

THE MILITANT

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

CARTER'S TRIPLE WHAMMY

- Boost gas prices
- No rebate
- Hold down wages

Within less than one week, President Carter has:

- scrapped his promised fifty-dollar tax rebate;
- set in motion machinery to police wages; and
- proposed an energy program that will send gasoline, electricity, and heat prices soaring.

EDITORIAL

This White House triple whammy reveals once again the bipartisan support for Wall Street's war on the rights and living standards of working people. "The President has now returned almost exactly to the budget position of the Ford administration," a *Washington Post* editorial noted April 15.

At the heart of Carter's so-called anti-inflation program is stepped-up collaboration between big business and top union bureaucrats to keep profits higher. How? By making us work harder for less.

General Electric Chairman Reginald Jones and AFL-CIO President George Meany have agreed to head up an "unofficial" committee of corporate executives and labor officials. In a letter to Treasury Secretary Blumenthal, Meany and Jones said the group could respond to and examine "areas of concern the administration may have."

This Carter scheme merely revives a committee set up during Ford's administration by his Secretary of Labor, John Dunlop. Both the bosses and the union bureaucrats on this board are anxious to keep things "unofficial" in order to hide their maneuvers from the ranks of American labor.

"... any executive order giving them official status would oblige them to hold open meetings under the Freedom of Information Act," the *New York Times* observed April 16, "and thus inhibit the free-wheeling nature of their own internal discussions, which in the past have been remarkably frank."

In addition to this national board, Carter proposed similar union-management committees on an industry-by-industry basis. According to *New York Times* labor expert A.H. Raskin, the purpose of these bodies is "to concentrate on measures to promote productivity and eliminate obstacles to efficiency. . . ." In other words, to promote speedup and hold down wages.

These committees will be modeled on the Construction Industry Stabilization Committee that Dunlop headed several years before entering the Ford cabinet.

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Editor: MARY-ALICE WATERS
Managing Editor: NELSON BLACKSTOCK
Business Manager: HARVEY McARTHUR
Southwest Bureau: HARRY RING
Washington Bureau: DAVID FRANKEL

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

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

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BRASKY FILES FOR CHICAGO BALLOT: On April 18, supporters of Dennis Brasky, the railroad worker who is running for mayor of Chicago on the Socialist Workers party ticket, filed 28,316 signatures with the board of elections to put their candidate on the June 7 ballot.

Brasky's supporters gathered the signatures during an intensive four-week drive aimed at meeting a 20,000-signature requirement. Candidates of the Democratic and Republican party have automatic ballot status.

The board of elections set the 20,000-signature requirement after a federal district court—in response to an SWP lawsuit—ordered the board to reduce a previous limit of 66,000 signatures. The Illinois Board of Elections is appealing this reduction.

Peltier found guilty

American Indian Movement leader Leonard Peltier was found guilty on two first-degree murder charges April 18 by a federal district court jury in Fargo, North Dakota. The government charged Peltier shot two FBI agents on South Dakota's Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in 1975. Peltier insisted he was innocent. The shootings took place during a series of FBI harassment raids on the reservation.

Peltier's attorneys say they will appeal the verdict.

PICKET WHITE HOUSE FOR WILMINGTON 10: On April 16, seventy-five supporters of the Wilmington Ten picketed the White House to demand immediate release of the nine civil rights activists still imprisoned in North Carolina. The frame-up of the Wilmington Ten has fallen apart at the seams with the recantation of three key prosecution witnesses. But in early April a federal magistrate in Wilmington refused to release the nine on bail.

NUCLEAR PROTESTS: Opponents of unsafe nuclear power plants have called for a nonviolent "citizens occupation" of the Seabrook, New Hampshire, nuclear power plant site on April 30. A rally will be held the next day at nearby Hampton Beach State Park.

The demonstration is being organized by the Clamshell Alliance—a coalition of some thirty New England groups that have made Seabrook a focal point of the struggle to halt unsafe nuclear power.

Next week the International Socialist Review, a monthly supplement to the Militant, will carry a special feature.

Entitled "How the Moscow Trials were Exposed," this feature describes the 1937 "Dewey Commission" that was set up to examine Stalin's charges against Leon Trotsky and the massive frame-ups of other Bolshevik leaders that were taking place in Moscow at the time. John Dewey, the famous educator and philosopher, was the chairperson of this commission.

'CHICANO LIBERATION & SOCIALISM': José Bracamonte reviewed *Militant* writer Miguel Pendas's pamphlet *Chicano Liberation and Socialism* (Pathfinder Press, New York) in the Winter 76/77 issue of *Los Desarraigados*, a publication of the Mid-West Council of La Raza in Notre Dame, Indiana.

Bracamonte recommends the pamphlet as "a good point to commence the necessary inquiry into the pertinent question of the relationship between Chicano Nationalism and Socialism."

1,500 MARCH TO SUPPORT K.C. TEACHERS: More than 1,500 persons marched April 15 in support of striking members of the Kansas City Federation of Teachers (KCFT).

Wearing black armbands, the demonstrators sang "Solidarity Forever" as they marched from the headquarters of the Central Labor Council to the county courthouse—where five strikers are serving fifteen-day jail terms for defying a court order to return to work.

Members of the Fire Fighters union served as demonstration marshals. Contingents came from the KCFT; Asbestos Workers Union; International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Communications Workers of America; and other union and community supporters.

DOMINICAN PRISONERS TRANSFERRED: Four of the five "prisoners of the frontier" have been transferred to the central prison of La Victoria in Santo Domingo, the capital of the Dominican Republic. The four—Jorge Puella Soriano (El Men), Fernando Alcides Encarnación, Plinio Matos Moquete, and Augusto Alvarez—were being held in abysmal conditions in rural prisons.

The transfers came after more than six months of hunger strikes, pickets, telegram campaigns, and other activity in

the Dominican Republic and abroad. Leading the protests was a committee of women relatives of the prisoners. New York City actions were organized by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) and a coalition of Dominican groups—the Committee to Defend the Prisoners of the Frontier.

One of the five prisoners, Castillo Pujols (Tita), remains in an outlying prison.

BUYCENTENNIAL BLUES: "We were all supposed to get rich. . . . Instead we're going broke." So spoke one huckster whose warehouse is full of unsold red, white, and blue beer mugs, belt buckles, and other junk designed for sale during last year's bicentennial celebration.

Merchants are complaining that the Bicentennial Administration, which asked for upfront payments of 5 percent on expected revenues for permission to use the event's official decal, didn't do enough to sell the American people on the need to buy their products.

But the merchants weren't the only ones who failed to capitalize on the bicentennial hoopla. The twenty-six-car American Freedom Train historical exhibit is being sold for \$770,000 just so its backers can break even. Of all the fast-buck operations, only the tall ship flotilla Operation Sail turned the tide on profit, ending up with more than \$300,000, which has been turned over to the National Trust for Historic Preservation.

VOTE BAIL FOR DAWSON FIVE: The National Council of Churches voted to post \$50,000 bail toward the release of one of the four Black youths still jailed on frame-up murder charges in Dawson, Georgia.

The Dawson Five—one of the defendants is currently out on bail—are charged with shooting a white customer during the robbery of a small store near Dawson. If convicted, they could receive the death penalty. Bail is set at \$100,000 each for the youths who remain in jail. The Southern Poverty Law Center is also raising funds for bail. The trial of the Dawson Five is expected to begin in June.

SHANKER OPPOSITION POLLS LARGE VOTE: Two opposition caucuses in New York City's United Federation of Teachers rolled up the largest opposition vote in a decade against union President Albert Shanker. The two caucuses, United Fightback and New Directions, received a combined total of 6,647 votes (27 percent) against Shanker's 17,737 tally. Among high school teachers, the combined opposition polled 45 percent. The 20,000 mostly young and minority teachers laid off during the past year and a half had no voting rights in this election. It is among this layer of teachers that anti-Shanker feeling is strongest.

'BLACK NEWS' TO STAY ON BOSTON TV: *Militant* correspondent Reba Williams reports that demonstrations by Action for Black Media, a coalition of Black reporters, other media people, and interested community activists in Boston, forced WNAC-TV to back down on its plans to shorten the format of "Black News," a half-hour show that is aired every Sunday.

On March 10 more than 100 people protested outside the station after plans were first announced to change the format of "Black News."

The station retreated only after a second demonstration was announced for April 17. Organizers of this demonstration, which was finally held as a victory celebration, were threatened by the racist South Boston Defense League.

MORE NEWS ON MASHININI TOUR: Reports continue to arrive at the *Militant* on the recently completed U.S. speaking tour of Tsietzi Mashinini, the exiled leader of the June 16 Black student rebellion in Soweto, South Africa.

Mashinini was keynote speaker at an April 7 plenary session of more than 600 at the World Affairs Conference at the Boulder campus of the University of Colorado. The Black leader also spoke at Colorado State University and the Auraria campus in Denver.

On March 23 Mashinini was the featured speaker at a rally of more than eighty people held at the hall of the Laborers International Union Local 648 in the center of all-Black South Dallas, Texas.

PULITZER FOR PHOTO OF BICENTENNIAL BEASTS: Remember the *Militant's* page 1 photograph of racists spearing Black attorney Theodore Landsmark in the face with a pole to which an American flag was attached outside Boston's City Hall? Originally appearing in the Boston *Herald-American*, the photo said a lot more than a thousand words about the racists who set the tone for much of the bicentennial summer in the "cradle of liberty." Stanley Forman won a Pulitzer Prize for the second year in a row for taking the picture. The *New York Times* reports that Forman was beaten—suffering a broken nose—by the racists right after he snapped the photo.

—Peter Seidman

Judge clears Hanrahan

Charges dismissed against 21 in Panther suit

By Mark Ugolini

CHICAGO—A federal judge dismissed conspiracy charges against former state's attorney Edward Hanrahan and twenty others named in the \$47.7 million civil rights damage suit brought by the families of murdered Black Panther party leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark.

Hampton and Clark were killed, and four other Panthers critically wounded, in a predawn police raid December 4, 1969, at a West Side apartment.

In a sudden and unexpected move on April 15, U.S. District Court Judge Joseph Sam Perry, after dismissing the jury, which had heard sixteen months of evidence, cleared the twenty-one defendants. The judge said that "no . . . case of a conspiracy or joint venture has been established."

The suit charged that Hanrahan had conspired with federal and state authorities, including the FBI, to murder Hampton and then to cover up their actions.

The ruling came four days prior to the Democratic mayoral primary in which Hanrahan is a candidate.

Seven other defendants—Chicago police officers who fired their guns during the raid—were ordered to continue to stand trial on charges they "used excessive force."

Among the defendants cleared was William O'Neal, a former FBI informer who infiltrated the Panthers and helped set up the raid.

Perry, an eighty-year-old Alabama racist, wears sunglasses in the court-



Slain Panther leader Fred Hampton

room. He took joy in reading his ruling.

The judge was especially pleased to order the families of Hampton and Clark and the seven survivors of the raid to pay the total cost of the sixteen-month trial. Court transcripts alone have cost more than \$300,000. Total costs are estimated to be between \$500,000 and \$1 million.

During the trial, lawyers for the defendants intentionally withheld evidence in the case—including tens of

thousands of pages of FBI documents dealing with the Panther raid.

Perry denied a motion by the plaintiffs that the court impose penalties against FBI defendants Marlin Johnson, former head of the Chicago FBI office, and two of his agents for carrying out this cover up.

In his written decision, Perry declared that Hanrahan and his lawyers were "hereby exonerated from all of the charges of concealing documents, deceiving the court and of all other charges of misconduct made against them."

Just prior to the ruling, a news conference was held to protest Hanrahan's motion for dismissal. Bruce Crosby of the United Black Voters of Illinois and spokesperson for the plaintiffs commented:

"The discovery of Cointelpro proves a planned, coordinated attempt to destroy the Black movement in America. The murder of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark was part of this program. . . .

"We want this case heard by a jury. It's been going on for sixteen months and there are over 31,000 pages of transcripts. Hanrahan wants to keep the decision out of the hands of a jury.

"Hanrahan does not share the hot seat alone. There is a whole bevy of cohorts and conspirators in some very high places right in city hall who are aiding and abetting Hanrahan in his attempt to cheat justice one more time."

Also at the news conference were a representative from Operation PUSH; Diana McCollough, Chicago branch NAACP; Robert Lucas, Kenwood-Oakland Community Organization; Saladin El-Tabuk, Student Coalition Against Racism; Mary Power, Alliance to End Repression; and others.

Bill Hampton, brother of the slain Panther leader, told the *Militant* that efforts to expose the roles of Hanrahan and the FBI in the murder of his brother must continue, and that Perry's court ruling would convince many that they have a lot to hide from the American people.

"We must remember," he said, "that the criminals that murdered Emmett Till, Medgar Evers, Dr. King, and Malcolm X were never brought to justice in the racist courts. So it should come as no surprise that the people who murdered Fred Hampton and Mark Clark are free. Our fight is going to continue until justice is done."

Dennis Brasky, Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor of Chicago, called the decision "a gross mockery of justice."

"The murder of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark was a conspiracy of federal, state, and local police agencies engineered by the FBI," said Brasky. "This slap in the face to the rights of Black people must not go unanswered."

Lawyers for the plaintiffs announced that they would be in court early next week to file an appeal.

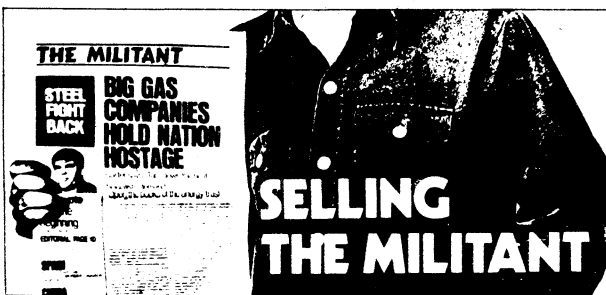
Big sales at steel plants set for this issue

By Harvey McArthur

"The basic steel contract—read it here in the *Militant*."

"Compra *Perspectiva Mundial*—el contrato de la Industria del Acero en Español!"

Many *Militant* salespeople in cities across the country are going to the steel mills this week. Why? Because of the special feature on the new steel contract printed in this issue.



The *Militant* thinks steelworkers have a right to know what is in their contract, and hopes these sales will stimulate more discussion about the contract and the issues facing the union.

Perspectiva Mundial, a Spanish-language, bi-weekly newsmagazine with a socialist viewpoint, has also come out with a special issue. It has translated the entire contract summary and analysis from the *Militant*. Thousands of Chicano, Puerto Rican, and other Spanish-speaking workers can read it in their own language.

Members of the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance are planning sales at many steel mills and plants.

Minneapolis socialists are sending sales teams to Hibbing, Minnesota, an important town in the iron range in northern Minnesota. They have ordered 625 *Militants* rather than their usual weekly bundle of 350.

Los Angeles ordered more than 1,000 *Militants*. Cleveland raised their bundle from 225 to 325.

In Detroit, where there are many Chicano steelworkers, socialists ordered 300 copies of *Perspectiva Mundial*.

Socialists in some cities are notifying the news media of the special *Militant* feature or placing announcements in local papers so steelworkers will know where they can get copies of the contract

summary. In other cities, like Cleveland, socialists will hold news conferences at the steel mill gates as they begin sales of this issue.

SWP sales coordinator in Chicago Mark Ugolini reported plans to focus sales at six large basic steel mills. "We have targeted Pullman Standard, Inland Steel, Republic, Danley, and two huge U.S. Steel mills at Gary and South Chicago for sales all week long," he said.

"Our candidate for mayor, Dennis Brasky, a railroad worker, is urging all his campaign supporters to join us in this important sales campaign at the steel plants. We will be selling at many of the gates repeatedly, so thousands of workers will have the chance to buy the *Militant* and *Perspectiva* and read about their contract.

"Most of these plants, especially the Danley works, have many Chicano workers, and we expect *Perspectiva* to sell very well."

Atlanta socialists will be selling at fabricating plants there. They also plan to dispatch a team to Birmingham, Alabama—one of the major steel centers in the South. "This will be an important chance for us to reach thousands of workers in the big mills, at shopping centers, and in the Black community," said Al Budka, Atlanta SWP organizer.

Militant business office staff member Nancy Fields will be leading a team of salespeople from New York City to the mills in Buffalo, New York.

"It's a long way to go," she says, "but there are 50,000 steelworkers in Buffalo, and it's very important that we get the *Militant* to them."

"We will spend a lot of time at Jones and Laughlin in Lackawanna and sell at all the shift changes, around the clock. We're making big signs in English and Spanish that will say "Steel contract on sale here."

Other areas are planning trips to nearby steel centers. For example, Boston is going to Worcester, Massachusetts; Philadelphia to Bethlehem, Pennsylvania; New York City to Bridgeport, Connecticut; and Denver to Pueblo, Colorado.

The YSA will be sending its teams, which have been touring campuses, to major steel centers. The Southeast team will come up from Florida to sell in Birmingham.

The East Great Lakes team will be in Youngstown, Ohio. The Midwest team will go to Duluth, Minnesota.

And the Southwest and Northern California teams will go to Stockton, Sacramento, Riverside, and Fontana—some of the big steel centers in California.

If you want to join this campaign to distribute the steel contract and the *Militant's* analysis to steelworkers, contact the SWP nearest you (see directory on page 31). Or order copies of this issue by writing the *Militant* Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Sales scoreboard

Area	Goal	Sold	%	Seattle	215	177	82.3	Raleigh, N.C.	40	15	37.5
Toledo	75	90	120.0	Detroit	625	510	81.6	Pittsburgh	175	60	34.3
Miami	75	88	117.3	San Antonio	125	84	67.2	Minneapolis	300	101	33.7
San Diego	200	216	108.0	Albany, N.Y.	75	49	65.3	Louisville	100	20	20.0
St. Paul	80	82	102.5	Washington, D.C., Area	400	261	65.3	Total			
Cincinnati	125	120	96.0	Atlanta	400	240	60.0	April 15 issue	10,000	5,567	55.7
Los Angeles	650	605	93.1	Berkeley, Calif.	250	145	58.0				
Indianapolis	125	115	92.0	Denver	200	111	55.5				
San Jose	200	183	91.5	San Francisco	550	302	54.9	Young Socialist teams			
Newark	225	203	90.2	Cleveland	180	98	54.4	Mid-Atlantic	90	106	117.8
Dallas	120	108	90.0	Boston	520	260	50.0	East Great Lakes	90	75	83.3
Kansas City, Mo.	120	108	90.0	Richmond, Va.	75	37	49.3	Northern California	90	55	61.1
Salt Lake City	100	90	90.0	New York City	1,100	537	48.8	Southwest	90	40	44.4
Tacoma, Wash.	70	62	88.6	Philadelphia	400	186	46.5	Total	360	276	76.7
Baltimore	150	131	87.3	Milwaukee	200	91	45.5	Combined total			
Phoenix	125	106	84.8	Portland, Ore.	200	86	43.0	(4 areas not reported)		5,843	

Mr. 'human rights' bars entry to Tariq Ali

By Judy White

The following is from the News Analysis section of Intercontinental Press.

Tariq Ali, an expert on Pakistani and Indian affairs, has been barred from entering the United States by the Carter administration. Ali had been invited to speak at several American universities on "Crisis in India and Pakistan Today" in mid-April. He is author of *Pakistan: Military Dictatorship or People's Rule?*

American embassy officials in London gave no reason for refusing his request for a visa. Perhaps it had something to do with the fact that he is one of the leaders of the International Marxist Group, the British section of the Fourth International.

At virtually the same time Ali was banned, Secretary of State Cyrus Vance announced that three Soviet labor officials—Georgi Oleshkevich, Ivan Sysoyev, and Yevgeny Butarev—were being refused entry to the United States. They had been invited to attend the national convention of the Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union.

In this case, Washington tried to portray the move as a concession to the AFL-CIO bureaucracy, which for many years has exercised veto powers over all applications by Communist unionists to visit the United States.

In another attack on the right of free travel,



TARIQ ALI

the Justice Department refused April 14 to grant a visa to Peruvian author Hugo Blanco. The Immigration and Naturalization Service based its action on the claim that the "evidence submitted to date does not establish the pre-eminence of the beneficiary in a particular field, whether literary, political, sociological or philosophical. . . ."

Blanco's book, *Land or Death*, recounting the history and political lessons of the massive Peruvian peasant movement he led in the early 1960s, has been translated into several languages and read by tens of thousands of persons throughout the world.

Furthermore, the State Department maintains in full force the ban against allowing Belgian Marxist economist Ernest Mandel to enter the United States, where he has had numerous offers of speaking engagements at some of the country's most prominent universities.

The latest moves by Washington to deprive U.S. citizens of the right to hear the points of view of opponents of capitalism from other countries expose the fraud of Carter's March 17 speech at the United Nations, where he said that he was "moving now to liberalize almost completely travel opportunities to America."

Moreover, the ban on Ali, the Soviet labor officials, Blanco, and Mandel are transparent violations of the Helsinki accords, which Carter piously claims to uphold.

Pakistan guns down antigovernment marchers

From Intercontinental Press

Antigovernment protests have continued to rock Pakistan. Since the March 7 elections, it is estimated that about 200 demonstrators in Karachi, Lahore, Hyderabad, and other cities have been killed by police.

The protests were launched by the opposition Pakistan National Alliance (PNA), a rightist coalition of nine parties, to back their demands for the resignation of Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. The PNA has charged that Bhutto's Pakistan People's party (PPP) won the elections through massive vote fraud. The PNA has called for new elections, to be supervised by the military and judiciary.

On April 9, demonstrations were

held in Punjab Province to protest the opening of Punjab's provincial assembly. By April 11, the protests had spread to four more cities.

On April 15, while Bhutto was consulting with top advisers and cabinet ministers in his official residence in Lahore, several thousand demonstrators shouting "Bhutto dirty dog!" tried to march to the residence. They were halted by armed police.

As the protests have continued to gain momentum, women have begun to participate in them, a significant development in Pakistan, which is strongly influenced by orthodox Islam.

The protests have been carried out in face of severe repression. In addition to those shot down by police, the PNA

has charged that about 24,000 persons have been arrested since the protests began.

The protests have been fueled by widespread dissatisfaction with the Bhutto regime. Since they began, a wide range of demands have been raised by the demonstrators, going beyond the PNA's focus on the issue of election rigging. Among the targets of the demonstrations have been corruption, inflation, and the regime's growing authoritarianism. Thousands of persons have chanted "Bring back democracy" during marches and rallies.

On April 6, Chaudry Rehmatullah Aslam, the head of the Socialist party, endorsed the call for new elections.

The mass opposition to Bhutto's rule has caused some cracks within the regime and the PPP. On April 8, four leaders of the PPP split to form a new party, called the Pakistan Awami Jamhoori party, (Pakistan People's Democratic party). A few days later Abdul Hafeez Dardar, a prominent member of the PPP, resigned his seat in the Punjab provincial assembly and dissociated himself from the PPP. Two military figures who helped bring Bhutto to power in 1971 have resigned their posts as ambassadors.

In an effort to defuse the protests, Bhutto has made a few conciliatory gestures to the PNA. In an April 17 news conference in Lahore, he offered

Continued on page 30

Imperialist war moves in Zaire threaten Africa

By Steve Clark

Imperialist intervention to shore up the dictatorial government of Zaire continues to escalate.

On April 12 Belgian Prime Minister Leo Tindemans admitted sending eighty military "advisers" to help Zairian President Mobutu Sese Seko defeat antigovernment forces in the mineral-rich Shaba Province. Belgium had already sent in thirty plane loads of light weapons.

On April 14 the West German government said it would fly in \$2.1 million worth of "humanitarian and medical aid" to Mobutu.

As reported in the *Militant* last week, the French government has airlifted 1,500 Moroccan troops into Shaba and announced that French military "in-

structors" have also been dispatched to Zaire.

A second contingent of 1,500 Moroccan troops are on alert, ready to fly into Zaire if needed.

Following these war moves by Paris, Washington rushed in an additional \$13 million in "nonlethal aid" to Mobutu, boosting to \$15 million its total contribution since fighting in Shaba broke out in March.

On April 17 Philip Habib, the U.S. State Department's senior political officer, said that Washington would provide further "nonoffensive" aid "if required" by the situation.

There is also evidence of involvement by the white-supremacist South African regime in coming to Mobutu's rescue. Citing "highly reliable sources," Robin Wright reported in the April 9 *Washington Post* that Zaire has negotiated with top South African officials to obtain emergency aid, mainly fuel and money.

And there are reports of promised aid to Mobutu from the governments of Egypt and Sudan and from the shah of Iran.

Despite claims by France that its troops in Shaba are merely "instructors," news reports from Zaire indicate that these forces are playing a direct role in helping the Zairian army prepare its military operations.

According to a dispatch from the Belgian daily *La Libre Belgique*, "the French have aided [Zairian] General Singa and Colonel Sassa to reorganize their troops. . . ."

The Paris daily *Le Figaro* quoted Col. Michel Franceschi, commander of the French detachment in Kolwezi, Shaba, as saying, "We are here to organize Kolwezi's defense system and to ensure the arrival of the Moroccans."

The April 14 Paris daily *Le Monde* reported a development even more threatening to the Zairian people. It said that fifteen French officers and noncommissioned officers of the 11th Parachute Division had recently arrived in Zaire. This division is part of the notorious "force d'intervention," which has carried out military actions in several African countries since the early 1960s.

The Stalinist regime in China has

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Protests in Albuquerque & Cincinnati hit apartheid

By Floyd Fowler

ALBUQUERQUE, N.M.—South Africa may be half a continent and an ocean away, but more than 250 students here at the University of New Mexico protested U.S. complicity with the apartheid regime April 8.

The Albuquerque Boycott Committee organized the rally on two weeks' notice.

Helping to publicize the protest were the Black Student Union, MEChA, Student Solidarity with South Africa Liberation, National Indian Youth Council, Campus Women's Center, National Organization for Women,

Kiva Club, Socialist Workers party, and Young Socialist Alliance.

Three major Albuquerque television stations covered the rally and featured it prominently on the evening news.

By Joe Lombardo

CINCINNATI—"U.S. out of South Africa now" was the theme here April 9, as fifty protesters picketed the federal building.

After the picket, Mike Larkin of the Hughes High School Student Coalition Against Racism and Mark Rahn of the University of Cincinnati SCAR explained the importance of building a

mass movement in this country to get the United States out of southern Africa. They said the April 9 picket line was an important kickoff to building such a movement here in Cincinnati.

Those supporting the protest included SCAR, Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth of Operation PUSH, the All-African Peoples Revolutionary party, Socialist Workers party, Eritreans for Liberation in North America, Organization of Arab Students, Communist party, and Willie McGhee, president of the Black Student Caucus at the University of Cincinnati.

FBI agents protest



NEW YORK—More than 300 FBI agents lined up on the steps of the U.S. Courthouse on Foley Square here April 14 to protest the prosecution of former agent John Kearney (front, left).

This was the first time agents had organized a protest demonstration. Kearney is the first agent to be indicted for crimes against political activists.

The agents stood silently until Kearney arrived at the courthouse to be formally charged with illegal wiretapping and mail opening. The agents applauded him. Agent Patrick Connor read a statement declaring the protest was "to give testament to your just and moral leadership . . . in the fight against the enemies of this nation, namely, anarchy and terrorism."

Ironically, many people have been labeled "anarchists" and "terrorists" and have been targeted by FBI dirty tricks simply for doing what the agents themselves did April 14—taking part in public, legal protests.

FBI chief Clarence Kelley added his voice to the protest later that night. In a statement screened and approved by Attorney General Griffin Bell, Kelley asked the Justice Department to stop prosecuting agents for crimes against democratic rights because, "Morale of the F.B.I. has been seriously affected by the indictment of Mr. Kearney."

In its editorial about Kearney's indictment, the *Nation* pointed out, "It is worth recalling that probably none of this would be seeing the light of day if the Socialist Workers Party, outrageously infiltrated and harassed by the FBI for years, had not aggressively pursued the matter, with the help of Leonard Boudin and other lawyers like him."

Evidence of the post-1966 FBI crimes was discovered while the Justice Department searched for material for the SWP's lawsuit against government police agencies.

Concorde foes say: stay out of Kennedy

By Arnold Weissberg

NEW YORK—Opponents of the Anglo-French Concorde, the world's noisiest airplane, staged a drive-in protest at New York's Kennedy Airport April 17. Police estimated that 600 cars participated in a motorcade that slowly circled the airport's roads for more than two hours.

Bryan Levinson, an organizer of the action, told the *Militant* that his group, SST Concorde Alert Program, would continue its organizing.

Levinson said that more legal demonstrations were a possibility. He added that he felt the plane was an "effect of big business—their first concern is for the dollar."

Opposition to the supersonic plane has been growing in residential areas adjacent to the airport.

On April 12, 5,000 people rallied at two locations to head off any attempt to let the Concorde land at Kennedy. The meetings heard French and English opponents of the plane.

So vocal is the opposition that few politicians have publicly favored letting the plane land at Kennedy. New York Gov. Hugh Carey has been careful not to appear pro-Concorde.

Even President Carter, while admitting he supports Concorde flights, has publicly taken a hands-off stance.

The Federal Aviation Administration granted permission last year for the Concorde to land at Kennedy and at Dulles Airport, near Washington, D.C.

However, the FAA decision was temporarily overridden by the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey, which operates Kennedy. The

Port Authority has yet to make a final decision.

The FAA allowed a sixteen-month trial at Dulles to measure the plane's noise during takeoffs and landings.

The Concorde flunked a six-month test, registering twice as noisy as most subsonic planes.

The French government has gone all out to get the Concorde into Kennedy. French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing personally telephoned Carter to lobby for the plane. He reportedly told Carter that a rejection of the Concorde could lead to a wave of anti-Americanism in France.

The threats were dismissed by an English anti-Concorde activist in New York.

Richard Wiggs of the Anti-Concorde Project said that "nobody in Britain, except a few people in the industry and a few loudmouths in the unions, would be worried" if the Concorde was barred from New York.

Concorde advocates claim to want only a "fair hearing" for the plane. Backing this "trial" are the *Wall Street Journal*, the New York Chamber of Commerce, the national AFL-CIO, and several television stations, radio stations, and other newspapers.

Despite the pro-Concorde bias of the media, a New York *Daily News* poll released April 11 found that 53 percent of New York-area residents oppose Concorde landings at Kennedy.

But perhaps the most cogent comment came from an English woman living near London's Heathrow Airport. "They come in over the roofs and everything cracks. . . . No wonder America wouldn't want it," she said.

Community control slate in NY school race

By Roger Rudenstein

NEW YORK—Supporters of Por los Niños/For the Children, a slate of school board candidates in Manhattan's Lower East Side, have launched a vigorous campaign for the May 3 election. The parent-chosen slate advocates control of the schools in District One by the Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese communities there.

More than 15,000 pieces of campaign literature have already been distributed in housing projects and on street corners.

Recently, the Por los Niños candidates presented their program at a meeting sponsored by the Public School 63 Parents Association. The gathering was held to allow competing candidates a chance to air their views. Two slates besides Por los Niños are running in the elections.

Nicomedes Sánchez, Por los Niños candidate and a member of the Socialist Workers party, told the meeting:

"The difference between Por los Niños and the other two slates . . . is simple. Only the Por los Niños candidates were chosen by the parents. All the others were imposed on the community. . . .

"We stand for bilingual, bicultural education and an end to discrimination in hiring and firing. We want all

school and district personnel to be accountable to the parents of the Lower East Side. We oppose the closing of schools and the cutbacks of teachers and staff."

Later in the meeting, Maria Barreto, another Por los Niños candidate, asked for extra time to translate her remarks into Spanish. Anthony DeFranco, a nineteen-year-old college student running on the competing Brotherhood slate, objected. He contended that it wasn't fair for Barreto to translate her remarks since he hadn't been able to translate his.

DeFranco had already said, earlier in the meeting, that Spanish-speaking people should be "forced to speak English like all immigrants were."

When his objection was turned down, DeFranco stormed out of the meeting, shouting: "This is a zoo—let them speak English."

DeFranco's behavior is typical of the overt and virulent racism of the Brotherhood slate, which currently has a majority on the District One board. The Brotherhood slate is backed by United Federation of Teachers President Albert Shanker.

Por los Niños supporters plan to hit the streets every day building support for their candidates.

2,500 hit NY cutbacks

By Terie Balius

NEW YORK—A march and rally here April 15 protesting municipal budget cuts drew more than 2,500 people. The action, called by the Citywide Community Coalition (CCC), was a response to cutbacks in education, health services, welfare, and day care, as well as massive layoffs of city workers.

Beginning in East Harlem, the march was led by a spirited contingent from Hostos Community College, the only bilingual college on the East Coast. Hostos students, faculty, and community backers have been fighting to keep the city from closing the school down.

Students, workers on lunch breaks, and staff from day-care centers joined the march as it made its way to the offices of the Emergency Financial Control Board, which oversees the city budget.

Hundreds of students joined the march at Hunter College in mid-Manhattan. The students chanted "They say cut back, we say fight back" and "Day care, health care, jobs for all—when the people unite, the banks will fall."

More than eighty organizations, churches, clubs, and schools sponsored the demonstration. Contingents came from Roberto Clemente Auxiliary Ser-

vices High School, Baruch College, the City University of New York Student Senate, three hospitals, day-care centers, and several political groups, including the Socialist Workers party and El Comite, a Puerto Rican organization.

CCC coordinator Ramon Jiménez opened the rally by saying, "Together we are pledged to fight for union-wage jobs, decent housing, quality education, free tuition at City University, free health care and day care and much, much more."

Kathy Gruber of Workers and Parents United for Day Care told the rally, "We have to protect our future and our children's future. Working and poor people in this city have a right to quality services, and we must go on the offensive and demand our rights."

Other speakers included Bernice Bolar, chairperson of the Council of Community Boards of the Municipal Hospitals; David Beasley, former president of New York Public Library Guild of Local 1930; Rev. Norman Eddy of East Harlem Interfaith; Nilsa Saniel, Hostos student government president; and Julio Pabon, speaking for the CCC.

The CCC is planning further activities against the cutbacks and layoffs. The CCC meets every Saturday afternoon. For information call (212) 960-1149.

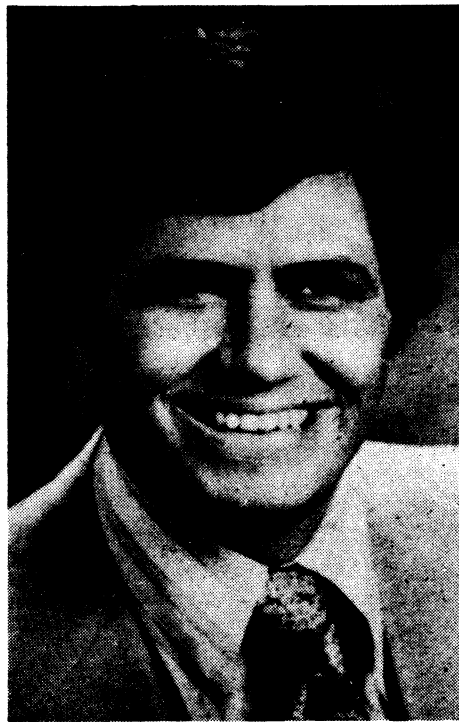


April 15 New York protesters

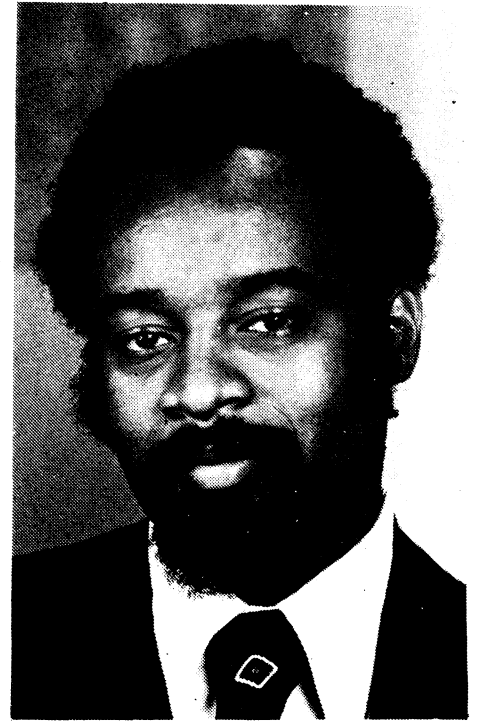
Militant/Dennis Chambers

BUSING DEBATE

Los Angeles mayoral candidates Robbins vs. Manuel



Antibuser Alan Robbins



Socialist Sam Manuel

During the Los Angeles mayoralty campaign, Socialist Workers nominee Sam Manuel challenged incumbent Tom Bradley and State Sen. Alan Robbins, his principal opponent, to debate the busing issue. Bradley, who campaigned in opposition to "massive crosstown busing," rejected the debate proposal. Robbins, who appealed to racist voters with a campaign against "forced busing," accepted.

Manuel and Robbins debated at a noon meeting at Cal State Los Angeles March 29. That night it was broadcast over Pacifica radio station KPFFK.

The following transcript of that debate is somewhat condensed because of space limitations.

Manuel

This debate is on the central issue in Los Angeles politics—the issue of busing, known in the media as "forced busing."

Of the twelve candidates in this mayoral race I'm the only one that defends the use of busing—be it "forced"—for the purpose of school desegregation and enforcement of the 1954 Supreme Court school decision.

I support busing as a tool for school desegregation to achieve equal rights in education for Blacks and Chicanos and also because a defeat of the 1954 school decision would have a profound significance.

Essentially that's what the antibusing movement is about—turning back the clock on the 1954 Supreme Court decision.

At one of the public meetings of the school board in San Fernando Valley, one speaker against busing said it openly. They should, if necessary, consider reversing the 1954 desegregation decision.

If this were to happen it would lead to attacks on affirmative action for Blacks, for Chicanos, and for women. It would serve as the basis for rolling back civil rights legislation on a broad scale.

On busing itself: Those who say they are against busing are not. What they are against—and I want to get at the heart of it—is the rights of Blacks and Chicanos to have access to equal education.

If you're against busing, in itself, you must have some kind of psychological problem. People don't freak out over buses, empty buses. What they're really against is what those buses carry, what those buses bring to what are now segregated, privileged white schools.

Busing is as old as the American educational system. It's been around as long as there's been compulsory education. The first bus was used in

1869, ironically, in the city of Boston where there is today the most staunch opposition to school busing.

Between 1869 and 1971 there was not a single demonstration against busing. Not one.

Today, the United States Civil Rights Commission points out, 43.7 percent of American students—that is, twenty million students—are bused to school every day.

Only 4 percent of these are bused for the purpose of school desegregation. So when people say they're against busing, what they're really talking about is that small percentage of busing used for desegregation.

In Los Angeles, the school board was condemned by the state supreme court—more than thirteen years ago—for running a segregated educational system.

In those court proceedings it was proven that in Los Angeles Blacks and Chicanos are forced into schools with the worst facilities, the least amount of funding, and the least experienced teachers. Out of these schools come essentially functional illiterates.

The real issue then, is whether or not minorities have the right to equal education—by any means necessary, including busing.

That's what's at stake in this Los Angeles campaign.

But for Blacks and Chicanos to protect their rights, especially the rights of our younger brothers and sisters, it's going to take more than an election campaign, it's going to take more than voting for Sam Manuel, the probusing candidate for mayor.

It will take building a movement that will defend our rights. Because in the final analysis, whether or not Black and Chicano rights will be preserved will not be determined by which candidate gets elected, but whether or not there is a movement of Blacks and Chicanos, and their white allies as well, strong enough to force the government to protect their rights.

There is an organization that I'm a

member of, the Student Coalition Against Racism (which I understand has a chapter on this campus), that's working on the issue of school desegregation. This is an organization I would urge you to join if you want to defend civil rights.

I also urge you to help the campaign of the Socialist Workers party and to join our party. Thank you.

Robbins

I feel I am committed very much to equality. That I am concerned not only about the schools in the part of the city where I live, but the schools in every section of the city and every child that has to attend school.

Indeed, in the interest of preserving good race relations, we must find ways to resolve our integration controversy without mandatory busing.

The reason I say that is because we will face a situation in this community where it's not only the parents of white children who are concerned about the prospect of mandatory busing, it's the parents of Black children who are concerned, it's the parents of Mexican and other Latin children who are concerned.

And, indeed, if we don't want to raise a generation of young people who have built-in racial hostilities, then indeed we have to solve our controversy without going to mandatory busing.

I think we can, practically, and I think we can, legally.

First, from a practical standpoint, I think we can go to programs such as magnet high schools. Instead of going to the kids with a club and saying, You must participate in this program of going to a different school, twenty, thirty miles away, fifteen miles away—instead of saying that, we should instead go in with innovative approaches and say: We're going to create a science high school, a mathematics high school, a language high school, a fine arts high school.

I don't think you'll have trouble finding schoolchildren willing to participate in that kind of program. And, most important, when they participate, when they sit down with their fellow classmates, it will have been through a voluntary process.

Tell me if that isn't going to result in better relations between those students. I think it will.

Legally, what I'm suggesting can also be done. Lately, the Supreme Court has said that the penalty must match the crime. In both the Indiana-

polis case and the Austin school case, the highest court in our land said No, forced busing is not justified because there was no segregation by law, and struck down the forced busing components of those two plans.

Indeed, I think if Los Angeles comes before the Supreme Court, they will make the same decision.

And I am taking a pledge that as mayor I would file a suit in the federal courts for review and injunctive relief of any mandatory busing, or forced busing component in the integration plan for Los Angeles city schools.

I think that will then bring a peaceful and racially harmonious solution to Los Angeles. And isn't that what we would expect the mayor of our city, the leader of our city to help us bring about? I thank you.

Questions

[Asked what would happen with elementary school students with his proposal for magnet high schools, Robbins responded that he would favor elementary magnet schools as well.

[Manuel then responded]:

The concept of magnet schools has been put forward in almost every city where a desegregation proposal exists. But there is something wrong with the very concept of a magnet school. In order for it to be a magnet, it has to be a good school. For a magnet to attract from somewhere else the other school has to be bad. The whole concept is that one school is very good and the rest of the school system is run down. So it doesn't really solve the problem of education.

What usually happens—and I know this is the case in New York—is that the magnet schools wind up majority white. Because you also give an entrance exam in order to get into them. That usually means it's white students who end up passing the exam.

[Robbins was asked why he didn't respond to Manuel's point that desegregation is necessary and that if desegregation doesn't succeed, affirmative action and other civil rights gains would be set back.

[Robbins responded by discussing the issue of downtown redevelopment.

[Manuel then commented]:

Yesterday, Milo Speriglio, an antibusing candidate for mayor, and Howard Jarvis, who lists himself as a tax opponent, announced that they along with Bobbi Fiedler, leader of Bustop, would be bringing Louise Day Hicks to Los Angeles. [Hicks initially accepted

and then decided not to come.]

Hicks is a leader of an antibusing organization in Boston called ROAR. ROAR has organized violent attacks on Blacks and Puerto Ricans in that city around the busing question.

But what goes deeper here is that although Alan Robbins puts forward a somewhat more "liberal" position, saying that he's for "equality," the movement he speaks for is openly a racist movement.

It's a movement which is willing to go to the extent of using racial violence against Blacks and Chicanos to accomplish its aims. This movement is willing to go much further than Robbins is.

I don't really know yet how far he's going to go, either.

It's like Malcolm X used to say about these politicians. He used to talk about the fox and the wolf. One is very slick, and the other very crude. The thing that Malcolm pointed out is that both of them are part of the same family—canine.

The antibusing movement will accomplish one thing for the rulers of this country. It establishes the idea that the Supreme Court decision is not sacrosanct—Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, and women's rights are not inviolable. Laws regarding them can be overturned.

I haven't heard Robbins say this yet, but one of the other antibusing candidates, Seymour Rosen, openly says it. We should change the 1954 Supreme Court decision.

These organizations don't stop with busing either. ROAR, for instance, broke up a Boston meeting for the Equal Rights Amendment, which has very little to do with busing. But it is a civil rights issue, an affirmative rights issue for women.

The fact that this reactionary movement develops around the issue of racism is crucial for the rulers of this country. That's the place where they feel it's easiest to mobilize. That's the vulnerable spot. You can whip up all the real sick feelings of the racist whites in this society.

Today they can't appeal so much on other issues. But the rulers of this country can always count on racism when they want to begin to push things back. And they want to.

Civil rights are "expensive." It's "expensive" to have desegregated education in L.A. You have to buy school buses. You have to get better teachers. They'd rather spend that money on bombs and guns to be sent to the junta in Chile and other dictators.

On this question of "forced busing," I'm for achieving equal access to education by any means necessary.

We are forced every day—and have been for 300 years—to go to the worst schools—forced to go.

Students who go to Garfield High School in East Los Angeles, which is not accredited, where a diploma won't get them into college—they didn't choose to go to a school that gives them a diploma which is totally useless. They were forced to go there.

The "voluntary" desegregation program is an absolute sham. At Fremont High, which is predominantly Black, only thirty-three students were allowed voluntary permits to travel to other

schools. That means the other 3,000 students are forced to stay in Fremont.

What are these schools like? Of the L.A. schools that have predominantly minority enrollment, only six of them have college preparatory programs. Whereas in San Fernando and West L.A. all have it.

Summaries

ROBBINS:

The most important thing about what we're saying here today is that we are meeting and we are talking. Sam and I don't agree on how to accomplish school desegregation. But, again, we're here, we're talking, and I think that is the most important thing.

I was pleased that Sam issued the challenge and I was delighted to accept and to participate with him. While Sam and I have philosophical differences I can assure that, at least from my viewpoint—and I think it's shared by Sam—that there's no hostility. I've found him to be a very fine person to be out on the campaign circuit with.

MANUEL:

I want to deal with one last point. That's whether forced busing would create built-in hostility among white schoolchildren. I'm of the opinion, and I've seen it throughout the campaign, that the hostility that exists around the question of busing does not exist among white youth. To the extent that it does, it's basically a reflection of the ideas of their parents.

I spoke for instance, at Chatsworth High School in the San Fernando Valley, which is predominantly white. There, as I have here, I said I was for busing. To my surprise, the great bulk of students in the audience applauded. They supported school busing, primarily voluntary busing. But they're supporters of school desegregation.

Throughout this campaign, the example I've tried to hold up to students—be they Black, Chicano, or white—is the example that students in the late '50s and early '60s provided.

The Freedom Riders, as they were called, rode much further than any student in Los Angeles will ever be asked to travel, and they rode on a bus.

They rode those buses from the North and the West to the South, to desegregate transportation and to gain equal access to public facilities for Blacks.

I think that students much like yourselves, and students in high schools, will play a similar role in the city of Los Angeles. Unlike Senator Robbins, with his fears, I look not to the already inbred hostility of the parents but rather to the students and to the role that students have played in changing society.

That's why I'm using this campaign to build a movement to draw together those who agree that desegregation is necessary and who are willing to fight for it.

I hope that after April 5—and I don't think much will change as a result of the election—we will be together, working and fighting for Black, Chicano, and women's rights in this city. Thank you.

L.A. school board plan

'Does not desegregate one single school'

By Joanie Quinn

LOS ANGELES—Stating that the Los Angeles school board's desegregation plan "does not desegregate one single school," Superior Court Judge Paul Egly expressed strong doubts that the plan was constitutional.

The board's plan calls for students to spend nine weeks a year for two years of their schooling at "integrated learning centers."

Egly cited precedents from across the country that struck down part-time education in "integrated learning centers" as unconstitutional. "I became somewhat concerned," Egly said, "about the ability of this particular plan to meet the Fourteenth Amendment requirements."

"Although we acknowledge neighborhood contact to be important," he continued, "we cannot place it above the constitutional rights of children to attend desegregated schools. We perceive those rights to include full-time attendance in a desegregated setting."

The judge's statements took the racist school board majority by surprise. They labeled Egly's statement a "bombshell," complaining that he had no responsibility to meet Fourteenth Amendment guidelines. They argued that the judge should guide himself by less-stringent California constitutional requirements and the state supreme court mandate to take "reasonably feasible" steps to desegregate.

Egly gave the board three days to convince him to continue hearing arguments on the plan, which, he said, "on the face of it does not appear able to pass constitutional muster."

On Friday, however, Egly agreed, under pressure from the board, to continue hearings on the plan.

The racist board members have labeled this a victory for their side. It has bought them more time to stall, which is what they have been doing for the last decade. And, despite Egly's remarks, his decision to continue hearings has given credibility to a plan that offers no relief to Black and Chicano students.

In a related development an appellate court reversed an earlier decision by Egly barring Bustop, a racist antibusing organization, from participating in the hearings. According to the court, the interest of "those persons represented by Bustop is not presently represented by the parties to the action."

The hearings are expected to continue for several more weeks. Egly will then hand down a decision.

If he finds the plan insufficient, he could write his own or refer the drafting of a new plan back to the board—which would mean at least another year's delay before real desegregation could go into effect in Los Angeles.

Trade-union victims of gov't setup sentenced

By Diane Wang

Alex Markley was sentenced to eighteen months in prison and Tony Soares to one year by a U.S. District Court judge in Springfield, Massachusetts, April 14.

The two trade unionists were sentenced for selling four firecracker "bombs" to an undercover agent of the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Bureau.

They are victims of a successful government frame-up.

During a 1975 strike by United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America in Holyoke, Massachusetts, an ATF undercover agent, Thomas O'Reilly, approached Markley, the UE organizer. O'Reilly offered to "take care" of scab trucks for the union but was refused.

During last month's trial, conspiracy charges against Markley and Soares were dropped for lack of evidence. The trial focused on the technical question of whether the firecrackers—which proved harmless when exploded in tests—could be defined as "bombs" under the law.

Clearly, the case is one of entrapment and victimization directed against the labor movement—

Entrapment: O'Reilly asked Markley and Soares to make the explosive



Seven Days/Lionel Delevinge

ALEX MARKLEY

devices for him. He said he wanted them for a "job" he needed to do. He even gave specifications for how he wanted the devices constructed. Once he got them O'Reilly complained, "My kids have better firecrackers than this."

Victimization: When they arrested the two unionists, ATF agents suggested that Markley and Soares (a member of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers) become informers in the labor movement. When they refused, charges were pressed.

Attorneys for Markley and Soares are preparing to appeal the verdict and sentence.

Messages of support can be sent to the Markley-Soares Defense Committee, Post Office Box 5001, Holyoke, Massachusetts 01040.



Seven Days/Lionel Delevinge

TONY SUARES

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'Rectifying an injustice'

IN DEFENSE OF QUOTAS

The following article appeared in the "Counter-view" column of the April 3 New York Daily News. Roger Witherspoon, a reporter for the News and a charter member of the Association of Black Journalists, makes a forceful case for quotas to overcome past discrimination against Blacks.

By Roger Witherspoon

Last week's comments on this page by Prof. Sidney Hook, who argued against the use of quotas in hiring to get more blacks and other minorities into the work force, were what one might expect from a white man who appears to be paternalistic and hostile.

Hook was arguing in response to a call for quotas by Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Joseph Califano. A few days ago, Califano reneged, saying it was a mistake to use the word "quotas," and that what he really meant was "equal opportunity," as in the sense of retraining minorities for the job market. Califano's about face shows where his convictions lie. I would like to focus my argument on Hook's attack on quotas.

Hook's thesis is that since discrimination has been eliminated, there is no need to provide any extra boost to blacks to help us into the job market—once we become qualified. Educational systems should be improved, he adds, so that blacks will have the same educational base as whites seeking jobs or knowledge. (This assumes, of course, that all blacks are under-educated, and that improving educational systems is an overnight project).

Hook continues that we, as a nation, have eliminated discrimination in practice in the arts, sports and most other areas and that there is no need—in fact it is dangerous, he contends—to inflict unprepared blacks on the employers of the land.

And lastly, no "self-respecting members of minorities and women" would accept a job knowing that a slot had been made for them because of their race or sex.

Just where the hell has Hook been living, in what time frame? And who is he to judge what a black person does or does not consider insulting or honorable? Why should a black person be offended to learn that there are slots open at a particular place of employment for members of his race? There have always been quotas for us—generally one or zero. We have been denied jobs because we are black, so what is wrong with being hired because of it?

In no case that I know of has blackness—where it was used as a prerequisite for hiring—been sufficient to enable the new employee to keep the job. And this is the assumption that Hook and liberal patronizers seem to forget—the presence of quotas does not mean that a place of business grabs anyone off the street and puts him or her to work because of his race.

The use of quotas is designed to rectify a pattern of discrimination which has existed, does



Militant/Lou Howort

exist (despite Hook's assertions), and will continue to exist unless changed by court order.

Hook's proposal, to use his sports analogy, is equivalent to having two men run a mile race, but requiring one to carry a 50-pound sack on his back. Halfway through the race, the judges say, "Stop; this is unfair." They remove the weight, but tell the runners to continue from where they are. Though Hook seems to think this is sufficient, an unjust handicap has given the unencumbered runner a lead that the other cannot hope to close without help.

Hook blithely states that the music and arts fields do not discriminate, but take anyone who meets the criteria for excellence. But in the classical music art worlds, the criterion has always been the color white. This is why you will find periodic revivals of Porgy and Bess, but no productions of operas by black composers. This is why black men can't play male leads in your prominent opera houses. This is why blacks

can't perform in the major classical dance companies. This is why ancient African art is deemed primitive, but when Picasso copied an ancient African painting he was deemed brilliant and innovative.

When Hook and Califano (prior to his flip-flop) lament the availability of "first-class physicians, lawyers, administrators and scientists," they conveniently negate two facts: there is an abundant number of "first class" blacks in each category, and the white medical and legal societies, the prominent businesses and research facilities, traditionally have refused to let first class or any other black practice with them.

The American Medical Association loudly trumpeted its plans last year to raise the percentage of minorities in medical schools to 12%. They ignored the fact that until recently (post Jackie Robinson, Prof. Hook) the AMA didn't admit blacks at all. And at many of your major hospitals, a physician could not practice unless he was a member of the local AMA chapter.

Though critics like Hook feel that quotas are somehow un-American, the practice is endemic to American corporate life. There are many colleges that traditionally reserve slots (not quotas?) for sons of influential patrons, alumni and friends who might not have got in on their grades alone. In these cases it is assumed that they have something else—breeding, drive, good background or just plain pull—and are given a chance to show what they can do. They are accepted because the person in a position to say yes or no makes a subjective decision that they should be given a chance—whether they are first class or not.

The purpose of quotas is to provide us with the same subjective factor since we generally do not conduct the hiring or control the admissions. And if accepted, we still have to make it on our own—despite the fact that the already admitted whites generally assume we are illiterate and incompetent and are employed only to fill a roster.

We are not, as a group, seeking favoritism or preferential treatment. The quotas that have caused so much animosity do not deal with all, a majority, or even a respectable minority of the jobs and positions available. We do not ask that whites give up any prejudices or preconceived notions about us, either.

We simply ask for the opportunity to show what we can do without the artificial limitations that are generally placed upon us to make whites like Hook and Califano more comfortable.

500 rally to protest cop brutality in Houston

By Gene Lantz

HOUSTON—More than 500 people attended an April 3 rally here to protest police brutality. Held at Our Lady of St. John Church in Houston's Black northeast area, the rally was organized by two Houston chapters of the Student Coalition Against Racism, the Independent Commission to Investigate the Death of Milton Glover, Texas Farm Workers, Raza Unida party, Socialist Workers party, Pan African Students Organization, and others.

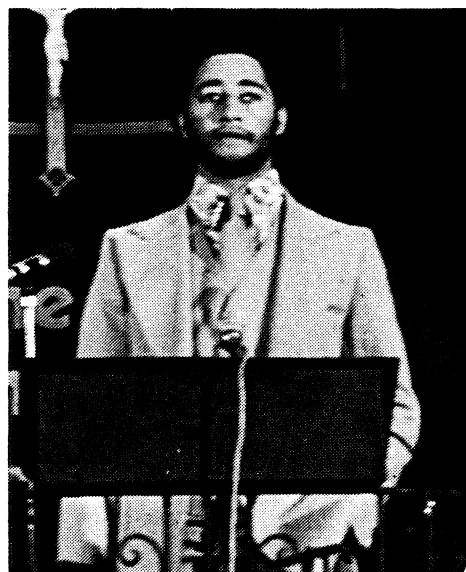
Jean Linton told how her brother Milton Glover was gunned down one year ago by Houston cops. Linton assailed the cover-up of her brother's murder by city and county officials. "Don't wait until it's your brother or sister or mother or father," she told the crowd. "Do something now."

Demas Benoit then told the crowd how the police had brutally beaten him and his family March 11.

Benoit, a twenty-one-year-old Black construction worker, was hurrying home to take medicine for a severe migraine headache. Twenty police cars chased him home. When he got out of his car, a group of cops cuffed his

hands behind his back and began pounding his head against the concrete steps of his porch.

Benoit's mother and family protested. They were kicked and cursed by more than forty cops. Benoit's mother was thrown to the ground and held at gunpoint.



Militant/Stu Singer

Demas Benoit, victim of cop assault

Benoit's beating might have become just another link in the chain of racist assaults performed by Houston police, who have murdered more than twenty people over the past three years. But Benoit's mother called the family priest, Father Jack McGinnis, who arrived in time to witness the beating.

Another unexpected witness was a rookie officer—A.D. Nichols—who was so revolted by the beating that he told the truth to the press.

Father McGinnis has begun a highly publicized fast to protest the cops' brutality. Nichols, who refuses to disavow his story, has been transferred to a desk job.

"The only difference between Milton Glover and me," said Benoit, "is that I am lucky enough to be alive to tell about it."

The long list of speakers at the rally testified to the systematic brutality of Houston's cops.

A representative of the Democratic Association of Iranian Students told how cops attacked a peaceful demonstration protesting repression in Iran last November.

A young man told how cops shot him after he had stopped them from shoot-

ing his brother in the back.

Gay activist Ray Hill told of the harassment and brutality gays suffer at the hands of the cops.

State Rep. Senfronia Thompson told how cops beat her son and called her a "Black bitch" when she dared to protest. Thompson also told the audience that her grandmother witnessed the murder of Milton Glover last year. Yet she was never called to testify about that cop murder.

Sentiment against police brutality has grown in the wake of the Benoit beating. In response to the outcry for an end to the police rampage, Black state representatives have introduced a bill into the legislature to form a citizens review board to oversee police activities. The board would include Houston's police chief, B.G. "Pappy" Bond.

But the police chief and Houston Mayor Fred Hofheinz have rejected even this weak measure.

Many of the speakers at the rally assailed the complicity of Mayor Hofheinz.

The audience approved of suggestions for more mass meetings of this type.

Miami gay rights supporters set May 29 rally

By Joe Kear

MIAMI—Do gay women and men have the right to protection from discrimination?

A May 29 rally here will answer "yes." The rally is part of a campaign to counter a reactionary drive aimed at repealing Dade County's gay rights ordinance. A referendum on repeal is tentatively scheduled for June 7.

Singer Anita Bryant led the massive petitioning effort to force a vote on the new ordinance, which prohibits discrimination in "employment, housing, and public accommodations" based on "affectional or sexual preferences."

An attempt to overturn the ordinance through a court suit recently failed. On April 15 Judge Sam Silver of the Fifth Judicial Circuit Court rejected the claim that the ordinance violated the state's sodomy law.

Antigay bigots say that homosexuals shouldn't be allowed to "flaunt their perversion." In particular, Bryant says, gays should be barred from teaching because they will "recruit" young children.

In the tradition of the Scopes Monkey Trial, Bryant turns to the Bible to "prove" that gays are a "sick segment of society." On the CBS national television show "Who's Who" she explained that the scriptures are clear on this question. "Someone who practices homosexuality will not enter the Kingdom of Heaven," she said.

Bryant has more than God on her side. Her antigay organization, Save Our Children, Inc., counts among its supporters Baptist ministers, rabbis, and a Catholic archbishop.

In a recent Florida speech, Ku Klux Klan Imperial Wizard Robert Shelton warned against the three "vast conspiracies. . . socialism, Judaism, and homosexuality."

Robert Brake, a recently defeated mayoral candidate in Coral Gables, has now turned his attention from the anti-abortion movement to the antigay crusade.

Antigay bigotry helped to defeat the Equal

Rights Amendment in Florida. Anita Bryant joined national anti-ERA leader Phyllis Schlafly in Tallahassee where senators condemned gay rights and women's rights in one breath.

Bryant's campaign is playing on stock myths and prejudices fostered in capitalist society. For instance, she asserts that the ordinance will encourage gays to molest children.

Gay organizations are joining together in the Coalition for the Humanistic Rights of Gays to counter these kinds of slanders and to rally support for the ordinance. On the average 150 people attend the group's weekly meetings. Coalition leaflets and newspaper ads point out that:

- a six-year study by the New York Bar Association found proportionally fewer incidents of child molestation by homosexuals than heterosexuals;

- the American Psychiatric Association, American Medical Association, and American Psychological Association agree that homosexuality is not an "illness."

- more than thirty cities and counties have adopted laws prohibiting discrimination against gays.

Bryant claims, "Homosexuals are not an oppressed group anymore than cigarette smokers." The fact is that lesbians and gay men still must live in fear today. Being "found out" can lead to losing a job, getting a dishonorable discharge from the military, being evicted, and losing custody of children, not to mention estranging friends and family.

The coalition and another gay rights group, the Miami Victory Campaign, emphasize that discrimination is the issue.

Some gay rights supporters in other states miss the importance of this. To show solidarity with Dade County gays, they've launched boycotts and protests against the Florida citrus fruit industry and Singer Sewing Machine company for holding contracts with Bryant.

Most gay activists here have rejected this approach because it raises the issue of discrimination against Bryant instead of focusing on the right of gays to be free from discrimination.

When the issue is posed correctly, Dade County residents have expressed support. A survey conducted by the University of Miami revealed that 42 percent favor the ordinance, 32.5 percent oppose it, and 25.5 percent are undecided. A *Miami News* opinion poll found two out of three people favoring gay rights.

While these figures are encouraging, they don't promise victory on June 7. As the 1975 defeats of referendums on state Equal Rights Amendments in New York and New Jersey showed, a right-wing minority can prevail unless supporters of democratic rights are mobilized to vote.

This understanding sparked the coalition to call the May 29 rally. Already endorsers include the Dade County National Organization for Women, Socialist Workers party, and Clergy and Laity Concerned for Human Rights.

In addition, the American Civil Liberties Union here is sponsoring a public meeting for gay rights April 28.

These kinds of public activities can gain wide endorsement and present speakers representing diverse organizations. This cuts across antigay slanders and intimidation.

It can also expose Save Our Children, Inc., for what it really is: a new face for the same forces that oppose busing, affirmative action, abortion rights, the ERA, and labor unions.

A victory for these reactionaries on any front emboldens their drive in other arenas. It also strengthens the government's hand to roll back advances won by labor, Blacks, and women.

This makes it all the more important for supporters of democratic rights to stand together on the side of gay rights.

As one Black respondent to the University of Miami poll put it, "I don't want to be discriminated against and I don't want anyone else to be discriminated against."

SWP candidate for mayor of Seattle

Margaret Trowe: 'women need to fight back'

By Bob Rowand

SEATTLE—On March 5 more than 300 spirited demonstrators marched here to protest recent attempts to rescind Washington State's passage of the federal Equal Rights Amendment. Margaret Trowe, Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor, was among them.

Trowe is a member of the Seattle/King County chapter of the National Organization for Women and the Washington ERA Coalition. She is making defense of women's rights a major issue in her campaign.

"Anti-women's rights forces are trying to stop Medicaid-financed abortions. They are attacking the ERA," the socialist candidate says.

"The stakes are high. This is a question of whether the women's movement is going to roll over and play dead in the face of the attacks or whether women are going to stand up by the thousands, by the millions, to fight back," Trowe says.

"Here in Washington," she explains, "the state has lowered the income level at which a woman can qualify for state-subsidized child care from an already low \$515 per month in 1969 to an unbelievable \$315 per month in 1975. During this time, the cost of living has jumped 50 percent! This creates a double bind for working mothers."

Trowe points out that the wage gap between male and female workers is widening. A state study shows that women with more training and more responsibility on the job receive less pay than the most unskilled male worker.

"The inequities in pay described in this report," Trowe demands, "should



Margaret Trowe (center) at March 5 demonstration

Militant/Wayne Glover

be immediately rectified—not by lowering men's wages, but by upgrading the wages paid to women. This should be done for women working in private industry as well as for government employees.

"But what's happening instead," Trowe says, "is that Gov. Dixy Lee Ray, although she claims to favor equal pay for these women workers, has cut out almost all the state budget funds to implement such a program."

"The 'Stop ERA' ballot initiative means we need to move defense of the ERA to center stage," Trowe says. "We need to unify support for the ERA in a massive, visible movement that can deal a stunning defeat to anti-ERA forces here. One step in this direction will be the Northwest Women's Action Conference to be held at the University of Washington April 30-May 1. Sponsored by the Washington ERA Coalition, NOW, the University of Washington ERA Coalition, and the Northwest

Women's Studies Association, the conference will discuss how we can move forward to defend the ERA and win our other demands."

Already, support for this struggle has come from the labor movement, the Black movement, as well as both Seattle Mayor Wes Uhlman and Governor Ray.

Trowe warns, however, that "while the women's movement should welcome such support from capitalist politicians like Uhlman and Ray, it cannot rely on them to defend women's rights."

"Just look at their track records," Trowe continued. "Mayor Uhlman presides over a city budget that allocates more than 40 percent to police and other law enforcement agencies and only .4 percent to the Offices of Human and Women's Rights."

"Phyllis Lamphere, who is on the city council and who is also running for mayor, has never fought for more

funds to implement affirmative-action programs or provide child-care subsidies.

"Now that the ERA is under attack, where is Lamphere to be found? Not on our demonstrations in defense of the ERA. Not fighting to turn the resources of the city to rally defense for the ERA."

"This shows the real priorities of the Democrats and Republicans," Trowe says. "These parties defend the capitalist system—a system that thrives on sexism, as well as racism and antilabor policies."

"The capitalists profit by keeping us last hired and first fired. Their bank accounts swell because we are paid less than men. They shift the burdens and costs of bringing up a new generation and caring for the elderly onto our hard-pressed families, a burden felt especially by women, instead of making society as a whole responsible for these important tasks."

"Only the capitalists really benefit from this oppression of women. Only women, by struggling independently of the capitalist parties, can force them to make concessions to our demands."

In conclusion, Trowe said that "only socialism, a system that puts human needs ahead of profits, will finally create a society that doesn't need to oppress us."

"That's why I tell the women with whom I stand shoulder to shoulder in fighting for our equal rights today that they need to carry this struggle into the political arena, which in the long run is the only place we can win once and for all. The way to do this today," Trowe says, "is to vote for and join the Socialist Workers party."

An injury to all

In recent years Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican activists and socialists have been the most common targets of government spies and provocateurs.

But throughout American history labor organizers have been victimized by company police, labor spies, and government agents. The conviction and sentencing of Alex Markley and Tony Suares in Massachusetts is only the latest outrage.

The notorious Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Bureau entrapped the two unionists, urged them to become labor spies and, when they refused, prosecuted them on phony charges of selling "bombs."

Markley and Suares now face sentences of eighteen and twelve months, respectively. The labor movement faces the prospect of more such frame-ups. Every time the government gets away with any dirty trick, its hand is strengthened to try more.

Trade unionists and supporters of civil liberties must defend Markley and Suares—and themselves—from this government attack.

An injury to one is an injury to all.

...Carter's plan

This committee brought wage settlements in the building trades down from about 14 percent a year to 5 or 6 percent. This is the wage-gouging policy that Carter wants to get going on a national basis.

Carter also plans to chop away at environmental and on-the-job safety regulations. *Time* magazine reported ominously that the White House will review "all existing regulations—job safety, transportation, pollution control and the like."

Carter's pro-business and antilabor stance was underlined just a few days later when he unveiled his energy program.

Calling on American workers to respond with the "moral equivalent of war" to the so-called energy crisis, *Carter actually declared war on us*. The proposal of this "anti-inflation" fighter is to make us pay higher prices and taxes to fill our gas tanks and heat our homes and apartments.

In order to justify these austerity measures, Carter had the CIA prepare a report warning of a national energy "catastrophe" in the near future. Where did the CIA get its data?

According to an article by Thomas O'Toole in the *Washington Post*, "Sources said the CIA report is based on private reports from the nation's oil companies, which the agency asked to provide their best estimates of world trends in production and consumption of oil and natural gas."

Of course, these profit-hungry energy trusts have a giant stake in underestimating oil and gas reserves and in cutting back production. For them it means money in the bank. And Carter is helping them fill out their deposit slips.

Reports by both the U.S. Geological Survey and Interior Department contradict the CIA's alarmist estimates.

* * *

What do the AFL-CIO and other top union officials have to offer American workers in the face of this all-out assault on our living standards and quality of life?

Nothing but a cheerful willingness to lend Carter a hand—even after the White House has thumbed its nose at them over the minimum wage, "right to work" laws, and the common-site picketing bill.

A labor leadership concerned about defending workers' interests rather than collaborating with the employers would have nothing to do with Carter's "joint" speedup committees. Instead, it would advance labor's own program to fight inflation and meet our energy needs. Among other things, it would demand:

- that wages be protected by cost-of-living escalator clauses in all union contracts, so that wages go up—promptly and fully—with all price hikes;
- an end to the mammoth war budget, which is the major source of inflation in this country;
- that the energy trusts open their books to committees of unionists and consumers, so that we can learn the truth about their real reserves and their profit margins.

But today's well-heeled labor bureaucrats live and think more like employers than workers. Their response to Carter's latest proposals exposes their total subservience to the Democratic and Republican parties and to the private profit system these parties defend.

Working people, on the other hand, having nothing in common with the aims of these capitalist parties. Our interests can only be defended by breaking with them and forming an independent labor party based on a democratic trade-union movement under a new, fighting leadership.

Letters

Carter and wages

The April 6 *New York Times* ran an article by its labor specialist, A.H. Raskin, that attacked President Carter's "simplistic" inflation formula. Carter says that the way to gauge the rate of inflation is to subtract productivity gains from wage increases.

Carter is obviously too knowledgeable not to understand that inflation is caused by the monopolists' complete control of the production and distribution of commodities. Prices are continually increased to provide greater profits.

But wage increases have been unable to keep pace with rising prices. Carter's "simplistic" formula is one more device to blame workers for the ever-increasing spiral of inflation. He is giving notice to big business not to grant wage increases unless the workers agree to a speedup.

Carter has taken the measure of the labor leaders and is now planning to turn their constant retreats into a rout.

Only the systematic and thorough buildup of a union rank-and-file left wing under new leadership can stem and rebuff the ever more dangerous assault by big business.

A.B.
New York, New York

Overpopulation

As an ecologist and a socialist I was upset at Miguel Pendás's statement [*Militant*, March 25] that population pressures are in no way responsible for any of the woes of either Mexico or the United States. His use of population density statistics is particularly questionable. Obviously such natural factors as climate, soil conditions, and natural resources affect the number of people any area of the earth's surface can support.

Whatever the cause of Mexico's high birthrate—exploitation of women by the Roman Catholic Church or the need of the imperialists for a cheap, plentiful labor source—it is one of the highest in the world and three times that of the U.S. The Mexican birthrate is a burden to contend with, as is U.S. imperialism. To ignore it may be disastrous.

The World Population Council issued a slogan after its 1975 annual meeting: Population control is not enough—wealth control is necessary too. Why cannot socialists admit the converse? J.S.

Newport, Oregon

More on 'Roots'

Malik Miah's review of Alex Haley's book *Roots* [*Militant*, March 4] was disappointing in several respects.

Miah complained that Haley "has almost nothing to say about the big political and social developments in the period that he writes about." But this was not Haley's purpose. He wrote a book about his own family. That was his fundamental aim, and he seems to have done a fine job.

Miah's assertion that "Haley's characters take no position" on whether the slave revolts were correct is false. On page 351, Kunta Kinte and the fiddler discuss the Haitian slave uprising led by Toussaint L'Ouverture.

The fiddler comments approvingly on the possibility of a similar revolt breaking out: "... it be de same as Haiti right here in Virginia," the fiddler says.

Miah complains that "Haley never tells us why Nat Turner organized an uprising." Isn't it obvious that Nat

Turner organized an uprising because he was a slave who wanted to be free?

Finally, unless a reviewer believes that a book is a fraud or aims to serve some ulterior political motive, the work should be approached on its own terms. It should be praised or criticized for what it is and says, not for what the reviewer believes it should have said.

Walter Lippmann
Los Angeles, California

Sitdown dinner

There is an amusing sidelight to the activities surrounding the fortieth anniversary of the Flint sitdown strike [see *Militant*, March 18] that ought to be recorded and filed.

When General Motors made up its list of veteran labor writers to be invited to its dinner party commemorating the signing of the first GM-United Auto Workers contract, imposed by the sitdown strike, there was one reporter who wasn't invited and thought he should be.

His name is William Allan, Stalinist reporter in Detroit for the *Daily World*. Allan says that in 1937 the sitdown strikes were organized and directed by members and close sympathizers of the Communist party, and the strike story was told by the *Daily Worker*. He says, "George Morris was correspondent then; I was his assistant."

Another piece of vital information supplied by Allan, "William Weinstone, district organizer of the CP, stayed in Flint for many days."

On account of all this Allan thought he should have been invited to the GM party and made such bitter complaints about it that some journalists protested to the man in charge of organizing the affair. As a result, Allan received a phone call at his home from a GM press representative who said, (according to Allan), "Billy, GM would like to invite you to their party."

In the meantime some people who were there in 1937 and participated in the strike, including Genora Johnson, a leader of the women's brigade, had declined the GM invitation. So Allan decided he ought to decline too.

He told his caller, "GM owes the *Daily World* an apology. No way would I come to the GM party."

Now that's important news. As the *Daily World* caption says, "inside the news with the people who make it."

Frank Lovell
New York, New York

Spartacist League

Militant readers may be interested in the disruptive role played by the Spartacist League, a small sectarian group, during the recent southern Africa actions here. In early March, at a meeting of the March 26 Anti-Apartheid Committee, which was planning a demonstration, Spartacists declared their opposition to the action on the grounds that it was "anti-working class" to demand an end to U.S. economic aid to the racist regime in South Africa.

To everyone's amazement, they also declared their opposition to the basic democratic right of Black South Africans to majority rule.

The committee went ahead anyway. On March 26 more than 250 people marched to protest U.S. support to racist regimes in southern Africa and in support of Black majority rule. The action was endorsed by several Black community organizations, unions, and political groups.

At the demonstration the Spartacist League carried a banner that said "No

Women in Revolt

Willie Mae Reid



Dr. Abzug and Mr. Hyde

Former Democratic Rep. Bella Abzug has been doctoring up some facts on the Hyde amendment.

Abzug doesn't like to admit that she ended up voting for this ban on Medicaid-funded abortions, passed by Congress last fall as part of a Health, Education and Welfare appropriations bill.

Lisa Melilli, a reporter for the *Daily Collegian*, described how Abzug "avoided the truth" during a speaking engagement last month at the University of Massachusetts in Amherst:

"Ms. Abzug," came the question from the floor. 'You say you're for women's rights and represent women's rights. Then how could you have supported the Hyde Amendment . . . ?'

"Do you realize who you are speaking to? This is Bella Abzug who spoke on the floor for the veto of the Hyde Amendment,' Ms. Abzug spoke angrily from the podium. 'Get your facts straight.'

"But we have Ms. Abzug now that you've left," Melilli continued. "And here sitting before me I have the House Congressional Record from September 30, 1976 which says that yes, you spoke for a veto of the amendment—but, then you voted for its passage." †

Melilli is right. Abzug spoke against and voted against adding the abortion ban to the HEW bill.

But, when it passed and Ford vetoed the bill because it cost too much, Abzug stated:

"I vote to override the veto, with the clear understanding that I do so because the funds provided here are essential to the survival of people all over this country for programs that they desperately need . . . but with a clear statement that I continue to strongly oppose the Hyde amendment. . . ."

But Abzug, you can't have it both ways. You can't say you voted for the other appropriations and against denying poor women abortions. When you voted for the bill, you voted to make the Hyde amendment

government policy.

To the 300,000 Black, Chicana, Puerto Rican, and other poor women who may be denied abortions, it makes little difference that Abzug voted with a protest. The fact remains that Congress overrode the veto and, pending court action, the Hyde amendment could become law.

There is no excuse for Abzug's action, but there is an explanation. When you're a Democratic politician, you have to play by the rules. One of these is that you make political compromises. And so Abzug and virtually the whole crew of other liberal Democrats compromised abortion rights.

Many feminists can't believe Abzug would betray women's rights. First, because they've seen Abzug many times speak out for abortion rights, the Equal Rights Amendment, and other feminist issues.

Second, they believe that the way to defend and advance women's rights is to get more women into the Democratic party machinery of government. This they call the "practical politics of the women's movement." To them, Bella Abzug is the best and brightest example of this strategy.

But Abzug's performance on the Hyde amendment shows that the women's movement can't rely on even the most "radical" Democrats to defend our rights.

Regardless of any loyalty Abzug may feel towards the women's movement, her loyalty to the Democratic party must come first.

Abzug has another loyalty too—her own career. These days you'll see her supporters sporting a new button: "New York Needs Bella Abzug for Mayor."

No wonder Abzug wants to keep her recent voting record hushed up. If she makes a bid in the Democratic party primary, she'll no doubt call on the feminists to put aside other struggles to get a woman into city hall. After all, that's "practical politics."

to Black Majority Rule." And at a rally after the march, while opponents of South African racism chanted "Black majority rule now!", the Spartacist League attempted to counter this with their own chant of "No to Black majority rule."

It is interesting to note that a counter-picket of some twenty Nazis across the street used similar slogans.

Mark Ugolini
Chicago, Illinois

New subscriber

I am sending for a year's subscription to the *Militant* and the free book *Prospects for Socialism in America*. I've never subscribed to this paper before, but I bought one on the street and I found it very interesting. I learned a lot about the Equal Rights Amendment and what's going on in South Africa.

S.M.
Allentown, Pennsylvania

Against sectarianism

The *Militant* recently reported encouraging developments concerning local campaigns in Los Angeles. The Socialist Workers party's endorsement of the Communist party and Communist Labor party candidates represents the type of thinking that is required if we are to develop a mass American left.

We are all aware of differences between groups that become obscured by sectarian name-calling. It is gratifying to me, as an independent leftist, to see an important element of the left acting in a mature manner.

Such an approach gives the SWP a substantial claim to the moral and ideological allegiance of unaffiliated American socialists. In addition, such an approach is constructive in that it places the burden of good-faith reciprocity on other groups.

Thousands of American leftists will be watching for further developments of this type. Many are already beginning to see that, despite Cointelpro and the attacks of crazies and purists, the SWP has consistently supported efforts to strengthen leftist unity.

Dennis Boyer
Morgantown, West Virginia

Socialism and feminism

I would like to receive copies of your important articles on women and the Equal Rights Amendment. Why do you support it? Are you against protective labor legislation for women on account of biology? Why did New York and New Jersey voters reject state ERAs?

Isn't it true that no other socialist group in the world is against protective labor legislation for women? Nobody else ever had any such idea as ERA—China and the USSR are against the feminist theory and for protection.

There is much confusion over the women's situation and one needs to study all sides of it.

Helen F. Snow
Madison, Connecticut

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

The American Way of Life

Good neighbor policy

Con Edison—a majority of New Yorkers would probably swear—is Public Enemy Number One. By raising electricity rates sky-high over the past few years, the utility monopoly has kicked the stuffing out of more family budgets than anything since food prices.

Con Ed's grasp is tightest in the poor neighborhoods, of course, but the squeeze has even been felt in the affluent suburbs. Many relatively well-off Westchester Countians, for example, have been forced from their homes by electricity bills of \$300 a month and up.

Con Ed tries to blame Arabs for the rate increases. But its record profits are a matter of public knowledge. And as its earnings pile up, so grows its appetite for higher and higher electricity rates.

Every action has its reaction, though, and not only in Newtonian physics. Con Ed's greed has given rise to a new social phenomenon: Current diversion. A large and growing number of people are simply helping themselves to free juice.

A recent *Wall Street Journal* article surveyed the extent of this new wave of consumer creativity. Utility companies, it says, have been driven to establish a new job category: the current-diversion investigator.

The typical habitat of this new breed of private eye is the dark, damp apartment-building basement. The tool that symbolizes the profession is the flashlight.

These sleuths search for jumpwires that bypass electric meters, pins stuck through little holes in the meter glass to slow down the turning wheel, or any number of ingenious devices that show evidence of "energy theft." Con Edison claims that its investigators uncovered 12,000 such "leaks" last year and recovered \$6 million for the company.

This is not just a New York phenomenon. "It's a

priority concern for utilities around the country," says a spokesperson for New Orleans Public Service Corporation. In Chicago, Commonwealth Edison officials say they recently lost \$5 million in a single case wherein some businesses conspired with "professional" meter-riggers. And in Miami, Florida Power & Light claims losses "into the millions."

The immense jumps in the price of electricity seem to have created a whole new "criminal" element. Just who is it that has thus been driven to a life of crime?

The *Wall Street Journal* report indicates that the "perpetrators" represent a broad cross-section of society, from tenement-dwellers to wealthy professional people. Most of the contraband current, however, is apparently siphoned off by commercial establishments. The energy detectives spend a lot of their time checking car washes, supermarkets, bakeries, and other businesses. Con Ed recently had two of its own employees arrested, charged with defrauding the company of \$450,000 by turning back meters for twelve Bronx supermarkets. And irony of ironies, one of those arrested was a "current diversion investigator"!

Con Edison has sought another solution by appealing to higher human instincts. It has launched a publicity campaign to encourage friends and neighbors to spy on each other and turn each other in. Furthermore, it offers bounties of \$10 to \$15 to its employees for each offender they report. Last year Con Edison paid \$110,000 to stool pigeons for services rendered.

"Power to the people" seems to have taken on a new meaning. And yet another index of American social decline is born.

—Cliff Conner

Saga of union defeats

From 'Operation Dixie' to J.P. Stevens

By Frank Lovell

(Second of a series)

At the merger convention that formed the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union last June, AFL-CIO President George Meany gave the oath to the officers of the new union and pledged "complete, total, all-out support" for the boycott of J.P. Stevens. It was a kind of coronation ceremony combined with crusade trappings.

But behind this was the initial formulation of a strategy to win union acceptance in the industrial South by changing certain aspects of national labor law. Especially Section 14-B of the Taft-Hartley Act, which permits—that is, encourages—state legislatures to ban the union shop.

Most top officials of the ACTWU are convinced by their thirteen-year failure to organize the textile industry that so-called right-to-work laws in the southern states are the main reason and that not much can be accomplished until these laws are abolished.

This is one of the reasons for failure, but there are others.



To organize the South...

In 1948 the textile industry began a double transformation. Synthetic fabrics were introduced to compete with wool and cotton. At the same time came an acceleration of the industry's shift from unionized New England to the nonunion, low-wage South. This process had been under way since the 1920s. But now, in a brief five-year period, the New England textile plants were virtually wiped out. Soon afterward the carpet industry likewise moved South.

1951 strikes

The Textile Workers Union of America—a CIO union launched in 1937—tried to follow the industry. In 1951 it struck most of the major companies it had organized in the North to force them to pay union wages when they moved South. Fieldcrest, Dan River, Erwin, and Cone Mills were among the large chains struck at that time. The strike failed in all of them. Union locals were wiped out or permanently crippled.

During World War II the TWUA had expanded its membership in the war industries and enjoyed the dues checkoff under War Labor Board agreement. Its total membership in 1947 was 450,000.

At the time of the merger with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers last year it had only 175,000 members. The antiunion southern climate had shriveled the TWUA to a little more than a third of its wartime size.

The failures of this union were not unique. A postwar drive by the CIO to organize the South failed. Subsequent losses of textile workers were part of this defeat.

In May 1946 CIO President Philip Murray announced the grand organizing offensive—"Operation Dixie." It was expected to bring at least one million southern workers into industrial unions within a year. Four hundred organizers were dispatched to the South. A million-dollar fund was made available to them.

It was called a "crusade." But by that time the CIO had already lost its crusading spirit in the ashes of the Second World War.

Early in 1947 the CIO Southern Organizing Committee was able to report 324 new local unions in the South. But by 1948 the campaign had faltered and was almost forgotten in the electioneering enthusiasm for Truman, "labor's friend."

That attempt to organize the South ran afoul of police terror, court injunctions, the hostile local press, frame-ups and jailings, reactionary preachers of the Christian gospel, racism, Ku Klux Klan violence, and all the other methods and agencies used by the southern ruling class to keep workers divided, unorganized, and poor.

Unionization of the South could not come about without a profound economic, social, and political transformation. This would require the mobilization of the millions of Black and white workers in a

crusade for social equality and economic advancement, a redistribution of wealth and property.

It would mean the end of the old Jim Crow system of legalized segregation.

It would mean the breakup of the one-party dictatorship of the southern Democrats.

The CIO leaders at that time were aware of this, but they refused to wage political war against the southern rulers because they feared it would undermine the national Democratic party and put an end to their coalition with the Truman administration.

In subsequent efforts to organize the South, union ties to the Democratic party have been equally disastrous. A textile strike in Henderson, North Carolina, lasted from 1958 to 1960. It was only one of many such strikes that were eventually lost.

In a reference to this particular strike, Bruce Raynor, education director of pre-merger TWUA writes:

"With the 'neutrality' of the Governor, the company framed TWUA's Southern Vice President and seven strike leaders and organizers for conspiring to dynamite company property. These eight men, despite appeals to the Supreme Court, were sentenced for terms of from two to ten years. This action broke the back of the strike and the union was out of Henderson, North Carolina."

The "neutral" governor was a member of the Democratic party, which the union was supporting.

In 1963 the TWUA and the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO launched the drive against J.P. Stevens, the first step in their new move to break the antiunion conspiracy of the textile industry. They envisioned this as the beginning of another drive that would eventually establish the union movement in the South.

Much had changed since the old CIO "Operation Dixie." The southern civil rights movement of Black people against the Jim Crow system was in full swing. It shook the old South to its roots, but it did not weaken the economic power of the industrial giants that had moved down from the North in search of cheap labor.

The rapid industrialization of the South in the wake of World War II was an essential part of the social transformation there. But industrialization did not automatically bring with it a new relationship between workers and employers. The old semifeudal relations prevailed in the isolated mill towns where the giants of textile settled in.

Union-busting methods

J.P. Stevens & Company, a New York-based operation, had no trouble adjusting to the antiunion ways of the South. It developed and refined all the old methods of fighting and destroying unions.

When the union began organizing at any of the many Stevens plants, the company would announce

to all workers that the plant would close if a majority voted for the union in a National Labor Relations Board election.

All means possible were used to postpone NLRB elections, usually in collusion with local courts and NLRB officials.

Racism was fostered by threats to white workers that the union would bring Blacks in to take the best jobs. Propaganda campaigns about "Black crime" in northern cities were organized.

Instructions were issued to all company supervisors to be vigilant against union members and organizers, and to make threats against the union. "... what must be impressed upon every supervisor is that the penalty for saying something may be the posting of a notice stating that the company will not say it again, while the penalty for saying nothing could very well be unionization," said *Textile Industries Magazine* in a six-part series on union-busting.

When it appeared as if the union was gaining support and efforts to prevent an NLRB election had failed, the company would begin firing union supporters. The penalty for this is minimal, a small expense in the antiunion budget.

In the worst outcome, where the union actually won an NLRB election—as in Roanoke Rapids, North Carolina—the company goes through the motions of bargaining.

Its bargaining conditions are no checkoff of union dues, no arbitration of grievances, and no adjustment of company-established wage rates.

If the union negotiators do not accept these terms, company representatives taunt them with the suggestion that they might like to call a strike.

Strikebreaking

In the event of a strike the company elects either to get court injunctions against picketing and police protection for strikebreakers... or it closes the plant where union support is strong and shifts the work to another of its plants.

In Statesboro, North Carolina, J.P. Stevens closed a large plant even though no strike was called. The purpose was to get rid of union sympathizers and members.

The union has the problem of organizing at least a majority of the company's key mills before it can call a successful strike, complicated by constant company harassment of union members and the inability of the union to protect them. The aim of the company is to frustrate all local initiative and destroy union morale.

These tactics convinced top union officials, after thirteen years, that they cannot organize successfully in the South until first the national labor law that favors employers is changed.

(Next week: the dead end of union legislative strategy)



Greensboro, Georgia, pickets during 1934 general strike in textile. Strike was defeated by intervention of President Franklin D. Roosevelt. Union ties to Democratic party still cripple organizing efforts.

Beginning the second decade: **THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT TODAY**



New York City, March 12, 1977

Militant/Lou Howort

By Nancy Cole

Women from across the country will gather in Detroit this month for the annual conference of the National Organization for Women.

The April 21-24 conference will celebrate NOW's tenth anniversary under the theme "The Future is NOW—on to the Second Decade."

As the largest feminist group in the country, NOW is looked to for leadership by many more women than its current 55,000 members. The conference proceedings and decisions will be watched both by supporters and by opponents of women's rights.

NOW's first decade and the new wave of feminism have shaken every aspect of American society. Women broke through long encrusted views of our inferiority and won major advances in job opportunities, social services, and the right to control our own bodies.

Many women are confident the second decade will bring even greater steps toward women's equality.

The enemies of women, however, have a different future in mind. They have begun an all-out war against all the rights we won in the first decade.

Within the past year, Congress voted to deny Medicaid funding of abortions. State after state rejected the Equal Rights Amendment. The Supreme Court ruled against disability benefits for pregnant workers. City governments axed child-care programs. The Labor Department tried to water down affirmative-action plans.

Each of these attacks has victimized poor women the most—working-class women and especially Blacks, Chicanas, and Puerto Ricans. These sisters were consciously singled out to receive the first blows, with the hope that other women would not come to their defense. But these assaults affect all women, and all women have a stake in fighting them.

These attacks constitute the second-decade agenda of the government, the Catholic church hierarchy, and the antiwoman right wing. They are determined to defeat our movement. And that means that the first point on *our* agenda must be a massive, united response to stop their attacks.

'Power within system'

Some NOW leaders believe that NOW's task in the second decade is to transform itself from a pressure group "on the outside" to a "power within the system." They propose stepping up NOW's orientation to—and dependence on—Democratic party politicians such as Jimmy Carter.

But where has reliance on "friendly" Democrats gotten women so far? The answer to that question can be best illustrated by the fate of the Equal Rights Amendment.

Despite overwhelming public support for the ERA, state legislators are turning down the measure at record rates. In states where it passed earlier, right-wing opponents are organizing to secure rescission votes. They have succeeded in three states.

Buoyed by these reactionary moves, Phyllis Schlafly's Stop ERA group has escalated its efforts.

Yet when compared with the potential power of pro-ERA forces, the anti-ERA movement pales. Last spring a NOW-sponsored national ERA march in Springfield, Illinois, attracted more than 8,000 people. A countermobilization of Schlafly's bunch was a puny 400.

Rather than moving forward from the Springfield success, however, the NOW national leadership turned its back on mass mobilizations last fall. Instead NOW devoted its efforts to lobbying and electing "pro-ERA" Democrats.

This strategy was based on Carter's promise that—if elected—he would see to it that the ERA got ratified.

Since Carter's inauguration, however, the ERA has suffered devastating defeats.

To cite a few:

- The Georgia Senate tabled the ERA January 12, despite a preelection "deal" between women's leaders and politicians that if the pro-ERA movement kept a "low profile," ratification would follow.

- The Nevada Assembly voted the ERA down February 11 after eleven Democrats—most of whom accepted campaign contributions from pro-ERA groups—switched their votes to oppose the amendment.

- The Florida Senate rejected the ERA April 13 by a vote of twenty-one to nineteen, although two weeks before, twenty-one senators were lined up in favor of the ERA.

Carter's "support" for the ERA—a few last-minute phone calls to state legislators—has begun to reveal itself as a sham.

And it's becoming clear that Carter and the Democrats have more at stake in this maneuver than just demonstrating "concern" for women's equality in order to keep up the facade.

The fact is that Carter and other "pro-ERA" Democrats are in the midst of a drive *against* women's rights, most notably abortion rights for poor women. Their claim to champion the ERA, and their feeble gestures in its behalf, are a *cover* for their attacks on other rights.

Carter wants the women's movement to believe we must make a choice between the ERA and other demands. Ignore these more controversial rights—like abortion—the Democrats say, and you'll have our support for the ERA.

This is a trap. And unfortunately the women's movement has thus far not countered this attempt to divide our ranks. Many movement leaders have tried to avoid anything that might offend, embarrass, or otherwise displease those legislators who

Continued on next page

...women's movement today

Continued from preceding page

say they support, or might at some point support, the ERA.

The right to abortion, the keystone of women's liberation, has suffered most from this strategy.

Last September's congressional approval of the Hyde amendment to cut off Medicaid funds for abortion represented the most serious threat to abortion rights since 1973, when the Supreme Court legalized the right to choose.

Instead of raising the national outcry by feminists that should have met this attack, many NOW leaders have fought to keep abortion and the ERA "separate issues." They argue that women fighting for the priority issue—ERA—should leave the abortion rights issue well enough alone.

In St. Louis this logic resulted in a shocking display, as NOW leaders joined a picket line led by the anti-abortion movement in protest of a newspaper editorial linking abortion and the ERA.

Danger of defeat

There is a very real danger that the ERA, as well as legal abortion and other rights, will be lost with this strategy.

And there is another danger in this abstention from other issues that affect poor women.

Copies of this special eight-page supplement on *The Women's Movement Today* are available for five cents each from the Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

It is the danger that the struggle for the ERA—a struggle *most* in the interests of poor women—might come to be seen as what Schlafly has always tried to label it: a "white, middle-class issue."

Rather than a champion of the rights of poor women, the feminist movement—and NOW as its major component—could begin to be seen as an enemy of Black and other oppressed people.

Such a dangerous evolution is suggested by two other issues confronting NOW members at this convention.

First is a report on affirmative action published by Twin Cities NOW last October. The study directly counterposes jobs and promotions for Blacks to those for women. It claims women are more "disadvantaged" than Blacks and that Black men have gained from affirmative action at the expense of women.

The second issue is sterilization abuse. In California a number of Chicana, Native American, and women's groups support new state guidelines intended to curb the alarming increase in forced sterilization of low-income women.

The California state board of NOW has just gone on record *against* the guidelines, charging that by requiring a fourteen-day waiting period before sterilization, the guidelines violate a woman's right to choose.

This stand pits relatively privileged white women against Black, Chicana, and other poor working-class women, who are the frequent victims of racist medical and welfare officials.

The need to protect their rights through some form of waiting period was totally ignored by the NOW board.

In an April 18 *Village Voice* article, Jane Wholey reports that there is a debate among California NOW members over this issue.

"One local chapter, and probably two, will publicize resolutions supporting the guidelines," Wholey writes. "Members of both chapters have asked NOW to put the guidelines questions on the agenda at this year's national convention. . . ."

"If the convention votes against the principle of guidelines or the extended waiting period, the movement to halt sterilization abuse could be seriously set back."

Women will be watching the NOW conference deliberations. It is essential that these two issues—affirmative action and forced sterilization—be discussed. NOW must take an unequivocal stand against racism by repudiating the Twin Cities report and the California opposition to sterilization guidelines.

If NOW is to grow and become a more powerful force fighting for all women, it must take the lead in defending those most trampled on by this sexist, racist system.

'Defending Women's Rights'

This is the perspective outlined in the "Defending Women's Rights in the Second Decade" resolution, initiated by Rhonda Rutherford and Clare Fraenzl. Rutherford is a Black member of Philadelphia NOW; Fraenzl is that chapter's vice-president for liaison.

The resolution was submitted to the national conference by more than eighty women from NOW chapters across the country.

The Defending Women's Rights resolution proposes that NOW reject reliance on Democratic party politicians and that it instead rely on the power of a massive women's movement to fight for the needs of women.

Each new attack on women must be met with a united response, these NOW members say. Defending abortion rights, maternity benefits, and affirmative action, and protesting sterilization abuse must be top priorities for NOW.

The proposal suggests that NOW call a national demonstration for the fall to protest the attacks. And it proposes other activities, such as rallies, picket lines, and educational conferences.

If NOW were to adopt this course, it could attract to its ranks thousands of women, especially those who have the most to gain from standing up and fighting back against the current wave of attacks.

These women are ready and willing to move.

From March 5 to March 12 this year, feminists commemorated International Women's Day in many cities by demonstrating for the ERA and against government attacks on abortion, child care, affirmative action, and other rights.

The actions were modest in size. But there was a notable participation in some cities by Black, Puerto Rican, and other women of oppressed nationalities.

The authority and strength that the national NOW leadership could have brought to these actions was absent. But NOW can and should lead this movement.

In order to do so, however, NOW has to address itself to the needs of Black and other working women—which *are* NOW's needs too. NOW can and must involve these sisters in actions that can demonstrate women's real power.

California resolutions

A series of other resolutions before the NOW conference refuse to address these crucial issues. Instead they point toward deepening NOW's reliance on the Democratic party as the road toward equality.

This course is outlined in two resolutions presented to the conference from the California NOW leadership.

First is a proposal to form Political Action Committees. These PACs, already under consideration by several state NOWs, would collect money and parcel it out to candidates endorsed by NOW.

The second resolution by the California state board proposes a National ERA Mobilization Strike Force to coordinate future ERA efforts at all levels. It is a proposal to focus ERA support actions on lobbying and related activities.

This is not a new strategy. In fact, it's the strategy that has led to ERA defeats for years. Yet in the face of these defeats, the NOW leadership says that the only step left is to turn toward the 1978 elections.

In March, a fund appeal from the NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund explained that prospects for the ERA were good in Florida and that there was an "outside chance" in South Carolina. But other than that:

"There is no other state where we have the votes this year! Next year is probably hopeless, since the same legislators will be in office in the unratified states. That leaves us only a few months in 1979 to beat the deadline of March 22, 1979."

But if legislators can change their votes en masse to oppose the ERA as they did in Nevada, *they can switch them back the other way too*. They will only do that, however, if the pressure is great enough. That kind of mass pressure doesn't come from lobbying in ones and twos or even in twenties.

The fact is that lobbying as a *strategy* is unavoidably ineffective. In the case of the women's movement, it involves a small number of "experts" who meet behind the scenes with legislators. With no visible massive power to back these women up, it is more likely that the legislators influence the women than the other way around.

This strategy ignores the need to mobilize the movement's real strength, which is ourselves: Black, Chicana, Puerto Rican, and other nationally oppressed women; trade-union women; students; the masses of American women who support the goals of women's liberation.

Discussion needed

The Defending Women's Rights resolution and the resolutions that counterpose relying on politicians to relying on women must *all* be seriously weighed by conference delegates. Discussion around these two opposing perspectives is the most important task facing the national conference.

Unfortunately, preparations for the conference and the conference itself have not been organized to provide for this urgent exchange of ideas. None of the resolutions proposed by NOW members were even distributed in advance to local chapters by the NOW national office.

Nevertheless, a lively discussion has taken place in some NOW chapters around the different proposals for NOW's second decade. These debates have convinced many members of the value of a full, democratic discussion at this national conference.

But the agenda for the conference leaves almost no time to consider political resolutions. The primary focus is instead placed on electing NOW's national officers. The agenda point on resolutions is left to the very end, Sunday afternoon.

As important as the election of officers is, it should be based on the decisions by delegates of what to *do* over the next year. This is the main job of the conference.

NOW's tenth national gathering poses a challenge to the entire organization.

During its first decade, NOW helped popularize the ideas of women's liberation. It made major contributions to the battles that won rights for women.

Today these rights are threatened. If they are to be maintained and if NOW's second decade is to see an expansion of women's rights, NOW must act.



Militant/Ginny Hildebrand

Florence Luscomb: veteran suffragist still fighting



Luscomb addresses women's rights rally of today

By Carol Henderson Evans

BOSTON—The Boston Community Church recently honored a woman who has been active in virtually every major social struggle since the turn of the century. Many people at the February 6 gathering had marched, picketed, and leafleted with her.

The occasion marked the ninetieth birthday of Florence Luscomb.

Shortly after the meeting Luscomb talked with the *Militant* about her long and productive life.

She is best known for her role in the suffrage movement. Today, Luscomb is a favorite speaker at demonstrations for the Equal Rights Amendment and abortion rights.

The veteran feminist often tells audiences that her mother first took her to a suffragist meeting in 1892. Luscomb was only five then, but she remembers hearing Susan B. Anthony.

Luscomb also joined labor struggles. She told that as a young girl she got up very early one morning to travel to Lynn, a town just north of Boston, to hear socialist leader Eugene V. Debs address a rally of workers.

In 1920, when Luscomb cast her first presidential vote, she marked her ballot for Debs.

As we talked, she handed me a copy of a speech she delivered in 1957 at Goddard College. She described for the students what it meant to be denied the vote and to fight for it:

"I burned with indignation at this insult to my human dignity. . . .

"I inevitably took an active part in the fight for women suffrage. I stood speaking upon soapboxes on street corners. I marched in parades. I walked up and down on Boston Common as a sandwichwoman to advertise a rally. I handed out leaflets at mill gates.

"I sold the *Women's Journal* on the streets as a newsboy [during the interview she dug out the yellowing permit she had obtained to license her as a newspaper hawker]. . . .

"I painted a sign to hang on the elephant when the circus came to town. . . . I took part in campaigns for suffrage in New York, Maine, Ohio, Rhode Island, Virginia, and in Great Britain. I spoke in three-quarters of the cities and towns of Massachusetts, at one time making 222 speeches in nineteen weeks."

Luscomb's speech also explained, "Campaigning for votes for women let my life mingle with the whole human race, and never again could I lose touch with humanity."

In particular, Luscomb says, she often spoke for women's suffrage before Black church groups and clubs. This experience fired her with outrage against racism. In the 1920s she joined the Boston chapter of the NAACP.

Though trained as an architect at MIT, she became a member of the Boston local of the Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Accountants Union, AFL.

"After the CIO was founded," Luscomb said, "I was a charter member of the Boston local of the United Office and Professional Workers

The horrors of World War I taught her "that it was of supreme importance to establish permanent peace, and that everything that happens in any country is of concern to us." Luscomb calls herself "a citizen of the world." She marched against the Vietnam War in the 1960s and 1970s.

All of her work led her into conflict with the government. In her Goddard College speech, delivered shortly after the heyday of the McCarthy witch-hunt, Luscomb blasted the Democratic and

Republican parties as the tools of "bipartisan dictators"—the capitalists.

She told the students that a new party is needed, one that "would be the instrument of labor, farmers, and the common people generally."

As we sat in the Cambridge house she shares with a number of students and young workers, we talked about present struggles.

She quoted statistics to show that women and Blacks still suffer higher unemployment and lower salaries. "The worst oppression against women that still remains is against working women and Black women especially," she concluded.

Luscomb emphasized the need for child-care centers. During a trip to China in 1962, she learned that factories there maintain centers on the premises.

Luscomb has marched in recent prodesegregation demonstrations in Boston. She compares them to civil rights protests she marched in down South.

Her voice grew angry talking about the rocks thrown at Black students bused into South Boston and Charlestown.

Luscomb also discussed developments in the labor movement. When Ed Sadlowski stepped forward to lead the fight for democracy in the United Steelworkers and ran for union president, Luscomb contributed to the Steelworkers Fight Back campaign.

She supports the United Farm Workers union and the Native American movement as well.

She's spoken at Socialist Workers party campaign rallies and voted SWP to show her solidarity with those who pose an alternative to the parties of big business.

She is also an endorser of the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance suit against FBI and CIA harassment of dissidents.

Luscomb's name appears in documents on the women's movement recently released by the FBI. In them the G-men call her "a person who in the past has been identified as a 'subversive.'"

This epithet may stem from the days of the Massachusetts Commission on Communism. I recently read part of the testimony Luscomb gave when she was called before this witch-hunt panel on January 7, 1955:

"I will not be an accessory to your subversion. I will not answer compulsory questions by government inquisitors into matters of my conscience, and opinions, speech, writings, associations, and political views. . . .

"I have spent my entire life publicly advocating ideas. Outside the walls of this compulsory inquisition I am eager to tell you and all my fellow Americans of my ideas and activities. But I cannot and will not tear up the Constitution and its guaranteed liberties, won with blood and tears."

Today, the tables are turning. Government spies and inquisitors face hostile public scrutiny while Luscomb is looked to with admiration by a new generation of fighters for social progress.

"We are in an age of great transition," she told me. "Just as feudalism gave way to capitalism, so do I think the change from capitalism to a socialist or communist form is inevitable."

Florence Luscomb's activism has spanned nearly a century of struggles for social justice. She continues to inspire feminists, but her commitment and activity embrace all those struggling against oppression.

Luscomb's philosophy might best be summed up in the title of the talk she gave at her ninetieth birthday celebration: "For a Second American Revolution."

These women support the Political Rights Defense Fund.

The Political Rights Defense Fund is organizing support for the lawsuit by the Socialist Workers party against government harassment. That's the lawsuit that has uncovered details about FBI burglaries, Cointelpro disruption plots, and political spying.

These women—along with more than 400 other prominent supporters of civil liberties—are sponsors of the Political Rights Defense Fund. Their support, and yours, makes it possible to find out even more about what the government has done against the movements for social change.

If you want to sponsor the Political Rights Defense Fund, return this coupon to PRDF, Post Office Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

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REV. WILLIE BARROW
Vice-president,
Operation PUSH

Sylvia Law is an associate professor of law at New York University. She argued successfully in federal court against the Hyde amendment, a Congressional ban on Medicaid-funded abortions. Law is author of the book "The Rights of the Poor." She is a member of the National Organization for Women.

Militant staff writer Gale Shango interviewed Law April 1.

Question. What generally is the status of abortion rights?

Answer. I am more than a little bit worried. Right now there is a tremendous movement in the states to ask Congress to convene a constitutional convention that could make abortion illegal. These resolutions for a constitutional convention are slipping through the state legislatures without anybody being there to protest them. It is very serious.

Almost every state is attempting to restrict abortion rights in one way or another—whether it is the rights of minors to abortion or restrictive advertising legislation so you don't even know where you can get abortions. There have also been efforts to restrict the right to contraception.

Even the July 1 U. S. Supreme Court ruling on minor women, while generally good, has its problems.

States cannot give parents a blanket veto on a young woman's right to choose abortion. But the court said parents can veto a young woman's decision if they are acting in her "best interest" and if she is sufficiently "immature."

Then there are problems with forced

sterilizations of Black and poor women. Sterilization abuse is really the same issue as abortion restrictions. They both deny women the right to control their own bodies.

Q. What challenges are there to the Hyde amendment?

A. There are two major suits on Medicaid in the Supreme Court.

One is a suit from Connecticut and Pennsylvania, which was filed before the Hyde amendment passed. In this case, the Supreme Court is going to decide whether states can refuse to use Medicaid funds for abortion.

The case was argued January 7 and is now awaiting Supreme Court action.

The second suit is a direct challenge to the Hyde amendment. We won this case in the lower federal court and the government is now asking for Supreme Court review.

In both cases the lower federal courts have ruled that it is unconstitutional for Medicaid to pay for other pregnancy related services without paying for abortions.

Q. What argument did Hyde amendment supporters use in its defense?

A. The people that support the Hyde amendment believe abortion is wrong.

Their argument was essentially that if you can't get a constitutional amendment outlawing abortions, this is at least one step in the right direction.

They also argued that while abortion might be a right, that doesn't mean you have the right to ask the government to pay for it.

Q. Why did anti-abortion politicians

decide to attack abortion rights through the Hyde amendment?

A. They are against abortion. And they feel that if you can't stop rich and middle-class women from getting abortions, at least you can stop poor women.

They recognize that poor women are politically vulnerable. This is because the women's movement up to now has essentially been composed of middle-class women.

But this is not something that the women's movement is particularly proud of. So here is a good, concrete opportunity for the women's movement to show its solidarity.

The women's movement has to fight for all women—especially those hardest hit.

One thing is for sure. If we lose on the Medicaid issue, it will give them fire to push for the constitutional amendment. The Hyde amendment is only a first attack, and they are quite open about that.

Q. What are the chances for winning the challenges in the courts against the Hyde amendment?

A. Intellectually I don't see how we can lose these cases. Given the 1973 Supreme Court decision [legalizing abortion], given that Medicaid programs pay for every kind of service related to pregnancy, I don't see how constitutionally the courts can say anything but that federal funds have to be made available.

If you wanted my opinion as a lawyer I would say we have a 100 percent chance of winning. But that is logically and intellectually speaking. It doesn't take the politics into account.

Feminist discusses of abort



SYLVIA LAW

Why Socialist Workers party fi

By Willie Mae Reid

For two years I crisscrossed the country as the Socialist Workers party's 1976 vice-presidential candidate. I spoke on campuses, in high schools, and at community forums. There was always great interest in what my party has to say about the fight for women's liberation.

Feminists in my audiences seemed genuinely pleased to hear a candidate hitting hard for the demands of women—especially since the Republican and Democratic party hopefuls were either silent on these issues or, like Jimmy Carter, attacked such crucial rights as abortion.

These women nodded agreement when ever I talked about how feminists are challenging women's second-class status in every sphere—jobs, education, politics, science, the arts, sports.

But they also wanted to know if women in my party are feminists, and what socialists stand for in the women's movement.



WILLIE MAE REID

I explained that the Socialist Workers party wholeheartedly supports the goals of the women's movement. The injustices faced by women—along with Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and all working people—are precisely why we are socialists to begin with.

As socialists we want to change the society where a small number of white, male capitalists control the lives and welfare of millions of people. The fight for women's rights is an important step toward a new society.

Sometimes women asked me if that meant that socialists were only interested in building the women's movement for the socialist revolution in the future.

I explained that the SWP is in the thick of the fight women are waging for gains now. We help organize picket lines, rallies, speak-outs, and marches demanding passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, protesting anti-abortion laws, and defending child-care centers, for example.

The SWP starts from the recognition that women

can't sit around waiting for someone else to give us our rights. And women can't put off our struggles until later or put them aside for anyone else's.

By struggling, women have won and will continue to win concessions in this system. When the women's movement organizes its power, we can force changes that help all sisters. That will inspire more women to join our struggle.

Second wave of feminism

From the beginning socialists worked to swell the second wave of feminism in this country. In 1970 the SWP, along with the National Organization for Women and other groups, threw itself into organizing the August 26 demonstration of 40,000 in New York City. That was the first massive women's demonstration since the suffrage movement.

Socialists were active in organizing the national campaign to legalize abortion that helped win the 1973 Supreme Court ruling. During my campaign in 1976, I urged my audiences to join the May 16 national ERA demonstration in Springfield, Illinois, called by NOW.

Today, socialists are helping to organize actions in defense of abortion rights for Medicaid recipients, affirmative action, and child care, and to ratify the ERA.

A powerful women's movement is needed to lead these activities and win broad support for them in the labor movement, in the Black community, and among students and other groups.

May 16 brought out more than 8,000 ERA supporters. It showed that NOW has the authority and resources to lead a national fight to counter the barrage of attacks on women's rights.

Socialists join NOW and seek to build it to help NOW realize its potential as a massive, powerful force for women's rights. We are also active in many other feminist groups.

Sometimes women asked me: Doesn't the visible presence of socialists in the feminist movement hurt the movement? Don't you scare women away and alienate powerful allies such as Democratic party politicians?

'Smear tactics'

Eleanor Smeal, head of NOW's national board, answered this question last month at a Virginia state NOW conference.

"I've heard complaints," Smeal said, "about our

image—the gay signs and socialist signs at rallies. We have to learn to respond to those complaints. They are smear tactics. We all have to stick together if we are going to win our rights."

She is absolutely right. It takes a united movement to fight the powerful forces that want to keep women locked into a subhuman status in society. We'll get nowhere if we relegate some women to second-class status within the movement or exclude them altogether.

To give an inch to the concept that association with socialists will discredit the women's movement plays right into the hands of our enemies. Their goal is to divide us.

The Socialist Workers party lawsuit against government harassment of dissidents verifies this. We've unearthed telling evidence on how the FBI



attorney s status on rights



Militant/Ginny Hildebrand

This is a period in which the Supreme Court is doing a lot of things people are finding incomprehensible. How else can you explain the ruling against giving benefits to pregnant workers?

Q. Why have the anti-abortion forces had such success in restricting abortion rights?

A. I don't think the Supreme Court decision of 1973 would ever have been decided if there hadn't been a strong women's movement, speaking out and explaining to people why the issue of abortion is so important. And that has faded.

We have to go back to being much more outspoken about the bad old days. About what it was like before the 1973 decision. People just aren't aware that the right to abortion is in danger.

What we have to keep in mind is that the antichoice people are fanatics. They are well organized and very active.

And we, the women's movement, haven't been well organized, and we haven't been as active as we should be. We have put our trust in the courts rather than in ourselves.

The antichoice people feel very, very strongly—partly for religious reasons. But probably more out of an antiwoman bias. So they won't be giving up.

The courts are affected by what Congress does. We are expecting a lot for the courts to overrule the majority of Congress, the president, and the secretary of HEW [by ruling against the Hyde amendment].

The courts are also affected by what they feel the political reality to be. The sad thing is that the reality is often not

recognized. The political reality is that most Americans, even most Catholic Americans, support the right to choose. We are just not as outspoken as the anti-abortionists.

Q. What is the present status of the Hyde amendment?

A. The Hyde amendment was passed as a rider to an appropriations bill. The bill must be reenacted every year. So the amendment will expire on its own at the end of September unless Congress reenacts it.

Right now the Hyde amendment is still part of the appropriations bill for next year. Until the middle of April, it is probably going to be in the HEW subcommittee of the appropriations committee. Then it moves to the full appropriations committee. From there it will move to the full floor of the House. Then there will be a fight in the House.

Whether we win or lose at each stage, we can predict we will have to fight at the next one. So from now until June or July the Hyde amendment is going to be debated in one place or another.

Q. Some sections of the women's liberation movement supported Democrats in the 1976 elections. Yet Democrats, like Carter and Califano, support the Hyde amendment. What do you think about that?

A. Well, Carter is good in some ways. But on abortion he is terrible. And Califano is even worse.

They are acting like they will do as much to restrict abortion as they can get away with. But then again, they

are responding to how they see the political situation.

Q. What do you think supporters of women's right to choose should be doing in response to these attacks?

A. Most people in Congress don't see the issue of abortion as a matter of principle. Some do. But most see it as an issue of practical politics.

Congresspeople will change positions if they see that voters are going to vote against them because of their stand on abortion.

We have to make it plain that there are people out there who are fanatical about the right to choose. Part of the problem is that women have been too nice.

We have to make it clear that a politician's position on abortion makes a difference. In some elections, like the Carter/Ford election, it means that there will be no one to vote for. But that is OK.

There are so many things we could be doing: Taking out ads that call the Hyde amendment to people's attention. Sending copies of the ads to people in Congress. Talking to Congress. Writing letters. Organizing demonstrations.

We should be persistent, and we should not go away. We should be there in ways that the legislators can't forget. Demonstrations are a good way to do that.

The demonstration outside Califano's office, held this past March, is a good example. Also, there is going to be a Mother's Day march in Washington, D.C., May 8 in defense of abortion rights.

hts for women's liberation

tried to destroy the women's movement by red-baiting, that is, branding ideas of socialists as suspect or foreign to the feminist movement.

Conscious disruption

Among the documents released by the FBI to the SWP was a smear pamphlet written and circulated by the FBI. It was called *Exploitation of Women's Movement by Socialist Workers Party*.

The FBI wrote that the SWP was not really interested in winning abortion rights; it was just trying to "control" and "use" the movement for its own "subversive" ends.

But the FBI's own description of what we were doing shows what the FBI was *really* worried about. Their pamphlet said we were subversive because we "backed all measures and all groups

engaged in the struggle to grant women the right to privacy in their personal and sexual associations, the right to control their own motherhood, and the right to free abortion on demand.

The truth shows just how outrageous FBI slanders against socialist feminists are. There isn't one iota of evidence to support any charge of "subversive" acts by anyone in the SWP. And the government has had to admit this after watching us for forty years!

The FBI's red-baiting tactics were designed to disrupt the abortion rights movement. They wanted to scare women away from its activities and cast suspicion on socialists and our ideas. By breeding fear and distrust among women, the FBI sought to destroy the movement.

Some feminists themselves fall prey to red-baiting. They try to discredit certain women and certain ideas by branding them socialist. Or they accuse socialists of trying to "manipulate" the women's movement because we discuss our ideas and distribute our literature at women's conferences.

Democracy

Socialists believe all women in the movement have the *right* to express their opinions, explain their ideas, and distribute their literature. We are the most consistent fighters for democracy in the women's movement.

In preparation for this NOW conference, SWP women in NOW have supported the idea of an open discussion of NOW's priorities. We think it's important to discuss how to respond to the present onslaught of attacks on women's rights. We think NOW members need a thorough political debate on the best way to open up NOW to all women. We think such a discussion will *build* NOW.

Unfortunately, some women in NOW have responded to the preconference discussion in the opposite way. Rather than favoring a free and open discussion, these women have warned of the danger of "socialist" ideas, which they counterpose to "feminist" ideas.

What these women are really saying is that they don't agree with our proposals for NOW. But instead of voicing their disagreement openly, they try to cloud the issue by red-baiting.

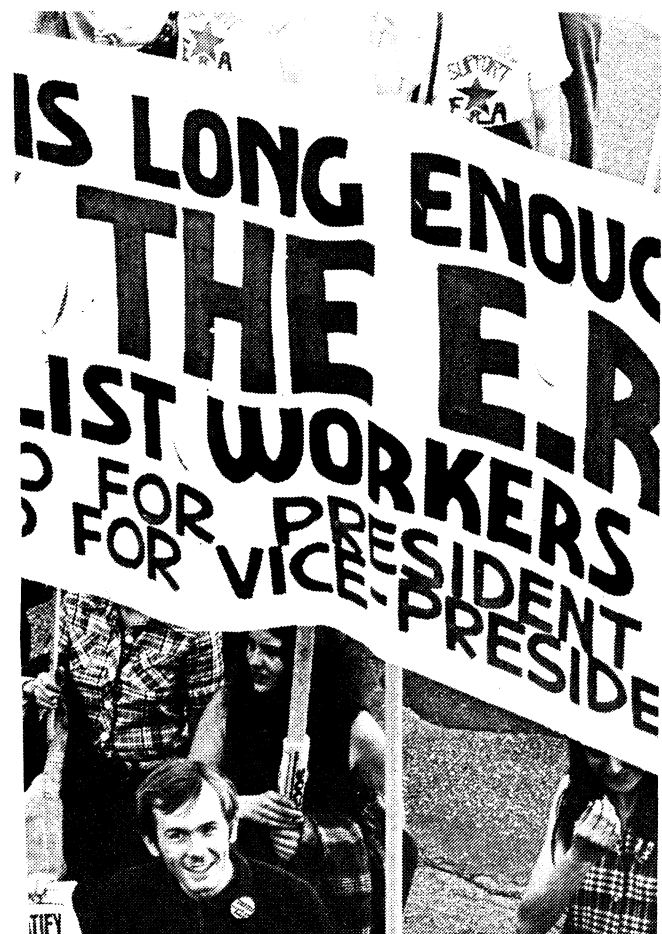
We don't expect unanimity of opinion in the women's movement. We simply ask for an open,

democratic discussion where all proposals can be debated up and down on the basis of their merit. That's the only way a united course of action can be identified and decided on democratically by majority vote.

The next logical question for many women is: Should feminists become socialists? I answer that question from my own experience.

I first got involved by struggling against racial inequality during the southern civil rights movement. I slowly became aware of my sexual oppression. When I joined with other women to fight against it, I began to understand that liberation would never come under capitalism.

My party is dedicated to fighting for a better society, a socialist society. And that's the perspective we hold out to women when we urge them to join the Socialist Workers party.



Militant/Jean Vertheim

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NOW and affirmative action

Minn. women seek reversal of racist report

By Ilona Gersh

MINNEAPOLIS—The National Organization for Women will have an opportunity to take a clear stand against racism at its conference in Detroit April 21-24.

NOW members from Minneapolis are asking the national gathering to repudiate a report on employment issued last fall by the Twin Cities chapter of NOW.

The report—"The Position of Women as a Disadvantaged Group in Minnesota State Government Employment"—contends that, compared with women, Blacks have gotten too many jobs from Minnesota state agencies.

The report is an all-out attack on the limited affirmative-action gains made by Blacks in state employment. It calls for upgrading affirmative action for women at the expense of Blacks.

Prominent leaders and groups in the Twin Cities Black community—including representatives of the NAACP, Urban League, Urban Coalition, and St. Paul NOW Minority Task Force—immediately denounced the report as racist.

Blacks are familiar with assaults on affirmative action by big business. But they were shocked when the attack came from the city's leading feminist organization.

The report has divided Twin Cities NOW. Most local officers endorsed the

report, but a number of NOW activists denounced it.

The report says that "disadvantages due to sex are greater than those due to race" and that "current affirmative action efforts are directed disproportionately toward racial minorities."

'Equal Justice Resolution'

NOW activists who oppose the report have submitted "The Equal Justice Resolution for Women and Oppressed Nationalities" to the NOW national conference.

The resolution says that recent gains by Blacks in state employment have been minuscule. It says that Black and female affirmative-action programs should not be counterposed, but that the fight for Black and women's rights must go hand in hand.

The Equal Justice Resolution calls for repudiation of the report and urges NOW to campaign against both sexist and racist hiring practices. It points out that NOW's national statement of purpose places the organization in solidarity with the struggles of all oppressed people for equality.

Racial oppression is one of the most serious problems this society faces, and feminists must be unequivocal in their support for the antiracist struggle.

The report received widespread publicity in the local news media, which

saw an attack by the women's movement on the Black movement as a newsworthy event.

Predictably, the report has given NOW a bad name among Black activists in the area.

The few Black NOW members in Twin Cities NOW are among the strongest critics of the report. They say they have been embarrassed that an organization they belong to has taken such a stance.

Ramona Austin, coordinator of the St. Paul NOW Minority Task Force, is an outspoken opponent of the report. In an interview carried in the area's three Black newspapers this month, she explained that a "united struggle" is "an absolute necessity" for national minorities and women.

Enough for everyone

"There is enough in this society for women and minorities," Austin said.

Austin criticized the NOW leadership for supporting the report. "It's too bad," she said, "that politically unastute people should be in a position of power in the feminist movement. Unfortunately, their lack of understanding has allowed them to support a document which has been proven to be erroneous and which is divisive and biased."

She said that if the leadership of the women's movement doesn't understand this need for unity, "it will drive out minority participation, alienate politically aware white people in the movement, and degenerate into a tea party."

The destructiveness of the report is undeniable. Movements for social change have to rely on each other for support and cooperation, not compete with each other as enemies.

The report poses a concrete threat to jobs already held by Blacks. As one NOW activist put it, "If you complain to your mother that your brother's slice of pie is bigger than yours, what will she do? More than likely, she would cut a piece of his and give it to you."

Activists within Twin Cities NOW sought to have the chapter withdraw its name from the report, but were unsuccessful.

At a chapter meeting March 27, officers of NOW who support the report pulled a parliamentary maneuver by calling for a quorum to keep a membership vote on the report from taking place. There hadn't been a quorum present for a Twin Cities NOW meeting in months.

After being stifled by undemocratic procedures, opponents of the report turned to the national NOW organization for support. They have circulated the Equal Justice Resolution to other chapters throughout the country.

NOW members held a news conference in Minneapolis, which was widely covered, announcing that they had dissociated themselves from the report and plan to take the issue to their national conference.

'Start to heal wounds'

Gillian Furst, a longtime activist in Twin Cities NOW, chaired the news conference. An author of the "Equal Justice Resolution," Furst told reporters, "As a loyal NOW member, I want to assure the Black community and other supporters of affirmative action that we intend to start to heal the wounds that this report has caused."

"The feminist movement in general, and NOW nationally, support affirmative action for all oppressed people, including Blacks, Native Americans, and other oppressed nationalities. Both women and oppressed nationalities are at the bottom of the ladder in employment. We must stand up together. We must be united."

The board of Twin Cities NOW then voted to remove Furst from her appointed post as chapter Equal Rights Amendment representative. Two board members, who are not supporters of the Equal Justice Resolution but knew of the news conference in advance, were formally reprimanded for not informing other board members.

Colo. Chicanas meet to 'air problems'

By Miguel Pendás

BOULDER, Colo.—Irene Blea Gutiérrez and Virginia Maestas have been busy in recent weeks organizing Colorado's first Chicana conference.

The conference is set for April 22-23 at the University of Colorado in Boulder. The *Militant* recently interviewed Gutiérrez and Maestas to learn why they felt this conference of women was important.

Maestas grew up in the San Luis Valley in a family of migrant farm workers.

She didn't learn English until the fourth grade. Because of language discrimination in testing, she was almost placed in a class for retarded children.

She and her brothers never went beyond the ninth grade.

Born in northern New Mexico, Irene Gutiérrez also did not speak English well when she started school. Nonetheless, after her family moved to Pueblo, she managed to work her way through college. She now teaches a popular class on "La Chicana" at the University of Colorado at Boulder.

"The more I got into positions where I had to support myself and my daughter, the more I began to realize that not only was I faced with racism in this society, but I also encountered sexism," Gutiérrez said.

Now that she is working toward a PhD in sociology, she finds that in the academic world "minorities and women have to prove themselves twice."

"Many Chicanas identify with the Equal Rights Amendment, the right to abortion, affirmative action, and



Virginia Maestas (left) and Irene Blea Gutiérrez. "We, as Chicanas, have to get in there and push for changes by and for women."

socialized day care," Gutiérrez said. But nonetheless, they feel somewhat estranged from the women's liberation movement, because they have their own cultural background and needs.

"I agree with that," said Maestas. "But we're not working to separate from Chicano men." She feels that Chicanas must assert their special needs and at the same time maintain their ties with Chicano culture.

When Gutiérrez's father learned of her involvement in Chicana issues, he asked her, "Why women? Aren't there more important things in the world, like the Democratic and Republican parties?"

"I just had to tell him that those parties are not interested in the needs of our people. Now he is a lot more sensitive and interested in what I'm doing."

Gutiérrez believes there is a lack of understanding and consciousness in the Chicano movement on the special problems of Chicanas.

In fact, she traces the idea for the Chicana conference back to a March 1976 Chicano conference. During one of the sessions a male referred to a female as a *jita* (*hijita*—little girl), and said condescendingly, "You've got to get your stuff together, baby."

"The women booed," Gutiérrez says, "and I thought someone was

going to stand up and speak to that, but nobody did. I was just fuming."

So she took the floor herself and said, "We can no longer tolerate this type of sexist behavior."

She recounted, "Half the people stood up and started thrusting fists in the air. That night I decided there is going to be a Chicana conference."

After Gutiérrez met Maestas later that year, the plan for the conference began to take shape.

Maestas says she felt her goal would be satisfied "if we could just get one mass meeting and air all these questions and fears and problems and solutions."

Maestas has found a very positive response from most women she has talked to about the conference. Even the women who didn't know how to relate to it, in her opinion, were aware that they had special problems as Chicanas.

A common problem among some Chicanas in their middle or late thirties and forties is that they have "supported their husbands by typing or whatever, reared a family, put their husband through school, and now they can't get back into the work force."

"We, as Chicanas, have to get in there and push for changes by and for women."

Gutiérrez and Maestas both said they felt unsure as to exactly what position to take in regard to some controversial issues involving Chicanas.

"We have to sit down and talk these things out."

A Chicana conference should be an excellent opportunity to do just that.

Woman steelworker 'set up' for injury

By Mark Shaver

HOUSTON—I met Sara Jean Johnston at her apartment in Houston's East End, one of the older working-class neighborhoods in this highly industrialized city.

Johnston works for Hughes Tool Company. She is an active member of United Steelworkers Local 1742.

Hughes Tool Company has a long history of discrimination against women and minority workers.

Blacks were segregated in the plant until 1964. Chicanos were not hired at all until then. It wasn't until the early seventies that the company was forced to hire women on the same basis as men. Johnston is one of the young women who has gone to work at Hughes since then.

When I met Johnston she was recovering from a serious back injury that she had suffered at work. She lay on a couch, obviously in some pain, as we talked. I asked her what it was like to be a female steelworker at Hughes.

"It starts the very first day, the day you go in to apply for a job," Johnston began. "They ask about your marriage plans. If you're married they ask what your husband thinks of your working. They ask why you want to work at Hughes."

"Why do we want to work at Hughes? It's one of the best-paying jobs a woman can get in Houston."

"I have to buy groceries. I have to pay my rent. Some of us are raising families."

"But they always treat us as if we're just a second income for a man somewhere."

"Then they try to scare you. They show movies of on-the-job injuries and accidents. But all that is only the beginning."

"You see, they have what I call a front-door-back-door policy. They've been forced to hire us, but they don't like it and they do everything they can to drive us out. The court orders were a front door into the plant, but the back door is there too."



Militant/Lynn Henderson

SARA JEAN JOHNSTON

"The supervisors are sexists. They make references to your sex constantly and make it clear that they don't think you have a right to work there, at least not in the better-paying jobs."

"We're put on the hardest, filthiest jobs. If we say anything about that, they suggest we quit. 'See, the women can't take it,' they say."

"This attitude comes from management. The men on the jobs, especially the younger men, generally support us. They've been affected by the women's movement, by their friends, and they'll support us when we stand up for our rights."

"When I first started at Hughes I worked outside in the steelyards with a group of young men. They encouraged me to join the union. One guy told me that the union needed more active women. Of course, I joined."

Johnston had campaigned for the Steelworkers Fight Back slate in the

recent election for international union officers. I asked her why.

"To me," she answered, "Ed Sadowski and the others on his slate stood for a union where every single member has a voice and a vote on every decision. They stood for equal rights in the union."

"We need a leadership that's willing to lead everybody in a fight for their rights—men and women, Blacks, Chicanos, and whites, everybody."

I asked Johnston about her accident, which took place shortly after the union election.

"It was an extreme example of what I'm talking about in the plant. It was like a public lynching."

"When I went to work that night," Johnston continued, "my supervisor told me he had a 'special' job for me. He wanted me to work on top of a big welding machine where I was supposed to lift a hot tool joint with a pair of tongs and lower it between my legs into position to be welded onto a pipe."

"They had changed their orders around so that I would be working with the biggest, heaviest joints and pipes that they make. This is a job that they use to drive people out of the plant when they want to get rid of them."

"All the supervisors from the shops around had left their areas and were standing around the machine watching. It was obviously a setup."

"Before I started, several union activists came up and warned me about what was going on. They told me to work as slowly as I could, and no matter what happened, not to say that I couldn't do the job. They could fire me if I said that."

"These unionists also said they would stay there and watch everything that happened. They knew it could have been any of them up there."

"Anyway, I started working very slowly hoping they'd take me off this job. I lifted two of the pieces. But while I was lowering the third one, it pulled me down and forward into the machine."

"I knew immediately that I'd hurt my back pretty severely. But the supervisors didn't move to help me. They watched while I crawled down from the machine. An ambulance took me out of the plant."

"Just before I left, my supervisor told me that if I came back without being 'coded,' which means restricted to lighter work and lower pay, he would put me right back on that same job."

"This happened to me because I'm an outspoken person—an outspoken woman and an outspoken union activist. That's the way the company deals with people who stand up for their rights. The company has succeeded in firing a lot of people or forcing them to quit through just this kind of attack."

I asked Johnston what sort of action was being taken in response to this.

"Of course the main channel for fighting back is the union. We've filed a grievance and we'll fight down the line. What happened to me and to others is really an attack on the union and every individual member."

"But we shouldn't stop there. What's happening to women at places like Hughes affects all women. We should establish ties to the broader women's movement and fight together. That's why I've been in touch with the National Organization for Women to seek their support in this fight."

"I think the most encouraging thing that has come out of my accident is the formation of a women's committee. Our local president, W.R. Morris, has appointed four women to make up this committee. I'm one of them."

"Our committee will be taking up issues that affect women right in the plant on the job. This could be one of the biggest steps forward for women at Hughes Tool. Through this we can organize ourselves and bring our strength to bear on the problems in front of us."

Although forced into inactivity by her injury, it's clear that Sara Jean Johnston is a fighter who won't be kept down for long.

The sterilization of Norma Jean Serena

By Linda Willaman

PHILADELPHIA—Norma Jean Serena is Native American, poor, and in 1970 was living with a Black man. For these reasons she was sterilized without her knowledge or consent.

Serena is now suing ten individuals—doctors and welfare case-workers—and a hospital, charging them with conspiracy and with violations of her constitutional rights.

Her nightmare began nearly seven years ago when a neighbor filed an anonymous complaint with the Armstrong, Pennsylvania, County Welfare Department. (Armstrong County is near Pittsburgh.) The neighbor charged that Serena was unmarried and living with a Black man.

The welfare department then began spying on Serena. The official report noted that Serena was an "unmarried American Indian cohabitating with a Negro man."

Caseworkers began harassing Serena about her relationship with Black men and its effect on the care of her children.

They then informed Serena that because her children were "ill" the law required they be placed in foster homes. Her children were actually in good health. The caseworkers did not tell her they were planning for her children's permanent adoption.

In August 1970 Serena gave birth to another child. She was still exhausted from the ordeal of labor, when doctors pressured her into signing a "form for treatment." It gave legal consent for her sterilization. But it had already

been performed—the day before at the time of delivery!

At no time was the sterilization explained to her. It was only when she overheard a conversation in her hospital room that she realized what had happened.

The consent statement said that Serena was suffering from a "socio-economic" ailment and that "another pregnancy would in our opinion be inadvisable. Therefore, we are of the opinion that it is medically necessary to perform a sterilization."

Women Against Sterilization Abuse in Philadelphia is publicizing the case and raising funds to cover her legal fees.

Mary Aull, a spokesperson for the group, told the *Militant* that "Serena's 'socio-economic ailment' does not describe a medical condition but spells out the utter contempt and racism shown to poor and minority women."

This is not an "isolated problem of one woman," Aull continued. "More and more Native American, Black, and Puerto Rican women are being sterilized every year. The problem of sterilization abuse is more pressing than ever before."

In 1973, after repeated efforts by Serena and her lawyer, a court ordered that her children be returned to her. She is now living in her native state of Oklahoma with her children.

The state of Pennsylvania has tried to keep Serena's case out of court, but it is expected to finally come to trial this summer. The state is subsidizing a large part of the defense. And the district judge has refused to waive Serena's court fees, the customary practice for plaintiffs on welfare.

"In order to win the case we need to keep up the pressure," Aull said. "We need to make this case known nationwide. The fact that so many women are being sterilized must be brought to the public's attention."

For more information contact Women Against Sterilization Abuse, 4433 Osage Avenue, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104.



'Woman's Evolution' a hit on British tour



Evelyn Reed on 'Nationwide,' British current affairs show

Red Weekly/G.M. Cookson

By J. O'Brien

From *Intercontinental Press*

LONDON—Evelyn Reed, a Marxist anthropologist and leading member of the American Socialist Workers party, completed a highly successful two-and-a-half-week tour of Britain March 19.

For the first time British feminists and students of anthropology had the opportunity to discuss with Reed her ideas on the history of women. Indicative of the great interest shown around the country by women's liberation groups, academic institutions, and the mass media was the fact that Reed was able to accept only about half the invitations extended to her, despite speaking twice a day most days of her tour. Reed's tour covered nine cities, stretching from London to Edinburgh.

On March 8, International Women's Day, about 450 persons attended a symposium here on "Why Are Women Oppressed?" with Reed as the main speaker. The other panelists were Hermione Harris, a lecturer in anthropology and member of the women's movement, and Irene Brennan, a leader of the British Communist party.

Other meetings for Reed were organized by women's liberation groups in Bristol, Nottingham, Leeds, Edinburgh, and Newcastle, with an average attendance of 150 persons.

"Feminism and Socialism" was her topic at a meeting in London sponsored by the International Marxist Group, British section of the Fourth International, which attracted about 100 persons.

Reed also spoke at six meetings organized in five academic institutions around the country, including Oxford and Warwick universities. At the North East Polytechnic, she addressed 150 students in the

sociology department, who brought up questions on the matriarchy, the transition to class society, and the relationship between feminism and socialism.

Reed's tour received extensive news coverage. The press conference held on her arrival in the country was attended by reporters from fifteen newspapers and magazines. On International Women's Day, the national daily *Guardian* featured an interview.

In addition, Reed was interviewed on "Nationwide," one of the foremost current-affairs programmes on British television. The male interviewer challenged Reed's ideas on the history of women but prominently mentioned her book, *Woman's Evolution: From Matriarchal Clan to Patriarchal Family*.

Reed was interviewed twice on the BBC national radio network.

As she travelled around the country, the local media expressed equal interest in Reed's tour. For example, a forty-five minute phone-in programme was organised by Radio Trent in Nottingham, and there was such a response that it went over its allotted time.

On the final day of her tour, Reed gave an extended interview to the feminist journal *Spare Rib*, which has a wide circulation in Britain.

The interest in Evelyn Reed's unique contribution to the struggle of women was also shown by the high sales of her books and pamphlets.

It was a rare opportunity to meet someone who has done so much to dispel the old myths about the history of women, and audiences showed their appreciation of her work wherever she went.

For special offer on *Woman's Evolution*, see ad below.

'Me Jane, you Tarzan'

The following are excerpts from a story in the March 8, 1977, *Guardian*, an influential daily published in London. The *Guardian* headlined the story "Me Jane, you Tarzan."

If any member of that primitive species, the male anthropologist, is still stalking about unashamedly snarling that woman is but a weakly naked ape, biologically inferior to man, let him beware. The next fortnight will make a monkey of him. For Evelyn Reed, the noted American feminist anthropologist, has just arrived in Britain for a two week nationwide lecture tour to promote her book *Woman's Evolution*.

First published two years ago, this study of the matriarchy has sold 45,000 copies, been translated into seven languages, and catapulted Ms Reed (who is over 60) into the centre of the American women's movement. It came as the culmination of 25 years solitary but determined investigation.

Ms Reed's thesis is that male anthropologists have refused to look back beyond the beginnings of patriarchal society to the matriarchal clans which preceded it. Once upon a time, she claims, there was no father-family where men dominated women socially and economically. On the contrary, society was organised around the maternal clan.

Nor was it Man the Hunter who civilised society. It was Woman. Far from rendering them weak and vulnerable, women's child-bearing function made them uniquely suited to socialise human beings away from a crude cannibalistic society.

She spent 25 years on the book and was convinced no one would publish it. But, "I finished my first draft just when the women's movement broke and then I knew it would be published." She took to the lecture circuit and was acclaimed by feminists and avoided by anthropologists, who reject the idea of a matriarchy, and who she tried to bully into debating with her. Most of them cravenly refused.

"We're not going back to a matriarchy, because those times were very primitive. Those of us born in this scientific era will never relinquish what we know, but we have to try and get rid of some of the bad things."

She suggests that primitive savage society was far more egalitarian than arrogant modern man gives it credit for, and that this—along with Marx—suggests that human beings have changed and can change again. She believes that the women's movement is leading the way in the next change, towards a more collective, sharing society.

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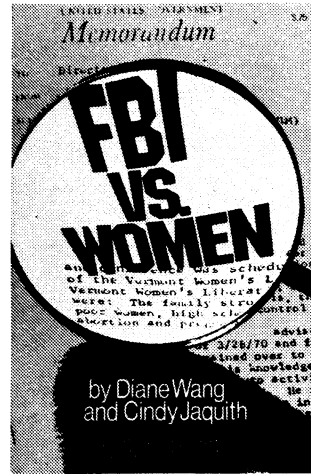
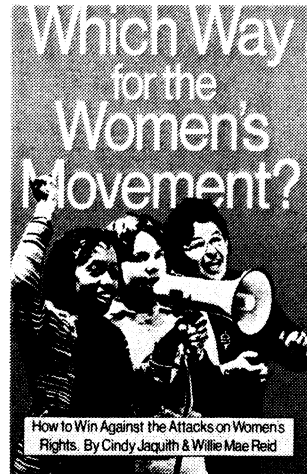
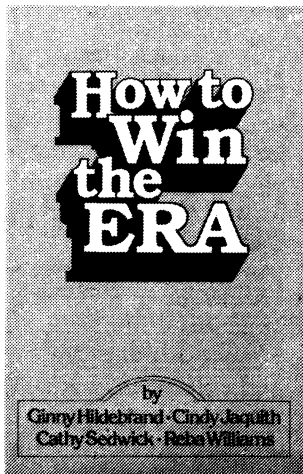
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World Outlook

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

APRIL 29, 1977

Confrontation, concession in Spain: government legalizes Communist party

By Gerry Foley

On April 9, the eve of the Basque national holiday Aberri Eguna, the Suárez government legalized the Communist party.

The decision to register the CP as a legal party was made directly by the government after the Supreme Court refused to rule on the question. This action comes in the context of a new series of concessions.

Apparently, the government felt compelled to give more ground in order to stop a dangerous breach from opening up between it and the opposition parties. *Le Monde's* correspondent reported in the April 6 issue of the Paris daily:

If the CP is not legalized, several opposition parties (liberals, Christian Democrats, Social Democrats, and Socialists) may decide not to participate in the elections, as they have made known. Such a defection of the moderate left would destroy the credibility of the democratization process.

Since the government's strategy for controlling the mass upsurge depends on the cooperation of the Communist and Socialist parties, in the present circumstances it had no alternative but to recognize the CP. This is particularly true in view of the deterioration in its relations with the Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE—Spanish Socialist Workers party, the main Social Democratic formation).

Concessions

The PSOE was pushed into a harder stance toward the government by indications that Suárez intended to continue relying on the fascist union

and political apparatus, in refurbished form, to control the country—rather than open up space for the Social Democrats to play a leading role in parliament and in the labor movement.

Suárez has made new concessions apparently designed to entice the PSOE to return to a more conciliatory attitude. On March 30, his appointed parliament voted to grant the right of workers to organize in defense of their interests as workers, which presumably means that the illegal unions can now gain legal recognition. The vote was 320 to 41, with 41 abstentions.

It remains to be seen what the parliament's decision will mean in practice. Obviously a large part of the 150 members of parliament associated with the fascist union apparatus voted for this measure. It seems likely that they had some assurance that the bill did not mean the end of their role. Moreover, at virtually the same time this law was passed, the government banned a rally planned for April 2 in Madrid by the Workers Commissions, one of the main independent unions.

On April 1, the government abolished the General Secretariat of the National Movement, the top body of the fascist "mass organizations," and thus the cabinet post assigned to the secretary general of this apparatus. The "minister for the Movement" had control over all matters involving sports, youth, and the family. The government announced that these responsibilities would be assumed by a special Undersecretariat of State. The concession, thus, may be only formal.

At the same time, the cabinet an-



Legalization of Communist party has been accompanied by ongoing arrests and resumption of torture by Spain's Civil Guard, shown above.

nounced that the "press of the Movement," including about forty newspapers and dozens of radio stations, had been placed under the Ministry of Information. In itself, this is essentially a formal change. It remains to be seen if it will mean anything in practice.

Basque area

It is likely that the government wanted to complete its latest series of concessions before Aberri Eguna (The Day of the Basque Nation), since it is in the Basque area that the political tensions are highest. In the December 15 referendum on the "democratic reform," the government's first experiment in using elections, close to a majority abstained in the Basque country.

The fight for amnesty for political prisoners has been concentrated in the Basque provinces, and in recent months there have been more and more violent confrontations between police and crowds demonstrating against repression. In the last few weeks, both the Spanish and international press have raised an alarm about the growing anger in the Basque country.

The headline of the lead article in the March 26 issue of the Barcelona weekly *El Mundo* was "The Basque Country Is Going Up in Flames." The article said:

According to our data, more than 150,000 persons—prisoners, exiles, relatives, sympathizers, innocent passers-by, and demonstrators have been directly or indirectly hit by repression in recent years. [The population of the Basque heartland is 2.5 million.]

In the April 3 issue of the *New York Times*, correspondent James M. Markham described an indiscriminate attack by Spanish police on a crowd in Zarauz, a town of about 10,000 inhabitants on the coast near San Sebastián.

Several thousand youths were squeezed into the small plaza on one recent Sunday when, at 10:15 P.M., six Land Rovers of the paramilitary Civil Guard drew up and disgorged angry, uniformed men who began clubbing wildly with the butts of their submachine guns while others fired hard, round rubber bullets at short range. . . .

For two hours, the . . . guardsmen rampaged through the . . . streets of this . . . town, firing their guns wildly in the air and shouting insults and cries of vengeance for one of their number who was killed early that morning by Basque guerrillas.

"If you want war, you will have it," they shouted, and "Get him, get him—there goes another Basque."

Torture resumed

Even as the Madrid government has been releasing some prisoners, Markham said, the jails have been filling up with others:

Juan Maria Bandres, a prominent lawyer, recently said that "the arrests have started again—and the tortures have resumed, above all at the level of the Civil Guard."

As Mr. Bandres spoke in his San Sebastian office, a colleague telephoned, saying that he had just returned from the Civil Guard headquarters. "He says they were torturing two of his clients, a 52-year-old woman and her daughter," related Mr. Bandres. "He just called to get it off his chest. The worst part is that the woman could hear her daughter's screams."

Even the head of the CP in the Basque province of Guipúzcoa was quoted as saying: "In this climate, to talk of elections will be totally hypothetical."

Welcome freed prisoners

The government obviously hopes to quiet the Basque country somewhat by releasing more political prisoners a few at a time. But the return of jailed fighters has been greeted with militant demonstrations.

In its April 4 issue, the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge* reported that virtually the entire population of Sestao, an industrial suburb of Bilbao, turned out to welcome Maité Arévalo, who had been sentenced to twenty-five years in prison for associating with an illegal organization (Basque nationalist guerrillas) and participating in an armed attack.

On April 2, some 5,000 persons turned out in Bilbao to welcome Carmelo Garitaonandia and Julen Arregui, members of the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria (LCR—Revolutionary Communist League, sympathizing organization of the Fourth International). The former had been sentenced to thirty-one years in prison in 1971. *Rouge* wrote:

"When the train pulled in, it was almost taken by storm. People sang *Eusko Gudarriak* [Basque Warriors] and the *Internationale*. Carmelo and Arregui appeared at the door. . . . They began a chant picked up by the crowd: 'Presoak Kalera' [Free the Prisoners]."



Government's concessions have not halted militant demonstrations centered in Basque country for complete amnesty for political prisoners.

Washington & Moscow return to secrecy in disarmament talks

By Joseph Hansen

[The following is from the News Analysis section of *Intercontinental Press*.]

In face of Carter's insistence that the March 28-30 "arms limitation" conference between Vance and Brezhnev was productive, the voices depicting it as a disaster have died down. The consensus among the commentators now is that Carter scored some telling propaganda points.

The cynical editors of the London *Economist*, for instance, remarked in the April 9 issue:

By a master stroke of Soviet diplomacy, Mr Brezhnev has now presented himself to the world as the great opponent of disarmament as well as of human rights. He has simultaneously strengthened President Carter's claim—which he is now using in a nose-to-nose chess game—to be the champion of both. For the first time in many years, an American secretary of state went to Moscow with an armful of detailed proposals that would involve the two superpowers in actually disarming, not just in regulating the progress of their nuclear arms race. Mr Brezhnev publicly slapped him down. No discussions, no suggested amendments, no new counter-proposals: just a flat rejection. Mr Brezhnev even contrived to encourage the idea that his refusal to talk about disarmament had something to do with his anger at Mr Carter's stand on human rights.

Since, on paper, the Soviet leaders have long been solemnly committed both to disarmament and to the coexistence of different political systems, they must lose credibility—on both counts—when they

depict themselves as too miffed even to discuss arms cuts merely because the Americans are, as Americans should be, speaking up against oppression and for freedom of debate. Mr Carter is being true to his system: Mr Brezhnev, in rejecting all criticism, to his.

Jackson ecstatic

As for the domestic front, which was what Carter primarily had in mind in his "arms limitation" maneuver, Mary McGrory, who plays the liberal side of the street, put it aptly, if wryly, in her April 9 column:

He sent Cyrus Vance off to negotiate a new era in peace. Vance went to Moscow, opened his briefcase and put his offer on the table. Leonid Brezhnev gave him a couple of hours to get out of town.

A fiasco? Not at all. It was a success, Carter told the American people, and if we have one more like it, I'll start up the arms race again.

Nobody seemed disturbed. Looked at in a certain way, it was a triumph. He didn't disarm the Soviets. But he disarmed Henry Jackson, who told Carter to "hang tough."

Jackson was ecstatic about Carter's offer to the Soviets. It couldn't have been better if he had written it himself.

Carter may not have a treaty, but he has the votes in the Senate, and the cold warriors have joined his fan club.

Jackson's stand is important to Carter. The anti-Soviet crusader is a senior member of the Armed Services Committee and chairman of the Senate subcommittee on a treaty limiting strategic arms. In fairness to the senator, however, it should be noted that he was not altogether uncritical of

Carter's Moscow ploy. At an April 5 breakfast meeting with reporters, according to the *New York Times*, he said:

Frankly I would not have gone public on this. I suspect the Soviets have never been approached this way with a public buildup. It is something that should be reviewed by this Administration.

Kissinger, too, implied that he was critical of Carter's tactical approach, particularly the public "rhetoric." In his first public speech since leaving office, given April 5 at Georgetown University, he said among other things:

Whether reductions should be sought in one major step or several; whether the result of negotiations conducted over a period of years by the top leaders of both countries should be set aside or built upon, are matters of tactical judgment.

Negotiations must proceed in a calm, nonconfrontational way without self-imposed deadlines or rhetorical battles that publicly stake the prestige of both sides.

'Partners'

Moscow's first attempt to counter the gains made by Carter came in the form of a speech assigned to Gromyko. The well-trained bureaucrat mounted the tub, twitched his tail, and gave a roar.

Even then, the scruffy lion made clear that he was only voicing a sad complaint and that there were no "insurmountable obstacles" to renewing the talks.

Lest Gromyko's roar might have sounded too "harsh," thus frightening the new president of the United States, Brezhnev in turn mounted the tub on April 5. Keeping his rhetoric down to a modest bray, he said that "a reasonable accommodation is possible" in arms control if the United States seeks "mutually acceptable solutions not in words but by deeds."

He blamed Washington for lack of progress but held that relations could be repaired and a new treaty achieved for the limitation of strategic arms:

Objectively speaking, there would seem to be a rather good basis, especially in Soviet-American relations, for practical steps in that direction.

That basis, of course, would have to be strengthened and expanded. But recent contacts and talks have shown that instead of moving forward, our partners have been losing their constructive approach and have been keeping, so far, to a one-sided position.

"Partners"—that's the American imperialists Brezhnev is talking about. The word was well-chosen, for that is precisely how the Kremlin boss views himself, a partner of Wall Street in maintaining the status quo against the revolutionary pressures mounting throughout the world.

Through the garage

Anatoly F. Dobrynin took the next step. The Soviet ambassador returned from Moscow on April 5. Two days later, Washington reporters accidentally noticed his limousine parked in the State Department's garage. The discovery compelled the State Department to disclose that Dobrynin had telephoned Secretary of State Vance April 6 to ask for a secret meeting.

The press learned that among the subjects discussed was the possibility of advance negotiations in Geneva to renew discussions before a planned meeting set for late May between Gromyko and Vance.

Dobrynin's visit apparently coincided with a White House decision to shift tactics. Paul C. Warnke, Carter's arms control chief, told reporters about the shift at a breakfast meeting April 7, the same day Dobrynin went through the State Department's garage to meet Vance.

According to the *New York Times*, Warnke "said the Government was concerned about the public debate around the rejection of the American proposals and was now seeking 'immediate negotiations with the Soviet Union which would not be public.'"

For Carter, who is agile if nothing else, the shift to secret diplomacy came easily. First of all, the State Department is not without experience in proceeding behind closed doors; secondly, the blame for resorting to such ways was neatly fixed on Moscow, with the new president shining as an advocate of aboveboard discussions open to public observation.

Love letter from Brezhnev

To show his readiness to mollify the hurt feelings of the Kremlin leaders, Carter said April 8 that in private correspondence Brezhnev had assured him that the Soviet Union was as serious as the United States about an eventual agreement on the limitation of strategic arms.

Carter added that a full reading of the transcript of the conversations between Brezhnev and Vance was also a source of optimism for him.

As a further concession, he said that his administration is "reassessing some objections raised by the Russians to see whether there would be some fair alternative to both sides."

He still felt that the proposals made by Vance at the Moscow conference were completely fair; but if the current reassessment should reveal a long-range inequity with respect to the Russians, he would "be very eager to change it."

Reporters questioned Carter about his private correspondence with Brezhnev. The president fobbed them off by saying that it was "a routine sort of exchange, nothing dramatic or startling." Carter, like his predecessors in the White House, stands for the sanctity of private letters.

The tragedy for humanity in this obscene diplomatic jockeying is that no effort at genuine disarmament is involved. Seated on their stockpiles of nuclear arms, either of which is capable of destroying all human beings many times over, Carter and Brezhnev are haggling over items that do not affect their overall death-dealing capacities—the cruise missile, the so-called Backfire bomber, some slight cuts in nuclear weapons.

In an article in the April 3 *New York Times*, when the editors of that paper were of the opinion that Carter had lost a round, John W. Finney discounted the supposed setback. He put the current negotiations in the following framework:

In 1963, they finally agreed on a limited test ban treaty, primarily because they had developed about all the atomic warheads they needed and any improvements could be obtained through underground testing. They also agreed on a treaty banning nuclear weapons on the seabeds, mostly because neither could figure out much reason for putting them there. They banned nuclear weapons in outer space because it was much easier and more reliable to fight with atomic weapons based on earth. And they agreed to stop production of biological weapons because they seemed superfluous when they already had the power of the apocalypse on their hands.

Clearly it would be a fatal policy to rely on either Washington or Moscow to halt the arms race and dismantle their nuclear stockpiles. The hope for peace will remain illusory so long as the imperialist powers and their "partners" in the Kremlin remain in control. Eventually both will be ousted by insurgent masses committed to socialism. The struggle for this outcome is the one that counts.



Vance (left) and Brezhnev (right) at Moscow 'arms limitation' conference in Moscow this March.

British capitalists cheer Labour-Liberal pact

The London Stock Exchange rose nineteen points and financial interests breathed a sign of relief after Britain's Labour government survived a "no confidence" vote in Parliament March 23.

Conservative party head Margaret Thatcher called for the vote in hope of toppling Prime Minister James Callaghan's minority government, forcing new elections to be held. An eleventh-hour pact between Labour and the Liberal party, a small bourgeois formation, gave Callaghan the slim margin of votes needed to beat back the challenge.

The editors of the *Sunday Times*, the *Times* of London, and the *Observer* spoke in favor of a Labour-Liberal pact to keep the current government in office at least temporarily. The seeming paradox of leading bourgeois newspapers rooting for the supposedly "socialist" Labour party over the openly probusiness Tories was explained by the editors of the London *Financial Times* March 23.

While conceding that the country still faced problems, they said business prospects might well fare better under a Callaghan administration than under a weak Tory government that would provoke confrontations with the trade unions.

"We're all itching to get rid of this dangerously leftist Government," a report in the March 22 *New York Times* quoted a leading British investment broker as saying. "On the other hand, it would appear that there's an almost total lack of leadership in the Conservative Party at the moment."

Of particular concern to Britain's capitalists is the mounting resistance of workers to the government's policy of wage restraints—known as the Social Contract—initiated in 1974. The March 26 London *Economist* reported that the real income of British workers will have dropped another 5 percent under Phase II of the wage control program, which ends this July.

The wildcat strike by toolroom workers that crippled the giant automobile producer British Leyland in March was interpreted as a warning that the ranks of labor are ready to fight the next phase of controls, due in August.

In fact, paving the way for a new round of attacks on workers' standard of living is really what the "Lab-Lib" pact was all about, the editors of *Red Weekly*, newspaper of Britain's International Marxist Group, wrote in the March 31 issue.

All the most important sections of ruling class opinion welcomed the votes of the Liberal MPs against the Tories' "no confidence" motion in the Labour Government. Given the present mood of a reviving

working class, a Labour Government police for the third round of wage controls is seen to be essential. As the *Economist* put it: "A newly elected Thatcher government would not be ideally suited to soothe the subsequent squawking."

This was the main concern of the ruling class: the continuation of a *Labour Government*. The presence of the Liberals will make it easier for Labour to find a cover for further viciously anti-working class measures. . . . The votes of Liberals will also insure a greater parliamentary stability. . . .

For these reasons, the pact must be repudiated. Callaghan's Government is prepared to line up with openly ruling class forces, rather than reverse his policies and respond to the demands of the working class. . . .

This Lib-Lab pact has not at all altered the basic lines already drawn in Labour's policies. In reality it will allow the Government to implement its plans—especially its wage cutting pay limits. Labour's anti-working class measures have nothing to do with the Liberal pact. The central element of class collaboration is the Social Contract, not the pact.

A week after Labour won the no-confidence vote, Chancellor of the Exchequer Denis Healey presented the Labour government's budget for the coming year. Reacting to the new austerity measures in the proposal, stock prices shot even higher on the London exchange.

Red Weekly correspondent Dobie Wepler commented on what lay behind the warm reception accorded the budget in Britain's corporate board rooms:

Healey's budget has been prepared with one thought in mind—to con the working class into accepting another round of wage restraint. . . .

The carrot Healey is offering to sell his incomes policy is a cut in taxes. This so-called "concession" has a familiar ring to it. Last year, £1300 million were offered in tax concessions. The cost of tax cuts was "sacrifices" from the working class.

But what has one more year of wage limits brought? Healey predicted last year there would be a fall in unemployment. It has risen to 2 million—not including the "shadow" half a million women not officially registered as unemployed. He also promised a fall in inflation to a "mere" 10 per cent a year. The figures are now reaching 20 per cent.

This year Healey has suddenly found about £1500 million to offer—at a price of course. It seems that the £80,000 million cuts in social spending . . . were so stringent that there is a bit of surplus for emergencies like Healey faces today. . . .

"Only a mass movement based on a programme of class struggle, not of class collaboration, will put an end to Labour's cons," Wepler concluded. "A vote against this budget [by Labour party MPs] would be one step in the right direction."

World news notes

Grigorenko appeal backs dissidents

Pyotr Grigorenko has appealed to European communists and Communist parties to demand the release of Aleksandr Ginzburg and Mikola Rudenko, two civil-rights activists arrested by Kremlin political police in the first week of February.

Grigorenko, a communist dissenter and former major general in the Soviet army, made his appeal at a press conference in his apartment in Moscow February 8.

According to reports, Grigorenko declared that the arrest of Ginzburg and Rudenko was part of a new campaign of repression. He called on the West European CPs to demand a halt to it, as well as an amnesty for all political prisoners.

Ginzburg and Rudenko are two of the five members of the Helsinki monitoring groups known to have been arrested recently in the Kremlin's drive to crush the groups.

Grigorenko accused the Kremlin of organizing a frame-up against Rudenko because of his writings and human-rights activity. Rudenko is also a member of the Soviet section of Amnesty International, which has been a target of police repression.

Communists are persecuted in the Soviet Union in the same way they are in fascist countries, Grigorenko said. If you criticize the rulers, you are arrested. Grigorenko reaffirmed that he is a communist.

Grigorenko has twice been sentenced to psychiatric prison-hospitals because he advocates restoration of democracy in the Soviet CP and champions the rights of the nationalities deported by Stalin.

Protesters gunned down in Pakistan

Dozens of demonstrators were reported killed in Pakistan's Punjab Province April 9. Most of the protesters were slain in Lahore, when police fired into demonstrations organized by the Pakistan National Alliance (PNA), a rightist coalition of nine opposition parties.

The PNA has charged that Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's Pakistan People's party (PPP) won the recent general elections as a result of massive vote fraud. The demonstrations in Punjab were called to protest the opening of the Punjab provincial assembly.

Just six days before the protests in Punjab, the PNA charged that more than 150 persons had been killed by Bhutto's police during the previous three weeks, about 100 of them in Sind Province. The PNA also charged that 24,000 persons had been arrested since the PNA launched its campaign of demonstrations and strikes against the regime.

On April 8, four leaders of Bhutto's PPP split to form a new party. Three of them were members of Parliament and one was Taj Mohammad Langah, the former deputy secretary general of the Punjab provincial PPP. The new party is called the Pakistan Awami Jamhoori party (Pakistan People's Democratic party).

Vietnam presses for aid

During negotiations leading up to the signing of the 1973 Paris Peace Accords, former President Nixon is reported to have sent a secret memo to Hanoi promising \$3.25 billion in postwar reconstruction aid. Both Nixon and former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger deny sending the memo.

In his March 31 nationally syndicated column, however, Jack Anderson prints quotations from the document, supplied by a "top U.S. source." They confirm that Nixon did indeed offer the \$3.25 billion.

In an interview published in late March by Vietnam News Agency, Vietnam's Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs Phan Hien said it was the "undeniable duty" of the United States, "in terms of the legality of the Paris agreement on Vietnam, in terms of international law, as well as morality and human conscience" to provide Indochina with reconstruction aid.

Djibouti to gain freedom in June

The French secretary of state for overseas territories, Oliver Stirn, announced March 19 that France would grant independence to its last African colony on June 27. The territory of Afars and Issas, more commonly known by the name of its capital city, Djibouti, is located at the southern tip of the Red Sea and bordered by Ethiopia and Somalia.

South African Blacks arrested

The South African police have begun a new series of arrests. So far, the most prominent victim of Vorster's dragnet has been Steve Biko, a founder of the South African Students Organisation (SASO) and the Black People's Convention (BPC). Along with thousands of others, Biko had been arrested in September 1976 during the massive Black protests against the Vorster regime, but was later released. He was rearrested March 21 in Kingwilliamstown for allegedly "defeating the ends of justice."

At least five other members of the BPC in Kingwilliamstown and East London were also arrested in connection with pamphlets about "Heroes Day," which the BPC and SASO called to commemorate the March 21, 1960, Sharpeville massacre and the killings of hundreds of Black protesters during the Soweto uprisings.

Two Black journalists who had been previously arrested and released were also detained again. They are Duma Ndlovu and Joe Thloloe, both reporters for the Johannesburg *World*, South Africa's largest circulation Black newspaper. Thloloe is also president of the Union of Black Journalists.



British Leyland automobile workers protest social contract

Romanian human-rights fighters under gov't attack

"The Romanian authorities seem determined to stamp out the movement for democratic rights that has been developing in this country for several weeks, under the leadership of the writer Paul Goma," *Le Monde's* Central Europe correspondent Manuel Lucbert wrote in the April 1 issue of the Paris daily.

In the last days of March, Romanian police detained a number of figures associated with public demands that the authorities respect their own laws and guarantees regarding human rights. Among those taken in, according to Lucbert, were the computer specialist Ion Ladea, Tufoi, Dimbovi-ceanu, Enrik Becescu, and Dasealu. He noted that it was not yet known whether they had been released or were still being held. Likewise it was not known if there were any actual charges.

In fact, since the start of the new upsurge of protests against bureaucratic dictatorship, the Soviet and East European authorities have apparently opted for playing a cat-and-mouse game with protesters.

Such tactics have been most clearly illustrated in Romania. On March 24, for the first time in four years, an official literary publication printed a small article by Paul Goma. The next day, two unknown men tried to drag him from his apartment, according to Lucbert's dispatch in the April 1 *Le Monde*.

In Romania, public opposition is a new phenomenon, and the government responded rapidly to the first expres-

sions of opposition. On February 13, an appeal to the signatories of the Helsinki accords was made public in Belgrade. It was signed by nine persons, including Goma, who earlier spent six years in prison for his support of the Hungarian revolution.

On February 17, the homes of the dissidents who signed this appeal were sealed off by uniformed police. President Ceausescu publicly denounced them as "traitors." However, insofar as is known, none were arrested. The following day the cordon around their homes was relaxed, and the bureaucracy began to hint about concessions.

In a telephone interview published in the February 28 issue of *Der Spiegel*, Goma expressed hope of better treatment:

"I have just come from Burtica [secretary of the CP Central Committee and deputy premier]. . . . Nothing was clarified on either side. But our discussion was very promising."

On the other hand, Goma described an intense campaign of harassment:

"Immediately after I wrote those open letters, the scandal began. The phone rang constantly. All sorts of threats were made. My life was threatened, not just mine but that of my fifteen-month-old son. The threats were always anonymous. They gave names like Jonescu or Popescu [two of the most common Romanian names]."

Goma was uncertain about what happened to the other signers of the letter sent to Belgrade:

"Stefanescu may have been arrested,

I can't reach him by telephone. His phone also has been cut off."

The police guard around his home had assumed a lower profile, Goma said. But the government continued its harassment:

"I am told that there are no more uniformed guards in front of my door, instead there are two secret policemen in civilian clothes. I complained about being shadowed to Burtica. He told me I was suffering from hallucinations."

Intimidation was combined with blandishments. In the March 31 issue of the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge*, Alain Paruit reported:

"Burtica proposed a deal. Some of his [Goma's] previously banned books would be published . . . he would be given a passport, the literary fund would pay him money owed to him for years, he could even collect fat advances on possible future books, on condition that he refuse to accept any further signatures [on the appeal to Belgrade]. Otherwise, he would face more serious annoyance."

Goma did not refuse to accept other signers. By March 27, according to Paruit, this appeal had been signed by 180 persons. Of these, the professions of seventy-one, coming from every province in Romania, were known. The breakdown was given as follows: Workers and technicians, 40.85%; writers and artists, 23.94%; engineers, economists, and scientists, 16.90%; professionals (doctors, architects, lawyers), 9.86%; teachers, 7.04%; clerics, 1.41%.



ROMANIAN PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU

Concessions to capitalists stir protests in Italian CP

By Gerry Foley

"The governing Christian Democrats, who cling to power without a parliamentary majority, have been strengthened by an unusual agreement with Italy's trade unions on wages," *New York Times* correspondent Alvin Shuster wrote April 2 from Rome.

The "unusual agreement" was that for the first time, the union leaders let the government touch what they had previously maintained was "untouchable"—the sliding scale of wages.

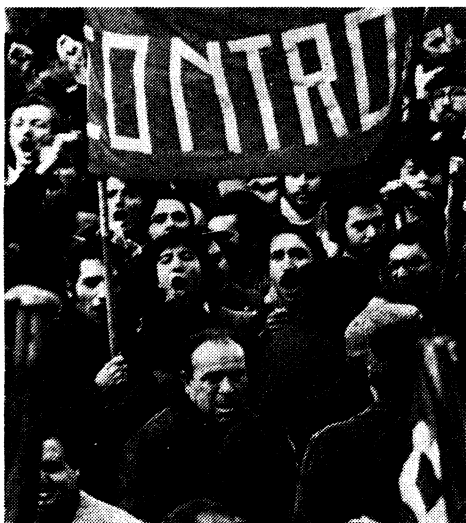
The unions agreed March 30 to let the government remove urban transportation, newspapers, and electricity from the price index on which automatic cost-of-living increases are calculated. These were by no means minor concessions. Transport and electricity are necessities and account for a substantial part of workers' expenses. The prices of both are related to petroleum prices, which are rapidly increasing.

However, the most significant aspect of the agreement was that the union leaderships yielded on the principle of protecting workers' buying power.

Shuster pointed out the importance the sliding scale has had, quoting an unnamed Italian economist: "These cost of living clauses explain why the economy is in trouble but the Italians are not."

Now, apparently, the capitalist economy will be in less trouble, and the Italians, that is the masses of wage earners, in more. That is why the main party of the Italian capitalists was strengthened.

This reinforcement of the Christian Democrats' position would have been impossible without an assist from the Communist party, whose cadres domi-



Milan workers protest government austerity plan.

nate the union movement.

The CP compounded this favor on March 31, the day after the union agreement, by letting the Christian Democrats get a new austerity package through the Senate. The CP senators abstained, with the result that the bill passed with more abstentions than favorable votes.

But in contrast to the Christian Democrats, the CP was not strengthened. In fact, it has been showing more and more signs of malaise.

The union leaderships were not strengthened either. In fact, they appeared to be in more trouble.

On April 2 in Milan, delegates from 260 factory committees in Lombardy held a press conference. They announced:

"We challenge the agreement between the unions and the government on reducing labor costs [i.e., wages] because the rank and file were not consulted on this question."

CP union leaders had already begun to face widespread discontent and sporadic rank-and-file revolts last October, when their party gave the Andreotti government the necessary support to pass an earlier austerity plan. The most hated of those measures was a provision increasing gasoline prices, and thus the amount workers have to spend on transport to and from work.

In October, the discontent of the rank-and-file workers was immediately reflected in tensions in the CP Central Committee. The traditional left face of the leadership, Luigi Longo, warned of the dangers for the party in becoming too associated with the Christian Democratic government and getting out of touch with the masses.

The tensions in the Central Committee appeared sharper in its mid-March meeting. In its March 27 issue, the Rome weekly *L'Espresso* wrote:

Luigi Longo's cry of pain . . . was taken up this time by a large part of the Central Committee. Gianni Borgna, responsible for educational work in the youth, made explicit the prevailing mood in the top CP body:

"We fell into a serious error after the June 20 elections. We sought more to defend the existing political framework than to build the conditions for overcoming it. While the question of the government's ouster cannot be posed today, at the same time we cannot let ourselves be blackmailed by the threat of a power vacuum and new elections and remain paralyzed."

The mass student rebellions against cutbacks in February, *L'Espresso* wrote, had convinced the CP that "no magic formula can conjure away the concrete threat of a gulf arising between the party and stormy protest movements."

The result was "a prevailing tone of

self-criticism that gave the impression that the Central Committee was united in mourning."

A possibly more direct cause of the Central Committee's unhappiness was described in an article by F. de Vito in the same issue. The leadership was able to test the mood of the party ranks in the branch conferences held throughout February and the first half of March. It was obviously disturbed by what it found.

CP leaders denied that opposition currents or focuses of opposition had developed. But they admitted that there was a widespread mood of "reticence." De Vito quoted an unnamed CP leader as saying:

"You get a feeling that there is a lack of the conviction needed . . . to go into the factories and neighborhoods and defend the party's policies."

Even in Bologna, de Vito noted, where the city government has been in CP hands since the end of World War II and where there is one party member for every three CP voters, the party had proved unable to control the mass movement during the student revolts.

Furthermore, the CP's new recruitment itself threatened to transmit the pressures of the radicalizing youth and women into the party. De Vito pointed out that in a sample of 6,000 of the party's new recruits, the proportion of workers was 48.84%, as against the CP's national average of 39.86%. The proportion of youth under twenty-five was 37.58%, as against the present average of 15%. And for women, the proportion was 31.20%, as against an average of 24%. De Vito wrote:

"It is precisely these new members who cause [the CP leaders] the most worry."

STEEL CONTRACT

What it means for all working people

By Andy Rose

The 1977 basic steel contract, approved April 9 in Washington, directly covers some 340,000 members of the United Steelworkers of America. It has aroused protest and debate throughout the union.

The issues posed by this contract also affect you and every working person in this country.

First, basic steel sets the pattern for practically all other contracts covering the USWA's 1.4 million members. On all major questions, the upcoming pacts in can manufacturing, aluminum, copper, and oil-tool manufacturing will be scaled down from basic steel. Many other industries and unions also follow the steel pattern.

But the importance of what's happening in steel goes way beyond this.

In steel, a powerful challenge has been raised to the do-nothing, procompany policies of the union officialdom. A quarter of a million steelworkers voted February 8 for Ed Sadlowski for USWA president. Sadlowski opposed outgoing President I.W. Abel and his handpicked successor Lloyd McBride.

Sادلowski and other candidates on the Steelworkers Fight Back slate campaigned for union democracy and militant defense of the workers' interests against the bosses.

They campaigned for abolition of the Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA), in which the union gives up the right to conduct a national steel strike.

They campaigned for using union power to defend the rights and champion the struggles of Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, and women workers—those hardest hit by today's economic and social crisis.

The Abel-McBride machine responded to these proposals by branding Steelworkers Fight Back as "reds," "strike-happy," and "outsiders."

Abel insisted that his alliance with the companies—*against* strikes, *against* imports, *against* any challenge to the capitalist status quo—delivered the greatest gains for steelworkers. The 1977 contract, negotiated by Abel under the ENA no-strike pact, is a test of this perspective.

Fight Back leaders call the contract "a disgrace to the union" and "another indication of the tremendous inequities of the ENA." From the union summary printed on the following pages you can decide for yourself.

Right to vote—right to know

USWA members in the basic steel industry are denied the right to vote on their contract. Only a few hundred union officials have a vote.

About this feature

The *Militant* believes steelworkers have a right to know the terms of their contract—and to discuss it and vote on it. That's why we are distributing the full text of the union summary of the contract with explanations and analysis.

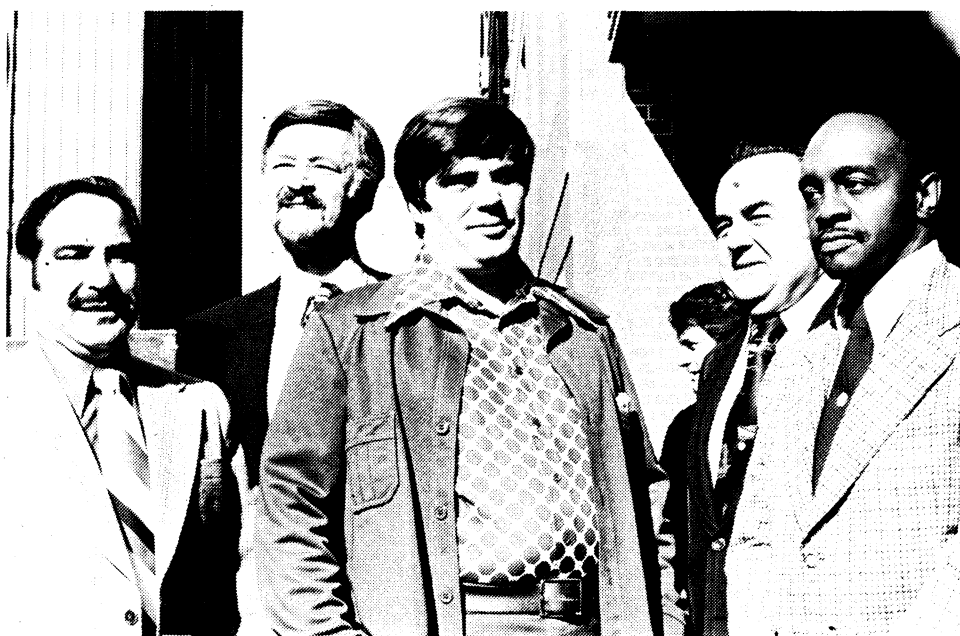
The contract and commentary have also been published in Spanish by *Perspectiva Mundial*, a Spanish-language socialist news magazine.

Reprints of this material are available in either English or Spanish. You can help get out the truth about the steel contract by ordering extra copies to distribute where you live or work.

The cost is three cents each, or two cents each for orders of 1,000 or more. Order from the Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014. Specify English or Spanish.

STEELWORKERS SPEAK OUT

What do you think about the basic steel contract? What will it mean in your plant? What should be done about it? Send your comments and opinions to the *Militant*. The *Militant* will provide a forum for workers to discuss and exchange views on all the issues in steel.



Militant/Ruth Robinett

STEELWORKERS FIGHT BACK SLATE. Sadlowski team campaigned against no-strike ENA and won a majority in basic steel. Yet ENA is approved and extended in 1977 contract. From left, Nash Rodriguez, Marvin Weinstock, Ed Sadlowski, Andy Kmec, Oliver Montgomery.



BUREAUCRATS LAUGH IT UP WITH BOSS. Lloyd McBride (left) and I.W. Abel (right) with U.S. Steel Vice-President J. Bruce Johnston at opening of negotiations.

Today the members are even denied the simple right to *know the terms* of their contract. It is not widely distributed to union members. It is not printed in *Steel Labor*, the union newspaper.

Most steelworkers know only what they read in the daily press. Or what they find out when they have a grievance and are told by a company foreman or union staffer, "Too bad, it's not in the contract."

The real contract—a document hundreds of pages long—is *not voted on at all*. Not even by the local union presidents who make up the Basic Steel Industry Conference. They are given only the summary printed on the following pages.

The summary is full of technical and legal jargon that the average person cannot understand. The real contract is even worse. It is written by corporate lawyers, for corporate lawyers. Not by workers and for workers.

ENA takes away the right of workers to exercise their collective strength through national strike action. And this no-strike pact itself was never put to a vote of the membership!

In fact, a *majority* of union voters in basic steel backed Sadlowski on February 8—repudiating Abel and the ENA. Yet ENA is approved and extended in the 1977 contract to straitjacket steelworkers in the 1980 negotiations.

Why are democratic principles trampled on in this way?

Abel says letting steelworkers vote on contracts would disrupt the bargaining process and weaken the union.

Just the opposite. The full exercise of union democracy would *strengthen* the union. The only thing it would disrupt is the cozy relationship between corporate executives and high-paid union bureaucrats.

Contract terms

Abel pretends that steelworkers have a voice through their "representatives" at USWA conventions and on the union's

Wage Policy Committee. Let's look at the record.

Along with many other demands, the December 1976 Wage Policy Committee called for:

- Improved cost-of-living clauses and substantial wage increases.
- A shorter workweek with no reduction in pay.
- All pension benefits to be protected by cost-of-living adjustments.
- Elimination of compulsory overtime.
- Elimination of all limitations on disability benefits for pregnancy.
- Right to leave any unsafe job without loss of pay.
- Right to transfer from jobs with long-term health hazards (such as coke ovens) with no loss of pay.
- Innocent until proven guilty in all disciplinary proceedings.

Steelworkers Fight Back

Steelworkers Fight Back has set out to build a mass rank-and-file movement for union democracy in steel. Your help is needed! Contact the national Fight Back headquarters at 9271 South Chicago Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60617. Telephone: (312) 721-0441.

Fight Back has announced that it will soon publish the first issue of a regular international newspaper, *Voice of Steelworkers Fight Back*. To raise money to print the first issue, Fight Back is asking its supporters to send in ten dollars for a year's subscription. Make checks payable to Steelworkers Fight Back and send to the address above.

Not one of these demands appears in the contract. There is no evidence that any were seriously put forward by the union negotiators.

Demands voiced by USWA conventions or other "representative" bodies—not to mention the needs, interests, and desires of rank-and-file steelworkers—are ignored by the union brass. They negotiate as they see fit, with no accountability to the membership. *This is a mockery of democracy.*

Job security

Abel declared that the crowning accomplishment of his career would be to negotiate a contract giving steelworkers "a job for life with a decent, respectable income for life."

The contract provides nothing of the sort. Additional benefits (and you can see in the summary that there is less to these than meets the eye) are given only to workers with *twenty or more years on the job*—those least likely to be laid off anyway.

Meanwhile, the rights of young workers are further eroded by taking away all insurance benefits for workers on probation—even though they pay union dues.

This scheme is not just a fraud. It is a mortal danger. It divides union members, creating a privileged minority at the expense of the majority. This undermines solidarity, weakens the union against the employers, and lessens the prospect of winning gains for all.

The real road to job security for steelworkers and all workers is straightforward. It is the fight for a shorter workweek at no cut in pay, a popular demand of the Steelworkers Fight Back campaign.

But Abel and McBride are not interested in job security (except for themselves). Their goal is to build a base of workers who will be loyal to the machine because they have been favored with certain privileges.

The machine views younger workers only as a source of dues income and as a threat to their power. The Abel-McBride solution to this "problem" is found in the last paragraph of the contract summary—an "Orientation Program" to indoctrinate new employees with company propaganda . . . at union expense!

Three years of consent decree

The 1977 contract was handed down almost three years to the day after the basic steel consent decree—an agreement between nine steel companies, the union, and the government.

The consent decree was supposed to establish plant-wide seniority and break down race and sex discrimination in hiring and promotion. Yet the companies continue to find ways to lock Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and women into the worst, lowest-paid jobs.

When layoffs hit, minorities and women are still the first to go and the last called back, because the seniority system fails to compensate for past discrimination.

The Abel-McBride leadership has done nothing to use union power to overcome discrimination. Instead, its energies are devoted to fighting against lawsuits by Black and women workers trying to improve the terms of the consent decree.

Steelworkers Fight Back campaigned for full representation of women and minorities within the union, and for union action to eliminate all discriminatory practices within the industry.

Fight Back stood for implementing and improving the consent decree.

It called for increasing the power of local union civil rights committees, which today cannot even file a grievance.

The Fight Back candidates didn't have all the answers to discrimination. But they fundamentally stood *with* the struggles of minority and women workers, not *against* them like Abel and McBride.

The 1977 contract offers nothing to victims of discrimination in steel. It merely incorporates provisions of the consent decree. Minorities and women remain second-class members of the union.

True face of ENA

As it became clear that the companies were taking a hard line in the 1977 steel talks, the true face of ENA began to emerge.

Continued on next page

Continued from preceding page

Union officials leaked word that they were shifting key issues to local negotiations, where union locals retain the right to strike. This was a shamefaced admission that the union's real power against the employers lies in the right to strike.

Thousands of local issues remained unresolved when the national contract was settled. "Some of these damn companies are being very uncooperative and perhaps we should have struck them last time," said the USWA's Midwest public relations director.

Union officials are portraying the threat of local strikes as a sign of their militancy and negotiating skill. But the truth is that local strikes will be forced at selected plants at the discretion of the companies, which will be free to shift production orders to unstruck plants.

Forfeiting the right to shut the industry nationally, and then expecting to bring

hard-nosed corporations into line through local strikes, is a strategy filled with danger for steelworkers.

Abel further admitted the treachery of the ENA arbitration process after local union presidents voted to reject the contract at their April 9 meeting in Washington.

Haranguing the presidents to reverse their vote, Abel declared, "I will not have to undergo the agonies of arbitration because my tenure with you is coming to a close." He warned that "we start from scratch" in arbitration and that everything negotiated up until then could be lost. This threat succeeded in reversing the vote.

But if arbitration is an "agony" in which the union stands to lose everything, why has Abel locked steelworkers into a negotiating agreement based on arbitration?

Is this really "one of the greatest things that ever happened to steelworkers," as

Abel claimed when campaigning against Sadowski?

Perspective of struggle

The ENA and Abel's entire course are based on the false notion that what's good for the companies is good for the workers.

The union ranks have always paid a price for this class-collaborationist policy. But in past years, living standards generally rose and few workers cared that much what the union tops did. It was easier to ignore the union and seek to improve life as an individual.

But those years are over. The offensive of the bosses—

against wages,
against working conditions,
against safety,
against the rights of Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and women,
against undocumented workers,
against the unions themselves

—is forcing workers to fight back.

But to do so the workers have to take back the unions from a privileged, parasitic bureaucracy and run them democratically in their own class interests.

This was the rallying cry of Steelworkers Fight Back, which now aims to build a mass, rank-and-file movement in steel.

The Sadowski campaign pinpointed the keys to building this movement:

- Union democracy—the right of the members to know the facts, discuss the issues, vote on all decisions affecting them, and act.

- Uncompromising defense of the workers' class interests against those of the bosses.

The discussions and discontent over the 1977 basic steel contract show that the potential for building such a movement—capable of transforming not only the steelworkers but the entire labor movement—has never been greater.

Official USWA contract summary

Printed below on the left is the official USWA summary of the 1977 basic steel contract. On the right are comments and explanations by the Militant. Terms of the summary are often ambiguous or incomplete, so this commentary should be seen

only as a first attempt to figure out what the contract really means. Send your own comments and observations to the Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA, AFL-CIO SUMMARY OF 1977 BASIC STEEL SETTLEMENT

April 9, 1977

ECONOMICS

WAGES

EFFECTIVE DATE

First Year

(20¢
40¢ (20¢

May 1, 1977
August 1, 1977

Second Year

(10¢
20¢ (10¢

February 1, 1978
August 1, 1978

Third Year

(10¢
20¢ (10¢

February 1, 1979
August 1, 1979

INCREMENTS

.4¢
.3¢
.3¢

May 1, 1977
August 1, 1978
August 1, 1979

This wage settlement is only slightly more than the 3 percent per year minimum guaranteed under the Experimental Negotiating Agreement.

Increment increases maintain the wage spread between job classifications. This spread tends to be reduced by across-the-board increases and cost-of-living adjustments.

NOTE: ALL GENERAL WAGE INCREASES AND INCREMENT INCREASES ARE INCLUDED IN THE INCENTIVE CALCULATION RATE FOR INCENTIVE WORKERS.

COST-OF-LIVING PROVISIONS

Early Roll-In. Effective May 1, 1977, the 14¢ Cost-of-Living Adjustment which became payable February 1, 1977 will be included in the Standard Hourly Wage Rate Scale for non-incentive jobs and the hourly additive for incentive jobs. (The amount of cost-of-living adjustment rolled into the wage rate scale since August 1, 1974 will then stand at \$1.19.)

Second Roll-In. Effective August 1, 1978, the Cost-of-Living Adjustment payable on that date will be included in the Standard Hourly Wage Rate Scale for non-incentive jobs and the hourly additive for incentive jobs.

Third Roll-In. Effective August 1, 1979, the Cost-of-Living Adjustment payable on that date will be included in the Standard Hourly Wage Rate Scale for non-incentive jobs and the hourly additive for incentive jobs.

ENA BONUS

Each employee as of August 1, 1977 shall receive a \$150.00 bonus in the pay period next closed and calculated after September 30, 1977.

HOLIDAY

Effective in the third year of the agreement there will be an additional paid holiday which has been designated as "United Nations Day, October 24."

EMPLOYMENT AND INCOME SECURITY PROGRAM

The Steel Industry Conference set as one of its goals the establishment of a guaranteed level of income and employment security for career employees in the steel industry. In adopting the Employment and Income Security Program described in these pages, we have taken a major step toward the achievement of that goal. Our settlement builds on existing plans, by increasing SUB maximum benefits and funding levels, for example, but it also introduces innovations such as the new Rule of 65 pensions for employees with more than 20 years of service. Finally, the program does more than build a necessary foundation. It creates a Special Task Force whose mission will be not only to implement operation of certain benefits contained in the new program but to determine how best to travel the remaining steps to our ultimate objective of a full-time job at full-time pay for every career Steelworker.

The attached chart compares existing benefits with those provided by the new program and graphically demonstrates the strides in employment and income security we have made in this Settlement Agreement.

Despite promises in the 1977 USWA Wage Policy Statement, there is no improvement in the cost-of-living formula. Without such an adjustment in the formula, cost-of-living payments will fall further and further behind price increases.

This amounts to less than two-and-one-half cents an hour over the course of the contract. Is the rest of this contract worth it?

The 1977 Wage Policy Statement says nothing about limiting the guaranteed income level and employment security to "career employees." On the contrary. In a news conference February 14, I.W. Abel said the goal of the union would be "a lifetime security program, guaranteeing an acceptable standard of living for all our members throughout their lives" (emphasis added). The contract benefits apply only to workers with twenty or more years of continuous service. This approach pits a small layer of high-seniority workers against the vast majority of union members. It is divisive and erodes union solidarity.

COMPARISON OF BENEFITS UNDER EMPLOYMENT AND INCOME SECURITY PROGRAM WITH PRESENT BENEFITS

PRESENT BENEFIT

1. **Short Week Benefit.** It is now calculated on the basis of average standard hourly wage rate and the benefit may be reduced or eliminated if the SUB Fund sinks below certain levels.

2. **Earnings Protection Plan.**
(a) Benefit now equals 85% base period rate (total earnings in the preceding year, excluding shift differentials and Sunday and overtime premium).
(b) Benefit is not payable if SUB Fund is below 70% level.

3. **Sickness & Accident.** Benefit duration now cannot exceed 52 weeks.

4. **SUB Weekly Benefits.** Benefit duration now cannot exceed 52 weeks and the benefit may be reduced or eliminated if the SUB Fund sinks below certain levels.

5. **Insurance Coverage.** Insurance coverage continues for up to 52 weeks.

NEW PROGRAM

(20 or more years of service)

1. **Short Week Benefit.** Benefit will be calculated on basis of Weekly Benefit rate which includes incentive earnings making it substantially higher than ASHWR. The benefit will be guaranteed in that it cannot be reduced or eliminated because of shrinkage in the SUB Fund.

2. **Earnings Protection Plan.**
(a) Benefit will be increased to 90% of base rate. Moreover the base itself is likely to be higher because earnings in either of two years (preceding or second preceding) can serve as the base.
(b) Benefit will become an obligation of the Company and will not be paid out of the SUB Fund or depend upon the financial position of that fund.

3. **Sickness & Accident.** Benefit duration will be extended up to an additional 52 weeks for employees disabled but not permanently disabled. (Increases in the benefit level are reflected in Attachment A to the Settlement Agreement.)

4. **SUB Weekly Benefits.** Benefit duration will be extended up to an additional 52 weeks of benefits provided employee is not offered appropriate work at his home plant or suitable long-term employment at other locations of the Company. All 104 weeks of benefits are guaranteed in that they cannot be reduced or eliminated because of shrinkage in the SUB Fund. An employee affected by shutdown ceases to draw extended SUB benefits if he becomes eligible for an unreduced immediate pension during the second 52 weeks of the SUB.

5. **Insurance Coverage.** Insurance coverage will be continued for full duration of extended SUB benefits or extended Sickness and Accident benefits.

6. **New Pension Benefit.** Special rule of 65 pension (age plus service equals 65) for employees with 20 or more years service who are affected by a plant shutdown, extended layoff or disability and the Company does not provide suitable long-term employment. In addition, employee will receive \$300 supplement until he becomes eligible for Social Security or obtains suitable long-term employment. If he loses such employment, payment of the \$300 supplement will be resumed.

Only a small minority of workers ever qualify for Short Week Benefits or Earnings Protection Plan in the first place.

If the company offers you a "suitable" job at any location in the country, and you decline to move, you lose all rights to extended Supplemental Unemployment Benefits (SUB). Who decides what is "suitable"?

Again, you forfeit the benefit if you decline another "suitable" job. The \$300 bonus lasts only until you're eligible for Social Security. After that you're down to the normal inadequate pension.

Employment and Income Security Program
Effective January 1, 1978

Employees With 20 or More Years of Service as of Last Day Worked:

- Short Week Benefits**
 - Benefits calculated on basis of Weekly Benefit rate.
 - Benefits guaranteed*
- Earnings Protection Plan**
 - Hourly earnings protected at 90% level.
 - Base period may be retained for two years.
 - Benefits an obligation of the Company and not dependent on the SUB Fund.
- Sickness and Accident Benefits**
 - Up to an additional 52 weeks of benefits for employee who is disabled but not permanently disabled and whose physician certifies that he will be able to return to work.
 - Increased rates as shown in Insurance Appendix.
 - Include employees who were disabled prior to January 1, 1978.
- SUB Weekly Benefits**
 - Up to an additional 52 weeks of benefits provided employee is not offered appropriate work at his home plant or suitable long-term employment at other locations.
 - Benefits guaranteed*, including first 52 weeks of benefits.
 - Increase relocation allowance as shown in SUB Appendix.
 - During additional 52 weeks of SUB, cover employee affected by shutdown but only until eligible for unreduced immediate pension.
 - Include employees who were laid off prior to January 1, 1978.
- Insurance Coverage**
 - Continue all coverage other than S&A while receiving extended SUB; continue all coverage while receiving extended S&A benefits.
 - Include employees who were laid off or disabled prior to January 1, 1978.
- Pensions**
 - Provide a rule of 65 pension (minimum of 20 years of continuous service as of last day worked) for employees affected by plant shutdowns and service breaks caused by extended layoffs and disabilities when the Company does not provide suitable long-term employment. Supplement will be provided until employee becomes eligible for Social Security but will be suspended whenever employee obtains suitable long-term employment.
- Task Force**
 - Effective May 1, 1977, an Employment and Income Security Task Force shall be established in accordance with an understanding to be agreed upon. Implementing the Settlement Agreement, the Task Force shall give priority to development of guidelines for the operation of the extended benefits provisions of the SUB Plan and for the operation of the rule of 65 provisions of the Pension Agreement.

* Benefits will be paid out of the SUB Trust Fund but will not be reduced or eliminated because of the financial position of the Plan. If the Company advances monies to the Trust Fund to cover the cost of these benefits, such monies will serve to reduce future obligations of the Company under the Plan. Advances will be recovered from monthly contributions to the Plan only when the Financial Position of the Plan is 70% or above and only to the extent that the recovery does not cause the Financial Position to drop below 70%.

PENSIONS

- For retirements on or after July 31, 1977, increase minimum pension formula by \$1.50 effective August 1, 1977 and by an additional \$1.00 effective August 1, 1979.
- Effective August 1, 1977, in place of Paragraph 3.5, substitute a new provision providing employees retiring on or after July 31, 1977 and prior to July 31, 1980 whose pensions are paid under the percent formula, a 5% addition to pension. (This addition will be applicable to co-pensioner options and Surviving Spouse's benefits calculated under the percent formula related to deaths on or after July 31, 1977 of active employees or of pensioners who retired on or after July 31, 1977 on pension paid under the percent formula.)
- Effective January 1, 1978, the \$230 supplement to pension for Permanent Incapacity and 70/80 Retirement shall be increased to \$300. (This supplement will also be payable to a rule of 65 pensioner.)
- Effective August 1, 1978, the minimum monthly Surviving Spouse benefits provided by Paragraph 4.2 shall be increased by \$7.50.
- Effective August 1, 1978, provide \$15.00 increase in monthly pension for pensioners (other than deferred vested pensioners) retiring prior to July 31, 1974 and \$7.50 increase in monthly benefits to individuals receiving Surviving Spouses' benefits by reason of their relationship to pensioners (other than deferred vested pensioners) retiring prior to July 31, 1977, or employees who died prior to July 31, 1977, subject to the conditions applicable to similar increases provided in 1972.
- Effective August 1, 1977, make normal co-pensioner options effective upon retirement rather than at age 65.
- Effective August 1, 1977, the pension limitation provision will be adjusted as follows:
 - The pension amount calculated in accordance with Paragraph 3.3(b) shall not be subject to adjustment by Paragraph 3.3(c) until the participant is eligible for Social Security Benefits or attains age 62, whichever occurs first.
 - Increase minimums contained in Paragraph 3.3(c)(2) to an amount equal to \$10 for each year of the first 15 years of continuous service, \$11 for each year of continuous service between 15 and 30 and \$12 for each year of continuous service in excess of 30.
 - A participant who did not work for one or more full calendar months due to compensable disability during either or both of the last two calendar years he worked prior to retirement shall, for the purposes of 3.3(c)(6), have his average weekly earnings as of the date last worked adjusted for general wage increases.
- The amount of deduction for public pension related to the Railroad Retirement Act provided for under Paragraph 3.7(b) shall be revised to an amount equal to 50% of the amount of public pension determined in accordance with Tier II of the Railroad Retirement Act, if the employee's original date of hire was prior to 1975.
- Limit deduction for other pension to amount attributable to employment by the Company.

SUB
Effective August 1, 1977

- Effective for benefit weeks ending on or after August 1, 1977 increase the maximum benefit under the SUB Plan for any week for which an employee receives a state unemployment benefit from \$100.00 to \$125.00 plus \$1.50 for each dependent up to four, and for all other weeks from \$135.00 to \$170.00 plus \$1.50 for each dependent up to four.
- Maximum financing shall be increased from 15¢ to 18¢ per contributory hour.

The guarantee of SUB applies only to those workers (twenty or more years of service) who are least likely to need it.

This provision raises the danger that the SUB fund will be reduced to the point where it cannot pay benefits to lower seniority workers—who are most likely to be laid off and need SUB the most.

Despite the intentions stated in the 1977 Wage Policy Statement, there is no provision to protect pensions with a cost-of-living clause. For the vast majority of newly retiring members, pensions will only increase from \$370 a month to \$415 a month. This is not enough to live on, and it will fall further and further behind inflation. Earlier retirees have it even worse.

These pension provisions provide no incentive for workers who have busted their butts for decades to retire early and thereby open up new jobs. Retiring union members will continue to face grossly inadequate pensions, and there will be no increase in work opportunities for newer members as the result of early retirements.

- Increase from 10.5¢ to 13.5¢ the multiplier used in paragraph 5(a) of the SUB financing letter with respect to contributory hours by employees other than salaried employees.
- Provide Weekly Benefits for up to four weeks of layoff due to coal strike or fuel or energy shortage or government pollution controls. Do not count hours of work lost by reason of a coal strike or fuel or energy shortage or government pollution controls towards the 32-hour guarantee in Section 4.3 of Plan.
- Incorporate into the SUB Plan the memorandum of understanding on Trade Adjustment Act benefits.
- EPP Benefits are an obligation of the Company and not dependent on the SUB Fund.
- Replace relocation allowance schedule in M.P. 13.64 of the USS Basic Labor Agreement with the following:

Miles Between Plant Locations		Allowances For	
		Single Employees	Married Employees
50	- 99	\$200	\$600
100	- 299	250	650
300	- 499	300	750
500	- 999	350	950
1,000	- 1,999	450	1,200
2,000	or more	550	1,450

- For purposes of calculating Weekly Benefits and Short Week Benefits in New York State, Companies will change the payroll week to coincide with the state unemployment compensation benefit week.
- Hours for which an employee was paid by the Company for an unworked holiday shall not be counted towards the 32-hour guarantee in Section 4.3 of the Plan.

INSURANCE

Effective August 1, 1977 Except as Indicated Otherwise

- Effective August 1, 1979 increase active life insurance by \$2,000 for each employee and increase retired life insurance to a flat \$3,000 amount in each classification. For employees retiring on or after August 1, 1979, reduce active life insurance to retired life (\$3,000) at age 62.
- Increase Sickness and Accident schedule by \$39 to \$52 in accordance with Attachment A.
- Effective August 1, 1979 revise hospital, physicians' services and major medical benefits in accordance with Attachment B.
- Provide that employees hired on or after August 1, 1977 (and their dependents) will be covered by life, S&A, hospital, physicians' services, vision care and major medical benefits upon completion of 520 hours of actual work.
- Effective August 1, 1979 extend Hospital and Physicians' Services Program for Eligible Pensioners and Surviving Spouses not Eligible for Medicare to eligible pensioners and surviving spouses who are eligible for Medicare (with a Medicare carve-out).
- Effective August 1, 1979 provide vision care program in accordance with Attachment C.
- Formalize existing Task Force on Cost Containment in the Health Care Programs.
- Effective August 1, 1979, eliminate vacation benefits for employee who dies prior to January 1st of the vacation year.
- Develop letter to clarify intent and procedures with respect to the 21-day notice requirement for sickness and accident.

[Attachments A, B, and C have been omitted for reasons of space. The major change is the addition of a vision care program beginning August 1, 1979. It will pay \$20 for a vision examination once every two years; from \$20 to \$50 for a pair of lenses once every two years; and \$14 for frames once every two years. No payment for sunglasses, drugs or medication, or other special services or procedures.]

S&VP

Effective December 31, 1978, the "1974 Savings and Vacation Plan" (as revised) is to be renewed by changing "1974" wherever it appears to "1979" and by changing each other date therein by adding five (5) years and making all appropriate housekeeping changes.

CONTINUATION OF THE EXPERIMENTAL NEGOTIATING AGREEMENT

The terms of the present Experimental Negotiating Agreement will be readopted for use in the 1988 negotiations. This means that the guaranteed minimum 3% increase in the standard hourly wage rate in each of the 3 years has been renewed, although the parties have provided that by mutual agreement they may apply the guaranteed 3% increase to other wage or benefit items. In addition, the various guarantees of the ENA, such as the \$150 bonus and the guarantee of continued cost of living protection, remain in effect.

CONTRACTING OUT

A Joint Steel Industry-Union Contracting Out Review Commission is to be set up consisting of three representatives from both the Union and the Companies and one impartial chairman—a person who will be "thoroughly familiar with the operations of the industry and the Basic Labor Agreements."

This Commission will conduct a thorough investigation of the facts involving contracting out, including the sending of work outside the plant, and report to the heads of the bargaining teams no later than September 1, 1979. Included on the Commission's agenda will be the right to investigate complaints, filed by the President of any Local Union, which deal with "special contracting out matters." The Commission must report in writing as to the facts it finds and recommendations it arrives at.

A special protective guarantee has been developed to protect our trade and craft employees against wage losses due to contracting out. This protection will remain in effect from August 1, 1977 to the end of the Commission's investigation. The highlights of this guarantee are as follows.

During any week in which trade and craft employees of contractors are doing trade and craft work in the plant on other than new construction or major reconstruction, our members employed in a steel-producing operation and working in such a trade and craft will be guaranteed 40 hours of pay per week at their Standard Hourly Wage Rate. This guarantee applies to trade and craft members who are on layoff or on short week. The number of such members who may receive the 40 hour guarantee is limited only by the total number of trade and craft employees of the contractor employed in the plant.

As a condition of receiving this benefit, the employee may be required to do work in his craft but outside his regular unit. Likewise, for the duration of the study, any local requirement that management

This is the really vicious one. It takes away from probationary employees all insurance and medical benefits. It means that new workers, even though they pay union dues, will be without these benefits for a quarter of a year. It represents a loss of benefits compared to the previous contract.

This provision takes accumulated vacation pay away from a surviving spouse in the event of a worker's death. It represents a small but cruel loss of benefits compared to the previous contract.

Ed Sadlowski, running in opposition to the Experimental Negotiating Agreement, received a clear majority vote in the basic steel locals. Readopting the ENA violates the democratically expressed position of the membership.

The option to shift the 3 percent guarantee "to other wage or benefit items", opens the door to using this money not for the equal benefit of all members, but for the unequal benefit of a select category of steelworkers.

Despite the position outlined in the 1977 Wage Policy Statement—"no contracting out anywhere in our jurisdiction without the prior approval of the union"—the contract has no restrictions on contracting out. The company merely has to give the union prior notification.

The hidden hooker here is the invalidating of all local agreements requiring management to retrieve work in progress from contractors. A weak "forty hour guarantee," limited to the number of trade and craft contractor employees in the plant, is no substitute. This represents a loss in contract rights compared with previous practices.

must retrieve work in progress from contractors is waived since our members are protected against adverse effects by the guarantee of 40 hours pay per week.

The parties have, in addition, provided that an arbitrator shall have complete discretion to fashion an appropriate remedy whenever it is determined that a company has failed to provide the Union with the contractually mandated notice of contracting out of work inside the plant and has by that failure deprived the Union of a reasonable opportunity to discuss alternatives to contracting out. The remedy may include earnings to grievants who would have performed the work.

With respect to significant items of maintenance or repair work which are to be performed outside the plant upon company owned equipment, for the first time the Company is required to give the Union prior notification. Such notification does not apply to a company's purchase of goods, materials and equipment.

RATE RETENTION FOR DISABLED EMPLOYEES

Any employee who, after January 1, 1978, is removed from his job because of a disability which is attributable in whole or in part to his employment with the Company will be eligible to receive rate retention benefits patterned after the rate retention benefits of Consent Decree I with appropriate adaptations. Company medical personnel shall be responsible for initially determining eligibility for these disability rate retention benefits, but a mechanism for securing a second, independent medical opinion in disputed cases will be established with funds from the Research Projects Committee. Disability rate retention benefits will be adjusted where necessary to avoid duplicating payments under worker's compensation and other earnings supplement arrangements.

PENALTY FOR SCHEDULE CHANGES

It has been agreed for the first time that, whenever the Company illegally changes a posted schedule, it is obligated to make a penalty payment of four times the standard hourly wage rate to any identifiable employee who has been scheduled to his detriment.

MISCELLANEOUS CONTRACT CHANGES

A. Grievance and Arbitration Procedure

1. EXPEDITED ARBITRATION

The parties have agreed to extend the Memorandum of Understanding on Experimental Arbitration Procedure by incorporating it in the body of the collective bargaining agreements.

2. EXPEDITED ARBITRATION OF DISCIPLINE CASES

The Companies have agreed to make changes in the collective bargaining agreements which will speed the resolution of discipline cases. With two exceptions, grievances involving written reprimands or suspensions of five days or less are to be processed through the expedited arbitration procedure whether local Company representatives agree or not. However, grievances involving concerted activity or multiple grievances arising out of the same event will continue to be processed through the regular arbitration procedure.

While grievances involving suspensions of more than five days and discharges are to be processed through the regular arbitration procedure (unless the parties agree to expedited arbitration for them), such grievances must nevertheless be decided by the Arbitrator within sixty days unless the Arbitrator determines that circumstances require otherwise.

3. SPECIAL GRIEVANCE REVIEW COMMITTEE

The parties have agreed to set up at each of the 10 Companies a Special Review Committee consisting of a headquarters representative from both the Company and the International Union for the purpose of monitoring the grievance and arbitration procedure at each plant. The committee will conduct monthly reviews to see whether cases appealed to regular arbitration may be referred to Expedited Arbitration. In addition, at least quarterly and at any time when serious backlogs or delays develop, the Committee will examine the records of the grievance and arbitration procedure at each plant. The Committee members have been given the power to refer specific grievances to Expedited Arbitration where backlogs exist and to take measures mutually agreed upon to increase the overall effectiveness of the grievance and arbitration procedures.

B. Safety and Health

The local parties are now authorized to mutually arrange procedures for the immediate arbitration of safety and health grievances in emergency situations.

The Union Co-Chairman of the Joint Safety and Health Committee, or his designee, will now have access to the plant at all reasonable times.

In addition to being required to notify the Union as soon as practicable of fatal or disabling accidents or such potential accidents, the Company must now permit the Union Co-Chairman or a designated Union member of the Safety and Health Committee to promptly visit the scene of such an accident.

Problems of drug abuse will be handled in the same manner as alcoholism and both drug abuse and alcoholism are contractually recognized as treatable conditions.

The provision has no practical meaning because it does not spell out what constitutes an illegal change in a posted schedule.

What happened to the position of the 1977 Wage Policy Statement that all members are to be considered innocent and not subject to discipline until proven guilty?

The requirement that grievances be settled in sixty days is gutted by giving the arbitrator the right to decide when "circumstances require otherwise."

Grievances do not pile up because there are not enough committees. Grievances pile up because the companies have no respect for the power of the union. Without the local right to strike over grievance violations there is no hope of forcing a quick and fair handling of grievances.

The right to "immediate arbitration" will not end unsafe and unhealthy job conditions. Only the right to shut down hazardous jobs with no penalty to the workers will do that.

C. Vacations

Year End Vacations

The week containing New Year's Day may be taken as a week of vacation during either the year preceding New Year's Day or during the year in which New Year's Day falls, except when New Year's Day falls on Sunday.

If the Company schedules a shutdown of operations during the week containing Christmas Day, any employee laid off because of the shutdown may take, during the shut down week, one week of vacation to which the employee would have been entitled in the following calendar year.

Vacation Scheduling

Where an employee transfers from one seniority unit to another after January 1 in any given year, he shall take his vacation according to the schedule established in his old seniority unit. Any regular vacation schedule previously established in such employee's new seniority unit cannot be changed merely because the employee enters into the new seniority unit. An employee in a unit who already has his vacation schedule will not have that vacation schedule disturbed by a newly transferred employee.

D. Tests

Where any company's use of a test is challenged in accordance with the grievance procedure, that company will be required to provide a copy of the disputed test and all relevant material to the International Union for appropriate use in the processing of grievances in the grievance procedure and in arbitration hearings.

E. Organizing Letter

The Companies have agreed that they will not actively oppose the Union's attempts to organize production and maintenance employees at any basic steel-producing operations which they may hereafter construct.

F. SENIORITY

The primary changes in the seniority provisions reflect the principles and provisions of the Consent Decree which are incorporated as permanent changes to the seniority provisions of the collective bargaining agreements. These principles include, but are not limited to, the following:

1. the use of plant-wide service for all measures of continuous service for seniority purposes except where a local seniority Agreement provides for some greater measure of service length than plant service;
2. the requirements that local seniority agreements be consistent with Consent Decree I and that all such local agreements remain in effect;
3. the detailed procedure for posting and filling permanent vacancies on departmental and plant wide bases and for notifying all affected employees of the successful bidders;
4. the requirement that all future local seniority agreements include appropriate progression and regression structures and are consistent with the provisions of the Consent Decree;
5. the procedure of filling permanent vacancies through intraplant transfers using plant seniority as the least measure of service to be considered;
6. plant-wide bidding for trade and craft apprenticeship openings and entry level jobs in lines of progression leading to trade and craft positions;
7. provisions for freer transfer from one trade and craft job to another;
8. all Pool Jobs in a line of progression shall be considered as a single job in filling permanent vacancies above such Pool Jobs. Insofar as there remain any conflicts between the seniority section of the Agreement and Consent Decree I, during its life the Consent Decree shall prevail.

G. SENIORITY OF EMPLOYEES LAID OFF AT ONE OPERATION AND REHIRED AT ANOTHER

The parties have agreed to immediately review the problem of the seniority relationships created when employees are laid off at one operation in connection with a shutdown and hired at another in inverse order. If this seniority review leads to a resolution which is equitable and administratively feasible, the language will be incorporated into the new agreements.

H. WAGE STABILIZATION

A Letter of Agreement provides protection in the event of imposition of mandatory wage controls.

ORIENTATION PROGRAM

The Parties will establish a USWA-Steel Industry Employees Orientation Program to acquaint new employees with their roles in the USWA and the Steel Industry, and their larger roles in the world economy. The Union will contribute \$500,000 annually and the Companies will match this annual contribution. New employees will be instructed in the development and growth of the Union, the industries, the history of collective bargaining between the parties, the adverse impact of foreign steel imports, and the role of productivity in advancing the best interests of the parties and the employees.

Plant-wide seniority already exists on paper. In practice the companies set up all kinds of rules that block minorities and women from transferring to better jobs. The contract does nothing to correct this.

Under this contract the union's civil rights committees remain powerless. Unlike other union committees they lack even the right to file a grievance.

There are no provisions in the contract for adjusting seniority rules to compensate for past racial and sexual discrimination.

One-half-million dollars a year of union dues money will be handed over to the companies to brainwash new workers about the virtues of class-collaboration, protectionism, and speedup!

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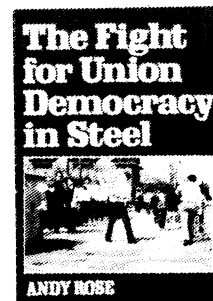
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Books and pamphlets on the labor movement

The Fight for Union Democracy in Steel

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

Catch-22 Soviet-style

The Life and Extraordinary Adventures of Private Ivan Chonkin by Vladimir Voinovich. Translated by Richard Lourie. Farrar, Straus & Giroux. 316 pages, \$10.

From the Soviet literary underground comes this savagely funny satire of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Funny because, on the face of it, nothing could be more absurd than Private Chonkin's adventures. Savage because the incidents reflect the reality of Soviet society under Stalinism.

Chapters of *The Life and Extraordinary Adventures of Private Ivan Chonkin* were circulated in the Soviet Union as an underground, samizdat, manuscript from 1963 to 1970. This year marks its first appearance in the West.

The plot of *Ivan Chonkin* is deceptively simple. On the eve of the outbreak of World War II, an army plane makes an emergency landing at a small collective farm. The army sends Pvt. Ivan Chonkin, a mild-mannered, bumbling peasant lad, to guard the plane for a week until it can be towed away. As soon as he is out of sight, the army forgets all about him.

Left to his own devices, Chonkin moves in with Nyura, a young woman who lives in the hut next to the stranded plane, and begins an ordinary civilian existence.

After the outbreak of war, a neighbor denounces Chonkin to the authorities as a German spy. The army, unable to recall that it sent Chonkin to the

Books

farm in the first place, takes the denunciation at face value and sends a squadron of police.

Conscientiously fulfilling his duty to let no one near the plane, Chonkin battles first the police and then an entire regiment of the Red Army.

The satire takes off on the collective farm itself. In it Voinovich has created a miniature of Soviet society under Stalin. The model comes complete with the corrupt head of the local Communist party, who forges false production figures on his reports because "the paper signifying work completed was more important . . . than the work itself."

Nyura's next-door neighbor, Gladishev, is a home-grown Dr. Lysenko, intently attempting to cross-breed a potato and a tomato. Instead of naming it a topato, he patriotically calls it PATS, the Path to Socialism.

The farm people have a collective feeling of solidarity that cuts across the interests of the bureaucracy. When the people hear news of the Nazi invasion, they eagerly assemble outside the Communist party headquarters to find out what to do. The CP leaders tell them to disperse (only to recall them an hour later), since "spontaneity must be controlled."

Ivan Chonkin has been compared to the searing Czech satire *The Good Soldier Schweik*. It seems to me that there are some important differences as well as similarities between the two novels.

Both *Schweik* and *Ivan Chonkin* are done as folk tales. Unlike Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's massive epic of military disaster, *August 1914*, their language is simple and direct.

On the other hand, *Schweik* is primarily an antiwar novel. *Schweik* is the deadliest enemy to his own army as, with a blithe "Aye, aye, sir," he goes optimistically marching off in the wrong direction.

Ivan Chonkin is a more complete social satire, directed against the inefficiency, inhumanity, and irrationality of the privileged bureaucratic caste that rules the Soviet Union today.

Voinovich has stated that he is not political. Yet the bureaucracy cannot tolerate his satire. He has been expelled from the Writers Union, and thus prevented from earning his livelihood with his pen. His telephone has been disconnected, and he has been subjected to other forms of harassment.

Despite these efforts, the bureaucracy will be unable to stop the impact *Ivan Chonkin* is undoubtedly having on a wide layer of the Soviet population.

—Peter Archer

A 'woman's rights man'



FREDERICK DOUGLASS

Frederick Douglass on Women's Rights. Edited by Philip S. Foner. Greenwood Press, Westport, Connecticut, 1976, 190 pages.

"There are few facts in my humble history to which I look back with more satisfaction than to the fact, recorded in the history of the Woman Suffrage Movement, that I was sufficiently enlightened at the early day, when only a few years from slavery, to support your resolution for woman suffrage. I have done very little in this world in which to glory except this one act—and I certainly glory in that.

"When I ran away from slavery, it was for myself; when I advocated emancipation, it was for my people; but when I stood up for the rights of women, self was out of the question, and I found a little nobility in the act."

Those were the words of Frederick Douglass, speaking before the Woman Suffrage Association in April 1888.

Douglass prided himself on being a "woman's rights man" for almost fifty years. His support to women's rights began during the early years of his activity in the abolitionist movement and continued, literally, until his death. (Douglass died while attending an 1895 meeting of the National Council of Women.)

As a delegate to the first Woman's Rights Convention, held at Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848, Douglass was the only man present to speak in favor of Elizabeth Cady Stanton's call for the right to vote for women—an idea considered dangerously radical then.

Philip Foner's compilation of the speeches and writings of Frederick Douglass on women's rights is a valuable resource for the history of the women's movement. In particular, the collection shows the role of Black men and women in the abolitionist and women's rights movements.

The book documents the close relationship between those who were fighting slavery and those struggling for women's rights. Much more could be written on this important aspect of the struggle. It was no coincidence that early women's rights leaders were veterans of the abolition movement. Foner's introduction quotes Lydia Maria Child, who explained the connection in 1840:

"A struggle for the advancement of any principle of freedom would inevitably tend to advance all free principles, for they are connected like a spiral line, which, if the top be put in motion, revolves even to the lowest point."

Frederick Douglass stands out not only as the foremost advocate of freedom for the African slaves, but also as a man who fought for the human rights of all the oppressed. He saw that "no man, however eloquent, can speak for woman as woman can for herself. Nevertheless, I hold that this cause is not altogether and exclusively woman's cause. It is the cause of human brotherhood as well as the cause of human sisterhood, and both must rise and fall together. Woman cannot be elevated without elevating man, and man cannot be depressed without depressing woman also."

—Laura Moorhead

Surviving your job

Work is Dangerous to Your Health, A Handbook of health hazards in the workplace and what you can do about them by Jeanne Stellman, Ph.D., and Susan Daum. Vintage Books, New York, \$2.95.

Working for Your Life: A woman's guide to job health hazards by Andrea Hricko and Melanie Brunt. Labor Occupational Health Program and Public Citizen's Health Research Group, University of California, Berkeley, \$5.00.

Expendable Americans by Paul Brodeur. Viking Press, New York, \$3.45.

These three books document the incredible hazards that men and women are subjected to each day of their working lives.

Fourteen thousand deaths and more than two million disabling injuries from job accidents are reported each year. If slowly developing diseases such as cancer were counted the figures would be even higher. U.S. Public Health Service studies show that more than 65 percent of all industrial workers are exposed to poisonous substances or harmful conditions such as excessive noise and heat.

The first two books discuss health hazards in nontechnical language. Both emphasize that workers must take initiative in evaluating hazards and fighting them, rather than relying on the company or government safety inspectors.

Stellman and Daum introduce the medical and industrial hygiene concepts necessary to evaluate health hazards produced by chemicals, noise, heat, and radiation. Their list of hazards associated with various occupations and an index of chemicals are useful for quick reference.

Hricko and Brunt focus on occupational health hazards that may affect women workers or their offspring. They pose the need to develop nondiscriminatory occupational health policies that protect all workers, including pregnant women.

This book points out that most occupational exposure limits have been set without any study of their effects on women and fetuses. It gives several examples of how occupational health rules have been used to discriminate against fertile women.



Militant/Tom Vernier

Health, safety were issues in 1973 Shell strike

The Nuclear Regulatory Commission, for example, recently refused to limit radiation exposure in atomic plants to levels that would supposedly protect pregnant women. Instead it issued guidelines urging women in this industry to change jobs or put off having children.

Hricko and Brunt also detail the history and hazards of occupations commonly filled by women, such as beauticians, laundry workers, and medical and laboratory workers.

Brodeur's book is an excellent muckraking exposé of the callous disregard for workers' health shown by the major producers of asbestos products—Pittsburgh Plate Glass, Corning Glass, and Johns-Manville. It shows how the companies ignored research that linked asbestos fibers to specific types of cancer.

The book details the inactivity of the government agencies charged with protecting workers' health and the dirty tricks the companies used to cover up their guilt.

Every working person, trade unionist, and medical student will want to put these books on their required reading list.

—Kendall Green

Calendar

ATLANTA: EAST

WHAT IS THE SWP: A PANEL DISCUSSION. Panelists: Al Budka, Laurie Perkus, Brian Riffert, Miesha Patterson, Linda Millwood. Fri., April 29, 8 p.m. 471-A Flat Shoals Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore. For more information call (404) 688-6739.

BOSTON

UGANDA, ZAIRE—WHAT THE UNITED STATES IS UP TO IN AFRICA. Speaker: Maceo Dixon, SWP National Committee, former coordinator of NSCAR; Alan Cox, member of the March 25-26 Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa. Fri., April 29, 8 p.m. Donation: \$1. 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th floor. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4620.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

PALESTINIAN LAND RIGHTS: PROBLEM AND SOLUTIONS. Speakers: Don Gurewitz, SWP; others. Fri., April 29, 8 p.m. 2 Central Sq. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Socialist Forum. For more information call (617) 547-4395.

CINCINNATI

SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE. Speaker: Dick Roberts, author of *Capitalism in Crisis*. Fri., April 29, 8 p.m.: *Carter's Economic Plan*. Sat., April 30, 11 a.m. & 2:30 p.m.: *Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory*. Rm. 531, Old Chemistry Bldg., Univ. of Cincinnati. Donation: \$3. Ausp: YSA. For more information call (513) 631-8372.

CLEVELAND

SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE. Fri., April 29, 8 p.m.: *The Fight for Democracy in the Trade Unions*. Speaker: Andy Rose, staff writer for the *Militant*. Sat., April 30, 1 p.m.: *State of Black America*. Speaker: Thabo Ntweng, SWP National Committee. 3 p.m.: *Women's Fight for Equality*. Speaker: Trudy Hawkins. 7 p.m.: reception. 8 p.m.: Socialist mayoral campaign kickoff rally. 2300 Payne Ave. Donation: \$1 per session; \$3 for entire weekend. Ausp: Cleveland Socialist Workers 1977 Campaign Committee. For more information call (216) 861-4166.

DALLAS

HOW WE GOT THE VOTE. A film on the women's suffrage movement. Also a talk by Becky Ellis, SWP. Fri., May 6, 8 p.m. 2215 Cedar Crest. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (214) 943-6684.

EAST LOS ANGELES

NEW NATIONAL STEEL CONTRACT: A PANEL OF STEELWORKER ACTIVISTS SPEAK OUT. Speakers: Jack Shepherd, USWA Local 2085; others. Fri., April 29, 8 p.m. 1237 S. Atlantic Blvd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 265-1347.

LOS ANGELES: CRENSHAW

BLACK LIBERATION AND SOCIALISM. Speaker: Sam Manuel, SWP. Wed., April 27, 7:30 p.m. 2167 W. Washington Blvd. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (213) 732-8196.

REPRESSION IN IRAN. Speaker: Farrokh Mahmoudi, CAIFI. Fri., April 29, 8 p.m. 2167 W. Washington Blvd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 732-8196.

MILWAUKEE

MAY DAY WEEKEND SOCIALIST CONFERENCE. Fri., April 29, 8 p.m.: *The New Mood of American Labor*. Speaker: Joel Britton, SWP National Committee, 3901 N. 27th St. Sat., April 30, 1 p.m.: *The Freedom Struggle in Southern Africa*. A panel discussion with R. Ato Yarney, columnist, *Milwaukee Courier*; Vincent Knox, member of the United Black Community Council; Pat Wright, SWP National Committee. Rm. WG99, UWM Union. Sat., April 30, 3 p.m.: *Prospects for Socialism in America*. Speaker: Pat Wright. Rm. WG99, UWM Union. Donation: \$2 for entire conference or \$1 for each event. Ausp: SWP and YSA. For more information call (414) 442-8170.

NEW ORLEANS

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN CLASSES. Weekly classes and discussions dealing with political issues. Find out the Socialist Workers Campaign positions and what Joel Aber, socialist candidate for mayor of New Orleans, stands for. Every Sat., 2 p.m. 3812 Magazine St. Ausp: 1977 Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (504) 891-5324.

NEW YORK

IN DEFENSE OF DEMOCRACY IN THE USSR AND EASTERN EUROPE. Speakers: Reza Baraheni, Iranian poet and former political prisoner in Iran; Bogdan Denitch, member, national board of DSOC; Richard Falk, professor of international law at Princeton University; Jim Haughton, leader of Fight Back in Harlem; Jane Roland, SWP candidate for city council president; Ralph Schoenman, organizer of the Bertrand Russell War Crimes Tribunal; Boris Schragin, former activist in Moscow civil rights struggle; Krena Lasota-Zabludowski, former Polish political prisoner, now active in Amnesty International. Wed., April 27, 8 p.m. Rm. 110, NYU Law School, 40 Washington Square South. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Mustafa Dzhemilev Defense Committee. For more information call (212) 832-2570.

NEW YORK: THE BRONX

CLASSES ON SOCIALISM. Wednesdays, 8 p.m. 2271 Morris Ave. (near 183rd St.). Ausp: SWP. For more information call (212) 365-6652.

NORTHERN CALIF. BAY AREA

GALA NORTHERN CALIFORNIA MAY DAY PICNIC. Sun., May 1. Orchard Grove, Redwood Park, Oakland. For more information call in San

Steel Forums

In the next several weeks Militant Forums across the country will be holding meetings to discuss the meaning of the new steel contract for all working people and the fight for union democracy. An initial list of scheduled forums is below. Check with the Socialist Workers party in your city (listed in the directory on page 31) for details about upcoming forums on steel.

Cleveland. Fri., April 29, 8 p.m. Speaker: Andy Rose, author, *The Fight for Union Democracy in Steel*. 2300 Payne Ave.

East Los Angeles. Fri., April 29, 8 p.m. Speakers: Jack Shepherd, USWA Local 2085; others. 1237 S. Atlantic Blvd.

Milwaukee. Fri., April 29, 8 p.m. Speaker: Joel Britton, SWP National Committee. 3901 N. 27th St.

Minneapolis/St. Paul. Fri., April 29, 8 p.m. For information on speakers and place, call (612) 870-1284 or 222-8929.

New York. Sun., May 1, 2 p.m. Speaker: Jack Barnes, SWP national secretary. NYU Law School, 40 Washington Square West.

Francisco (415) 824-1992; in Berkeley (415) 653-7156; in Oakland (415) 261-1210; and in San Jose (408) 295-8342.

PITTSBURGH

ROOTS OF AMERICAN LABOR RADICALISM. Speaker: Tim Wohlforth, SWP National Committee. Fri., April 29, 8 p.m.: *The Origins of Unionism*. Sat., April 30, 11 a.m.: *The Rise of the IWW*. Sat., April 30, 2 p.m.: *Debs and the Socialist Party*. 5504 Penn Ave. Donation: \$2 for all three classes. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (412) 441-1419.

PRINCE GEORGES COUNTY, MD.

SPEAK-OUT AGAINST RACIST ATTACKS IN PRINCE GEORGES COUNTY. Speakers: Sylvester Vaughns, president, Prince Georges County NAACP; Edith Buye, victim of racist attack. Mon., April 25, 7:30 p.m. First Baptist Church of Glenarden. For more information call (301) 797-7699.

RICHMOND, VA.

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Toba Singer, SWP candidate for Virginia House of Delegates; Ed Heisler, SWP National Committee. Fri., April 29, 8 p.m. 1203A West Main St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Socialist Workers 1977 Virginia Campaign Committee. For more information call (804) 353-3238.

SAN DIEGO

GAS AND WATER SHORTAGES: WHO IS TO BLAME? Speaker: Brad Merrill, SWP. Fri., April 29, 8 p.m. 1053 15th St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 234-4630.

SAN FRANCISCO

HISTORY OF THE ANTI-VIETNAM WAR MOVEMENT. Speaker: Fred Halstead, SWP National Committee. Fri., April 29, 8 p.m., and Sat., April 30, 1 p.m. & 3 p.m. Hastings Law School, Rm. A, 198 McAllister. Donation: \$2 for all three classes. Ausp: SWP. For more information call in San Francisco (415) 626-6288; in San Jose (408) 295-8342; in Berkeley (415) 653-7156; and in Oakland (415) 261-1210.

...Pakistan

Continued from page 4

to call new provincial elections and, if the PNA won a majority, to call new elections for the National Assembly. He promised that any new elections would be "absolutely fair."

Bhutto also offered to enact into law some of the orthodox Islamic customs demanded by the PNA's religious leaders.

An earlier offer by Bhutto for new provincial elections had been dismissed by the PNA as "not worthy of any consideration."

...Zaire

Continued from page 4

welcomed this mounting French intervention. An April 11 dispatch from the New China News Agency lauded Paris for responding "positively" to Mobutu's "just struggle" against "foreign subversion."

Contrary to these assurances by Mao's heirs, the escalation of French, U.S., and other imperialist involvement in Zaire poses a serious threat to the African masses.

The aim of these capitalist powers is to protect their profitable mineral investments in Shaba and to gain a firmer toehold on that continent to hold back the rising liberation struggles throughout southern Africa.

Divisions hurt striking Cincinnati teachers

By Tom Kincaid

CINCINNATI—Some 1,500 Cincinnati teachers struck the school system here April 13. At issue are wages, cost-of-living payments, class size, and grievance procedure.

The Cincinnati Federation of Teachers (CFT) is demanding a 16 percent wage increase and automatic cost-of-living allowance based on the government's consumer price index.

The response of the school board to the wage demands of the CFT is to "stonewall" while pleading poverty. They recently passed an \$88.4 million appropriations resolution that included no raises for teachers for the 1977-78 school year.

The best the board has come up with so far is an offer of a 6 percent raise if additional revenues come in. Their strategy is to tie the question of raises for teachers to the passage of a tax levy. This approach has been rejected by the CFT.

The board is obviously testing the CFT, which won a bitter representa-

tion election over the Cincinnati Teachers Association (CTA) last December.

The first day of the strike saw pickets set up at each of the 104 schools in the public school system. At many schools, particularly secondary schools in the inner city, no educational activity took place. Students left in droves.

Unfortunately, serious divisions exist within the teachers' ranks. About 1,300 of the system's teachers are CFT members, 850 are members of the CTA, and the rest of the system's 3,100 teachers are not members of either organization. The CTA voted by a two-to-one margin not to support the strike.

A key task of the CFT will be to win over as many of the CTA and independent teachers as possible, and shut the entire school system down. In addition, the CFT will have to mount a campaign to win public support for its position and counter the virulent antiunion broadsides from the local media.



Militant/Eric Simpson

SAN FRANCISCO, April 20—Last April 15 more than 500 people walked or wheeled, chanted or signed to the call 'Califano, sign 504!'

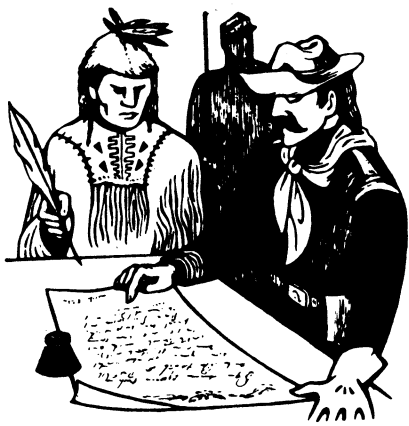
The rally occurred at the federal building here where 150 demonstrators are today continuing their sit-in, which began April 5. They are demanding enforcement of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973. Section 504 of the act contains the enforcement provisions.

HEW Secretary Joseph Califano is stalling on signing Section 504 in order to attach amendments that would significantly water down its effectiveness.

A broad number of speakers addressed the rally, including:

Ed Roberts from the state department of rehabilitation; Willie Dicks, International Association of Machinists Local 1781; Michael Fultz, Black Panther party; Walter Johnson, president, Retail Clerks Local 1100; Phil Draper, director of the Center for Independent Living; Jack Goldberger, Joint Council of Teamsters; Larry Martin, Transport Workers Union; and Juan Martinez, Socialist Workers party candidate for San Francisco Board of Supervisors.

Kitty Cone, of the Coalition of Disabled Women and a central organizer of the rally, said, 'We must learn from the civil rights movement of the 1960s and take the demands for the disabled into the streets.'



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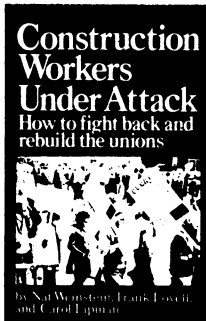
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STEEL CONTRACT

Full text of official summary What it means for workers

—PAGES 25-28

The new 1977 contract in basic steel affects the lives of hundreds of thousands of workers. But most steelworkers have not even seen the contract, much less been given a chance to vote on it. It is not printed in the union newspaper. It is not widely distributed at workplaces.

The 'Militant' is publishing the text of the contract summary voted on April 9 by local union presidents. Members of the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance are campaigning to get it into the hands of thousands of steelworkers, because we believe every worker has a right to know what is in their contract.

Does it provide 'lifetime job security'? Does it take up the special needs of Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, and

women steelworkers? Does it justify the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement? Judge for yourself.

Last February a majority of workers in basic steel voted for Ed Sadlowski for president of the United Steelworkers. They voted to repudiate the ENA. They voted for the right to strike, for union democracy, and for militant defense of workers' interests. In that sense they voted against this contract even before it was written in secret negotiations between the union brass and the steel companies.

What do you think about this contract? The 'Militant' welcomes the responses, comments, and observations of all workers on the contract and the issues it raises.

Pro-Sadlowski local victimized in Texas

By Marc Shaver

HOUSTON—An entire local of the United Steelworkers in Texas is being victimized because its members and leaders supported Ed Sadlowski and Steelworkers Fight Back in the union presidential campaign.

USWA Local 16000 includes some 500 workers at Ethyl Chemical Company in Deer Park, a suburb of Houston.

On April 11 all local officers, com-

Marc Shaver is a foundry worker and a member of United Steelworkers Local 2228 in Houston.

mittee members, and stewards were removed from their posts by international President I. W. Abel. Staff representative Sam Dawson was named administrator over the local.

The next day, District 37 Director Edgar Ball gave the local leaders two reasons for their removal. First, they would not support the international's attempt to add a step in their grievance

procedure giving the staff representative control over disposition of grievances.

Second, Ball said they had misspent \$23,000 of strike funds in a 1975 strike. The local dismisses the strike fund charge as a complete frame-up.

They point out that all expenditures were voted on by the members, that staff representatives were present and raised no objection, and that the strike fund was audited by the international auditor and approved last year.

The grievance procedure is a serious issue. The local's contract expires May 1 and negotiations have been in progress.

The membership voted unanimously on March 17 to instruct their negotiators to keep the grievance procedure under local control and reject the international's bid for an added step. This is their democratic right, they believe.

The local is certain that the real reason for their victimization, however, is their outspoken support for the Sadlowski slate.

Local President Fabian Greenwell was head of the Sadlowski campaign committee in District 37 (Texas). The local nominated Sadlowski and voted for him overwhelmingly in the February 8 election over machine candidate Lloyd McBride.

Texas was the scene of several physical assaults on Sadlowski campaigners, including one shooting. Shortly after the election, McBride spoke at a "victory party" District 37 conference. His speech was filled with threats of reprisals against Sadlowski backers.

A statement by the elected Local 16000 leadership points out that by removing them at this critical stage of local contract negotiations, Abel, Ball, and the district staff have shown "that they have no regard for the interest and welfare of the membership they are sworn to represent."

They also note that Ball offered to drop charges against the local if it would leave the steelworkers and affiliate to another AFL-CIO union—

further proof that Abel and Ball seek only to eliminate a stronghold of opposition in District 37.

"We appeal to steelworkers across the country to speak out against this undemocratic intervention by Abel and the staff of District 37 in our local union," say the Local 16000 leaders.

"We urge you to send messages of protest to Abel and District 37 Director Edgar Ball demanding that they remove the receivership over Local 16000 and reinstate all officers, that they drop the phony charges against us and remove all obstacles to the functioning of a democratic local in the United Steelworkers of America. We would appreciate local unions around the country adopting motions in our defense."

Send protests to: I. W. Abel, 5 Gateway Center, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15222; and Edgar Ball, 104 Jacinto Towers, 10202 East Freeway, Houston, Texas 77029.

Please send copies to Local 16000 at Box 3327, Pasadena, Texas 77501. Telephone: (713) 473-8351.