hiring and promotion, inadequate child care.

There is growing ferment among working women to demand their rights. And a major battleground in the struggle for equality today is the Equal Rights Amendment.

The July 9 March on Washington for the ERA—called by the National Organization for Women—gives the labor movement an important opportunity to push forward the fight for equal rights.

The 2,500 women, unionists, Blacks, and students who rallied for the ERA in Chicago April 29 show the potential July 9 has for uniting all those committed to women's equality.

Several large marches have already taken place in Washington this spring. The March 18 Wilmington 10 march, the April 8 Jobs for Youth march, and the April 15 demonstration to overturn the *Bakke* decision brought thousands of women and men, Blacks, Latinos, Asian Americans, and students out into the streets to defend their rights.

July 9 can be a meeting ground for all these victims of the government's attacks.

The *Militant* urges all of its readers—in the unions; in women's groups; on the campuses; in the communities of oppressed nationalities—to spread the word: Build July 9!

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### Report from Carter's Vietnam spy trial

Relying on trumped-up, flimsy evidence, the White House is staging an espionage trial to legitimize government wiretapping of dissenters. **Page 7.**

### Eyewitness in Panama

An on-the-spot interview with a Panamanian revolutionist on mounting public opposition there to Carter's canal treaties. **Page 22.**



### Celebrating Trotsky 'Writings'

At a New York May Day rally, 350 people heard messages from around the world hailing completion of a major socialist publishing project. **Page 14.**



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Published weekly by the Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone Editorial Office (212) 243-6392; Business Office (212) 929-3486; Southwest Bureau: 1250 Wilshire Blvd., Suite 404, Los Angeles, California 90017. Telephone: (213) 482-3184.

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

For subscriptions airfreighted to London then posted to Britain and Ireland: £2.50 for ten issues; £5.50 for six months (twenty-four issues); £10 for one year (forty-eight issues). Posted from London to Continental Europe: £4 for ten issues; £8 for six months (twenty-four issues); £13 for one year (forty-eight issues). Send checks or international money orders (payable to Intercontinental Press account) to: Intercontinental Press (The Militant), P.O. Box 50, London N1 2XP, England.

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

# Police invade Houston barrio Chicanos rebel against racist terror

By Nelson Blackstock

HOUSTON, Wed., May 10—The North Side Chicano barrio continued under heavy police occupation here today in the wake of Sunday night's rebellion against racist cops at Moody Park.

The armed occupation is meant to stop further protests against killer cops and police brutality by terrorizing the community, despite repeated official claims that cops are using "restraint."

The rebellion took place on May 7—the anniversary of the police murder of twenty-three-year-old Joe Campos Torres.

It began when cops broke up the traditional Cinco de Mayo (May 5, a Mexican national holiday) festival in Moody Park, in the heart of the Chicano community. The activities had drawn several thousand people during the course of the day.

An estimated 1,500 Chicanos were still present at around 7:30 p.m. when police waded into the crowd, reportedly in response to a fight among participants in the festivities.

Several hundred young Chicanos responded, forcing the cops to leave the park. The cops called in reinforcements. The police mobilization eventually involved at least 350 officers, including 200 squad cars, helicopters, and the Special Weapons and Tactics team.

Many cops came out ready for war, with helmets, face masks, shields, clubs, and fire arms. The SWAT team carried shotguns and M-16 automatic rifles.

In response to the police occupation, groups of several hundred young Chicanos continued protesting. Some stores in the vicinity were emptied and burned.

Many arrests were made on charges including disorderly conduct, inciting

to riot, assault, and arson.

At least ten Chicanos were hospitalized. Many more were injured by the cops. Only one cop suffered a serious injury, a broken leg when he was hit by a car. Two reporters were also injured and hospitalized.

The police are maintaining a large force in the community. Helicopters hover overhead at night, beaming searchlights down on the streets and houses below.

The cops admitted arresting eighteen people Monday night. And Tuesday, several members of a group called People United to Fight Against Police Brutality were arrested for leafleting.

The big-business-owned politicians and news media have heaped praise on the cops for their "fantastic restraint," as Mayor Jim McConn put it. They have made much of the fact that the cops apparently have failed to murder anyone so far—a supposedly miraculous feat.

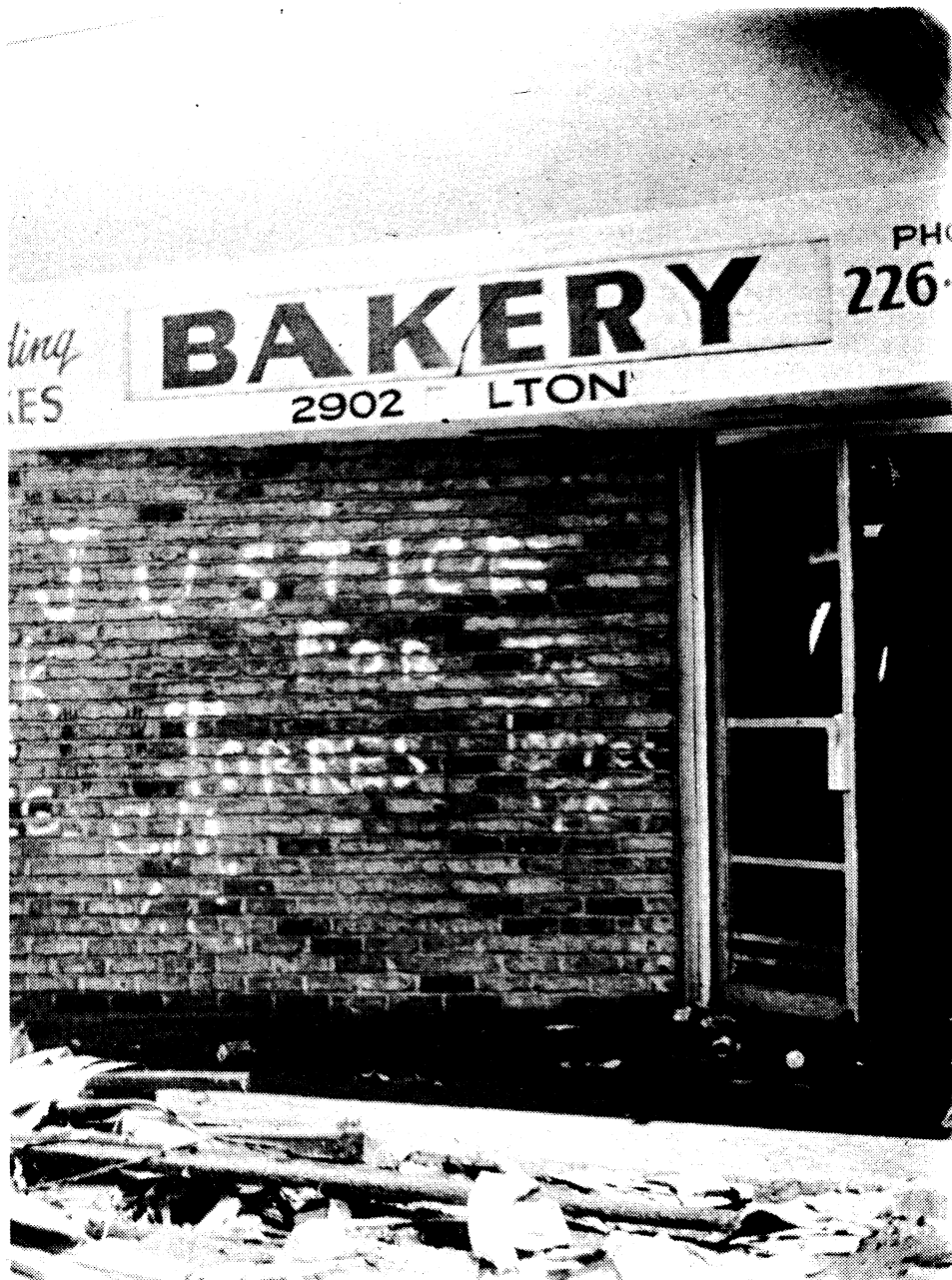
They have gone so far as to claim the cops haven't fired a single shot—a lie. The *Militant* was contacted by one eyewitness who saw a cop fire at a young Chicano standing next to a burned out bakery Monday night. Fortunately, the youth escaped uninjured.

Other community residents interviewed by the *Militant* agree that the only thing that's been restrained is the accuracy of most new reports.

Ray López, a high school student who had participated in the protests, recalled: "I was just walking. I had a can of spray paint that I used to spray 'Justice for Joe Torres' on the walls, when the police came up and hit me on the head with a club." López reports he was arrested, charged with looting and arson, and released only after posting \$1,000 bond.

Community residents told the *Militant*

*Continued on next page*



Militant/Susie Winsten

'Justice for Torres' was the Chicano community's cry during May 7 rebellion. Joe Campos Torres was killed by Houston cops a year ago. Although found guilty in both state and federal courts, killer cops received slap-on-the-wrist sentences.

## 'Cops out of barrio!' socialist demands

The following statement was released to the news media May 10 by Miguel Pendás, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Texas.

The Socialist Workers Party condemns the armed occupation and terror campaign being waged on the Chicano community by the Houston city administration and police department.

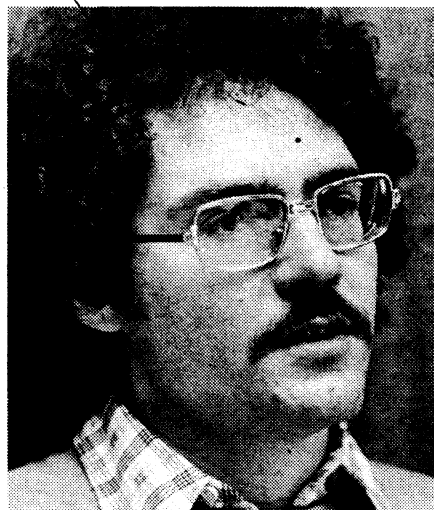
If the police occupation continues, it is only a matter of time before the notoriously trigger-happy cops have the blood of yet another innocent victim on their hands.

Police charges about "outside agitators" are a smokescreen to confuse the issues. They are a witch-hunt

designed to silence and intimidate critics of police brutality.

There was only one group of "outsiders" present in the Moody Park area Sunday night—350 members of the Houston police department. Through their invasion of the Chicano community, they bear full responsibility for whatever violence occurred.

As a result of their murder of Joe Campos Torres, the Houston cops are fiercely and justly hated in the barrio. The angry response of hundreds of young Chicanos to Sunday night's police assault is eloquent testimony to this fact. The community is fed up with years of racist abuse at the hands of this band of hired killers.



Militant/Susan Ellis

MIGUEL PENDAS

Public officials have slandered the Socialist Workers Party, the Revolutionary Communist Party, and the People United to Fight Police Brutality as "instigators" of violence. As a result of these provocative statements, my campaign offices have received a bomb threat as well as racist, ultra-right phone calls. We insist on an immediate halt to government attempts to instigate a lynch-mob atmosphere against opponents of police brutality.

The real criminals are the cops, not those who protest against racist terror.

Drop the charges against the protesters!

Cops out of the barrio!

Justice for Joe Campos Torres!

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## Socialist speaks at ERA rally

# 'No one gave us anything we didn't fight for'

The following is based on a speech given by Pat Grogan at the April 29 rally for the Equal Rights Amendment in Chicago. Grogan is a member of United Steelworkers of America Local 65 and is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for the U.S. Senate from Illinois.

There have been a lot of editorials and talk saying that the women's movement is dead; the Equal Rights Amendment is dead; we don't have a chance; time is running out.

Our rights are in danger; we have to recognize that. But by organizing the way we are today—in large numbers—by getting hundreds of thousands of women to Washington on July 9 for the national demonstration called by the National Organization for Women, we can build a movement that will win the ERA.

We have to ask ourselves, how did the women's movement become strong? And why are our rights in danger now? I remember when the second wave of the women's movement first started. We were considered a joke. We were laughed at. We weren't taken seriously.

And I'll tell you the day I saw that begin to change: August 26, 1970, when we came out 50,000 strong and fighting mad. We could not be ignored, and we began to win our demands. Congress passed the Equal Rights Amendment. We won the legalization of abortion. We won some steps toward affirmative action.

What happened then? People came to us, and they said, "Listen, ladies, don't rock the boat." They were mainly Democratic and Republican politicians who told us this. "Listen to us. We'll win the ERA for you, but don't make any noise," they said.

But in state after state, the ERA was voted down again and again. In three key states, legislators who were elected with the support of the ERA movement changed their votes at the last minute.

I think that should have taught us a lesson. When politicians come to us and say, "Be quiet, count on us," we have to say to them:

You listen for a change! We're not asking for any gifts. The Equal Rights Amendment is our right, and our rights are *not* negotiable!

Another thing they are telling us: "OK, talk about the ERA, but don't raise any of those other issues."

Well, we will not stand by with our mouths shut while our sisters, mainly Black and Latina, are being sent into



Pat Grogan speaking at April 29 rally for ERA in Chicago



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

the butcher shops for abortions because public funds for safe, legal abortions are being slashed. We will not stand by while women are put through hell in order to get an abortion, forced to answer questions like: "Were you raped? Was it incest? Do you have your father's permission? Do you have your husband's permission?"

We will not stand by with our mouths shut while our lesbian sisters and gay brothers are hounded out of their jobs and hunted back into the closet.

That's not the kind of movement we're building. There are no second-class citizens in the equal rights movement.

And when Carter and Congress tell us there's no money for public funding of abortion; there's no money for decent schools that can teach children how to read; there's no money for child care—we have to say: you go find the money!

I can tell them where to look. Go to the Pentagon. They have the largest military budget in history. I say that if the generals want more bombs and planes, let them organize a bake sale.

We're not alone. Women are the majority, and furthermore, women aren't the only ones who are under attack. The government and the bosses are trying to roll back the gains of the civil rights movement. They're trying to force the labor movement to give back the health benefits and pension

benefits we have won. We're all fighting the same forces.

And it is no coincidence that the majority of the states that have failed to ratify the ERA also have antilabor so-called right-to-work laws on the books.

They tell us we are weak, but that's not true. We have political power. We have to take the united strength of women, labor, Blacks, and students, and take it into the streets of Washington, D.C., on July 9 in such a powerful

show of support for equal rights that we cannot be ignored.

We can win the ERA. But it is going to take a gigantic effort on our part. We have to start tomorrow building support for the July 9 national action. We can't rely on promises given to us by politicians behind closed doors.

No one has ever given us anything we didn't fight for. Sisters and brothers, we will win what we win with our own two hands. And our hands are strong enough to do it!

## July 9 march route set

The National Organization for Women (NOW) has announced the route for its July 9 march on Washington for the Equal Rights Amendment.

Demonstrators will assemble at the Fourteenth Street end of the mall in Washington, D.C., facing the Washington Monument. From there the march will go east on Constitution Avenue to the western Capitol grounds for a rally. A spokesperson at the NOW National Action Center told the *Militant* that the speakers program is not complete yet, "but we will have representatives from labor, women's organizations, civil rights groups, as well as national political figures and other celebrities."

Materials for building the march

are available from the action center. To order them, write to National ERA March Office, Suite 548, 425 Thirteenth Street NW, Washington, D.C., 20004.

The office is preparing information kits. It also has a general leaflet about the march with a blank space for adding local information and that is suitable for reprinting.

A fund-raising button and purple-white-gold sash will soon be available for one dollar. The sashes are to commemorate the suffragists, who won women their right to vote.

For more information about the march and what you can do to help, write the National ERA March Office or call (202) 737-2295.

## ...Houston Chicanos rebel against cop terror

*Continued from preceding page*  
tant that there were many more arrests than those reported by the cops.

The cops, capitalist politicians, and news media have tried to cover up the causes of the Sunday night protest.

Police Chief Harry Caldwell claimed it was an "isolated" incident touched off by "a hot day, a lot of beer, and a celebration."

He said the events had been triggered by "some drunks who got into a fight with each other who may have spoken Spanish as a second language."

But Chicanos are telling an entirely different story. "In the paper they said it was 'just drunks.' But the people weren't 'just drunk.' They were trying to make a point about Joe Torres," one seventeen-year-old high school student told the *Militant*.

On Cinco de Mayo a year ago, Houston cops arrested Joe Campos Torres a Chicano army veteran. They beat him so badly that authorities at the jail wouldn't let the cops leave Torres there. The cops were told to take him

to a hospital. Instead, they beat him some more.

Then they took him to the Buffalo Bayou and threw him off a twenty-five-foot high retaining wall to "see if the wetback can swim." His lifeless body was found floating in the canal three days later.

At first cops and city officials tried to cover up the crime. But Chicano protests forced the indictment of several cops for murder. They were tried in a state court, found guilty of a *misdemeanor*, and fined one dollar!

Houston Chicanos denounced the verdict and sentence with rallies and street demonstrations. Eventually the Justice Department was forced to indict some of the cops for violating Torres's civil rights. The first three to be tried were convicted. But six weeks ago the judge, instead of imposing the life sentences provided for by law, handed down token one-year sentences. There were more protests after that verdict. Sunday night's was the most recent.

Despite the official claim the rebel-

lion was touched off by "a hot day, a lot of beer, and a celebration," cops and city officials are also claiming "outside agitators" started it.

Democratic Mayor Jim McConn said unnamed "outside agitators may have played a role in instigating the trouble."

And Police Chief Caldwell says his department is investigating whether "professional agitators" were involved.

Others have been more specific. Some cops told reporters Sunday night that the Socialist Workers Party had started the protest. Cops haven't yet repeated this claim publicly, but Houston School Superintendent Billy Reagan has. He charged the SWP had been trying to "stir up" high-school students over the death of Joe Campos Torres.

Ben Reyes, a prominent Chicano Democratic state representative, apparently felt the charge against the SWP wouldn't stick. He chose different scapegoats—the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) and Travis Morales. Morales is head of People

United to Fight Against Police Brutality, a group initiated by the RCP.

Still others charge that mysterious "Anglos" started the rebellion by giving beer to high school students.

The news media has played up these totally baseless accusations, focusing especially on Travis Morales.

At a news conference the day after the rebellion, however, Morales explained that neither he nor other members of his group were present when the cops assaulted the crowd.

Some members of People United did go to the scene after hearing what was happening, Morales said. But, he explained, they were "not urging people to break into buildings and start fires."

And in a statement released May 10, Miguel Pendás, Texas Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate, charged that the only "outside agitators" were the cops who murdered Torres and invaded the Chicano community. (See statement on page 3.)

As one young Chicano said, "If they had given Joe Torres justice, this wouldn't have happened."



# Sales drive moves into final two weeks

By Nancy Cole

This spring's campaign to increase circulation of the *Militant* and the Spanish-language biweekly *Perspectiva Mundial* ends with sales of the next issue of the *Militant*. Socialists across the country—members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance—are making plans to see that the drive ends with the best possible sales totals.

Last week we reported results of our special sales week when more than 11,000 *Militants* and *PMs* were sold. The aim of that effort was to get out the *Militant's* nine-page feature on the meaning of the miners' strike and to help SWP branches organize to make their sales goals each and every week of the drive.

Sales reported in this week's scoreboard meet 84 percent of our national goal. While nearly half the cities fell behind, twenty-one areas made their goals. The total is just slightly higher than the previous weekly total, except for the special sales week.

In several cities, socialists report special plans for the two remaining weeks of the drive. Members of the SWP in Louisville doubled their bundle for this issue of the *Militant*. They plan to step up sales because of the news story in this issue of the *Militant* on the General Electric strike there.

The SWP congressional candidate from Louisville, Jim Burfeind, is part of that strike, and his statement in this week's *Militant* gives them a special chance to combine campaigning with sales.

New York has scheduled a plant-gate blitz for the last week. They plan to sell the *Militant* at as many different plant gates as possible throughout the week.

The New York week is viewed as an experiment, as a way to find the best places for regular sales in the future. They're also combining sales with campaigning for the New York socialist candidates.

SWP branches in both San Jose and New York's Lower East Side are aiming to double their sales of *PM* for the last two weeks of the drive.

Socialists in other places are finding that such efforts can be highly successful. In Chicago Bobbie Bagel, organizer of the North Side SWP branch, reports they underestimated the



Militant/Nelson Blackstock

Selling 'PM' in Los Angeles

number of *PMs* they can sell. They've found you don't have to speak Spanish to sell a lot of *PMs*. Chicago is increasing its *PM* bundle.

In Dallas, they sell *PMs* regularly in the Chicano community. Doing it often in the same area has paid off: last week they sold forty-two copies.

A few cities on this week's scoreboard merit some explanation. First, at the top of the chart is Denver. Socialists there sold nearly 300 *Militants* at an antinuclear protest in Rocky Flats and Denver on April 29 and 30. That was almost three times their weekly goal. But they didn't leave it at that. They went ahead with their regular weekday sales and sold fifty-plus more.

Several cities—such as New York—held or participated in socialist educational conferences last weekend. They were unable to send out Saturday sales teams, and total sales suffered.

But in Baltimore, socialists went to Washington, D.C., for an educational weekend and still managed to make their sales goal. They did it by making a bigger effort during the week.

At least three cities lowered their goals for sales reported this week because they are petitioning to put SWP candidates on the ballot. Those cities—Indianapolis, Houston, and Phoenix—

## Weekly sales results

(Results from 'Militant' issue #17, dated May 5)

CITY	MILITANT		PM		TOTAL		
	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Percent
Denver	105	356	5	2	110	358	325.5
Minneapolis	100	118			100	118	118.0
Chicago	282	310	18	33	300	343	114.3
San Jose	100	114	10	7	110	121	110.0
Seattle	150	157		7	150	164	109.3
Tacoma	90	98			90	98	108.9
Dallas	115	93	10	42	125	135	108.0
Morgantown	100	105			100	105	105.0
Toledo	60	63			60	63	105.0
Miami	90	90	10	14	100	104	104.0
Salt Lake City	115	127	10	3	125	130	104.0
Raleigh	85	88			85	88	103.5
Albuquerque	113	117	7	7	120	124	103.3
Detroit	300	310			300	310	103.3
San Diego	100	103	25	25	125	128	102.4
Cleveland	150	152			150	152	101.3
Atlanta	250	250			250	250	100.0
Baltimore	100	100			100	100	100.0
Houston*	60	60	5	5	65	65	100.0
Indianapolis*	70	70			70	70	100.0
Louisville	100	100			100	100	100.0
Phoenix*	15	15			15	15	100.0
Cincinnati	85	77			85	77	90.6
Pittsburgh	125	113			125	113	90.4
Philadelphia	250	220		3	250	223	89.2
St. Paul	80	71			80	71	88.8
Boston	165	133	25	35	190	168	88.4
Albany	60	51			60	51	85.0
Milwaukee	120	99	5	5	125	104	83.2
Los Angeles	375	306	75	64	450	370	82.2
Portland	90	74			90	74	82.2
St. Louis	200	143			200	143	71.5
San Francisco	220	161	15		235	161	68.5
Kansas City	90	62	10	1	100	63	63.0
New York	575	358	75	30	650	388	59.7
Berkeley	138	80	12	5	150	85	56.7
New Orleans	150	60			150	60	40.0
Washington, D.C.	230	69	20	5	250	74	29.6
Newark	130	40	20		150	40	26.7
Oakland**	150				150		.0
San Antonio*	100		10		110		.0
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>5,983</b>	<b>5,025</b>	<b>367</b>	<b>293</b>	<b>6,350</b>	<b>5,318</b>	<b>83.7</b>

\*Petitioning

\*\*Not Reporting

all succeeded in meeting these goals.

Out of Detroit's sales of 310 last week, some 136 were sold to auto workers and other factory workers.

That included 61 at a "Sun Day" meeting organized by the United Auto Workers, 39 by socialists to co-workers, and 36 on plant-gate sales.

## Selling the 'Militant' at Salt Lake plants

By Nelson Blackstock

SALT LAKE CITY—Concentrated in and around this city is a major industrial complex.

Socialist Workers Party organizer Clemens Bak will gladly drive a visitor to see the huge Kennecott Copper mine and related operations just west of the city. One of the two largest such facilities in the world, it is near the Great Salt Lake.

As part of the SWP's national orientation toward industry, socialists here—as in other cities—are getting jobs in major industries. Tied in with this orientation is the plant-gate-sales aspect of the national *Militant* circulation drive.

It's Wednesday afternoon, and the shift is changing at the EIMCO foundry. *Militant* circulation director Jeanne Reynolds is selling the paper to the workers filtering into the plant and to those headed for home.

In less than an hour, six workers buy the paper. They include one Black worker, about fifty years old,

who returns to his car to get the money. But the great majority of the workers are white, reflecting the city's population as a whole.

An older, white-haired worker is

interested in the recent Detroit conference on the shorter workweek. He's already heard about it in his union paper. He buys a copy of the *Militant*.



Militant/Nelson Blackstock

Salt Lake socialist Jeanne Reynolds (back to camera) sells to workers at EIMCO foundry.

Another worker in his late thirties is drawn to the demand for jobs for all and a shorter workweek. He says it seems to make a lot of sense. He also gets a copy.

Inside the plant, according to some readers there, the *Militant* is much in evidence, a result of the sales during the drive. One crane operator keeps his copy with him the entire week, returning to its pages during free moments.

Another worker spots a co-worker reading the paper and strikes up a conversation on the coal miners' strike.

A young worker lays his fresh copy down beside him—only to turn around to find that a co-worker has run off with it.

The picture emerges. The *Militant* is being read in the plants. At another plant, a *Militant* salesperson reports he spotted one worker carrying into work the copy he bought on a previous day. He was planning to read it during the breaks that day.

# Pathfinder discount offer on 'Out Now!'

By Bob Bresnahan

Pathfinder Press has announced that *Out Now! A Participant's Account of the American Movement Against the Vietnam War*, by Fred Halstead, will be available at the beginning of August. Pathfinder is offering a special prepublication discount on *Out Now!* from May 1 until the book is published.

*Out Now!* is an eyewitness account of how students, GIs, unionists, Blacks, women, and others organized against U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

For more than a decade, the war was the central issue in world politics. In the United States, it threatened the lives and future of an entire generation. The refusal of American youth to accept Washington's anticommunist propaganda was the basis for a movement that grew to represent the vast majority of the American people.

*Out Now!* describes the development of the antiwar movement from its origins to the giant antiwar marches in Washington, New York, San Francisco, and other cities. Halstead, a national leader of the Socialist Workers Party, was a central organizer of the movement throughout this period.

*Out Now!* is not only an authoritative and well-documented history of

the antiwar movement, but also has the appeal of an insider's account. Halstead analyzes the roles of the various political currents in the movement. Throughout its existence, the antiwar movement was a lively arena for political and tactical debates, bringing together groups and individuals with widely divergent outlooks.

The central task for the movement, according to Halstead, was winning over the majority of the American people to oppose the war and to involve them in struggle to end it. *Out Now!* explains how a movement that began with the support of a minority accomplished that goal. It is a useful guide today for those organizing to stop U.S. aid to South Africa, to win the Equal Rights Amendment, and for activists in other movements.

The prepublication discount will make this important book more accessible and ensure wider distribution.

Readers can purchase *Out Now!* for \$6.70 during the prepublication period. It will be mailed directly to those who pre-order when the book comes off the press. The discount price is a \$2.25 reduction from the regular price of \$8.95.

*Out Now!* is published by Monad Press. Pathfinder is the exclusive distributor of Monad books.

# OUT NOW!



**Out Now! A Participant's Account of the American Movement Against the Vietnam War by Fred Halstead.**

Buy now and save \$2.25 from the regular price of \$8.95! A Monad Press book, 850 pages, 32 pages of photos. Your copy will be mailed to you as soon as it comes off the press in early August.

Enclose \$6.70 plus \$.50 for postage and handling with this coupon and mail to: Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Or inquire at a bookstore listed on page 31.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

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City/State/Zip \_\_\_\_\_

## Interview with So. African student leader

By Omari Musa

Barney Mokgatle is a student leader from Soweto, the Black township of more than 1 million people outside Johannesburg, South Africa. He was secretary of the Soweto Students Representative Council, which organized the massive June 16, 1976, demonstration attacked by South Africa's cops. Scores were killed and many more wounded.

Last October the regime banned the SSRC and other major Black Consciousness groups in South Africa. Hounded by the cops, Mokgatle and hundreds of other student activists fled into exile.

Mokgatle has just finished a tour of midwest and northeast campuses in the United States. The tour coincided with the wave of university struggles demanding an end to campus complicity with South African apartheid.

I asked Mokgatle what he thought of his tour and the struggle to force U.S. schools to divest their stocks in companies operating in South Africa.

At Brown University in Rhode Island, he said, "the students welcomed me with open arms. I think there were about 450 students at a rally where I spoke.

"Some of the students were a little confused about what divestment meant for Blacks in South Africa," he noted.

"The main reason was that the university administrators had told them that if the school divested it would hurt Black people in South Africa. But I told them that the investments by U.S. universities and corporations don't help Black people but only make the South African regime stronger and more oppressive."

Mokgatle said he was frequently asked, if U.S. companies pulled out, wouldn't millions of Blacks become unemployed.

"When I got this question I began my answer with another question. Why are American companies so concerned about the Black people in South Africa? Why don't they start with the Black people in the U.S. who are unemployed? These companies are not



BARNEY MOKGATLE

Socialist Challenge/G.M. Cookson

really concerned with Black people in South Africa or in the United States.

"The reason they're in South Africa," Mokgatle insisted, "is because they know there's cheap labor and big profits." Mokgatle said if the American people are told the truth about the role of U.S. investments in South Africa, there will be more divestment struggles.

He also took up the role of Carter appointee Andrew Young.

"We cannot understand how Young can ask us to be nonviolent. If he tells us to be nonviolent, then he should tell Vorster's cops to be nonviolent; he should tell the South African army to be nonviolent; he should force the government of South Africa to stop putting us on bantustans.

"This is the cause of violence—the apartheid system."

Barney then turned to the Carter administration's human rights rhetoric.

"The U.S. says it's for human rights.

ple of mixed race] and the Indians.

"Nowadays you find that the Coloureds and Indians like to be called Black, because they can see that the government trying to break the solidarity of the Black people is at the same time oppressing them.

"Many of these changes have been brought about by the young people. In the older generation, the Coloureds and Indians thought they were better than Africans. The younger generation says that the African, Coloured, and Indian are the same."

Mokgatle explained that the students in Soweto have changed their approach to the school boycott there that has involved more than 250,000 students.

"Students are still boycotting classes. But we realized that we had to come together to organize the struggle. So we have people going to school so they can organize with other students.

"But we're not going back to classes until the whole Bantu education system is destroyed. What we want is equal education. But Vorster sees that if we get the same education as whites, we will demand equal pay. And the South African government cannot have that."

I asked Mokgatle what he thought people in the United States could do to aid the struggle in South Africa.

"I've already talked about the divestment campaign and the need to force American companies out of South Africa," he said. "I want to tell the Black people here that they should identify with the Black people in Africa.

"The U.S. government works internationally with the governments of South Africa, Britain, France, Israel, and Germany. We should work together too.

"Whatever happens in South Africa affects the people here. And whatever happens here affects the people in South Africa.

"Exploitation in America and in South Africa is the same; racism is racism no matter where it is. The only difference is how far the knife is pushed into your back."



## South Africa slaughters hundreds in Angola

By Omari Musa

South African ground and airborne troops staged a murderous invasion of Angola May 4, driving 155 miles from the Namibian border to the mining town of Cassinga.

Elisio de Figueiredo, Angola's chief representative at the United Nations, said the invasion left more than 500 Namibian refugees dead and 224 wounded. He also reported that 16 Angolans were killed and 65 wounded.

The invasion came less than two weeks after South African Prime Minister John Vorster had accepted a U.S.-backed "peace" plan for Namibia, (also called South-West Africa). Namibia is a colony of South Africa.

Sam Nujoma, president of the South West African Peoples Organiza-

tion (SWAPO), the main nationalist group fighting for the independence of Namibia, called the raid on a refugee camp "barbaric." "Hundreds of Namibian men, women and children were killed and wounded," he reported.

South Africa's Defense Minister Pieter Botha claimed the invasion was only a "limited operation" directed against SWAPO guerrillas.

The apartheid regime's attempt to justify the invasion by claiming it was in retaliation against SWAPO guerrilla actions echoes similar arguments used by the Israeli government when it

slaughtered civilians in southern Lebanon. The UN Security Council voted unanimously to condemn the South African raid and called on the Vorster regime to withdraw its troops. During the UN meeting, Raul Roa Kouri, the Cuban ambassador, said that "for the Cuban people any aggression against our brother people of Angola is considered an aggression against ourselves."

Kouri reiterated Cuba's support for the liberation struggle in Namibia, saying, "We will continue offering it our unconditional support until there remains not a single inch of South African presence on that free territory."

The day before the attack the UN General Assembly voted 119 to 0 with 21 abstentions to recommend that the Security Council impose an oil embargo and "comprehensive economic sanctions" on South Africa for its continued occupation of Namibia.

**Protecting U.S. investments**  
With nearly \$4 billion in investments and loans to South Africa, Washington abstained on the vote for sanctions. Whenever the question of UN-imposed economic sanctions against South Africa comes up, the United States blocks such action in the Security Council. The reason why is clear.

U.S. companies have more than \$1.7 billion invested in South Africa, and U.S. banks have \$2.2 billion in outstanding loans to the racist regime. The Export-Import Bank, a U.S. government agency, has \$200 million in outstanding credits.

In addition, U.S. mining interests have a big stake in mineral-rich Namibia. (Britain, France, and West Germany complete the top four foreign investors in South Africa. They, too, have large investments in Namibia.)

These investments and the profits that flow from them are based on the economic and political domination of Blacks by the apartheid regime. Protecting this regime is what is behind U.S. policy in Namibia, as well as in South Africa.

**Imperialist plan**  
The "peace" plan for Namibia introduced by the United States and its imperialist allies would allow the South African government to keep 1,500 troops in Namibia until formal independence. What can be expected from these troops was clearly shown by the South African invasion of Angola.

The plan also calls for thousands of UN troops to "supervise" the elections. This also poses a dangerous threat to



South African troops training south of Angolan border

Namibian independence.

During the early 1960s UN troops played a major role in toppling the nationalist government of Patrice Lumumba in the Congo and installing a regime friendly to imperialist interests.

However, the Vorster regime has been reluctant to go along with even the terms proposed by its imperialist backers. SWAPO pointed out the hypocrisy in South Africa's diplomacy in Namibia in a May 8 statement.

"While carrying out its wanton acts of repression against SWAPO... racist South Africa is engaged in deceptive maneuvers to fool the world that she is ready to accept a negotiated settlement of the Namibian problem."

The statement also scored South Africa's imperialist allies, who have helped cover up the real content of the apartheid regime's diplomacy.

"Those who have taken it upon themselves to try to convince the world about South Africa's readiness for a negotiated settlement must now explain to the world with equal vigor the aggressive attitude and ruthless actions of the Vorster regime."

Because of the invasion SWAPO's central committee announced it had "decided to urgently recall SWAPO's negotiating delegation which was to hold further talks with the five Western Members of the U.N. Security Council starting May 8."

The South African sweep through

southern Angola is designed to terrorize the Namibian people and weaken the Namibian independence struggle. The imperialists want a neocolonial government that allows the continued plunder of the country's natural resources and the exploitation of cheap Black labor.

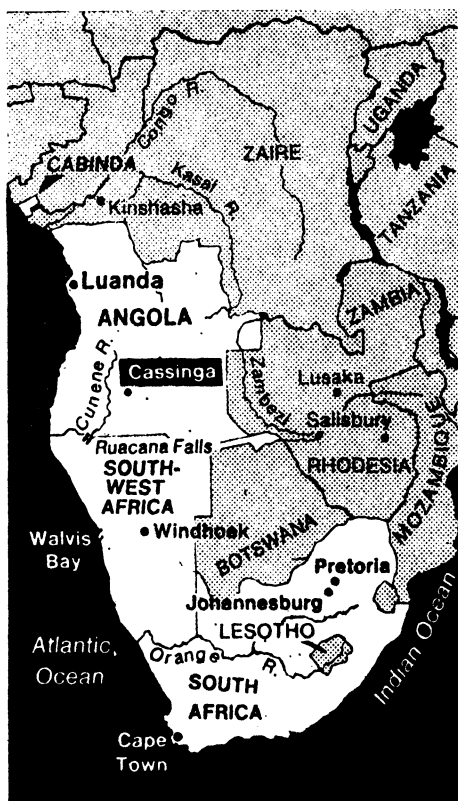
### Apartheid and Zionism

It is not accidental that the South African attack resembled the Israeli invasion of Lebanon.

Both Israel and South Africa are colonial-settler states that depend on their alliance with world imperialism. They both deny fundamental democratic rights to the Arab and Black masses and suppress their struggles for national liberation.

The existence of the expansionist Israeli state is a constant threat to the Arab world as a whole. Likewise, the apartheid regime is a bastion of imperialist rule in Africa. It poses a threat not only to Blacks under its direct rule but to all Black people within range of its jets and tanks.

Protests by the American people are urgently needed. These protests should demand the immediate withdrawal of South African forces from Angola, immediate and unconditional national independence for Namibia, and no U.S. political, economic, or military support to the South African regime.



New York Times

## Carter stages spy trial to bolster gov't powers

By Roger Rudenstein

ALEXANDRIA, Va.—"Classified national defense information." That's how Brigadier Gen. Billy Forsman described State Department cables allegedly passed to the Vietnamese government by David Truong and Ronald Humphrey, who are on trial here for "espionage."

The cables cited by Forsman include "secret" economic data on a Hanoi brewery. They reveal that a Hanoi hotel has a super stereo system that plays Frank Sinatra, and that General Giap passes funny notes to people at meetings to make them crack up.

To the Carter administration, however, this is no laughing matter. Carter has staged a deadly serious trial with the aim of legitimizing his "inherent power" to violate constitutional rights under the guise of "national security."



DAVID TRUONG

In addition to "espionage," Truong and Humphrey are charged with "conspiracy" and "being unregistered foreign agents."

Truong is a Vietnamese graduate student who was active in the antiwar movement in Saigon, and, later, in the United States. Ronald Humphrey is a U.S. Information Agency employee.

The charges carry a maximum of life imprisonment. Truong has been released from jail after paying the exorbitant bail of \$250,000. Humphrey remains in prison with \$150,000 bail set.

There is every evidence that the Carter administration carefully prepared the trial to try and establish the government's "right" to open people's mail and subject them to secret surveillance.

Much of the government's evidence consists of transcripts of Truong's telephone conversations, the contents of packages Truong allegedly sent to Vietnamese officials through a "courier" who was secretly working for the FBI and CIA, and data from a hidden television camera that FBI agents set up in Humphrey's office.

In pretrial testimony Attorney General Griffin Bell defended the use of the warrantless surveillance that he and President Carter had authorized.

"I was trying to protect the nation," said Bell.

Illegal wiretapping and surveillance were done under previous administrations using the same justification: "national security." But Carter has made a big show of pretending to end such

Continued on page 20

# Court victory in Dallas busing fight

By Becky Ellis

DALLAS—In a unanimous opinion handed down April 24 the U.S. Court of Appeals ordered a major revision of the Dallas Independent School District's two-year-old desegregation plan.

The three-judge panel condemned the current plan for leaving too many schools all-white or all-Black. The judges instructed the federal district court that drew it up to devise a new one that would desegregate more schools. No deadline for completing the new plan was set.

The appeals court ruling came in response to a suit filed by the Dallas NAACP branches in January. The suit scored the plan for leaving 27,000 students in all-Black schools and busing only 17,000 of the 136,547 students in the district.

Calling the appeals court ruling a victory, Rev. Marshall Hodge, president of the NAACP's Oak Cliff branch here, blasted the Dallas Alliance—a group of businessmen and capitalist politicians who helped engineer the current plan.

"Businessmen should be out of the business of education," Hodge said.

The ruling directed federal Judge William Taylor to consider copying the "pairing and clustering" of schools ordered in the 1971 Charlotte-Mecklenberg school desegregation case in North Carolina. It was that case that set the precedent for busing students to achieve desegregation.

Taylor's 1976 order confined mandatory busing to students in grades four through eight. Students in kindergarten through third grade, and in high school, were not even included in the plan.

In addition Taylor's original plan divided the school district into six subdistricts—only four of which came close to reflecting the racial composition of the system as a whole.

"The other two subdistricts," said the April 24 court ruling, "each contain a predominant ethnic group." One of the subdistricts—East Oak Cliff—is approximately 98 percent Black. The other—Seagoville—is about 85 percent white.

Since Taylor's 1976 order, school officials here have tried to sell the Black community the idea of a "separate but superior" plan for East Oak Cliff students.

By "focusing" on the all-Black subdistrict with "massive amounts of interest, funding, and activity" school officials hoped to convince the appeals court that Taylor's plan would work. But any observer here can see the East Oak Cliff schools remain inferior.

NAACP General Counsel Nathaniel Jones was among those who presented oral arguments to the appeals court during a special hearing in October 1977.

Jones pointed out that this ruling could have an effect nationwide, because a number of school districts are attempting to implement minimal desegregation plans similar to the one recently overturned here.

# Carter's Mideast 'peace' plan: support for Israeli occupation

By David Frankel

Speaking with unusual frankness, President Carter spelled out his program for the future of the Israeli-occupied West Bank April 30. It was not designed to encourage the Arab regimes that have relied on his help in negotiations with Israel.

"My belief is that a permanent [Mideast] settlement will not include an independent Palestinian nation on the West Bank," Carter told reporter Trude Feldman. "My belief is that a permanent settlement will not call for complete withdrawal of Israel from occupied territories."

Most importantly, Carter told Feldman, "My belief is that a permanent settlement will be based upon the home rule proposal that [Israeli] Prime Minister Begin has put forward."

Even many pro-Israeli commentators have assailed Begin's "home rule" plan as merely the continuation of Israeli military occupation under another name. It has been denounced by Palestine Liberation Organization leader Yasir Arafat as "less than a Bantustan."

In case anyone had missed Carter's point, he declared May 1 at a celebration of Israel's thirtieth anniversary:

"For thirty years we have stood at the side of the proud and independent nation of Israel. I can say without reservation as the president of the United States of America that we will continue to do so not just for another thirty years, but forever."

Carter's demonstrative gestures of support to Begin were acutely embarrassing to Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat. Just two weeks earlier, one of Sadat's ambassadors had bragged to *Washington Post* reporter Thomas Lippman that Washington was "no

longer blindly supporting Israel." In general, Carter's blunt words were one more sign of the failure of Sadat's widely trumpeted trip to Jerusalem to secure even the most modest concessions from the Zionist regime and its backers in Washington.

State Department officials shrugged off complaints from Cairo, noting that Carter's statements indicated no change in U.S. policy. In this, they were right.

It was Israel's U.S.-supplied arsenal that first enabled the Zionist state to conquer additional Arab territory in June 1967. At the time, Washington did not even try to conceal its glee.

Since then, it has been U.S. military and economic aid—more than \$10 billion worth just since the October 1973 war—that has enabled Israel to hold the occupied territories.

Carter's proposed \$4.8 billion Mideast arms package should be viewed in this context. As Carter himself insisted April 29, "This is a proposal that, in my opinion, is best for Israel."

Under Carter's proposal, the Israeli regime would be able to purchase ninety advanced F-15 and F-16 warplanes, Saudi Arabia would get sixty F-15s, and Egypt would be provided with fifty obsolete F-5E fighters.

Militarily, Pentagon analysts estimate that the Israeli Air Force is almost twice as strong as it was in 1973. Not even the Israeli regime pretends that the obsolete fighters being sold to Egypt pose any threat.

However, Begin has raised an uproar over the sale of F-15s to Saudi Arabia. This is despite elaborate restrictions demanded by Washington and guaranteed by the fact that maintenance and support equipment for the Saudi F-15s

will be in the hands of American crews.

On May 3, Air Force Gen. David Jones, chairman-designate of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that if he were an Israeli military planner, the presence of F-15s in Saudi Arabia "would not be a major threat or consideration to me unless I were planning to attack Saudi Arabia. I would not consider it at all as an offensive threat to Israel."

Of course, the point is that the Zionist regime wants to be able to attack Saudi Arabia—or any other Arab country—with impunity. At the same time, the Zionists want to encourage a political climate in the United States in which the Arab countries are viewed as pariahs, and in which collaboration with their regimes on even the most modest level is impossible.

Such a stance has become more and more unrealistic for the U.S. ruling class. Although the Carter administration has begun to hint that it may set up a separate deal in which the Israeli regime would be given additional warplanes, it has insisted on pushing ahead with the package now before Congress.

Carter, after all, needs to hold out some bait if he is to continue to string the Arab regimes along with promises of future gains. Moreover, he has to take into account the feelings of the American people, especially after Begin's blitzkrieg in Lebanon.

A nationwide Harris poll, published May 1 and no doubt carefully studied by administration officials, found that Carter's arms package was opposed by a margin of 66-26 percent. But this was no consolation for the Israeli regime. A 64-28 percent majority was also against the sale of any planes to Israel.

## 700 picket in Evanston, Ill.

# Protests blast Israeli premier

By Peter Thierjung

EVANSTON, Ill.—While more than 700 people protested, Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin received an honorary law degree from Northwestern University May 3.

The protest was one of several that accompanied Begin's visit to the United States. Other actions took place in New York, where 600 people staged a counterdemonstration to the annual Israel Day parade, and in Los Angeles.

Dr. Ibrahim Abu-Lughod, a Palestinian and professor here at Northwestern, told reporters, "We are here because we think it's an outrage to give a degree to someone who hasn't achieved anything except in the field of murder."

The anti-Zionist and anti-Begin demonstrations were the climax of several weeks of activities in support of Palestinian rights here.

In April, students voted against awarding the honorary degree to Begin by a margin of 1,199 to 907, with 340 undecided.

The campus paper editorially condemned the honorary degree to Begin, declaring it a "blatantly political act."

At least 400 students and faculty signed newspaper ads protesting the award.

The night before the demonstration, 300 students came to a teach-in on the Mideast sponsored by the Arab, Black, and African student organizations.

Sheila Ryan, speaking for the Palestine Solidarity Committee, noted that Israel receives more U.S. military aid than any other country. Among other things, the U.S. government has shipped Israel the deadly cluster bombs, which were used against civilians in Vietnam and by Israel against civilians in Lebanon.

In New York, anti-Zionist protesters marched through midtown Manhattan, winding up at the headquarters of the World Zionist Organization.

In Los Angeles, 400 people, most of them Arabs, picketed a May 1 fundraising speech by Begin. The action was sponsored by the Palestine Arab Fund.



NEW YORK: May 7 march drew 600 people

Militant/Gene Lantz



# SWP hits Koch's tightfisted NYC budget

By Peter Seidman

A chorus of Democratic and Republican politicians in Washington and Albany are raising their voices in support of Mayor Edward Koch's anti-labor offensive against New York City workers.

"The confusing welter of congressional subcommittee hearings, state legislative wranglings, and conflicting financial claims sometimes makes it difficult to follow what's really happening here," says Dianne Feeley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of New York.

But, Feeley explains, "Koch's 1979 proposed New York City budget makes it clear. Three years after the city's financial 'crisis' began, the banks are still calling the tune, and working people continue to pay the piper."

Among the measures in Koch's April 26 budget proposal are:

- A miserly \$610 million two-year package of wages and benefits for 200,000 municipal employees, coupled with demands for union "givebacks" of \$100 million in past contract gains.

This amounts to an actual wage increase of only 3.5 percent over two years—in a city where the cost of living is zooming at 10 percent this year alone!



DIANNE FEELEY

Militant/Lou Howort

- Cutting 3,000 city jobs in addition to the 62,100 eliminated since 1975. Koch says this will be the first installment of a plan to drop 20,000 jobs during the next four years.

- Slashing the city's welfare rolls to the lowest level in nearly a decade.

"Koch is obviously aware of the increase in human misery and despera-

tion these cuts in wages, jobs, and social services will mean for New Yorkers," Feeley charges. "That's why one increase he's proposing will permit the Department of Corrections to hire 1,000 prison guards!"

"Jailers for the poor. More than \$2 billion in tax-free interest payments to the wealthy. Those budget items reveal Koch's priorities," Feeley says.

But even Koch's tightfisted \$610 million wage offer has come under fire from state deputy comptroller Sidney Schwartz.

Schwartz is a "watchdog" on city spending for the Emergency Financial Control Board. The EFCB was set up in September 1975 to monitor the city's finances on behalf of the wealthy buyers of city bonds. It has absolute veto power over all municipal expenditures including contracts the city negotiates with New York unions.

Schwartz says that under EFCB regulations \$170 million of Koch's wage offer must be paid to the city's creditors instead.

"Rather than fighting this kind of grand larceny by an unelected board of capitalist politicians and big businessmen," Feeley says, "Koch says he is more than willing to go along with Schwartz's latest recommendation on

how to swindle city workers.

"In fact," Feeley protests, "the mayor is urging Albany to extend the EFCB for another *seven years*—and increase its power to rip up union contracts."

Feeley brands President Carter as "another wolf howling at the door of the city's working people. The president claims to be helping New York by pressing Congress to approve \$2 billion in federal loan guarantees.

"But by insisting that Koch conclude 'reasonable' wage negotiations as a prerequisite for his 'help,' Carter is just pressuring city unions to bow down before the mayor's outrageous contract offer.

"This bipartisan federal, state, and city hall gang-up on New York working people shows the need for workers to break with the twin political parties of the ruling rich," Feeley says.

"That's why the SWP is campaigning for a labor party based on the power of a revitalized, militant, and democratic union movement," she explains. "Not beholden to the big banks and corporations, such a party could mobilize the power of labor at the polls, the workplaces, and on the streets in the fight to put human needs ahead of profit."

## May 18 rally urges 'vote no' on transit pact

By Vivian Sahner

NEW YORK—Municipal employees and community groups here are being urged to join a May 18 noon rally at city hall against the recently negotiated contract between the Transit Authority and officials of the Transport Workers Union.

Henry Lewis, a representative of the Coalition of Concerned Transit Workers, announced the rally at a May 3 news conference.

The coalition is part of the Committee of Concerned Transit Workers that forced TWU officials April 25 to hold a

new referendum on the proposed contract.

Many of the 33,000 men and women who operate this city's subways and buses are boiling mad over the proposed contract. The two-year pact offers a measly 6 percent wage increase—not even enough to keep up with inflation.

This opposition is putting the outcome of the new transit workers vote at the center of New York politics.

Counting of the ballots is now set to begin June 6—less than a month before contracts covering 200,000 municipal employees expire. In past years the TWU settlement has set the pattern for these other municipal negotiations.

If transit workers vote down the proposed contract their example might well upset Mayor Edward Koch's plans to ram an even worse agreement down the throats of other city workers.

Ray Markey, a candidate for president of Local 1930, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, says he "strongly endorses the Coalition of Concerned Transit Workers' call for the May 18 rally.

"Just as solidarity with the coal miners during their recent strike helped them beat back efforts by Carter and the corporations to smash their union, solidarity among New York



Militant/Anne Teesdale

Transit workers blast Sen. William Proxmire's antilabor role at April 11 demonstration against proposed contract.

workers will be key to winning a decent contract," Markey says.

"This rally is an example of the kind of action needed to show Koch that municipal workers are determined to defend our standard of living and our union rights against his antilabor onslaught."

Markey represents 1,400 public library workers in Local 1930 as a delegate to AFSCME District Council 37. He is also a delegate to the New York City Central Labor Council.

He is sharply critical of District Council 37 Director Victor Gotbaum and other top New York union officials.

"It is scandalous that the head of my union tells the press almost daily that he thinks the TWU contract is a good one—insisting that the contract really offers 3 percent more than even city or TWU officials claim.

"In his paid column in the May 1 *New York Times*," Markey said, "Gotbaum goes so far as to offer the city advice on how it could get the angry transit workers to buckle under to the city's antilabor bullying. 'Successfully negotiating a similar contract for the coalition of 200,000 city employees would be a convincing argument for the transit workers to ratify their contract,' Gotbaum wrote."

Markey says that "instead of giving tips to Koch, the AFSCME leadership should be organizing support for the transit workers. Gotbaum—and other municipal union officials—should endorse the May 18 rally and use the facilities of city unions to help build it as big as possible."

### N.Y. MILITANT FORUM

Stop the Cutbacks. A Speakout.

Hear: Henry Lewis, Coalition of Concerned Transit Workers; Ray Markey, candidate for president of Local 1930, District Council 37, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Representative of York College students.

Friday, May 19, 8:00 p.m.

Millbank Chapel, Columbia Teachers College, 525 West 120 Street, at Broadway.

Donation: \$2.00. For more information call (212) 982-8214.

## Attack on CAIFI in Phila.

By Jon Hillson

PHILADELPHIA—Seven members of the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI), were physically attacked on a public sidewalk by members of the Iranian Students Association-Confederation of Iranian Students (ISA-CIS) while distributing literature on April 30.

Fariba Scheer, chairperson of Philadelphia CAIFI, suffered a dislocated wrist, while another activist in the Iranian human rights group sustained an eye injury.

The assault took place outside a local fair. CAIFI, along with dozens of other political, women's, and community organizations, had been invited to set up a literature table at the fair, which was sponsored by the People's Fund.

As the CAIFI activists began to set up their table, three ISA-CIS leaders, followed by nine ISA-CIS members and supporters, confronted the CAIFI

members with an ultimatum to move their table. They were accompanied by a security guard from International House, the site of the event, who stated that the building manager had ordered CAIFI to leave because it was a "violent organization."

CAIFI, whose efforts on behalf of Iranian political prisoners is widely known and supported, has recently been a target of hooligan attacks in other cities by Maoist factions in the Iranian student movement. The attackers—who disagree with CAIFI's method of winning the broadest possible public support for victims of the Iranian dictatorship—have unsuccessfully tried to disrupt or break up CAIFI meetings in Boston, Portland, and Seattle.

CAIFI activists here were forced to leave the fair, amid threats of violence from the ISA-CIS leaders, who claimed they would "kill" CAIFI activists because they were "agents of SAVAK

(the Iranian secret police) and the shah."

The CAIFI activists were barred from even attending the event to which they'd been invited. Two CAIFI activists who are members of the International House were among those barred from entering the building.

While outside leafleting those going to the event, the CAIFI activists were attacked by the ISA-CIS leaders, who were unsuccessful in encouraging their nine supporters to join the assault. When police came upon the scene, the ISA-CIS leaders fled into the building.

CAIFI has launched a vigorous campaign here to defend its right to carry out activities free of harassment and violence. Groups and individuals who support civil liberties are being encouraged to sign a petition denouncing the ISA-CIS's use of violence and the action of International House in excluding CAIFI from the People's Fund benefit.

# Repression in Mexico & the Marroquin case

## U.S. defense activist visits Mexican political prisoners

During March and April, Barry Fatland, national coordinator of the Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee, spent five weeks in Mexico. While there, he gathered further evidence to substantiate Marroquín's application for political asylum in the United States. He also worked with Mexican committees that defend people who are imprisoned or persecuted for their political beliefs or activities.

Marroquín was a leader of Mexican student protests in the early 1970s and is a member of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. In 1974 he was falsely accused of killing a librarian at the university where he studied. He fled to the United States, since he knew political activists accused of such crimes in Mexico are often killed or tortured before they ever get to court.

In the fall of 1977, he was arrested by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service and sent to jail for three months for being an "illegal alien." The INS has so far refused to grant Marroquín asylum in this country. He is currently touring the United States explaining his case to the American people.

Following is Fatland's account of what he heard and saw in Mexico.

### By Barry Fatland

"These are the mothers, fathers, sisters, and brothers of disappeared persons," Rosario Ibarra de Piedra told me, nodding at the twenty or so people crammed into her living room. Her apartment serves as the Mexico City headquarters of the Committee to Defend Political Prisoners. Many of the cases it takes are those of people picked up by the police and never heard from again—"disappeared."

"When my son, Jesús, was disappeared in 1975 by the police," Piedra told me, "I went crying to the government offices to find out where he was. And that's where I met many of those here now. One day we decided to stop crying and start protesting."

That's when the defense committee was founded. Its full name is Comité Pro-Defensa de Presos, Perseguidos, Desaparecidos y Exiliados Políticos—Committee to Defend Political Prisoners and the Politically Persecuted, Disappeared, and Exiled.

José Moreno, a leader of the committee, told me how he first got involved.

"I'm an optometrist by profession," he said, "and



'Amnesty week' demonstrators demand Mexican government stop violations of human rights

had never been involved in politics. Three years ago, the police arrested my son and charged him with 'terrorism.' They took him to a secret jail where he was hung by his wrists for three days to extract a 'confession.' Then they took him out of the secret jail and put him in a regular prison."

Thanks to the defense committee's protests, he told me, the prison officials recently agreed to give his son medical care. His own experience over the past three years convinced him that it is necessary for people to band together and fight for the rights of political prisoners.

The people in the apartment were making last-minute preparations for Amnesty Week, a series of protests and meetings sponsored by the committee. "General amnesty" is the main demand. This includes not only freeing all political prisoners, but also allowing the return of exiles and bringing before the public persons arrested and disappeared by the cops.

\* \* \*

On Sunday, the first day of Amnesty Week, I went to see the cultural presentations at the Casa del Lago amphitheater in Chapultepec Park in the center of Mexico City. It was standing room only to hear poetry and watch skits on the theme of amnesty and human rights.

A twelve-year-old girl spoke in a loud, defiant voice. Her speech was addressed to the White Brigades, a right-wing paramilitary group known to be trained by the government that attacks students and workers.

"White Brigades, we know what you're doing. We know you're illegal. And we're going to tell the Mexican people that you have to be disbanded."

Later in the afternoon I attended a rally in Cuernavaca. About a thousand people showed up.

Rosario Piedra's daughter, who is also named Rosario, told me, "The Catholic church plays a big role in the committee. Earlier today Mendez Arceo, the bishop of Cuernavaca, led a march of several thousand to demand amnesty."

A Cuernavaca committee leader told me that during the previous month there had been twenty demonstrations involving a total of 8,000 people.

\* \* \*

"Presos políticos, libertad (Free the political prisoners!)" chanted five hundred people at the Ministry of the Interior in Mexico City. They were also demanding "presentation"—disclosure of the whereabouts—of disappeared persons and the safe return of political exiles from Cuba, Italy, and France.

The rally was organized by the Committee to Defend Political Prisoners. Rosario Piedra gave a fiery speech putting the blame on the government for illegal kidnappings of activists.

"We demand that Reyes Heróles (the Secretary of the Interior) make public the list of the disappeared," she said. "We demand that he meet with us

and account for the whereabouts of all those who have been kidnapped and are being held in secret jails or are dead."

Later, an official came out of the building and said: "The Honorable Reyes Heróles is not here."

A speaker from the state of Sinaloa denounced recent actions of the cops who have disappeared twenty-five students and peasants in the city of Michoacán. Also speaking were representatives of two unions: the Sindicato Independiente de Trabajadores de la Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana (SITUAM—Union of Independent Workers of the Autonomous Metropolitan University) and the Sindicato de Trabajadores de la UNAM, the union of workers at the National Autonomous University in Mexico City.

Edgar Sánchez of the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT—Revolutionary Workers Party, Mexican section of the Fourth International) addressed the rally. Also speaking were Amalia García, representing the Partido Comunista Mexicano (PCM—Mexican Communist Party) and Eduardo Valle of the Partido Mexicano de los Trabajadores (PMT—Mexican Workers Party).

After the rally Edgar Sánchez told me: "We in the PRT feel a special obligation towards Héctor Marroquín, because our party is a sister party of the Socialist Workers Party in the United States. The attack on Marroquín by the U.S. and Mexican governments is an attack on us as well."

The PRT is very active in supporting the efforts of the Committee to Defend Political Prisoners and has published news on Marroquín's case in their paper *Bandera Socialista*.

\* \* \*

Rosario Piedra, her daughter, and I got permission to interview some of the political prisoners in Topo Chico prison, which is in Monterrey, the capital of the state of Nuevo León.

This is what some of the prisoners told us.

Sergio Manjarrez, twenty-three, used to be a student at the University of Nuevo León, the same school that Héctor Marroquín went to. He told us that in May 1974, he was detained by men who refused to identify themselves. They blindfolded him, and took him to a ranch where he was stripped and beaten. His torturers gave him electric shocks and threatened to kill him and his whole family unless he confessed to having shot two cops.

"After I signed the confession," Manjarrez said, "they gave me an absurd trial full of violations of the law and the Constitution. The court accepted my 'confession' even though I explained how I had been tortured and showed them the physical evidence of the beatings."

Manjarrez's real "crime" was belonging to the Comité Estudiantil Revolucionario (CER—Revolutionary Student Committee) the organization that Héctor Marroquín also belonged to for a few months.

"Our only activity," he said, "was passing out

### Fatland to speak



Militant/Susan Ellis

The Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee is urging its supporters around the country to set up speaking engagements for committee Coordinator Barry Fatland, who just returned from a five-week evidence-gathering trip to Mexico. Fatland can speak of his firsthand discussions with political prisoners who have been victims of torture and with relatives of people who have been kidnapped by police and 'disappeared'—never heard from again. To arrange a speaking engagement for Fatland contact the Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee.



leaflets and holding public meetings to get out our ideas on how to change Mexican society.

"I have seen articles and photos of Héctor Marroquín accusing him and other innocent people of crimes. If Marroquín were to return to Mexico the same things that happened to me would happen to him. It's been four years since I was found 'guilty' of robbery, murder, and 'association with criminals,' but I have never been sentenced."

Miguel Torres Enríquez, a surgeon, was arrested in December 1974 inside the French Embassy where he had fled after being wounded in the leg by the police. Although the French ambassador had promised him asylum, the federal Judicial Police took him from the embassy and brought him to Mexico City's international airport where they staged a fake arrest so as not to embarrass the French government.

Torres was tortured until he signed a "confession."

While this was going on Torres's mother, four brothers, and brother-in-law were arrested by the Judicial Police of Nuevo León. They were held at gunpoint and tortured.

A woman prisoner, Isidora López, told me:

"I am in jail because I joined an organization that the police say committed a bank robbery in 1972. This was before I joined. Yet, because of my membership the judge sentenced me to a twenty-five year prison term. He said that I have 'responsibility' because of my 'political past.'"

López said that she had been held for eleven days in a secret jail at the headquarters of the federal Security Police before being turned over to the regular prison.

I also spoke to Gustavo Adolfo Hiraes, who is the leader of the group of prisoners who joined the Mexican Communist Party while in jail.

In 1973 Hiraes was picked up by the police in Monterrey and tortured. According to the Mexican Constitution, prisoners can be held for seventy-two hours without charges. Hiraes was held for seventeen days.

"I believe that Héctor Marroquín would be a victim of official persecution if he returned to Mexico," Hiraes said. "And I support his appeal for political asylum in the United States."

\* \* \*

I gave special greetings to a national gathering of defense committee activists from fourteen cities where the Committee to Defend Political Prisoners has chapters.

Activists reported how the defense work was going in their area.

They discussed future activities and plans. I was especially glad when Refugio "Cuco" Martínez, a national leader of the defense committee, held up *My Story*, the pamphlet by Héctor Marroquín, as an example of the kind of literature the Mexican group wanted to put out.

After the meeting I was invited to speak at a press conference. In addition to defense committee leaders, several relatives of repression victims spoke.

These included the mother and son of an older man who had been disappeared because he was the father of a student accused of "terrorism." He was kidnapped days after he had received a plaque from the city of Guadalajara honoring him for thirty years of public service. The son passed around a news photo of the old man being captured and blindfolded by heavily armed plainclothes cops. The caption reads: "This photograph, which shows the drama of police action against terrorist violence in Guadalajara, won first prize in the newspaper photographic contest of 1977. . . ."

\* \* \*

Héctor Villagra is head of investigations of the Judicial Police of the state of Nuevo León. Héctor Marroquín lived in Monterrey, Nuevo León's capital, when he was attending college. In January 1974 Monterrey newspapers falsely accused Marroquín of killing a college librarian, and he left that part of Mexico, fleeing to the United States.

Even after he had left Mexico, the cops—through the newspapers—continued accusing Marroquín of all kinds of crimes.

Rosario Piedra, her daughter, and I went to see Villagra to get an official copy of those charges. The official version of Marroquín's alleged crimes in Mexico are very important to establishing his claim to political asylum in the United States, since Marroquín will be able to show that the charges are framed up and he is a victim of persecution for his political beliefs and activities.

Every time I met with Villagra he was in his office with one or more assistants. One of them was a tall, rough-looking man named Pedro Canizales, who has been publicly accused of being a torturer.

# Just off the press

## Hector Marroquin Defense Newsletter

Vol. 1 No. 1  
June 1978

15 cents

Published by the Hector Marroquin Defense Committee/ 853 Broadway/ Suite 414/ New York, N.Y. 10003/ (212) 254-6062

### Support Grows for Héctor Marroquín



Supporters urge Marroquin's right to asylum at news conference in Washington, D.C. (from left): Eldridge Spearman, representing Rep. Walter Fauntroy, Rosario Ibarra de Piedra; defense coordinator Roger Rudenstein; Hector Marroquin; and attorney Margaret Winter.

Literally thousands of letters, telegrams, and regularly kidnapped and tortured by states the impact of public

The first issue of the *Héctor Marroquín Defense Newsletter* is out—the latest addition to the arsenal of literature in the fight for political asylum for Héctor Marroquín.

The newsletter includes reports on the campaign—both in the United States and around the world—to stop Marroquín's deportation to Mexico, where he faces certain imprisonment and torture, and possible death, as a reprisal for his political beliefs and activities. Individual copies of the newsletter are available for fifteen cents.

Also available are *My Story*, Marroquín's own account of his political development and his fight for asylum (either in English or Spanish—fifty cents); a brochure explaining the basic facts of the case (two cents); and "Political Asylum for Héctor Marroquín" buttons (fifty cents). Write for quantity prices.

Order from: Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee, 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10003. Telephone: (212) 254-6062.

Villagra said that he knew about Héctor Marroquín's case and he agreed to show me the charges against him. He took out a thick book. The front third was filled with mug shots. As he flipped through the pages I saw Marroquín's picture.

"Here," he said, pointing. The book said that Marroquín was armed and dangerous, explaining he had wounded two cops in Monterrey on April 23, 1974.

Word for word, these were the same phony charges Mexican authorities had passed on to *la migra* last fall when it arrested Marroquín as an "illegal alien." Marroquín obtained a copy of them from the INS through the Freedom of Information Act last February, and his defense committee made the Mexican document public together with pay slips proving Marroquín was working for a construction company in Houston, Texas, the day the alleged crime took place.

Even though he showed me the charges, Villagra categorically refused to give me an official copy of them.

"Anyway," he rambled on, "these are not the only charges. There are more. I have statements by many different people. . . ."

He told me to come back when I had gotten an order from his superiors ordering him to give me the charges and the files on the case.

"Ah, El Pecas, the terrorist," said the clerk of Arcadio Reséndez, chief of the Judicial Police, as he ushered me into his bosses' office. "El Pecas"—freckles—is the *nom de guerre* Mexican cops use for Marroquín. Before that it was his childhood nickname. Chief Reséndez told me that he would gladly give me the charges if it was OK with the attorney general of the state of Nuevo León.



Isidora López: Sentenced to twenty-five years in a Mexican prison because of her 'political past.'

When I suggested he call the attorney general, he became flustered.

"We're doing this for Mr. Marroquín's own good," he said. "We can't just give the charges to anyone. For all I know you might be someone who wants to hurt Mr. Marroquín."

"Anyway, most of the records are secret."

I told him that Villagra had already shown me the charges and that I wanted a copy of them.

"But we have no charges against Marroquín," Reséndez replied. Then I repeated I had already seen them and copied them down. When I read them to him word for word, he replied, "Villagra shouldn't have shown you that!"

"Anyway," Reséndez told me, "those aren't charges. They're descriptions."

Of course. With a description like that, who needs charges, I thought.

I went back to Mexico City to see whether there were any federal charges pending against Marroquín. The attorney general's office said there were none and promised to send an official document saying so.

When I returned to Monterrey I got an order from the state attorney general saying I should be given a copy of the criminal record on Marroquín. I took the order to Villagra.

"Fine," he said. "Come back tomorrow and they'll be ready."

The next day he told me:

"This boy has a thick file. It is taking longer than we thought to copy it. Come back tomorrow."

I went back the following day, and the day after that. Each time there was another excuse.

On the fourth day when I walked in, Villagra turned to an aide and said: "Give this boy a letter saying that Héctor Marroquín has no criminal record in Nuevo León. Be sure to use the official stamp."

"But what about the charges you showed me?" I asked.

"Oh, those aren't charges," said Villagra. "We just suspect him of some things, and we want to interrogate him." Rosario Piedra and I got into a discussion about this while Villagra took a phone call. When he hung up he turned to his aide.

"What they want is a long list of charges," Villagra said, "so they can prove in a U.S. court that the charges are false and we're going to do bad things to Marroquín."

"Well, if there are no charges against Marroquín," I said, "will you arrest him if he returns to Mexico?"

"Of course," Villagra replied. "We still want to question him about the death of that librarian and other crimes people have accused him of."

## Socialist demands: 'Open Timkin books'

# Pa. Latrobe strikers forced back to work

By Fred Larson

PITTSBURGH—After a bitter nine-month strike against Latrobe Steel Company, United Steelworkers Local 1537 was forced back to work on company terms May 1.

Timkin, a multi-million-dollar bearing manufacturer that bought Latrobe Steel in 1975, defeated the strike by threatening to close the plant if the union didn't accept its final contract offer.

Threatened with loss of their jobs, the 1,100-member local voted to ratify by 668 to 271. Essentially the same terms had earlier been rejected by a vote of 1,068 to 1.

For the past forty years the workers at Latrobe had a "me too" contract patterned on the settlements in the basic steel industry.

This time, Timkin came in with a list of 400 demands attacking not only the basic steel provisions but also other gains that the local had won years ago. The company's avowed aim was to drastically increase productivity by wiping out union work rules.

Among the changes reportedly won by the company are continuous opera-

tions during lunch and rest breaks, freedom to change any work practices not spelled out in the contract, and freedom to assign temporary jobs without regard to seniority.

Timkin's strikebreaking tactics were sharply condemned by Mark Zola, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Pennsylvania. Zola works at Pittsburgh Des Moines Steel and is a member of United Steelworkers Local 2789.

"The threat of plant shutdowns is increasingly used as a weapon to weaken unions and ram through 'take-away' contracts," Zola told the *Militant*.

"One immediate way to answer these threats is to demand that the company open its books to the union and the general public so working people can see its real profits and union-busting plans.

"The Socialist Workers Party believes that if a company insists on closing its facilities, the government should take it over—all equipment intact—and continue operations under the control of the workers themselves.

"No company should be allowed to wreck workers' lives and disrupt the economic life of an entire community just to guarantee profits for its owners," the socialist candidate stated.

Zola emphasized that Timkin's actions were part of a larger pattern of corporate attacks across the country.

In recent months, he said, USWA locals have been forced on long strikes and then had to settle on bad terms at Pullman Standard and at Anaconda Brass (owned by the giant Atlantic Richfield Oil Company). Last year a 1,500-member USWA local at Hussmann Refrigeration Company in St. Louis was busted outright—its members fired and replaced with scabs.

And in the Pittsburgh area, just three days before the Latrobe vote, steelworkers at Pittsburgh Gear ratified a takeaway contract under pressure from a shutdown threat by Bucyrus-Erie Company.



Militant/Jolee Barnes

Dozens of union locals joined march in support of Latrobe strikers March 19.

Local 2584 President Len Barker was fired by Pittsburgh Gear just before the strike for "insubordinate behavior"—protesting a safety violation by the company. The strikers were forced back to work without winning Barker's rehiring.

"This escalation of union-busting attacks cannot be stopped by 'business as usual' unionism," Zola said.

"Timkin didn't hesitate to bring all its nationwide corporate power to bear against the Latrobe strikers. Why wasn't all the muscle of our international union brought to bear to defend them?

"In the first place," Zola said, "[USWA President Lloyd] McBride sat on the union's \$100-million strike fund—built up through our dues payments—and doled out a miserable thirty dollars a week in strike benefits.

"I'd like to see McBride try living on thirty dollars a week for nine months," the socialist steelworker declared.

"Solidarity should include a lot more than financial aid, important as that is," he continued. "Why weren't steelworkers throughout western Pennsylvania mobilized in marches, rallies, and demonstrations to back up these smaller locals on strike?

"The union ranks were ready and eager to act. We saw a glimpse of that when the Latrobe local itself called a solidarity demonstration."

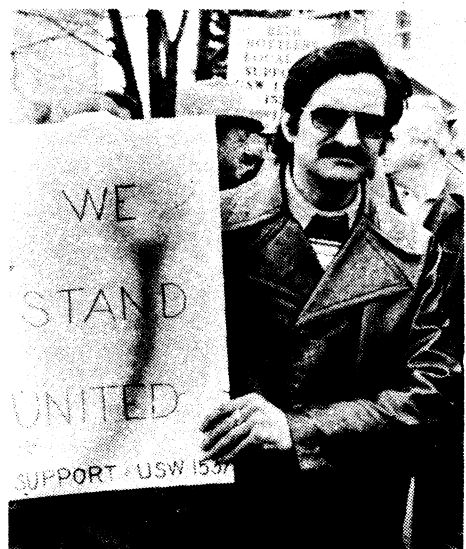
On March 19, a crowd of 2,000 marched and rallied in Latrobe, some fifty miles east of Pittsburgh. Dozens of union locals were represented, including steelworkers, auto workers, teamsters, electrical workers, coal miners, and many others.

That action drew broad support from the Latrobe community, with entire families marching. It generated such enthusiasm that even McBride and other top USWA leaders felt it necessary to attend.

"While the March 19 demonstration was a step in the right direction," Zola said, "unfortunately it was too little and too late. And there was no follow-up whatsoever from the district or international leadership.

"We must not stand by while one local after another is isolated and victimized," he concluded.

"Right now we need a full and democratic discussion throughout the ranks of the United Steelworkers to draw the lessons of these setbacks. That way we can begin to prepare a united and effective response to the further attacks that are sure to come."



Militant/Jolee Barnes

Mark Zola, socialist candidate for governor of Pennsylvania, on March 19 demonstration.

## San Jose steelworker victim of political firing

By Sandi Sherman

SAN JOSE, Calif.—Tom Tomasko, a member of United Steelworkers Local 5649, has been fired for political reasons from his job at Cerro Metals in Newark, California.

Tomasko was a leading Bay Area activist in the support movement for the recent coal miners' strike.

Cerro began an "investigation" of Tomasko's background within a week after the March 3 *Militant* printed an article by him detailing hazardous working conditions at the Cerro plant.

Tomasko has firsthand knowledge of unsafe conditions in Cerro's brass-melting furnaces. Late last year he was "shot" when a live cartridge exploded and struck him in the chest.

During the same week Tomasko's article appeared in the *Militant*, he was given a week's suspension for speaking up for two co-workers who had been fired.

By March 9, Cerro discovered that Tomasko had committed the "crime" of falsifying his employment application. Tomasko told the *Militant* he did this for the same reason many workers feel forced to do so—he was afraid he would not be hired if he indicated that his former job was clerical.

Many industrial plants have a policy of not hiring people who have worked as clerks or who are "overqualified" by reason of work experience or educa-

tion. High unemployment, of course, pressures many job seekers to omit, exaggerate, or invent parts of their job history.

Cerro management admits that Tomasko's work record at their plant has been good.

Despite the fact that Cerro knew about Tomasko's application by March 9, he was not fired until April 13. Four days later, he went to the company and asked to see his personnel file, which is his right under California law.

He was shown a file from Krout and Schneider, an investigative agency that does not advertise what its services are. He had read five pages when the report was snatched from his hands. The Cerro personnel officer phoned a lawyer and then informed Tomasko he would have to subpoena the report to see it.

But Tomasko had already seen enough to know that he was fired for political reasons. The report included the fact that his voter registration is with the Socialist Workers Party. And it showed that several of his employment references are registered SWP.

The file also indicated that snoops had been dispatched to Oshkosh, Wisconsin, to ask relatives, neighbors, and former employers about Tomasko.

This method of "investigation" is the same as that used by the FBI to harass

and intimidate socialists, union activists, and other participants in social movements.

Through the lawsuit against government spying filed by the Socialist Workers Party, it has been proved that the government has systematically tried to get socialists and other political activists fired from their jobs.

Tomasko says he wouldn't be surprised if the government were involved in his firing. Much of the information in the "private" investigator's report, he notes, could well have been obtained from the FBI.

"I just found out that at a nearby auto plant a union activist was fired. When he asked to see his file in personnel, there was an FBI report in it. Then the FBI called one of his references, a former employer, and asked if they knew the union activist was a radical."

USWA Local 5649 has filed a grievance over Tomasko's firing. On June 18, Tomasko, local President John Riley, and the district USWA officer are to meet with company representatives. If the case is not resolved, it goes to another level, and can eventually go to arbitration.

Tomasko has filed through the California State Labor Commission to get the file on him from Cerro. He has also filed charges with the National Labor Relations Board.

Tomasko believes his case involves more than just the rights of one worker. "Seniority, or any kind of job security at all, means nothing if you can be fired at any time for falsification of employment. A lot of workers omit or alter their work records, intentionally or not."

In fact, he said, many feel they are expected to falsify applications. A recent news article reported an executive employment agency president as saying that "most employers actually prefer distortions. . . . The person who lies is usually rewarded while the totally honest candidate significantly diminishes chances that he or she will be hired."

Tomasko contends that the companies hope that by firing union activists they can "intimidate all workers into accepting whatever the company wants them to accept.

"The reason they want to prevent workers from hearing all viewpoints is that they want to impose their viewpoint, and only theirs."

Tomasko was office manager of the San Francisco headquarters for the Bay Area coalition in support of the coal miners' strike. "I got a chance to see firsthand how powerful union solidarity can be in the labor movement.

"That's what will win my case, too—solidarity of my co-workers at Cerro and elsewhere."



# Large turnouts for Mandel on campuses

By Dick Roberts

The deepening world capitalist economic crisis and the need for building mass revolutionary parties have been the central themes of Ernest Mandel's talks at Eastern universities in late April and early May.

A leader of the Fourth International and a well-known writer on Marxist economics, Mandel is in the United States for three weeks to address campus audiences.

For nine years Mandel had been banned from the United States by the U.S. State Department. His current tour has so far attracted large student and faculty turnouts at Cornell University in Ithaca, New York; Amherst College and Massachusetts University in Amherst, Massachusetts; and at the New York New School for Social Research.

Mandel's speech at the New School filled a room to capacity of about 300 people, with an additional 200 or more gathered in a cafeteria to listen over a sound system.

"The outlook for the capitalist system to have new booms," Mandel said at the New School, "has been seriously eroded. The more likely perspective is a protracted depression with small ups and downs, with ups and downs in the class struggle, with repeated political crises, and in which no return to the climate of the 1950s, with expansion and relative class stability, is possible."

Mandel laid special emphasis on the massive, permanent structural unemployment in capitalist countries, with 15 to 17 million jobless workers in the major capitalist nations.

At the same time, there is a tendency towards greater and greater inflation expansion of credit.

Mandel called attention to the fact that there have been three near panics in international capitalist finance since 1974: The collapse of several major U.S. and European banks and the New York fiscal crisis of 1974-75; the piling up of enormous



Militant/Lou Howort

More than 500 people heard Mandel speak at New York's New School for Social Research.

loans to semicolonial nations that led to a new series of severe losses in New York banks in 1976; and the precipitous decline of the dollar last fall.

"There is a possibility of a collapse of credit confidence," Mandel said, "precisely as happened in 1929-32."

At a seminar of sixty people for the economics department of the University of Massachusetts extension in Amherst, Mandel discussed his book *Late Capitalism*. Published in 1975, it is a comprehensive study of the postwar economic boom and decline. The faculty and graduate students were

familiar with Mandel's work and discussed many questions of politics and economics with him.

This faculty, along with others where Mandel is speaking, had played key roles in breaking down the U.S. State Department's ban against Mandel.

At Amherst College Mandel spoke to 130 people on the tenth anniversary of the May 1968 general strike in France.

"May 1968," Mandel said, "put the actuality of socialist revolution on the agenda." He noted that this general strike had involved huge numbers of students and workers, representing all branches of industry and including technical workers, engineers, and teachers.

This upsurge, and workers' struggles throughout Europe since then, have been blocked by the procapitalist policies of the mass Communist and Social Democratic parties.

Elaborating further on the policies of these parties, Mandel gave a speech on "Eurocommunism" to more than 300 students at the University of Massachusetts on the night of May 3.

Coupled with their policies of supporting antilabor government measures, the bureaucratic suppression of democracy within the "Eurocommunist" parties discourages workers from mounting a defense against the capitalist attack, Mandel explained.

At the New School Mandel concluded, "In a period of global crisis, global political solutions have more and more importance. The Fourth International has a tremendous advantage compared to all other parts of the labor movement, because it is the only organization that is equipped with a full global program to meet the needs of the working class."

"This crisis," said Mandel, "cannot be overcome within the context of the capitalist system. This crisis requires the conquest of power by the working class."

## Calif. Briggs initiative: challenge to gay rights

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—On May 1, California State Senator John Briggs announced that a half million signatures had been filed for his initiative to bar homosexuals from the California school system.

To qualify the initiative for the ballot requires 312,404 valid signatures of

SAN FRANCISCO—4,000 gay rights supporters demonstrated here the evening of May 9. They were responding to news that a Wichita, Kansas, referendum had repealed that city's law protecting gay rights.

registered voters. It remains to be seen if Briggs's claimed half million includes sufficient valid ones.

Meanwhile, the only practical course for opponents of the reactionary measure is to assume that it will be on the November ballot and to begin mobilizing to defeat it.

The proposition itself is a flat deprivation of constitutional liberties. If

approved, it would open a witch-hunt in the schools. A sweeping provision in the proposition would apply the ban to those who "advocate," "promote," or "encourage" homosexuality. Militant teacher unionists who also oppose discrimination against homosexuals would be a particular target.

The threat of the Briggs proposition is compounded by the fact that it comes on the heels of the defeats for gay rights in Wichita, St. Paul, and Miami.

In those cities, reactionaries succeeded in repealing gay rights ordinances. The Briggs initiative would legalize the victimization of homosexuals and establish a precedent for broadening such victimization.

Conferences to mobilize anti-Briggs forces are slated for Los Angeles and San Francisco the weekend of May 13-15.

In San Francisco, a May 12 preconference rally is slated to hear Stan Smith, president of the San Francisco Building Trades Council, AFL-CIO; James Ballard, president of the San Francisco Federation of Teachers; Walter Johnson, president of Retail Clerks

Local 1100; and Dave McDonald, newly elected president of the Hotel, Restaurant Workers and Bartenders Local 2.

The conference conveners reportedly will propose a major drive to build the annual Gay Freedom Day parade, June 25, as a massive outpouring to defeat the Briggs initiative.

Such an action would be an important step in the right direction.

Last year, the Gay Freedom Day parade in San Francisco came on the heels of the defeat in Miami. More than 200,000 people marched or lined the streets in support.

Such actions not only demonstrate the support gay rights already has; they also provide a focus for doing the educational work necessary to explain the issues and win more support.

The movements of the 1960s and early 1970s offer useful lessons for gay activists today. The civil rights, antiwar, and other movements gained ground because they did not simply sit back and rely on Democratic and Republican politicians. The support of politicians was accepted, but it was only when activists stayed in the

streets and relied on their own strength that gains were won.

An example of why the movement cannot rely on capitalist politicians to do the job was recently offered in San Jose.

For several years, the gay community had petitioned the San Jose City Council to formally endorse Gay Pride Week. This year, a city administration controlled by liberal Democrats did so.

Reactionaries in the city protested. Eventually the mayor and city council threw in the towel and rescinded the resolution.

Defeating the Briggs amendment cannot be left to Democratic or Republican politicians or to public relations firms. The entire movement and every one of its supporters, present and potential, must be united and mobilized for action.

The Gay Freedom Day demonstrations in San Francisco and elsewhere in the state offer an opportunity to launch such a drive in a big way.

A defeat of the Briggs referendum would be a major victory for gay and lesbian rights—in California and everywhere else.

## Despite jailings, Boston bus drivers win contract

By Bob Pearlman

BOSTON—School bus drivers here won their first contract April 22 despite the jailing of twelve leaders of their union, including the majority of the union's negotiating team.

The strike was about to enter its third week with schoolchildren returning from a week-long vacation.

Boston's 250 school bus drivers are members of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA).

They are not public employees but work for Hudson Bus Lines and Brush Hill Auto Body Company. These companies are contracted by the Boston School Committee to provide daily transportation for 25,000 students,

more than a third of all Boston schoolchildren.

The strike began April 10 because drivers feared the school year would end without the bus companies agreeing to negotiate seriously.

When they returned to work last September, the drivers were handed an eighty-eight-cent-per hour wage cut. In December they strike for three days to win the right to form a bargaining unit and elect their own union. They voted in the USWA.

During the April strike the Boston School Committee joined the companies in court, demanding the drivers be jailed for violating a no-strike injunction issued in December.

The school committee even hypocritically charged the drivers were endangering desegregation. It is the school committee itself that has tried at every turn to sabotage busing to achieve desegregation.

To further aid the companies, the school committee forged attendance figures, claiming 18,000 of the 25,000 students were getting to school.

Jailed were five women and seven men, most of them leaders of the negotiating team. "I think it was part of the plan to squeeze out a contract," said Tess Ewing, one of those who served twelve days in Framingham Women's Correction Institution.

The bus drivers received support from local labor, in particular the

Boston Teachers Union and the Massachusetts Federation of Teachers.

The new contract returns the original wage cut retroactive to January 1, 1978. The drivers also won a life insurance and medical insurance plan, supplemental unemployment benefits for school vacation, and a safety committee. The major demand they failed to win was a cost-of-living clause.

Though the contract got a lukewarm response from some drivers, Lewis Johnson, one of the Brush Hill union leaders, commented, "The contract is the best we can get under the circumstances. Many of the Hudson [union] leaders were in jail and couldn't negotiate."

# Publication of Trotsky

## 350 at May Day rally in N.Y.

By David Frankel

NEW YORK—May Day “has always been a time to honor the great traditions of the working class, champion its current struggles, and celebrate its latest triumphs,” Doug Jenness told a crowd of about 350 people here April 30.

But this May Day members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance had something extra to celebrate—the completion of the twelve-volume *Writings of Leon Trotsky*, published by Pathfinder Press. These contain much of what this great revolutionary leader wrote between his exile from the Soviet Union by Stalin in 1929, and his death at the hands of Stalin's assassins in 1940.

Jenness, Pathfinder's managing editor and a member of the SWP Political Committee, spoke of the importance of this achievement at the rally.

“Our movement is the collective memory of the working class—its defeats and victories; its false starts and its theoretical breakthroughs; its traitors and its heroes and heroines,” he said.

“It is this concentration of accumulated lessons that makes it possible for us to stand higher and see further than those who have gone before us. . . .

“It is in this light then that we should see the publication of Trotsky's writings. They give us one more means by which we can lift ourselves higher and become more effective warriors in the class struggle.”

Speaking of the contents of the Trotsky *Writings*, Jenness noted: “Trotsky dealt with all the big political questions of the day—the fascist victory in Germany; the Spanish civil war; the degeneration of the Soviet Union and the development of Stalinism; the rise of popular frontism; the economic crisis of world capitalism; and World War II. . . . These same questions are similar to many that we face today. . . . How many of us have turned to these volumes during the Portuguese events, or the recent radicalization in Spain, to get Trotsky's insights into the questions posed by these developments?”

Jenness said it was fitting that these



GEORGE BREITMAN Militant/Dave Wulp

volumes should have been completed in a year that also marks the fiftieth anniversary of the *Militant* and American Trotskyism and the fortieth anniversary of the Socialist Workers Party and Fourth International.

The importance of this publishing achievement for revolutionists around the world was clear from the many inspiring messages read during the rally (see below).

George Breitman, one of the coeditors of the *Writings* series, described some of the background of the nine-year project. The twelve volumes, Breitman explained, were not the whole project. Also published were eleven companion volumes, arranged according to country and subject instead of chronologically.

“Illusions can be dangerous, even fatal,” Breitman noted. “But sometimes illusions have positive or progressive aspects, as Trotsky pointed out more than once in the *Writings*. If we had known in 1969 that we were embarking on a project that involved publishing more than twenty new books by Trotsky . . . the very idea might have intimidated us or even have discouraged us from making the



DOUG JENNESS Militant/Mark Satinoff

attempt. Fortunately, no one was around at the time to point out the magnitude of our ignorance.”

Behind the decision to put so much time, energy, and money into publishing the Trotsky writings, Breitman explained, was the awareness “that Trotsky is the most accessible of the great teachers to young people seeking to master Marxist ideas and Marxist method. Not because Trotsky was a greater thinker than Marx, Engels, and Lenin, but because he lived later than they did and had the benefits of their thinking to build on, because he dealt with problems that did not arise until after they were dead, problems that we still have to grapple with.

“Stalinism is one example. No one can really grasp Marxism in today's world or get a correct orientation in international or national politics without first understanding the phenomenon of Stalinism and the degeneration of workers states. . . . Trotsky's analysis of Stalinism, using the method that Marx, Engels, and Lenin taught him but could not apply themselves in this case, is still indispensable thirty-eight years after his death.”

Breitman stressed that the publica-

tion of the Trotsky writings “was a collective project, actually involving hundreds of people, here and abroad. . . . People and institutions who gave us copies of previously unpublished letters and material by Trotsky. . . . People who hunted in libraries to track down information we needed for the notes that explain the articles. . . . People who edited the volumes, wrestling with old translations and trying to improve them. . . . Printers of all kinds, typists, proofreaders and rereaders, designers, binders, and others.”

Besides Jenness and Breitman, speakers included Osborne Hart, a leader of the Young Socialist Alliance; SWP Political Committee member Susan Lamont, who chaired the rally; and New York SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, Dianne Feeley.

A collection of \$1,400 was taken to aid Pathfinder Press in its publication plans.

As big a project as the *Writings* series was, it is only a partial compilation of Trotsky's literary output during the twelve years of his final exile.

“When Trotsky negotiated with Harvard to be the repository of his archives shortly before his death,” Breitman noted, “the world was at war, with Hitler and Stalin in control of most of Europe and with the certainty that the United States would soon enter the war. In order to protect his correspondents and the people mentioned in his letters from possible persecution, Trotsky stipulated that the letters which he had received and written from 1929 on should be separated . . . and kept in a special section closed to the public for forty years. . . .

“Now the forty years are almost up, and a great deal of previously unpublished material by Trotsky from his last exile will come to public light.”

According to one report, there are about 20,000 items in the closed section of the archives, which will be opened in 1980.

“So,” Breitman concluded, “if there are any among you who are waiting for the publication of the complete works of the last exile before you begin to read or study the part that is now in English, my advice is: Don't wait. Better read the part that is available now and put it to use now.”

## Greetings from all around the world

Among the greetings received by the April 30 rally to celebrate the completion of the ‘*Writings of Leon Trotsky*’ series were messages from revolutionary socialist publishing houses and parties in Iran, Australia, Japan, New Zealand, Britain, France, and Canada. The following message came from the Fourth International, the world party of socialist revolution founded under Trotsky's leadership in 1938.

The United Secretariat of the Fourth International sends its warmest greetings to Pathfinder Press on the occasion of the completion of the twelve-volume series of Trotsky's *Writings*.

The members of the Fourth International throughout the world are grateful to the dedicated band of workers who made this ambitious publishing project possible.

The *Writings* are not merely a record of Trotsky's living thoughts as he grappled with the complexities of political development during his last exile. They are also an example of the utilization of the Marxist method to solve

key problems of theoretical and political analysis to aid revolutionists to effectively intervene in the class struggle.

The topics covered in the *Writings*—tactics and strategy of the united front, the fight against fascism, the nature of the Soviet Union and the struggle against Stalinism, revolutionary strategy in the imperialist countries and colonies, the call for and practical steps in building a new revolutionary Marxist international, the concrete problems of constructing new parties in difficult circumstances, to name just a few—show a rounded revolutionary leader in action. Generations of revolutionists throughout the world will be able to draw upon the *Writings* to assist them in understanding the political problems of today and tomorrow.

The publication of the *Writings* is also a powerful blow to the Stalinist project of “eliminating Trotskyism as a political tendency.” At a time when the Stalinists want to forget the anniversary of his death, we Trotskyists can proudly present the full and complete record of the development of Trotsky's ideas in the most fruitful period of his life.

The following message came from Editorial Fontamara, a Marxist publishing house in Spain.

We send greetings and enthusiastic congratulations on this occasion to all the workers at Pathfinder Press, and especially to George Breitman and all those who through their efforts have made possible the completion of a work of such far-reaching importance for the preservation of Marxism and the education of the present and future generations of revolutionary Marxists.

In solidarity with your endeavor, we feel proud to be able to announce the upcoming publication, by Editorial Fontamara, of Trotsky's writings on Spain and Germany.

Jorge Posada Lalinde sent greetings from Colombia. As of July 1977, under his direction Ediciones Pluma had published ten of the twelve Trotsky ‘*Writings*’ volumes in Spanish.

Even though fundamentally our job was to translate your edition, it wasn't

an easy undertaking. The team that worked on the Spanish editions was aware of the great responsibility they bore. Translations were submitted to the most exacting review so as to produce a correct version.

To know that the task has been completed is an inspiration not only to those who were involved with the publishing problems, but also for all those who can now be assured of having a concrete guide for political action in the present situation.

Nahuel Moreno, a leader of the Argentine Socialist Workers Party, wrote:

It is with great pleasure that I congratulate Pathfinder, the leadership of the Socialist Workers Party, and Comrade George Breitman on the completion of publication of the *Writings of Leon Trotsky*.

This accomplishment, which is unique in the history of publication of Trotsky's works, has a profound value in the publishing field, but it also has a far more important significance: it is the most powerful tool of Marxist



# 'Writings' hailed



Trotsky at his desk in 1931

education on the building of our international and its parties that I have known. It is to the credit of Pathfinder, the SWP leadership, and Comrade George Breitman that they were aware of this exceptional importance of the writings of Trotsky and undertook their publication.

Peng Shu-tse and Chen Pi-lan, two revolutionists who helped organize and lead the Chinese Communist Party, who lived through the events of the Chinese revolution of 1925-27, and who later were founding members of the Chinese Trotskyist movement, sent congratulations to the rally:

We send great revolutionary greetings to this celebration marking the publication by Pathfinder Press of the final volume in the twelve-volume collection, *Writings of Leon Trotsky*.

The next chapters in the history of the Trotskyist movement will be written by the dedicated revolutionists of the Fourth International who will learn from these *Writings*. This collection will educate revolutionaries around the world and help bring the day of the world socialist revolution that much closer.

Leon Trotsky's grandson Sieva Bronstein, and Bronstein's family, sent the following message:

We send you fraternal greetings and want to let you know of our admiration for the extraordinary labor you have carried out in the diffusion of the writings and thoughts of Lev Davidovich [Trotsky].

Without respite, you have always kept the beacon of historical truth lit in

the turbulent sea of counterrevolution and cruel imperialism.

Forward toward a world where violence and all forms of slavery and exploitation are eradicated forever.

In his speech at the rally, George Breitman noted: 'Among the individuals who were not part of the [Pathfinder] staff here, the greatest assistance came from the dedicated and indefatigable Louis Sinclair of Glasgow, the author of the monumental 1,100-page bibliography of Trotsky compiled after decades of work and research in many countries; it would have been foolhardy to even think of starting our project without his help and advice.' Sinclair sent greetings to the rally.

Tamara Deutscher, author and historian, sent these greetings:

I would like to join all those who will congratulate you on bringing to a successful conclusion the tremendous task of publishing and editing Leon Trotsky's *Writings*, covering the years of his final exile.

You have every right to be proud of your achievement. You have rendered a great service not only to students and scholars but also to the growing numbers of young people who in their yearning for a genuine socialist society turn to Trotsky for an understanding of the past, for guidance in action, and for inspiration for the future.

Marguerite Bonnet, writer and the literary executor of Trotsky's estate, wrote in her greetings:

The richness of your edition, which

provides readers with articles either unpublished elsewhere or hard to locate, helpfully elucidated by your substantial editorial notes, is most useful to our understanding of Trotsky's thought and action. Its completion coincides with the beginning of a similar project in France—the publication of Trotsky's collected works—the first volume of which has already gone to press in Paris. We have also undertaken a similar edition in Germany. In both cases, your efforts have blazed a path, and your work is an invaluable asset for all of us. I regard its successful completion as a good omen for our own undertaking.

One of those singled out by George Breitman in his speech at the rally was Pierre Broué. Breitman said:

'Among editors abroad, our biggest help came from Pierre Broué of Grenoble, France, the historian, scholar, and author of many books on revolutionary themes. No one will be able to write the history of the Fourth International in the thirties without consulting the books by Trotsky he has edited and the wealth of information he supplies in such works as Trotsky's book on Spain.'

In his message to the rally, Broué said:

If I may say so, your work in publishing these twelve volumes of Trotsky's writings is a trailblazing feat that holds great value. You have cleared the way to publishing Trotsky's work on an unprecedented scale, and thus not only have you published a collection, but you have made many others possible. We can only hope they will be as valuable as yours. You have done this without any feeling of competition, in the best spirit of comradeship and solidarity. Furthermore, you have set an example, and it is no exaggeration to say that it is you who have made it possible to establish the Leon Trotsky Institute and launch our project of publishing Trotsky's works in French. This project is under the direction of a team of comrades who belong to different currents, but who share a

desire to make Trotsky's method accessible to the present generation of activists and of those to come.

I might add, on a personal note, that without the *Writings*—which proved it could be done—and without the aid and constant encouragement of George Breitman and his colleagues, I would probably never have the confidence that enabled me to overcome the many obstacles on the way to establishing the institute and publishing the collected works in French.

The editorial board of the Leon Trotsky Institute in Paris consists of members of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (French section of the Fourth International), the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste, and several prominent figures on the French left. They sent the following message:

The newly established Leon Trotsky Institute, whose first task will be to publish Trotsky's collected works in French along the path charted by the *Writings*, takes great pleasure in greeting the publication of the twelfth and final volume in your series.

This event is a milestone. Our first volume, which will be published by the time you read this, begins a series in which we hope to outdo you—but we could not have such ambitions today if it wasn't for your having gone before us. We know that you approve of our ambitions, and that, as consistent internationalists, you have sought to arouse them in others.

We know that you will give us as much help as you did previously, and that is one of the reasons why we have great confidence, besides our conviction that this task is a political priority at this time. The institute's initial success, in setting out to follow in your footsteps, came in enlisting the aid of all those long associated with the movement, as well as of the various currents today that stand on Trotsky's tradition and politics.

The Leon Trotsky Institute salutes you, and George Breitman especially, for having made the publication of the key political writings of this century a reality.



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# The attack has begun...

By Diane Wang

On August 4, 1977, the federal Hyde amendment cutting off Medicaid funding for abortion went into effect. Soon women felt the results:

- On October 2, a twenty-seven-year-old Chicana died from a botched abortion. She was one of four women who showed up in a Texas hospital after getting forty-dollar abortions in a Mexican pharmacy.

- More and more women began appearing in hospitals with problems after home-remedy or back-alley abortions, miscarriages, or other pregnancy-related problems. The government's Center for Disease Control began a survey last fall, and in only two weeks, fourteen hospitals reported fifty-five such cases.

- In states where funding was cut off, poor women began seeking abortions late in their pregnancy. Abortion is more difficult then. But the average cost of an abortion is forty-two dollars higher than the average monthly welfare payment for a whole family. So the women had delayed while saving up the money to pay.

That is just part of the Hyde amendment's toll measured in women's lives.

Women also began to pay the price in state legislatures, city councils, and courts around the country. The Hyde amendment marked an escalation in the drive against women's right to choose abortion. Inspired by that success in Congress, abortion foes have begun a new round of attacks.

The right to safe, legal abortion was a major achievement of the women's movement. The 1973 Supreme Court rulings in *Roe v. Wade* and *Doe v. Bolton* recognized a woman's right to

decide when and whether to have children. The rulings put into the law the demand that women had taken into the streets: "Not the church, not the state, women must decide their fate!"

Abortion became available to hundreds of thousands of women. Because of that, the government's official count of deaths due to illegal abortion fell from 250 in 1960 to 5 in 1975.

But making abortion legal did not automatically make it available to all who wanted it. It was still too expensive for some women. Of the women who continued to die from nonmedical abortions, all were poor and 80 percent were reported as "nonwhite."

In addition, a survey by the Alan Guttmacher Institute found that in 1976 eight out of ten counties in the nation did not have any abortion service. Women who were too poor or too young to travel were still forced to carry through unwanted pregnancies. In 1976, the institute estimated, 654,000 women who wanted abortions could not get them.

No sooner had the Supreme Court ruled in favor of women's right to choose, than anti-abortionists went on a counterattack. Their annual marches, public campaigns, and bishops' lobbying have continued to grow. Some have resorted to violent attacks on abortion clinics.

Anti-abortion politicians of both the Democratic and Republican parties have been eager to take advantage of the clamor to add new restrictions.

By pushing through the Hyde amendment, abortion foes went after the most vulnerable and least organized section of women—the poor. They hoped that other women would

not recognize this as an attack on all women's rights.

But the escalating attacks over the last year show that the Hyde amendment was only the beginning. The goal is to take abortion rights from all women, not only the poor. The aim is to portray women who insist on their right to choose as a small and immoral minority.

But women and their prochoice supporters are not a minority. A Harris opinion poll last summer recorded 55 percent in favor of the 1973 court rulings on abortion. And 51 percent agreed that the Hyde amendment is wrong in victimizing poor women.

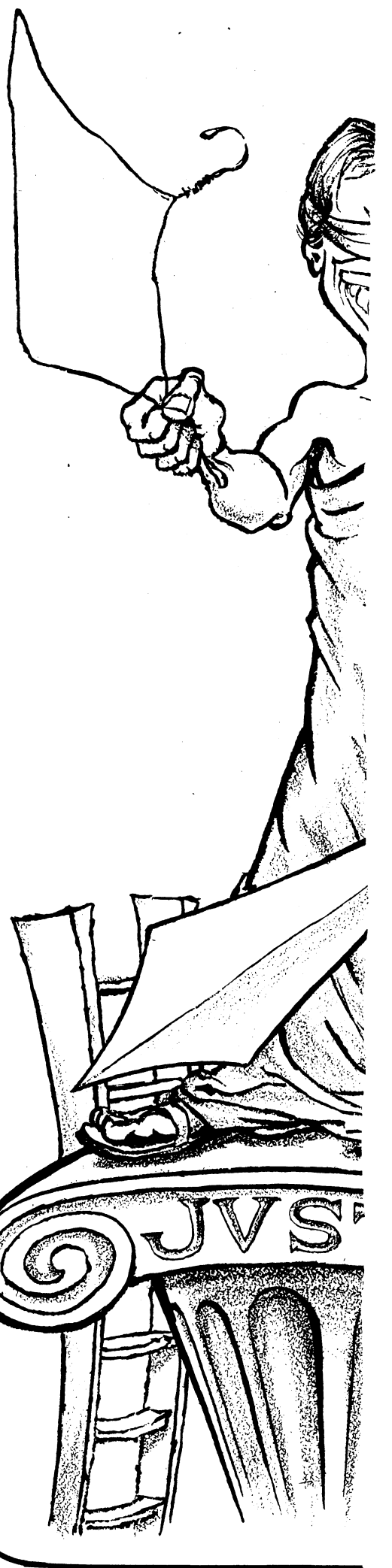
Women and other prochoice advocates have shown they are eager to defend abortion rights. That was certainly clear at last year's National Women's Conference in Houston. It is seen, too, in the numbers of people signing up with women's rights groups. The National Organization for Women has grown from 40,000 to 83,000 in the last year. The National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL) reports that it has gone from 8,500 to 35,000 in one year.

Wherever prominent anti-abortionists such as U.S. Rep. Henry Hyde (R-Ill.) or Carter cabinet member Joseph Califano have appeared, pro-choice demonstrations have been there to answer them.

This article describes the crisis confronting abortion rights and the many ways those rights are under attack. What is needed to answer the crisis is a massive effort to sound the alarm, educate the public, and organize a campaign to defend women's right to choose.

# Abortion rights crisis

A look at the many anti-abortion and violent incidents causing toll in women's suffering, a major offensive against abortion, and why the women's movement is beating it back.



## Banning government funding

After the Hyde amendment cut off federal Medicaid funds for abortion, most states quickly did the same. Currently Medicaid finances abortion for poor women in only the District of Columbia and seventeen states: Alaska, California, Colorado, Hawaii, Idaho, Illinois, Iowa, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, New York, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, and Wisconsin.

Every one of these places is providing funds either because of an administrative directive or a court order.

In nearly all these states, funds are being challenged. New York prochoice advocates just barely saved that state's funding from a last-minute anti-abortion amendment in mid-April.

In Maryland the state house voted to cut funding and then began bargaining with the state senate, which voted to continue paying the costs.

Anti-abortionists in California and Colorado are trying to marshal forces

to put public funding on the ballot in a referendum. California abortion foes plan to submit their petitions for a referendum this month.

Several counties in New York also voted not to allow Medicaid funding for abortions. Since counties and cities do not actually control those funds, the decisions have no force of law. They are, however, used to publicize and build up steam for the anti-abortionists.

When the Hyde amendment was upheld by the Supreme Court, Justice Thurgood Marshall dissented. He pointed out that the amendment would "fall with great disparity on women of minority races."

The NAACP, Vernon Jordan of the National Urban League, and several Black newspapers also blasted the Hyde amendment as racist.

Health statistics back that charge. In this racist society, 39 percent of all Black women are forced to depend on

Medicaid for health care, compared to 7 percent of all white women. And because Black women have less access to birth control services, the proportion of abortions is higher among Black women than white women.

The anti-abortionists, including the one in the White House, didn't deny this racism. "There are many things in life that are not fair," said Carter, in one of his most infamous declarations. "I don't believe that the federal government should take action to try to make these opportunities exactly equal, particularly when there is a moral factor involved."

The anti-abortionists are now trying to extend the ban on funding. They have threatened to attack budgets for the Department of Interior and Department of Defense, as well as federal workers' health-insurance coverage. Those departments currently fund abortion for the Indian Health Service, for military dependents, and for all federal government workers.

## Crippling pregnancy benefits

Another major step in spreading the ban against abortion funding is the Beard amendment attached to H.R. 6075, a pregnancy disability bill.

In 1976 the Supreme Court ruled that company medical plans could legally exclude pregnant workers from coverage. Since then, women and trade unions have worked for a bill that would insure medical coverage and sick-leave programs for pregnant workers. Such a bill was passed in the Senate.

But on March 1 in the House Education and Labor Committee, Rep. Edward Beard (D-R.I.) amended the bill. His amendment allows employers to withhold paid sick leave or medical insurance from women having abortions.

That means that even though women earn their sick leave and medical benefits, their employers could decide to withhold coverage. If the bosses are personally anti-abortion, or simply want to cut costs, they can refuse to cover abortion.

This amendment is not only a blow to the right of women workers to choose abortion. It is also an attack on the pregnancy disability bill. The bill may be held hostage while the Senate and House work out a compromise, just as funding for all Health, Education and Welfare programs was held hostage by the Hyde amendment last year.

The Beard amendment gives women and other prochoice advocates a good reason to take the case for abortion

rights into the labor movement. Unions and groups such as the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) have supported pregnancy benefits.

CLUW, which wants to see a pregnancy-disability bill enacted, also is on record with support for abortion rights. When the Hyde amendment was being debated, CLUW declared "unconditional support to women's right to abortion." It decided then to "urge the labor movement to take any action to block any such anti-abortion moves and to defend legal abortion."

CLUW members and other women unionists now need to defend abortion, not only for women dependent on Medicaid, but for women workers who have earned medical coverage for their abortions.



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## Requiring phony counseling

In Akron, Ohio, anti-abortionists scored a victory with a new weapon: phony abortion-counseling guidelines.

The Akron ordinance, and others patterned after it, require women to listen to an anti-abortion lecture before they get an abortion. The required lecture includes the false pronouncement that life begins at conception. It also wrongly claims that abortion threatens "serious complications" and "severe emotional disturbances."

Actually, when it comes to physical complications, childbirth is nine times more risky than abortion. And what about the "emotional disturbances" that come with carrying an unwanted pregnancy to term?

The American Civil Liberties Union

has challenged the Akron ordinance in court. On April 27 it won a court order preventing the ordinance from going into effect.

In the meantime, the pattern has quickly spread. In Ohio similar ordinances have been introduced in Kettering, Boston Heights, Dayton, Cleveland Heights, and Toledo.

A majority of members of the Chicago City Council are sponsoring an Akron-like ordinance for that city. It is also on the agenda in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, and Louisville, Kentucky.

Other states that have or are considering Akron-like restrictions include Alaska, Arizona, New Jersey, and Rhode Island. The bill failed in Ver-

mont and Oklahoma but passed in a modified version in Tennessee.

The Nebraska legislature overrode a governor's veto to pass a law requiring doctors to tell women about so-called alternatives to abortion. But last year a U.S. government task force assigned to find such alternatives came up empty-handed.

A memo from the head of the task force concluded that abortion "is an option, uniquely, which is exercised between conception and live birth."

"As such, the literal alternatives to it are suicide, motherhood and, some would add, madness."

Of course, none of the anti-abortion counseling guidelines include that warning.

## Notifying parents and husbands

Whose decision should it be to get an abortion? That question is posed sharply by laws requiring women to notify husbands or parents about their choice to have an abortion.

On July 1, 1976, the Supreme Court ruled unconstitutional laws forcing women to get a husband's permission for an abortion. Before that, twelve states required the husband's consent.

The court also ruled against laws giving parents absolute veto power over teen-age women's abortions. But it allowed a loophole: states could require an "immature" woman to consult with parents who might decide abortion is not in her "best interests."

But how can anyone justify forcing a young woman to have a child she doesn't want? Is that supposed to be in her "best interests"?

In several states, laws requiring parental consent are still on the books because they haven't been challenged since the Supreme Court decision. In addition, a Michigan judge has upheld that state's parental-consent law. That ruling said that if a woman's parents deny her the right to an abortion, she can appeal to a probate court. There-

fore the parents supposedly don't have an absolute veto.

Since the 1976 Supreme Court decision, Massachusetts and Illinois have passed laws requiring consent for abortion. They currently are being challenged and are not enforced. Those laws, like the one in Michigan, claim to give a teen-age woman the chance to appeal to a judge if her parents oppose the abortion.

But is that a real option? Delaying an abortion past the first twelve weeks of pregnancy makes it a much more difficult operation. And delaying past twenty-four weeks makes it impossible to get a legal abortion. If teen-age women are forced to wait for their parents' consent and then for court hearings, don't the delays amount to the denial of abortion?

Montana, Utah, Hawaii, and Maryland get around the Supreme Court ruling another way. Those states require that parents be "notified" about their daughters' abortions. (In Maryland the law passed last year does allow exceptions. The doctor doesn't have to notify the woman's parents if it might result in physical or emotional abuse.)

Nebraska passed a law last year requiring young women getting abortions to sign a statement that they had consulted their parents.

Alaska, Arizona, Florida, Minnesota, New York, and Pennsylvania are all considering consent or notification bills. The Akron-like bills usually include that restriction also.

It's not only young women who are considered incapable of making their own decisions.

In Oklahoma a bill was introduced to require that a notice be sent to the "father of the unborn child." Prochoice advocates threatened to have women send all such notices to the male sponsor of the bill. So he quickly amended it to have women notify only their husbands if they were the fathers.

These consent and notification laws do not formally outlaw abortion. But they do say women cannot decide what to do with their lives. Even where they do not require a husband's or parent's consent, laws requiring notification expose women to intimidation. They violate a woman's right to a free choice and privacy.

## Using zoning restrictions

Along with harassing women, the anti-abortionists harass abortion clinics with regulations designed to shut them down.

In many cases the anti-abortionists don't even bother to disguise their purpose. For example, when Grand Chute, Wisconsin, officials passed an ordinance on "appropriate regulations governing abortion facilities," it defined abortion as the "killing of large numbers of unborn persons."

Some ordinances have tried to require clinics to purchase equipment that would never be necessary, even if there were complications with an abortion. Youngstown, Ohio, for example, demanded that clinics be equipped and staffed like hospital surgical wards. The extra cardiac, X-ray, and other equipment would have cost \$50,000.

Zoning laws are also used. Framingham, Massachusetts, tried to rezone its city in 1976 to absolutely

prohibit abortion clinics. And after Planned Parenthood bought a building for clinics in St. Paul, Minnesota, in 1976, the city council there declared a moratorium on building permits for work on "separate abortion facilities and any other like facilities."

Fortunately, these regulations have often not survived when challenged in court. Clinics in Massachusetts, Kansas, Minnesota, Ohio, Florida, and Alabama have won cases.

## Resorting to violence

Some abortion foes have turned to violence against clinics.

In St. Paul, Planned Parenthood finally won its long legal battle for a building permit and opened a clinic. On February 23, 1977, someone broke in, set the clinic on fire, and did a quarter of a million dollars worth of damage.

Since then, anti-abortionists have shot bullets into the clinic, threatened personnel, and tried to bomb it.

On February 18 this year anti-abortionists tried to destroy the Concerned Women's Clinic in Cleveland. A man threw gasoline into the eyes of a lab technician, put the clinic to the torch, and fled. About twenty patients were in the clinic when it went up in flames, one woman in the midst of an abortion.

Apparently women are in danger of losing not only their right to choose

but their right to life too.

Abortion and birth-control clinics have been set on fire, doused with acid, or smashed up in Burlington, Vermont; Omaha, Nebraska; Cincinnati and Columbus, Ohio; and Washington, D.C.

The National Abortion Rights Action League has asked the Justice Department to investigate. But government officials claim that the right to choose abortion is not really a civil right worthy of federal protection. Women must prove there is a conspiracy, or federal funds must be involved, before the Justice Department will even begin a probe.

The refusal of local cops and courts to protect women has spurred on the violence. In Cleveland, for example, the Concerned Women's Clinic had been vandalized three days before the arson attack. Someone had slashed the furniture, cut phone lines, and thrown

antiseptic on the walls. The police refused to even dust for fingerprints.

The police later refused to publish a composite picture of the arson suspect. And after the lab technician who was attacked and the clinic director reported the fire at police headquarters, they began to get threatening phone calls at home. They had left their home phone numbers with the police.

In Fairfax, Virginia, abortion foes who repeatedly invaded an abortion clinic found friends in the courts. Judge Lewis Griffeth let the invaders go free on the grounds that they had acted in good faith to save lives. On February 10 when demonstrators were charged for another invasion, Judge Mason Grove also acquitted them of trespass, claiming that the law permitting abortions was unconstitutional.

The day after Grove's ruling, the  
*Continued on next page*

**Continued from preceding page**  
anti-abortionists returned to the clinic and beat up people there—including one staff person who was six and a half months pregnant. The clinic's owner was sent to the hospital with injuries.

Many of these clinic invasions, from Alaska to Virginia, have been organized by a group called People Expressing a Concern for Everyone (PEACE). PEACE apparently hopes to identify itself with the former anti-Vietnam War movement.

But it would better be called Rioters Opposed to Abortion Rights (ROAR) to show what it actually has in common

with groups like the racist, antibusing ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights).

Anti-abortionists who invade clinics are trying to intimidate women and convince them that they risk their lives when they exercise their right to choose. It is very much like the racists who gathered at schools to threaten Black children seeking a better education. Or like the Ku Klux Klan, which has sent out patrols to terrorize undocumented Mexican workers crossing the border.

Once right-wing demagogues have stirred up their ranks with charges that abortion is "murder," it is hard to stop them from acting on that rhetoric

mack has written. "Overwhelming as the vote might be [for abortion rights] in California, it would only count as one state."

Nonetheless, eleven states have now

passed calls for a constitutional convention: Arkansas, Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Missouri, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Dakota, and Utah.

## 'Protecting the fetus'

Doctors have also become targets for intimidation. In Minnesota the *Catholic Bulletin* won permission to get hold of the names of all doctors who have performed Medicaid-funded abortions. The Catholic newspaper was even allowed to provide a programmer to get the information out of the state's computer, which keeps health statistics.

And last year anti-abortionists tried to convict the only doctor doing abortions in South Dakota, Dr. Benjamin Munson, after a patient died from complications.

These attacks on doctors have become part of a stepped-up campaign to "protect the fetus" that very infrequently survives an abortion done late in a pregnancy.

Dr. Kenneth Edelin, a Black doctor in Boston, was subjected to two and a half years of trials before he was cleared in 1976 of "manslaughter" charges for a late-term abortion.

Another case is now before a California jury. Dr. William Waddill did an abortion for a young woman who claimed to be twenty-two weeks pregnant. The prosecution charges that Dr. Waddill choked the fetus after it emerged.

Dr. Waddill denies this.

Abortion foes have made a big display of the case. At one point the judge even had to restrain anti-abortionists from trying to sign up members in the courtroom.

Abortion foes like to pretend that these late-pregnancy abortions are typical. Actually 89 percent of abortions are done during the first twelve weeks of pregnancy. In fact, in places where low-cost abortions are easy to get, that percentage of early-term abortions goes up to 97 percent.

A review of women getting abortions

late in a pregnancy has shown they tend to be young, pregnant for the first time, and poor. They are women who have had trouble and faced delays finding out they were pregnant, deciding what to do, and getting help.

Anti-abortionists dramatize these cases to shift attention away from the rights of the woman to the "rights" of a fetus. Actually, the issue remains the same whether an abortion is done early or late in pregnancy: the interests of the woman—a real, living human person—versus those of a fetus.

But anti-abortionists feel they can muster support harping on the exceptional cases where the fetuses survive abortions. The 1973 Supreme Court rulings only legalized abortions up until the time a fetus can survive outside the woman's body. Anti-abortionists hope to chip away at women's right to choose by holding doctors responsible for the survival of the fetus.

Indiana, Wyoming, New Mexico, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Iowa, Louisiana, and California have all passed bills requiring doctors to try to protect the fetus in late-pregnancy abortions. The Supreme Court has agreed to hear a case about such a law from Pennsylvania.

The effect of these laws, of course, is to discourage doctors from doing any abortions after twelve weeks.

Moreover, the laws might affect the doctors' choice of methods for late-pregnancy abortions. Using prostaglandin is more likely to protect the doctor from facing the problem of a fetus surviving an abortion. But there are more medical complications for women when prostaglandin is used, instead of a saline solution, for late-pregnancy abortions.

## Amend Constitution

The abortion foes have also mounted a campaign to write fetuses into the Constitution. During the first session of the Ninety-fifth Congress, ten constitutional amendments were introduced into the House and Senate to guarantee the "right to life" to the zygote from the moment an egg is fertilized. Absolutely no abortions would be allowed.

And what about intrauterine devices (IUDs)? Since some explain that IUDs work by preventing the fertilized egg from becoming implanted in the uterus, would they too be banned?

Another thirty-six amendments were introduced to confer personhood on fetuses. These would allow abortion only to prevent the death of a mother.

Another eleven amendments were introduced to give each state the right to enact its own laws outlawing abortion. This "states' rights" approach should sound familiar. During the battle against Jim Crow laws in the South, racists often clamored for their "states' rights" to maintain segregation.

Similarly, the notorious section 14-b

of the Taft-Hartley Law gives states the right to enact their own antilabor laws against union closed shops.

Having Congress pass an amendment and getting it ratified by three-fourths of the states is one way to change the Constitution. But anti-abortionists don't think they stand much chance of winning that yet. So some are trying another method.

Two-thirds of the states could call a constitutional convention, the first since 1787.

Ellen McCormack, an antiabortion leader of this drive, is quite open about the reasons for seeking a convention: it would be less democratic. Areas with less people would have the same vote as areas with lots of people.

"... There are certain large states where there is strong pro-abortion support and, under the 2/3 [Congressional] rule, these large states have tremendous influence. Under the Call for a Convention approach, however, each large state and each small state count the same—and Right to Life has a majority in 2/3 of the states," McCor-

## Using obscenity laws

The danger to civil liberties from anti-abortionists is not only a future threat posed by a constitutional amendment. It is already real in the form of "obscenity" laws.

On January 30 the Senate passed S.1437, the revised criminal code, also known as the infamous "Son of S.I." The bill was amended to restore the current law about "obscene" literature.

Any written material or item about "abortion, or for any indecent or immoral use" is declared "nonmailable matter." According to the law:

"Every written or printed card, letter, circular, book, pamphlet, advertisement, or notice of any kind giving information, directly or indirectly, where, or how, or from whom, or by what means . . . abortion will be done or performed, or how or by what means abortion may be produced . . . is declared to be nonmailable matter."

The penalty for sending out information about where women can get safe abortions is as much as a \$100,000 fine or five years in prison.

Sen. Edward Kennedy urged the Senate to accept this amendment. "No cases have ever been prosecuted under this provision," he explained, as if it were harmless.

But with abortion under attack in so many ways, there is little doubt that bigots will try to use censorship laws against abortion information. In April, Boston College, a Roman Catholic school, ordered a student newspaper to move off campus. It had printed advertisements for two abortion clinics.

"Obscenity" laws have always been used against unpopular ideas, and more specifically, against birth-control and feminist literature. Why wouldn't they be used by anti-abortionists?

## Where will it end?

Women face a well-organized and heavily financed offensive against their right to choose. Democratic and Republican politicians and the big-business-owned press are giving credence to the anti-abortion bigots' wild charges and are bending to their demands.

This propaganda onslaught must be answered with a clear affirmation of women's right to choose.

Otherwise, where will these attacks lead? The so-called right-to-life groups want to drive women back to the days when abortion was illegal. Those were the days when:

- Abortion was the single leading cause of maternal deaths, responsible for one-third of all such deaths;

- New York City alone recorded about twenty-five deaths due to illegal abortion each year until 1970—compared to no deaths between 1973 and 1978;

- Kings County Hospital in Brooklyn had thirty beds reserved just to cope with the victims of botched home-remedy or back-alley abortions.

Women must sound the alarm now. Or we may be driven back to those bad days.



**Have you read these pamphlets about the fight for women's rights?**

### Abortion Rights in Danger!

by Nancy Brown, et al.  
24 pages, \$35

### Abortion and the Catholic Church

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by Willie Mae Reid  
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# Louisville socialist blasts GE, urges aid to machinists' strike

The following statement was released May 10 by Jim Burfeind, Socialist Workers Party candidate for the Third Congressional District in Kentucky.

Burfeind, a member of Lodge 2409 of the International Association of Machinists (IAM), is on strike at the General Electric plant in Louisville.

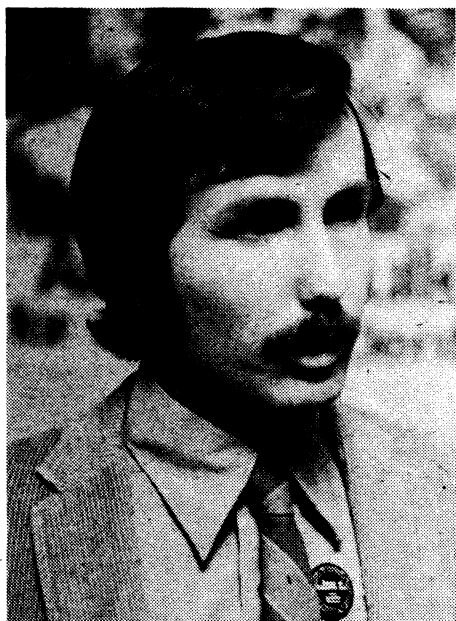
Burfeind will launch his campaign for Congress at a rally on Saturday, May 20. He will speak on the meaning of the current strikes and the need for a class-struggle strategy for the labor movement.

The event begins at 8:30 p.m. at 1505 West Broadway in Louisville. For more information, call (502) 587-8418.

The General Electric company, under the provisions of the slave-labor injunction issued by Jefferson Circuit Court Judge Nicholson, has forced production workers at GE to return to work across the toolmakers' picket lines.

In the second injunction, forbidding pickets from walking across plant entrances or approaching people at the plant gate during the three major shift changes, Judge Nicholson has blatantly violated the constitutional right to free speech and assembly of the striking members of IAM Lodge 2409.

Judge Nicholson is trying to set a new precedent in government strike-breaking. He has decided that when a union is waging a successful strike at a major plant, then the courts can ignore



JIM BURFEIND

the most basic rights of union members in order to protect the profits of the corporations.

The actions of the Jefferson Circuit Court and General Electric are the latest in a series of union-busting moves by big business in Louisville. Auto workers at International Harvester, teamsters at Belkmat, and other unionists around the city are also under attack.

We saw another example of attempted union busting in the national United Mine Workers strike, when the government and the coal operators collaborated to break the UMWA. But the miners forced the courts and their bosses to back down.

The miners' example can show us how to win in Louisville. A united labor movement in Louisville, mobilized to fight for our most basic rights, can force the courts and employers to back down.

Just think of the effect if the AFL-CIO Central Labor Council, United Auto Workers, and the Teamsters in Louisville called a joint rally against these strikebreaking actions. Think of the power of tens of thousands of unionists gathered together to demand our rights—our right to assemble, our right to free speech, and our right to strike.

If I were your representative in Congress right now, I'd be using my office and all my resources to denounce government strikebreaking actions and to provide help to build united labor actions to defend our rights. I'd be throwing my offices open to unionists throughout the city to use as an organizing center.

My Democratic opponent Ron Mazoli isn't doing this because his first loyalty, like all Democratic and Republican politicians, is to big business.

As a striking member of IAM Lodge 2409, I'm running for Congress on the Socialist Workers ticket because I think all working people need an alternative to the two parties of big business—the Democrats and Republicans.

We need a labor party, based on the trade unions, which would work to carry out labor's program in government. Only independent political action by labor will be able to defend the rights of workers.

## ...strike

Continued from back page

specifically states that an individual worker cannot be required "to render labor or service without his consent."

Another antiunion court order recently hit striking members of the United Auto Workers (UAW) at the International Harvester plant here. That order limits pickets to two per gate.

UAW Local 1336, with 1,400 members, struck the plant April 12 over production speedup and several health and safety grievances, some of which had been pending for more than a year.

According to Local 1336 President Larry Wells, Harvester cut incentive pay for factory workers in half. The company had started in one department and was quickly expanding speedup measures throughout the plant when the strike was called.

Despite the court-ordered limit on pickets, UAW Local 817, which represents 1,250 foundry workers at the plant, honored the strikers' picket lines at first. Then the UAW international ordered the foundry workers back to work, saying the UAW contract with Harvester prohibits sympathy strikes by other locals at Harvester plants.

After that, Wells told the *Militant*, not only the foundry workers but also the skilled-trades unions at Harvester returned to work.

Now International Harvester has announced it will lay off nearly 5,200 workers at its East Moline and Rock Island plants in Illinois. It claims the layoffs are necessary because of the Louisville strike. In turn, the Louisville foundry workers who went back to work, the company says, will be laid off because of the Illinois plant closings.

# Ray Rainbolt: veteran Teamsters leader

By Harry DeBoer

MINNEAPOLIS—Ray Rainbolt, a leader of the Teamsters in Minnesota during the 1930s and early 1940s, died here March 30 at the age of eighty-two.

Union militants—veterans of the 1930s as well as younger activists in the struggles of the 1970s—turned out at Ray's funeral to pay their final respects to a working-class leader.

I got to know Ray well during the time he played a major role in the 1934 Teamster strike in Minneapolis.

The history of that strike and subsequent class battles waged here by the Teamsters is chronicled by Farrell Dobbs in his four-volume series published by Pathfinder Press.

During the 1934 Teamsters strikes, Ray chaired Local 574's union complaint committee.

In *Teamster Rebellion*, Dobbs explains that Ray "was an ideal person for the assignment, capable of fairness towards the deserving, but deaf to the wheedling of petty chislers."

It was a bitter strike. At times as many as 100,000 workers marched through the streets. Martial law was declared.

In the final weeks of the strike, several key union leaders were arrested including Ray Dunne, Miles Dunne, and union President Bill Brown. National Guardsmen were hunting down other leaders. Troops raided our strike headquarters.

With the central strike leadership in jail, Gov. Floyd Olson saw a chance to



Rainbolt was involved in all the battles that made Minneapolis a union town

reach a quick settlement behind the backs of the union membership.

Olson asked for a meeting with a "rank and file" committee that would be "truly representative" of the union.

What he got were three of our finest—Rainbolt, Kelly Postal, and Jack Maloney. These three were not going to be taken in by a slippery politician. They told Olson he'd have to release our leaders before they would negotiate.

Olson backed down, releasing the jailed unionists and calling off his hunt for those still at-large.

After the 1934 strikes, Ray became one of fourteen full-time organizers for Local 574.

In 1936 the Ice Drivers Local 221—which had been a barely functioning union—was reorganized. Rainbolt was elected president. Subsequently he was active in our intense effort to organize

truck drivers in other parts of the Midwest, including Omaha.

During the deep economic slump of 1937-38, ultraright groups began appearing around the country.

In Minneapolis we watched with considerable care when the Silver Shirts of America, one of these pro-fascist outfits, came to town in 1938.

The Silver Shirts passed out their hate literature and held two rallies. They encouraged workers to join an "independent" union, in reality a scab union. They talked of an armed raid on the Teamsters headquarters.

We had to act promptly. In August the union formed a defense guard, the only one like it in the country, as far as I know.

A democratic formation, the defense guard elected Rainbolt its commander in chief.

The guard was formed to defend our union's picket lines, headquarters, and

members from antilabor violence.

We had no illusions that we could expect protection from the cops. Elsewhere in the country and around the world, police had looked the other way as fascist hooligans broke up union meetings. Often the cops themselves were members of the fascist gangs.

So the defense guard drilled, organized lectures, and got some publicity—to make sure the Silver Shirts knew that we meant business.

On the day of one profascist rally a cab driver phoned Ray to tell him where the Silver Shirts' chief organizer could be found. Rainbolt immediately called the right-winger and warned him that he'd be running into trouble if he went ahead with his scheduled rally.

To show he wasn't bluffing, Ray led a section of the union guard to Calhoun Hall where the rally was to be held. The audience left in a hurry and the Silver Shirts' organizer never showed up.

As Washington moved towards entering the Second World War, the government—along with its agents in the labor bureaucracy, such as Daniel Tobin, international president of the Teamsters—moved to purge antiwar militants from the unions.

The first targets of this drive were the Minneapolis Teamsters and the Socialist Workers Party.

On July 15, 1941, Ray was one of twenty-nine members of Local 544 and members of the SWP indicted on charges of sedition—the first victims of the notorious Smith "gag" Act.

His real "crime" was his opposition to the war. Despite a vigorous legal and political defense campaign, eighteen of us were found guilty. Ray and several others were declared innocent.

Ray Rainbolt was a class-struggle fighter. A militant. An example to the young activists who today are continuing the struggle to transform the trade unions.

# SWP announces Illinois slate

By Barbara Matson

CHICAGO—The Illinois Socialist Workers Party has announced its candidates for statewide office here. Heading the ticket are Patricia Grogan for U.S. Senate and Cecil Lampkin for governor.

Cecil Lampkin, a ten-year veteran in the socialist and civil rights movements, has been an active participant in the struggle to desegregate Chicago schools. His face is a familiar one at school board hearings, where he has spoken out for a metropolitan area-wide mandatory desegregation plan with two-way busing. Lampkin calls for full protection for the bused school children against any threats or acts of violence by the racists. Fewer than 80 of the 660 Chicago schools are integrated, making this school system—like the city itself—one of the most segregated in the country.

Patricia Grogan, a member of the United Steelworkers of America Local 65, has been a participant in the movement to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment, still stalled in the Illinois state legislature. Grogan is also a



CECIL LAMPKIN

Militant/John Eriksen

member of the USWA District 31 Women's Caucus.

In announcing their campaign, Grogan and Lampkin said they are campaigning on all the issues that affect working people in Illinois, including the fight against high prices and unemployment.

"The Democratic and Republican parties are calling on working people to make economic sacrifices while the rich prosper," they declared. "We need to organize to defend our rights and living standards. It's time workers had our own party, a labor party, to defend our interests against the parties run by the bosses."

Also announced was the SWP candidate for lieutenant-governor, Dennis Brasky, a twenty-seven-year-old steel-

worker who was active in building support for the recent miners' strike. Marie Cobbs, a member of the National Alliance of Black Feminists, is running for secretary of state.

Attorney general candidate Guy Miller is a railroad switchman who is active in the United Transportation Union. John Ericksen, candidate for comptroller, is an auto worker who has been an active supporter of the United Farm Workers union. The candidate for treasurer, Linda Loew, is a leading member of the Chicago-based Committee for the Equal Rights Amendment.

Three members of the Young Socialist Alliance will be running for the University of Illinois Board of Trustees. They are Jo Ann Della-Giustina and John Pottinger from Chicago and Lee Kail from Champaign-Urbana.

## Ariz., Indiana races launched

By Caroline Fowlkes

PHOENIX—On April 17, Jessica Sampson announced her candidacy for governor of Arizona on the Socialist Workers Party ticket. Before a roomful of press, Sampson denounced Arizona Gov. Bruce Babbitt's hypocrisy for declaring April affirmative-action month, while only 9.59 percent of all state workers are Chicano. Chicanos are almost 20 percent of the state's population.

At a rally later in the week, Sampson was the featured speaker, along with Betsy McDonald, the Socialist Workers candidate who is running against Democrat Morris Udall in the 2nd Congressional District. Campaign supporters pledged to collect more than 22,000 signatures to ensure Sampson and McDonald ballot status in the November elections. As of April 30, 12,197 signatures had been collected. Thirty-five campaign supporters contributed more than \$1,200 at the rally.

INDIANAPOLIS—"I intend to present an alternative—the socialist alternative—to the working people of

Indianapolis." With this statement, Henry Slubowski announced his campaign for U.S. Congress, 11th District, in Indiana.

The Socialist Workers Party candidate spoke at a press conference April 26. Attacking the record of the Democrats and Republicans, Slubowski noted that David Evans, a Democratic representative from Indiana, was the first to call for a Taft-Hartley injunction during the coal miners' strike.



JESSICA SAMPSON

Militant/Bill Natkin

## Judge: spy files trial must go ahead

By Leo Martin

NEW ORLEANS—The path has been cleared for a judge's order to the police department here to turn over its secret files on the Socialist Workers Party and SWP candidates for public office.

On April 13, Civil District Court Judge George Connolly turned down a request by the city attorney to dismiss a suit brought by 1977 SWP mayoral candidate Joel Aber and city council candidates Laurie Burke and Derrick Morrison.

The suit charges that Police Chief Clarence Giarrusso's refusal to hand over their files is a violation of the Louisiana Public Records Act, which bars public officials from keeping secret files.

Judge Connolly has already said he will order the cops to turn over the files to him for his inspection.

During pretrial proceedings, two New Orleans intelligence cops admitted they had spied on the SWP for thirteen months. They indicated that the surveillance was still going on.

Asked why they had spied on the party, the officers asserted that they were preparing for a criminal prosecution. The basis of this prosecution, the cops said, would be that the SWP is a "Marxist-Leninist-Trotskyist group that plans to overthrow the New Orleans Police Department by force and violence."

As "evidence," the city attorney subpoenaed five socialist publications readily available in any library. The list included the book *Socialism On Trial* by James P. Cannon, and the July 18, 1969, issue of the *Militant*.

Giarrusso was apparently upset by Aber's promise that, if elected, he would prosecute the police chief for violating civil liberties.

Aber demanded last September to see his police files. Giarrusso responded, "But you said you'd put me in jail," and told Aber he would have to go to court to get the files.

Judge Connolly refused to buy the police argument that the political views of the SWP justify police violations of the Public Records Act.

"Your honor," protested Assistant City Attorney Joseph Laura at a March 3 hearing, "you're giving them [the SWP] everything they want!"

The judge was disturbed that the cops would try to prevent even him from seeing the files. "I must have the facts before this court," he warned Laura.

Joel Aber commented, "We believe that we've already won an important victory. The files were compiled through surveillance on our legal political activities, which are protected by the U.S. Constitution. We will never give up the fight for our right to be free of harassment, spying, and intimidation."

The American Civil Liberties Union filed the suit on behalf of the SWP candidates. ACLU attorneys Mark Moreau and Richard Thompson are handling the case.

## ...Carter spy trial

Continued from page 7

abuses. And last year Griffin Bell told a Fouse committee he had never authorized warrantless electronic surveillance of an American citizen. But in January he admitted that he "forgot" to mention the warrantless television surveillance he was carrying out against Humphrey.

Apparently he also "forgot" about

the bugging and mail opening he had directed against Truong.

Michael Tigar, one of Truong's attorneys pointed out that the government's evidence—even taken at face value—has absolutely nothing to do with national defense.

Even some government agencies feel uncomfortable with the flimsiness of the evidence. In a memo to the govern-

ment's lawyers, CIA official Richard Lehman, warned, "It could be a very close call."

Defense lawyers have hit the government practice of marking documents "top secret" even when they contain material that is common knowledge or is published in the press. For example, in addition to the "secret" cables, FBI agents presented documents seized from Truong's apartment including a slide showing the damage a B52 bomber might inflict on Washington, D.C., and a "top secret" State Department memorandum. The defense showed that the slide had been prepared during the Vietnam war for a public lecture series, and the "top secret" memorandum was printed in a public journal in the 1950s.

The Vietnam Trial Support Committee has been formed to demand justice for Truong and Humphrey.

Defense committee spokesperson Carl Rogers told the *Militant*:

"The Carter administration sees this case as a vehicle to commit break-ins, tap phones, open private letters, and carry out other illegal activities against political activists by saying it's in the interest of 'national security.' We reject this claim and believe that it will be rejected by the American people—as similar claims by previous presidents were."

### Towards a Socialist Australia

How the labor movement can fight back



Documents of the Socialist Workers Party

### Towards a Socialist Australia

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News, analysis, and discussion of international political events

## New facts on U.S. role in Angolan war



S. African Defense Minister Botha (left) said he personally witnessed American planes flying supplies to S. African troops in Angola (center) during civil war there. Another official said Sen. Daniel Moynihan (right) was among those who 'encouraged' U.S. intervention in war.

By Ernest Harsch

The official shroud of secrecy over the joint American and South African intervention in the Angolan civil war of 1975-76 has now been further tattered—by Washington's South African allies themselves.

Speaking before the South African Parliament April 17, Defence Minister Pieter W. Botha revealed that he had personally witnessed American planes flying supplies into South African-held bases in southern Angola. "I was there myself," he said, "and I saw how the arms were offloaded."

Correspondent John Patten reported in the April 22 weekly edition of the Johannesburg *Star* that Botha "made it clear that not only were the aircraft American, but the weapons were American and that South Africa had been asked to distribute the weapons to anticommunist forces."

(During the civil war, both Washington and Pretoria supported the FNLA and UNITA against the MPLA.\* Although the MPLA, which now rules Angola, is a procapitalist organization, it was frequently called "Communist" by its opponents on account of its Soviet and Cuban backing.)

Patten reported that Botha "was also adamant that the supervision of the unloading was done by American security men. He would not say to which group or agency these men were attached."

Minister of Economic Affairs Chris Heunis likewise declared that he had seen American planes deliver arms to southern Angola.

On another aspect of the American collaboration, Botha asserted that Washington had actually encouraged the South African involvement in the war and had then "left us in the lurch."

At the time, reports about Washington's direct collaboration with the South African invasion received scant coverage in the American bourgeois press.

However, the January 19, 1976, issue of *Intercontinental Press* reported that according to Senator John Tunney, who cited "an eyewitness to operations in Angola," American pilots flying C-130 Hercules cargo carriers had airlifted weapons into Angola from bases in neighboring Zaïre.

The February 16 issue reported that Sean Gervasi, a consultant to the UN Special Committee on Decolonization, had revealed in December 1975 that American cargo planes air-dropped supplies to South African columns operating in Angola.

This was only one aspect of the American imperialist intervention in the civil war. The Ford administration provided tens of millions of dollars in arms and funds directly to the FNLA and UNITA, as well as to the Zaïrian army, which was aiding the two Angolan groups. American pilots flew artillery spotter planes over Angolan battle zones from bases in Zaïre. The Central Intelligence Agency helped organize and fund a small group of American and European mercenaries to fight against the MPLA. And at the height of the war, the Lockheed aircraft company, with Washington's evident approval, sold six Hercules transport planes to South Africa.

Given the rapidly escalating imperialist intervention in Angola, there was a grave danger that American "advisers" or troops would also be sent. The American Committee on Africa, for instance, revealed in December 1975 that American air force units had been put on alert to fly

tactical air strikes in defense of South African troops in Angola should that have become necessary.

Fortunately, antiwar sentiment in the United States stayed the White House's hand and forced Congress to cut off further funds for the war effort.

Following the decline in direct American involvement, the South Africans were reluctant to carry the burden of the imperialist intervention on their own and pulled their troops back from the front lines. The last South African troops left Angola in late March 1976.

It was around this time that Pretoria first began to hint at the direct American collaboration and encouragement, while publicly expressing its disappointment at Washington's unwillingness to maintain its previous level of involvement.

In an interview in Cape Town on February 3, 1976, Botha said that the South African incursion into Angola had the blessing of at least one "free world" power. Although he refused to explicitly name that power, he added, "I would be the last man to destroy our diplomatic relations with the United States."

Two days later, an unnamed South African "high official" indicated that Washington had actually encouraged

the South African intervention. The American officials who were believed to have delivered that encouragement were Patrick Moynihan, the American representative to the United Nations, and William Bowdler, the American ambassador to South Africa.

The White House has so far continued to deny any direct role in the South African invasion. For instance, the State Department recently claimed, "The decision of the South African Government to intervene in Angola was made unilaterally by that Government in what it considered to be its own interest." It also denied that American planes had flown supplies into Angola or that American arms had been given to Pretoria during the civil war.

Even though the intervention in Angola was carried out under Ford, the revelations of the extent of American collaboration with South Africa could no doubt prove embarrassing to Carter as well. He is already facing criticisms over continued American economic assistance to Pretoria and over the American veto in the UN Security Council in October 1977 blocking a formal ban on foreign investments and credits for the racist regime.

From *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*

## Defend the IRSP Four!

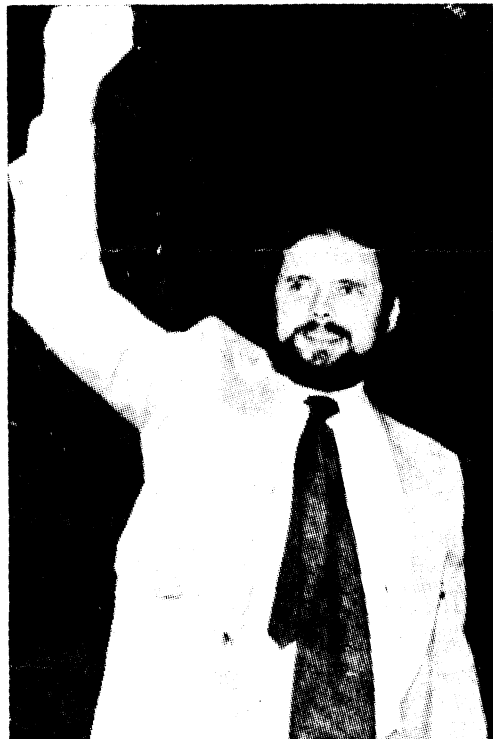


A rally took place in Dublin, Ireland, April 8 in defense of four members of the Irish Republican Socialist Party who face frame-up charges in connection with a train robbery. Osgur Breatnach, Michael Plunkett, Nicky Kelly, and Bernard McNally were originally charged in 1976. Although a massive public outcry initially forced

the government to retreat, it has now reinstated charges against the four. The IRSP members face sentences of fifteen to twenty-five years, despite the fact that the sole evidence against them is statements extracted from them under torture.

\*Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola (Angolan National Liberation Front), União Nacional para Independência Total de Angola (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola), and Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola).

## Exiled socialist Bernal returns to Panama



Left: Miguel Antonio Bernal greets supporters on his return to Panama; Right: April 18 demonstration in Panama City against the canal treaties.

By Paul Gershwin

PANAMA CITY, Panama—Exiled Panamanian revolutionist Miguel Antonio Bernal returned to Panama April 24 to a warm welcome by some 200 supporters at the airport. Bernal, along with attorney Jorge Turner, were among the first exiles to return to Panama following a decision by the Torrijos government to allow some exiled opponents of the regime back into the country. Bernal and Turner were here to make a firsthand survey

of the situation, then to report back to the remaining exiles in Mexico.

"Welcome to the Struggle, Compañero Miguel Bernal," read one of the welcoming banners. In his speech at the airport Bernal made it clear that he was indeed returning to struggle. One of his first remarks was a blast at the new Panama Canal treaty which, he said, was "against the interests of the Panamanian people."

"The U.S.," he said, "has no right to the canal or to military bases in Pa-

nama, and we will not allow this."

When asked about the invitation that Torrijos extended to President Carter to visit here May 12, Bernal replied, "We don't want Carter here. You can tell him that he's not welcome here, and that he should stay home in the United States. We don't want his hypocritical smile in our country."

Remarks like this were well received by the crowd, one of whose most popular slogans was, "¡Bernal, seguro. A los Yanquis dale duro!" ("Bernal, for sure.

Hit the Yankees hard!") Another popular slogan was "¡Con enmiendas, sin enmiendas, rechazamos los tratados!" ("With or without amendments, we reject the treaties!")

The demonstration at the airport was organized by a coalition of left-wing groups, including the Liga Socialista Revolucionaria, the Panamanian Trotskyist organization. It initiated a series of meetings and demonstrations at which the returning exiles were featured speakers.

## Interview with Panamanian revolutionary

### 'Solidarity against U.S. intervention in Panama'

The following interview with José Cambra of the Liga Socialista Revolucionaria was obtained in Panama by 'Militant' correspondent Paul Gershwin on April 26. The LSR is the Panamanian sister organization of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party.

**Question.** What is the significance of Gen. Omar Torrijos's decision to allow the return of the exiles?

**Answer.** First of all, not all the exiles have been allowed to return. Some—those accused of participation in guerrilla activities or those who are political opponents of the regime but who are accused of being common criminals—are still in exile.

The decision to allow the return of some exiles was a concession that the masses won through struggle. In bending to this popular pressure Torrijos wants to create the impression that he favors democratic rights.

The decision was an attempt to blunt the anger that many Panamanian people feel over the canal treaty—the final form in which the treaty was adopted.

**Q.** Do you mean that there is greater anger now than before?

**A.** Oh, yes. The reaction of the Panamanian people to the discussion on the treaty in the U.S. Senate was one of great indignation and repulsion.

All sides in the U.S. Senate—Democrats and Republicans, protreaty and antitreaty—were clearly united in opposition to the interests of the Panamanian people.

Remember, too, that the discussion in the U.S. Senate was carried live on the Panama radio stations. A great many people were able to listen to the Senate discussions, so they got a clear picture of the thinking of the U.S. government. They realize that the U.S. always intended to maintain ultimate control over the canal and to intervene whenever it sees fit and that none of the versions of the canal treaty is in our interests.

**Q.** What did Torrijos do in face of the Senate decision?

**A.** At the end of the Senate discussion, after the vote, Torrijos immediately spoke out, saying that the treaty had been accepted with no basic change. He said that Byrd's reservation had neutralized the position of DeConcini and eliminated any U.S. intention to intervene.\*

Then he called a national holiday to

\*During the Senate debate on the treaties, a reservation was attached to the "neutrality" treaty by Sen. Dennis DeConcini stating that the United States can take military action anytime it feels the canal is being "interfered with."

Sen. Robert Byrd then attached a second reservation in the name of the Senate leadership—intended to placate nationalist

celebrate the "victory." Public employees were obligated to participate in the demonstrations he called. But there was no national celebration by the people as a whole.

There was, however, a demonstration of 5-7,000 people in Panama City on April 18. The main slogans were "No to the Treaty, No to the Pro-Yankee Amendments!" and "For a New Plebiscite!"

**Q.** Why a new plebiscite?

**A.** No bourgeois government—and especially not a government like that of Torrijos—has the right to decide on the question of our national sovereignty. Only the people can do so. Furthermore, the constitution of Panama says that the people have the right to vote on any treaty concerning the canal. And since the treaty approved by the U.S. Senate contained so many changes, it can be considered to be a new treaty. So we are demanding a new plebiscite.

**Q.** What is Torrijos's position on this?

**A.** He is against a new plebiscite, of course. He says that the changes introduced by the U.S. Senate are not very important.

sentiment in Panama—saying that a U.S. invasion of Panama should not "be interpreted as a right of intervention in the internal affairs of the Republic of Panama."

But in reality, the discussion in the U.S. Senate exposed the real meaning of the treaty to many more Panamanian people. If the final version of the treaty were submitted to a new vote, it would surely be rejected. As it was, the vote on the original version of the treaty was not really democratic and did not accurately reflect the thinking of the people.

**Q.** What has been the activity of the LSR around the question of the canal?

**A.** The LSR, together with other groups, has been actively involved in demonstrations and meetings to mobilize public opposition to the treaty. We think that the activity has met with some success. The Torrijos government is being unmasked, both because of its pro-Yankee role in relation to the canal, and because of the attacks it has been making against the political rights and the living conditions of the masses. This will drive the masses towards independent class positions against those of the bourgeois government.

We intend to continue this campaign. One of the current axes of this effort is to mobilize opposition to Carter's visit to Panama.

We would like to call upon all organizations in the mass movement in the United States to join with us in a campaign of solidarity against U.S. intervention in Panama, and for immediate U.S. withdrawal from Panama.



# Boycott of World Cup football match

Today, for the first time in many years, a mass campaign against a military dictatorship is unfolding in Europe, around the upcoming World Cup football (soccer) matches to be held in Argentina.

The campaign to boycott Argentina as the host country of the World Cup is being carried out around two main demands:

- Freedom for all political and trade-union prisoners, including those who have "disappeared" (i.e., whose detention is not officially acknowledged by the Argentine military junta).
- Restoration of all political, trade-union, and democratic rights.

The appeal to boycott the World Cup was launched in France and Sweden at the end of 1977. Since then the campaign has taken on considerable scope with the formation of united action committees in most West European countries. Thirty thousand signatures were gathered in a few weeks' time in France to demand French diplomatic moves against the holding of the World Cup in Argentina. Nearly 100 committees have already been set up, composed primarily of youth.

At the same time, a committee of relatives and friends of French citizens who have disappeared in Argentina has been formed and is demanding action from the government. Broad support in France has also come from committees of exiled attorneys, journalists, physicians, psychologists, and others.

A meeting was held in Paris on February 25 to coordinate seventeen European committees. Representatives came from Denmark, West Germany, France, Belgium, Spain, Switzerland, and the Netherlands. A number of members of sections of the Fourth International participated in that meeting. They had been delegated by the committees of their respective countries on the basis of their active support of the World Cup boycott.

The Paris meeting decided to organize a series of events throughout Europe on March 24 (second anniversary of Videla's coup) and on April 28. Another international gathering has been scheduled for Amsterdam on May 6.

A protest rally of 2,000 persons was held March 23 in front of the Argentine embassy in Paris. The next day a united meeting heard speakers from the Latin American Committee for Information and Solidarity (CAIS), the

Organizing Committee for a Boycott of Argentina in the 1978 World Cup (COBA\*), the French Democratic Confederation of Labor (CFDT), the Socialist Party, and the Revolutionary Communist League.

In Spain, the boycott campaign has won the support of a broad spectrum of political and trade-union organizations. The sole exception is the Spanish Communist Party, which has not yet taken a position (although the Workers Commissions, which are led by CP activists, have joined in the appeal, which has also been signed by nationalist groups).

In Sweden the Social Democratic Party has declared its support for the World Cup boycott.

The international press is giving substantial coverage to this important campaign, putting Videla's military junta on the defensive before public opinion. The expensive publicity campaign mounted by the Argentine torturers in their effort to forge a holy football alliance and lure foreign capital to their "island of stability" has thus been put in check.

The boycott campaign is a springboard for ongoing activity against not only the Argentine dictatorship but the dictatorships in Chile, Uruguay, Brazil, and other countries as well. The campaign also makes possible the concrete exposure of the thousand threads that bind the multinational corporations and their governments to this type of regime. It can show that for these "democracies," superexploitation of the peoples whose countries are dominated by imperialism is a very profitable way to shift the burdens of the worldwide crisis of capitalism from the imperialist centers to the dependent countries.

Already more and more voices are being raised on all sides, calling for a boycott of the next International Cancer Congress, scheduled for Buenos Aires in October.

All these efforts should make it possible to put on the agenda a break in diplomatic relations between the various countries concerned and the bloody regime of the Argentine military dictatorship, along with the demand for an immediate halt in arms sales to the Argentine and Latin American dictators.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

\*Comité pour le Boycott de l'Organisation par l'Argentine de la Coupe du Monde de Football, 14 rue de Nanteuil, 75015 Paris.

## World news notes

### Panamanian exiles protest treaty

Panamanian exiles in Mexico City held a twenty-four-hour hunger strike April 18 to protest the new Panama Canal Treaty.

At a news conference the Panamanians said, "The interventionist formulas contained in the new treaties and their amendments demonstrate clearly the inability of President James Carter's government to be consistent in practicing human rights . . . and reopen the era of gunboat diplomacy.

"To accept the treaties," they continued, "means to accept intervention, in perpetuity, in Panama."

### S. African Black leaders arrested

Just a few days after the formation of a new Black South African political group, the Azania People's Organization (Azapo), two of its leaders were arrested by the police.

Azapo Chairman Ishmael Mkliabela and Secretary Lybon Mabasa were seized in their homes in the Black township of Soweto outside Johannesburg early on May 4. Also arrested was Letsatsi Msala, vice-president of the Soweto Action Committee.

The next day, police arrested Zacharia Mofokeng, deputy administrative director of the independent Black newspaper, the *Voice*.

The inaugural meeting of Azapo, according to Mabasa, was attended by about sixty delegates. According to the May 2 *Christian Science Monitor*, Azapo "will direct its efforts toward the black worker and will work for a society with a common education system for all people and one parliament in a unitary state."

### Koreagate in Canada

The Korean Central Intelligence Agency has conducted a widespread campaign of spying and harassment against the Korean community in Canada, according to a South Korean diplomat.

Yang Yung Man, vice-consul at the South Korean Consulate General in Toronto, requested political asylum in Canada after making this revelation, saying he fears for his safety and that of his family.

Some 20,000 Koreans live in Toronto.

Meanwhile, the government of Park Chung Hee is facing rising opposition at home. On May 8, hundreds of students at Seoul National University demonstrated against Park after he announced elections to the National Council of Unification, a largely paper organization that gives legal veneer to Park's dictatorship.

### British Columbian Indians snub Captain Cook

At the end of March 1788, Capt. James Cook landed in what he called Friendly Cove on Nootka Island on the coast of what is now British Columbia.

Today, the nearly 1 million native peoples living in Canada are being asked to celebrate their "discovery" by Captain Cook.

As the Indians point out, they have very little to be grateful for. When Cook landed, his crew communicated diseases to the Indians and raped some Indian women. This pattern of abuse and discrimination has continued during the 200 years since then.

The Native Americans are demanding that their living conditions be upgraded, aboriginal land rights be restored, and a traditional communal house be built on Nootka Island. The Canadian government has refused these demands.

Chief George Watts, head of the West Coast District Council of Indian Chiefs, said bitterly, "The landing of Captain Cook in Friendly Cove marks the beginning of exploitation of our people and our resources and the beginning of the destruction of our way of life. Why should we celebrate?"

### Let Rosie Douglas speak

Black militant Rosie Douglas, who was deported from Canada to his native Dominica in early 1976, is fighting for the right to return to Canada.

Douglas, who was active in the fight against racism in Canada, was arrested in 1969 when 400 riot cops stormed the computer center at Sir George Williams University in Montreal while a sit-in was taking place. In 1973 he was branded a "security risk," and deportation proceedings were initiated against him.

It has since been discovered that the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (Canada's equivalent of the FBI) planted an agent, Warren Hart, among Douglas's bodyguards. Hart had formerly been an informant for the FBI in the U.S. Black Panther Party.

Hart traveled across Canada reporting to the RCMP on the Black struggle. He also accompanied Douglas on several trips to the Caribbean and spied on the Black nationalist movement there.

Douglas has written to Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau requesting a special visa so that he can appear before several government commissions that are currently investigating the RCMP's activities.

In a letter to the revolutionary socialist biweekly *Socialist Voice*, Douglas writes, "It is only . . . the broad-based call from all democratic organizations in Canada for reentry that will compel the federal government to face up to the consequences of its reactionary actions or pay a political price."

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## Growing radicalization in Iran

# Massive protests rock shah's regime

By Parvin Najafi

Widespread protests against the shah's dictatorial rule erupted throughout Iran during the first week of April.

The demonstrations were held in response to calls by several prominent religious leaders for a day of mourning and a nationwide bazaar strike on March 30, to honor those killed by the shah's army during the huge antigovernment demonstration in Tabriz in February. Tabriz is the second-largest city in Iran and the capital of the Turkish-speaking oppressed nationality.

The religious leaders called for "peaceful" Mosque ceremonies and repeatedly asked their supporters to be "calm" and "disciplined" so as not to give the government any excuse to repeat the bloodbath it carried out in Tabriz February 19.

On that day the army was ordered into Tabriz and tanks were deployed against a demonstration of several hundred thousands of persons that had begun the previous day. Scores of demonstrators were killed and hundreds were wounded.

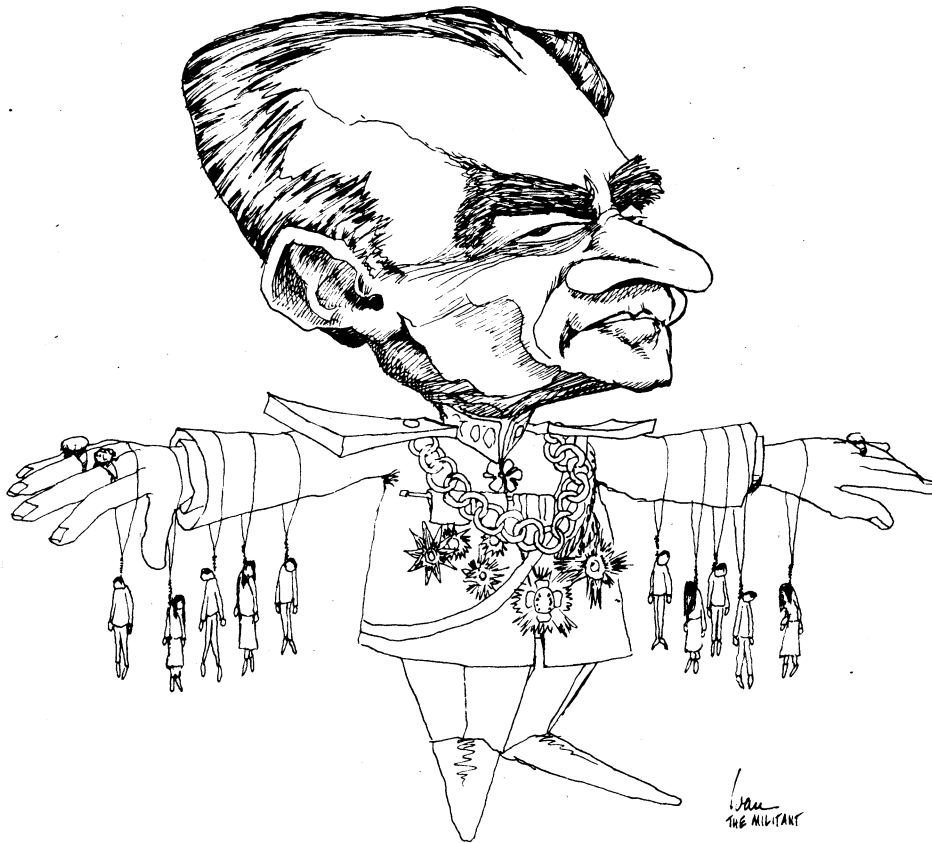
The demonstration in Tabriz, in turn, had begun as a day of mourning for those who had been killed in a demonstration in Qum, south of Tehran, on January 9.

The wave of protests that began on March 30 spread through at least fifty-five cities, towns, and villages. According to official accounts, they resulted in five deaths and ninety-eight arrests. Judging from the past performance of the shah's regime, the actual number of those killed, wounded, and arrested is undoubtedly much higher.

The government-controlled press reported that the demonstrators had attacked public buildings, banks, movie theaters, and Rastakhiz Party headquarters in many cities, breaking windows and in some cases burning the buildings. (The Rastakhiz is the only legal political party in Iran.)

### Government provocations?

Leaders of both the political and religious opposition in Iran have publicly repudiated the violence and denied that they encouraged it. On April 4, two prominent leaders of the opposition, Mehdi Barzargan and Dariush Forouhar, charged the government with fabricating reports of violence and staging incidents in an attempt to discredit the dissident movement and



SHAH MOHAMMED REZA PAHLEVI

create a climate of approval for a crackdown.

Similar charges were made in an open letter to the prime minister, issued by the newly formed Iranian Committee for the Defense of Human Rights and Freedom.

In the weeks following the Tabriz protest, the government-controlled press has been filled with propaganda against the shah's opponents, attempting to capitalize on the incidents of violence.

On April 4, the semiofficial Tehran daily *Kayhan* reported that the Foreign Ministry has formed a "Guidance and Information Committee." A spokesman for the ministry said that the committee will conduct an "educational campaign," if necessary "from door to door, shop to shop, talking to the people face to face in the street," explaining and "exposing" the "increased subversion against our country."

In the weeks that followed, a series of bombings, threats, and beatings were carried out against leaders of the opposition. A group calling itself the "Underground Committee for Revenge" took credit for these terrorist actions.

On April 8, bombs damaged the homes of four prominent oppositionists. Two of the victims were government officials under Mossadegh, before the 1953 CIA-engineered coup—Karim Sanjabi, a member of Mossadegh's cabinet; and Mehdi Barzargan, managing director of the National Oil Company under Mossadegh. All four of the victims are members of the Iranian Committee for the Defense of Human Rights and Freedom.

According to a report by William Branigan in the April 22 *Washington Post*, "there have been no injuries in any of six bombings so far, but a spokesman for the [Underground] committee has telephoned death threats to several opposition writers, lawyers and human rights activists in recent days. . . ."

Dr. Peyman, another member of the human-rights committee, was kidnapped from his office April 8, taken to the outskirts of Tehran, severely beaten, and left there unconscious.

"Dissidents charge that the campaign of 'revenge'—apparently for the recent wave of civil unrest in Iran that the government has blamed on political opponents—is really the work of the Iranian secret police, SAVAK," Branigan reported.

### Prisoners' hunger strike

Meanwhile, a hunger strike has been conducted in Qasr prison, the largest political prison in Iran. The protest started March 13 and lasted for more than a month.

Almost all of the prisoners in Qasr were convicted by military tribunals. Many have been held there for months or even for years without a trial.

The London *Guardian* of April 10 estimated the number of prisoners taking part in the hunger strike at between 400 and 450, but some opposition sources say that as many as 1,000 may have been involved.

The prisoners' demands were for uncensored books and newspapers, fewer restrictions on visits by relatives, the right to write and translate inside the prison, and new trials before civilian courts. They won wide support inside Iran and internationally.

In Iran, a Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners was formed. This committee and many prominent oppositionists sent letters of protest, asking

the government to meet the prisoners' demands.

International support came from such well-known organizations as Amnesty International and the International League for Human Rights, which is affiliated with the United Nations.

*Washington Post* correspondent Branigan said that "the government reportedly . . . has made some minor concessions. . . . In return for ending the strike last week, authorities agreed to provide better food and living conditions and more relaxed visitation rules, dissidents said. The prisoners' demands to have their cases reviewed by civilian instead of military courts apparently have been rejected."

### Students on trial

On March 28, court proceedings began against sixteen students who were arrested for participating in a demonstration during the shah's visit to Washington last November. These students were tried in an open civilian court. The government charged them with "disturbing the peace" by participating in a demonstration, carrying banners, and shouting antigovernment slogans.

Later they were also charged with breaking the windows of two police cars, causing injury to several police officers. The government had no proof of its charges other than the testimony of the arresting officers.

Forty-three oppositionist lawyers defended the students in court. Pointing to the Iranian constitution and to the declaration of human rights signed by the government, the lawyers argued that since participating in demonstrations and carrying banners voicing criticism of the government is not a crime, the government had no right to arrest the students in the first place.

This was the first time in many years that a real defense has been mounted in a trial of political prisoners.

This time, the Iranian press reported the case extensively, including the statements by the defense attorneys.

Eleven of the students were eventually convicted and five were acquitted.

### Growing upsurge

The new wave of demonstrations, the long hunger strike in Qasr prison, and the open trial of the sixteen students all made clear that there is growing dissatisfaction with the shah's regime, a deepening radicalization of the Iranian masses, and a readiness to put up a fight.

For example, writing from Tehran about the recent unrest, *Le Monde* correspondent Jean-Claude Guillebaud said April 6: "Not one person I have met here tries to dismiss the subject or minimize its importance. Instead, all—even those close to the government—stress the 'new' significance of what has been happening since the beginning of the year in a number of provincial cities compared with the sporadic disturbances of the past."

*New York Times* correspondent Paul Hofmann summed up the situation as follows in an April 2 report: ". . . while the shah looks secure in his nearly absolute power, he might meditate about the popular disaffection that keeps erupting in Iran. The land reform and other social changes that were enacted 15 years ago are officially labeled the 'Shah-people revolution.' The latest events showed that many Iranians would like more revolution and less Shah."

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

## Panel hits Carter ties to shah

By Rich Robohm

NEW YORK—A panel of distinguished speakers denounced President Carter's betrayal of human rights in Iran before an audience of 200 people at New York University May 5.

The discussion was sponsored by the NYU chapter of the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI).

Heckling and violent assaults by various Maoist factions have marred recent similar meetings in Portland and other cities, but the New York meeting proceeded without incident.

Kateh Vafadari, CAIFI assistant national secretary, told of the imprisonment and torture of sociologist Vida Tabrizi and other Iranian women oppositionists. Muriel Ruker, a poet and former president of PEN American Center, also spoke.

Noted Iranian poet and former political prisoner Reza Baraheni scored Carter for continuing to support the brutal dictatorship of the shah despite its trampling on human rights.

Citing "demonstrations and strikes unprecedented in the recent history of Iran," Baraheni said that Carter's betrayal has had a big impact on "the massive human and democratic rights movement inside the shah's domain."

Ali Shokri related his fight for political asylum in the United States since his defection from the Iranian Air Force, comparing his case to that of Mexican activist Héctor Marroquín.

Poet Allen Ginsberg and former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark were the other speakers on the panel.



# World trade warfare

By Dick Roberts

(Third of six parts)

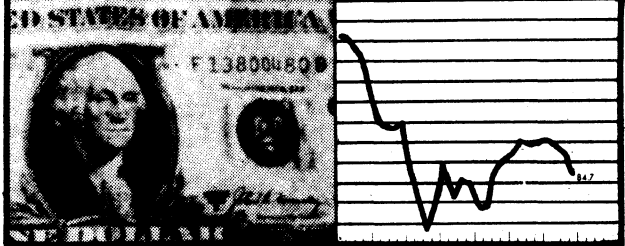
In his April 11 inflation speech, President Carter pointed to the dollar's weakness to justify stepped-up pressure against wage increases.

On the same grounds, he also urged Congress to ram through his energy plan—an enormous profit bonanza for the oil monopolies.

But his true aim was to advance these antilabor domestic policies, not to shore up the dollar. Carter hasn't taken any decisive steps to reverse this trend since the dollar began its big decline last year.

White House policy—to the extent that it can control international currencies—is to allow the dollar to decline.

## Decline of the dollar



*Forbes* magazine, in an unusually blunt article last January, declared: "Don't believe it that the dollar sank because the U.S. has no economic policy. The sinking dollar was the policy. And not a bad one, either."

*Forbes* added: "In substance, if not in style . . . the present policy is almost identical to that of the Ford Administration."

Washington favors a depreciated dollar because it makes U.S. goods cheaper and more competitive in foreign markets, while it raises the price of foreign goods in the United States. This is the main weapon of U.S. imperialism in world trade.

"With the deutsche mark close to 50 cents," said *Forbes*, "a big American car like the Cadillac Seville sells in Germany for one-third less than a Mercedes."

Few American workers worry much about the prices of Cadillacs and Mercedes. More widely used are the products of Japan's Sony Corporation—everything from calculators, tape recorders, and record players, on up to color TVs.

## Profit plunge

"Sony Corp. reported today that its earnings for the quarter ending Jan. 31 were down from last year by a staggering 50% as a result of the sharp increase in the value of the yen," *Business Week* said April 3.

"The company noted that the runup in the yen over the past year has reduced its ability to compete in world markets. While Sony's domestic sales climbed a hefty 15%, its sales overseas increased a puny 1.5%."

According to *Business Week*, "As the dollar has declined over the past year, the U.S. has gained an increasing competitive advantage over Germany and Japan."

This attempt to weaken the exports of Washington's main overseas rivals is not widely talked about in the big-business-owned press. Nor is it politic for Carter to explain what his administration is actually up to.

But the real picture emerges from the statistics on government currency interventions. In order to keep the dollar from declining at so rapid a rate, Washington (through the U.S. Treasury and Federal

Reserve System) could purchase dollars abroad. Upping the demand for dollars in this way would raise their exchange prices.

In order to do this, Washington would spend its own reserves of foreign currencies and gold on the dollars held overseas.

## Currency interventions

So far, U.S. intervention to prop up the dollar has been minimal compared to that by Japan, Germany, and Britain. Their central banks have been forced to buy up dollars to keep their own currencies from being priced out of markets.

In all of 1977 the United States was believed to have purchased little more than \$200 million worth of dollars. This compares to \$24 billion worth of dollars—over 100 times as many!—that were purchased by Britain, West Germany, Holland, Japan, and Switzerland.

As 1978 opened the United States announced that

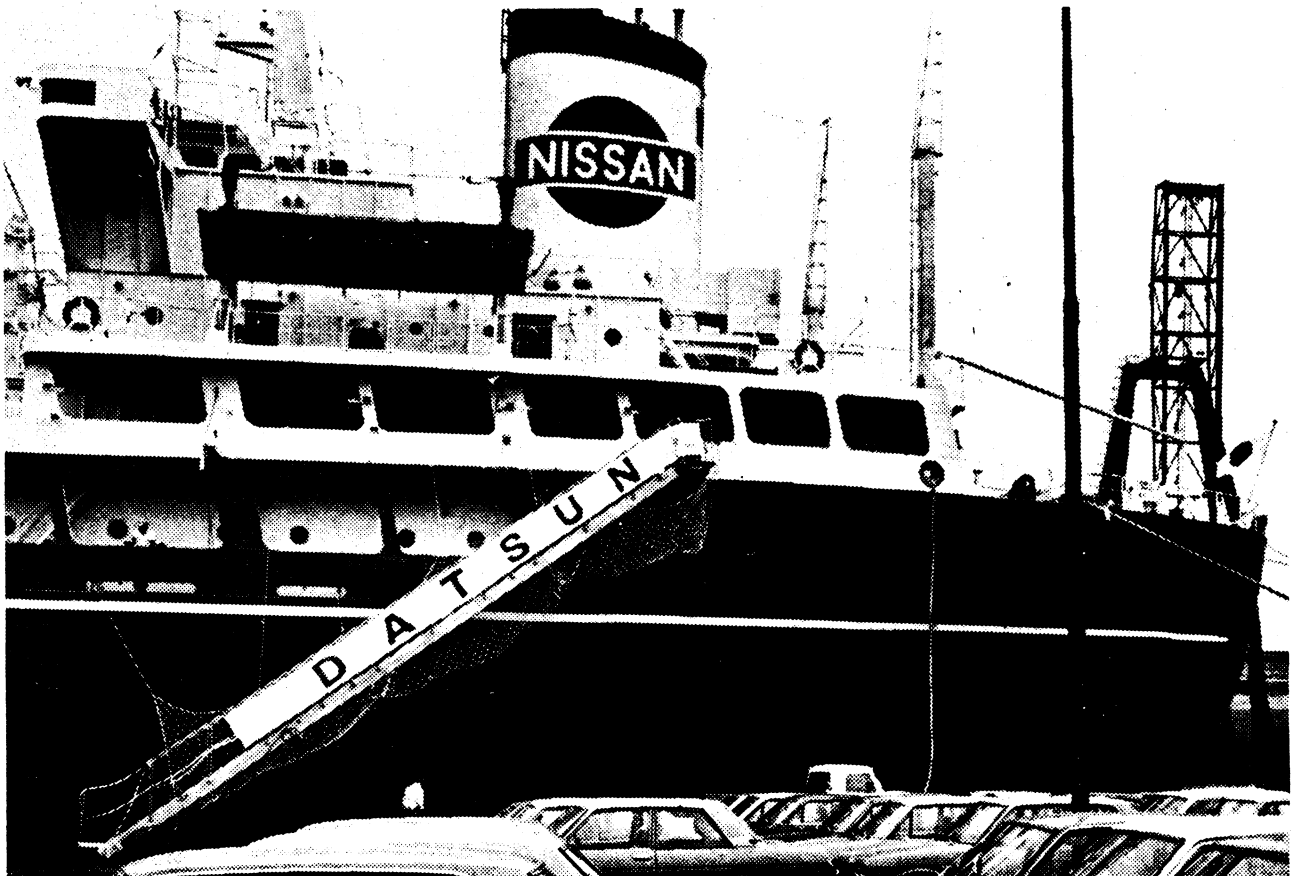
significantly smaller sector of the American economy than the exports of other nations as a proportion of their economies.

Exports account for only 9 percent of the U.S. gross national product. But they amount to 27.5 percent of the GNP of West Germany, Washington's strongest competitor abroad. Exports are even more important to Japan, the second-biggest competitor.

In 1977, 51 percent of the autos manufactured in Japan were shipped abroad.

The rising value of marks and yen against the dollar consequently threaten large segments of these economies. A sharp downturn of Japanese car sales in the United States, for example, would throw that country into recession. "The Japanese economy . . . is facing its most serious structural problems domestically in its postwar history," a Japanese executive recently told the *Wall Street Journal*.

At the same time, Europe and Japan increasingly need expanded world export markets. The produc-



it would step up interventions. The Federal Reserve said it was activating \$20 billion in "swap lines" with foreign central banks. In "swaps" the Fed would borrow foreign currencies in order to purchase dollars. But the Fed was bluffing. It did not utilize the swaps in any major way.

The dollar stabilized momentarily . . . only to begin falling again.

*Business Week* declared January 23, "Only a relatively minor amount of money [promised in the swaps], perhaps as little as \$200 million, has been spent by the U.S. to support the dollar. In fact, it is becoming increasingly clear that the Fed has no intention of putting any specific floor under the sagging dollar, that it is not going to try to push the dollar any higher, and that it has only a limited commitment to intervene in the foreign exchange markets to keep trading orderly."

## Deal with Bonn

In mid-March, as the dollar slide became increasingly severe, new swap and other currency agreements were once again promised by Washington directly to the West German government. Once again, however, they were only cosmetic.

The dollar firmed for a few days before beginning its sharpest plunge in history, especially against the Japanese yen.

In one day alone, March 28, Tokyo purchased \$1 billion worth of dollars. But that did not stop the slide. A new forty-year record low of 218.18 yen to the dollar was reached April 3.

Nor will this situation be fundamentally changed by Washington's decision April 20 to spend \$300 million of its gold reserves over a six-month period to buy up dollars. This will absorb precious few of the hundreds of billions of dollars that have piled up abroad.

## High stakes

In the battle to defend their exports against a declining U.S. dollar, the overseas capitalist nations do not meet the United States as equals. Although the United States remains the biggest exporter in the capitalist world, U.S. exports are a

tive capacity of each capitalist country outstrips its ability to absorb all the goods it produces.

The table reproduced from *The Economist* on this page vividly documents this process for European countries.

Each country becomes all the more desperate for foreign markets. The U.S. market, which is as large as all the others combined, becomes all the more vital an outlet for the overproduced goods of Europe and Japan.

## U.S. drive

Yet the declining dollar tends to limit foreign access to the U.S. market and to cheapen U.S. goods in overseas markets.

So intense diplomatic pressure has mounted against the Carter administration to alter this course, which is potentially disastrous for those economies—and for the entire world capitalist setup.

Overseas powers are urging the United States to spend less money abroad, especially on oil. They demand that the administration take steps to dampen U.S. inflation in order to strengthen the dollar. And they urge Washington to undertake more extensive currency operations in order to purchase back the unwanted dollars held abroad.

In response, Carter is taking only the most minimal steps. By and large he has continued to let the dollar slide, meanwhile stepping up protectionist measures to keep out foreign imports.

(To be continued)

## EUROPE'S NEED TO EXPORT

Volume of exports as % of gdp  
(1970 prices)

	1951	1960	1970	1976
Austria	7.4	12.4	20.0	23.6
Belgium	24.1*	29.5	48.4	59.8
Britain	14.1	13.2	15.9	19.6
France	8.2	9.8	12.8	15.9
W. Germany	8.3	12.6	18.2	24.1
Italy	4.4	7.3	14.2	17.3**
Holland	16.2	23.6	37.2	47.8
Spain	3.2*	4.8	6.5	8.7
Sweden	12.7	15.2	20.6	23.1
Switzerland	13.3	16.9	24.3	30.4

\*1955; \*\*1975

Europe's exports have increased much more rapidly than its economies as a whole. Generally, the smaller the country the larger the proportion of its production devoted to exports.

## FOR FURTHER READING

**Decline of the Dollar** by Ernest Mandel

128 pages, \$2.45.

**Capitalism in Crisis** by Dick Roberts

128 pages, \$2.45.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Please include \$.25 with payment for postage and handling, \$.50 if order is more than \$5.00.

## 'Psychiatric terror'

Psychiatric Terror: How Soviet Psychiatry is Used to Suppress Dissent. By Sidney Bloch and Peter Reddaway. New York. Basic Books. 1977. 510 pages. \$12.95.

Last August the World Psychiatric Association held its sixth world congress in Honolulu, attracting attention from more than the usual groups of mental-health professionals. The attention turned out to be well deserved, since the general assembly of this WPA Congress voted to condemn, "re-

their preparations for their struggle at the WPA Congress, this group relied heavily on the then-just published *Psychiatric Terror* for its meticulous documentation and analysis of Soviet psychiatric abuses.

As the former psychiatric prisoner Vladimir Bukovsky notes in his introduction to Bloch and Reddaway's book, it is difficult for most Westerners to understand the "atmosphere" of daily life in the USSR. For this reason, much of *Psychiatric Terror* is devoted to an explanation of the scientific, legal, and political context of the Soviet psychiatric system.

This is done in readable, jargon-free chapters on the scientific and political history of Soviet psychiatry, on the current diagnostic practices of the (dominant) Snezhnevsky school of psychiatry, and on the legal aspects of assigning political dissenters to "ordinary" (civil) and "special" (forensic or criminal) psychiatric hospitals.

In addition, the authors describe the physical and psychological conditions that exist for political activists committed to such hospitals and analyze the varied paths by which activists come to receive such "treatment" by Soviet authorities.

Those mental-health workers who are attempting to organize opposition to Soviet psychiatric abuses may be particularly interested in this book's two chapters on the history of such work on an international scale. Together with recent accounts of the Honolulu congress (see the January issues of *Commentary* and *Psychiatric*



*Annals*), this material demonstrates the difficulty of prodding "professionals," such as psychiatrists, into even mild forms of organized political action.

Since *Psychiatric Terror* was published, a number of the author's predictions of future trends in Soviet psychiatry have proved accurate.

Inside the Soviet Union, authorities continue to abstain from long-term psychiatric hospitalization for well-known dissidents. Instead, they attempt to neutralize such figures as Pyotr Grigorenko and Seymon Gluzman by other means (such as exile or labor-camp terms). At the same time, however, the small but growing number of workers becoming politi-

cally active continue to be victimized by psychiatric commitment.

For those wishing to stay informed about the developing campaign against Soviet misuses of psychiatry, *Psychiatric Terror* will serve as an indispensable and encyclopedic resource. It should be read together with recent *samizdat* works such as *Punitive Medicine* (available in summary form from Amnesty International, 10 Southampton Street, London, WC2E 7HF) and with current news from organizations such as the Working Group on the Internment of Dissenters in Mental Hospitals (their News Bulletin is available from Helena Abram, 21 Golder's Green Crescent, London, NW11 8LA). —Ben Harris

## Books

nounce and expunge all international abuses of psychiatry for political purposes in the USSR".

At the Honolulu congress, the motion to condemn Soviet abuses was advanced by a heterogeneous group of psychiatrists and former victims of Soviet psychiatry, including Leonid Plyushch and the emigré Soviet psychiatrist Marina Voikhanskaya. In

Ben Harris teaches clinical psychology in Virginia. He recently presented a paper on international abuses of the mental-health professions to the annual convention of the Southeastern Psychological Association in Atlanta.



*Towards A Socialist Australia: How the Labor Movement Can Fight Back.* Pathfinder Press, Sydney. 1977. \$2.95. Available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.

In the 1960s Australia's imperialist ruling class was cheerfully proclaiming that it was "the lucky country." This, in fact, was the title of a book by a prominent Australian journalist.

The substance of this heady theme was that Australia was an exceptional place, sheltered from the economic and political storms raging in other corners of the globe. Stability, full employment, progressive social legislation, democracy, and even an emerging

"classless" society were considered a relatively permanent, if not eternal, state of affairs.

Admittedly, social relations in Australia were more stable than in most other countries, especially in Europe. But the "lucky country" euphoria never reflected reality. And the idea that the twenty-five-year postwar boom was going to go on indefinitely was purely an illusion.

This was driven home by the 1974-75 international depression. Australia not only did not escape this crisis but suffered, and is still suffering, from its effects even worse than some of its imperialist partners.

Then the biggest political crisis in decades occurred in November 1975,

when the Labor Party government was undemocratically thrown out of office. The prominent Australian journalist mentioned earlier wrote an account of the tumultuous events surrounding this grave attack on Australian workers. This time, he aptly titled it, *Death of the Lucky Country*.

*Towards a Socialist Australia* is a collection of three documents adopted in 1976 and 1977 by the Australian Socialist Workers Party—sister organization of the U.S. SWP. The documents offer a clear analysis of the new situation and chart a course for the labor movement to fight back. They explain that this course must necessarily end in a workers government if the evils perpetrated by capitalism are to be ended.

Since the book was published late last year, the Socialist Workers Party and the Communist League, the two sympathizing organizations of the Fourth International, have fused into a single party called the Socialist Workers Party. The reports and resolutions adopted at the fusion convention in January of this year reaffirm the general line of the documents in this book.

American readers will find that many of the problems described are similar to those faced by the working class in the United States—soaring prices, high unemployment, racism, oppression of women, and environmental destruction, to name a few. There are a few questions, however, that are different.

One is the question of U.S. imperialism and Australian nationalism. Many radicals, including the Maoists, exalt

this nationalist sentiment as a way of justifying their efforts to form alliances with sections of the Australian capitalist class. The SWP rejects the reactionary notion that there is anything progressive about Australian nationalism. It explains that "Australia is an independent, small-to-medium imperialist power in its own right, not a colony or semi-colony of any other state. It has its own imperialist sphere of influence in Papua New Guinea, Fiji, and to an increasing extent, in other countries of South-East Asia."

"Australian capitalism," the SWP observes, "is not the vassal of American imperialism, but its junior partner."

Another aspect of Australian politics quite different from anything in the United States is the existence of a mass reformist workers party, the Australian Labor Party. The introduction by Jim McIlroy to *Towards a Socialist Australia* states that "a clear analysis of the Labor Party is perhaps the single most important question facing socialists in this country." And one of the documents, "The Labor Party and the Crisis of Australian Capitalism," concentrates on this subject.

This document, in fact, is an excellent example of how to deal with the question, worthy of serious study by Marxists in other countries where there are reformist labor parties, such as Britain and Canada. In the United States, where the American SWP advocates the formation of a labor party (not a reformist one, but a party of class struggle), this document will be a useful supplementary text for classes on the labor party. —Doug Jenness



## Letter from a postal worker

This week's column is by Marty Pettit, a letter-sorting machine operator in Kansas City and a member of the American Postal Workers Union.

KANSAS CITY, Mo.—Contract negotiations began April 13 between the U.S. Postal Service and four unions representing some 560,000 postal workers. The current pact expires July 20.

Largest of the unions is the 299,000-member American Postal Workers Union. Although postal workers are forbidden by Congress to strike, the APWU adopted a "no contract, no work" policy at its last convention.

A barrage of government and media propaganda is already being directed against postal workers.

An "independent" study by an Ohio University economist, Douglas Adie, claimed that postal salaries are "excessive by as much as one-third." The fact is that a newly hired clerk makes \$6.11 an hour, or \$12.713 a year, hardly an excessive wage.

The post office tries to blame workers for high postal rates and operating deficits, which must be closed with taxpayer subsidies. But in fact, both postal workers and ordinary mail users are footing

the bill so big business can send out billions of pieces of junk-mail advertising at cheap rates.

The U.S. Postal Service has *already* demanded a 22 percent rate hike after May 13, regardless of the fate of contract negotiations.

President Carter has once again proven his hypocrisy by vowing to limit annual wage increases for federal employees to 5.5 percent. Robert Strauss, Carter's "anti-inflation adviser," has publicly singled out postal workers as a target.

If postal workers were simply to keep up with the increased postage rates, our wages would have to rise 22 percent. Workers don't cause inflation—we are hardest hit by it and only try to compensate.

APWU President Emmet Andrews has noted that postal workers are looking at gains made recently by mine workers in their contract, including a 30 percent wage increase over three years. He says the APWU will not be bound by Carter's 5.5 percent maximum.

At the same time the Postal Service screams bloody murder about wages, they boast of a 5.2 percent productivity increase for fiscal 1977 over 1976. They have gotten more work out of fewer people, primarily through mechanization.

Mechanization has drastically altered the life of the postal workers. It means that in 1977 there were 24,000 fewer postal workers than in 1976, handling a record-breaking volume of 92.2 billion pieces of mail.

It means long hours of eye- and nerve-straining work at the LSMs (letter-sorting machines).

It means wholesale reassignments, sometimes for workers with twenty to thirty years of seniority.

It means mandatory overtime that reduces thousands of men and women to the status of zombies.

And it means an accident rate higher than the combined rates of the army, navy, air force, Veterans Administration, and ten other government departments.

Yet James Conway, deputy to the postmaster general, says, "We must handle larger volumes of mail with fewer people, that's the name of the game."

Already many members are thinking *strike* as rumors filter down about contemplated Postal Service attacks on gains we have won in the past, especially cost-of-living increases and the no-layoff clause.

## Women in Revolt

### 'No one has a greater stake'

Before the recent demonstration for the Equal Rights Amendment in Chicago, James Balanoff, director of the United Steelworkers of America District 31, sent a letter to steel union locals saying:

"No one has a greater stake in the passage of the ERA than the Labor movement. Almost every major trade union organization in this country is on record in support of the Equal Rights Amendment, including our International and the AFL-CIO . . . and with good reason.

"Today, approximately 42% of the American work force are women. An increasingly large percentage of our own union members are women. The ERA will make it unconstitutional to discriminate against women on the job. . . .

"The passage of the Equal Rights Amendment will not only benefit working women, but will also strengthen the labor movement in fighting for fair treatment and decent conditions for all working people.

"I urge you to join in supporting this Rally, to pass resolutions of endorsement in your local, and to encourage our membership to participate in the Labor Contingent."

Steelworkers from several locals put those words

into action. They passed resolutions, contributed money, printed leaflets, and chartered a bus to take members to the demonstration. The contingent of about sixty steelworkers, along with the contingent of fifty United Auto Workers members, was one of the most inspiring features of the Chicago rally.

All the signs show that the women's movement is having a big impact on the labor movement. Trade unionists are discussing women's rights and are ready to move. This ferment in the unions has been reflected in recent statements by trade-union leaders:

- George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, wrote a letter to the *New York Times* on April 24, urging extension of the deadline for ratifying the ERA. "It is precisely because so many state legislatures resorted to parliamentary burial devices in order to evade their responsibility during the specified period," Meany wrote, "that the A.F.L.-C.I.O., the civil rights movement and the women's organizations are urging the Congress to reconsider its 1917 standard and extend the time limit as long as it takes to force each legislature to go on record."

- On April 2 the United Auto Workers legislative

### Diane Wang



conference included the ERA on its agenda. "We're going to do our utmost to put Illinois over the top on ERA," UAW Region 4 Director Robert Johnston pledged.

- Eleanor Smeal, president of the National Organization for Women, spoke to the almost 3,000 delegates at the AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades National Conference on April 17.

- The march for the ERA in Virginia last January of more than 3,000 people was organized by a coalition of trade unions. The coalition had been initiated by the meat cutters union.

The job now is to turn union support into action for the ERA. And the best opportunity is around NOW's July 9 demonstration for the ERA in Washington, D.C.

Trade unionists can get resolutions passed in locals. Solicit donations. Ask unions to lend their offices and staffs for work. Urge locals to print leaflets. Charter buses to get their members to Washington on July 9.

Labor does have a lot to gain by helping get the ERA passed. And women have a major stake in getting the active support of the country's labor movement behind us.

## Capitalism Fouls Things Up

### Carter's 'moral and political courage'

When Jimmy Carter unveiled his real nuclear power program last month (see this column in the April 14 *Militant*), a lot of environmentalists felt betrayed. By ordering full steam ahead on nuclear power, Carter had seemingly backtracked on a campaign promise to rely on nukes as "a last resort" only.

Tony Roisman of the Natural Resources Defense Council referred to the Carter nuclear power package as "the final corruption of the president's moral and political courage on the nuclear issue."

Actually, Carter never had any "moral or political courage" on the nuclear issue. Carter the candidate said whatever was necessary to win votes.

Carter knows the multi-billion-dollar nuclear industry has a lot riding on the future of nuclear power in this country. The longer it takes them to build a plant, the less money they make. Environmental safeguards and public hearings are only "roadblocks."

And it is precisely those multiple billions of dollars that are Carter's top priority. With the

industry invested so deeply, any presidential hesitancy would be disastrous to corporate balance sheets.

Now, according to columnist Mary McGrory, "battered environmentalists are putting their hopes in California's Gov. Jerry Brown." Brown has lately attracted a good deal of attention because he opposed building a nuclear power plant in central California.

Brown is a careful reader of the public mind. He knows that a recent Harris poll found that opposition to a crash program of nuclear power sailed from 24 percent to 34 percent in nine months, while support dropped from 61 percent to 47 percent. Brown remembers that a proposal to build a giant nuclear plant in central California was roundly defeated.

All this is very important for Brown's gubernatorial reelection bid and for his future presidential hopes. But let's look back a couple of years, to 1976.

In 1976, antinuclear activists succeeded in getting before California voters a ballot measure aimed at

ensuring safer operation of nuclear plants.

The nuclear industry spent more than \$1 million to defeat the Nuclear Safeguards Initiative. Brown remained publicly "neutral." But he sided with the industry in pushing through the state legislature a series of weaker bills aimed at undercutting support for the initiative. The three-bill package passed five days before the vote.

Meanwhile, despite his verbal opposition to nuclear power, Brown hasn't called for shutting down a single one of the plants now operating in California.

It would be a big mistake to rely on Jerry Brown or any other Democratic or Republican politicians to lead the fight against nuclear power.

The way to stop nukes was shown by the recent actions in Barnwell, South Carolina, and Rocky Flats, Colorado. These demonstrations—the largest yet held in the United States against nukes—point the way toward building a mass movement that is visible and in the streets. We need to have more actions like the ones at Barnwell and Rocky Flats.

### Arnold Weissberg



## Quote unquote

"In the Angolan operation, we were now lying to each other, even while we read and wrote cables which directly contradicted those lies. In fact, there were several levels of untruth functioning simultaneously, different stories for different aspects of our activities."

—John Stockwell, former commander of the CIA Angola Task Force, in his book 'In Search of Enemies'

## MISTRIAL DECLARED IN ABORTION CASE

After deliberating for eleven days a California jury declared it was deadlocked in the case of Dr. William Waddill. Prosecutors accused Waddill of strangling a fetus that lived for a short time after a late-pregnancy abortion.

Seven of the twelve jurors voted to acquit Waddill.

Abortion foes have dramatized the trial, hoping to intimidate doctors and whip up sentiment that abortion is murder.

Before the verdict was reached Waddill commented, "These 'right to life' people have been critical of me. Well, I believe in my patient's right to her life, her right to decide what she wants. . . ."

On May 15 Judge James Turner will decide whether Waddill will be tried again.

## KENT STATE MEMORIALS

Militant correspondent Bob Laycock reports that 1,500 people took part in a memorial candlelight march at Kent State University the night of May 3. May 4 marked the eighth anniversary of the murder of four students by the National Guard during anti-war protests in 1970.

The next day, classes were canceled, and two memorial events drew nearly 2,000 people.

After a peaceful march

around campus by 750 people, about fifty people marched to the site of the 1970 massacre to protest the construction of a new gym there.

Riot-equipped sheriff's deputies opened fire with tear gas, driving the demonstrators away.

## PICKETS HIT PROPOSED ABORTION RESTRICTIONS

Thirty people picketed the Plainfield office of New Jersey State Senator Peter McDough May 3 to protest a restrictive abortion bill McDough has introduced.

Patterned after a similar law in Akron, Ohio, the bill would make abortions far more difficult for women to obtain. (For more details see page 17.)

The picket was sponsored by the American Civil Liberties Union and a group of Rutgers University law students.

## PHILADELPHIA MOVE

The potential for a bloody attack by Philadelphia cops on MOVE, a predominantly Black countercultural organization whose headquarters the police had blockaded since March 16, has abated. City officials and MOVE reached an agreement May 3.

All eighteen MOVE members have surrendered to the cops, gone through arrest proceedings, and returned to their home. Water and electricity for the group's house, which had been cut off by the city, have been restored.

However, police will be stationed in the area for the next three months and can stop and frisk visitors to the MOVE house.

## YVONNE WANROW BENEFIT

Yvonne Wanrow, a Colville Indian, spoke about her case and the use of the American legal system against oppressed minorities at a Milwaukee benefit April 21.

In the early hours of August 12, 1972, two men broke into the house where Wanrow was staying, threatening her children. Wanrow shot at the men, resulting in the death of one.

An all-white jury sentenced Wanrow to forty years.

Public protests and rallies led to a successful appeal of Wanrow's case in the Washington State Supreme Court. Now that court is considering whether to order another trial.

Wanrow told her Milwaukee audience, "I'm appealing to you because you're higher than any court in this country. Oppressed people know that there's no justice in this country. And I'm appealing to the people."

## COURT ORDERS JOANNE LITTLE TO N.C.

On May 9 the New York State Court of Appeals ordered Joanne Little returned to a North Carolina prison within ten days. The judges refused to even hear evidence about why Little fears mistreatment or death if sent back.

In 1975 Little was charged with murder for defending herself against a jailer who tried to rape her. A nationwide defense effort by Black and women's rights groups won her acquittal.

But Little was returned to prison for a burglary charge. Refused probation and afraid for her life, she fled the prison in 1977.

After she was arrested in Brooklyn, New York Governor Carey moved to extradite her. Little has now exhausted ap-

peals in the New York courts. Her lawyers plan to fight the extradition in federal courts.

Dianne Feeley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of New York, denounced the court's decision. "The judges simply closed their eyes to the plight of Joanne Little. Women, Blacks, prisoners, everyone who wants justice done should come to Joanne Little's defense."

## ANTI-'BAKKE' CONFERENCE

More than 200 people attended a "Conference on the Struggle Against Racism" in New York May 6. The conference was sponsored by the New York City Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision (NY-COBD).

Following on the heels of the successful April 15 march on Washington to protest the Bakke case, activists at the conference engaged in a wide-ranging discussion on how to continue the fight to overturn Bakke and defeat other racist attacks.

Conference participants reached agreement on a number of activities, among them a May 11 demonstration called by students at several predominantly Black and Puerto Rican campuses of the City University of New York threatened with closure. The meeting also agreed to help

organize support for a June 16 picket and rally in commemoration of the 1976 Soweto, South Africa, rebellion.

The conference also discussed participation in the July 9 March on Washington for the Equal Rights Amendment called by the National Organization for Women.

## ILLINOIS NUKE PROTEST

Two hundred demonstrators braved freezing rain to protest at General Electric's nuclear fuel rod dump site at Morris, Illinois, fifty miles southwest of Chicago on May 7. More than 300 metric tons of radioactive waste are buried at the Morris facility, which is the only commercial dump for high level atomic waste in the country.

Speakers at the rally included Joe Franz, speaking for United Steelworkers Local 1010, and Sid Lens of the Mobilization for Survival.

The rally was sponsored by the Bailly Alliance, an anti-nuclear power group, and Mobilization for Survival.

## GAY RIGHTS DEFEAT

Antigay bigots in Wichita, Kansas, succeeded in defeating that city's gay rights bill in a May 9 referendum. The final vote was 47,246 to 10,005 to repeal the seven-month-old ordinance banning discrimination against gays.

The defeat follows those suffered in Miami, Florida, last spring and St. Paul, Minnesota, last month. A similar referendum will be held in Eugene, Oregon, on May 23.

## FARM WORKERS WIN GRAPE CONTRACTS

The United Farm Workers union announced May 8 it had won contracts with seven table-grape growers near Delano, California, the area where the UFW began its organizing in 1965.

It took the union two and a half years to get the contract. A majority of farm workers at the seven ranches voted for UFW representation at an election in the fall of 1975.

## Antinuke protesters arrested

Twenty-eight protesters at the Rocky Flats, Colorado, nuclear weapons plant were arrested May 5 and charged with trespassing. The group, which included former Pentagon analyst Daniel Ellsberg, had been sitting on railroad tracks leading into the plant for six days.

All twenty-eight were released on their own recognition.

Twenty-five of the group returned to a site near the plant May 7, vowing to prevent any trains from entering, and were arrested again the next day.



Militant/Mary Imo

# What's Going On

## CALIFORNIA

**LOS ANGELES: CRENSHAW 'BROTHER MALCOLM X—REMINISCENCES OF A BLACK REVOLUTIONARY!'** A new play by Frank Greenwood. Fri., May 19, 7:30 p.m. St. John's Church, 514 W. Adams. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 732-8196.

## SAN DIEGO

**THE JARVIS INITIATIVE: A TAX BREAK FOR WORKING PEOPLE?** Speaker: Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party gubernatorial candidate. Fri., May 19, 8 p.m. 1053 15th St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 234-4630.

## COLORADO

### DENVER

**SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL & CAMPAIGN WEEKEND.** Three classes by Clifton DeBerry, 1964 Socialist Workers Party candidate for president. "Black workers & the labor movement." Fri., May 19, 8 p.m. "The civil rights movement." Sat., May 20, 10 a.m. "The origins of Black nationalism." Sat. 2 p.m. Campaign rally Sat., 7:30 p.m. Five Points Community Center, 2855 Tremont. Donation: \$1 per class or \$2 for series. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign '78. For more information call (303) 837-1018.

## ILLINOIS

**CHICAGO: NORTH SIDE THE INVASION OF LEBANON—THE TRUTH ABOUT THE MIDEAST TODAY.** A panel discussion. Fri., May 19, 8 p.m. 1870 N. Halsted. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 642-4811.

**CHICAGO: SOUTH SIDE IN DEFENSE OF WOMEN'S RIGHTS.** Speakers: Lauren Furst, University of Chicago Women's Union; Barbara Williams, Black Women's Task Force; Patricia Grogan, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate and member of USWA Local 65. Fri., May 19, 7:30 p.m. 2251 E. 71st St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 643-5520.

## KENTUCKY

### LOUISVILLE

**WHAT IS AN OPPRESSED NATIONALITY? BLACKS AND REVOLUTION.** Two classes on Black nationalism. Speaker: Maceo Dixon, national Black work director, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., May 20, 1 p.m. & 4 p.m. 1505 W. Broadway. Donation: \$1.50 per class. Ausp: SWP & Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

**SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY.** Speakers: Jim Burfeind, striking member of the International Association of Machinists Lodge 2409 at General Electric and SWP candidate for Congress, 3rd C.D., speaking on 'Revolutionary strategy for the labor movement'; Renita Alexander, SWP candidate for state senate, District 4, St. Louis, Mo., speaking on 'Why Black women support abortion rights.' Sat., May 20, 8:30 p.m. 1505 W. Broadway. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

## LOUISIANA NEW ORLEANS

**WHAT SOCIALISTS STAND FOR.** Speakers: Rashaad Ali, Karen Newton, and Joel Aber, socialists active in the Black, women's, and trade-union movements. Fri., May 19, 8 p.m. 3319 S. Carrollton. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (504) 486-8048.

## NEW JERSEY

### NEWARK

**ABORTION RIGHTS UNDER ATTACK.** A panel discussion. Speakers: Ann Baker, Abortion Task Force, NOW-New Jersey; Lin Fulcher, women's rights coordinator of New Jersey ACLU; Marion Cloud, Englewood Abortion Clinic; Alice

Conner, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate. Fri., May 19, 8 p.m. 11A Central Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

## NEW YORK NEW YORK CITY

**SPEAKOUT AGAINST THE CUTBACKS.** Speakers: Ray Markey, Central Labor Council delegate for District 3 AFSCME; Henry Lewis, Coalition of Concerned Transit Workers; speaker from York College. Fri., May 19, 8 p.m. Milbank Chapel, 525 W. 120th St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 982-8214.

## OHIO

### TOLEDO

**MALCOLM X: THE MAN AND HIS IDEAS.** Speaker: Pat Wright, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress; others. Sun., May 21, 7 p.m. 2507 Collingwood Blvd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore. For more information call (419) 242-9743.

## UTAH

### SALT LAKE CITY

**REAL HISTORY OF ISRAELI ZIONISM.** Speaker: Peter Buch, author of 'Burning Issues of the Mideast Crisis.' Fri., May 19, 8 p.m. University of Utah, School of

Social Work building, Lecture Hall 134. Ausp: Organization of Arab Students.

**TWO CLASSES ON THE SOCIALIST PERSPECTIVE FOR THE MIDDLE EAST.** Speaker: Peter Buch. Sat., May 20, 11 a.m. & 2 p.m. 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Fl. Donation: \$.50 per class. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

## WASHINGTON

### TACOMA

**THE FIGHT AGAINST NUCLEAR POWER.** Speakers from the Socialist Workers Party and the Crabshell Alliance. Fri., May 19, 8 p.m. 1022 S. J St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (206) 627-0432.

## WISCONSIN

### MILWAUKEE

**WISCONSIN SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CAMPAIGN RALLY.** Speakers: Adrienne Kaplan, SWP candidate for governor; Bill Breihan, SWP candidate for lieutenant-governor; Andrew Pulley, 1972 SWP vice-presidential candidate. Sat., May 20, 7:30 p.m. Social hour 6:30 p.m. 3901 N. 27th St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Wisconsin Socialist Workers 1978 Campaign Committee. For more information call (414) 445-2076.





### Grand jury victims released

On May 8 Pedro Archuleta and Julio, Luis, and Andres Rosado were released from a New York City prison. The four, members of the National Commission on Hispanic Affairs of the Episcopal church, were jailed after refusing to testify before a grand jury set up in November 1976 to investigate the FALN.

The FALN is the mysterious group that authorities claim is responsible for a series of bombings.

The prisoners' release marks the end of an eighteen-month witch-hunt in which grand juries in

Chicago and New York, in collaboration with the FBI, jailed nine people for terms of three and a half to eleven months.

Julio Rosado told the press, "We were targeted because we advocate Puerto Rican independence. We are also active in the Puerto Rican communities here to bring about social change, to improve education and housing."

The four were released because the eighteen-month term of the grand jury had expired, and no evidence linking the prisoners with the FALN was produced.



Leaving federal court: from left, Pedro Archuleta, Andres Rosado, Julio Rosado.

The agreement—when signed—will cover 2,000 workers at peak harvest.

### EXPOSE FBI ROLE IN KAREN SILKWOOD CASE

Court documents filed in a suit by the parents of Karen Silkwood have revealed FBI complicity in attempts to cover up the truth about her death.

Silkwood worked at the Kerr-McGee plutonium plant in Oklahoma until her death in 1974 in a mysterious auto accident. At the time she died, she was on her way to meet a *New York Times* reporter, with documents revealing Kerr-McGee's lax safety precautions in the handling of the deadly substance.

Lawrence Olson, FBI agent in charge of investigating Silkwood's death, worked closely with Kerr-McGee officials. According to the court papers, Olson shared the company's assumption that Silkwood herself was responsible for plutonium contamination of her apartment.

Olson repeatedly perjured himself to a congressional committee and in earlier statements in the suit.

The Justice Department has sought to prevent Silkwood's family attorneys from obtaining some government records citing "national security."

### DID GOV'T POISON GIs?

The U.S. government sprayed more than five million acres of Vietnamese forests with the powerful defoliant Agent Orange, which contains a substance called dioxin, during the Vietnam war. Dioxin is one of the most toxic chemicals known to science and has been implicated in health problems and birth defects.

Many of the 3.5 million GIs who were sent to Vietnam were stationed in areas adjacent to the spraying. And a growing number of them are showing the effects.

One Veterans Administration counselor in Chicago has assembled sixty cases of dioxin poisoning. Eight hundred Chicago-area veterans have sought to file claims.

According to the New York-based Citizen Soldier organization, a coalition has launched a national effort to find and help GI victims of dioxin.

### NY BOOKSTORE BOMBED

An outfit calling itself the "Jewish Armed Resistance Group" has claimed responsibility for the May 2 bombing of Four Continents Book Store in New York City. Four Continents handles only Soviet books and periodicals.

The bomb blew out a window and slightly damaged the building in the midnight attack.

A spokesperson at the store told the *Militant* that the store's windows were broken periodically, twice in the last month alone.

### PRISONERS SUE

Several inmates at Jamesville Penitentiary, outside Syracuse, New York, have filed a class-action suit to have the prison shut down. Recently the New York Commission on Corrections reported that the prison is "unfit for human habitation." Built in the late 1800s, the prison lacks basic fire protection. It has inadequate electrical wiring and a plumbing system beyond repair, said the report.

**Essence of capitalism**—"Open the door of a 1973 Chevy on a used-car lot and, voila! essence of Mercedes-Benz sets your nose quivering. Or maybe you prefer a car with the subtly elegant smell of a Rolls Royce. Well, we have that too. . . . The used-car dealer has sprayed the interior with 'new car' essence, one of the esoteric sidelines of International Flavors & Fragrances, the largest of the companies dealing in the essences that make perfume smell like flowers and strawberries taste strawberrier."—the *New York Times*

**No petty larceny**—It's tough to get action on FBI agents who burglarize, open people's mail, and tap their phones, but two agents were fired—one who got caught shoplifting a bottle of liquor and the other, some phonograph records.

**Our progressive penal system**—Those who criticize the treatment of prison inmates should consider the case of John Mitchell. The former attorney general was furloughed last December to undergo surgery. He's now been granted

an additional furlough until May 26 for convalescence. On June 21 he's eligible for parole.

**It figures**—Last year California fruit and vegetable prices soared to a record high because of the drought. This year prices are on their way to a new record. Why? Because of the rain.

**From ridiculous to subliminal**—An Atlanta conference of engineers was told that in a pilot department store test, a subliminal message is embedded in background music. The message: "I won't steal." Next, in the plant, Muzak plus, subliminally, "I will work more and expect less."

**Thought for the week**—"Cancer . . . is probably one of nature's many ways of eliminating sexually effete individuals who would otherwise, in nature's view, compete for available food resources without advantage to the species as a whole."—Francis Roe, consultant to the American Industrial Health Council of the Manufacturing Chemists Association.

## By Any Means Necessary

John Hawkins

### Gunrunning & charity

Using the courtroom to stage a publicity stunt can be a tricky thing—even for the federal government.

It gets even trickier if the judge involved decides to dispense a little justice, momentarily forgetting that any decision he makes may set a precedent.

It seems like that's just what happened at the end of March, when the government dragged Olin Corporation to court on charges of running guns to South Africa.

The government's indictment of Olin—the owners of Winchester, one of the country's leading firearms manufacturers—was the first time that a corporation had been charged with violating the U.S. embargo on arms sales to South Africa.

This embargo has been in effect since 1963. And you can be sure it's been violated by many arms makers besides Olin.

But the Justice Department was not too interested in nabbing gunrunners. Carter and his attorney general, Griffin Bell, had their eyes more on the students, unionists, Black civil rights groups, and others who have been demanding in stronger tones that the U.S. end its economic, political, and military support of the racist South African regime.

To try to demonstrate that the Carter administration's antiapartheid rhetoric had some substance to it, the Justice Department brought Olin to court.

A week after the indictment, Olin pleaded no contest. And nine days later, on March 30, District Judge Robert Zampano passed sentence on the guilty conglomerate. He ordered Olin to pay \$510,000 for charity in New Haven as "reparations" for its South Africa smuggling operation.

According to the *New York Times*, "the unusual move surprised lawyers for both the company and the Government."

Usually in such cases the corporation would be fined and the money paid to the U.S. Treasury. But Judge Zampano decided to place Olin on probation with the condition that the company set up a charitable fund with the money instead.

Before imposing sentence Zampano explained, "A financial fine is not enough. These violations could reflect on the credibility of the United States in the eyes of the world. As a result, every citizen of this country suffers."

The judge also noted that workers at the company's Winchester division—many of whom are Black—were "very concerned" with their boss's gunrunning to the South African regime.

Certainly the government lawyers were not too upset with the judge's grandstanding pronouncements. Nor were they upset at the amount of money involved.

But when it came to ordering an upstanding component of the American free-enterprise system to pay reparations—that was going a little too far.

The closest thing they could find to a precedent was a 1973 case involving Allied Chemical Corporation. The company was found guilty on 900 counts of polluting the James River in Virginia. It was fined \$13.2 million.

After Allied donated \$8 million to establish the Virginia Environmental Endowment, the court reduced the fine to \$5 million.

But that was *voluntary* action by the company—a far cry from being *forced* to set up some charity. For the capitalists, this is an unpardonable encroachment on what they view as their property rights.

Judge Zampano's decision—as the government lawyers fear—may set a precedent for similar encroachments through decisions in other cases.

But just as important, it highlights the tremendous depth of sentiment in support of the Black freedom struggle in southern Africa among the American people—especially Blacks.

Mobilized in demonstrations, mass meetings, pickets, and other protests, this sentiment can have a direct impact on U.S. policy and lend international support to the Black masses in South Africa, Namibia, and Zimbabwe.

And we can be sure those freedom fighters are preparing an even bigger encroachment on the property rights of their colonial overlords and imperialist exploiters along the road to national liberation.

## British general strike

This month is the fifty-second anniversary of the general strike of 1926—one of the greatest working-class upsurges in British history. It marked a crucial chapter in the battle of Leon Trotsky and the Left Opposition in the Soviet Communist Party against the developing counterrevolutionary policies of Stalinism.

The general strike grew out of a defensive struggle by British coal miners. The mineowners had set out to slash wages, lengthen hours, and cripple the miners union.

At the end of April 1926 the miners were locked out. On May 1 the Trades Union Council voted overwhelmingly for a general strike.

The top officials of the TUC—the General Council—had done nothing to prepare the strike and everything they could to avoid it. But they were under immense pressure from the radicalized ranks of the unions.

In a magnificent display of strength and solidarity, nearly 4 million workers joined the strike (out of a unionized work force of 5.5 million). Industry, transportation, and newspapers were shut down tight. On local initiative, the strikers organized themselves for effective picketing and self-defense.

Unions all over the world launched solidarity actions and raised funds for the British strikers. The most enthusiastic were the Russian workers, who—despite their own poverty after years of civil war—donated millions of pounds.

When the Russian workers sent the first installment, however, it was rejected by the General Council as “damned Russian gold.”

The conservative, bureaucratic leaders of the TUC were terrified by the revolutionary potential of the mass mobilization of industrial workers. After nine days they called off the strike. The miners fought on alone until November, when they were finally forced back to work out of starvation and exhaustion.

These events became a top issue in the struggle of the Left Opposition because *Stalin's policies helped the reformist TUC bureaucrats carry out their betrayal.*

Back in May 1925 an agreement had been reached between the Soviet and British union leaderships to form the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Unity Committee. Its stated purpose was to promote international trade-union unity and to fight against the danger of new wars.

Trotsky approved of the entente between the two union movements. But he was alarmed that Stalin and Bukharin (at that time factional allies) were fostering illusions about the reliability of the British union bureaucrats as defenders of either the British workers or the Soviet Union.

A temporary alliance with the reformist union officials was correct, Trotsky explained, only as part of an overall revolutionary strategy. He wrote:

“A basic principle of this [united front] tactic is: ‘With the masses—always; with the vacillating leaders—sometimes, but only so long as they stand at the head of the masses.’ It is necessary to make use of vacillating leaders while the masses are pushing them ahead, without for a moment abandoning criticism of these leaders. And it is necessary to break with them at the right time when they turn from vacillation to hostile action and betrayal.”

The initial mistake on the Anglo-Russian Committee had stemmed in part from seeing the bloc as a possible shortcut to building a revolutionary party in Britain. But the error was deepened enormously when—despite the General Council's betrayal of the general strike—Stalin and Bukharin refused to withdraw from the alliance.

In the first place, this gave the General Council a “left” cover for its strikebreaking treachery against the miners.

Second, the Stalin faction increasingly began to justify its political support for the proimperialist union bureaucrats as a “diplomatic” necessity for defending the Soviet Union.

Such a course would have the opposite effect, Trotsky warned. “In the critical moment [the reformists] will come to the aid of imperialism against the revolution.”

The TUC General Council went on to support British imperialism's bloody repression of the Chinese revolution in late 1926. In 1927, when they no longer needed it as cover, the TUC bureaucrats themselves busted up the committee.

The Anglo-Russian Committee contained the kernel of the policy that would lead the Stalinists to support capitalist parties and governments and to openly suppress revolutionary struggles around the world in the name of “building socialism in a single country.” There is a direct line from the Anglo-Russian Committee to Brezhnev's wining and dining Nixon in Moscow while American bombs rained down on North Vietnam.

Trotsky's writings on the Anglo-Russian Committee are invaluable for understanding the roots of Stalinism. In addition, his discussion of the united-front policy and revolutionary tactics in the unions is extremely pertinent today—not least of all in relation to the recent coal miners' strike in this country.

These writings are collected in the book *Leon Trotsky on Britain*, available for \$4.95 from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.

—Andy Rose

## Letters

### ‘Guardian’ on SWP

While reading the April 12 *Guardian*, I was shocked to discover the new policy the Socialist Workers Party is undertaking. As I understand the *Guardian*, you are moving to penetrate the industrial working class, thus turning from your “heavy emphasis on students and youth.” This is “highly consistent” with your “opportunistic practice of jumping into various issues after they have clearly become a focus of struggle for large numbers of people.”

It seems that “in past years the SWP has set up a variety of groups on nearly every issue facing the left: the National Peace Action Coalition, the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition, the Political Rights Defense Fund, the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners, and the National Student Coalition Against Racism. The SWP continues this approach in its strategy for working-class struggles.”

Hmmm, so *this* is what this Trotskyism stuff is all about. Sounds pretty dubious to me. Perhaps you should only jump into various issues that have not become a focus of struggle for anybody. Or perhaps you should have tried, like the numerous Mao-inspired youth of the 1960s, to build a base in a working class that had not yet truly begun to mobilize.

Or, better yet, instead of setting up your “opportunistic” groups for every issue facing the left, perhaps you should lie down and die. At least then you couldn't be accused of opportunism. Why, look at other left groups—very few of them can be called opportunist. On the contrary, opportunities are passing most of them by at a furious rate.

No, I don't know. You seem kind of pushy. What are you trying to do, anyway? Start a revolution or something?

John Hennig  
Charlottesville, Virginia

### Future under socialism

I thoroughly enjoy the new layout of the *Militant* and the variety of coverage that can be found in it.

I would like to see articles not just on the present state of affairs, injustices, victories, etc., but also a report on what the future could be like under socialism. In other words, the goal we are striving toward, as I've read in *America's Road to Socialism* [by James P. Cannon, available from Pathfinder Press].

In one of his letters, Cannon said, “. . . but the people love the thought of a better future, even if they personally will not participate in it; nothing appeals more strongly to the imagination, nothing moves and inspires people more powerfully, than the hope of a better future. This must occupy an important place in our propaganda. . . .”

This could be an excellent addition to the *Militant*.  
Shishonee Ayanna  
Birmingham, Michigan

### From Canadian trucker

Your coverage of the miners' strike was great, but I suppose you've been told that already. I'm a trucker, and if there's anything happening in the United States in the Teamsters or with the independent truckers, it would be nice to read about it in the *Militant*.  
Robert Ages  
Regina, Canada

### Oregon subscriber

The *Militant* appears to be a paper with good factual and varied news. Palestine and women are my current source of energy—your April 28 issue was informative on both topics!

So sign me up for the ten-week offer, and most likely I'll be mailing you a six-month subscription also.

Martha Marsh  
Dundee, Oregon

### Social security sham

I am a government worker. To be specific, I work for the Social Security Administration.

You may disagree with me on this, but take it from one who has observed firsthand the sacred institution of Social Security for the past five years. I know that most socialists lauded the inception of Social Security in 1935 as a major victory. I don't see it that way. All it was to become was a small offering by the capitalists to calm down the masses during the depression. Under the guise of a true workers' insurance program, it did just that—calm down the masses. Unfortunately, it became yet another example of the haves getting out of helping the have-nots.

Look who now bears the brunt of Social Security taxes—it's been the same for the past forty years. Social Security is a disgrace. It discriminates against women. It gives advantages to the self-employed and so-called professional people (doctors, lawyers, corporation officers) over the average working man or woman.

M.C.  
Lansing, New York

In reply—We agree with M.C. that the Social Security system does not provide a decent life for retired workers. Despite its limitations, however, when Social Security was won in the 1930s it represented an important concession to the growing belief among working people that society should provide for a secure retirement.

Today the capitalists are trying to take back even this small step toward genuine social security. A recent *Militant* article by Jon Britton reports on the new attacks by the Carter administration. In 1979, retirement benefits will be gradually reduced to 47 percent of preretirement income.

We refer our readers to Britton's article, entitled, “Carter slashes Social Security benefits,” which appears in the March 3 *Militant*.

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# Learning About Socialism

## Capitalism and full employment

### Unemployment

I am no socialist. I nevertheless have sympathies with some of the points made in your article "NAACP conference call" in the February 24 *Militant*, as with certain other articles in your paper, particularly the one on the beating of Richard Lapchick by racist thugs at Virginia Wesleyan College.

Yet I take umbrage with the point that billions now spent on the war budget could be better used to put the unemployed back to work.

You say that wealthy capitalists *profit* from unemployment and discrimination against Blacks. Unemployment means reduced business and hence loss of profits. A full-employment economy is best for business, and most businesses now know this.

David Patek  
Chicago, Illinois

### Keep articles thorough

I beg to disagree with the view of letter writer Alex Koskinas in the May 5 *Militant*. [Koskinas recommended that *Militant* articles be shortened to no more than one page.] I do not think your articles should be shortened to omit a lot of important, pertinent points.

It should be remembered that a lot of the people who read your newspaper are not members of the Socialist Workers Party or sympathetic to socialism when they first come into contact with the *Militant*.

I'm still learning about socialism and want to be able to discuss with others the aspects of socialism more intelligently and hopefully more convincingly. I can't do it unless I get the information from the *Militant*, primarily. Marx, Engels, Trotsky, and Lenin are sometimes quite hard to read.

Keep the articles thorough. We all need that to combat the capitalist garbage bombarded at us from all sides.

W.S.  
Chicago, Illinois

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 you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

### Correction

An error appeared on page 4 of the May *International Socialist Review*. The sentence reading "Workers do have complete self-confidence in their ability to reorganize production for the needs of society, . . ." should read, "Workers do not have complete self-confidence in their ability to reorganize production for the needs of society. . . ."

In a letter reprinted on this page, David Patek writes: "you say that wealthy capitalists *profit* from unemployment and discrimination against Blacks. Unemployment means reduced business and hence loss of profits. A full-employment economy is best for business, and most businesses now know this."

Let's take up the question of discrimination first.

According to a November 1977 report by the U.S. Department of Labor, average weekly earnings for white workers were \$217, compared to \$171 for Blacks—a difference of 21 percent.

If we multiply this difference in wages by the nearly 11 million Black workers in the United States, we get about \$26 billion a year. This is a rough estimate of the minimum *direct* profit that capitalists make every year from discrimination against Blacks. And that's not to mention the billions more in profit from discrimination against Chicanos and other Hispanic workers, and women.

What about the rest of Patek's argument?

When Patek says that "unemployment means reduced business and hence loss of profits," he puts his finger on a real contradiction facing the capitalists.

Value is produced only by human labor. The exploitation of labor is the basis for profits under capitalism. Logically, this would seem to mean that the greater the work force, the greater the profit.

But two other factors must be considered. First of all, in order for the capitalist to realize a profit, the products produced by labor must be sold on the market. A warehouse full of refrigerators or automobiles that can't be sold is a *liability* from the point of view of capitalists, no matter how many people want and need such products.

We saw an example of this in 1974, when unemployment in the United States suddenly shot up to nearly 10 percent. Millions of workers were laid off their jobs precisely because "a full-employment economy" was *not* profitable to the owners of industry.

Secondly, there is a question of what wages are paid to the workers.

Even when capitalists can find a ready market for their products, it is only profitable for them to hire additional workers if wages are low enough. As Karl Marx explained in *Capital* (a less detailed presentation can be found in Marx's *Wage-Labor and Capital*), maintaining a pool of unemployed workers—"the reserve army of labor"—is absolutely necessary for holding wages down.

In practice, the capitalists themselves ensure maintenance

of this reserve army of labor by their constant drive to increase labor productivity. They want to get more production from fewer workers precisely so that they won't have to hire more workers. Or, better yet from their point of view, so that they can fire some of the workers they now employ.

These are the economic arguments against the idea that "a full-employment economy is best for business, and most businesses now know this." And there is powerful supporting evidence.

For example, if most businesses "know" that full employment would be good for them, why do business organizations consistently oppose greater government spending to create jobs? Why don't corporate lobbyists push for a shorter workweek with no cut in pay—a sure way to bring about full employment. In fact, why don't giant corporations such as GM, Ford, and U.S. Steel institute a shorter workweek with no cut in pay on their own?

The reason, of course, is that to actually move toward full employment would cut into corporate profits.

The real attitude of the ruling class on the issue of full employment was indicated in an article in the September 14, 1977, *Wall Street Journal*. Herbert Stein, a former chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers under Nixon and Ford, and a member of the *Journal's* Board of Contributors, said:

"I would like to put forth for consideration the hypothesis that we are now at full employment."

With more than 7 million people looking for work according to the government's own, understated figures, such a "hypothesis" seems outrageous to any worker.

But Stein is only extending the logic that has long been used in these matters by the capitalists and their government. He points out that "about 30 years ago [capitalist] economists got into the habit of calling 4% unemployment full employment."

And "in the late 1960s economists began to think that if 4% had been the right number in 1947 and 1957 it was no longer the right number." So, he says, the "full employment" figure has been steadily raised—and should be raised further.

This is the only solution the ruling class and its representatives propose for unemployment—to redefine what the word means.

Full employment would certainly be in the interests of the vast majority of the American people—the working class. But it would not be best for profits. And, to paraphrase Patek, "most businesses know this." —David Frankel

## If You Like This Paper, Look Us Up

Where to find the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and socialist books and pamphlets

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**CALIFORNIA:** Berkeley: SWP, YSA, 3264 Adeline St. Zip: 94703. Tel: (415) 653-7156. East Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 1237 S. Atlantic Blvd. Zip: 90022. Tel: (213) 265-1347. Los Angeles, Crenshaw District: SWP, YSA, 2167 W. Washington Blvd. Zip: 90018. Tel: (213) 732-8196. Los Angeles: City-wide SWP, YSA, 1250 Wilshire Blvd., Room 404. Zip: 90017. Tel: (213) 482-1820. Los Angeles, Southeast: SWP, YSA, 2554 Saturn Ave., Huntington Park. 90255. Tel: (213) 582-1975.

Oakland: SWP, YSA, 1467 Fruitvale Ave. Zip: 94601. Tel: (415) 261-1210. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630. San Francisco, Mission District: SWP, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. San Francisco, Western Addition: SWP, 973 Page St. Zip: 94117. Tel: (415) 626-6814. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 942 E. Santa Clara St. Zip: 95112. Tel: (408) 295-8342.

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**GEORGIA:** East Atlanta: SWP, 471A Flat Shoals Ave. SE, P.O. Box 17821. Zip: 30316. Tel: (404) 688-6739. West Atlanta: SWP, 137 Ashby, P.O. Box 92040. Zip: 30314. Tel: (404) 755-2940.

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**KENTUCKY:** Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952 University Station. Zip: 40506. Tel: (606) 269-6262. Louisville: SWP, 1505 W. Broadway, P.O. Box 3593. Zip: 40201. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

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**MICHIGAN:** Ann Arbor: YSA, Room 4321, Michigan Union, U of M. Zip: 48109. Detroit, East Side: SWP, 12920 Mack Ave. Zip: 48215. Tel: (313) 824-1160. Detroit, West Side: SWP, 18415 Wyoming. Zip: 48221. Tel: (313) 341-6436. Detroit: SWP, YSA, 1310 Broadway. Zip: 48226. Tel: (313) 961-5675. Mt. Pleasant: YSA, Box 51 Warriner Hall, Central Mich. Univ. Zip: 48859.

**MINNESOTA:** Minneapolis: SWP, YSA, 23 E. Lake St. Zip: 55408. Tel: (612) 825-6663. St. Paul: SWP, 176 Western Ave. North Zip: 55102. Tel: (612) 222-8929.

**MISSOURI:** Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. St. Louis: SWP, YSA, 6223 Delmar Blvd. Zip: 63130. Tel: (314) 725-1570.

**NEBRASKA:** Omaha: YSA, c/o Hugh Wilcox, 521 4th St., Council Bluffs, Iowa. 51501.

**NEW JERSEY:** Newark: SWP, 11-A Central Ave. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

**NEW MEXICO:** Albuquerque: SWP, 108 Morning-side Dr. NE. Zip: 87108. Tel: (505) 255-6869.

**NEW YORK:** Albany: SWP, YSA, 103 Central Avenue. Zip: 12206. Tel: (518) 463-0072. Binghamton: YSA, c/o Andy Towbin, Box 7120, SUNY-Binghamton. Zip: 13901. Ithaca: YSA, Willard Straight Hall, Rm. 41A, Cornell University. Zip: 14853. New York, Bronx: SWP, 2271 Morris Ave. Zip: 10453. Tel: (212) 365-6652. New York, Brooklyn: SWP, 220-222 Utica Ave. Zip: 11213. Tel: (212) 773-0250. New York, Chelsea: SWP, 200 1/2 W. 24th St. Zip: 10011. Tel: (212) 989-2731.

New York, Lower East Side: SWP, YSA, 7 Clinton St. Zip: 10002. Tel: (212) 260-6400. New York, Queens: SWP, YSA, 90-43 149 St. Zip: 11435. Tel: (212) 658-7718. New York, Upper West Side: SWP, YSA, 786 Amsterdam. Zip: 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000. New York, City-wide SWP, YSA, 853 Broadway, Room 412. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 982-8214.

**NORTH CAROLINA:** Raleigh: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 5714 State Univ. Station. Zip: 27607.

**OHIO:** Athens: YSA, c/o Balar Center, Ohio University. Zip: 45701. Tel: (614) 594-7497. Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 970 E. McMillan. Zip: 45206. Tel: (513) 751-2636. Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 13002 Kinsman Rd. Zip: 44120. Tel: (216) 991-5030. Columbus: YSA, Box 106 Ohio Union, Rm. 308, Ohio State Univ., 1739 N. High St. Zip: 43210. Tel: (614) 291-8985. Kent: YSA, Student Center Box 41, Kent State University. Zip: 44242. Tel: (216) 678-5974. Toledo: SWP, 2507 Collingwood Blvd. Zip: 43610. Tel: (419) 242-9743.

**OREGON:** Portland: SWP, YSA, 3928 N. Williams. Zip: 97227. Tel: (503) 288-7860.

**PENNSYLVANIA:** Bethlehem: SWP, Box 1096. Zip: 18016. Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16412. Philadelphia, SWP, YSA, 218 S. 45th St., Zip: 19104. Tel: (215) 387-2451. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 5504 Penn Ave. Zip: 15206. Tel: (412) 441-1419. State College: YSA, c/o Mickey van Summern, 402 S. Burrows #1A. Zip: 16801. Tel: (814) 234-9917.

**RHODE ISLAND:** Kingston: YSA, P.O. Box 400. Zip: 02881. Tel: (401) 783-8864.

**TENNESSEE:** Knoxville: YSA, P.O. Box 8344 Univ. Station. Zip: 37916. Tel: (615) 525-0820.

**TEXAS:** Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 2215 Cedar Crest. Zip: 75203. Tel: (214) 943-6684. Houston: City-wide SWP, YSA, 6412-C N. Main St. Zip: 77009. Tel: (713) 861-9960. North Houston: SWP, 6412-C N. Main St. Zip: 77009. Tel: (713) 861-9842. Houston, South-Central: SWP, 4987 Martin Luther King Blvd. Zip: 77023. Tel: (713) 643-0005. San Antonio: SWP, YSA, 1317 Castroville Rd. Zip: 78237. Tel: (512) 432-7625.

**UTAH:** Logan: YSA, P.O. Box 1233, Utah State University. Zip: 84322. Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. P.O. Box 461. Zip: 84110. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

**WASHINGTON, D.C.:** SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699.

**WASHINGTON:** Seattle: SWP, YSA, 2200 E. Union. Zip: 98122. Tel: (206) 329-7404. Spokane: SWP, P.O. Box 672. Zip: 99201. Tel: (509) 326-2468. Tacoma: SWP, 1022 S. J St. Zip: 98405. Tel: (206) 627-0432.

**WEST VIRGINIA:** Morgantown: SWP, P.O. Box 1484. Zip: 26505.

**WISCONSIN:** Madison: YSA, P.O. Box 1442. Zip: 53701. Tel: (608) 255-4733. Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 3901 N. 27th St. Zip: 53216. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

## Strikebreaking at GE Courts, company attack Ky. machinists

By Christine Waters

LOUISVILLE, Ky.—Three hundred tool and die makers have been on strike at the General Electric plant here since April 26.

The workers, members of Lodge 2409 of the International Association of Machinists (IAM), are the most recent additions to a long list of Louisville unionists forced to walk off the job in past months.

With nearly 20,000 employees working in twenty buildings, GE is the largest employer in this area.

For the first week of the strike, 80 to 100 percent of the 15,000 production workers at GE refused to cross the IAM picket lines. Production was virtually stopped.

"The individual member in the IUE [International Union of Electrical Workers] is a very good union person, and they honored the picket line," Keith Evans told the *Militant*. Evans is vice-president of IAM Lodge 2409 and a member of the union's grievance committee.

Then GE went to court for two sweeping strikebreaking orders. The first ordered IUE members to cross the picket lines and return to work.

The second limits IAM pickets to three within 100 yards of each plant entrance. It prohibits strikers from approaching and talking to other workers during shift changes.

Many IUE workers have interpreted the change in picketing to mean that IAM no longer has a picket line up. IUE members who have called their local union headquarters are informed that is the case.

The central issue in the IAM strike is a memorandum of agreement between the union and GE. The company agreed to survey the wages of tool and die makers in the area during November 1977 and then adjust the wages for GE workers to bring them into line with others.

But GE did the survey in July—before several contracts expired. Then it declared that its policy was that a wage increase could not be justified if GE's wages were within 6 percent of the prevailing rate. The last GE offer



Jim Burfeind (right), Socialist Workers Party congressional candidate, pickets during his first day on strike at Louisville GE plant. For campaign statement by Burfeind blasting GE's union busting, see page 19.

was an increase of fourteen cents per hour, but an IAM survey in November showed GE toolmakers approximately sixty cents behind the area rate.

Despite its refusal to come through on the agreement, GE charges the IAM strike is illegal because it is trying to change wage rates set in the national contract. That agreement expires next year.

So far GE has refused to talk with the striking toolmakers.

IAM members here are outraged at GE and its court order. "What about

our constitutional rights?" strikers in the IAM hall asked when they heard news of the court action. "I thought we had the right to assemble, the right to free speech, the right to strike!"

Lodge 2409 Vice-president Evans told the *Militant* that "even Judge Nicholson himself admitted that there has never been a restraining order such as the one against the IAM strike issued under Kentucky law, to his knowledge."

The day after Nicholson issued the orders, on May 2, GE ran a series of

paid announcements on major radio stations ordering IUE members to return to work. The company also sent letters to each of the 15,000 IUE members serving them with a copy of the court injunction.

A few days later, another letter went out threatening any IUE employees who didn't return to work with contempt of court, discipline, and removal from the payroll.

This is blatantly illegal, even under the antiunion Taft-Hartley Act, which

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## New York students protest budget cuts

By Doug Cooper

NEW YORK—Six students were arrested May 9 when Mayor Edward Koch sent policemen to break up an Hostos College sit-in. The protesters were demanding renovations to relieve intolerable overcrowding for Hostos's 2,700 students. The sit-in also de-

### MORE ON NEW YORK CRISIS INSIDE:

- Transit workers protest new contract.
- Socialist candidate blasts Koch's proposed city budget. See page 9.

manded day-care facilities. Hostos is the only bilingual college on the East Coast.

The students charged that the promised renovations had been canceled as part of a newly announced master

cutback plan for the City University of New York (CUNY).

The plan would also halt the projected construction of a new campus for York College in South Jamaica. Community groups charge that junking the new campus could be a fatal blow to this predominantly Black part of the city.

CUNY Chancellor Robert Kibbee says these and other planned attacks on public education are justified by a sharp decline in student enrollment. But this is racist hypocrisy. Enrollment only began to fall after the CUNY system imposed tuition and limited its open-admissions policies in 1976.

These measures fell most heavily on the city's Black and Puerto Rican communities. Kibbee's proposed additional cuts will continue this offensive.

But students are not taking these

attacks lightly. A leaflet issued by the University Student Senate (USS) calls the plan "city hall's massacre of City University."

The USS is organizing a May 11 demonstration against the cuts. The protest will also demand full funding for SEEK, an open-admissions program, and opposition to the newly proposed Freshman Skills Test, a mandatory racist exam aimed at screening out Blacks and Latinos from the CUNY schools.

Eli Green, coordinator of the New York Student Coalition Against Racism, says the demonstration "is exactly what's needed." Green says it is "an initial step" towards the "kind of united actions involving large numbers both on and off campus that are needed to win."

Numerous student governments and campus organizations, as well as the

New York chapter of the National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision, and the Young Socialist Alliance are also backing the demonstration.

On April 26 hundreds of Hostos students demonstrated to demand the classroom renovations. Hundreds more rallied the morning of the May 9 sit-in. Two thousand York College students also marched April 26 to protest the plans to close their school.

Hostos activist Alfredo Gonzales told the *Militant* that the six students arrested May 9 were charged with criminal trespass. A member of the Federación Universitaria Socialista Puertorriqueña—the youth organization of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party—Gonzales said the six were released on their own recognizance pending the outcome of a June 15 hearing.