

# THE MILITANT

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

## NATURAL GAS CRISIS

Creature of monopoly profit drive

—PAGE 4

## SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN

RACES FOR MAYOR, HOUSE UNDER WAY IN NEW YORK & ATLANTA. PAGES 6, 9.

## EASTERN EUROPE

FIGHT FOR SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY CONTINUES TO GROW. PAGES 7, 10, 20.

## MALCOLM X

DID FBI 'NEUTRALIZE' BLACK LEADER? PAGE 13.

## FEDS FRAME UNIONISTS

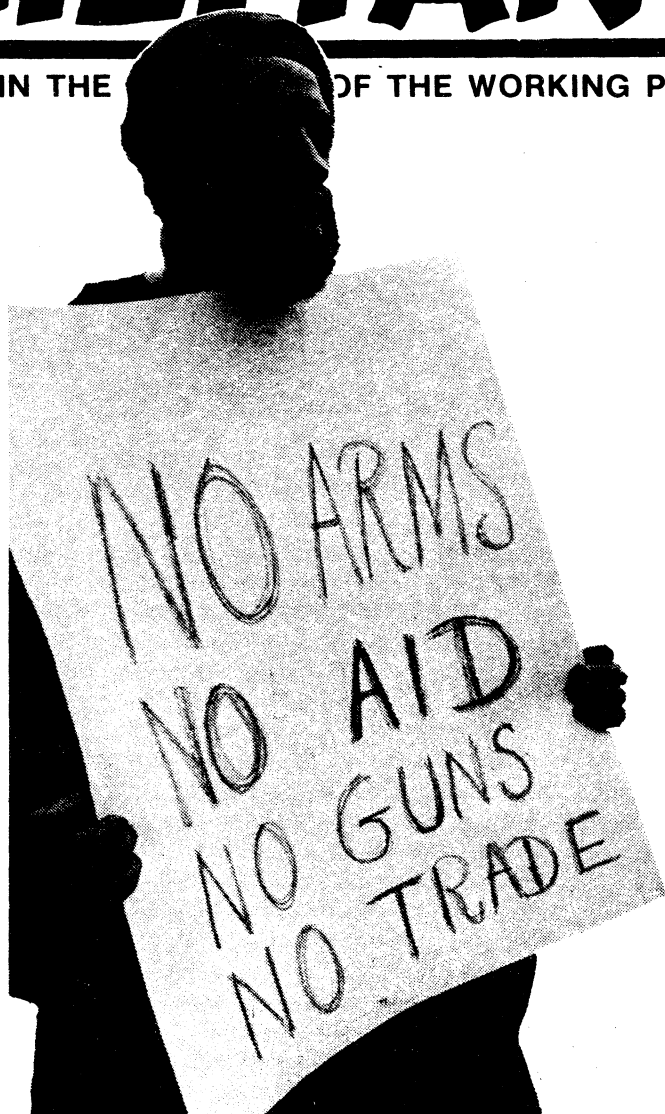
INTERVIEW WITH TARGETED UE ORGANIZER ALEX MARKLEY. PAGE 14.

## FARM WORKERS

FINE ON TEAMSTERS POSES THREAT TO UFW. PAGE 16.

## ARMS PACT?

CARTER TALKS PEACE, UPS WAR BUDGET. PAGE 23.



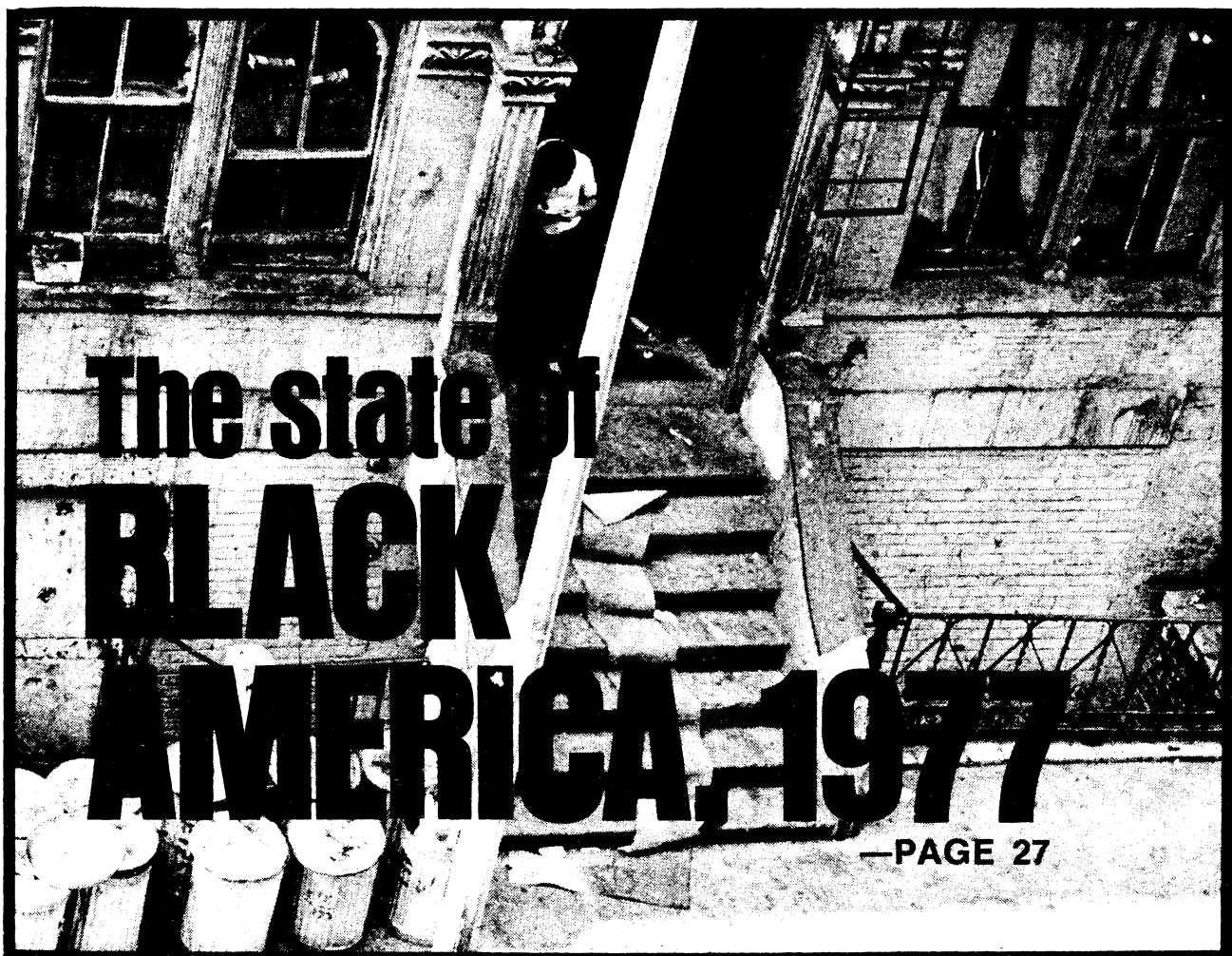
## How U.S. bankrolls South Africa

—PAGE 17

## STRATEGIES FOR WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

Report on N.J. NOW conference

—PAGE 8



—PAGE 27

# In Brief

## THIS WEEK'S MILITANT

- 6 Garza: 'Human needs above profits'
- 7 Czech dissident on Charter 77
- 8 Two perspectives for women's movement
- 13 Did the FBI 'neutralize' Malcolm X?
- 15 Michigan police spy files revealed
- 16 Indians may own most of Maine
- 17 How U.S. bankrolls S. Africa racists
- 18 L.A. probusing march wins support
- 24 SWP National Committee sets goals
- 25 What role for Blacks in Chicago mayor's race?
- 26 Education is task of death penalty foes
- 28 What Black steelworkers are fighting for

### 2 In Brief

- 10 In Our Opinion Letters
- 11 National Picket Line By Any Means Necessary
- 12 La Lucha Puertorriqueña Women in Revolt ¡La Raza en Acción!

### WORLD OUTLOOK

- 19 López Portillo takes the reins in Mexico
- 20 Unrest simmers in Eastern Europe
- 21 World News Notes
- 22 Bandaranaike threatens emergency rule

## THE MILITANT

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**HAITIAN REFUGEES SPEAK OUT:** Poverty and political repression by the Duvalier dictatorship continue to drive hundreds of Haitians away from their homeland each year. Many of them risk perilous sea voyages to reach the supposed freedom of the United States. But when they arrive they find instead indeterminate jail sentences and a legal status that denies them any livelihood.

That was the story told by a dozen refugees at a January 28 speak-out demanding asylum for the refugees. The meeting, hosted by the campus Caribbean Students Association, was held at predominantly Black Howard University.

Some of the refugees had come to the Washington, D.C., area to attend a congressional hearing on the refugee issue.

Rev. Antoine Adrian of the New York-based Haitian Fathers presented a slide show and narrative on living conditions in Haiti.

A representative from the National Council of Churches, which has clothed, fed, and posted the \$500 bond required to free many of the refugees, said that about twenty-five refugees have been deported to Haiti by the Immigration and Naturalization Service since the first wave of them arrived in 1972.

## Va. unionists march

By Michael Pennock

**RICHMOND, Va.**—Six thousand Virginia teachers and other public employees marched on the state capitol here February 5. They were protesting threatened cutbacks in state aid to education and a recent state supreme court ruling that outlaws collective bargaining for public employees.

Gov. Mills Godwin has proposed a 7.5 percent cut in state funding for schools. This would mean the layoff of thousands of teachers and end any hope of a pay increase. Teachers received no increase last year and only 2.5 percent the year before.

"If this cutback goes through," says Richmond Education Association President Barbara Tinsley, "we can kiss our 8 percent goodbye," referring to an 8 percent pay increase proposed by the local school superintendent.

Although not billed as a demand of the demonstration, the cry for collective bargaining rights came through loud and clear. The supreme court's unanimous ruling voided master contracts affecting a third of the teachers in Virginia.

**NAZIS PICKET MINNEAPOLIS SWP:** Eleven uniformed members of the American Nazi party picketed the Southside Minneapolis headquarters of the Socialist Workers party January 22. The Nazis chanted racist, anti-Semitic, and anticommunist slogans.

Four police cars were deployed in the area after the SWP demanded that city authorities protect the socialists from the threat of Nazi violence.

Minneapolis officials have been under growing public pressure ever since the socialists filed a negligence complaint with the Internal Affairs Unit of the police department following a November 20 Nazi attack on the SWP. At that time there were witnesses willing to identify the five Nazis who broke windows at the socialist headquarters. Nonetheless, police refused to take any serious action.

**UAW STRIKES ROCKWELL INTERNATIONAL:** At midnight, February 4, 6,000 members of the United Auto Workers went on strike against Rockwell International's Automotive Group plants. The main issue is Rockwell's refusal to agree to the contract pattern the UAW won from General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler last fall.

Rockwell is balking at clauses in the Big Three settlements that provide twelve additional paid days off over three years.

**DISCRIMINATION AGAINST MONTANA INDIANS:** The Missoula, Montana, *Borrowed Times* reports in its January issue that Indians—who total less than 5 percent of Montana's population—make up 20 percent of the inmates at Montana State Prison. In addition, the average sentence for Native Americans is almost twice that given to whites.

**AGEE FIGHTING DEPORTATION FROM BRITAIN:** Former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark, former Kissinger aide Morton Halperin, and former ACLU legal director Melvin Wulf have all joined Philip Agee's efforts to turn back an attempt by the British government to deport him.

Agee is a former CIA agent who provoked the agency's wrath by exposing many CIA crimes in his book *Inside the Company: C.I.A. Diary*.

A special three-member panel with nonbinding advisory powers is the only channel Agee has to appeal the deportation order issued last November. The government refuses to tell Agee the specific charges against him. So does

the appeals panel.

After testifying before the panel, Ramsey Clark branded it an utterly lawless proceeding. "I have never in twenty years of law appeared before a tribunal not having any idea why the proceedings transpired. No facts are known," he said.

*1,377 pages of FBI files on operations against the women's liberation movement between 1969 and 1973 have recently been made public under the Freedom of Information Act. The Militant has obtained copies of these files. Next week we will begin coverage of this important new chapter in Washington's war on political rights. If you would like to order this upcoming issue of the Militant for sale or distribution in your area, write the Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.*

**FORMER NIXON ADVISER ENDORSES TORTURE:** Patrick Buchanan, a former Nixon speech-writer and policy adviser, recently published an article entitled "The Right Time for Torture" in *Skeptic* magazine.

Buchanan writes that "if there are occasions when it is justifiable to kill in execution, then there are times when it is morally justifiable to inflict temporary mental or physical suffering, an infinitely less serious violation of human rights."

Buchanan explained, "Torture is justifiable if the matter is grave enough, if there is no less odious alternative available, like truth serum, and if it is almost certain that the victim is in possession of the information wanted."

**PEANUTS HAVE ROOTS TOO:** The airing of Alex Haley's *Roots* on TV inspired millions of us with its account of the long history of Black people's fight for freedom. In 1972, while governor of Georgia, President Carter made a journey into his own past. Peanuts have roots too, you know.

During an extensive tour of Latin America that year, Carter met with a group of Confederate families who had left the United States after the Civil War rather than face living without slavery. In this Brazilian community—called Americana—Carter laid the cornerstone of a Confederate museum. He spoke emotionally while a Confederate flag fluttered overhead.

After returning home, Carter described how he felt stumbling onto the Confederate outpost:

"My primary feeling was one of appreciation for their preserving in an almost unblemished way in names and inflections and voices of their ancestors, their obvious love for this country. None of them looked upon their ancestors as mistaken."  
—Peter Seidman

THE NEW YORK TIMES, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 4, 1977

### U.S. Has Given Private Lawyers \$800,000 for Defending Officials

By ANTHONY MARRO

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Feb. 3—The Department of Justice has paid private lawyers nearly \$800,000 to represent present and former Government officials in civil suits stemming from Government surveillance activities and will ask for an additional \$4.8 million to pay such legal fees next year, a Justice Department spokesman confirmed today.

The spokesman, John K. Russell, said that \$761,417.92 had already been spent and that the House Appropriations Committee would be asked next week to approve \$4.8 million more for the next fiscal year.

The plaintiffs include the Socialist Workers Party, Grove Press, the actress Jane Fonda and Jack Anderson, the newspaper columnist.

The defendants, many of whom are named in virtually all of the suits, include Richard Helms and William Colby, former Directors of Central Intelligence; former Attorney General John N. Mitchell, and dozens of officials of the C.I.A., the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Justice Department, military intelligence and the postal service.

"The numbers of these suits have mushroomed over the past two years," said Mr. Russell. "We say that most had

**The government is spending tax money defending FBI crooks. We're the ones suing the crooks. Will you help?**

The Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance are suing the FBI and CIA to end spying and disruption.

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# SELL THE MILITANT

## Drive opens to boost 'Militant' sales

The *Militant* is launching a nationwide drive to boost sales.

The goal is to sell 10,000 copies a week. The drive will last three months—beginning with this issue and concluding with the issue dated May 13.

This new effort to expand *Militant* circulation comes on the heels of a successful subscription campaign last fall. Almost 21,000 people bought ten-week introductory subscriptions.

A special focus of the sales drive will be on getting the *Militant* into the hands of industrial workers.

Already this winter *Militant* sellers have reported some good results in sales at mills and plants that are organized by the steelworkers union. The paper's coverage of Ed Sadlowski's race for president of the steel union has won new readers among steelworkers.

Sales to steelworkers will continue—bringing readers news of the postelection

developments in the steel union.

A central feature of the drive will be regular weekly sales at plant gates across the country.

*Militant* readers in plants and factories say that workers there are talking about the big political questions today—from the energy crisis to South Africa. The sales drive is aimed at getting the paper to more workers, to make the *Militant* part of these discussions.

To encourage new readers to subscribe, included in issues sold at plant gates and in communities will be a postage-paid subscription envelope. All a reader will have to do to subscribe is simply put a dollar in the envelope, seal it, and drop it in the mail.

The sales drive will build on the accomplishment of the fall subscription campaign in increasing the *Militant's* readership in the Black community.

In coming weeks *Militant* salespeople

will be in the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican communities—on street corners, in shopping centers, knocking on doors in housing projects—letting people know about the socialist newsweekly that carries information vital to them.

This will tie into canvassing for socialist candidates in local elections.

*Militant* supporters in cities around the country are setting goals for the drive. Next week we will report on these goals and the first results of the campaign.

Why don't you join the effort to introduce the *Militant* to thousands of new readers?

To find out how you can help contact the socialists in your area listed in the Socialist Directory on page 31. If there is no address where you live, then order copies directly from the *Militant*. Write to the *Militant* Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

## Bigger staff basis for expanded coverage

By Nelson Blackstock

There are changes going on at the *Militant*.

If you are a regular reader, you've probably already noticed.

The *Militant* staff is growing. Several new full-time writers have been added recently.

The expansion of the *Militant* staff coincides with the launching of a drive to increase weekly sales of the paper.

Our new writers will enable us to improve the paper, to make it more attractive to the people we are trying to reach during the drive.

One of the things we want to do is keep our readers up to date on important developments of interest to Black and women activists. In addition to staying on top of the news, we also try to provide analysis of the crucial issues.

With our expanded staff, we can do these things better.

As previously reported, John Hawkins and Willie Mae Reid have come onto the staff. Reid was the Socialist Workers party candidate for vice-president last year. Hawkins was SWP

organizer in Detroit. Both belong to the SWP National Committee.

A more recent addition to the staff is Omari Musa. In 1976 he was the SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from California—the first socialist candidate for that post to appear on the ballot in at least forty years.

Musa, thirty-two, is also a member of the SWP National Committee. Active in the Black movement since 1964, Musa has taught Black studies at the college level in California.

Nancy Cole, formerly of the *Militant* Washington Bureau, is now on our New York staff. She has begun following developments in the struggle for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment and activity to defend abortion rights.

Also covering the women's liberation movement is new staff member Gale Shangold. A veteran of the campaign to legalize abortion, she was organizer of the newly formed SWP branch in Tacoma, Washington.

Replacing Nancy Cole in Washington is David Frankel. His by-line is no stranger to these pages. A former

member of the *Militant* staff, Frankel comes to us from *Intercontinental Press*, which the *Militant* depends on for much of its international coverage.

*Militant* coverage of the trade-union movement is an aspect of the paper we want to strengthen. Helping us do that is Lynn Henderson, another new staff member. A former railroad worker, Henderson is also a member of the SWP National Committee and until recently coordinated the SWP's trade-union work in New York City.

Miguel Pendás, who writes the "La Raza en Acción!" column, is now based in Denver. Pendás will be reporting from that area on developments in the Chicano movement.

Finally, Arnold Weissberg, who joined our Los Angeles bureau in 1975, has transferred to our New York staff.

Among the advantages of our enlarged staff is that it will give us the flexibility to be able to dispatch reporters more frequently for on-the-spot coverage of important events—for example, José G. Pérez's firsthand report last month on the Gary Gilmore execution in Utah.

Altogether, we hope these changes will add up to making the *Militant* the kind of paper our new readers will want to keep coming back to.

### New price

With this issue the price of the *Militant* has gone up from twenty-five to thirty-five cents.

This is the first cover-price increase in six years, since January 1971. Since that time there has been a steep increase in almost all items connected with publishing the *Militant*. The price of paper alone has nearly doubled.

In 1971 the *Militant* was twenty-four pages. Today it is twenty-eight or thirty-two.

The new price puts the cost of the *Militant* generally in line with that charged for equivalent newspapers—although it is still on the low end of the spectrum.

The yearly subscription price is going up from \$7.50 to \$9.00.



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ARNOLD WEISSBERG



Militant/Mary Hendrickson  
NANCY COLE



Militant/Susan Ellis  
LYNN HENDERSON



Militant/Susan Ellis  
GALE SHANGOLD



Militant/Alex Chis  
OMARI MUSA



Militant/Susan Ellis  
DAVID FRANKEL



# Gas crisis: another notch in rulers'

By Dick Roberts

By early February the natural gas crisis had caused the layoff of more than two million workers. The question was no longer *whether* it would affect the lagging economic recovery, but how deep the effect would be.

A massive upturn of unemployment, a sharp drop in the buying power of these jobless workers, and spiraling gas prices could only undermine recovery.

No one expected President Carter's patchwork rescue operation hastily legislated in Congress to bring an end to gas shortages.

The bill did not give the government power to order gas to disaster areas. Instead, the new law allows gas companies to charge higher prices for certain interstate gas needed in these areas. It relies on "voluntary cooperation" between the gas companies and affected areas.

The extent of the gas crisis was clearly not foreseen by Washington. When the crisis did erupt, the government catered to the profit demands of the oil trust.

Washington did nothing while old people froze to death; heat ran out in houses, factories, and city buildings; and unemployment and suffering spread far and wide.

This new energy crisis and Washington's capitulation to the energy profiteers confirm what the 1976 Socialist Workers party candidates said about the health of America's capitalist economy. The socialists warned that these upheavals—including periodic shortages, spiraling prices, frozen wages, governmental budget crises, and firings—are the *norm* for American capitalism today.

The SWP said that the Democratic and Republican parties are the political tools of the capitalist rulers, used to force working people to bear the burden of the economic crisis.

A full explanation of this view is presented in *Prospects for Socialism in America*. This book includes the main political resolution adopted by the SWP at its 1975 national convention.

## No return to prosperity

The SWP asserted that the long period of capitalist economic expansion following World War II has come to an end. "The United States is not heading back to the prolonged prosperity, reaction, and quiescence of the 1950s and early 1960s," the SWP's resolution states.

The decade and a half of "American Dream" was undermined by a combination of far-reaching changes. The seemingly invincible dominance of U.S. monopoly in world competition was increasingly challenged by European and Japanese capitalists.

Sharpened interimperialist competition for markets, accompanied by sharp trade and monetary reversals, replaced the more stable years of world trade and finance that had been based on the hegemony of the U.S. dollar.

The United States got bogged down and ultimately defeated in the war in Vietnam. Massive war spending was the main factor in inflating the dollar. Washington's defeat in Vietnam "demonstrated the new limits imposed on the use of American imperialism's massive military machine," *Prospects for Socialism* states.

At the same time the productivity edge of U.S. industry was undermined. Wages of European workers were catching up to those of American workers (and sometimes surpassing them). European and Japanese technology excelled U.S. technology in key industries.

U.S. monopoly would intensify its attack on the wages of American workers and its drive to speed up and otherwise "rationalize" production in U.S. plants.

## 'NEP'

The new period was ushered in by the Nixon administration's 1971 "New Economic Policy." As war-primed

inflation threatened to devour the dollar, the rulers of this country opened fire on their competitors abroad and American workers at home. Wages were frozen, a surtax was imposed on imports, and the dollar was devalued.

In a white paper released to corporations but not to the American public, the White House described the NEP as "a program to build on America's strengths by enhancing its international competitiveness." The profit drive of U.S. monopoly would be given top priority.

The NEP report complained about the shortage of "occupational skill training" in high schools and colleges. It envisioned the probable obsolescence of whole cities in the wake of the industry productivity drive it called for.

## Inflation

The NEP pretended to control prices at the same time that it froze wages. But by the time the final phases of the NEP ended two years later, prices were increasing at the fastest rate in decades. Real wages—the buying power of worker's paychecks—declined.

Inflation hits hardest at those least prepared to withstand its blows. Thus a key impact of the deepening U.S. crisis has been the *widening* of the gaps between wages of men and women and those of whites and Blacks.

The Labor Department reported from Washington last November that the gap between what the average man earns and what the average woman earns has grown larger, not smaller, in the last twenty years.

The earnings of men who worked full-time and year-round in 1974 were 74.8 percent higher than those of women who also worked full-time and year-round. In 1955, the gap was 56.4 percent.

Unemployment also hits women harder than men and Blacks harder than whites. For young people the situation is even worse. Young Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Chicanos are being hit with the combined package of inflation, high unemployment, tuition increases, and an end to educational programs such as Black and Chicano studies that had been started in the 1960s.

The capitalists have their own con-

cerns with inflation, and often capitalist politicians voice promises to combat higher prices. Inflation erodes the dollar in international finance and it makes U.S. goods less competitive with cheaper foreign goods in world trade.

*But the only solution to inflation that capitalist industry and government pursue is to hold down and roll back wages.*

The meat and grain shortages of 1973, the energy crisis later that year, and the so-called gas shortage today are used by the corporations to demand drastically higher prices. Even in the worst part of the 1974-75 depression, with unemployment officially at 9 percent, prices continued to rise sharply.

## Energy crisis

Today's energy crisis is an inseparable part of the deepening contradictions of world capitalism. It is fundamentally rooted in the profit drive of the U.S. oil trust.

An aspect of the new climate in world politics is the increased popular pressure in semi-colonial countries—encouraged by Washington's defeat in Vietnam—to take over the sources of raw materials from giant corporations based in the United States, Europe, and Japan. After decades of foreign control, the poverty-stricken masses of those countries want to put their own resources to work to help economic development.

Moreover, Middle Eastern governments believed they would have greater room to maneuver for a greater share of world oil resources because of increased competition between the United States and Europe.

The response of the oil companies has been a worldwide drive to get the highest possible prices. They continue to control world marketing of oil, and they have steadily extended control over other energy sources such as coal and uranium. The propaganda blitz about depleted sources of energy and the need for sacrifice is intended to soften us up for higher prices.

Today's natural gas crisis is the direct result of the oil companies' refusal to develop U.S. natural gas until they can get top prices and top profits.

It is instructive to look at the balance sheets of these companies. Since 1973, Exxon's sales have increased from \$25.7 billion to \$54.7 billion, and its profits per share of common stock have risen from \$5.45 to \$7.00. It has increased its dividends from \$2.13 per share to \$2.80.

The company is not hurting and it is no different for the other oil giants. Gulf's dividends have increased from \$1.50 to \$1.80. Standard Oil of California records a dividend increase from \$1.55 a share to \$2.20; and Mobil's dividends have increased from \$2.80 per share in 1973 to \$3.80 in 1977. (Along the way, Mobil took over Montgomery Ward.)

Boil it down:

Company	Dividend
Exxon	Up 31%
Gulf	Up 20%
Std. Calif.	Up 42%
Mobil	Up 36%

This is while the wages and standard of living of most American workers have been frozen—at best.

## Profits

The same capitalist profit drive lies behind the municipal crises in cities like New York.

Faced with a historic flight of capital from the old industrial centers to the suburbs and the nonunion South, and the move of white workers out of the inner cities to search for jobs, many cities face a shrinking tax base. So more and more, there just aren't enough funds to pay off interest on



Gusher

## Prospects for Socialism

269 pp., paper \$1.50

Five leaders of the Socialist Workers party discuss the struggles of working people, women, Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, students—and the strategy needed to take on the ruling rich and win.

## Capitalism in Crisis

By Dick Roberts 128 pp., paper \$1.95

How did the 'American economic miracle' of the '50s and '60s end up on the rocks of inflation and unemployment in the 1970s? Dick Roberts explains why the prescriptions of Keynes failed to overcome the pitfalls of the profit system.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014



# belt-tightening drive

loans that the cities have borrowed from banks. The profits of the banks are threatened.

What is the solution? In New York, the bankers and politicians have ganged up to throw thousands of city employees out of work, freeze wages, rip up union contracts, close schools and hospitals, end the free-tuition system—and the financial crisis is still deepening. More cutbacks are threatened.

At no time did any of the ruling politicians question the profits of the banks. Liberal Democratic politicians—Mayor Abraham Beame and Gov. Hugh Carey—were the ones who carried out these attacks. When New York's financial situation was discussed in the U.S. Congress the result was no different. The Democrats

devised the cutback quotas that New York would have to undergo to get federal financial help.

Capitalist politicians will not question the profit drive that is at the root of the economic crisis in this country, and so they cannot be expected to in any way protect workers against the crisis.

## 'Sacrifice'

They are doing the opposite. More and more the line of the Democrats and Republicans alike is that *workers must sacrifice*. Their answer to municipal crises is fewer jobs, less medical care, less education, and worse housing and transportation conditions.

Their answer to energy shortages is higher prices and higher profits for the owners of the oil industry.

The unaware listener might take it at face value that in a "fireside chat" about the gas crisis, the president would naturally talk about shortages and the need for sacrifice.

In reality Carter was spelling out the only answer capitalism has for the whole scope of social crisis that it has created.

"The American bourgeoisie," *Prospects for Socialism* states, "calls on the masses to be 'realistic' and accept the doleful fact that American capitalism cannot sustain the relatively high and growing standard of living the working class has come to expect as a right. The capitalists call upon the workers to sacrifice to make up for 'excessive' wage increases and consumption of social services, and to lower their expectations in order to 'keep America strong.'"

But this demand of the bourgeoisie will increasingly be challenged. Carter's appeal for people to turn down their thermostats was greeted across the country with the response that the gas shortage is a fraud.

The aftermath of 1973 was plain for everyone to see. When prices were raised the supposed oil shortage disappeared and higher-priced gasoline flowed aplenty.

And Watergate, the Lockheed scandal, and revelations of CIA assassination plots abroad have deepened the American people's distrust in both government and big business.

Socialists do not believe that Americans should or will accept the doctrine of sacrificing for corporate profits.

"The road ahead," the resolution says, "is one of increasing class consciousness, class struggle, and class polarization, leading from radicalization toward a revolutionary situation, regardless of the oscillations along the way."

# Protests in D.C. demand: 'Free Wilm.10!'

By Baxter Smith

WASHINGTON—"Roots continues" was the message of two recent events here that drew concern to the case of the Wilmington Ten, North Carolina Black rights activists imprisoned on frame-up riot charges.

"Although they are not in slavery, as so vividly portrayed in the TV movie 'Roots,' they are in bondage," said Irv Joyner, coordinator of the United Church of Christ's Commission for Racial Justice.

Joyner spoke at a fund-raising benefit for the ten at Shiloh Baptist Church January 30. About 175 people turned out, mostly parishioners.

Ben Chavis, who is the best known of the ten, was a field organizer for the Commission for Racial Justice before his imprisonment on frame-up charges of leading a riot and conspiracy in 1971.

Nine of the ten were sentenced to terms of up to twenty-five to thirty-four years apiece. One of the ten, Anne Shepard, who is white, was recently paroled under her ten-year term.

"These young people were sentenced to 282 years for something they did not do," Joyner said in explaining the lack of justice in the case. "Richard Nixon was not sentenced to 282 years. John Dean and Charles Colson were not sentenced to 282 years."

The church benefit and the lunch-time February 2 picket of the Justice Department marked the first anniversary of the surrender of the ten civil rights activists to North Carolina authorities to begin their prison terms.

The picket protested their continued incarceration, despite a recantation by the state's former star witness, and the revelation of testimony bought by Wilmington cops from a grade school student in return for a motorbike.

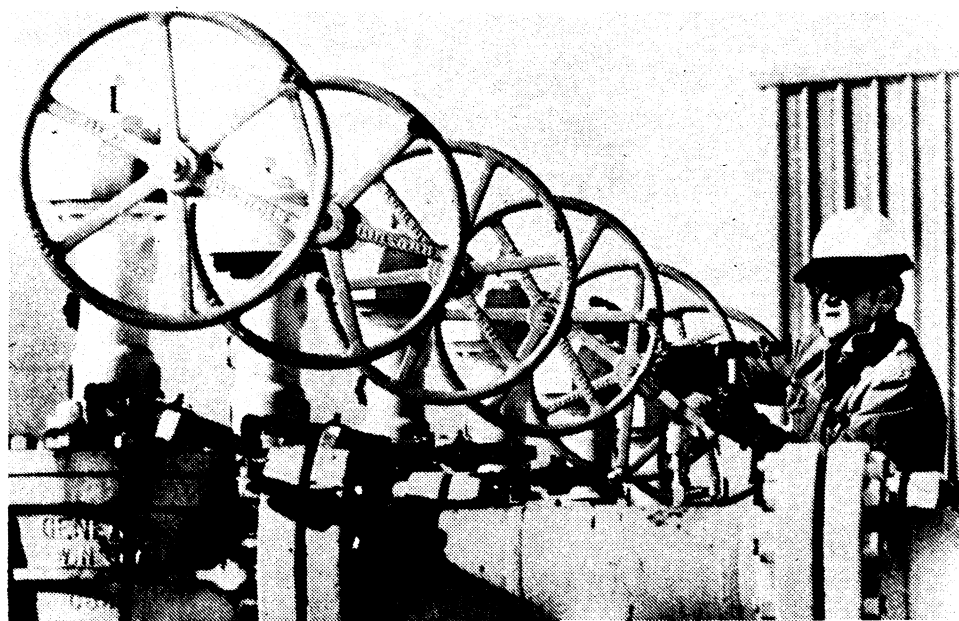
Pickers carried placards reading "Roots 1977: Jail for Blacks," "Griffin Bell: Department of Injustice," "Roots continues. Free the Wilmington 10."

For the February 2 occasion, the Washington City Council had passed a resolution declaring it Wilmington Ten day and calling for their freedom.

After the picket Attorney General Griffin Bell met with Imani Kazana, head of the National Wilmington Ten Defense Committee, and others, including U.S. Rep. John Conyers (D-Mich.); Harold Washington of the National Conference of Black Lawyers; and Elihu Harris, executive director of the National Bar Association.

Kazana, in an interview after the meeting, said Bell had pledged that the Justice Department would investigate whether the ten received a fair trial. She said he agreed to give a status report on the investigation in thirty days.

Bell "sounded encouraging," Kazana said. "We're hoping that the indirect effect of a government investigation will be felt by the state, which will move faster to free those still imprisoned."



NATURAL GAS PIPELINE. Current shortages result from producers' refusal to develop new supplies or release old ones until federal price controls are lifted.

## The squeeze in Texas came early

By Steve Wattenmaker

Chilly living rooms, silent factories, and freezing slum dwellings are the backdrop for the natural gas industry's new drive for higher prices. But if what happened in Texas five years ago is any indication, we are only seeing Act One of a sadistic drama that has yet to be played out.

Natural gas suppliers are demanding an end to federal price controls on gas piped across state lines. Higher prices, they claim, will encourage more intensive exploration and drilling, thus easing the current "shortage."

The same "shortage" scenario was used in Texas several years ago to send natural gas prices skyrocketing—and the results for working people were disastrous.

Texas never passed laws to control the price of gas drilled and sold within its borders. But over the years Texas consumers paid about the same rate as the price of interstate gas—that is, gas produced in one state but sold elsewhere—which is set by the federal government.

Then, in 1972, gas producers began to complain to state officials that dwindling supplies and inflation were driving up their costs.

Spearheading this drive was the Lo-Vaca Gathering Company, a subsidiary of Coastal States Gas Corporation. Lo-Vaca sells natural gas to San Antonio and about 400 other Texas cities and small towns.

To emphasize their supposed plight, suppliers began to periodically cut off the flow of gas to cities, industries, and other users. These "curtailments," as they were called,

worked hardship on people throughout the state.

In San Antonio, emergency conservation measures had to be instituted to assure gas to hospitals. The city's electric generators were forced to convert to fuel oil. Residents were asked to turn down their thermostats to 55 degrees. Street lighting was greatly reduced.

But the worst was yet to come.

Lo-Vaca asked the Texas state government for permission to break the twenty-year contracts it had signed with major gas users in order to pass on "cost" increases to consumers.

Democrats on the Texas Railroad Commission, which has authority over natural gas in the state, willingly agreed.

The rate hikes went into effect and in short order utility bills doubled, tripled, and quadrupled. An average family's gas and electric bill jumped

from \$6 or \$7 a month to near \$40.

According to the February 4 *New York Times*, tens of thousands of acres of farmland could not be planted because farmers could not afford natural gas needed to run irrigation pumps. Thousands of families sold their homes and moved into apartments or in with relatives.

The effect on the poor and those on fixed incomes was particularly devastating.

In San Antonio, every day for the past five years, an average of 156 people plead with the city's utilities offices to adjust their soaring bills and sometimes beg the utility not to shut off their electricity or gas.

One town in Texas fought back. The Raza Unida party government of Crystal City refused to pay Lo-Vaca's extortion money. And a score of other municipalities around the state followed its lead.

Civil lawsuits seeking \$1.6 billion in compensation for contract violations have been filed against Lo-Vaca and Coastal States.

Looking back on the Raza Unida party's fight with the gas barons, Zavala County (which includes Crystal City) Judge and RUP leader José Angel Gutiérrez is convinced this winter's cooked-up shortages are part of the same swindle.

"They are trying to gouge the public on the basis of this argument: if they don't get enough money to explore, the public won't get gas for the future," Gutiérrez told the *Militant*.

"But the gas and oil companies are making incredible profits, the highest ever. So their arguments are not true even on their face."



Militant/Harry Ring  
JOSE ANGEL GUTIERREZ

## Enters mayoral contest

# Garza: 'Put human needs above profits!'

By Jenny Brookstone

NEW YORK—On Thursday, February 3, on the fifty-eighth floor of the World Trade Center in the Wall Street financial district, New York's Emergency Financial Control Board met to decide whether to approve—after seventeen months of stalling—a contract for the United Federation of Teachers.

In the lobby downstairs, Catarino Garza, a bilingual teacher and member of the UFT, announced his campaign for mayor of New York City on the Socialist Workers party ticket.

The Emergency Financial Control Board was set up by the Democrats and Republicans in 1975 at the demand of New York banks and business executives. Its purpose is to oversee massive cutbacks in social services so that there is no interruption of the city's \$2-billion-a-year flow of tax-free interest payments to the banks and other bondholders.

"We're announcing our campaign here," Garza told a reporter from WBLS, New York's largest Black radio station, "because the EFCB, which nobody elected, is closing down our schools, day-care centers, and hospitals; taking away our jobs; and freezing our wages."

"I'm opposed to the needs of the people being subordinated to the greed of the rich bankers. I'm running for mayor because I think it's about time somebody told the banks that the needs of the people of New York are more important than their profits."

Garza introduced his running mates on the SWP municipal slate to the media. They are Jane Roland for city council president and Robert Des Verney for comptroller.

The SWP candidates, together with several campaign activists, had intended to go to the EFCB meeting. Under New York's new "sunshine" law, government bodies are supposed to conduct their business in public.

Agencies often find ways around the law, however, and the EFCB meeting was scheduled for an auditorium far too small for the many people who wanted to attend.

By 9:00 a.m. when the socialist candidates arrived for the 10:00 a.m. meeting, a sign was already posted that the room was full. No one was allowed past the forty-fourth floor of the skyscraper.

Garza talked with others who wanted to attend the meeting. He pointed out the fraud of the "sunshine" law.

"If they really wanted the American people to hear these proceedings," he said, "they'd put it on television. They don't want us to hear them. And they certainly don't want to hear us."

This meeting of the EFCB was spotlighted by the socialist candidates because the board was sitting in judgment over a contract covering 55,000 teachers and other school employees.

The UFT had been without a contract since its five-day strike in Sep-

tember 1975. UFT President Albert Shanker ordered the teachers back to work for a settlement that accepted thousands of layoffs, cut school time, and gave up various union benefits. Nevertheless, the EFCB vetoed that contract in October 1975 as "too expensive."

More than a year of further negotiations followed, while additional teachers were laid off and school conditions worsened. Shanker made more concessions, and finally another version of the contract was submitted to the EFCB.

Some on the board favored pressing for still more union concessions, and no action was taken at the February 3 meeting. (Most of the renegotiated contract was finally approved February 7 by the EFCB.)

The EFCB has been a prime weapon of New York's ruling rich in imposing a wage freeze and layoffs on public employees and weakening city unions.

Jane Roland, SWP candidate for city

council president, related the banks' attack on New York workers to the federal government's offensive against women's rights.

"The Hyde amendment to the HEW [Housing, Education, and Welfare] appropriations bill, just passed by Congress, will stop Medicaid payments for abortion to tens of thousands of New York women," she said, "and especially to Black and Puerto Rican women, who are the least able to pay for medically safe abortions."

A coalition of women's groups in New York has called a demonstration March 12 to protest recent attacks on women's rights, especially the Hyde amendment and the Supreme Court's decision against disability payments to pregnant workers. Roland pledged to publicize and build the demonstration through her campaign.

As Mayor Abraham Beame walked past the crowd and onto the elevator, Garza noted that Beame had no desire to buck the EFCB. On the contrary,

Beame, like the rest of New York's Democratic and Republican politicians, is in the pocket of the banks.

"They all agree that the needs of the bankers come before the needs of the working people in this city," Garza said.

"The banks and big-business interests have created a living hell for the working people of this city," declared Robert Des Verney, candidate for comptroller.

"The deaths of the New Yorkers who froze in Harlem and elsewhere due to the profiteering and hoarding of fuel are on the heads of the wealthy interests and their Democratic and Republican parties."

Garza told the *Militant* that an important aim of the socialist campaign is to encourage working people to stop relying on the Democratic and Republican parties and instead run their own labor candidates. He proposed that workers be run for office by

*Continued on page 30*

## Socialist ticket for New York City



Militant/Lou Howort

### CATARINO GARZA FOR MAYOR

Garza, forty-eight years old, grew up in the South Bronx. He has been active in the National Maritime Union, United Auto Workers, and the United Federation of Teachers. As a UFT chapter chairperson, Garza sought to build union support for the right of Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese communities to control their schools. Garza is a member of the SWP National Committee. He was the party's candidate for governor of New York in 1962, for U.S. Senate in 1964, and for U.S. Congress in 1976.



Militant/Lou Howort

### ROBERT DES VERNEY FOR COMPTROLLER

Des Verney, forty-nine years old, has a long history of participation in the struggle for Black liberation. He worked closely with Malcolm X in founding the Organization of Afro-American Unity in 1964. Des Verney later helped organize Afro-Americans Against the War in Vietnam. As a writer and speaker, Des Verney has contributed to the development of a Marxist analysis of Black nationalism. He has lectured against the theories of Black "genetic inferiority" peddled by Arthur Jensen, William Shockley, and Richard Herrnstein.



Militant/Lou Howort

### JANE ROLAND FOR CITY COUNCIL PRESIDENT

Roland, twenty-nine years old, has been active in the feminist and civil rights movements. As a high school student in Boston she was a member of the NAACP Youth Council and participated in the first high school boycotts and Freedom Schools of the early 1960s. Before the 1973 U.S. Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion, Roland was New England coordinator of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition. In 1976 she was the Brooklyn coordinator of the Socialist Workers party presidential campaign.

## Wisconsin teachers forced on strike

By Tony Prince

MILWAUKEE—After working without a contract since the beginning of the school year, 1,500 teachers in Racine, Wisconsin, went on strike January 25.

The Racine Education Association (REA) was forced on strike by an aggressive school board. Last August the board declared negotiations at an impasse and imposed its own "contract," taking away benefits and cost-of-living adjustments.

Negotiators for the board have refused even to meet with the state-appointed mediator for the talks.

Racine teachers believe the existence of their union is at stake, and say they will not go back to work without a contract.

Service Employees International Union Local 152, which represents school custodians, is honoring REA picket lines. The Racine Alliance for Labor, representing all the city's major union locals, voted unanimously to urge union members not to send their children across teachers' picket lines.

Teachers throughout Wisconsin are under attack. In Superior, in the far northern part of the state, teachers have been on strike for several weeks, defying a court back-to-work order. Here in Milwaukee, members of the Milwaukee Teachers Education Association have been working without a contract since January 14. The Milwaukee school board refuses to negotiate any of the MTEA's demands until

they get a guarantee that the MTEA will make concessions on the board's major demands.

School board negotiators refer to MTEA proposals as "clutter," "none of the teachers' business," and "crap."

The Milwaukee board hopes to take the same course as the Racine board—to force the MTEA on strike and break the union.

This situation calls for active solidarity of teachers throughout the state. The MTEA should give the fullest support to Racine teachers, including sending busloads of teachers to Racine to join in picketing.

The outcome of the Racine strike will have an important impact on the struggle of Milwaukee teachers.



## New stage in fight for socialist democracy

# Czech dissident on meaning of Charter 77

In the following article Jiri Pelikan discusses the significance of the Czechoslovak human rights manifesto Charter 77. Pelikan was a director of the Czechoslovak TV network in the government of Premier Alexander Dubcek. He was elected to the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist party at a clandestine congress in 1968 that sought to organize resistance to the Soviet Union's invasion. Pelikan was later forced into exile in Italy during the period of mounting repression that followed Moscow's ouster of the Dubcek government and the installation of a regime headed by the current premier, Gustav Husak.



JIRI PELIKAN

Supporters of Charter 77 have been unable to circulate the document publicly in their own country. It surfaced after it was published in several Western European newspapers in early January.

The Czechoslovak government has cracked down hard on the nearly 300 original signers of the manifesto. Three of the most prominent—writer Vaclav Havel, journalist Jiri Lederer, and theater director Frantisek Pavlicek—have been charged with "serious criminal activities directed against the foundations of the republic." Otto Ornest, well-known theater director, was also arrested on these charges. Ornest was not a signer of Charter 77.

These four now face penalties ranging from one to ten years in prison.

Police arrested, but have not charged or held, another 200 of Charter 77's original signers. Targets of this campaign of intimidation are such figures as playwright Pavel Kohout; Jiri Hajek, who was foreign minister in the Dubcek government; philosopher Jan Patacka; and writer Ludvik Vaculik.

These fighters for socialist democracy have been harassed and interrogated. Their phones have

been disconnected. Some have been evicted from their homes. Others have had their passports lifted. Some were fired from their jobs. All have been victims of a smear campaign by the Czechoslovak CP newspaper, Rudé Právo.

But these efforts by the government appear to have backfired. They have generated wider public attention for Charter 77 than might otherwise have happened under Czechoslovakia's strict censorship. Despite the intense repression directed against the charter's signers, Hajek and Patacka announced February 5 that 208 additional people had signed since its existence first became known.

In addition, statements of solidarity with Charter 77 have been issued by dissidents in Poland and Hungary.

Pelikan's article was published in the January 14 issue of the French Trotskyist daily Rouge. The translation is by Intercontinental Press.

The appearance of the Charter 77 movement represents a new stage in the development of the opposition in Czechoslovakia, and by the same token an addition to the opposition movement throughout the East European countries. It has this significance because it offers a political platform uniting the various opposition currents and the various social layers in the country behind a common purpose: To defend the democratic rights and freedoms guaranteed by the country's constitution and by the international conventions—together with the Helsinki Accords—to which Czechoslovak governments have adhered, rights and freedoms that nonetheless have been consistently violated by the occupation regime.

Charter 77 has not replaced the various opposition movements and groups. These will continue to function in accordance with their own perspectives. What it has done is bring them together so that they can carry out common actions which will be more effective as a result.

It is also an important fact that this initiative comes at a time when the spirit of resistance has begun to rise with a new force in the other East European countries. This is exemplified in Poland by the formation of the Committee to Defend Worker Victims

of the Repression and the work it has done, in the USSR by Sakharov's Committee for Human Rights and Yuri Orlov's group set up to supervise implementation of the Helsinki Accords, and in the German Democratic Republic by the movement to protest the expulsion of the communist poet Wolf Biermann.

Despite the different situations in these various East European countries, the goals of the struggle are the same, or very similar, in every case—to defend freedom of expression and organization; to raise the demand for independence for the trade unions, for workers' participation in factory management, and for an end to the one-party bureaucracy's monopoly of power, as well as to censorship and repression.

Although it has its negative aspects for the more developed countries, the economic, political, and military integration of the Warsaw Pact and Comecon countries is bringing with it a gradual evening out of living conditions in all the Soviet bloc countries. As a result, there is a growing awareness of what is happening in neighboring countries, and this is enabling the opposition movement to emerge from the atomization and national egoism that marked it in the past and led to the defeats in 1956 and 1968.

Nor is it by chance that the growth and broadening of these movements coincide with the fading of the mythical perspective of a nonpolitical consumer society that the normalizers offered in the hope of defusing the

workers' discontent. The economic crisis in the East European countries, which is rooted in bureaucratic management and Soviet economic domination and is being intensified by the capitalist economic crisis, will deepen still further in the coming two or three years. This sharpening of the economic crisis will propel into the opposition movement those social layers that at the moment remain passive or are taking a wait-and-see attitude.

The leading groups in the East European countries will no doubt try to stifle this movement once again by means of a new wave of repression. Today, however, they face a stronger and more determined adversary, one imbued with the truly internationalist solidarity of the exploited and oppressed. Further, the illusions about the USSR traditionally held in the West are beginning to fade. So, a step-up in repression by the East European regimes would mean a complete break with the "Euro-Communist" CPs.

The leading groups, thus, are faced with two choices—either make concessions, grant reforms of the sort demanded by the oppositionists, or face the eventuality of a spontaneous explosion, and maybe a number of them, which could have dramatic consequences.

The Western left and the socialist opposition currents in the East European countries must prepare themselves to confront these two eventualities with a bold but realistic program for a socialist alternative.



Pavel Kohout (at right) with Ludvik Vaculik

## Split in India's Congress party

# Ram deals Gandhi's election plans a stiff blow

By Ernest Harsch  
From Intercontinental Press

The split by Agriculture Minister Jagjivan Ram and a number of his associates from the Congress party February 2 dealt a stiff blow to Indira Gandhi's plans for a carefully controlled election campaign.

Charging that the Congress party had "ceased to be a democratic organization," Ram resigned from his cabinet post and condemned Gandhi's state of emergency.

"Citizens of the country have been deprived of all their freedoms," he said. "A fear psychosis has overtaken the whole nation. People are living in a state of constant fear and are silently suffering."

Until his resignation Ram had been a prominent supporter of Gandhi and had publicly backed the state of emergency that was imposed in June 1975. He has held important government posts for twenty-seven of the past thirty years and is one of the few top government officials from the untouch-

able caste, the most exploited sector of India's stratified society. Untouchables, numbering about eighty-five million, account for between 15 and 25 percent of the country's electorate.

After resigning with five other leading members of the Congress party,



JAGJIVAN RAM

Ram set up a new group, called Congress for Democracy, and appealed to other Congress party leaders and members to join.

The split reflects mounting pressure on the Congress party.

An indication of the wide opposition to Gandhi's rule came on January 30, when thousands of persons gathered in New Delhi and five other major cities to hear speakers denounce the regime and the state of emergency. According to varying estimates, between 50,000 and 100,000 persons gathered on that day in New Delhi alone, chanting such slogans as "Long live liberty!"

The rallies were organized by the newly formed Janata (People's) party to kick off its campaign for the elections, scheduled for March. The party was formed by the conservative Organisation Congress, the rightist Bharatiya Lok Dal (Indian People's party), the Hindu chauvinist Jan Sangh, and the Socialist party.

Ram's Congress for Democracy has announced that it will work with the

Janata party. In addition, one of the two main Stalinist parties, the Communist party of India (Marxist), said that it would form electoral alliances with the Janata party in some states.

Although the pro-Moscow Communist party of India still supports the Gandhi regime, it has also felt compelled to criticize the state of emergency. In a statement quoted in a February 3 Associated Press dispatch from New Delhi, the CPI said, "The emergency powers have come to be more and more misused against the working class, peasantry and common people and the democratic forces."

One of the main reasons that Gandhi called the elections was to give her authoritarian rule the appearance of democracy. Besides refurbishing her "democratic" image abroad, she hopes that the elections will provide her regime a degree of legitimacy among the Indian masses themselves.

This relaxation of the emergency,  
*Continued on page 30*



## N.J. NOW conference

# Two counter-perspectives for women's mov't

By Ginny Hildebrand

MOUNT LAUREL, N.J.—The 1977 conference of the New Jersey National Organization for Women (NOW) held here February 5-6 began with high spirits.

On the first day, 100 of the 300 women registered for the conference piled into cars. Their drive took them to the nursing home where ninety-two-year-old Alice Paul—veteran suffragist and author of the Equal Rights Amendment—lives.

Paul waved to the young feminists as they rallied outside the door proclaiming that the fight for the ERA is still on.

Unfortunately, this mood of self-confidence and determination did not characterize the rest of the conference.

Over the past year, the federal and local governments have made stunning headway against abortion rights, affirmative action, maternity benefits, and child care, while keeping the ERA a few states shy of ratification.

In New Jersey, women's right to abortion has been a special target for government attacks. Just two weeks before the state NOW conference, the New Jersey Senate voted to call for a national constitutional convention to pass an amendment to the U.S. Constitution outlawing all abortions.

These facts called for New Jersey NOW to soberly assess the powerful challenge to women's rights and to devise an effective strategy to counter it.

However, the conference failed to do this.

Most of the time was consumed by the election of new state officers for NOW.

### State priorities

In the Sunday afternoon plenary session on priorities for 1977, the state board presented four recommendations that dealt with: rewriting the state's rape laws, assisting battered women, leadership training in NOW, and "politics."

Any mention of abortion, maternity benefits, or any other rights targeted by the government was glaringly absent from the list.

Alice Conner of Newark NOW, however, spoke from the floor on the attempts to dismantle abortion rights "state by state and deny poor women their right to abortion through the Hyde amendment's ban on Medicaid-funded abortion."

She urged NOW to begin to counter the anti-abortion drive in the state



Militant/Anne Teesdale

Should women rely on Democratic party 'friends' like Jimmy Carter or organize women to fight for their rights?

with educational and protest activities that can draw together large numbers of people. Conner suggested that NOW chapters begin to organize these around International Women's Day, March 8.

After several other women spoke in support of this idea, Judy Knee, the outgoing state coordinator, responded. Neither abortion nor the Equal Rights Amendment had to be discussed as priorities because they "are understood as given" priorities, she said.

This argument was not convincing. NOW had not made it a priority, for example, to organize a large show of opposition when the state senate voted for an anti-abortion constitutional convention. On the other hand, 200 anti-abortion demonstrators were on hand when the vote was taken.

### Relying on politicians

The real priority and central perspective of the state leadership was embodied in its proposal on "politics."

It stated, "This year's political priority should be the initial building block of a Second Decade strategy which will shift the power base in N.J."

The first activity called for is "questioning candidates" in order to enable NOW "to make decisions in primary and general elections."

In other words, NOW will be "targeting" some candidates for support and others for defeat. The proposal also calls for "putting women into the new



state administration."

These recommendations are a clear recipe for turning NOW toward greater reliance on the Democratic and Republican parties—the two parties leading the assault on women's rights.

Another perspective represented at the conference looks in the opposite direction: toward mobilizing the masses of women and women's rights supporters into a powerful, independent movement to counter the attacks.

Conner's proposal for activities in defense of abortion rights reflected this outlook. It was more fully explained in a proposal for NOW's national convention in April circulated by Conner and other New Jersey activists. It was well received by some conference participants, who discussed it in workshops and added their names as initial co-sponsors.

This national proposal zeroes in on the central issues for feminists to rally around: abortion rights, affirmative action, ERA, paid maternity leaves, and child care.

It points out that the government's attacks on women's rights are directed first at the most oppressed women—Blacks, Chicanas, Puerto Ricans, and other working-class women. But, it stresses, this is only the first step toward rolling back the rights of all women.

The proposal urges NOW to fight each attack. It rejects relying on promises from the two ruling parties and says that women can only rely on the power of their own movement.

Massive educational campaigns and mobilizations can force concessions from the government as they did in the fights for suffrage and legal abortion, the proposal says.

It urges NOW to build on the successful NOW-sponsored ERA march of 8,000 in Illinois, May 16, 1976, by calling a national demonstration in defense of women's rights this fall.

### Abortion workshop

The underlying differences in perspectives also surfaced in an abortion workshop Sunday afternoon.

Eileen Buzinsky, head of NOW's state abortion task force, said she was very "pessimistic" about the future of abortion rights.

Conner suggested some first steps to turn the situation around. "We have to inform women that their right to abortion may well be taken away" and begin organizing them into visible activities—rallies, pickets, and marches, she said.

"We've had many small marches," Buzinsky responded. "The person on the block doesn't want to march in the

street. You've got to change our legislators—that's the first and most important thing."

This despondent outlook is one reason why some NOW leaders are tying their strategy to the Democratic party. But it is based on a false assumption that flies in the face of the successful May 16 mobilization, for example.

Because of the discussion sparked by Conner's proposal, state board members spoke during the afternoon plenary in defense of their "politics" proposal.

Alice Cohan, a major organizer of the East Coast Freedom Train to the May 16 march, said, "It is certainly correct that we should be in the streets." But, she added, it is also "essential" to elect pro-women's-rights candidates into office.

### Two perspectives

This approach is shared by some NOW leaders who tend to view occasional demonstrations and rallies as a subordinate tactic to an overall strategy of reliance on the Democratic and Republican parties.

Many NOW leaders are opposed to any demonstrations, favoring lobbying and electing "pro-women's rights" candidates exclusively.

This is the opposite of a strategy that's based on building a massive, powerful movement of women independent of the two ruling sexist parties.

A resolution sponsored by Alice Cohan reemphasized the difference in these two perspectives. She urged New Jersey NOW to take it to the national convention.

The resolution says, "The next major push for ratification [of the ERA] will be following the 1978 elections."

In the meantime, NOW should organize "ERA caravans" over the summer in unratified states "as a catalyst for an election campaign to oust anti-ERA and elect pro-ERA state legislative candidates." (Emphasis added.)

With only a few minutes left in the conference, this proposal was passed with little discussion and only a few opposing votes. The conference also adopted the state board's "politics" proposal and the proposal for International Women's Day activities in defense of abortion rights.

Cohan's national proposal along with the state's "politics" proposal are warning signs.

For years, NOW leaders have mistakenly viewed the Democratic party as a vehicle for achieving women's rights. Now, it appears that some of them plan to deepen this error.

This perspective needs to be discussed and debated at NOW's upcoming national convention and in NOW chapters in the weeks preceding the gathering.

All feminists must carefully weigh the implications of this outlook and compare it to a fundamentally different alternative.

This alternative calls for NOW to confidently turn toward the masses of women and their allies in the unions, in Black community groups, and on the campuses as the real source of power. To unite these forces—whether they consider themselves to be Democrats, Republicans, socialists, or independents—in massive mobilizations to defend and advance women's rights.

This perspective could inspire thousands of women to join the fight for women's liberation. Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano, and other working-class women would see the feminist movement as *their* movement.

That's the kind of fighting women's movement needed to challenge the government every time it tries to roll back women's rights.

## Support grows for ERA

Missouri supporters of the Equal Rights Amendment have set February 26 as the date for a protest march in St. Louis. The ERA is expected to come before the state legislature during the current session.

Initial sponsors include the Metro National Organization for Women, Missouri ERA Coalition, League of Women Voters, and St. Louis executive board of the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

In addition, leading trade unionists have endorsed the action, including members of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; United Auto Workers; Teamsters; American Federation of Teachers; Communication Workers of America; and Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers.

In snow-ridden Atlanta January 31, ERA proponents conducted a vigil at the state capitol. The protest, attended by about forty people, was

called after the state senate betrayed a "deal" made with leaders of the women's movement and tabled the ERA for 1977. The deal included a moratorium on demonstrations.

The *Chronicle*—a Black news-weekly in Charleston, South Carolina—reported in its February 5 issue the formation of a statewide ERA coalition in South Carolina.

Next to the report, the *Chronicle* reprinted in full an article from the February 4 *Militant* titled, "One down, three to go: how can we win the ERA?" The feature takes to task the women's leaders who have sacrificed mobilizations in support of women's rights for reliance on Democratic politicians.

And a new national endorsement has come for the ERA—from the Girl Scouts of America. "Aware that a critical time has come in the ratification process," the national board of directors approved the first political endorsement in the group's history January 30.

# March 8 actions will defend women's rights

By Gale Shangold

"Stop the attacks on women's rights" will be the theme of many International Women's Day events taking place this year around the country.

This theme is not new. In fact, March 8 was first designated as International Women's Day in commemoration of women garment workers in New York City, who took to the streets in 1908 to protest sweatshop conditions and to demand the right to vote. Today, sixty-nine years later, women are still fighting.

This year on March 12, women in New York City will take to the streets once again to demand: no restrictions on abortion, end sterilization abuse, full compensation for working women during pregnancy, pass the Equal Rights Amendment, extend affirmative-action plans, and no cuts in day-care centers.

The march has been called by the International Women's Day Coalition. Additional sponsors include: Puerto Rican Socialist party; Brooklyn National Organization for Women (NOW); National Abortion Rights Action League; Kate Millett; Socialist Workers party; the president of Medgar Evers Student Union; campus women's centers at City University of New York, Barnard College, and New York University; and the Committee to End Sterilization Abuse.

A week of activities will lead up to

the Saturday march.

The coalition holds planning meetings every Tuesday at 7:00 p.m. at the Manhattan NOW office, at 47 East Nineteenth Street.

San Francisco women's organizations have gotten together to sponsor the Second Annual Day in the Park for Women's Rights during the weekend of March 12. The sponsoring groups include San Francisco NOW, League of Women Voters, and Women's Action Coalition at San Francisco State University.

The day of speeches, entertainment, and literature booths will rally support for abortion rights, the ERA, and quality child care for all who need it.

A March 9 rally in Tallahassee will demand that Florida legislators ratify the Equal Rights Amendment. Speakers will include representatives of the American Civil Liberties Union, the state legislature, and a local union.

The fight of women internationally will be a theme in Tacoma, Washington, on March 8. Speakers will also outline the recent barrage of attacks on American women. The film *Emerging Woman* will be shown as well.

The Women's Rights Coalition in the Twin Cities has called for a March 5 rally to say "no" to attempts to roll back the gains of the women's movement. Sponsored by the University of Minnesota Community Feminists and St. Paul NOW, the rally will be held in St. Paul, the state capital.

# Mass. high court okays limits on teen abortions

By Anne Teesdale

BOSTON—Unmarried women under eighteen years of age must get consent of their parents before having an abortion in Massachusetts, according to a ruling handed down by the state's Supreme Judicial Court January 25.

The court's decision was based on its interpretation of a 1974 state law regulating abortions for minors. The ruling came on a suit brought by Bill Baird, who operates two nonprofit abortion clinics. Baird sought to prevent the enforcement of parental-consent provisions in the 1974 law.

The court's interpretation was written to be in line with the July 1 U.S. Supreme Court decision, which said states may not impose "blanket" restrictions requiring all single women under eighteen to get parental consent. While the July ruling was a step forward, it left room for states to place some restrictions on a young woman's right to choose.

As the *New York Times* explained last July 2, "States might be able to enact laws calling for parental consent if those laws allowed a 'mature minor' to avoid this requirement, and if it allowed other minors to get abortions despite a parent's refusal to consent if

the abortion was in the minors' 'best interests.'"

In order to take advantage of these loopholes, the Massachusetts court said that a young woman may appeal her parents' decision to the superior court.

This so-called appeal provision is in reality no better than a "blanket" restriction. It will make abortions for women under eighteen prohibitive.

As Dr. David Chapin of Massachusetts General Hospital said, "It's difficult to conceive of many fifteen-year-olds being able to find their way to superior court to get a judge's OK."

Pre-Term, one of the largest abortion and family planning clinics in the Boston area, performs abortions on sixty to seventy women under eighteen each month. Nearly one-third are done without parental consent.

Dr. Phillip Stubblefield, a consultant for Pre-Term and clinic director at Boston Hospital for Women, explained that a young woman often cannot tell her parents for fear that "her mother will disown her, her father will either beat her, shoot her boyfriend, or have a heart attack, or that both parents will get divorced over the matter."

Continued on page 30

# Ga. SWP runs Harris in bid for Young's seat

By Rob Cahalane

ATLANTA—Voters in the Fifth Congressional District here will go to the polls for a special election March 15. The election was called to fill the seat left vacant by Andrew Young when he resigned from Congress to become the chief U.S. representative to the United Nations.

Two prominent leaders of the civil rights movement, John Lewis and Rev. Ralph Abernathy, have captured the lion's share of media attention in a field of thirteen Democrats and Republicans jockeying for position in the race.

Lewis resigned from his post as director of the Voter Education Project to devote full time to his campaign.

Abernathy is national president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Both men claim to be following in the footsteps of Andrew Young and are maneuvering for Young's support to their campaigns. Common to all three

he says, "cannot be solved by liberal or conservative Democrats or Republicans," because they are caused by the very capitalist system these parties defend.

Harris says his campaign is trying to set an example for the kind of independent political action the Black people of this country need to carry out on a massive scale.

A reporter recently asked Harris what he meant by this in terms of his program against unemployment. How do his ideas differ from those of the Democrats? This is an important question since unemployment is a big problem for Blacks in the Fifth District.

Harris answered that the SWP, unlike the two capitalist parties, believes that everyone has a right to a job. He advocates an emergency public works program. "Such a program," he says, "would give people jobs building the housing, adequate mass transportation, schools, hospitals, and child-care facilities that are urgently needed."

Harris also proposes a "thirty-hour workweek with no cut in pay. This would spread the available work around and help achieve full employment."

Harris is opposed to the increasing attacks on the rights of Blacks that have occurred in the past few years over busing, affirmative action, and discriminatory layoffs. "Both Democratic and Republican party politicians have been carrying these out," he charges.

"The way to answer these attacks," he said, "is not to follow Young, Abernathy, and Lewis into the Democratic party. Instead, we need to use the strategy that won us gains in the first place during the 1960s. We need to organize a massive counter movement to the policies of the Democrats and Republicans. We need mass marches, rallies, pickets, boycotts, and other actions involving thousands and thousands of Blacks and supporters of our rights."

"Reliance on the Democratic party has also been a dead end for the women's movement," Harris said. "Before last November, many supporters of women's rights were confident that Carter's election would bring swift passage of the Equal Rights Amendment in Georgia. Instead, the Georgia Senate has buried the bill in a subcommittee." Harris calls for immediate passage of the ERA.

On foreign policy, Harris asks, "Will any of my opponents join me in condemning Andrew Young's statement that he would support a U.S. veto of resolutions to oust South Africa from the United Nations?"

Harris is actively supporting the March 25-26 nationwide protests against all U.S. support to the apartheid regime that have been initiated by the National Student Coalition Against Racism.



JAMES HARRIS

men is a belief that their participation in the Democratic party is a logical continuation of the massive struggle for civil rights they all participated in during the 1960s.

"King," Young says, according to the February 6 *New York Times*, "was taking the civil-rights movement where it had to go, into politics." Young believes his own career "has been a logical working out of a course that had been set before King died."

This view is being sharply challenged by another longtime civil rights activist in the race for Young's seat. He is James Harris, a twenty-nine-year-old carpenter who has been fighting for Black liberation since he was in high school. He is the candidate of the Socialist Workers party.

Harris thinks the gains won by the civil rights movement prove that Black people need a completely different kind of political strategy than the reliance on the Democratic party advocated by Lewis and Abernathy.

"Support to the Democratic party is a dead-end trap," Harris says. "The Democrats and Republicans have shared control of the government continuously since the Civil War. Yet Black people are still not free."

Harris says that gains made by Blacks in such areas as school desegregation, voting rights, and affirmative action "were won by the civil rights struggles we carried out independently of the Democratic and Republican parties."

"The real, everyday problems of unemployment, inflation, and racism,"



Militant/Mark Satinoff

## Harris, Reid to speak at rally

A campaign rally for James Harris will be held February 19. Militant staff writer Willie Mae Reid, who was the SWP's candidate for vice-president in 1976, will speak along with Harris.

For more information call (404) 688-6739 or 755-2940.



## Carter's gas plan

President Carter strongly hinted at a February 8 news conference that he may soon announce the lifting of federal price controls on natural gas and oil. This is sweet news for Exxon, Mobil, and the other energy conglomerates. For years they have made deregulation of oil and natural gas prices the number one target of their lobbying efforts in Washington. The president also stated his opposition to nationalization of oil and natural gas supplies, and cautioned that his energy policies would call for "substantial sacrifices" from the American people.

Taken together, Carter's statements on energy policy add up to a wholesale endorsement of the oil companies' drive for unrestricted profits—profits to be squeezed from the pockets of already hard-pressed working people. Carter's actions are making clear that whether a Democrat or Republican occupies the Oval Office, human needs will take a back seat to corporate profits.

What a contrast there would be if working people had a labor party based on a fighting trade-union movement! A labor party would fight to open the books of the oil barons to the public, exposing their phony shortages and profit-gouging schemes. Such a party would lead in the direction Carter fears to tread—toward nationalizing the country's energy resources and putting them under the democratic control of working people where they belong.

## A better choice

More and more Eastern European workers and intellectuals are growing tired of having their freedoms trampled by privileged Stalinist bureaucrats.

- In **Poland** there is a mounting defense effort for workers jailed after last summer's strike against price increases. Some prominent writers are posing the need for workers to rule society directly.
- In **Czechoslovakia**—despite the regime's open preparation for political trials—nearly 500 people have signed Charter 77. The charter's demand? Simply that the Czech government stand by the rights guaranteed in its constitution.
- Stalinists in **East Germany** have stirred protests at home and abroad for expelling folk singer Wolf Biermann, a foe of thought control and a communist.
- Dissidents in the **Soviet Union** have been heartened by reports of hunger strikes by political prisoners.
- And not just in Eastern Europe. In **China** during last month's anniversary of Chou En-Lai's death, demands for an extension of "democratic rights" were raised during ten days of demonstrations.

These dissidents are part of the same struggle for a world free of exploitation and oppression as their brothers and sisters in Africa, Latin America, Western Europe, and this country.

While both capitalists and Stalinists claim that socialism and democracy are incompatible, these new struggles prove that humanity has another—and better—choice.

## Censors' victory

On February 8 a Cincinnati jury found Larry Flynt guilty of engaging in organized crime and pandering obscenity. He was sentenced to up to twenty-five years in prison and fined \$11,000. Flynt publishes and distributes a magazine the prosecution and jury judged "offensive to community standards."

We have no kind words for Flynt or for his "men's magazine" *Hustler*—a disgusting rag, supposedly the most "explicit" of a species dedicated to exploiting and debasing women for profit.

But those who spearheaded Flynt's prosecution—the Citizens for Decent Literature—are no friends of women either. They're the same right-wing forces who oppose abortion, the Equal Rights Amendment, busing, and a host of other democratic rights. They're the same people who dub books "anti-American" and "filthy" because they're by and about Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans, and then try to ban them from public schools.

Every time these reactionaries succeed in their censorship drive, it's a blow against everyone's right to free speech.

"We have to protect our county," proclaimed the prosecutor in Flynt's case. Today they're "protecting" us from obscenity. Tomorrow it might be from abortion information, or a strike leaflet—or a socialist newspaper.

### Abu Daoud

*The Palestinians are a particularly natural target for Western racism. They are weak and dispersed, hounded on every side, but they refuse to accept their fate and melt away, an affront to civilization—not unlike the Jews. They must be despised, or how are we to justify their fate?* —Noam Chomsky

The recent hysteria worked up by many shades in Western society over the so-called Abu Daoud affair is the latest of numerous demonstrations of how hate and callous obstruction of justice and freedom for whole peoples rule supreme among us.

It is not Abu Daoud whom the West and the Zionists really seek. Rather they seek—as irrationally as possible—to dramatize their grim hatred of a whole people, the Palestinian people, whose only crime is their refusal to surrender their rights to live to the predatory and racist privileges of Zionism and Western exploitation.

The vicious attempts to atomize the Palestinian people and strip them of all elementary human rights is a blot on the collective Judeo-Christian conscience; the use of Abu Daoud as a pretext does not erase the blot or cover it. It only makes the blot darker.

Civilized men and women, however, will not be terrorized by such whipped-up hysteria as we have recently witnessed, nor will they lose faith in the ultimate victory of human rights and human dignity over prey and "ethnic purity" in Palestine and elsewhere.

The Palestinians won't melt away; and their unabridged rights to their homeland, Palestine, shall remain inalienable. Their persistent call for a secular and democratic state for Jews and Palestinians alike will sooner or later be heeded, for all the venom of Zionist and Western racism.

R. Busailah  
Kokomo, Indiana

### A reminder of Tlatelolco

Readers who are sick and tired of imperialist and Zionist noise about Abu Daoud and Giscard d'Estaing might appreciate a reminder about the gigantic massacre perpetrated against Mexican students by Washington's friends at Tlatelolco in September 1968 to clean up the country for the fall 1968 Olympic Games.

No tears or indignation, or even side comments or footnotes, are being wasted on the hundreds of Mexican students and protesters slaughtered by the free-world showcase government, nor have there been any, nor will there be any forthcoming.

R.D.  
New York, New York

### 'Treacherous impartiality'

I notice in recent issues that some readers object to the *Militant* having a specific, socialist point of view, despite their praise for the *Militant's* excellent reporting of facts.

Trotsky once wrote (in his introduction to *The History of the Russian Revolution*) that historians—and obviously journalists—should not seek to be impartial in their presentation of facts, such impartiality being inevitably a form of reactionary fence-sitting:

"The serious and critical reader will not want a treacherous impartiality, which offers him a cup of conciliation with a well-settled poison of reactionary hate at the bottom, but a scientific conscientiousness, which for its sympathies and antipathies—open and undisguised—seeks support in an

honest study of the facts, a determination of their real connections, an exposure of the causal laws of their movement.

"That is the only possible historic objectivism, and moreover it is amply sufficient, for it is verified and attested not by the good intentions of the historian, for which only he himself can vouch, but by the natural laws revealed by him of the historic process itself."

So, I say to your other readers, if they are upset by the *Militant's* undisguised antipathy to the new Carter presidency or to the bureaucracy in China or other developments, wait and see the process unfold in the coming year. You will see the *Militant's* analysis, and not just its facts, are accurate.

The *Militant* is the only U.S. weekly where you will get honest, objective reporting precisely because it is a revolutionary socialist paper, I know. I've been subscribing for years.

P.S.  
Toronto, Ontario, Canada

### Swedish CP

Last fall the Communist party of the Philippines called for a yes vote on a plebiscite by the Marcos dictatorship to continue martial law. (The party did qualify its support by recommending that voters amend their yes vote with a statement that martial law should not be used in the interests of big business.)

And the Communist party of India only recently developed reservations about the Indira Gandhi dictatorship.

But, I'm happy to note, the Communist party of Sweden is having none of that.

The January 18 issue of the *Daily World* featured a UPI dispatch from Sweden headlined, "Swedish CP calls king obstacle to democracy."

The article reports that the Swedish Communist party members of Parliament called for abolition of the monarchy, adding, "The Communists, in their harshest parliamentary motion to date on the subject, did not mention King Carl Gustaf or Queen Silvia by name."

It was nice that the MPs refrained from getting personal. Besides, they probably figured that as representatives of the Communist party what they did was daring enough.

H.R.  
Los Angeles, California

### Police brutality

"The first job of an army of occupation is to restore law and order," stated New Orleans City Councilman DiRosa at public hearings on police brutality.

Six hundred citizens, predominantly Black, packed the city council chambers the night of January 7 to hear testimony about police brutality in New Orleans and to demand action by the city council to halt it.

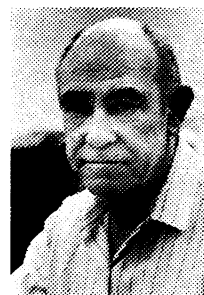
After opening statements by Mayor Landreiu and Superintendent of Police C. Giarrusso in defense of the New Orleans Police Department, those opposing police brutality were finally given an opportunity to state their case.

These included the American Civil Liberties Union, the NAACP, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, State Representatives Diane Bajoie and Johnny Jackson, several lawyers, and many actual victims of, or witnesses to, recent incidents of police brutality. During the ten-hour marathon hearing, thirty-six people



# National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



## The rights of miners

A new attitude of workers in basic industry toward their rights on the job and their ability to improve their conditions of work is illustrated by recent incidents in the coalfields. But the growing awareness of their own importance and ability is not limited to coal miners. It is seen at the shop level in auto, steel, rubber, and other manufacturing industries. It helps account for struggles and impending struggles for power in the industrial unions.

The upheaval in the United Mine Workers that unseated the entrenched bureaucracy in 1972, and the present challenge to the old leadership in the steelworkers union, are the early results of this new sense of independence and self-confidence.

The change in consciousness is greatest among miners. Not long ago most coal miners were glad to have a job and thought that if they were dissatisfied with it the only thing they could do was quit and look elsewhere for work. Not so today.

Steve Ratliff is a twenty-seven-year-old Vietnam veteran who was fired from his job as section foreman in a coal mine in Elkhorn City, Kentucky, on March 23, 1976. He had refused to lead his crew into a mine that had been tagged by a federal inspector as unsafe.

"Nobody told me I had a 'right' to do anything," Ratliff later told local reporters. "I just had a feeling I should be able to do something," he said.

What he did was file safety discrimination charges under the Coal Mine Health and Safety Act. He won his job back eight months later, on December 6.

The miners cheered when he returned to work. "You'd have thought I was king or something," he said.

Lots happened in those eight months he was out of work, and not only to Ratliff. For one thing the mines in West Virginia and Kentucky were closed for a month last summer by striking miners. They were protesting heavy fines levied on their union by a company-minded judge who tried to impose unsafe working conditions in violation of the law and the union contract.

For another thing the mine where Ratliff worked was nonunion when he was fired and under contract to the United Mine Workers when he returned.

Ratliff and his wife thought the company expected to starve them out. "After I was fired," he said, "I had trouble finding another job. Several times we thought

about giving up and leaving."

When Ratliff got a favorable decision last August the company appealed, claiming he had quit. He was kept off work while the appeal was pending. Finally it was heard and denied in court, and he went back to work with back pay of between \$8,000 and \$10,000.

"Now it looks like we'll be seeing ourselves clear soon," he said.

Ratliff sees this as more than a personal victory. "Human rights—period. That's what this was about."

"And now things will have to be different up there where I work," he says. "I hope my case has made it easier for all foremen and all miners who in the future stand up for safe mining practices."

This is the new attitude among miners that has brought some changes in government inspection and court rulings. It will eventually command respect from mine owners and can lead to workers' control of the mines.

The Federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act, passed in 1969, was supposed to stop the slaughter in the mines by establishing various safety regulations and giving federal mine inspectors the right to close unsafe mines. But in the first six years after the act went into effect, 1,000 miners were killed on the job and thousands were disabled. A recent report by columnist Jack Anderson helps show why.

Since 1970 the shorthanded, underpaid, and unprotected mine inspectors have levied more than \$66 million in fines. But the Interior Department has collected only \$29 million.

Mine inspectors have been the frequent victims of physical attacks by the coal operators and their goons. "You are subject to constant abuse wherever you go," one inspector said. "... And when you serve an order on an operator, he may draw his pistol and send his dog after you."

Congress, in its wisdom, failed to make it a federal crime to assault an inspector.

Government agencies and the courts move slowly against the crimes of big business, but the new attitudes of industrial workers will speed up the process.

A corrupt government can be replaced just as corrupt union officials can. It all depends on the will and determination of millions of workers like coal miner Steve Ratliff.

testified against police brutality.

In a carefully orchestrated attempt to vindicate the police, the right wing intervened in full red, white and blue hypocrisy. Led by the Fraternal Order of Police (FOP)—a national organization of police and ex-cops, which flew its national president in to testify—two dozen police officers, FOP officers, and their rightist defenders (including the national president of the John Birch Society) paraded before the council and cameras, attempting to cover up the issue of police brutality.

Nonetheless, overwhelming evidence of daily police brutality was presented at this hearing. Despite this, it is likely that the city council will do no more than cosmetically strengthen the Internal Affairs Bureau, the police's board of inquiry.

This will not end police brutality, as DiRosa is more than right: towards the Black community, the police act as "an army of occupation." Only ending the occupation and removing the cops will halt police brutality.

Scott Breen

New Orleans, Louisiana

### Too much rhetoric?

I appreciate your paper for the valuable coverage it gives civil rights movements and union struggles. However, I have some criticisms.

You should use less rhetoric. Constant repetition of "racist" is boring and unuseful.

Constant characterization of the Communist party USA as "anti-human-rights," "antigay," and "antiwomen" does not explain why their vote doubled since the last election (winning more votes than the SWP in some states where both are on the ballot). How about some honest analysis?!

I highly commend the Harrington-Camejo debate and your printing of it. [See the November 26, December 3, and December 10 *Militant*.] How about more openness to other competing groups, such as the Socialist Labor, Socialist, and Communist parties?

Dave Ellis

Roxbury, Vermont

### 'Will of course renew'

Since last October I have enjoyed your paper very much. So I request that whenever my subscription runs out, please inform me. I will of course renew it.

I was attracted to the Socialist Workers party by the candidacy of Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid [the SWP 1976 presidential candidates], but I have held the beliefs I have for a number of years.

After reading your paper and doing some research, I now find that I can support the platforms, programs, and methods of your party as wholeheartedly as I have your candidates. I am especially impressed with the nonelitist attitude of your party.

Steve Gay

Davis, California

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

## By Any Means Necessary

John Hawkins



### 'Roots' taught a lesson

This week's "By Any Means Necessary" is a guest column by Mohammed Karimi.

BOSTON—"I want my money," the Black owner of the auto repair shop demands of an overdue customer who is also Black. "Why haven't you given me my money?"

"It isn't my fault," pleads the customer. "It isn't my fault," he repeats.

"I suppose it's my fault," is the sardonic reply of the shop owner.

The customer leans over the counter and whispers, "You been watching 'Roots'?"

"Yes."

"Then you know whose fault it is."

ABC blew my mind. Not that I'd expect the network to pass up the chance to make several million bucks. No, it wasn't that. I just don't think they realized what explosive material they were handling.

For eight days straight Black pride was brought to the masses. A hundred-and-thirty-million masses to be exact. That's more than the number who watched *Gone with the Wind* on TV or the Superbowl.

Everybody is talking about it. In subways and buses. In elevators and hallways. In restaurants, stores, and shops of all kinds.

After three episodes a nine-year-old white boy asked me at work if I'd been watching "Roots." We talked

about it for awhile, and then he said, "You know what it's like? It's like if a bunch of Blacks came from Africa tomorrow and snatched some whites from Needham to take back as slaves. Isn't that crazy?"

One of the white secretaries where I work summed up what must have been the case for tens of millions of whites who viewed "Roots." "I'm learning things they never taught in school," she said.

For Blacks, "Roots" concretized the anger, disgust and outrage felt by the Black community over racist oppression. In the persons of Kunta Kinte, Kizzy, and Chicken George, Black people saw our own roots and were proud of them.

Ours is a history and tradition of a people who never gave up the quest for freedom. There were many Kunta Kintes, Kizzys, and Chicken Georges who dreamed of being free and fought for that dream.

Millions of Blacks were taught a lesson in nationalism by "Roots."

One could point out many flaws in the production of "Roots," in its direction, and especially in the acting.

But that's all irrelevant. "Roots" was an event. A happening of massive proportions that threw the American people into a very important discussion of racism. What is important is the education 130 million people received.

True, some didn't learn the lesson. But many did. And they are now better armed for the battles yet to come.



## Is nothing sacred?

The following guest column is by Militant staff writer José G. Pérez.

Is nothing sacred anymore?

Another federal grand jury is loose in New York "investigating" Puerto Rican "terrorism." This time—believe it or not—their target is the Commission on Hispanic Affairs of the national Episcopal church.

You might remember the government had another one of these investigations a few months ago to persecute a Puerto Rican schoolteacher, Lureida Torres.

Then, as now, the government says it's looking into the Armed Forces of Puerto Rican National Liberation—better known under its Spanish-language initials, FALN.

Lureida Torres is a member of the Puerto Rican

Socialist party, which disclaims any knowledge of the FALN. But the government dumped Torres in jail—although she had been accused of no crime—because she refused to give information about the Puerto Rican movement.

She finally got out four months later when the term of the grand jury expired. A few days after that, the government got a judge to extend the term of the grand jury.

The new pretext was Carlos Alberto Torres (no relation to Lureida Torres), a student at the University of Illinois Chicago Circle Campus. The feds claim to have raided his apartment last November and found "a veritable bomb factory." But they didn't find Torres.

Torres had once been associated with the Episcopal commission. So the government subpoenaed personnel records, files, and all the typewriter balls

from IBM typewriters at the national headquarters of the Episcopal church.

They also want to talk—in secret and without defense attorneys there, of course—to Maria Cueto, head of the commission, and her secretary, Raisa Nemikin.

Now, you might've thought a grand jury was supposed to decide if the government has enough evidence to indict somebody for a crime—not subpoena everyone and everything in sight.

And you might've thought you had a right to go about doing what you see as the good Lord's work, without hindrance from the feds.

Well, it turns out you're wrong. At least that's what a federal judge told Cueto and Nemikin. If appeals fail the two women will either be forced to testify in what is clearly a fishing expedition or go to jail.

## Women in Revolt

### Papal bull

If women tried religiously to follow the papal view of womanhood, we would be up the creek without a paddle.

Last spring Pope Paul VI issued a 30,000-word "apostolic exhortation" calling for greater devotion to the Virgin Mary. He said that in her time Mary was very much like today's women fighting for equality.

The pope described Mary as "the first and most perfect of Christ's disciples." She was the voice of God for the humble and oppressed against the powerful. Mary, he said, is the "new woman" whose example supports the "liberating energies" now in motion.

Pope Paul proclaimed that the modern woman, anxious to participate in the decision-making affairs of her community, could contemplate the Virgin's role with joy. Mary had been taken into dialogue with God. She was an example to be imitated.

The pope's statement was a telling comment on the impact of feminist ideas on Catholic women. He felt compelled to identify the church with the changing consciousness of women. But his recent

actions expose his insincerity.

Last month the Vatican issued a declaration opposing the practice begun in other churches of admitting women to the priesthood "on par with men." The declaration stated, "The Catholic Church has never felt that priestly or episcopal ordination can be validly conferred on women." Why? Because "Jesus Christ did not call any woman to become part of the Twelve [disciples]."

The eighteen-page document explained that in exercising the ministry, the priest must have a "natural resemblance" to Christ—be in his image. And it continued, "Christ Himself was and remains a man."

The *separate* and *distinct* roles of men and women, the declaration said, do not imply inequality between the sexes. (Sounds like the separate-but-equal provisions for Blacks under Jim Crow.)

Then the declaration reexplained the role of the Virgin Mary. While it is true that she "surpassed in dignity and in excellence all the Apostles . . . it was not to her but to them that the Lord entrusted the keys to the kingdom of heaven."

The pope defended the declaration by urging

## Willie Mae Reid



women again to be "like Mary, teacher and queen." Women can "occupy a first active place . . . in the charity and social fields," he said.

On the same day that this antiwoman declaration was released, the Catholic church authorities started proceedings to beatify Gianna Molla Beretta—becoming "blessed" is a stepping-stone to possible sainthood. In 1962, Beretta chose to die in childbirth rather than have an abortion!

Fortunately, today's women both in the church and out are not waiting for the pope's approval to gain equality. In fact, belief in papal infallibility among Catholics has fallen during the past ten years from 70 to 37 percent. As much as 76 percent of Catholics endorse women's right to abortion. Marriage after divorce is now approved by 73 percent. Attendance at monthly confession is down and collection plates are lighter.

The contempt the pope shows for women will no doubt continue and deepen this trend. One woman disgusted by the Vatican's ban on women priests said, "Women have better things to do than be priests."

For real!

## iLa Raza en Acción!

### Evidence or no evidence

The Socialist Workers party recently scored Denver District Attorney Dale Tooley for refusing to prosecute FBI officials in the burglary of the SWP headquarters last July.

When he was forced by reporters to explain his inaction against the FBI criminals, Tooley said there was "insufficient evidence." After seeing the contents of the grand jury investigation into the burglary (see *Militant*, February 4), that is hard to believe.

Looking at Tooley's past record, however, his inaction against the FBI is entirely understandable. For years Dale Tooley has been working diligently with Denver police and the FBI and other federal agencies to railroad Chicano activists into prison—evidence or no evidence.

In 1973 police carried out a murderous raid on the Escuela Tlatelolco, a Chicano movement school operated by the Crusade for Justice. The assault left one dead and several wounded.

A cop shot Luis Martínez at point blank range through the neck. Martínez was unarmed. Mario Vásquez had to be dragged out unconscious from under a pile of rubble in the school building. Ernesto Vigil was shot in the back by cops. Luis

Ramírez was clubbed till his head split open in three places.

All the evidence showed that what happened was an unprovoked holocaust by police in which Chicano activists were the victims.

But no cop was ever prosecuted. Instead, Tooley went after the Chicano victims with a vengeance.

Vigil, Ramírez, and Vásquez were falsely charged with assault. Vigil was acquitted by a jury in thirty seconds, so flimsy were the charges against him. Ramírez was acquitted. Vásquez was the only one Tooley succeeded in sending to the Canon City penitentiary.

Over the next few months, more than 100 Crusade activists and supporters were arrested. Again, the "evidence" against them was so transparent that Tooley could not convict a single one.

Towards the end of 1973, a rash of apparently unconnected bombings took place in Denver. They received sensationalistic coverage in the papers.

On the flimsiest of evidence, Tooley charged Francisco Martínez, an activist lawyer, in one of the bombings. A hysterical manhunt was begun. Raids were carried out at the homes of Chicano activists. His life in danger from trigger-happy cops, Martínez was driven underground.

## Miguel Pendás



A few months later, in another Chicano "mad bomber" scare, Tooley brought phony charges against Gary Garrison of the Crusade for Justice. A jury didn't find Tooley's "evidence" convincing, and acquitted Garrison.

Using the testimony of police informer Joseph Cordova, Tooley is now trying to railroad Crusade activists Juan Haro and Antonio Quintana, again, on phony bombing charges.

Tooley knows Haro well. He ran against him as a Democrat for Denver mayor in 1971. Haro was the Raza Unida candidate.

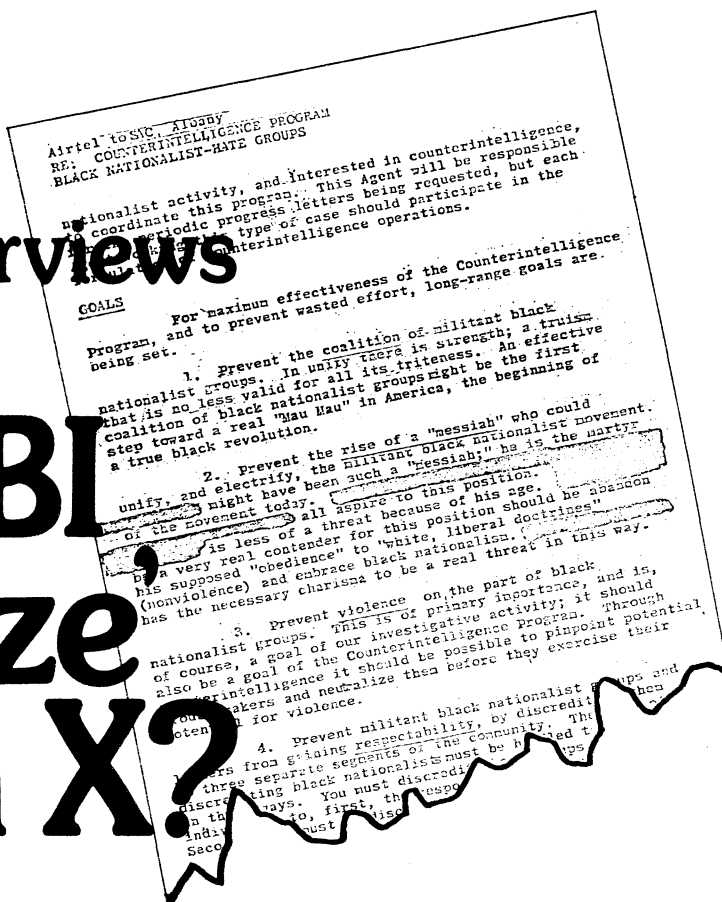
After charges were filed against Haro and Quintana, it became known that Cordova was no ordinary informer. He was an agent provocateur that had been used several times by the cops to carry out crimes for which others would get busted. This shed a new light on the case.

A Denver judge had to order Tooley to explain why he refuses to prosecute Cordova, despite evidence proving his criminal activity.

Any objective observer could have provided the answer to that question. Dale Tooley prosecutes his enemies and winks at his friends—evidence or no evidence.

# 'First World' interviews Baxter Smith

# Did the FBI 'neutralize' Malcolm X?



Reprinted below is an interview with former Militant staff writer Baxter Smith. The interview originally appeared in the premiere issue of First World magazine, a bimonthly journal of Black political thought.

While on the Militant staff, Smith did extensive research into the assassination of Malcolm X. He recently obtained part of the FBI's mountain of files on the Black nationalist leader under the Freedom of Information Act.

Smith is a contributor to the new Pathfinder Press book *The Assassination of Malcolm X*.

Copies of First World are available for \$2.00. Subscriptions are \$15.00 a year. Write to First World at 1580 Avon Avenue SW, Atlanta, Georgia 30311.

**First World:** From your research, what does it appear was the FBI's specific involvement in the murder of Malcolm?

**Baxter Smith:** No evidence has yet come out to prove that the government, as represented by its FBI, CIA or any of their hirelings, actually pulled the trigger on Malcolm.

But, as once-secret government memos prove, that does not weaken the argument that the government was completely opposed to Malcolm and could have easily masterminded his assassination—as documents now show the CIA attempted against Patrice Lumumba, Fidel Castro, and other foreign leaders it opposed.

**FW:** On what fears were the FBI activities based?

**BS:** In March of 1974, evidence of a massive government operation against the Black movement was forced to light in FBI Cointelpro ("Counterintelligence Program") documents.

One of those documents stated that the FBI's job was to "prevent the rise of a 'messiah' who could unify, and electrify, the militant black nationalist movement."

The documents ordered FBI agents to "expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit, or otherwise neutralize the activities of black nationalist, hate-type organizations and groupings, their leadership, spokesmen, membership, and supporters. . . ."

Another Cointelpro memo stated: "No opportunity should be missed to exploit through counterintelligence techniques the organizational and personal conflicts of the leaderships of the groups and where possible an effort should be made to capitalize

upon existing conflicts between competing black nationalist organizations."

These documents prove that the government's options against the Black movement of the 1960's included "disrupting" it when its leaders indi-



BAXTER SMITH

cated that they would not be bought off.

The official version of Malcolm's assassination is that it was carried out by members of the Nation of Islam. This version is now much weaker than before.

One of the FBI's goals, according to a Cointelpro document, is to "Prevent the coalition of militant black nationalist groups. In unity there is strength; a truism that is no less valid for all its triteness. An effective coalition of black nationalist groups might be the first step toward a real 'Mau Mau' in America, the beginning of a true black revolution."

Not only did the government fear that Malcolm's message would inspire Blacks to fight their oppression, the files indicate that the government feared that Malcolm and other Blacks would draw socialist conclusions to the problem of racial oppression.

This is underscored by documents released as a result of the Socialist Workers Party suit against government harassment.

After Malcolm's death one set of documents reveals how the FBI tried to poison relations between the Organization of Afro-American Unity and Muslim Mosque Inc., and the Socialist

Workers Party, which had been collaborating with the groups and with Malcolm during his life.

"SWP influence on the followers of Malcolm would be disrupted by emphasizing the atheism of the SWP as opposed to the basic religious orientation of the MMI," one document said.

Several months later, the bureau wrote in a memo that the operation was succeeding: "It is believed probable that the disintegrating relations between the SWP and the (OAAU) can be attributed to the disruptive tactic authorized . . . and will result in a continued loss of influence by the SWP among this group of Negroes."

**FW:** What do you feel are the implications for radical Black leaders and organizations today in the FBI tactics against Malcolm?

**BS:** As these disclosures are showing, the government harbors a great fear and hatred for the Black move-

## Musa on tour

Militant staff writer Omari Musa will be speaking in several cities during February on "Malcolm X and the Struggle for Black Freedom." A twenty-minute film-interview with Malcolm X will be shown along with Musa's presentation.

The tour is being sponsored by *Viewpoint Speakers Bureau*, a division of Pathfinder Press.

For information about Musa's tour or to arrange an engagement for him in one of the cities listed below, contact the SWP branch in that city. (See the directory on page 31.)

February 11-12	Washington, D.C.
February 14-15	Atlanta
February 17-18	Boston
February 21-22	Chicago
February 23-24	Philadelphia

ment for equal rights. Government disruption operations against Blacks have continued under Democratic as well as Republican administrations and indicate that neither party stands on the side of Black freedom. That is a major lesson to be learned—one, incidentally, that Malcolm was trying to get across.

Secondly, these revelations have shown that government operations have been conducted not only against more militant Black individuals and groups—such as Malcolm or, say, the Black Panther Party—but the NAACP, SCLC, Martin Luther King Jr. have also been targets of government disruption. This indicates that the government is fundamentally opposed to any Black progress, be it led by militant or other groups and individuals.

Thirdly, it is important to understand that government secrecy and spying is a vital ingredient of the system. The American people never voted on whether the Black Panther Party or Malcolm and his groups would be disrupted and destroyed. They never voted to vilify and defame Dr. King. But such operations are necessary as long as the government and system are beholden to a wealthy few and not the many.

The lesson here is that the goals and needs of Black leaders and organizations stand today, as they always have, in opposition to the goals and needs of those who run the country.

This needs to be reversed. But it will not occur until we have a government and system that puts human needs and majority rule before private profit, secrecy, spying, and government disruption programs.

## WHO KILLED MALCOLM X?

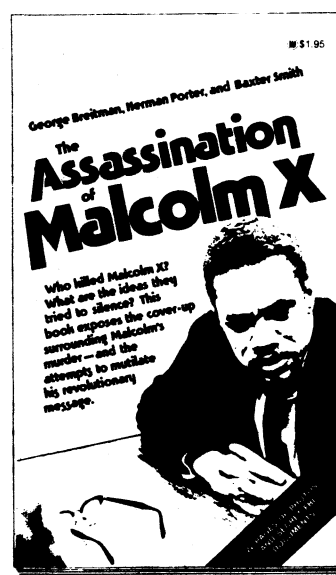
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## Frame-up may blow up for ATF

# UE organizer fighting feds' phony charges

By Sally Rees and Diane Wang

HOLYOKE, Mass.—Fink. Snitch. Rat. Those are some unpleasant labels for labor spies. But, then, they are pretty low characters.

That's why Alex Markley, an organizer for the United Electrical Workers (UE) in Holyoke, Massachusetts, and his friend Antonio Suarez refused to become labor spies for the Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms Bureau of the U.S. Treasury (ATF). Because they refuse, the two trade unionists face frame-up charges of conspiracy to damage trucks and transferring destructive devices. If convicted of this so-called bomb plot, the two could face up to sixty years in jail and \$60,000 in fines.

This frame-up is one of the most glaring examples of government operations against the labor movement that has so far come to light.

The ATF began its setup of Markley in September 1975 during a strike at Worthington Compressor here in Holyoke. The strike was the first that UE Local 259 had gone out on in thirty years.

Was the strike particularly bitter? The *Militant* asked Markley.

"Not really," he answered. "The only violence that there was pertained to [some] trucks that were going through the picket line."

The Teamsters union had agreed to honor Local 259's picket lines, but one nonunion outfit showed up at Worthington Compressor about a week after the strike began.

"They had two people in each cab with clubs," Markley recalled. "... And it ended up with one of our guys

who walked around a corner by himself. ... One truck stopped, two guys got out and worked him over with a club. ... But that was the only violence."

The strike went on for eleven weeks but it was solid. It had the support of other unions in the area, as well as students at nearby Amherst College.

One supposed supporter was Leslie Moore. Markley didn't know him very well. "I meet people all the time around Holyoke," Markley explained, and Moore was just one them.

One day Moore drove up to the picket line and introduced a friend to Markley. "This is Jerry. He's a friend of mine, and he may be able to help you out with any problems you have," Markley recalled Moore saying.

"I think the truck incident had happened just about the same time, maybe a couple of days before or something," Markley recalled. "And Moore said, 'Jerry helps out other unions. He takes care of trucks. He could take care of the trucks if you wanted.'"

"And this is what started it," Markley said. "... After that [Jerry] just started coming down here, calling, things like that to try to get something going."

But Local 259 didn't need any "help" like that and did not go for "Jerry's" bait.

Then, eight months after the strike had ended, the ATF hit. "I was up here [in the union office] about 8:00 in the morning and I got arrested by four agents of the treasury department. They flashed their badges open and said, 'You're under arrest,' and they



Militant/Diane Wang

ALEX MARKLEY: "We don't have to buckle down."

put me in the car, handcuffed me, and off I went to Springfield."

In Springfield, at the ATF Western Massachusetts office, Markley was joined by his friend Antonio Suarez. Suarez is a member of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. According to the ATF, Suarez was in on the "bomb conspiracy." Actually, his only crime is that he stopped by the UE office once when "Jerry" was there.

The agents kept Markley at their office for twelve hours, telling him not to call the union or any friends. Markley described how the agents grilled him:

"One started ranting and raving, and the other was saying, 'Well, we can work something out here.' ... They went on to say Jerry is really O'Reilly, a treasury agent."

The treasury agents offered a deal, Markley said. "What we want you to do is cooperate with us," they said. "And by cooperation we mean help out in this area." Markley said the agents wanted to know "just primarily any other thing that goes on in the labor movement, any strike situations. ... I should just get back in touch with them and let them know."

The agents even suggested they could pay Markley if he were not under indictment.

Markley refused.

"You can sell out if you want and live with that," he told the *Militant*, "or you can take a chance. And that's what I decided to do and that's what Tony [Suarez] decided to do. We'll take that chance and see what happens."

What has happened is that UE and the labor movement in Western Massa-

chusetts and other parts of the country have rallied to Markley and Suarez's defense. The unions have demanded that charges be dropped against the two and that the ATF itself be investigated.

The ATF's charge is an obvious frame-up. O'Reilly (that is, "Jerry") claims that two weeks before the strike ended Markley gave him a toilet-paper tube filled with black powder. The agent claims Markley gave him three more of these fire-cracker bombs nearly three weeks after the strike had ended.

But why? The ATF has no answer. That is the big hole in the government's story: *There was no violence during the strike at Worthington Compressor or during the eight months after it.*

Arthur Montuori, New England chief of ATF, was asked by reporters why the bureau had waited eight months to make the arrests. His only answer was that the ATF needed time for "investigative work" to find who else was part of the "plot."

When asked why Markley was targeted, Montuori said the bureau had been informed by a reliable source that Markley had the "potential for violating the law." As Markley commented, "Everybody in America has a potential, for going through a red light, throwing litter out the window—that's potential."

Using agents as provocateurs is a standard operation for the ATF, it seems. In 1971, for example, Eustacio (Frank) Martinez revealed he had been an ATF agent in the Chicano movement.

Martinez confessed that he had been paid to provoke violence that led to police attacks on the Chicano Moratorium. The Chicano Moratorium had organized an anti-Vietnam War demonstration of 30,000 in Los Angeles in 1970. The ATF had been eager to help discredit and destroy the group.

Discredit and destroy. The labor movement is the ATF's target this time. But the government operation may not work.

"I think that hopefully people will see that they can tell the government to go to hell in things like this," Markley concluded. "We don't have to buckle down just because they have a lot of pressure, a lot of money, a lot of resources."

Markley and Suarez are scheduled to go to trial March 7.

Statements of support and contributions for legal expenses should be sent to the Markley-Suarez Defense Committee, Post Office Box 5001, Holyoke, Massachusetts 01040.



No bombs here, just a picket line during UE Local 259's 1975 strike

Hathaway

## Families protest racist terror in Louisville

By Russell Pelle

LOUISVILLE—Protesting acts of racist terror and harassment, two Black families and a Native American family testified before the Jefferson County Fiscal Court here January 18.

They were joined by fifty supporters representing the NAACP, American Civil Liberties Union, National Lawyers Guild, Socialist Workers party, several prodesegregation groups, and the Kentucky Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, which organized the delegation.

The families, who live in predominantly white Louisville suburbs, testified that police, courts, and elected officials were unwilling to defend them against racist violence.

Mike Incashola, a Native American, complained to the court that instead of protecting his family, police treat him like the "troublemaker." Incashola said his family's windows have been shot out, their dog stabbed to death, and their children attacked on the way to school.

Last April forty people stood in their front yard screaming, "Get out of the neighborhood! Why don't you go live in a tepee!" A fire was set in the Incashola back yard on Christmas Eve.

Alfis Coleman, a Black resident of Okolona, a white area where antibusing activity has been centered, told the court, "I'm not just here for my family. I'm here for everybody. If it can happen to my family, it can happen to anyone."

The Colemans have had bricks with racist notes attached thrown through their windows and have been shot at. Last March, dynamite blew a hole in their driveway.

Barbara Daugherty and her six children lived peacefully in Louisville's Fairdale section for three years—until school desegregation began last fall.

Three days before Christmas a fire heavily damaged her house, capping a series of threats and acts of vandalism. The Daughertys have been forced to move.

Lyman Johnson, longtime civil rights activist and a leader of the Louisville NAACP, angrily condemned the complicity of police and public officials in the attacks.

He also described to a packed courtroom how he often finds stickers reading "Nigger, you have bugged us long enough, now prepare to die" on his parked car.

Responding to the hour and a half of testimony, County Judge Todd Hollenbach said he would meet privately with the families but not their supporters.

Hollenbach said he feared government inaction might drive minorities "to seek solace" with "those" organizations opposed "to what the American democracy stands for."

Anne Braden and Ilene Carver, members of the probusing group Progress In Education, blasted Hollenbach's attempt at red-baiting.

Carver was loudly applauded when she told the judge, "We do not intend for statements like you just made to divide us. We intend to stay united."

## SWP, others targeted

# Michigan police spy files revealed

By Arnold Weissberg

A lawsuit filed against the Michigan State Police "red squad" has brought to light 5,000 pages of secret intelligence files on the Socialist Workers party.

The release of the SWP files was part of a broad disclosure of police spying. The state cops had amassed 375,000 pages and 275,000 names. No one knows the entire contents of the files.

It is clear, however, that the intelligence operations targeted a wide range of political organizations.

The files were compiled over a twenty-five-year period by the state police Special Investigation Unit (SIU) under a 1950 mandate from the legislature to investigate "subversives."

The SIU's investigations have been declared unconstitutional by two Michigan courts and the state police have been ordered to abolish the unit.

### Governor's complicity

The entire state government, including the governor's office, was party to the illegal scheme.

The cops carried out their unlawful mandate with great zeal.

A January 9, 1977, article in the *Detroit Free Press* by staff writer Jim Neubacher gave the first public inkling of what is in the vast collection of material on the SWP. The judge who ordered the release of the files placed tight restrictions on access to them.

The *Free Press* article showed that the cops had committed gross invasions of personal privacy. For example, they went so far as to record the birth of a baby to a couple in the SWP.

But what really seemed to bother the political police were the SWP election campaigns.

A sharp-eyed policewoman, the *Free Press* account said, spotted a "Vote Socialist Workers Party in 1968" bumper sticker on a parked car. She noted the license number, turned it over to the SIU, and the name of the car's owner wound up in the secret files.

The cops also made a habit of recording the names of every person who signed a nominating petition to get the SWP on the ballot in Michigan.

"Evidence" of such a signature—which in no way implies support for or agreement with the party's program—was on several occasions used against the signer if he or she applied for a state job.

The cops didn't hesitate to visit employers and past employers if they suspected someone wasn't thinking "right."

In one case state cops received an anonymous tip that a man might be a "possible communist." Following this lead, cops found the man's name "on page 121 in the book [that] has all of the names of the subjects in Michigan that signed the petition to keep the Socialist Workers Party on the Election Ballot for 1956."

The state police then visited his current boss, his previous boss, and the local cops. The man's current employer agreed to look into it and report back to the SIU.

Another example cited by the *Free Press* occurred in February 1952. According to the article, "A State Police detective was shopping . . . when he 'noted a colored subject soliciting signatures on a petition for the [SWP].'"

The lawman alertly recorded the petitioner's name and filed it.

### Intimidation

These activities by the state police were clearly aimed at intimidating potential dissenters. The cops' actions violated the constitutional rights of the SWP, its members, and sympathizers.

And it violated the right of every Michigan resident who was denied the opportunity to vote for or hear the SWP's ideas, or who was frightened away by fear of losing a job.

The files were used for exactly that purpose. The *Free Press* article recounts the ordeal of a teacher whose contract wasn't renewed because the

principal of his school didn't like his political views.

The principal reported the teacher to the SIU, and a file was set up on him. His "record" followed him to his next teaching job. By now, the cops had added some new morsels. He had gone to a couple of meetings about Cuba, and he had attended the SWP-sponsored Friday Night Socialist Forum in Detroit a few times.

In 1965, the hapless ex-teacher, probably unaware of the political police dogging his trail, applied for a job with a state poverty agency.

The governor's office ordered a check of his background and reported to the poverty agency on their job prospect's record of "extreme left" political activity.

He didn't get the job.

The Friday Night Socialist Forum was a special target of the cops. Sponsored by the Detroit SWP, the forum was a center of political discussion during the 1950s and 1960s.

A wide range of points of view was presented, and lively debates often took place. Speakers from the labor movement and the Black movement were regular features. It was an oasis of radical thought in the McCarthyite desert.

This was too much for Michigan's thought-control police.

The *Free Press* reported that the cops had informers inside the meetings, taking notes on the talks. Teams of state and city detectives took down car license numbers outside, and sometimes even photographed people attending the forums.

Reports from inside were very detailed. They included the time and place of the meeting, the attendance, the admission fee, the name of the person collecting money at the door, the name of the speaker, and the subject of the talk.

The cops don't explain why they were spying on public meetings or what was "subversive" about such topics as "A Socialist View of Christianity."

The anti-Vietnam War movement was another target of police surveillance. Antiwar rallies were spied on. Photographing participants was common practice.

In 1970, the city of Detroit placed a referendum on the war on the ballot.

A large group of prominent city residents took an ad in local papers urging an antiwar vote.

The cops added all the signers' names to their SWP files. It is not known if any were SWP members.

The file has a notation on it: "This ad carded previously. See Code 3." The SWP file was marked "Code II." The note suggests the existence of yet another file, probably of antiwar activists.

Information gathered by the SIU went to the FBI, other police units, and even private corporations, the *Free Press* reported.

The state police entered the names of SWP members into their statewide computer network. This allowed the cops to keep closer tabs on the "subversives."

### Lawsuit

The SWP files were revealed as a result of a lawsuit originally filed in 1974 by attorney George Corsetti on behalf of a group of consumer activists. The group charged the SIU with illegal spying.

The suit was amended in 1975. The defendants now include the governor, the mayor of Detroit, and the Detroit police.

Corsetti told the *Militant* in a phone interview that there are now about a dozen plaintiffs in the suit. He said the plaintiffs have gotten their own state

Continued on page 30

# 400 rally in Minn. against FBI crimes

By Donald Winters

MINNEAPOLIS—More than 400 people attended a "Rally Against FBI Crimes" at the University of Minnesota January 27, despite the minus-sixty-degree wind-chill temperature.

Speakers at the rally included Syd Stapleton, national secretary of the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF); John Trudell and Clyde Bellecourt of the American Indian Movement; and John Adams of the United Methodist Church. Zoharah Simmons of the American Friends Service Committee sent a taped message to the rally.

"From the day the FBI was founded in 1908," Stapleton said, "there has been a consistent pattern of increasing reliance by the government on secret-police methods. Today, just on a federal level, spying costs something close to \$12 billion a year."

"As the disclosures of government crimes have become more and more massive," he added, "a lot of politicians and government officials are working hard to convince us that these crimes were just aberrations and excesses. But the abuses continue."

Trudell and Bellecourt described some of the abuses Native Americans have suffered at the hands of the political police.

"The FBI is no more than a tool of oppression that hides behind the label of law and order," charged Trudell. "But there is no law and there is no order, there are only rules. And rules are something that the rich and powerful write. And because it's their creation they feel they don't have to honor these rules."

Trudell and Bellecourt also spoke in defense of Leonard Peltier, a Native American charged with killing two FBI agents at the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota.

Zoharah Simmons, in her message, described how local police red squads collaborate with federal agencies to undermine the Bill of Rights.

John Adams, director of the Department of Law, Justice and Community Relations for the United Methodist Church, urged that other churches and organizations follow the example of the Socialist Workers party lawsuit against federal spy agencies and launch similar legal offensives.

Adams praised the work of the PRDF, which is organizing support for the SWP lawsuit.

The rally kicked off the February 3-6 public hearings by the Minnesota Citizens Review Commission on the FBI.

The commission is sponsored by the American Indian Movement; American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees Local 1164; Political Rights Defense Fund; Socialist Workers party; Twin Cities National Organization for Women; and twenty other groups.



Univ. of Minnesota Daily/Dean Hanson  
Syd Stapleton addresses January 27 rally.



'The Blob'

Herblock



## Sue for land and damages

# Indians may own most of state of Maine

By José G. Pérez

The government laughed when two Indian tribes showed up in federal court in Portland, Maine, on Washington's birthday five years ago.

The Indians said they owned two-thirds of Maine. They didn't necessarily want the land back. They had just come to collect \$300 million in rent and damages.

But now it's the Indians who are laughing. Court orders have forced the federal government to support the Indians in court, and a Department of the Interior study just concluded that the Indians' claims are essentially correct.

It all started during the War of Independence, when George Washington persuaded the Indians to side with the colonists against the British.

The colonists won. Under the new republic's constitution, the federal government reserved the power to deal with the Indian tribes, which it then treated as separate, sovereign nations.

This federal authority was reinforced in 1790 by the Indian Nonintercourse Act. That law—on the books to this very day—states categorically: "Any title to Indian land obtained without Federal approval is null and void."

In 1972, the Passamaquoddy and Penobscot tribes filed suit under that law. They say that most of the land owned by the Indians was stolen from them through a 1794 treaty with the state of Massachusetts, which then included Maine.

Not only was the treaty not approved by Congress, but to add injury to insult, the promises made in exchange for the land weren't kept.

"Nobody could believe it" when the tribes filed suit, says Thomas Tureen, attorney for the Indians. Tureen adds that it's too bad because "we would have settled cheap."

But not anymore.

Instead of giving the Indians some compensation, the state and federal government ganged up on the tribes in court. Government lawyers argued the Passamaquoddys and Penobscots weren't really Indians under the 1790 law. Why? Because they hadn't negotiated treaties through the federal government or been recognized by the Congress in some other way.

In December 1975, however, a three-judge federal appeals court unanimously told Washington to switch to the Indians' side in the case.

The tribes kept pressing for an out-of-court settlement, but Maine refused.

So, tired of government unresponsiveness, Tureen announced last October that the Indians were now asking not only for the rent and



ATTORNEY THOMAS TUREEN

damages, but for title to their land too—all 12.5 million acres, worth \$25 billion.

Although the state of Maine maintained the Indian claim was "without merit," not everyone was so sure.

Banks refused to sell bonds for towns located in the disputed area, since the bonds are supposed to be paid back through property taxes.

On January 14, the Department of the Interior issued a study showing the Indians were entitled to up to 10.5 million acres of the land. The study added that the federal government was duty-bound to go to court to get it back for the Indians.

So the state of Maine has changed its tune. Their lawyers still claim they can win in court. But just in case, the state is asking Congress to limit any settlement to a cash award.

The tribes are still willing to make a deal, but land has to be part of it. They aren't interested in cities and towns, but much of the land in dispute is forest owned by huge corporations. The Indians want at least some of their forests back.

"By no means would we give up this land again," says one Indian. After all, "we didn't make the law. They made it."

## Ruling threatens UFW

# Calif. judge fines Teamsters for farm strike

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—The California Agricultural Labor Relations Board is preparing to act on a recommendation that could set dangerous new antilabor precedent.

A state-appointed arbitrator has recommended to the ALRB that the Teamsters union be fined \$50,000 for allegedly engaging in violence during a strike it called at a Delano grape ranch last summer.

The Teamsters had been brought before the arbitrator (called an administrative law judge here) by Harry Delizonna, general counsel to the ALRB.

In announcing the arbitrator's decision January 21, Delizonna said he was confident that it would be approved by the ALRB.

If upheld, the ruling would require the Teamsters to pay the rancher for damages and reimburse the ALRB for legal and administrative costs in prosecuting the case.

Delizonna said this is the first time in labor law history that a prosecuting agency such as the ALRB has been awarded costs in such a proceeding.

The arbitrator's decision would also require a leading Teamster official to apologize to the grower.

In addition, the union would have to post notices in front of all its offices stating that it "acted unlawfully," and "promise not to engage in such acts in the future. . . ."

Delizonna had also sought to have the union decertified as bargaining agent for the workers involved, but this was not agreed to by the arbitrator. Delizonna expressed disappointment at this, but said he was "elated" with the overall ruling.

### Serves them right?

In considering this ruling, those who are familiar with the miserable strike-breaking role of the Teamsters in the fields could very understandably react, "Serves them right."

But the case is not that simple.

First, while the decision is against the Teamsters, it constitutes a precedent that could be used later against the United Farm Workers.

Second, while the overall role of the Teamsters in agriculture has been to act as the growers' agent in fighting the UFW, there have been isolated cases where the Teamsters were pressured to function as a legitimate union for field hands.

The Teamsters' strike was called last August 24 at the Delano grape ranch of V.B. Zaninovich. Earlier, the Teamsters had won by a substantial margin an ALRB union representation election at the ranch.

V.B. Zaninovich is one of several brothers who operate big ranches in the Delano area. They are notorious union busters.

### Charges of arson

The tie-in between the various Zaninovich ranches was suggested when the ALRB charged that, as part of a campaign of violence against V.B. Zaninovich, workers had burned several hundred packing boxes at the neighboring A.N. Zaninovich ranch.

After the Teamsters were certified at V.B. Zaninovich, they began contract negotiations. The company did not make what the union considered a satisfactory offer and the strike was

called.

During the strike, the ALRB charged, there was arson at the ranch. Workers who crossed the picket line allegedly were threatened and had rocks hurled at them.

There have been a few cases where the Teamsters called "strikes" in the field either to show a "no union" employer some muscle or to bolster the idea that they were functioning like a real union.

I attended part of the hearings in Delano last November where workers and company supervisors testified to the alleged violence and threats of violence.

Some were workers who had refused to leave the job. Others had been hired after the strike began.

One Chicana testified that she and her family had been the target of rocks when they drove onto the ranch.

She said there was a "crowd" of people with picket signs at the entrance, including *mexicanos* and some "Filipinos and white ladies."

The description did not fit the pattern of the Teamster goon squads used against the UFW. It sounded like a legitimate workers' picket line.



Militant/Miguel Pendás

UFW strike against California grape growers in 1973. Ruling penalizing Teamsters for purported 'violence' during recent strike could be used against UFW.

But even putting the question of whether this strike was legitimate aside, there is still the key issue of precedent.

### Strikes & 'violence'

There is always the possibility of violence inherent in a situation when a boss refuses to bargain with a union and forces the workers on strike.

Most often such violence is instigated by employer security forces and strikebreakers. Sometimes it is the angry response of workers seeing scabs crossing their picket line.

And, many times, the charge of violence is a straight frame-up of the union and striking workers.

The struggles of the United Farm Workers have been far more free of violence than might reasonably be expected.

For one thing, the field workers have usually had a sound grasp of the relationship of forces between their union and the powerful and ruthless forces arrayed against them, and they avoided confrontations. In addition, UFW leader César Chávez considers nonviolence a principle.

Yet despite this, in strike after strike, the employers, the authorities, and the media have charged the UFW with violence.

Isn't it easy to see how quickly the employers and antilabor members of the ALRB would seize upon a precedent like this one to go after the UFW in one or another strike situation?

Last November a grower propaganda blitz succeeded in defeating Proposition 14, the voter referendum that would have more fully guaranteed farm workers the right to a union of their choice.

Since the defeat of the initiative, the ALRB has already shown an increasingly antiunion bias. The curbs it has placed on the right of union organizers to access to the field workers is a clear indication of this.

The present attempt to ram through a \$50,000 fine against a union is one more step in the same direction. It should serve as a warning to all partisans of the UFW and farm unionism.



By Omari Musa

Amid much fanfare about a new and "tougher" policy toward white minority regimes in southern Africa, the real relationship between Washington and South Africa is coming to the surface.

In the first nine months of 1976 U.S. banks issued loans totaling \$777 million to the South African government or government-controlled corporations. In a year-end report on "Major Loans to South Africa by U.S. Banks—1976" the American Committee on Africa (ACOA) cites the sums of these loans and the banks that issued them.

Involved are the largest U.S. banks: Chase Manhattan, Citibank of New York, Morgan Guaranty and Trust, Bank of America, and Manufacturers Hanover.

Citibank, for example, lent \$138 million to Richards Bay Minerals, a consortium composed of the Industrial Development Corporation of South Africa, Quebec Iron and Titanium (controlled by the U.S.-owned Kennecott Copper and Gulf & Western), the Union Corporation (an Afrikaner firm), and South Africa Mutual Life Assurance.

The loan helped the consortium exploit South African metal deposits and develop Richards Bay.

South African airlines and railways got \$99 million from the European Banking Corporation. The EBC is connected to the European American Banking Corporation with headquarters in Chicago.

The South African Electricity Supply Commission and the Iron and Steel Industrial Corporation received \$280 million from Chase Manhattan, Manufacturers Hanover, Morgan, Orion, and Citibank.

The Morgan bank threw in \$75 million for South African railways.

The South African government received a direct loan of \$110 million

# How U.S. bankrolls South Africa racists

panded facilities will increase the refinery's capacity to 100,000 barrels a day—double its present production.

Mobil Oil also recently decided to up its investment in South Africa's future. Jennifer Davis of ACOA reported in testimony to the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on African Affairs in September that "with an investment of \$333 million Mobil currently controls over 20 percent of the market, has also recently expanded its refining capacity to 100,000 barrels a day."

Davis's testimony sheds light on two other aspects of the oil companies' dealings with South Africa.

First, their relationship with the South African military.

Under the South African Official Secrets Act, military dealings between corporations, like Caltex and Mobil, and the South African government cannot be disclosed.

While it is true that in the last ten years the wages of African workers have increased, *the wage gap between white and African workers has also widened*. In many industries African workers earn five-to-ten times less than their white counterparts. In the gold mining industry, African workers earn about one-fifteenth the wages of white workers.

The policy of U.S. corporations is to pay African workers according to the standards of the South African regime.

As Caltex puts it, "Caltex South Africa's employment practices are governed by South African laws, and in the event of any conflicts between these laws and EEO [Equal Employment Opportunity] practices the company must be guided by the former."

Especially when it means millions in profits for Caltex.

U.S. imperialism also helps keep South Africa armed. Between 1967 and 1972 U.S. corporations sold \$22 million in communications equipment, including radar and electronic "search and detect" gear. Uncle Sam also provided \$10 million in poisonous chemicals.

Since 1970 the U.S. government has given the go-ahead to sales of millions of dollars worth of so-called dual purpose equipment to South Africa. Helicopters, Lear jets, and military transport planes were included in the shipments.

South African military forces use NATO rifles made under license in South Africa.

These government-sanctioned loans and arms sales allow Washington to avoid outright military aid to the apartheid regime. Such direct assistance would place America's rulers in an embarrassing position internationally—especially with governments in Africa, Asia and the Middle East. It would also arouse sharp protests in this country, especially in Black communities.

Huge U.S. loans also help the South African regime purchase military hardware from France, Israel, and other U.S. allies.

It is clear that American capitalism is a big financial backer of the apartheid regime in South Africa. It has helped keep the regime economically and militarily strong.

Washington may feel compelled to make formal statements against apartheid at the United Nations. But the real relationship between the United States and South Africa is one of defending and extending huge U.S. investments. It is a relationship based on extracting maximum profits from the labor of millions of African workers who toil in mines and factories owned and controlled by Citibank, Ford, IBM, Mobil Oil, and other U.S. corporations.

This is the real U.S.-South Africa connection.

## Actions planned to protest apartheid

By John Hawkins

As Carter's newly appointed ambassador to the United Nations, Andrew Young, tried his hand at shuttle diplomacy in Tanzania, some 400 students in neighboring Zimbabwe were preparing to take up the struggle against Ian Smith's white minority regime.

When newspapers first reported the students' crossing from Zimbabwe into Botswana, the incident was painted as a kidnapping operation by "terrorist guerrillas." Later reports, however, disprove those lies.

According to the February 8 *Christian Science Monitor*, the students had voluntarily gone to join the liberation fighters in the struggle to free their country.

*Monitor* correspondent Geoffrey Godsell wrote, "After a week's haggling, the Botswana authorities admitted several busloads of parents to Botswana to talk with their children. . . only 51 of the nearly 400 young people heeded their parents' pleas and decided to return to Rhodesia. . . Those who stayed insisted they were willing to abandon home and family for guerrilla training."

Meanwhile, U.S. opponents of white minority rule in southern Africa continued to map plans for March protests against U.S. complicity.

Antipartheid activists gathered in Chicago, February 6, to plan a March 5 protest rally. Featured speaker at the rally will be Tsietshi Mashinini, exiled leader of the June 1976 Soweto student rebellion in South Africa.

The meeting was convened by Dennis Brutus, South African poet and professor at Northwestern University. Endorsers of the March 5 rally include Robert Williams, Urban League; Charles Hayes, international vice-president, Amalgamated Meatcutters Union; Brenda Eichelberger, National Alliance of Black Feminists; Harold Rogers, Operation PUSH Africa Task Force; Rev. Willie Barrows, Operation PUSH; and Chicago Student Coalition Against Racism.

Participants set a February 19 meeting to make further plans for March 26 antiapartheid protest actions.

In Pittsburgh representatives of student and community organizations met February 3 to form the Free Southern Africa Committee. The committee is planning a mass picket in downtown Pittsburgh on Saturday, March 26.

Sponsors of the new coalition include Jean Owens, chairperson, Allegheny County Council on Civil Rights; Mildred Wade, National Council of Negro Women; Robert Pitts, director, Black Catholic Ministry; Charles Kinde, NAACP; Community College of Allegheny County Student Government; and Jon Teitelbaum, Pittsburgh SCAR.

Minneapolis and St. Paul opponents of the racist southern African regimes are planning an April 2 march and rally. The action is being organized by the Minnesota Committee on Southern Africa, a coalition of student, labor, and community organizations.

Committee activists are also circulating petitions demanding that the St. Paul and Minneapolis city governments adopt resolutions opposing U.S. involvement in southern Africa and supporting Black majority rule.

The March 25 and 26 antiapartheid actions are being coordinated nationally by the National Student Coalition Against Racism. Buttons, posters, and fact sheets on U.S. aid and complicity with the racist white regimes are available from NSCAR, 612 Blue Hill Avenue, Dorchester, Massachusetts 02121.



SOUTH AFRICAN POLICEMAN. Washington has approved millions of dollars in arms sales to South Africa's apartheid regime.

from the Bank of America, Morgan, and Citibank.

Such a loan, of course, helps that racist government finance its murderous repression against students and workers demanding majority rule.

The U.S. banks that provide the loans—and Washington, which approves them—are partners in upholding apartheid.

### Oil companies

Not to be outdone by the banks, U.S. oil companies are also pouring millions of dollars into South Africa.

Caltex—a subsidiary of Standard Oil of California and Texaco—decided in 1975 to invest \$134 million to expand its refinery in Cape Town. To be completed in July 1978, these ex-

Oil, of course, is an essential supply for the South African military apparatus.

As Davis's testimony points out, "U.S. oil corporations have moved into a position where they can take an active role in supplying the South African government with strategic materials, such as oil, and protect themselves from disclosing the nature and extent of their activities by invoking the South African Official Secrets Act."

### Growing wage gap

The second telling point in Davis's testimony puts the lie to Washington's propaganda that U.S. investments aid the standard of living of South African Blacks.

# Los Angeles probusing march wins support

By Sherry Smith

LOS ANGELES—Anger is running high in the Black community here over the school board's rejection of meaningful school desegregation.

Under a front-page headline, "School Integration March Scheduled," Los Angeles's largest Black newspaper reported that Black civil rights and religious leaders are urging a large turnout for the February 12 probusing march.

An editorial in the same issue urged the Black community to "get involved and fight for the things that are guaranteed to us through the Constitution of this nation. The fight is ours and we must see it through."

"If we fail to do this, we might very well see the end of hope for real education for Black people in this city. We must not abandon this fight!"

A broad coalition of organizations here is fighting for a plan to meet these needs of oppressed Black and Chicano students. Such a plan would have to include extensive busing to desegregate schools. At the same time, it would have to guarantee expanded

bilingual-bicultural programs for Chicanos and other Spanish-speaking students.

The coalition, which is sponsoring the February 12 march, includes representatives of the NAACP, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Operation PUSH, Student Coalition Against Racism, Socialist Workers party, and Communist party.

Two members of the Los Angeles school board—Diane Watson, the board's only Black member, and Dr. Robert Docter—have endorsed the march.

The Los Angeles school district is the second largest in the country and the largest now under court order to desegregate. The district's student population is 38 percent Chicano, 25 percent Black, 8 percent Asian, and 29 percent white.

The original desegregation suit here was filed in 1963 by the American Civil Liberties Union. Last June, after more than a decade of legal skirmishes, the California Supreme Court ordered the school board to "alleviate racial segregation."

After that, the board appointed a Citizens Advisory Committee on School Integration. CACSI included both pro- and antibusing forces. The board clearly hoped the committee would deadlock, forestalling any meaningful desegregation.

CACSI drew up a very limited plan that called for busing only 62,000 students in a district of more than 600,000.

Yet even this plan was too much for racist board members to stomach. They rejected it, substituting a plan that would at most transfer some upper-grade-level students to "integrated learning centers" and only for nine weeks of every school year.

The national NAACP has sent its general counsel Nathaniel Jones to Los Angeles to help in the legal battle against this attempt to avoid school desegregation. Five local NAACP chapters have recently joined the desegregation suit here.

The board's rejection of the CACSI plan was greeted warmly by Bobbi Fiedler, a candidate for school board and leader of Bustop, a virulently segregationist outfit based in the San Fernando Valley.

Fiedler told reporters that the board had proposed "a plan we can live with. It means kids from Chatsworth won't end up in Watts."

Journalist Johnathan Kirsch quoted another San Fernando Valley racist in an article in *New West* magazine: "You're looking at a community of liberals turned into conservatives by the busing issue. We're going to make South Boston look like a tea party."

Racists in the Sunland-Tujunga area of the San Fernando Valley recently organized a boycott that kept 4,000 white students out of school. Solidarizing with these antibusers were members of the Ku Klux Klan distributing leaflets that asked, "Had enough, white? If you're not a racist today walk in through nigger-town tonight. We're ready when you are."

Sam Manuel, Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor of Los Angeles, and Virginia Garza, SWP candidate for school board, Seat Two, told the *Militant*, "We will need more actions

like February 12 that can mobilize Blacks, Chicanos, and their allies to force the school board to end segregation."

The Student Coalition Against Racism has been actively building the march on area campuses. "The inferior education forced on Black and Chicano students will not be remedied by the board's phony desegregation plan," SCAR said in a recent press release.

"Real equal education is a right that every Black and Chicano student in this city should enjoy."

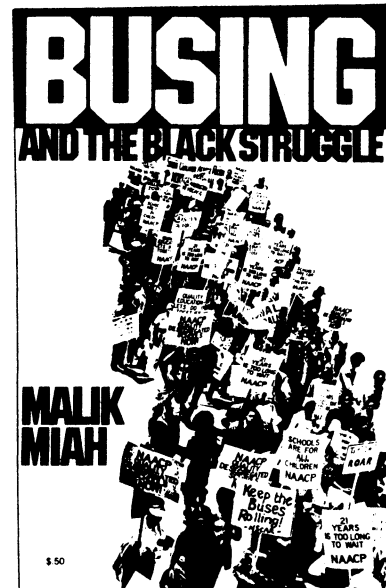
"This demonstration is a crucial first step toward building the kind of movement necessary to win that right."



SAM MANUEL: Socialist Workers candidate for mayor urges continued actions to win school desegregation.



BOBBI FIEDLER: Leader of antibusing outfit, which threatens to make Boston 'look like a tea party.'



## Busing and the Black struggle

By Malik Miah  
30 pp., 50 cents

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# Court orders Cleveland: desegregate schools

By Jeff Powers

CLEVELAND—On January 18 both the Cleveland and Ohio boards of education filed separate plans for Cleveland school desegregation with U.S. District Judge Frank Battisti.

On August 31 of last year, Judge Battisti ruled in favor of a school desegregation suit brought by the NAACP. He found the Cleveland school board guilty of systematically segregating Black schoolchildren. He ordered Cleveland to begin desegregating by September 1977.

The plan submitted by the Cleveland school board is a mockery. Most students would leave the schools they currently attend only for a few days each year to take part in what the board calls "desegregative experiences." Less than 1 percent of the children are to be permanently reassigned.

The Ohio Board of Education plan more closely follows court guidelines. Its plan calls for busing 52,000 students. Every school would come within 15 percent of the racial makeup of the entire school district.

Both plans would take three years to complete. Both call for staff desegregation to begin only on a volunteer basis. Neither plan includes busing to Cleveland's predominantly white suburbs.

In handing down his decision last

August, Judge Battisti based his findings on extensive research by the NAACP. He found the Cleveland schools more segregated in 1975 than they had been in 1940.

In 1940, when Blacks constituted 15 percent of the student population, 50 percent of Black students attended racially segregated schools. By 1975 Blacks were 60 percent of the school population and more than 90 percent attended segregated schools.

The court found that there was "essentially a dual system" in the schools here. They also found that the Cleveland board employed "lower operating standards for many Black schools" in its attempt to maintain segregation.

From 1955 to 1961, the court found, "relay classes"—in reality half-day sessions—were used in many Black schools. So instruction was not only inferior but also in violation of "the minimum education standards set by the law."

In Hough—the poorest and best known of Cleveland's Black ghettos—the board built portable classrooms, while schools in all-white neighboring Murray Hill went underused.

In one case the board let a foot bridge across a chasm fall into disrepair to prevent students in a predominantly Black neighborhood from going to a white school. Rather than desegre-

gate, the board spent thousands of dollars to build new but still segregated schools in this area of town.

When Black students were bused to relieve overcrowding, class assignment was manipulated to maintain segregated classes.

The Cleveland school board has used the worn out racist dodge—"neighborhood schools"—to keep the schools segregated. The board defined and redefined "neighborhoods" at will. When that no longer worked, they created "optional zones" to allow whites in Black neighborhoods to attend all-white schools.

The Ohio Board of Education is required by law to cut off funds to cities with segregated school systems. Prior to the federal court decision the board was virtually buried under an avalanche of data on segregation in the Cleveland schools. Yet it did nothing.

The NAACP has until February 7 to file its response to the plans submitted by the two boards. As of now the NAACP has refrained from commenting on either of the plans submitted. They have stated that they want to study both plans carefully before presenting their point of view.

After the NAACP has filed its response with the court, Daniel McCarthy, court-appointed master for

school desegregation in the case, will analyze the plans and make final recommendations to Judge Battisti. McCarthy is expected to hold hearings on the plans and submit his recommendations before June.

Meanwhile, both school boards are appealing Judge Battisti's desegregation order. They claim that he has overstepped his constitutional mandate.

School board officials are encouraged by recent Supreme Court rulings on school desegregation in Austin, Texas; Dayton, Ohio; and most recently Indianapolis. The Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals in Cincinnati is expected to hear their appeal within the next two months.

Jay Fisher, an activist in the Cleveland Student Coalition Against Racism, called both plans inadequate. He singled out the Cleveland school board's plan as a "patently obvious attempt to skirt the ruling of the court."

"What is at stake in Cleveland is the right of Black children to obtain a decent education."

"Teach-ins, leafleting, and picket lines are needed. We plan to work with every group in the city that is for desegregation. Our actions will show that the majority of people in this city favor quality desegregated education for every student."

# World Outlook

A WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL SUPPLEMENT TO THE MILITANT BASED ON SELECTIONS FROM  
INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS, A NEWSMAGAZINE REFLECTING THE VIEWPOINT OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM

FEBRUARY 18, 1977

## Peasants driven off land

# Lopez Portillo takes the reins in Mexico

By Eugene Aranda

José López Portillo was inaugurated as president of Mexico December 1, at a time when the country was shaken by rumors of a coup, devaluation of the peso, and news of peasant land seizures in the northwest. The new president set to work immediately to put things in order.

In his inaugural address, López Portillo announced to the country that an austerity plan would be imposed, "not as a passing fad or fashion but as a way of life." He called on the population to prepare themselves for years of "sacrifice" and said that only with "realism" could the country meet and solve the present crisis.

López Portillo left no room for doubt that he was preparing a frontal attack on the already low standard of living of the Mexican workers. Neither did he hide the fact that his government would be openly procapitalist, and that he would try to create the most favorable conditions for the enrichment of the ruling class.

López Portillo's speech left implicit the course he intended to follow for putting an end to the peasants' struggles for land. He made clear that the solution would not be to distribute the land, but rather to promote further development of the "productive" zones. He implied that the "realistic" way to solve the agrarian problem in Mexico is to leave the land in the hands of the rich landlords and force the peasants into peonage.

The December 2 editions of the main Mexican dailies carried many pages of

advertising welcoming the new president and praising the correctness of his policies. These displays had been bought by all the prominent groups of businessmen, merchants, and bankers.

American businessmen were also pleased. Al R. Wichtrich, president of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce in Mexico, told the *New York Times*: "The economic theme of the speech reflects the kind of philosophy that businessmen can understand. The reactions have all been very good. . . .

"The economy is sick and businessmen are looking forward to the medicine of austerity. I think the private sector is ready for what is coming."

López Portillo is trying to make a good impression on Washington at all levels. Among the hundreds of inaugural guests, Rosalynn Carter (wife of American President Jimmy Carter) received special attention.

As a show of "friendship" toward the people of Mexico, according to one of her aides, Mrs. Carter practiced the little Spanish that she knows with the Mexican servants at the American embassy.

If on his inauguration López Portillo made it clear that the "sacrifices" of the people would have to be big, his actions on the following days were overwhelming.

On December 3 the new minister of agrarian reform, Jorge Rojo Lugo, declared that the government would tolerate neither "illegal land invasions" nor private estates larger than the law permits. This announcement came as thousands of peasants in the states of Sonora and Sinaloa were



JOSE LOPEZ PORTILLO

occupying land that has for years been the object of struggles and that outgoing president Luis Echeverría Alvarez himself felt obliged to expropriate November 19. The landowners had appealed to a judge to reverse Echeverría's decision and return the land.

From the moment it was given, Rojo Lugo's declaration was a very bad omen for the peasants.

In a dispatch to the *New York Times* from Los Mochis, Sinaloa, on December 7, Alan Riding said that the deputy attorney general of Sinaloa, Sergio Herrera y Cairo, had announced that "army and police units have begun evicting squatters. But most of the peasants are refusing to budge."

On December 9, the army ousted 4,000 peasants who had occupied cotton fields near the Texas border in the state of Coahuila. The expulsions continued on the following days.

In the state of Durango as well, the peasants had occupied lands and were expelled from them.

Finally, on December 12 the agrarian reform authorities declared that they would comply with the judge's decision that 8,000 peasants must abandon the lands they had occupied in Sonora. These were the lands Echeverría had expropriated on November 19.

government was to sign a "pact" on December 10 with the most powerful employers' organizations in Mexico. The pact was called an "alliance for production" and included a US\$200 million joint investment package.

According to some reports, the details of this accord had been negotiated by special representatives of López Portillo and business leaders during the three months before he took office.

"This pact is evidence of the changed attitude of the government," said Jorge Sánchez Mejorada, head of the National Chamber of Industries. "You can even breathe the new atmosphere. Of course, this is only the beginning."

López Portillo has made clear what the course of his government will be: to openly seek the favor of Washington, in exchange for which the American imperialists will continue to reap extraordinary profits at the expense of Mexico; to leave the land in the hands of the landlords and force the peasants to become peons; and to impose a policy of permanent austerity that will permit him to keep signing "pacts" with the bosses in exchange for yet more reductions in the workers' standard of living.

The first ten days of the López Portillo government did much to clarify the intentions of the Mexican ruling class.

## Victimized 'aliens'

The devaluation of the peso, coupled with President José López Portillo's inaugural attack on the rights and living standards of Mexico's workers and farmers, means that unemployment, poverty, and hunger will continue to be everyday fare for millions in Mexico.

Driven by dire necessity, hundreds of thousands of Mexicans cross the border each year to the United States. A few thousand are lucky enough to get official immigration permits. The overwhelming majority do not.

Those that don't have papers are branded "illegal aliens" by the U.S. government. They are subject to summary deportation, fines, and imprisonment for the crime of being poor.

They are robbed by all kinds of hustlers offering to get them immi-

gration documents and then failing to deliver after they run off with the cash.

They are swindled by bosses who pay them substandard wages and sometimes turn them over to immigration authorities right before payday.

They are cheated out of welfare, unemployment compensation, food stamps, Medicaid, and other social services that they pay for through their taxes.

They are slandered by the capitalist press and politicians as the cause of all social evils, from unemployment to syphilis.

Yet thousands more come across the border each month. They have no choice, if they want to survive.

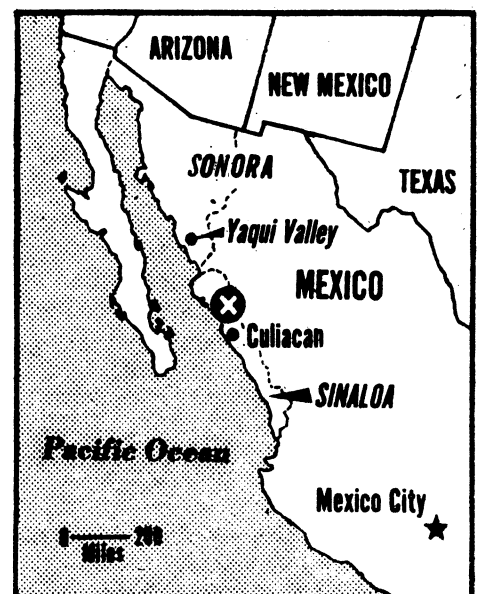
The new administration of José López Portillo offers no solution to this tragedy.

## Problems remain

The leaders of the peasant organizations controlled by the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI—Institutional Revolutionary party, the main government party) retreated immediately, saying that they would continue the struggle in the courts. They called on the peasants to return the land to the landowners and to have confidence that at some future time another judge would decide that they had been right. Some peasants resisted these orders, but the majority followed, having no other alternative.

This constituted a defeat for the peasant movement, but López Portillo has not resolved the problems that confront his class in the countryside. He has only postponed for another day the inevitable settling of accounts that the Mexican peasantry will demand of the bourgeoisie.

The second act of the López Portillo





## Fear grips bureaucrats

# Unrest with Stalinism simmering in Eastern Europe

By Gerry Foley

The upsurge of open opposition to bureaucratic repression in Poland, the Soviet Union, and a number of other East European countries, as well as the jittery and inconsistent response of the bureaucracies to it, has begun to give the picture of a widespread crisis building up.

### Provocation in Moscow

The atmosphere of crisis has been heightened by some moves by the bureaucracies that recall the buildup for the show trials of the 1930s and 1950s. The most ominous of these is the story planted by the Kremlin's journalistic troubleshooter Victor Louis in the London *Evening News* about a terrorist bombing of a Moscow subway train on January 8. Various reports estimated the number killed at up to twenty. In his account, Louis stressed that the train was full of children. He indicated the explosion

The Czechoslovak party press has launched a violent denunciation of Charter 77, a new group that in early January presented a petition to the government protesting violations of the country's constitution.

This group is loosely organized and has raised only the most elementary demands. Its leaders announced that they did not intend to oppose the regime but only to ask for observance of the legal norms. Nonetheless, it was reportedly the broadest grouping that has spoken out against bureaucratic repression since the 1968 movement for democratic reform was broken up and driven underground under the pressure of Soviet occupation. After a full-scale invasion and occupation of the country, when the reconsolidated bureaucratic regime remains almost universally hated, the reappearance of public dissent in Czechoslovakia apparently terrified both the local bureaucrats and the Kremlin.

While the Soviet press has avoided mention of dissident activity in East Germany or Poland, it took up the denunciations launched by the Kremlin's local clients against the Czechoslovak defenders of legality and civil liberties.

In the January 14 *Izvestia*, Prague correspondent G. Ustinov wrote an article in response to Charter 77, basing himself on the attack in the Czechoslovak CP organ *Rudé Právo*. He began:

For some days now the reactionary propagandists in the West have been heating up their perpetual campaign against socialist Czechoslovakia.

This time the basis is the so-called Charter 77, a statement placed in the Western press by a group of figures from the ranks of the defeated Czechoslovak bourgeoisie and the organizers of the counterrevolution in Czechoslovakia in 1968.

Regarding the fabrication of this provocative outburst of noise, *Rudé Právo* said in an editorial that "reaction is trying to revive political corpses among the emigrés from the socialist countries and also among the remaining class enemies in the country, beginning with renegades and ending with criminals and antisocial elements. One of the forms taken by these attempts is the fabrication of all sorts of pamphlets, letters, and other vulgar slander."

Ustinov ended his article by noting that "the attempts of the reactionaries to galvanize the counterrevolution in Czechoslovakia are doomed to failure."

The Soviet press did not mention that both the Italian and Spanish Communist parties have issued statements against repression of the signers of Charter 77. Presumably, they would have to be included among the "reactionaries" said to be trying to "galvanize the counterrevolution."

### French CP protests

The most powerful tensions, however, are in Poland, where the bureaucracy was thrown into retreat by the June 1976 workers' uprisings and by the development of a broad campaign against the victimization of the workers who participated in these actions. The Polish events have made a strong impact on the West European workers movement. The French CP, for example, has been forced to speak out in defense of the Polish workers, as well as of the Soviet dissidents imprisoned in mental hospitals. In its December 30 issue, *Le Monde* quoted the following statement made by Duhamel, a leading official of the CP-led French trade-union federation, the

CGT, in an interview published in the federation weekly:

We cannot accept the fact that for distributing leaflets hostile to the regime, people are imprisoned in places such as these clinics whose medical character is more than dubious.

Nor can we accept workers being sentenced to long prison terms for strike actions, as was the case a few months ago in Poland. The price increases that were at the origin of these strikes and which the government was forced to rescind, give us cause to question the role played—or not played—by the Polish unions. The refusal of these unions to provide the explanations we asked for can only add to our perplexity.

This, of course, is a totally hypocritical statement. The French CP union leaders cannot be unaware of the character of the Polish unions.

However, despite the self-serving motivations of Western CP leaders, such declarations tend to seriously undermine the political defenses of the Stalinist dictatorships, which claim to rule in the name of a "world Communist movement." Stalinist rulers cannot simply disregard such criticisms without the risk of leaving themselves completely naked politically before the masses. Thus, the hypocritical gestures of the Western CP leaderships help to defend antibureaucratic fighters in the East.

But in Poland the bureaucracy's very existence is threatened in an immediate way by the rise of a mass workers movement and the development of outspoken opposition to the

dictatorship among intellectuals. Some of these, such as one of Poland's most prominent writers, Jerzy Andrzejewski, have begun to speak openly of the need for the workers to rule the economy and the society directly.

### Rumors of Soviet invasion

How great the tensions are in Poland is indicated by the widespread rumors that during the June rebellions, the Kremlin was planning an invasion along the lines of the 1968 occupation of Czechoslovakia.

The pressure on the Polish opponents of the bureaucracy of a threatened Soviet intervention is evident. In an interview in the January 17 *Der Spiegel*, Jacek Kuron, who served long years in prison for his outspokenly left-wing opposition to the Stalinist system, said:

The antireform policy of the Polish state leadership involves the danger of a mass explosion. The only way the population can counter this danger is through self-organization. Only through peaceful methods, demonstrations that do not disrupt the public order, through stubborn negotiation with the state power, can the population successfully impose its political will. . . . Also, this is the only way to block the danger of a mass explosion and thus of a Soviet intervention.

Kuron thought, nonetheless, that the Polish movement for democratic rights had better chances for success than the 1968 movement in Czechoslovakia.

I don't think that this case established permanent boundaries beyond which reform cannot go. In a situation such as the one in which we find ourselves, in a profound political, social, and economic crisis, a state that fails to carry out the necessary reforms will lose its ability to function. I think that Moscow also is clear about this.

The fact is that the Stalinist regime in Poland is extremely decayed. The ruling CP had no prestige to start with. The majority of the prewar cadres were murdered by Stalin. The present party was built up in subordination to the Soviet military forces during the war and under the Red Army occupation.

Poland also has had a longer experience of reform within the Stalinist system of rule than any country except Yugoslavia. It was disillusion with this that led Kuron himself, and his collaborator, Karol Modzelewski, to call in the mid-1960s for creating a completely different system based on direct rule by the workers.

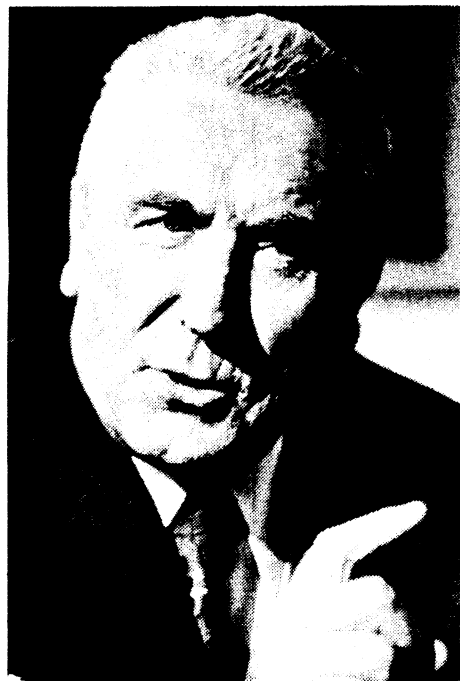
### Polish CP wavers

Response of the Polish CP to this situation has been wavering and inconsistent, with unpredictable outbreaks of violence and sudden retreats.

The Polish government has reacted to the work of the Committee to Support Worker Victims by launching a cat-and-mouse game of police harassment against the personalities involved. The Czech government followed a similar course toward the Charter 77 group, although there it was combined with preparation for possible political trials.

However, in Poland, according to a January 15 dispatch from Flora Lewis, the CP "leadership has [now] decided to tackle its domestic dissidents by what it calls 'political means,' ruling out arrests, police harassment, and outright repression, according to high-level officials."

Some examples of what the Polish bureaucracy may consider "political



EDWARD GIERSEK: Polish party chief

might have been caused by "dissidents."

A leading spokesman of the dissident movement in the Soviet Union, Andrei Sakharov, denounced the stories being spread about terrorist bombings as a provocation. In a January 14 statement, he said:

The authorities who want to suppress freedom of thought and reinforce totalitarianism cannot fight the dissidents on the basis of equal, open, and honest discussion. Since the moral authority of the dissidents continues to grow, despite the blows dealt them, the repressive organs resort more and more to criminal methods reminiscent not only of those of fascist Italy and Germany but also similar things that were done in our country in that period.

Sakharov cited some incidents that appeared to be gangster-type violence by undercover police against dissidents, such as an assault on the poet Konstantin Bogatyrev last year by unknown assailants. The poet died a few months later as a result of his injuries.

A joint statement, also issued January 14, by the Committee to Supervise Compliance with the Helsinki Accords and the Russian chapter of Amnesty International said: "The application of the term 'dissident' to real or imaginary terrorists constitutes a provocation designed to compromise the dissidents in the Soviet Union."

## Polish cop forgery

At the end of December Poland's political police circulated a forged letter. They alleged that it had been sent from the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR—Revolutionary Communist League), the French section of the Fourth International, to the Committee to Support Worker Victims of the Repression in Poland.

The aim of the forgery was clearly to use the authority won by the French Trotskyists because of their solidarity with the Polish workers' struggle to smear two leaders of the committee: Jacek Kuron and Adam Michnik.

The forgery says that "reports of the life of debauchery led by Mr. Michnik" as well as reports that funds given to him and "Mr. Jacek Kuron's representative" were not properly used are of "gravest concern" to the LCR. The letter says that the LCR has donated several thousand dollars to the committee's work. The LCR finds it "unthinkable that our money might be used for unavowable purposes."

The letter was reproduced in the January 13 issue of the French Trotskyist daily, *Rouge*. A statement in the same issue by the LCR Political Bureau denounces the letter as a "crude forgery" whose aim is to "blacken [the] reputation [of] and discredit" Kuron and Michnik.

The LCR says that "neither this campaign of forgeries, nor the intimidation constantly faced by the Committee's members has prevented the spread of the protest movement in Poland. For our part, we reaffirm our active and unconditional solidarity with the Committee to Support the Polish Workers."

# World news notes



Slogans on monument protest 1968 Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia

methods" are pointed out in the January 13 issue of the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge*. One was a forged letter allegedly sent by the French section of the Fourth International to Dr. Edward Lipinski, a leader of the Committee to Support Worker Victims. (See box.) It contains some particularly choice examples of the police imagination.

But it is not likely that any such "political" methods will prove very effective against the movement for democratic rights.

## Storm of protest

The East German regime embarked on a repressive course in November, when it stripped the poet Wolf Biermann of his citizenship. However, the response to this has been the first public protests against the policies of the regime since the 1953 East Berlin workers rebellion. The regime responded by stepping up its repression.

About twelve protesters, against Biermann's expulsion are being held in prison, according to a January 13 statement by the German Committee for the Defense of Freedom and Socialism. These include the author Jurgen Fuchs and singers Christian Junert and Gerulf Pannach. Reportedly, however, no charges have yet been brought against them.

These repressive moves do not seem to have stopped the spread of opposition. In a dispatch in the January 12 *New York Times*, Craig R. Whitney said that a professor at the Franz Liszt Music Institute in Weimar, East Germany, told him: "Conditions get worse all the time. None of my students knew who Wolf Biermann was until he was kicked out. Now he's a hero."

The East German authorities were furious at the publicity Biermann's views got in the West German media, in particular TV, which reaches much of their population. In this, they shared the outrage felt by the right-wing West German press and the capitalist politicians at the airing of his democratic and socialist opinions. Nonetheless, the only way the bureaucrats could find, apparently, to emphasize their displeasure was to take reprisals against the West German government. So, among other things, on January 11 they put a police guard around Bonn's mission in East Berlin to prevent people from applying for visas.

However, on January 12, the cordon was suddenly removed from the West German mission.

## Détente

The Kremlin itself shows the same wavering policies as its client regimes.

The Soviet bureaucrats hope that a relaxation of tensions between them and the imperialist powers will enable

the West European CPs to break out of the ghettos they were driven into during the cold war and win sufficient influence to help force the capitalists to accept long-term peaceful coexistence.

Repressive or threatening moves are the surest way of driving voters away from the CPs, which would also distress the leaders of these parties. Furthermore, the Kremlin faces the long-range problem of the growing revulsion of the masses of workers throughout the world against Stalinism. It paid a heavy price for the invasion of Czechoslovakia. Its attempts to force the big Western CPs to defend this action, even though in some cases it went as far as provoking splits, essentially failed. And this failure prepared the way for moves by the West European CPs to take their distance from the more embarrassing features of Moscow's policies.

## Hunger strikes

It is harder to judge how much resistance there is to bureaucratic dictatorship in the USSR. There are, however, indications of a rising wave of opposition.

Kronid Lyubarsky, a recently released dissident, has reported that a resistance movement has been operating for about two years in the labor camps and prisons. A January 21 Reuters dispatch from Moscow reported: "He said prisoners hold hunger strikes to mark an unofficial 'Political Prisoners Day' each Oct. 30, and had taken collective action against prison conditions."

When Vladimir Bukovsky was released and expelled from the Soviet Union in December, he reported that a hunger strike was in progress in Vladimir prison and called for international support for the participants. In the past the rise of resistance in the prison camps has marked the buildup of a general crisis. The strike at Vorkuta in 1953, for example, played a key role in forcing Stalin's heirs to resort to "de-Stalinization."

It has become clear that when representatives of mass working-class, socialist, and progressive public opinion throughout the world speak out against Stalinist repression, they can force the bureaucratic bosses to retreat. Such protests strike at the bureaucracy's fundamental political defenses.

One of the most important factors in the consolidation of Stalinism was that most of the left either decided to go along with the anti-Communism of its own bourgeoisie, or became convinced that its duty was to apologize for the Stalinist regimes. Clearly one of the main factors in the rapidly deepening crisis of the bureaucratic dictatorships is that those days are irrevocably coming to an end, and the bureaucrats more and more feel dangerously exposed.

## Vietnamese seek to tap oil reserves

The Vietnamese government is planning to establish its own state oil company and will soon approve a detailed foreign-investment code in preparation for the involvement of foreign oil companies, according to a report in the January 27 *New York Times*.

One Western diplomat, who reportedly had extensive contacts with Vietnamese trade officials, explained, "What the Vietnamese need and are talking about is money on the order of oil money or massive reconstruction aid, and they need it quickly. They've privately written off anything from the United States, even the Soviets. So all that's left is oil."

## Another 'independent' Bantustan

The South African regime has taken another step in its strategy of divide and rule. It was announced January 24 that Bophuthatswana, one of ten African reserves, or Bantustans, would be declared "independent" on December 6. "Independence" was already imposed on the Transkei in October 1976. Of the 1.6 million Africans assigned to Bophuthatswana, only one-third actually live in the reserve. The rest live and work in "white" South Africa.

## Anti-Allende book a CIA job

A book critical of the Chilean regime of Salvador Allende was commissioned by the Central Intelligence Agency and published in Britain and the United States. *Chile's Marxist Experiment*, by British journalist Robert Moss, was rushed into print between Allende's overthrow in September 1973 and the end of that year.

Representative Don Edwards, the chairman of the House Judiciary Committee's Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights, said that the publication of the book could be a "serious violation of the First Amendment," which "guarantees the 'free flow of information,' which is entitled to be unpolluted by secret government propaganda."

## Smith declares war against freedom fighters

Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith rejected British proposals for a negotiated settlement January 24, claiming that the proposal would have led to immediate control of the country by a "Marxist-indoctrinated minority." The British plan, put forward by Ivor Richard, called for Black majority rule of Zimbabwe in fourteen months and a Black-dominated interim regime supervised by London. In rejecting the plan, Smith declared that his regime would adopt a "new, tougher line" against the Zimbabwean freedom fighters.

A representative of the Zimbabwe African People's Union said that Smith "has opted for a war path."

## Repression in Guatemala

More than 20,000 persons have disappeared or have been murdered in Guatemala during the past ten years, according to a report issued by Amnesty International in London December 11.

The human-rights organization charged that "massive killings" began in the 1960s under the guise of counterinsurgency operations. The report describes accounts of torture of peasants and labor leaders and quotes witnesses who found mutilated bodies, wrapped in plastic bags, in lakes and rivers and mass graves in the countryside.

According to Amnesty International, the killings were carried out by security forces or by paramilitary groups, which operated with "the knowledge and, at times, close cooperation of government authorities."

## American linguists say no to shah

The Linguistic Society of America (LSA), at its annual meeting December 29, passed a resolution opposing the acceptance of funds from institutions controlled by the Iranian regime. The resolution was partly in response to a recent agreement in which the City University of New York accepted a grant of more than \$100,000 from the National University of Iran.

LSA representative Prof. Frank W. Heny referred to the imprisonment of intellectuals and academics in Iran and the surveillance of Iranian students in the United States by SAVAK, the Iranian secret police.

He said, "If this government succeeds in funding programs here, we can be sure it would try to exert direct influence and control over American faculty and institutions, and over the courses they offer . . . it would create, relatively cheaply, an image of benevolence and goodwill, diffuse our protests on behalf of our colleagues in Iran, create an environment in which control of Iranian students in this country was made more effective. Not to mention buying specific expertise in teaching English and computational linguistics which is needed . . . as an integral part of training for the internal military and surveillance programs which are so extensive in Iran today."

## Duvalier's 'amnesty' a hoax

According to Amnesty International, President-for-Life Jean-Claude Duvalier's "Christmas amnesty" was a hoax. Only thirty of the ninety persons listed as having been released were actually political prisoners, the human-rights group said January 9. And only a few of them were actually set free. Previous "amnesties" have also proved to be phony.

The announcement of the release of political prisoners was apparently designed to give political cover to Washington, which supplies military aid to the Duvalier dictatorship. Shortly after the phony "amnesty," the U.S.-controlled International Development Association announced a \$10 million loan to Haiti.

## Strike wave jolts Bandaranaike

# Government threatens emergency rule in Sri Lanka

By Ernest Harsch

Faced with eroding support for her regime, Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike warned January 25 that she may follow in the footsteps of the Gandhi dictatorship in India and impose emergency rule in Sri Lanka.

Speaking at a meeting in her electoral district, she declared, "Mrs. Gandhi used powers for the protection of her peoples. Should it be necessary, we too will have to use our powers to safeguard the nation."

Like Gandhi, Bandaranaike cloaked her threat of wider repression in the guise of "defending" the masses. But coming only a little more than a week after the end of some of the biggest strikes in Sri Lanka's recent history, her warning was clearly directed at the working class.

The strike wave began on December 15 when workers at the Ratmalana railway workshop walked off their jobs after the regime rejected their demand for an increase in their year-end salary advance from Rs 100 to Rs 500 (one rupee equals US\$0.13). Within days, railway workers throughout the country joined the strike, paralyzing the entire railway system. Workers at Colombo Port walked off their jobs December 29, and on January 1 postal and telecommunications workers joined the strikes.

Most of the leaders of the strikes were members of the ex-Trotskyist Lanka Sama Samaja party (LSSP—Ceylon Equal Society party), which was expelled from the Fourth Interna-



SIRIMAVO BANDARANAIKE

tional in 1964 for accepting posts in Bandaranaike's capitalist government. Since the LSSP leaders were dropped from her cabinet in 1975, however, the party has participated in mass actions against the regime. The LSSP controls the Ceylon Federation of Labour and is particularly strong among workers on the railways and in the ports, and among the engineering sectors of the telecommunications workers.

In response to the spreading strikes, Bandaranaike issued an Essential Services Order (ESO) January 5, de-

claring those areas affected by the strikes as essential services and threatening to imprison strikers or confiscate their property.

This strike-breaking measure met with a sharp response from the unions. According to a report by B.H.S. Jayewardene in the January 21 *Far Eastern Economic Review*, the unions "retorted that the strike is being continued because the Government has refused to concede the principle of negotiating while a strike is on—a basic fundamental right of workers. . . . The unions also want the Essential Services Order outlawing the strikes withdrawn. . . ."

The Ceylon Federation of Labour threatened to bring out its 300,000 members on a general strike if the order was not lifted.

Support for the strikes was so great that the Communist party, which holds posts in the government, also felt compelled to back them. Some of the CP-dominated unions joined the walk-outs, and the CP condemned Bandaranaike's refusal to negotiate.

Even some workers belonging to Bandaranaike's own Sri Lanka Freedom party participated in the strikes.

The work stoppages continued to spread, drawing in bus workers, civil servants, municipal employees, and industrial workers. At the high point, nearly 250,000 workers were involved.

Stepping up its efforts to suppress the labor unrest, the regime mobilized army units for scab duty and other

strike-breaking activities. A rigid press censorship was imposed January 10, to which the LSSP and CP newspapers replied by carrying large blank spaces with the word "censored" in their editorial columns. Public meetings were banned and more than 100 unionists were arrested on charges of being "inciters and agitators."

In face of the heavy repression, a union representative announced January 15 that the strikers would return to work January 17. The announcement came shortly before the regime issued a communiqué declaring, "No persons who have lost their employment by joining the strike will be taken back after January 18." The regime also threatened to hire thousands of scabs to replace those who did not return to work.

The strikes, however, won a partial victory. The regime was forced to grant the demand for a Rs 500 salary advance.

Throughout the course of the labor unrest, the Bandaranaike regime attempted to slander the strikers by claiming they were involved in a "conspiracy" to overthrow the government and that they were only "pawns in the hands of politicians." The LSSP and CP came in for particular attack.

During her January 25 speech threatening the use of emergency powers, Bandaranaike also said that unnamed "foreign powers" could have been behind the strikes. Indira Gandhi used a similar claim to justify her suppression of democratic rights in India in June 1975.

## Sadat blames 'Communists' for mass upsurge

By David Frankel

On the surface, the events that shook the Egyptian government to the core January 18 and 19 are over. The wreckage from smashed nightclubs and government buildings has been swept up and the angry crowds that stormed through Egypt's cities to protest increases in food prices have dispersed.

But the effects of that mass upsurge will be felt in Egypt for a long time to come. Capitalist commentators were taken aback both by the depth and extent of the discontent shown in the protests.

"The most surprising aspect of the rioting," *New York Times* correspondent Henry Tanner commented in a January 24 dispatch from Cairo, "was that it spread to virtually all urban centers of Egypt, from Alexandria to Aswan. This had not happened in several decades. Political unrest in the past was confined to Cairo and Alexandria."

A rapid retreat by President Anwar el-Sadat defused the rebellion for the time being. However, Tanner took note of the fears of "well-informed Egyptians" in the wake of the protests. "They say that the urban masses, which have been sinking into ever-greater poverty, have had their taste of power and will use it again to hold the regime to its promises."

Sadat's backers abroad were also shaken by the eruption of protest. Qatar's finance minister made a hurried trip to Cairo following the demonstrations, and it was announced in Cairo January 24 that the International Monetary Fund (IMF) had agreed to

loan Egypt \$140 million.

The IMF played a central part in forcing Sadat to attempt the implementation of the budget cutbacks that led to the mass protests in the first place. But Sadat was hardly in a position to put the blame on the imperialists, where it belonged. Instead, he chose to scapegoat Communists.

"The Communists definitely were behind what happened and we have evidence of this," an official of the Interior Ministry said January 21. No proof, of course, was ever produced, although the witch-hunting statements about "Communist plotters" continued.

There was some question raised as to how well-advised this redbaiting campaign was. Gavin Young commented in the January 23 issue of the *London Observer*, "If the Communists continue to be blamed for this people's revolt, they will reap much undeserved benefit. The people will congratulate them."

Perhaps Sadat considered this possibility and decided it was preferable to the alternatives. As Tanner reported in the *Times* dispatch quoted above, "The Government chose to name 'Communists' only. But it is known that other leftist opposition groups not connected with either the Soviet or the Chinese Communist Party have been leading a clandestine existence. . . ."

"None of these groups are believed to be large. But in an atmosphere where much of the country's urban population is disaffected, all or most of them have a potential appeal."

Helena Cobban also took up the question of why Sadat singled out the Communists in the January 25 issue of the *Christian Science Monitor*. She

noted that other opponents of Sadat such as the right-wing Muslim Brotherhood, the various Nasserite factions on the left, or the followers of Libyan chief of state Muammar al-Qaddafi could have all been blamed. She argued:

The answer seems to lie in the fact that the riots could be interpreted as a victory for whoever triggered them, in that they forced Mr. Sadat to rescind the price increases against which the demonstrators were protesting. To attribute blame (or credit) for the riots could therefore conceivably strengthen the position within Egypt of the group or organization singled out as being behind them. And it is probably because the Communists are in fact so weak in Egypt that they have been chosen as the "safest" scapegoats.

Finally, the editors of the *New York Times* suggested still another motivation for blaming the popular rebellion on "Communists." "If we read the news from Cairo correctly," they said January 27, "President Sadat seeks now to turn a time of domestic turmoil and weakness into something of a foreign-policy advantage. He seems to feel that the United States and others owe him an extra measure of support. . . ."

Although the *Times* editors said they did not mean to imply that Sadat had staged the mass uprising "for foreign effect," they complained that "the Egyptian leader, who controls his press and television, has quite clearly been willing to advertise his troubles, once he had surmounted the worst of them."

A scare campaign around the theme of the menace from the left could be used "to raise the subsidies from oil-



SADAT: Not much room for maneuver

rich Arab friends, to win delays on debt repayment, and to attract more sympathy from the American negotiators who will seek further concessions from him at the bargaining table with Israel."

However, the *Times* editors were not convinced by Sadat's performance. "This is not a bad way to play a weakened hand," they said. "But the economic counsel that prompted Cairo's risky price increases was sound to begin with and must still be heeded, in smaller bites perhaps."

The demand that Sadat condemn the Egyptian masses to hunger so as to pay off the imperialist banks that have lent Egypt money was linked to the demand for an even more abject posture in negotiations with Israel. As the *Times* put it, "Concessions to peace can be very impressive to foreign investors."



# Carter talks peace, ups arms spending

By Michael Baumann

The following is from the News Analysis section of Intercontinental Press.

Using a few well-calculated sentences, Jimmy Carter captured world headlines January 25, with commentators hailing him as a man of peace. The pope, for example, greeted his fine words as "an immense service to the world."

In his first interview as president, the new head of American imperialism announced that he favored a halt to all nuclear testing "instantly and completely."

Furthermore, he added, this aim was to be part of a broader program to seek "reductions" in the spread of nuclear weapons, with the "goal" ultimately of banning them altogether.

The favorable reaction is understandable. It is well known that the Pentagon already possesses enough nuclear weapons to destroy all life on the planet many times over. Further testing to develop still more destructive weapons is pointless, even from the insane viewpoint of the Pentagon.

By renouncing new test explosions, Carter would give up nothing in the way of military advantage, while scoring a tremendous propaganda coup.

However, the sincerity of the new commander-in-chief in making this offer is open to question.

Is he also prepared to make available to the world the information obtained in previous U.S. tests so as to permit the People's Republic of China, for example, to forego repeating them?

Is the Pentagon, the world's largest arms merchant, prepared to halt weapons sales to its client regimes around the world?

Is Carter prepared to take the initiative and give up further nuclear testing

on a unilateral basis?

Is Carter prepared to set an example by beginning to dismantle the Pentagon's nuclear stockpile?

The answers to these questions were quickly provided, as White House spokesmen "clarified" Carter's intentions.

First, not a word was said about publishing the findings of American nuclear research. And on the question of arms sales, Carter himself ruled out a "moratorium."

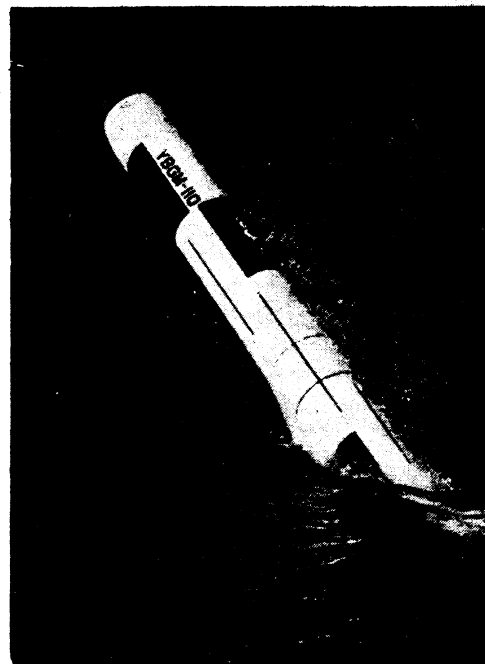
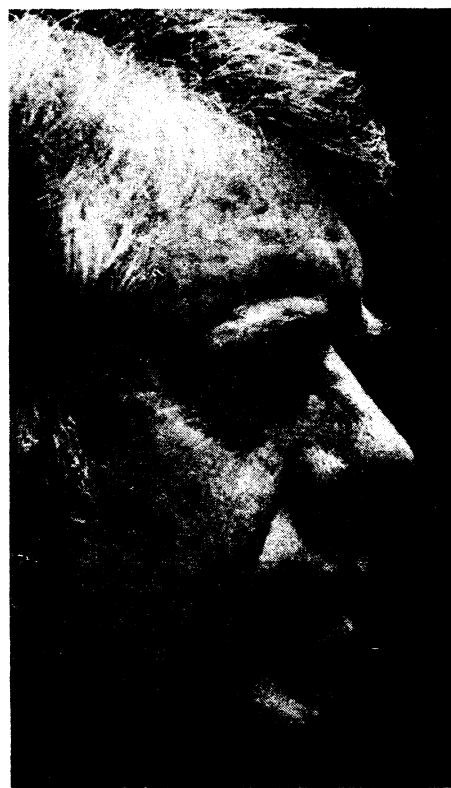
Second, White House aides hastened to state that Carter does not envision any initiative by Washington to halt nuclear testing. The answer is "unequivocally no," a spokesman said, "we are not advocating a unilateral halt to the testing."

An instructive statement by White House press secretary Jody Powell made clear Carter's views on nuclear disarmament: "Any implication that we are on the verge" of a big reduction in the Pentagon's nuclear missiles, he said, "is incorrect and preposterous."

Still, the impact of the initial headlines remained. The intention behind a publicity operation like Carter's is simple.

His aim is to divert attention from the Pentagon's new war budget, set at a total of \$121.3 billion by the outgoing Ford administration and expected to be passed almost untouched by Carter and the Democratic-controlled Congress. "Carter aides say their changes in this year's [arms] budget will be relatively modest. . . ." the *Wall Street Journal* reported January 18.

Although Washington already possesses 8,900 "strategic nuclear warheads" and 7,000 "intermediate warheads," the new budget calls for spending \$35 billion on *additional weapons* alone, an increase of 25 percent over the previous year. This amount, it is worth noting, is three times that spent by the federal govern-



President Jimmy Carter; U.S. Cruise missile during underwater launch test.

ment on welfare.

The \$35 billion—give or take a few cost overruns to further line the pockets of munitions manufacturers—provides for the following additions to the Pentagon's arsenal:

- 26 warships.
- 697 military aircraft.
- 3,000 tanks and armored vehicles.
- 45,000 missiles.

In furtherance of Carter's "peaceful" aims, the Trident nuclear submarine, a particular favorite of the Pentagon, is given high priority.

A report in the January 18 *Washington Post* describes this vessel. The submarine "will be able to launch 192 nuclear warheads at different targets from an undersea platform almost as long as two football fields and as high as a four-story office building. It has been called the most expensive weapons system ever built. The new Pentagon budget includes \$1.7 billion to build two of the giant submarines plus \$1.1 billion for missiles to arm them."

A report in the January 28 *Washington Post* explains further: "One Trident missile, with 1.4 megatons in its multiple warhead, would pack 70 times the explosive power of the U.S. atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima in 1945."

Other specifics in the Carter war budget include the following:

- \$294 million to develop a giant new intercontinental ballistic missile estimated to be three times more powerful than its predecessor.
- \$1.7 billion to develop the B-1 bomber, of which 244 are eventually scheduled to be built, at a cost of \$22.9 billion.
- \$2.3 billion in military-related nuclear programs, largely production and testing of atomic warheads.

Carter's actual plans are spelled out in this munitions shopping list. His claims to be seeking to avert a nuclear holocaust merit careful attention for what they really are, a sly adaptation of the old diplomatic maxim—peacemongering is the best cover in preparing for war.

## China poster demands workers democracy

From Intercontinental Press

Reports by travelers and Western reporters indicate that wall posters critical of the Chinese government were still being pasted up here and there in major cities into the first week of February. This followed a ten-day free-speech movement in Peking January 6-15 on the anniversary of the death of former Premier Chou En-lai.

The most interesting recent account is of a twenty-page wall poster in Canton criticizing the economic policies of the Cultural Revolution period under Mao. The poster was described by Fox Butterfield, writing from Hong Kong for the February 2 *New York Times*. The poster criticized by name only the "gang of four"—Mao's widow, Chiang Ch'ing, and three other Politburo members now under arrest. But the accusations had to do with general government policy for the whole past period. Under the influence of the four, the poster said, "mass enthusiasm was lost and production was damaged. . . . As a result the economic development of China has slowed during the past 10 years, especially the production of consumer goods."

"In this situation," the poster said, "the livelihood of the masses was pushed down, and as a result social order and morale suffered, and crime, particularly juvenile delinquency, increased."

This is the first known public refer-

ence in China to Mao's wage freeze of the last ten to fifteen years as a crime of the "gang of four."

The poster cited the sharp contrast between China's present poverty and the advances made by capitalist Japan. The point, the poster said, was not that capitalism was superior to socialism but that the nationalized economy had been mismanaged.

"Are the Chinese people inferior to the Japanese people in intelligence and talent?" it asked. "We have a satellite flying in space, but on earth our farmers must still pull plows with their shoulders."

The poster, which was signed "Kung-chen" (a name that sounds like the Chinese word for worker), outlined a list of demands for reforms. These included a call for "measures so the workers can organize production and participate in controlling socialist property." Another was a demand for government action to "increase the standard of living of the people and establish a rational system of wages and incentives."

Symptomatic of the mood in China today was the fact that the authorities did not move immediately to take the poster down. Butterfield reported: "According to one traveler who saw it in downtown Canton, large crowds of people stood around reading it until well after dark."

## Cuban livestock poisoned by CIA

The following is from the News Analysis section of Intercontinental Press.

Two years after Richard Nixon announced amid great publicity that Washington was renouncing the use of biological and chemical warfare, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) provided anti-Castro terrorists with a swine fever virus that forced the killing of 500,000 Cuban pigs.

The latest account of the CIA's criminal activity was revealed in part by a counterrevolutionary Cuban exile disgruntled by the government's investigation of terrorist activities carried out by his group in Florida.

Reporters Drew Fetherston and John Cummings, who broke the story in *Newsday*, a Long Island, New York, newspaper, also cited testimony by the American intelligence agent who gave the virus to the Cuban exiles.

According to this agent, the operation began early in 1971 at Fort Gulick, an army base in the Panama Canal Zone where the CIA operates a paramilitary training center for career personnel and mercenaries. The unnamed agent was given a sealed container filled with African swine fever virus—a highly contagious organism that infects only pigs.

The container was eventually transferred to Cuban territory near the U.S. Navy Base at Guantanamo Bay near the end of March 1971. Six weeks later, the Western Hemisphere had the first outbreak of African swine fever in its history.

The virus, which can be transmitted

rapidly through the water or food supply, could have easily gone undetected for months. As it was, 500,000 pigs had to be slaughtered to prevent the spread of the epidemic. The outbreak was labeled the "most alarming event" of 1971 by the UN Food and Agricultural Organization.

Until the article by Fetherston and Cummings appeared, the mystery of how the disease had come to Cuba remained unsolved.

An investigation into the incident is being carried out by the Senate Intelligence Committee. "In a case like this, though," an "intelligence source" in Miami explained to Fetherston and Cummings, "they would always give them (CIA officials in Washington) plausible deniability."



FIDEL CASTRO: Assassination attempts against him were not only weapon in CIA's arsenal against Cuban revolution.

# Socialist Workers party national committee sets goals at N.Y. meeting

By Peter Seidman

As Jimmy Carter was holding a final round of meetings to prepare his new administration, leaders of the Socialist Workers party gathered in New York January 6-9 for a meeting of their own.

The socialist meeting, called a plenum, was attended by elected members of the SWP National Committee. Organizers of SWP branches and locals were also invited to attend. The national committee is the SWP's highest decision-making body between its conventions.

The plenum assessed the political developments in the United States since the SWP convention last August. That convention discussed and adopted the resolution entitled "Prospects for Socialism in America" (available in a book with the same title from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014, at a special price of \$1.50).

"Prospects for Socialism in America" outlines the social, economic, and political changes in the United States during the last quarter century. It concludes that U.S. capitalism has entered a new stage. The "boom" of the 1950s and 1960s is over. A turn—exemplified by the 1974-75 depression—has been made. There will be ever-increasing attacks by the government and the bosses on the living standards and democratic rights of American workers.

The resolution says that this situation will also produce a turn in the consciousness of working people, who will be increasingly open to socialist ideas.

The ruling class's attacks have fallen first and hardest on the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican peoples in the United States. At its 1976 convention, the SWP discussed and approved reports and resolutions on the struggles by these groups against the capitalists' offensive and how socialists should participate in these struggles.

At this plenum, the SWP leaders extended their discussion of the party's turn toward new opportunities in the working class, among the oppressed nationalities, and among women. They approved separate reports on how to deepen the party's participation in two important struggles: the women's liber-

ation movement and the Steelworkers Fight Back campaign.

The plenum also approved a major new organizational step and assigned a group of the SWP's national leaders to function as full-time field organizers in eight regions of the country. This step aims to organizationally strengthen the party and to prepare for the increased growth and political opportunities that lie ahead.

In addition, the plenum took up three of the political questions currently under discussion in the world Trotskyist movement: an analysis of the revolutionary developments in Indochina and of the role of the Vietnamese Communist party; perspectives for



ED HEISLER

Militant/Jon Flanders

advancing the class struggle in Europe; and a balance sheet on guerrilla warfare and the class struggle in Latin America over the past eight years. Alan Jones, a representative of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, participated in the discussion of these points.

## 'Cartermania'

Malik Miah, a member of the SWP Political Committee, reported on what working people can expect under Carter and what socialists should do to give leadership to the struggles that will begin to unfold against the new president's policies.

Massive organized protests against Carter's attacks will initially be hampered, Miah said, because "the leaderships of the labor movement, the Black movement, and various social protest movements—almost to an individual—are presently suffering from what I call 'Cartermania.'"

"This mania," Miah said, "is a result of their policy of backing the so-called lesser evil in capitalist politics instead of organizing a working-class party to fight for its own interests."

"Cartermania," Miah went on, means that "these misleaders are opposed to any steps to mobilize their followers to demand that the government defend equal rights for Blacks

and women or to improve the health and welfare of the population."

But once Carter takes office, Miah said, the Blacks, women, and working people whose votes won him the election will expect him to make good on the promises he made to them.

"Since Carter can't give these kinds of results," Miah explained, "the Democratic party, which for the first time in eight years controls both the Congress and the White House, will be in big trouble with the American people."

"Their sympathy will begin to turn to anger," Miah predicted. "This anger will lead to demands on their misleaders to act. And the misleaders' failure to act will lead many workers to listen to the ideas and solutions of revolutionary socialists."

"As this process unfolds," Miah said, "our socialist program will gain a better hearing from working people. In particular, our demand that working people and their allies break from the capitalist parties and form their own party, a labor party, will become more plausible to them."

## Steelworkers Fight Back

A report by Ed Heisler, a member of the national committee, focused on how socialists are participating in the fight for union democracy that is developing inside the United Steelworkers of America, the largest industrial union in the AFL-CIO.

Heisler explained the significance of the campaign by Steelworkers Fight Back to elect Ed Sadlowski president of the USWA.

"The Steelworkers Fight Back campaign is the clearest early sign of the coming radicalization," Heisler said. "Some basic class-struggle ideas are being raised by Ed Sadlowski and the other candidates of the Fight Back slate."

"What are those ideas? Union militancy, opposition to class collaboration with the bosses, and membership control over union affairs."

"The growth and development of Steelworkers Fight Back demonstrate that thousands and thousands of steelworkers are responding to class-struggle ideas. A mass movement for a militant, combative, fighting union run by the membership is in the process of being built."

This movement will continue, Heisler said, regardless of the outcome of the February 8 election in the steelworkers union.

Heisler explained that SWP members who participate in Fight Back want to do two things. They want to help Fight Back get elected. And they want to spread the party's ideas, winning new influence for these ideas and new members to the SWP.

Both before and after February 8, Heisler said, Fight Back needs to make "special appeals for support among Black workers, other oppressed minorities, and women. This is a very sizable and potentially powerful section of the membership."

"If masses of Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and women are organized as a force, as a power in support of the Fight Back campaign, they will be listened to. They will have a major impact on the campaign."

The future of Fight Back, he said, "will more and more depend on this."

Fight Back has already had an impact far beyond just the USWA. Heisler explained that bureaucrats in

unions outside of the USWA are attacking Fight Back. They know a Fight Back victory "could help to stimulate and trigger serious and powerful Fight Back movements for democracy in other unions."

A victorious Fight Back campaign also would rapidly become the target of the capitalist government. This means socialists active in Fight Back need to explain the need for the labor movement to break from its orientation to the Democratic party, and to organize a labor party, based on the unions. Without a strategy of independent labor political action, the USWA, even under new leadership, would be unable to effectively counter attacks by the government.

## Attack on women's rights

Cindy Jaquith, another member of the SWP National Committee, gave a report on the crisis now facing the movement for women's rights. "Over the fall," she explained, "women suffered a series of dizzying defeats—on abortion, the Equal Rights Amendment, affirmative action, maternity rights—and this list goes on."

The attacks on women's rights by the capitalist politicians and the courts have centered on an effort to divide the women's movement along class and race lines.

The Hyde amendment, which would end federal funding for abortions, is typical of these attacks.

Jaquith explained that the anti-abortion forces hope that the rights of the women directly affected by the Hyde amendment—mainly poor and Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican—will be ignored by those more privileged women whose ability to get abortions will not be immediately threatened by a federal fund cutoff.

Such tactics, Jaquith said, are aimed at leaving the entire women's movement in a much weaker position to defend itself from even more extensive attacks in the future.

Jaquith noted that the leadership of the women's movement—in particular the leaders of the largest and most influential group, the National Organization for Women (NOW)—"has so far shown itself unwilling to lead a counteroffensive against the attacks."

Because of this, despite growing support for women's rights, Jaquith said, "the ruling class has been able to take advantage of the political weakness of the women's movement, and the disorienting, demobilizing effect of the presidential elections, to drive full steam ahead" with its attacks.

A far-ranging discussion in the women's movement is needed, Jaquith

## 'Militant' sales drive

Another step forward in the SWP's deepening participation in the struggles of the trade unions, women, and oppressed nationalities was the decision by the plenum to launch a campaign to double the number of single copies of the *Militant* sold every week at workplaces, on campuses, and in the communities of the oppressed nationalities.

This campaign will begin February 13 and end on May 14.

One goal of this sales drive is for every SWP branch to organize at least one plant-gate sale every week.

Malik Miah cited instances in which the *Militant* helped convince industrial workers to join the SWP.

Through the sales drive this spring, Miah said, the party hopes to attract new members and introduce the *Militant* to the growing number of workers interested in socialist ideas and political developments covered by the paper.



MALIK MIAH

Militant/Henry Snipper



said, to develop a strategy that can successfully defend women's rights. Jaquith said that SWP members who participate in this discussion in NOW and other feminist groups will be explaining the need for women to overcome the government's divide-and-rule strategy by relying on their own power, organized massively and independently of the Democratic and Republican parties.

In his report Malik Miah described the failure of the leadership of organizations such as the NAACP and the World Community of Islam in the West to develop a strategy to effectively defend the Black community from the increasing attacks on its rights.

Like those in the women's movement and the unions afflicted with "Cartermania," Miah stressed, most Black leaders have sought private discussions with capitalist politicians. They do this rather than relying on the



Militant/Mary Hendrickson

CINDY JAQUITH

power of the Black masses themselves to defend the interests of Blacks.

This default in leadership points up the responsibility of socialists to help initiate and organize united mass actions that can help advance the struggle for Black rights.

### U.S. out of Africa!

Miah cited two components of this struggle that will be major areas of work for the SWP in coming months.

The first is the struggle against U.S. complicity with the racist regimes in southern Africa. In particular, Miah said, the SWP will work with the National Student Coalition Against Racism's efforts to build "U.S. out of southern Africa" protests March 25-26.

Second is the need for the party to continue its work in support of school desegregation.

Miah said the SWP also needs to continue its participation in the movement against the death penalty and its involvement in defense cases for victims of capitalist injustice such as Gary Tyler.

### Campaigning for socialism

Miah also outlined what the SWP would be doing to take advantage of the increased openness to socialist ideas in the months ahead.

"The most effective vehicle we will have to explain our ideas," he said, "will be city and state election campaigns."

Miah reported that most branches of the party will be running candidates for public office this year.

A 1977 national campaign committee has been established to help coordinate these local campaigns. This committee will publish literature, including a new edition of the "Bill of Rights for Working People"; organize tours by party spokespersons; and help organize media coverage.

One important complement to the party's election campaigns, Miah said,

will be publicizing and helping to raise funds for the SWP's lawsuit against government harassment.

Coupled with the 1977 election campaigns will be a major circulation drive for the *Militant* (see box). A central goal of the spring sales drive will be stepped-up *Militant* sales at plant gates.

### Field organizers

The plenum's decision to assign eight field organizers was a major step forward. The field organizers are needed to serve as a liaison between the party's national office and its growing number of branches extending over more widespread areas of the country.

In August 1975, the SWP had twenty-three branches in twenty cities and fifteen states. Today there are seventy-six SWP branches in forty cities in twenty-five states.

The field organizers will also help the many newly established SWP branches get off to a strong start.

The field organizers and regions are: Doug Jenness, Northeast; Andrea Morell, Mid-Atlantic; Pearl Chertov, South/Gulf Coast; Joel Britton, Great Lakes; Wendy Lyons, Midwest; Steve Chainey, Rocky Mountain/South Plains; Tony Thomas, Pacific Coast; and Peter Camejo, Southwest.

This decision is a step toward establishing a district structure with elected district leaderships. This further move will be made after the party gains experience with this new organizational form.

### A growing SWP

The reports and discussion at the plenum demonstrated the SWP's ability to place itself at the center of the response by oppressed minorities, women, and the labor movement to the ruling-class offensive.

This was also shown by the increasing numbers of activists in these struggles who are joining the party.

At its convention last August, the SWP launched a drive to win 300 new provisional members by the time of the plenum. People who want to join the SWP learn about the party during a three-month period of provisional membership before becoming constitutional members.

Miah announced at the plenum that this goal had been met. A total of 326 people became provisional members during the preceding five months. Sixteen percent of these new provisional members were Black.

The plenum voted to launch another membership drive with a goal of signing up 500 new provisional members to the party by next August.

Winning more union members, more women, more Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans to struggle against the capitalist offensive is the most important job the SWP plenum set for the party. If you would like to become part of this effort by joining the SWP, contact the branch nearest you listed in the Socialist Directory on page 31 of the *Militant*.

## Our party is your party!

IF YOU AGREE with what you have been reading in the *Militant*, now is the time to join the Socialist Workers party. . . . OUR PARTY is made up of working people like you. The more who join, the better we can fight together against war and racism, and for decent living and working conditions. . . . JOIN US and help us build a better world, a socialist world. Fill out the coupon below and mail it today.

## Join the Socialist Workers party!

- ☐ I want to join the SWP.
- ☐ Please send more information.
- ☐ Enclosed is \$1 for a two-month introductory subscription to the *Militant*.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

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

Telephone \_\_\_\_\_

SWP, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014

# What role for Blacks in Chicago mayor's race?

By Dennis Brasky

CHICAGO—When Mayor Richard Daley died last December, he left behind a vacant mayor's chair and one of the most segregated cities in the United States.

Blacks, who are 40 percent of Chicago's population, thought the first of these Daley legacies might open up a chance for them to do something about the second.

Maybe at last, many hoped, the political weight Blacks should have in this city would make itself felt in the new political alignments that were bound to come with Daley's departure from the scene.

But such expectations have been stymied for the present. Michael Bilandic, a white Daley lieutenant, has emerged as the nearly unanimous candidate of Daley's old machine in the June 7 special mayoral election.

Most of the Black leaders who have all along been urging that the fight for Black rights be carried out by working within the Democratic party have withdrawn from the fight to get a Democratic Black candidate for mayor.

The story of how this happened sheds light on why Blacks cannot depend on Democratic party politicians to fight for their rights.

The story began the day after Daley's funeral. Wilson Frost, a Black



Militant/Marc Rich

JESSE JACKSON

Then State Sen. Harold Washington retired from the field, as did 1975 Democratic mayoral primary candidate Richard Newhouse.

Only Robert Tucker, a former lawyer for Operation PUSH, remains a possible Black contender in the Democratic primary. Tucker's candidacy was announced after a meeting of Jackson, Savage, and others. How serious his candidacy will be remains to be seen.

The net result of all this is that the potential political power of the Black community has so far been frittered away in maneuvering inside the Democratic party.

In a statement distributed at the January 21 meeting, the Socialist Workers party explained why such maneuvering is bound to be futile. The Democratic and Republican parties, the statement said, are responsible for massive unemployment, cutbacks in education, low-cost housing, child care, and other desperately needed social services.

The SWP said that a break with the two capitalist parties and the launching of a genuinely independent Black electoral effort will be needed for the Black community to fight effectively against the big-business policies that afflict it.

Such a campaign could demand:

- Tax the corporations to provide jobs and social services.
- Defend the rights of Blacks to live and travel and go to school anywhere in the city without fear of racist violence.
- Abolish the death penalty.
- Support the \$47 million civil suit on behalf of survivors of the 1969 police raid on members of the Black Panther party.

If the Black community united behind an independent campaign that raised these kinds of demands, the SWP pointed out, "it could make a major impact on the politics of Chicago and could begin the process of organizing the political power of Black people."



MICHAEL BILANDIC

Democrat who was president pro tempore of the city council, was in line to become acting mayor until the election.

But Daley henchmen blocked Frost's taking office. They succeeded in getting Bilandic appointed instead.

At first it appeared that Frost might fight this move. But then Bilandic made an offer Frost couldn't refuse. Frost dropped his bid to be acting mayor in exchange for posts of city council finance chairperson and floor leader for the machine.

Frost's deal got a lot of people mad. Shortly afterwards, on January 21, about 500 Blacks came to a meeting to chart a response. The meeting was organized by Operation PUSH leader Jesse Jackson; "Gus" Savage, a local Black newspaper publisher; and Democratic Rep. Ralph Metcalfe.

These organizers all believe that Blacks can only make gains by subordinating their struggles to a strategy of working inside the Democratic party. Therefore, the January 21 meeting decided to set up a search committee to find a Black candidate who would challenge Bilandic in the Democratic party primary in April.

But so far, few of the potential Black Democratic candidates have been willing to run against the racist machine.

Cecil Partee, until recently a state senator and whip for the Daley forces, bowed out after accepting a \$44,000-a-year job offer from Acting Mayor Bilandic.



OPEN HOUSING MARCH IN MARQUETTE PARK. Independent political action would allow Black community to fight for its demands in the electoral arena.



## After Gilmore execution

# Education is task of death penalty foes

By José G. Pérez

With the execution of Gary Gilmore, America's rulers made it clear they are determined to restore the death penalty once and for all.

The U.S. Supreme Court has now rejected the major arguments for abolishing capital punishment.

Democratic and Republican politicians have approved new death penalty laws in close to forty states since 1972.

While governor of Georgia, President Jimmy Carter personally signed into law the bill that has already put fifty-four persons on Georgia's death row.

Local courts and judges are sentencing human beings to death in numbers unheard of in recent decades. During the first six months after the Supreme Court's July decision upholding the death penalty, 113 more persons were condemned to death row. And the number will increase as more states rewrite their laws to fit new Supreme Court guidelines.

This places the movement against the death penalty in a new situation. Abolitionists are no longer fighting to maintain the decade-long moratorium on legalized murder that ended with Gary Gilmore last month.

Now we must adopt a perspective of organizing a movement sufficiently powerful to force America's rulers to abolish capital punishment.

The Southern Coalition on Jails and Prisons and the Southern Prison Ministry have initiated a national protest against capital punishment in Atlanta April 9.

On February 15, activists will meet in Atlanta to make plans for organizing and publicizing the April 9 demonstration and other protest activities that weekend.

So it is a good time to take stock of what we have to do.

### Confusion

Opponents of the death penalty face widespread public confusion on the issue—confusion caused by the barrage of propaganda and misinformation cranked out by the big-business-owned media. The number of people who support abolition of capital punishment today is a minority.

It has not always been this way. In the mid-1960s, more Americans supported abolition than opposed it. But for close to a decade this country's rulers have orchestrated a campaign to terrorize the American people with horror stories about "crime in the streets."

This "law and order" drive has a clearly racist thrust. But it has had a big effect on many people—including Blacks and other minorities.

In recent years there has been a significant rise in crime in the United States, stemming from the social and economic crisis this country is in. An increase in unemployment, continued segregation and discrimination, lack of decent housing, and related problems have led to growing desperation and antisocial behavior.

The politicians have used this to feed the American people lies about capital punishment. And so far their lies have gone largely unchallenged.

Despite overwhelming scientific studies to the contrary, the idea that executions deter murders has become widely accepted in the United States today.

Despite the composition of death row—virtually the same today as under the old, admittedly racially discriminatory laws struck down by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1972—many Americans believe capital punishment is no longer racist.

The press paints those executed not as human beings like you or me, but as unspeakable monsters that would destroy society unless society destroys them first.

### The press & Gilmore

The news media sensationalized and distorted the Gilmore case, using the accidental and bizarre circumstances surrounding it to cover up the real meaning of capital punishment and to reinforce sentiment for executions.

The fact that Gilmore was white was used to cover up that Blacks have been the majority of the victims of capital punishment.

The press repeatedly emphasized that Gilmore admitted that he senselessly killed two people. This helped cover up the fact that many innocent people have been executed in the United States and more are sitting on death row today, victims either of

## Texas pickets demand: 'no more executions!'



Militant/Stu Singer

One of the 100 protesters who picketed mansion of Texas Gov. Dolph Briscoe January 29. Sponsors included six state legislators, two NAACP chapters, Student Coalition Against Racism, and a chapter of the National Lawyers Guild.

mistakes or of conscious frame-ups by the government.

Gilmore asked to be executed rather than face life in prison. The press portrayed this as "his fight to face the firing squad" and created a huge debate over Gilmore's purported "right to die." This covered up the real issue involved: not suicide, but killing by the state.

Some articles even tried to play upon noble sentiments of human solidarity to speed Gilmore to the firing squad.

One revolting piece by Gus Tyler—education director of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and regular columnist for the *AFL-CIO News*—argued that it would be more of a denial of Gilmore's dignity as a human being to let him live rather than to kill him. (Tyler's column, by the way, was the only comment on the Gilmore case in the more than forty union papers received by the *Militant*).

The impact of this press barrage was so great that by the time Gilmore's case had been in the news a couple of months, more people supported shooting Gilmore than supported executions as such.

A Harris poll showed 71 percent of all Americans thought the government should go through with Gilmore's execution. Only 58 percent thought the government should go ahead with other executions.

### Education is key

Our task is to educate the American people about the real meaning of the death penalty.

The American people have not yet heard—much less thought about or made up their own minds on—the case against the death penalty. What they have read and heard is a tremendous amount of misinformation.

The task of the movement to abolish the death penalty is to take the truth to the American people and win them over. The anti-Vietnam War movement gives us a good example of how we can do this.

When the war started, advocates of immediate U.S. withdrawal were a small percentage of the population—probably smaller than the portion of people who today support abolition of capital punishment.

But through teach-ins, forums, literature tables, mass leafleting, debates, petitions, referenda, marches, and other highly visible activities, the antiwar movement was able to make its case to the American people.

The abolition movement can use similar forms of protest to bring the truth about capital punishment to the American people.

To be successful, our movement has to reach out and involve the broadest possible array of individuals and organizations.

The strongest base of support for the movement

right now lies in the ghettos and barrios of this country. The same Harris poll that showed a majority of the population as a whole supporting capital punishment also showed this is not true among Blacks.

Sentiment against executions in Black communities runs two-to-one—49 percent to 25 percent—against capital punishment.

Every effort must be made to enlist the support and active participation of Black political and civil rights organizations, churches, social groups, and student organizations.

Whatever its size, the April 9 demonstration can provide an immediate focus for the movement to abolish the death penalty. It can be used to begin the massive educational job that lies ahead in convincing the majority that capital punishment is a relic of barbarism that must be abolished.

## Death row, USA

The following list was compiled January 18 by the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund. Since then, Tennessee's capital punishment statute has been declared unconstitutional and the list adjusted accordingly.

On the list there are six death row prisoners of unknown race and nine Latinos. Among the six unknown, two prisoners have Spanish surnames. Among those listed as whites, three have Spanish surnames.

Peggy Davis of the Legal Defense and Educational Fund says that ethnic designations are taken from correction departments of the states.

State	Blacks & Latinos	Whites	Total
Alabama	2	2	4
Arizona	3	11	16
Arkansas	2	4	6
Colorado	2	2	4
Florida	34	45	79
Georgia	29	25	54
Idaho	0	2	2
Indiana	2	5	7
Kentucky	0	3	3
Montana	1	4	5
Nebraska	1	3	5
Nevada	0	3	3
New York	2	0	2
Ohio	38	22	60
Pennsylvania	5	3	11
Rhode Island	2	0	2
Texas	24	27	51
Utah	2	3	5
Wyoming	3	2	5
<b>Total</b>	<b>152</b>	<b>166</b>	<b>324</b>

By Willie Mae Reid

"Our examination of the state of Black Americans in 1976 reveals continued and, in some areas of life, deepened depression and hardship."

So reported Vernon Jordan at a January 11 news conference in Washington, D.C. Jordan, executive director of the National Urban League, was releasing the group's second annual report on the "State of Black America: 1977."

The report contains seventy-eight pages of data compiled by Urban League affiliates in 107 cities. It covers eleven major areas that affect Blacks, ranging from employment to schools, housing, and health care.

Last year's report stated that the erosion of gains won over the past decade had left Black America in 1975 in a state of crisis. This year the Urban League reported little or no change.

### Blacks need jobs

Eighty-five percent of the affiliates listed jobs as the single most important concern in the Black community today. The 1 percent drop in the official Black unemployment rate last year (from 14 to 13 percent) masked the real situation facing Black working people.

According to the Urban League's "hidden unemployment index," a total of three million Blacks are jobless. This index includes far more than just those defined by the government as officially unemployed—that is, those who are actively looking for work any given month.

The Urban League figure takes account of jobless workers who have become discouraged by their failure to get a job and have temporarily stopped looking. It also includes the large group of workers with part-time jobs who want and need full-time employment.

All these categories have been increasing faster than available jobs.

### Black youth

The report finds joblessness among young Blacks most alarming. Sixty-four percent of Blacks sixteen to nineteen years old cannot find work. In the twenty- to twenty-four-year age group, one-third of all Black women and men need jobs. This includes the Black Vietnam-era veterans, whose unemployment rate is 26 percent.

The reduction of entry-level jobs—that is, jobs for those with no work experience—forces many young people to drop out of the labor force. So millions of Black youth are reaching adulthood with no work experience, while such experience is becoming more of a precondition for employment.

These conditions crush hopes, leading to apathy, alienation, and desperation. More and more Black youth are being forced into living at home longer, dependent on parents or other relatives, or into endless part-time, low-paying, unsafe jobs, or into crime.

### Impact on family

Adults in the Black community have been hit almost as hard by the recession as Black youth. The one million Black adults unemployed in 1976 represents a more than 50 percent jump from the number two years earlier.

More Black married men are out of work—up from 153,000 to 225,000. The role of breadwinner has more and more been shifted to the wives. Two-thirds of Black women married to jobless men have returned to work or are actively looking for jobs.

By comparison, Black female heads of households are finding it twice as hard to get work. For the one in three Black families headed by women, 13 percent of these women are unemployed.

In fact, the report states, one-third of all Black children under eighteen are

# CONDITIONS UNCHANGED IN BLACK AMERICA

Urban League report shows  
no jobs, no housing,  
more discrimination



in families in which the male or female head has no job.

So Black parents can't find jobs. Young people can't find work. And the result is that family income must stretch farther for a longer period of time. This financial pressure increases the psychological pressure on the family, with no relief in sight.

### More Black poor

With Blacks concentrated in low-wage industry and service jobs, only one-half of the officially unemployed are eligible for unemployment compensation.

Welfare programs provide little relief. Cutbacks in these programs are removing recipients from coverage. Added to this is the shrinking buying power of the income earned by Blacks fortunate enough to have a job.

As a result of all these factors, the proportion of Blacks who are poor increased in 1976 from 30 percent to 31 percent, according to the report.

The level of income needed to maintain what the Bureau of Labor Statistics calls a lower standard of living was \$9,588 in 1975. More than half (54 percent) of all Black families fell below that income level.

### Closing the gap

Figures in the 1977 report show that hopes of closing the gap between the living standards of Blacks and whites are fading.

For example, in 1974 there was a gap of \$5,402 between the median income of whites and Blacks. In 1975 that gap widened to \$5,489—that is, \$8,779 for Blacks, \$14,268 for whites.

The report shows that there has also been no progress in increasing the number of middle-income and upper-income Blacks. The percentage of Black families with an income level above \$15,318 only rose from 22 percent to 23 percent. Forty-six percent of all white families are above that level.

Upper-income Black families with a budget over \$22,294 remained at 10 percent. But 24 percent of all white families are above that level.

The typical Black middle-class family has both parents working. When this is taken into account, it's clear that it takes two Black incomes to match the earnings of one in most white middle-class families.

Furthermore, even these relatively better off Blacks have little or no economic stability or security. Most are not shopkeepers, small businessmen, or highly paid professionals. Their financial status is completely tied to the ability of one or both parents to get a better-paying job and keep it.

The "doing all right" status of these few Black families can be traced to the gains won by the massive upsurge of Black protest in the 1960s. Getting and keeping that better job is still tied to the ability of an organized movement that can be called into action to defend

attacks on equal job and educational opportunities.

The retreat then from affirmative action is a real blow to Black progress. There can be no economic gains for Blacks unless special steps are taken to make up for past discrimination through programs that help close the gap between Blacks and whites, economically and educationally.

The report notes that the government has joined business in attacking affirmative action in both areas. Private industry has counterposed seniority to affirmative-action programs to justify firing minorities and women. The government is now using the charge of "reverse discrimination" to justify its attacks.

Funds for special training programs and employment opportunities have been reduced. Guidelines for hiring Blacks and other minorities have been relaxed, so that the needy are bypassed.

Black businesses are in no shape to help reduce this Black unemployment. The report points out that revenues are down for Black businesses, almost all of which are small with only a few thousand employees altogether. Their market is the Black community and their investment capital is largely dependent on government funds.

Today the Black community has few dollars to spend, and the federal government is funding it less and less.

### Other findings

The 1977 report documents similar erosion in other areas:

- Housing was second on the Urban League's list of major problems. There has been a turn away from building low-and moderate-income units, rehabilitating old housing, and funding subsidized housing. Housing for the aged increased only slightly.

However, a larger percentage of government funds has been spent on "historic preservation." That's the name of the ploy used to "restore" old neighborhoods for resettlement by middle- and upper-income whites to encourage them to return to the city.

And more federal dollars were channeled to lenders who gave mortgages to white middle-income home buyers at interest rates below market rate.

- The rising cost of medical care and medical education has reduced the already inadequate health care available to Blacks. There is 1 physician for every 700 persons nationally. In the Black community, it's only 1 for every 3,000. There are only 6,048 Black doctors, 3,000 Black dentists, and 60,000 Black registered nurses.

Blacks continue to live shorter lives and die from heart diseases twice as often as whites. Black mothers die in childbirth three times as often. Black children suffer twice as much from iron deficiency and malnutrition and receive almost no dental care.

- In the areas of social welfare and crime, it is Blacks who suffer most.

Elderly minority persons are almost solely dependent on government assistance programs and twice as likely to be poor as whites.

As crime increases in the Black community, more money is being spent on cops to "get tough," while nothing is being done to solve the social causes of crime—joblessness, poverty, and the resulting desperation and despair.

The true picture of Black America painted by the findings in this report is invaluable to confronting and solving these problems. The Urban League has provided the Black community with an important resource of information.

The report's recommendations, however, offer no program to fight these deteriorating conditions and stepped-up attacks on our rights and living standards. I will discuss the inadequacies of the Urban League's strategy in my next article.

By John Hawkins

BALTIMORE—"The union has got to be about upgrading society as a whole," said Francis Brown.

"If Sadlowski wins on February 8, we're going to see if we can make it do that. The union is a driving force. And they should use that force to do something for poor folks and working people."

"Get involved in the fight for jobs, help get rid of the rats, build better homes, get better medical care, better education—that's what we're talking about. The union can play a major role in that kind of thing."

Francis Brown and Stuart Hargrave would like to see the United Steelworkers of America become more responsive to the needs of Black workers both on and off the job. That's one of the reasons they are supporting Ed Sadlowski for USWA president, along with the rest of the Steelworkers Fight Back slate.

Hargrave and Brown are both twenty-one-year veterans of Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point plant outside Baltimore. They are activists in the Twenty-first Century Labor Council and officers in Steelworkers for Equality—two Black caucuses in USWA Locals 2609 and 2610 at Sparrows Point.

Brown and Hargrave first met Ed Sadlowski at the 1968 USWA convention. He struck them as a young rebel, willing to speak up. And Black workers from his home district—District 31 in Chicago-Gary—spoke highly of him.

When it came time to decide who to support for USWA president, they recalled that 1968 recommendation.

### Civil rights committees

I interviewed Hargrave and Brown last month at the Pharos Club, a Black steelworkers' social club in Baltimore that is the meeting place for several Black labor organizations.

One indication of the union's default in the fight for Black rights, they told me, is the powerlessness of the union civil rights committees.

"The chairman of the civil rights committee sits once a week in the union hall," Hargrave said. "He doesn't have any real power."

"The civil rights committee can't even file a grievance. And the local doesn't have to let the national civil rights director even come in here."

When a coalition of Black steelworker caucuses endorsed the Fight Back slate earlier this year, one of their reasons was Sadlowski's pledge to put real power in the hands of the civil rights committees.

Local committees, Sadlowski said, should have the same authority as local union safety committees.

The national civil rights department should have authority to enter any district to investigate and resolve civil rights complaints. It should participate in all contract negotiations, district conferences, industrial conferences, and educational seminars.

### 'Fighting since 1960s'

"Right now," Brown said, "you can't do it through the union. We've been waging the biggest possible Black push here at Sparrows Point for years."

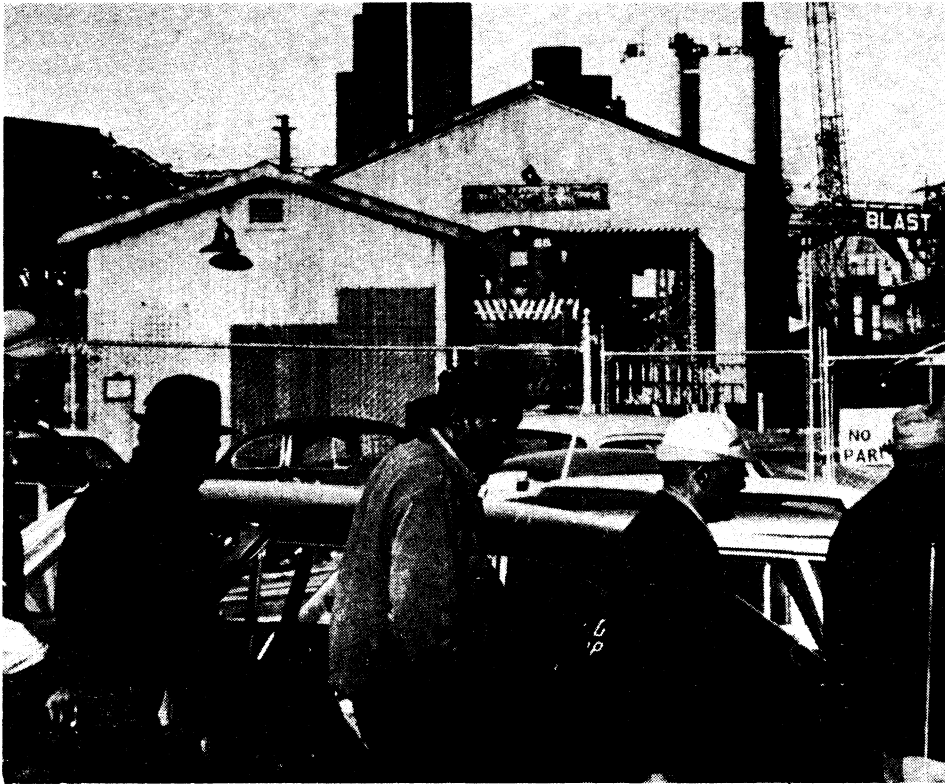
"We've been fighting against discrimination on the job since the early sixties. We went to Washington and marched with Martin Luther King. And now we're organizing around the consent decree."

"Not one time has the district director been down here to say to us, 'How can the union help out?' He hasn't come down here once to really see what's going on."

"That's what's got to be changed. Rather than siding with the company against us, they've got to be alongside us in our fight."

The consent decree is one of the main issues Hargrave and Brown are active around. The consent decree is a 1974 agreement between the USWA, nine basic steel corporations, and the federal government. It was supposed to end racial discrimination in hiring and promotion.

# What Black steelworkers are fighting for



Despite consent decree, Blacks are still given hardest and dirtiest jobs and blocked from skilled trades, say leaders of Black steelworkers caucus in Baltimore.

In last week's *Militant* I wrote about the Twenty-first Century Labor Council's lawsuit to increase the inadequate back pay granted under the consent decree to victims of past discrimination.

What about other provisions of the decree? Were quotas for hiring and promotion of minorities into the skilled trades being set up? Not by a long shot, Brown and Hargrave said. So far the company hasn't done anything to open up the skilled trades to minorities.

"They've got five years to implement the thing," Hargrave said. "Then the Advisory Council will come around and review all the complaints and hand down some decisions. But they have until April 1979 to finalize the thing."

### Hurdles

In the meantime Blacks are still frozen out of the skilled trades. Brown described how the company places hurdles in the way of Blacks trying to get into higher paying jobs. One such job at Sparrows Point is truck driver.

Most whites who become truck drivers learn the skill on the job. The largest trucks that are used in most cases are two-and-a-half-ton trucks. But for Blacks to become drivers takes a little extra.

"If I want to be a truck driver," Brown said, "I've got to be qualified to drive a tractor-trailer. You have to take a company test, if you're Black."

"You have to back a trailer into one of those depots with six to twelve inches clearance on either side. And you have to do it on the first try. Even a professional driver who drives a tractor-trailer every day may sometimes miss on the first try."

Has the plant-wide seniority established under the consent decree made it easier for Blacks to transfer out of segregated departments? According to Brown and Hargrave it has not.

In fact, the decree is a step backward from gains Black steelworkers at Sparrows Point had won through a lawsuit filed in 1967.

In response to their suit the Labor

Department ordered an end to discriminatory policies at Sparrows Point in 1973. Specifically, the Labor Department order gave thousands of Black workers the right to transfer to better jobs immediately without losing seniority. Union officials condemned that order as "asinine" and complained about "discrimination"—against whites. Company and union officials sought to sabotage its implementation.

In contrast, the consent decree not only gives the company five years to stall, it also says Blacks can transfer to a new department only as vacancies arise.

### No enforcement

"This consent decree denies Blacks the right to go right into the jobs like they should," Brown said. "Plus there

is no mechanism to enforce it that guarantees Blacks their rights."

"They didn't talk to any Black steelworkers about it," he added.

"If they had wanted to know what it takes to put Blacks at the level they should be at, they should have asked some of the Blacks. They wouldn't even let our lawyer, Ken Johnson, sit in."

Some transfers have taken place, but few Blacks have made it into the higher paying jobs.

"The bulk of the guys that want to move are being manipulated into accepting assignments in Black areas," Hargrave said. "Like open hearth or operations. These jobs pay good, but they're muscle jobs, in the heat and grime."

"They don't want all that seniority roaming around Sparrows Point looking at everybody's job. Basically that consent decree is designed not to work. And in the meantime it's not costing the company one red cent."

"It's not just the company that's in this," Brown explained. "It's based also on what a particular union representative wants. And that means you're dealing in union politics."

"A lot of white guys are fighting to hold onto those jobs that they gained under the discriminatory policies. For Blacks to get in, some of the whites who got jobs under that practice—they didn't set it up, but it was there and they took advantage of it—are losing."

Brown is the Black representative on the consent decree implementation committee at Sparrows Point. But the implementation committee has no power of enforcement. That power lies in the hands of the zone committee of Locals 2609 and 2610.

"The majority of those sixteen zone men are white," Hargrave said. "They've been elected by the people in their zone and see their job as representing their interests, helping the white guys maintain their position."

### 'Incumbency'

Another gimmick used to deny Blacks access to higher paying jobs is "entitlement" or "incumbency."

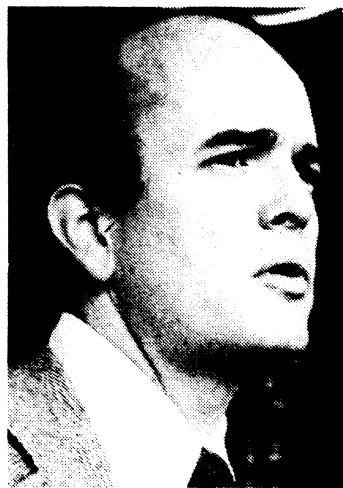
"An incumbent," Brown said, "is a guy who obtained a higher position than you before you got there. Regardless of whether he's got two years seniority and you've got twenty. They say he's entitled to hold on until you can get equal to him. But you never do because he's always a step ahead of you."

The incumbency system maintains privileged positions for whites in many units and effectively guts whatever Blacks stood to gain from plant-wide seniority.

In some departments management "trained" all the whites shortly before the decree went into effect—that is,

Hear Jack Barnes,

National secretary of the Socialist Workers party.



## SADLOWSKI'S CHALLENGE IN STEEL

### What it means for U.S. politics

LOS ANGELES Saturday, February 19, 8 p.m. King Hall, Lecture Room 1, California State. For more information call (213) 732-8197.

SAN FRANCISCO Friday, February 25, 8 p.m. 1339 Mission

Street. For more information call (415) 285-4686.

OAKLAND/BERKELEY Saturday, February 26, 8 p.m. 3264 Adeline. For more information call (415) 261-1210.



before the Blacks with more seniority arrived.

"What they did," Brown said, "was put a guy in and work him in that spot awhile and say he's an incumbent, or has entitlement, because he's worked that job before."

"Then over comes a Black with his twenty or thirty years and they say, 'Well, we're going to give you a shot at it when a vacancy occurs. But you're behind all these other men who are incumbents.'"

Brown and Hargrave described one situation that spotlights the racist nature of the incumbency system.

In one part of Sparrows Point two workers tend one machine. A Black worker feeds material into the machine and the white worker catches it on the way out.

The two are in different units in the shop even though they work the same machine, under the same roof, right across the aisle from each other. The white worker's job pays more than the Black worker's.

The unit that the white worker is in leads up the ladder to a highly paid job in the rolling mill. The Black worker's job is dead end.

"If the Black guy wants to go to the other side of this machine," said Brown, "he has to go all the way down the promotional ladder and come in at the bottom in the other unit—and then only when there's a vacancy."

### Rate retention

As part of its suit against the inadequacies of the consent decree, the Twenty-first Century Labor Council is demanding an improvement of wage rate retention when workers transfer.

The council says a Black worker who qualifies for any given position should receive the wages paid for that position, even if the company doesn't create a vacancy at the time. This would help take the profit out of discrimination.

"There's no way the company can put plant-wide seniority into effect without it costing them a lot of money," said Hargrave. That's why they oppose meaningful rate retention.

"What the union should have shot for," said Brown, "so there wouldn't be any hassle between Black and white workers, is job retention. They should have fought for a guarantee of job security so that the whites wouldn't be displaced because the company refused to promote Blacks to begin with."

That would cost Bethlehem a lot of money too. It would also require a big change in the outlook of the union leadership.

The leadership would have to see its purpose in a new light. It would have to lead a fight against the employers rather than collaborate with them.

This is what Brown and Hargrave see as the potential of Steelworkers Fight Back—the possibility of making the USWA into a real fighting tool for the interests of all workers.

### Political action

I asked if they thought the union should use its weight in the political arena, along with other unions and Black labor organizations, in opposition to the Democrats and Republicans.

"We intend to do that," Brown said. "We're no longer looking for a college boy to come down here and have us run him. We're going to run that laborer."

"We want somebody to go in there—not to hem and haw and look good, and not to tell people about how many different certificates and degrees they've got from colleges—we want somebody that's been down in that mill, come out of that mill, and knows what we're talking about."

Both men said they had voted for Carter but were already disappointed in the Democratic administration.

"We can't stick to a party line," Brown said, "they won't let us. Right now the Democratic party is the majority in Congress. And up comes a guy like Griffin Bell [Carter's racist nominee for attorney general] and they're going to confirm him."

# Hundreds at Fight Back rallies Detroit

By Paula Reimers

DETROIT—Ed Sadlowski, Steelworkers Fight Back candidate for president of the United Steelworkers of America, and his Black vice-presidential running mate Oliver Montgomery came to Michigan February 5 to wind up the campaign in District 29.

The district covers the lower part of Michigan and a sliver of northern Ohio. It has close to 50,000 members.

A meeting in Midland at Local 12075's hall drew more than 100 members in bitter cold on a Saturday afternoon. An earlier meeting for "official family" candidate Lloyd McBride had attracted only thirty people, sixteen of them paid USWA staffers.

The second stop was Bay City, where more than fifty members and officers from a dozen small locals met Sadlowski and Montgomery.

From Bay City the candidates drove to Detroit to a rally of more than 450 people in the evening. They came from fifteen locals, with heavy turnouts from the big Great Lakes Steel and McLouth Steel plants.

Oliver Montgomery compared the campaign to the civil rights movement of the early 1960s. "This campaign has become a cause, not just an election," he told the enthusiastic audience.

He cautioned steelworkers to keep the Fight Back committees together and active no matter what the outcome of the February 8 election.

Sal Méndez, vice-chairperson of the grievance committee at Local 1299, Great Lakes Steel, spoke in Spanish and English about the importance of the campaign for Chicano steelworkers.

"We will have a real choice for the two major minorities in our union when we elect Oliver Montgomery and Nash Rodríguez (Fight Back candidate for secretary). It's about time," said Méndez.

In January Méndez spoke at a dinner for Rodríguez organized by the 800-strong Chicano caucus at Great Lakes Steel. Nearly 40 leaders of the caucus attended and pledged their continued support for the Fight Back campaign.

Méndez is the lone Sadlowski supporter among the full-time staff of the local. Other members of the executive board have threatened to file charges of an unspecified nature against him for his pro-Sادلowski stand. Confident of the backing of the rank-and-file

members, he has continued to speak out.

McBride forces received a sharp rebuff earlier in January when I.W. Abel, outgoing president of the USWA, came to Detroit to boost their waning morale.

Expenses for Abel's trip were charged to the union, since he sat in on one session of negotiations at Dow Chemical in Midland.

Abel's meeting in the Detroit area was held close to the mills at the end of the day shift in an effort to maximize attendance.

The workers, however, stayed away in record numbers. Only a little more than 100 attended the meeting, in a hall that seats 400.

The turnout for Abel contrasted with a meeting January 22 where 200 steelworkers from almost all the large steel plants in the downriver Detroit area attended a rally for Nash Rodríguez and Andy Kmec, Fight Back candidate for treasurer, in Ecorse.

The rally raised more than \$300 in donations to help finance the campaign in District 29. More than 2,000 raffle tickets had been sold by steelworkers to steelworkers in the preceding months. This grass-roots support further refutes the slander that the Sadlowski campaign is not financed by steelworkers.

## Hibbing

By Charles Scheer

HIBBING, Minn.—Ed Sadlowski is making a big impact in northern Minnesota, where the mining of iron ore is the key industry.

Although District 33 Director Peter Benzoni is a McBride stalwart, many local union presidents support Sadlowski. Sadlowski stickers are pasted up everywhere—on factory walls, lunch buckets, and work helmets.

Fight Back activists raised enough money through a raffle to place pro-Sادلowski advertisements in local newspapers and on the most popular radio station on the iron range.

Sادلowski made a last-minute stop in Hibbing February 6, speaking to a rally of nearly 300 steelworkers.

The Fight Back campaign has brought together activists across Minnesota's iron range, which has a history of union militancy.

The iron range is going through a boom period now, but workers complain that they are not sharing in the wealth. There is disgruntlement over health and safety in the iron ore plants.

A wildcat strike of some 3,000 workers shut down a steel plant in Mountain Iron, Minnesota, for nine days in 1975. Unionists are still bitter that the Abel leadership was only interested in cooling the walkout instead of dealing with the workers' grievances.

Sادلowski told the crowd at the Hibbing Elks Club that the Abel-McBride forces "initially called us radicals and subversives and bomb throwers and flag burners and baby bayonettors."

"That really didn't wash, because people knew us as trade unionists. Most people knew us as men who have been actively involved in our union for the better part of our adult lives."

"Steelworkers have their head above the sand, contrary to what Lloyd McBride thought, and they weren't buying that."

"And then he switched gears and said that we were supported by the bankers and the Wall Street capitalists and the rich stockholders."

"My only comment is that I never met any communist banker in my life."

## Chicago

By Michael Gillespie

CHICAGO—Three major fund-raising rallies in South Chicago recently have demonstrated the absurdity of Lloyd McBride's charge that Ed Sadlowski has received campaign contributions from only 171 steelworkers.

This charge was made by the administration-backed candidate after an alleged "computer analysis" of Sadlowski's lists of contributors.

Ignoring more than \$400,000 of contributions in kind by steelworkers who have given up their vacation time to campaign for Sadlowski, McBride "figured" the donations made by USWA members amounted to only 6 percent of Sadlowski's funds.

The truth is that steelworkers have donated thousands of dollars in cash to Sadlowski's movement for union democracy.

At the three recent rallies in South Chicago, attended by more than 2,000 steelworkers, Fight Back received nearly \$30,000 in contributions. The rallies featured musical entertainment and speeches by Fight Back candidates.

The events were a "hard times" rally; a welcome for Ignacio "Nash" Rodríguez, Fight Back candidate for secretary, at the Local 65 union hall; and a fund raiser among Local 65 activists at a South Chicago tavern.

# Women at the 'mystery illness' plant

By Andy Rose

There are about 300 workers at Essex International's electronics assembly plant in Kittanning, Pennsylvania. Nearly all are women. Mostly widows, divorcees, or young women straight out of high school.

They pay dues to United Steelworkers Local 8259, but it would be gross exaggeration to say they are "represented" by the USWA.

Their story is an indictment of the union leadership's indifference to the needs of women workers, its indifference to workers in small plants.

Last month two women activists in Steelworkers Fight Back visited the Essex plant and several others in rural western Pennsylvania with predominantly female work forces. One of the campaigners was Sue Em Davenport, a laid-off crane operator at U.S. Steel's Homestead Works. In a telephone interview with the *Militant*, she told what they found.

"We were shocked to learn that these women—under USWA contract—are working for the federal minimum

wage," she said. That's \$2.30 an hour. Ninety-two dollars a week, before taxes and union dues are taken out.

"Workers in the area told us that at one time the union actually wanted to sign a contract for below minimum wage. The plant keeps threatening to shut down. It did shut down once for six months or a year. It's only been there since 1973."

The Kittanning plant made the national news last fall when 135 workers suddenly became ill with headaches, dizziness, weakness, stomach pains, and difficulty in breathing.

The company suggested it was "mass hysteria."

There were two mass outbreaks of the "mystery illness" at Essex. The second time, the plant was shut down for twenty days.

A federal investigation blamed four chemicals and a faulty ventilation system.

Management declared it was "going through the place now trying to make it perfect."

The union launched an "intensive

and immediate investigation," according to *Steel Labor*, official USWA publication.

But three and a half months later, when Davenport was in Kittanning, nothing much had changed. "Women are still getting sick," she said. "Not huge numbers in one day like before, but still getting sick."

"Some people have had kidney damage from the last time. They tried to say it was just poor ventilation, but some women have gotten sick after they left the plant, not only while they were there."

The fact that the plant was unheated in the midst of the January cold wave certainly didn't improve the women's health, she added.

There was no sign that the union's "investigation" had led to action to protect the workers. To Davenport's knowledge, union officials had not even demanded that the women be paid for the time the plant was closed.

I read Davenport what *Steel Labor* reported as the "solution" proposed by

*Continued on page 30*

# ...Garza

Continued from page 6

a labor party based on the trade unions.

The need for a labor party to carry out a political fight for the needs of working people was a focus of discussion at the New York City convention of the Socialist Workers party the previous weekend, January 28-30.

That convention nominated Garza, Roland, and Des Verney as the SWP candidates and discussed the program of the election campaign.

It was the first delegated city convention of the New York SWP in several years. More than 200 party members spent the weekend discussing the upcoming activities of the SWP, the election campaign in particular.

On February 4, the day after announcing his campaign, Garza spoke in defense of the city's affirmative-action program at a public hearing. The program is being challenged by the city's major banks, which call hiring and promotion of minorities and women "a suffocating burden."

Garza contended that the vast number of layoffs in New York had hit women, Blacks, and Puerto Ricans the hardest, wiping out most of the job gains made by these workers over many years.

Garza stated his agreement with the NAACP, which is demanding compliance with the city's affirmative-action plan.

"A group of rich white bankers who are not elected are dictating to the city how it should conduct . . . its policies and practices regarding the employment of nonwhites, minorities, and women," the NAACP said.

# ...India

Continued from page 7

after months of heavy repression, could nevertheless prove risky. To ensure that the tens of thousands of persons who shouted "Long live liberty!" in New Delhi do not break from the bourgeois opposition leaders and begin to struggle for their rights on their own, Gandhi has sought to keep the electoral campaign carefully under control.

While noting the limitations of Gandhi's "relaxation," many of the major bourgeois newspapers in the United States and Britain greeted her move with approval.

At a time when Washington is coming under continued attack for its aid to dictatorial regimes, Gandhi's call for elections provides the imperialists with some welcome political cover. Although direct American support to New Delhi has declined since the 1960s, Washington still plays a major role in the international banks that have given the Gandhi regime substantial economic aid, and American businessmen are discussing new investments in India.

# ...abortion

Continued from page 9

Bill Baird also warned that teen-agers will "be forced to go to quack abortionists all over again. I predict that this ruling will result in the deaths of teen-agers."

"It's unfortunate," he added, "that the state supreme court has failed the people of Massachusetts again, in understanding that the Bill of Rights is not marked 'adults only.'"

Three days before the ruling an anti-abortion rally of about 400 was held in Boston. The right-wingers who called this rally see the recent ruling as a victory.

Mildred Jefferson, president of the anti-abortion National Right to Life Committee, called the ruling a "landmark decision."

With disregard for the rights and

lives of young women, Jefferson claimed the ruling "not only protects the young woman at a very difficult time for her physically and emotionally; it also restores some protection to the family unit and the ability of the family to provide for its own."

The court's decision comes on the heels of federal attempts to enforce the Hyde amendment, which would cut off Medicaid-funded abortions. Both measures are attempts to chisel away at the right of all women to safe, legal abortions by first attacking the rights of the most oppressed: Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano, and young women.

# ...Mich.

Continued from page 15

police files as well.

Corsetti commented that the spying operation "was really a status-quo operation. They spied on everyone to the left of the right wing of the Democratic party."

He said he felt the suit would have an important impact in showing people that "even on a local level, the government has been guilty of illegal acts. This suit is a spinoff of Watergate and the CIA revelations."

He added that exposure of government crimes was important "if there's going to be any kind of change in this country."

The files released thus far are undoubtedly only the tip of an enormous iceberg. Files on the Black movement and the state's powerful unions are unquestionably far more extensive than those on the SWP.

The real targets of the thought police were not only the socialists. The police operations aimed to discourage anyone from considering any serious alternative to the social and political system we live under.

# ...steel

Continued from page 29

USWA District 19 Director Walter Bleil. "He calls on OSHA [the federal Occupation Safety and Health Administration] to conduct thorough inspections and, if compliance isn't speedy, 'then cite the bastards and give them unfavorable public exposure.'"

Davenport called Bleil's statement "totally inadequate."

"These plants should be closed down with full pay to the workers until the source of the illness is found and eliminated," she declared.

When Davenport and her co-worker leafleted the plant—"in eight-inch snow, with more snow falling, and seven degree weather"—they got a friendly response from workers at the door. But the local president is extremely hostile to Fight Back, she says, and "we're afraid they're going to steal the vote in that local."

A "mystery illness" also struck women workers last fall at Rola-Jensen, another electronics factory in nearby Punxsutawney.

When the Fight Back campaigners got there, they found people still angry about a strike a couple of years before when the workers had stayed out for nine weeks and gotten only a nickel-an-hour more in wages. They make from \$2.70 to \$3.50 an hour.

"We talked to people outside," Davenport said, "and a few took literature into the plant. But both the union and company officials refused us permission to go inside."

In traveling around western Pennsylvania, Davenport learned about some of the dirty tricks McBride's organizers were using in the small plants.

"A staff man in the district has been going around telling people Sadlowski favors raising their dues to the level in basic steel—without raising their wages."

"It's no wonder McBride has to spread lies like that," Davenport said. "If he ran on the union's real record in defending these women workers, he wouldn't get a single vote."

# Calendar

## ATLANTA

**WHY THE FIFTH CD NEEDS A SOCIALIST IN CONGRESS.** Speakers: James Harris, SWP candidate for Congress from the 5th CD; Willie Mae Reid, SWP 1976 vice-presidential candidate. Sat., Feb. 19, 7:30 p.m. Grace Covenant Baptist Church, 777 Martin Luther King Jr. Drive. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign 1977. For more information call (404) 755-2940 or 688-6739.

## CHICAGO: NORTHSIDE

**U.S. COMPLICITY IN SOUTH KOREA.** Speakers: Linda Hall, Church Committee on Human Rights in Asia; Tina Adachi, SWP. Fri., Feb. 18, 8 p.m. 1870 N. Halsted, Chicago. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 642-4811.

**MALCOLM X AND THE STRUGGLE FOR BLACK FREEDOM.** Speaker: Omari Musa, 1976 SWP candidate for U.S. Senate in California, staff writer for the *Militant*. Mon. Feb. 21, 8 p.m. 1870 N. Halsted, Chicago. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 642-4811.

## CINCINNATI

**MALCOLM X: THE MAN AND HIS IDEAS.** Panel with Melissa Singler, 1976 Ohio SWP senatorial candidate. Also a film, *Malcolm X and the Struggle for Freedom*. Thurs., Feb. 17, 8 p.m. Tangeman Univ. Center, Room 401-B, Univ. of Cincinnati. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (513) 321-6720.

## DALLAS

**'ROOTS': THE FORMATION OF THE AFRO-AMERICAN NATION.** Panel discussion on Black history in America. This is the first of regular twice-monthly forums in Dallas. Fri., Feb. 18, 8 p.m. 2215 Cedar Crest. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (214) 943-6684.

## DENVER

**SADLOWSKI'S CHALLENGE IN STEEL: WHAT IT MEANS FOR U.S. POLITICS.** Speaker: Joel Britton, SWP National Committee. Sat., Feb. 19, 8 p.m. 916 Broadway. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (303) 837-1018.

## HOUSTON: SOUTH-CENTRAL

**ROOTS: HISTORY OF RACISM IN AMERICA.** Fri., Feb. 18, 7:30 p.m. 4987 S. Park. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 643-0005.

## LONG BEACH, Calif.

**RACISM AND EDUCATION.** Speaker: Nick Fuentes, SWP candidate for Long Beach Board of Education. Fri., Feb. 18, 8 p.m. 3322 E. Anaheim. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 597-0965.

## LOS ANGELES

**SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE.** Sat., Feb. 19. Student Union, Cal State L.A. 1 p.m.: *The Unions as a Social Movement: The Rise of the CIO, Part I*, Room 318; *School Desegregation and Busing*, with Sam Manuel, SWP candidate for mayor of L.A., Room 413; *The Offensive Against Women's Rights*, Room 431; *What is Socialism?*, Room 438. 3 p.m.: *The Unions as a Social Movement: The Rise of the CIO, Part II*, Room 318; *Bilingual/Bicultural Education* with Virginia Garza, SWP candidate for school board, Room 413; *The Bakke Decision and Affirmative Action*, Room 431; *Why a Revolutionary Organization?*, Room 438. 8 p.m.: **SADLOWSKI'S CHALLENGE IN STEEL: WHAT IT MEANS FOR U.S. POLITICS.** Speaker: Jack Barnes, King Hall, Lecture Room 1. Donation: \$1 per session or \$2 entire conference. Ausp: YSA, SWP, and Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (213) 732-8197.

## MIAMI

**POLITICAL REPRESSION IN IRAN.** Speaker: Babak Zahraie, national field secretary, Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI). Fri., Feb. 18, 8 p.m. Center for Dialogue, 2175 NW 26th St. (near 22nd Ave.) Ausp: CAIFI. For more information call (305) 271-2241.

## NEWARK: BROADWAY

**NO CUTS IN EDUCATION: DEFEND MINORITY ADMISSIONS.** Speakers: Abbey Powlett, Rutgers Students Against Tuition Aid Program; Chris Hoeppner, Rutgers YSA. Fri., Feb. 18, 7:30 p.m. 256 Broadway. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (201) 482-3367.

## NEW YORK: THE BRONX

**WHO KILLED MALCOLM X?** Speakers: Eli Green, New York City YSA organizer; representative from the Concerned Black Students, Hostos Community College. Fri., Feb. 18, 7:30 p.m. 2271 Morris Ave. (near 183rd St.) Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore/Libreria Militante Forum. For more information call (212) 365-6652.

## NEW YORK: QUEENS

**BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY—THE LEGACY OF MALCOLM X.** Speakers: John Hawkins, *Militant* staff writer. Also a film, *Malcolm X and the Struggle for Freedom*. Fri., Feb. 18, 8 p.m. 90-43 149th St. (just off Jamaica Ave.) Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 658-7718.

## NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

**CHINA AFTER MAO.** Speaker: Les Evans, SWP National Committee. Fri., Feb. 18, 8 p.m. 786 Amsterdam Ave. (near 98th St.) Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

## OAKLAND, CALIF.

**THE GOVERNMENT'S WAR ON DISSENT.** Speakers: Dennis Banks, AIM; Clifton DeBerry, SWP; Michael Fultz, Black Panther party. Fri., Feb. 18, 8 p.m. Native American Center, 1479 Fruitvale Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 261-1210.

## PHILADELPHIA: GERMANTOWN

**RACISM AND LEGAL MURDER: A COMMUNITY SPEAK-OUT AGAINST THE DEATH PENALTY.** Speakers: Earl Trent, legal counsel, North Phila. NAACP; Rashida Abdulhahad, SWP; others. Fri., Feb. 18, 8 p.m. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) 844-2874 or 848-1438.

## PHILADELPHIA: WEST PHILADELPHIA

**SALE ON LITERATURE BY & ABOUT MALCOLM X.** 15 percent off on all Black literature, including new book *The Assassination of Malcolm X*. Sat., Feb. 12, 10 a.m. to 4 p.m.; Mon., Feb. 14—Fri., Feb. 18, 3 p.m. to 7 p.m. 218 S. 45th St. Ausp: Militant Bookstore. For more information call (215) EV 7-2451.

**BLACK VOICES FROM PRISON.** Prisoners and former prisoners of Graterford Prison reading their poetry and other writings; Shafiq Abdulhahad, SWP. Fri., Feb. 18, 8 p.m. 218 S. 45th St. Donation \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) EV7-2451.

## PUEBLO, COLO.

**SADLOWSKI'S CHALLENGE IN STEEL: WHAT IT MEANS FOR U.S. POLITICS.** Speaker: Joel Britton, SWP National Committee. Fri., Feb. 18, 8 p.m. Zaragoza Hall, 1339 E. Rautt. Donation: \$1. Ausp: SWP and *Militant*. For more information call (303) 837-1018.

## ST. LOUIS

**SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY.** Speakers: Andrew Pulley, SWP candidate for vice-president in 1972; Helen Savio, SWP candidate for mayor of St. Louis; Mary Pritchard, SWP candidate for comptroller. Sat., Feb. 26, 7:30 p.m. 6223 Delmar. Donation \$1. Ausp: St. Louis Socialist Workers 1977 Campaign Committee. For more information call (314) 725-1570 or 381-0044.

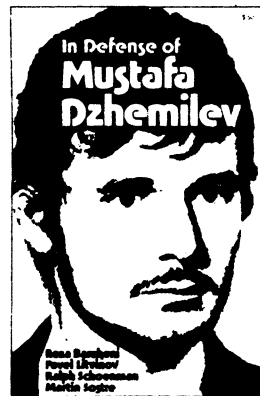
## SAN FRANCISCO: INGLESIDE

**WHO KILLED MALCOLM X?** Speaker: Clifton DeBerry, SWP. Thurs., Feb. 17, 8 p.m. Waden Library, 5075 3rd St. (corner of Revere) Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 333-6261.

## WASHINGTON, D.C.: ADAMS-MORGAN

**TWO CLASSES ON STALINISM.** Speaker: Richard Hill, SWP. Fri., Feb. 18, 8 p.m. All Souls Church, 16th & Harvard NW; Sat., Feb. 19, 10:30 a.m. 2416 18th St. NW. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7706.

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Virginia Garza, SWP candidate for school  
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# THE MILITANT

## Bureaucrats and bosses unite to 'stop Sadlowski'

### AS WE GO TO PRESS

FEB. 9—Lloyd McBride is claiming victory in the United Steelworkers presidential race. Unofficial vote returns late today reportedly show McBride with 281,632 votes to Ed Sadlowski's 196,263. These figures are said to be based on returns from 85 percent of the union locals.

Sadlowski activists have already cited numerous cases of vote fraud, but Sadlowski has yet to announce whether he will challenge the election results.

In District 31 in Chicago-Gary, Steelworkers Fight Back candidate Jim Balanoff emerged a clear victor in the race to succeed Sadlowski as district director.

### By Andy Rose

In the final days of the campaign for president of the United Steelworkers of America, the bosses, union bureaucrats, and capitalist government joined forces in a united last-ditch effort to defeat insurgent candidate Ed Sadlowski.

Two authoritative voices of this country's corporate elite—the *New York Times* and *Wall Street Journal*—both gave open editorial backing to "official family" candidate Lloyd McBride in the last week of the election.

Both big-business mouthpieces piously deplored "outside interference" in the USWA campaign. As usual, the *Wall Street Journal* explained more

**INSIDE:** 'What Black steelworkers are fighting for,' 'Hundreds at Fight Back rallies,' other steel coverage. Pages 28-29.

openly what the capitalist rulers are thinking. It warned that Sadlowski's backers "want a labor movement more committed to pollution control, a labor movement which would no longer support an enterprise like Vietnam."

The *Journal* editors likened Sadlowski's campaign for union democracy to the "absurdities" of the 1960s student radicalization. The Steelworkers Fight Back program, they wrote, "has about as much to do with their [steelworkers'] concrete current needs as 'Power to the People' had to do

with the real problems of the poor a decade ago."

The *Journal* editors have never been partisans of the "concrete current needs" of steelworkers or any other workers. The real message is that they are not only worried about Sadlowski's call for union militancy around basic issues of wages, hours, and working conditions. They are equally afraid of his call for labor to become a cause, a crusade, a social movement that would fight against war, racism, and destruction of the environment.

The Sadlowski campaign has clearly gained momentum beyond what the USWA bureaucrats and their corporate friends ever expected. In steel centers like Chicago, Baltimore, Detroit, and Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, rallies for McBride or even outgoing USWA President I.W. Abel drew only a fraction of the crowds that turned out to cheer the Fight Back candidates.

And the Fight Back campaign was spreading geographically in recent weeks, picking up support in outlying areas of the union that had been counted as McBride strongholds.

Thousands of steelworkers have braved intimidation by company and union officials to attend Fight Back meetings and rallies, give money, distribute literature, and sign up as poll watchers.

The Abel-McBride camp reacted with increasing frenzy. Toward the end their campaign revolved entirely around the spurious charge that Sadlowski was a tool of sinister "outside" forces—"corporation executives and lawyers, investment bankers and mystery donors," as McBride literature put it.

Sadlowski called it "a Nixonesque gutter strategy" and noted that "while the other side has been engaging in a smear campaign, we've been talking about issues that concern the membership, such as an unfair dues system, a 20 percent unemployment rate of our members, job elimination, speedup, an outdated grievance system, and weak contracts, which put our members at the mercy of the corporations who put profits before human concerns."

"It is not outsiders that I.W. Abel and Lloyd McBride fear," Sadlowski said, "but a membership that is fed up with their type of leadership. Their definition of an outsider is anyone who is not part of the little clique they call the 'official family.'"

"Our members are quite aware that it's the McBride campaign which is supported by the steel companies, because they know we mean business and are willing to bargain aggressively for our members," he declared.

The corporations didn't just fret in silence over the Sadlowski challenge. They interfered with Fight Back campaigners in any way they could get away with—ordering employees to remove Sadlowski buttons and stickers, firing campaign activists, allowing McBride to campaign in the plants while barring Sadlowski, even taking Fight Back literature out of workers' hands as they entered plant gates.

McBride, for his part, staunchly defended the idea of "common interest" between worker and boss in his final debate with Sadlowski, televised February 7 over educational TV. McBride also stuck by the no-strike deal signed by Abel and blamed unemployment on Japanese imports rather than the steel trust's profit drive.

Meanwhile the U.S. Labor Department was preparing legal cover for vote fraud with a phony plan to "observe" the election. It assigned exactly two observers per union district. Each district includes from 100 to 500 locals.

There was no way this scheme could prevent the Abel-McBride machine from stuffing ballot boxes. Its only conceivable purpose was to block legal challenges to the election results.

It remains to be seen whether this united government-company-bureaucracy drive will succeed in making Lloyd McBride the next USWA



Militant/Lynn Henderson  
ED SADLOWSKI

president. But it is having another effect not anticipated or desired by the anti-Sadlowski forces.

The eyes of steelworkers and other unionists are being opened.

They are learning who stands in the way of their desire to run their own unions. They are learning just how much determination, solidarity, and perseverance the fight for union democracy will require.

The first great accomplishment of the Steelworkers Fight Back campaign was to inspire thousands of union men and women with the prospect of taking over their unions and making them democratic, fighting instruments for the needs of all working people.

The second accomplishment was to begin to educate and organize a corps of activists in this great cause.

These are lasting victories. They cannot be voided by fraud, lies, or intimidation. They are the basis for an ongoing movement for militant and democratic unionism—whatever the final results of the February 8 election.

## SEIU members back Sadlowski

### By Walter Lippmann

LOS ANGELES—Members of the State Executive Board of Social Services Union Local 535 reacted angrily to the support given the Lloyd McBride slate by the top leadership of the 500,000-member Service Employees International Union.

In January the SEIU Committee on Political Education reprinted a column by American Federation of Teachers President Albert Shanker attacking Sadlowski and the Steelworkers Fight Back slate. The reprint was sent to all state and local central labor councils and to all SEIU-affiliated locals.

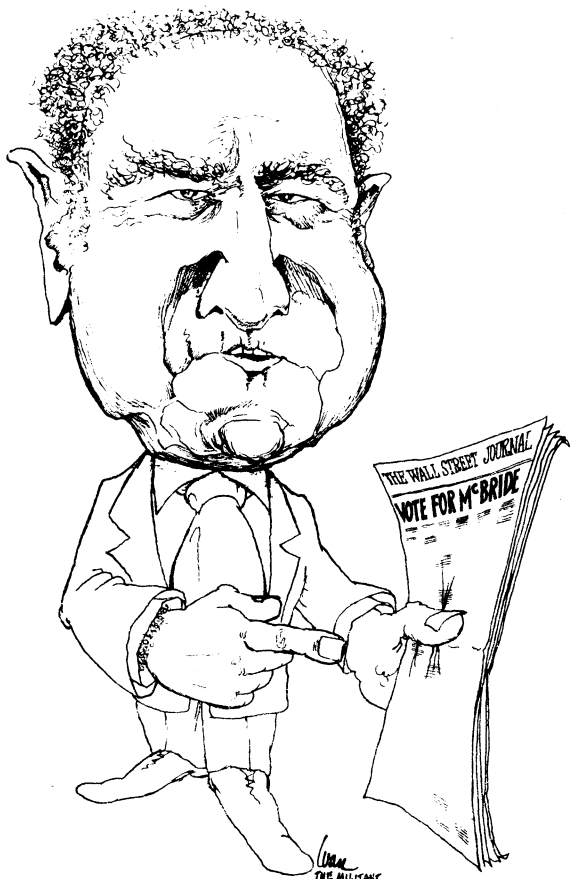
The Local 535 State Executive Board voted to send a letter of protest to SEIU President George Hardy. The board declared that "we strongly object to SEIU's intervention into the steelworkers' union election without prior discussion or vote by the SEIU membership."

"Had our international union wished to inform our membership on the issues in this election, we could have reprinted material from both sides in our newspaper, the *Service Employee*, so everyone could read the views of both sides and decide for themselves."

After a report to the board on the significance of the Sadlowski campaign, a motion was passed to take a collection from the assembled members who were sympathetic to Sadlowski. A total of \$145.75 was collected.

A spirited discussion took place around the Sadlowski candidacy. With every speaker voicing support for Sadlowski, discussion centered on how best to support the Steelworkers Fight Back slate.

This experience is one example of the impact the Fight Back insurgency can have throughout the organized labor movement. It also shows why top union officials are so violently hostile to Fight Back. They're scared.



LLOYD McBRIDE