

THE MILITANT

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

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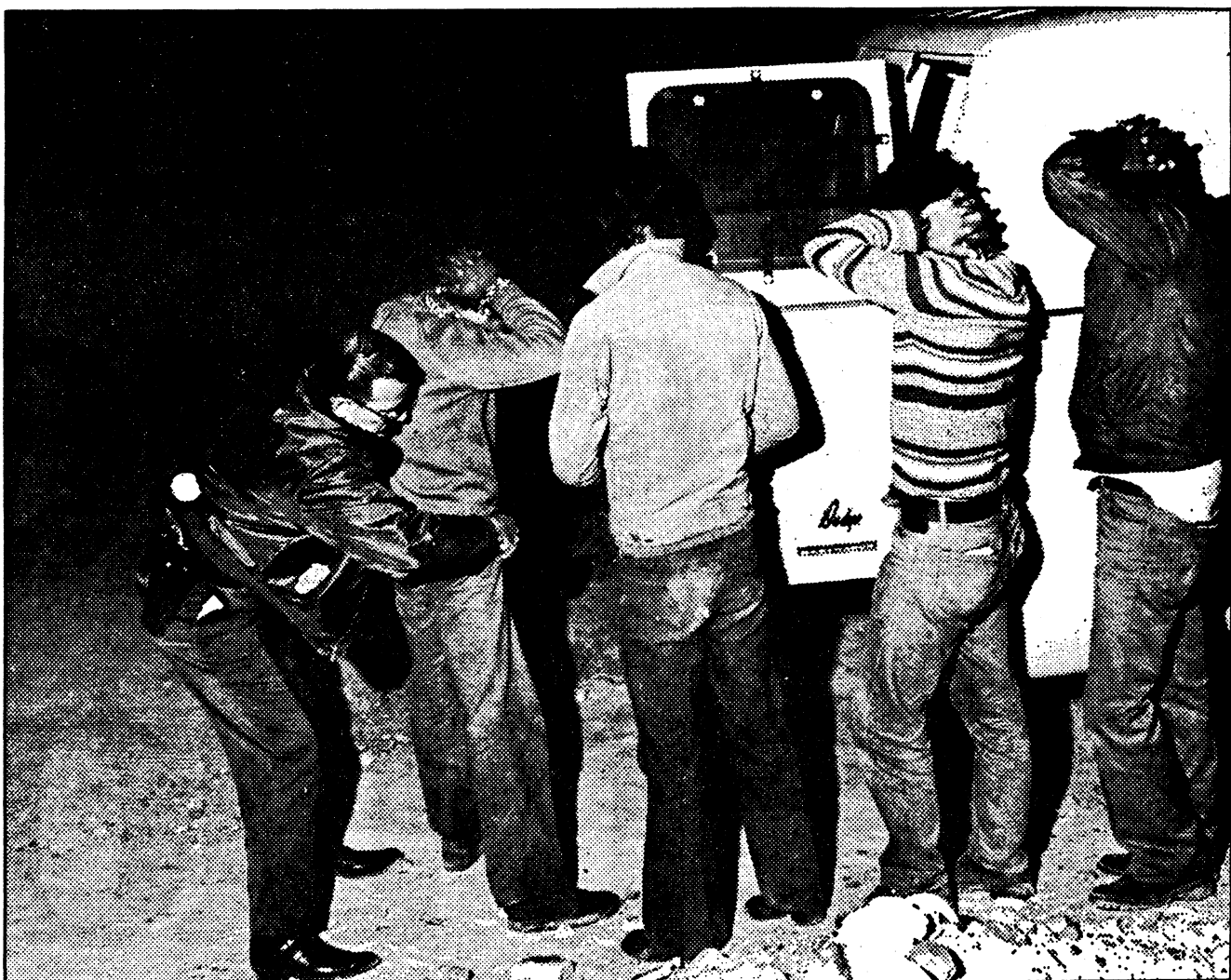


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SCHOOLS DON'T DO WELL BY LATINOS: A national survey has determined that Latino public school students learn considerably less than whites, although more than Blacks. The Education Commission of the States, a federally financed Denver group, conducted the study.

Latino students fared far worse than the national average in virtually every category tested.

José Martínez, a California state expert in bilingual education, explained, "The data strongly suggest that Hispanic students do not receive equal benefits from the education system of the country. . . ."

Martínez added that he thought most Latinos entered school with only a very rudimentary knowledge of English, and quickly fell behind their white counterparts.

The report made no attempt to explain the disparity in achievement levels.

UN RECOGNIZES NATIVE AMERICANS: The United Nations has granted the International Indian Treaty Council the consultative status of nongovernmental organization. This allows the treaty council to attend meetings, submit written statements, and be granted hearings at the UN.

The treaty council was set up in 1974 to bring international pressure on the United States to recognize the 371 treaties it has signed with various Indian nations.

CIA SUED FOR OPENING MAIL: Educator and humanist Dr. Corliss Lamont filed suit against the CIA on May 18, charging the agency with illegally opening his mail to and from the Soviet Union from 1957 to 1972.

Filed by attorney Michael Krinsky, the suit is the sequel to an earlier court action by Lamont that won U.S. citizens the right to freely receive mail from the USSR.

Lamont discovered his mail had been opened after he received copies of personal correspondence as the result of a Freedom of Information Act request.

The suit seeks \$150,000 in damages and destruction of the CIA's copies of Lamont's correspondence.

Boston racist guilty in assault on Black

BOSTON—On March 26, Boston racists attacked a march for Black majority rule in South Africa. Dan Yotts, a leader of the anti-Black South Boston Marshals, repeatedly shoved chief march monitor Robb Wright, while cops stood by and did nothing.

After the incident, Wright filed charges against his assailant. Yotts, accompanied by his attorney, South Boston State Rep. Michael Flaherty, brought fabricated charges against Wright, claiming Wright had attacked him in a parking lot after the march.

A municipal court judge convicted Yotts on May 31 and ruled Wright innocent. Yotts says he will appeal.

The verdict is significant because the South Boston Marshals group has recently stepped up violent attacks against radicals. An arson attempt was made against a Maoist bookstore on May 18. A local radio station reported a telephone caller, claiming to be a member of the South Boston Defense League, took credit for the attack.

The caller said, "We are for a white, anticommunist South Boston and will go to any extreme of violence to keep it that way."

Similar threatening calls were received by the International Defense and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, by the Fenway-South End branch of the Socialist Workers party, and by SWP candidate for school committee Hattie McCutcheon.

SAN DIEGO COINTELPRO SUIT DISMISSED: On May 2 Federal District Judge Howard Turrentine in San Diego dismissed a \$10.6 million damage suit against former President Richard Nixon and other top federal officials filed in 1975 by Peter Bohmer and Paula Tharp. Tharp and Bohmer are victims of the FBI's Cointelpro harassment of antiwar activists. Tharp was shot and wounded by a member of the Secret Army Organization, a right-wing paramilitary outfit in San Diego. An FBI agent was with her attacker during the shooting. Bohmer charges FBI responsibility for his dismissal from a professorship at San Diego State College. The judge claims that the two activists failed to pursue their suit rapidly enough. But Tharp and Bohmer's attorney had said the suit would be ready for trial late this summer.

INSIDE A SECT: Bob Pearlman was a Boston teacher when the battle over busing erupted in the fall of 1974. He was also a leader of the Spartacist League, a small, sectarian group familiar to many radical activists.

Pearlman was an alternate member of the SL's central committee and the organizer of its Boston group.

The Spartacists refused to actively side with Boston's Black community in defense of busing, despite Pearlman's efforts to overcome the group's "dismal abstention."

Pearlman quit the Spartacist League in August 1976 and later joined the Socialist Workers party. His experiences in the Spartacist League and an analysis of its political ideas will appear in a two-part series in the weekly *Intercontinental Press*, in its June 6 and June 13 issues.

Copies are available for \$.75 each from Box 116, Village Station, New York, New York 10014.

ROSENBERG CASE: Twenty-four years ago this June 19, Ethel and Julius Rosenberg were executed on trumped-up espionage charges. The National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case (NCRRC) will mark the anniversary with a program in New York June 16 at 8:00 p.m. at the Ethical Culture Society, 2 West Sixty-fourth Street. Tickets are \$1 in advance, \$2 at the door.

On June 17 the NCRRC is sponsoring a demonstration at the federal courthouse in Foley Square, site of the Rosenberg trial, from 12:00 noon to 2:00 p.m. The demonstrators will demand the release of all FBI files from the Rosenberg case, an end to all frame-ups, and the impeachment of Judge Irving Kaufman.

Kaufman, who presided over the 1951 Rosenberg trial, now heads the Second Circuit Court of Appeals at the Foley Square courthouse. Released FBI records from the Rosenberg case show that Kaufman had secret meetings with the government prosecutors, decided on the death penalty even before the Rosenbergs were declared guilty, and conspired with the FBI to stifle criticism of the trial.

For more information on the anniversary program and demonstration, contact the NCRRC, 853 Broadway, Room 1120, New York, New York 10003. Telephone (212) 228-4500.

GO OUT AND WORK, LIKE I DO: Thomas Murphy is worried. He doesn't like the idea that social equality means not only an equal place at the starting line, "but an equal place at the finishing line as well," he told the graduating class at Fordham University in New York May 29.

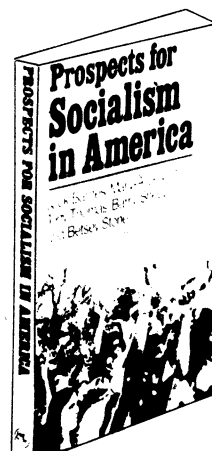
He noted that these ideas would lead to promotions without regard to achievement, and—horrors!—"everyone's entitlement to a job" and "a minimum wage."

Such radical ideas may well worry Murphy, who happens to be the chairman of General Motors.

—Arnold Weissberg

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Calif. students hit campus ties to apartheid

By John Studer

SAN FRANCISCO—Police in Santa Cruz, California, arrested 401 students at the state university campus there May 26.

Those arrested were among nearly 1,000 Santa Cruz students demanding that the University of California system withdraw its investments in corporations doing business in South Africa. They also demanded increased funding for campus ethnic studies programs and reversal of a racist state supreme court ruling against minority admissions programs at UC campuses.

All 401 arrested students were later released on their own recognizance.

The Santa Cruz protest was one of several May 26 activities on northern California campuses against university complicity with apartheid.

At UC Berkeley, author Steve Talbot told a rally of several hundred students that "the argument that American corporations have improved conditions in South Africa is an outright lie. The actual gap between the wages of Black and white workers has increased. The average white worker makes six times more than the average Black worker. The time has come to cut off investments to South Africa."

Later, 200 Berkeley students joined a brief sit-in at Benjamin Wheeler Hall. There were no arrests.

At the City College of San Francisco, 150 students protested; and 18 students were arrested at a sit-in at UC Davis. Protests also took place at the Davis medical school.

These actions were inspired by demonstrations around the same issue at Stanford University earlier this spring. Cops arrested 294 students at that time.

Following the Stanford protest, student leaders there called a planning meeting May 15. Participants in the meeting came from San Francisco State College, UC Berkeley, City College of San Francisco, UC Davis medical school, the Stanford Committee for Responsible Investment Policy (SCRIP), Student Coalition Against Racism, Young Socialist Alliance, and Revolutionary Student Brigade.

This meeting formed Campuses United Against Apartheid and called for coordinated actions May 26 to demand that the University of California withdraw its investments in apartheid. The coalition pointed out that the university holds \$312 million in such investments.

University of California Regent William Coblentz responded, admitting that in his visits to eight UC campuses he "found a profound interest among students in our investments."

On May 24 Coblentz and two other regents agreed to meet with students at Berkeley to discuss these investments. More than 1,000 students crowded into Pauley Ballroom, the overwhelming majority in favor of ending the investments. The regents responded by announcing that they would send a

letter to all companies active in South Africa stating their concern about the Black majority there.

Students were not satisfied with this concession and announced plans to go ahead with the May 26 protests. The success of these actions prompted the Bay Area press to speculate that "maybe campus protests are not a thing of the past."

The leaders of Campuses United Against Apartheid have called a further planning meeting for June 1 in San Jose.

S. Africa stocks 'violate law'

By Bruce Lesnick

MADISON, Wis.—In a surprise decision May 20, the Wisconsin attorney general ruled that the University of Wisconsin's holdings in corporations investing in South Africa violate state law.

The ruling was based on a 1972 law that prohibits "investments in any company, corporation, subsidiary, or affiliate which practices or

condones through its actions discrimination on the basis of race, religion, color, creed, or sex."

The University of Wisconsin has \$14 million invested in such corporations.

The campus Coalition on South Africa is planning a demonstration June 16 to demand that the university comply with the ruling and divest itself of investments in apartheid.

D.C.: Thousands rally for African liberation

By Omari Musa

WASHINGTON—Nearly 10,000 people marched and rallied here May 28 to mark African Liberation Day.

The largest demonstration was organized by the All-African Peoples Revolutionary party (AAPRP). More than 3,000 marchers stepped off from Malcolm X Park chanting "Africa must be free" and "We are an African people."

The march moved down Fourteenth Street through the Black community, where hundreds more joined in. As the demonstration passed the White House, chants of "Africa for the Africans" and "Down with Zionism" rang out. A small group of marchers demanded "U.S. out of Africa."

By the time the march returned to Malcolm X Park, now about 5,000 strong, it was greeted by another 2,500 people waiting for the rally to begin.

It was the largest African Liberation Day in Washington since 25,000 rallied at the Washington Monument in 1972.

The featured speaker at the rally was AAPRP leader Stokely Carmichael. "The reason the AAPRP organized African Liberation Day," he said, "was to build the AAPRP and rededicate African people all over the world for the struggle to free Africa."

Other speakers at the rally were: David Sibeko of the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania (South Africa); Andrés Torres of the Puerto Rican Socialist party; and Vernon Bellecourt of the American Indian Movement.

Brother Damu Smith of the National Wilmington Ten Defense Committee read a message from Rev. Ben Chavis on behalf of the ten framed-up North Carolina civil rights activists.

Chavis's message demanded the release of imprisoned South African nationalists Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu, as well as the new victims of apartheid justice detained since the Soweto rebellion last June. He scored the maneuvers of the United States and Great Britain to impose neocolonial governments on the people in Namibia and Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), and demanded Black majority rule for all of southern Africa.

A representative of the Eritreans for Liberation in North America explained the Eritrean struggle for self-determination against the military regime in Ethiopia.

A Brazilian student told of the beginnings of a Black power movement there:

"We live under a brutal military dictatorship in Brazil. People of African descent make up the majority of the population, but before, we were

afraid to talk about African pride. Now some students are learning the lessons of the Black power movement that developed in the U.S. during the 1960s."

Representatives of the Iranian Students Association, Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), CASA, and the Organization of Haitian Democratic Forces also addressed the rally.

The AAPRP had hosted a conference the previous day. The highlight of the conference, attended by 700 people, was the appearance of seventy-six-year-old Black rights fighter and author C.L.R. James.

Two other ALD demonstrations took place here May 28, both sponsored by Maoist-oriented groups. Despite some nuances of political difference between the two, neither focused on getting the United States out of southern Africa. Instead, they attacked both Washington and Moscow.

At the demonstration of 1,300 people

sponsored by the African Liberation Day Coalition, members of the Revolutionary Communist party, which dominates the ALDC, set upon members of a rival Maoist sect, the October League, and *Militant* salespeople, physically forcing them to leave the park.

The other rally, which drew 300 people, was sponsored by a group calling itself the African Liberation Support Committee, although it is not the same organization that sponsored the first ALD protests in the early 1970s.

Amiri Baraka, a leader of these early protests, did address this rally. He is now a leader of a Maoist group called the Revolutionary Communist League (MLM).

Several thousand people participated in three separate demonstrations in Oakland, California, May 21. Other ALD activities were held in New York City, Canada, and the Caribbean.



Thousands marched in May 28 African Liberation Day demonstration in D.C.

Militant/Omari Musa

Call for S.Africa sports boycott

By Omari Musa

NEW YORK—A new coalition has been set up to organize a boycott of South African and Rhodesian sports activities in the United States. The group was launched at a well-attended news conference here May 25.

According to Richard Lapchick, the coordinator of the new group, which calls itself the American Coordinating Committee for Equality in Sport and Society (ACCESS), the aim of ACCESS is "ending U.S. competition with South Africa by the 1980 Olympics."

Dennis Brutus, ACCESS chairperson and an exile from South Africa, announced that "ACCESS will organize peaceful, legal protests against South African sport in the United

States, as well as discuss with U.S. sports federations the need to boycott South African sports activity in the United States."

Brutus spoke enthusiastically of the April protest of more than 800 people against the South Africa-United States Davis Cup tennis match in Newport Beach, California.

ACCESS has helped form the International Advisory Commission to End Apartheid Sport. The commission is composed of leaders of anti-apartheid groups in several countries.

Harry Edwards of the Olympic Project for Human Rights and a leader of the Black protest at the 1968 Olympics is also a member of AC-

CESS. Edwards, who was unable to attend the news conference, is currently fighting the University of California's attempt to deny him tenure in the sociology department there.

Lapchick said that two upcoming protests will target the Federation Cup tennis tournament in England June 13-18 and the United States Open.

Others appearing at the news conference included Raphael Gould, special projects director, American Committee on Africa; Sports for the People; Coalition of Concerned Black Americans; Clergy and Laity Concerned; and the women's division of the Board of Global Ministries, United Methodist Church.

Supreme Court attacks Black, female job rights

By John Hawkins

"A severe setback to the Black and women's movements."

That's what Socialist Workers party leader Willie Mae Reid called the May 31 ruling by the U.S. Supreme Court upholding discriminatory seniority systems.

"For all practical purposes this reactionary decision legalizes race and sex discrimination in employment," said Reid, who was the SWP's 1976 vice-presidential candidate.

"It lays the basis for a full-scale attack on the principle of affirmative action."

Reid said that a massive and united outcry by Black and women's organizations is needed to turn back the government's all-out assault on the most oppressed and exploited layers of American society.

In its seven-to-two decision, the court ruled that even where past discrimination has been proved, seniority systems that perpetuate its inhuman effects are not necessarily illegal.

If there was no "intent" to discriminate, the court said, such seniority rules are not in violation of Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act outlawing job discrimination.

"If carried through to the end," Reid said, "this ruling will undermine what little progress Blacks and women have made in moving up from the bottom rung of the jobs ladder."

"It will be used to justify the discriminatory layoffs that have already taken a heavy toll on these gains since the onset of the 1974-75 recession. Rigged seniority systems will continue to keep Blacks and women from moving up to higher-paying, more skilled jobs."

"In short, it will be used to lock Blacks and women back into the old role of their second-class status at the workplace—with no prospect of legal redress."

The court majority based its decision on its interpretation of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. In passing that law, the justices said, Congress did not intend to disrupt the "routine application" of seniority systems, "even where the employer's pre-act discrimination resulted in whites having greater seniority rights than Negroes." (Emphasis added.)

So, a seniority system can now legally perpetuate the effects of any racial or sex discrimination that occurred before July 2, 1965, when the Civil Rights Act took effect.

"That covers a lot of history," Reid said, "since discrimination against Blacks and women goes all the way back to the founding of this country."

The court's decision came in response to lawsuits brought against TIME Freight Inc., a Nashville trucking firm, in 1968, and against the Texas-based TIME-D.C. Inc. and the

Teamsters union in 1971. The suits charged race discrimination.

Black and Latino workers for the companies were locked into the lowest-paying jobs. Even after the civil rights act put restrictions on discrimination in hiring, a departmental seniority system—where workers transferring from one department to another lose all seniority—tended to keep Black and Latino employees out of higher-paying departments.

Two lower courts had ruled that this seniority system effectively barred minority workers from better jobs.

In another seven-to-two decision, the court went still farther. In a case involving an airline stewardess, the justices placed tight restrictions on suits against discrimination that occurred *even after* 1965.

The court placed the burden on the "discriminatee" to make "timely" charges. If a complaint is filed beyond the specified time limit, the justices said, then the discriminatory seniority system is "not unlawful."

Reid warned that the two decisions were "another step in the direction of turning back the clock to the days of Jim Crow segregation."

The socialist leader pointed out that they are the latest in a string of reactionary Supreme Court decisions, among them the restoration of the death penalty and the striking down of disability benefits for pregnant workers.

"All this is part and parcel of the Carter administration's drive against the rights and living standards of women, minorities, and all working people," Reid said.

"Across the country employers will greet these decisions with glee."

"So will the conservative top officialdom of the labor movement, who are accomplices in discrimination against minorities and women," she added.

"In fact, some of these labor misleaders are already breaking out the champagne. They are already celebrating this victory for their effort to preserve a comfortable berth for themselves and a job trust for older and relatively more privileged white, male workers."

"This is playing the bosses' game of divide and rule," Reid explained. "The Supreme Court showed its real attitude toward unions when it ruled the very same day that state governments need not pay unemployment benefits to workers laid off because of strikes."

"Rather than toast this blow to minority and women workers, a labor leadership worthy of the name would join with Black and women's organizations to demand a halt to the attacks on affirmative action."

"Organizing such a broad, massive response is more necessary today than ever before."

NSCAR hits court ruling

In a statement released June 1, the National Student Coalition Against Racism said that the Supreme Court seniority ruling "severely weakens the ability of Black and other minority workers to respond to racism on the job."

NSCAR said the decision will "prevent even more Blacks from gaining access to needed employment opportunities, and will worsen the plight of Black workers facing discriminatory layoffs."

To respond to this attack on Black rights, the NSCAR statement urged that "a national conference of the Black movement be called by the major civil rights organizations, such as the NAACP, Southern

Christian Leadership Conference, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, and Urban League."

Such a conference would also reach out to women's organizations, trade unions, and student groups, the NSCAR statement said.

"Only such a broadly sponsored conference would have the necessary authority to plan and coordinate a nationwide counteroffensive," NSCAR said. "It could give needed impetus to local struggles and initiate national actions such as a March on Washington for Full Equality Now."

"Beginning to organize this counteroffensive is the key challenge facing the leadership of the Black movement today."

Real face of Carter's 'illegal alien' plan

By Arnold Weissberg

The hidden face of President's Carter's plan to deal with undocumented immigrants is rapidly being unmasked.

While planning a major crackdown on workers without visas, the Carter administration tossed a crumb to Latinos by holding out the promise of an amnesty for "illegal aliens" who had lived in the United States for five years.

As first proposed, this plan might have covered only the tiny fraction of immigrants who could prove five years' residence.

Now, however, the administration may be backing away even from this inadequate proposal.

The *New York Times* reported May 27 that some Carter aides want to determine how many people would qualify for "amnesty" before granting it. They fear a "drain" on social services, a fear that exposes the kind of poverty to which immigrant workers are regularly subjected.

In addition, the administration isn't sure it wants to let the families of amnestied aliens into the country.

Another aspect of Carter's plans for "aliens" is the plan to resurrect the bracero program under a different name.

Abolished in 1965, the bracero program brought Mexican workers to labor in the United States on a temporary basis. The program was designed to meet the needs of agribusiness in California and Texas. The braceros were cruelly overworked and underpaid.

That's what Leonel Castillo, Carter's new head of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, wants to bring back.

Castillo has also called for hiring another 1,000 border guards. In the meantime, he's ordered 100 sent to San Diego.

Carter's plan will mean more misery for all foreign-born workers, whether they emigrate to the United States or stay at home.

Haitian refugees demand U.S. asylum

By Jack Lieberman

MIAMI—"Haiti, yes; Duvalier, no! Stop the deportations!" This chant rang out as more than 250 Haitians and supporters picketed the offices of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service here May 18 to demand work permits and political asylum for Haitian refugees.

The picket was followed by a spirited march and rally in downtown Miami. May 18 is Haitian Flag Day, commemorating Haiti's struggle for independence. More recently it has become a day of struggle against the Duvalier dictatorship.

Of the more than 10,000 Haitians in the Miami area, more than 1,600 are refugees who face deportation. If returned to Haiti, they face certain imprisonment and possible death.

But Washington has refused to grant them asylum, placing them under arrest the moment they arrive in U.S. waters exhausted and ill from their perilous escape.

While most refugees have been released from jail as a result of a concerted defense campaign, they still face deportation. The government has refused to grant them work permits or provide them with any social services. Private charity funds have begun to be exhausted recently, and several refugees have already been evicted from their apartments.

Speakers at the rally, which was sponsored by the Haitian Survival Committee, a coalition of community groups, stressed the need to step up the campaign for work permits and political asylum.

The picket and march were disrupted by a small group of Maoists, most of them claiming to represent the Iranian Students Association.

The Maoists repeatedly tried to assault a Haitian demonstrator carrying a U.S. flag. When several demonstrators defended his right to carry the

flag, they too were threatened.

The disrupters also tried to drown out the demonstrators' chants with their own sound equipment.

These provocations played into the hands of the cops, who were looking for an excuse to break up the demonstration and arrest Haitian demonstrators, among whom were many noncitizens. Fortunately, the provocations were successfully parried by demonstration organizers before the police could intervene.

The demonstration was the largest antideportation action to be held here in many years and was covered by the major television stations and newspapers.



Militant/Miguel Pendás

Chicanos set antideportation conference

By Miguel Pendás

SAN ANTONIO—A coalition of Chicano leaders and organizations meeting here May 22 has called for a national conference of the Chicano movement to respond to the crackdown by the Carter administration on immigrants without papers, the so-called illegal aliens. The conference will also take up other Chicano issues.

The meeting, attended by more than fifty persons, was called together by Raza Unida party leader Mario Compeán; Cecilio García-Camarillo, publisher of *Caracol* magazine; and antideportation activist Ignacio "Nacho" Pérez.

It was convened in response to a "Call for Action" issued by José Angel Gutiérrez, Zavala County judge, and RUP leader. (See box.)

In a letter accompanying his call, Gutiérrez wrote, "I believe that it is time to defend our rights from attacks by the Immigration and Naturalization Service. I believe it is time to cease the criminal acts of pushing out our children from schools."

"I believe it is time to repeal the right-to-work laws and demand a minimum wage of \$3.50 an hour for all workers. I believe that we must demand jobs, in and out of government. 'I believe we must act now!'"

The May 22 meeting unanimously approved a four-point plan of action:

1) That a national conference be held October 28-30 in San Antonio to draft a series of demands with the main focus on repressive immigration policy.

2) That other areas hold regional or statewide conferences, rallies, picket lines, and other building activities around El Día de La Raza (October 12).

3) That on November 18-19 demonstrations be organized all over the country. A delegation will go to Washington, D.C., that day to present the demands there.

4) That an immediate goal be to enlist as many sponsors as possible for the "Call for Action."

All these proposals were made as recommendations to be presented to a broad spectrum of Chicano leaders, activists, and organizations. Conference participants hope to develop similar coalitions in other areas. (See accompanying article.)

The steering committee established at the San Antonio meeting includes more than a dozen groups.

Represented on the steering committee are Texas Raza Unida party; Texas Farm Workers Union; *Caracol* magazine; TU-CASA, a San Antonio antideportation group; Mexican-American

A 'Call for Action'

The following "Call for Action," written by José Angel Gutiérrez, has been sent to many Chicano organizations and community leaders.

A crisis for all Spanish surnamed persons within the US of A is rapidly approaching. The very same man our Raza supported for the Presidency, now seeks to deport us. The Carter administration is designing a new immigration policy. We are the main targets.

The phobia mongers insist our people, because of our numbers, birth rate, geographic spread and undocumented status threaten the

very underpinnings of this society. We are blamed for unemployment, disease, welfare costs, crime, slums and low wages. The truth of the matter is that Latinos are to be made the scapegoat for this administration's ineptness at solving economic problems of inflation, unemployment, wage depression and rising consumer frustration.

At times of war, the Mexican workers have been sought out by American growers and industry.

At times of expansion, Americans have not hesitated to take half of Mexico's land, the national resources and raw materials of South and

Central America, and rule the Caribbean.

At times of frustration, Americans deport us, reduce immigration quotas, and in general reject us as legitimate Americans.

I believe this move toward our immigration policy ought to command our serious attention.

I write to invite you to help me sponsor a planning conference on immigration and related issues.

We should have a working conference to draft a Latino agenda on our needs.

We should confront Washington armed with this agenda this coming Fall.

Student Organization at the University of Texas-San Antonio; CASA; Socialist Workers party; Chicano Legal Defense Fund; Austin Friends of the Farm Workers; Centro Aztlán (Laredo); Civil Rights Litigation Committee; National Student Coalition Against Racism; Committee for Rural Democracy; and Paseo de Marzo.

The steering committee was left open-ended so that it can be expanded and made even more representative of the Chicano community. Its next meeting was scheduled for June 4.

Several persons at the May 22 meeting here made the point that the Chicano movement has not had a national gathering of the proposed kind in several years. Nationally coordinated activities would give the movement a focus.

At the San Antonio meeting, Jorge Zaragoza of the Texas Farm Workers Union spoke of the need to unite the Chicano movement. The TFWU has been organizing activities against right-to-work laws and in support of legislation in Texas giving *campesinos* the right to unionize.

Texas RUP Chairperson María Elena Martínez also attended the San Antonio meeting. The day before, at a statewide executive committee meeting in New Braunfels, the Texas RUP voted unanimously to support the "Call for Action."

Cecilio García-Camarillo of *Caracol* said that support must be sought not only from other Chicano organizations, but also from the Black community, labor, the women's movement, and civil libertarians. He pointed out that other Latinos and Black Caribbeans are also being deported.

Even though the October 28-30 San Antonio conference is clearly being projected as a gathering of the Chicano movement, it was made clear that participation of observers from other movements would be welcomed and sought.

The National Student Coalition Against Racism voted at its last national steering committee meeting to make defense of undocumented workers a national project. Miguel Zárate, representing NSCAR, attended the San Antonio meeting.

Despite White House claims to be adopting a new, "humane" approach toward undocumented workers, the Carter administration is clearly proposing a racist crackdown on them. He wants to place the blame on these immigrants for many economic problems the government cannot solve.

Peter Camejo, southwest field organizer for the Socialist Workers party, pointed out at the San Antonio meeting that Leonel Castillo, the newly appointed commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, has just proposed hiring 1,000 more cops to patrol the border.

Reubén Solís of San Antonio CASA added that along with increasing the Border Patrol, the government is trying to pass repressive legislation to make it illegal to hire workers without visas.

And Carter's plan to introduce a national identification card to deny jobs to these immigrants is an attack on the democratic rights of all working people.

An important task of the Chicano movement is to counter the government's lies that these immigrants are responsible for unemployment and that they receive social services without paying for them. In fact, the opposite has been shown to be true.

The attacks on undocumented workers are designed to create a climate of racist hysteria that will be used to erode the rights of Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and Blacks. It is no coincidence that bilingual-bicultural education and affirmative action are now also under attack on the local and national level.

Chicano studies programs are being cut back in many places. And unemployment levels among Chicanos remain much higher than among Anglos.

The escalating attacks on undocumented workers are clearly at the heart of the government's offensive against Chicano rights today. At the same time, all these attacks underscore the need for nationwide activities uniting broad sectors of the Chicano community.

Funds are needed in order to publicize and win support for the "Call for Action." For further information write: Mario Compeán, Post Office Box 7577, San Antonio, Texas 78207. Telephone: (512) 224-4244.

Support grows for antideportation actions

Actions throughout the Southwest are already adding momentum to the call for a national conference to fight racist deportations.

In California, forty-five Chicano leaders met during a Cinco de Mayo celebration to plan a response to the attacks by the Carter administration against Chicanos. Chaired by Armando Navarro of the National Institute for Community Development, the meeting unanimously endorsed the idea for such a national conference.

José Angel Gutiérrez was commissioned to draft a "Call for Action."

Participants in the meeting included Herman Baca of San Diego's Committee on Human Rights; New Mexico Raza Unida party Chairperson Juan José Peña; California RUP Chairperson Andrés Torres; Walter Ulloa of KMEX-TV; Chicano studies professors Juan Gómez-Quinones and Rodolfo Acuña from Los An-

geles; Benjamín Hernández, *El Papel de la Gente*; and Antonio Rodríguez, CASA.

Further meetings to discuss the conference are planned.

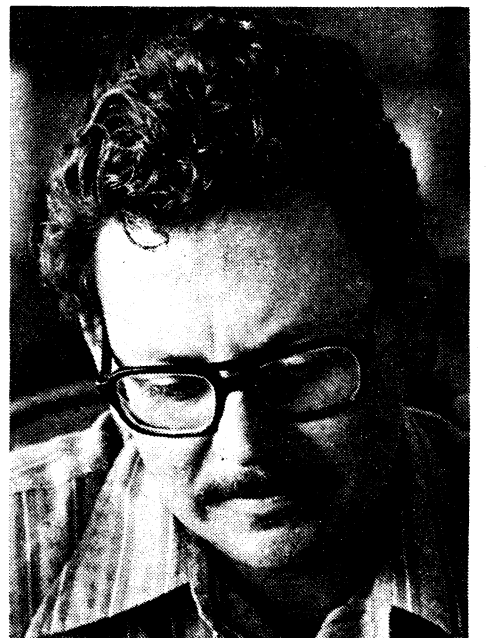
In Salt Lake City, a "Public Meeting in Defense of the Undocumented Worker" is being organized by the newly formed Comité de la Gente Unida. It will be held June 4 at noon at the Centro Cívico Mexicano, 155 South 600 West. The keynote speaker will be Texas Raza Unida party leader Armando Gutiérrez. Also on the program will be Abelardo Delgado, head of the Chicano studies department at the University of Utah. The meeting will discuss the San Antonio proposals.

In New Mexico, a statewide conference to begin building support for the national conference will be held the last weekend in June, RUP State Chairperson Juan José Peña told the *Militant*.



Militant/Harry Ring

MARIA ELENA MARTINEZ



Militant/Harry Ring

JOSE ANGEL GUTIERREZ



Militant/Nelson Blackstock

MARIO COMPEAN

Militant on the scene



'Militant' correspondents Caroline Lund and José G. Pérez are on assignment in Spain to report on the working-class upsurge and June 15 elections there.

SPAIN IN TURMOIL

Eyewitness report on first Spanish election in forty years

By Caroline Lund

MADRID—As I rode the bus from the Madrid Airport to the center of this city, it was immediately obvious that elections are coming in Spain.

Big government posters hailed the virtues of democracy and urged people to vote on June 15 in the first general elections to be held here in more than forty years. Billboards of the capitalist parties featured smiling faces of candidates and bland slogans such as "Step into the future with us."

The further we rode into the center of the city, the greater the density of all kinds of posters and painted slogans—for amnesty of all political prisoners, against unemployment, for solidarity actions in defense of workers laid off at specific plants, for boycott of the elections, for solidarity with the struggles of the Basque people, for a special week of women's liberation activities.

The normal scene in a subway station is for every accessible wall to be covered with posters announcing meetings or demonstrations. Often there will be three or four teen-agers hawking the newspaper of a left-wing political party or youth organization, or perhaps selling stickers or books from an improvised literature table.

On advertising billboards you don't find obscene graffiti—as I am used to in New York City—but instead, political slogans. Government posters in the subways and on the streets appeal to

the population to stop "painting the city."

But nobody is listening to these government appeals. "Spain is a poster," read the front-page headline of one newspaper on May 24. Another paper estimated that half a million new posters had been plastered up in the city the previous night alone, in preparation for the official opening of the campaign period that day.

Newsstands offer scores of new magazines and books.

Prominently displayed are books by leaders of the Communist and Socialist parties, the works of Marx, books on the civil war of the 1930s, material on women's liberation, on sex, and on homosexuality and gay liberation.

There are at least four different election manuals on sale, attempting to explain how the elections will work and the programs of the fifty-three political parties and coalitions that are running candidates.

One booklet, *Dictionary of the Political Parties*, carried brief descriptions of 222 different political formations. Of these, 86 were formed only in the last two years.

Spain is in the midst of a great mass debate over the future of the country. The intensity of political discussion

and the thirst for ideas and for democratic rights are heightened by the election campaign.

In November 1976 the Spanish Cortes (Franco's handpicked parliament) voted 425 to 59 to approve a series of reforms calling for its own replacement by a new, elected Cortes based on "the expression of the sovereign will of the people."

Pushing this reform was the Franco-anointed king, Juan Carlos, and the king's appointee, Premier Adolfo Suárez. Under the Franco dictatorship, Suárez had been minister in charge of the fascist National Movement, which was the only legal political formation under Franco.

This seeming contradiction—of fascist torturers turned "democrats"—reflects the fact that the Spanish ruling class has been forced to walk a tightrope in changing its methods of rule.

This shift in the strategy of the exploiters has been made necessary by major changes in the Spanish economy and society over the past twenty years. In 1950 only 30 percent of the population lived in cities of more than 20,000 people; now the majority do. In 1940 there were twice as many farmers as industrial workers and a 19 percent

illiteracy rate; now there are more industrial workers than farmers, and illiteracy had dropped to 9 percent by 1970.

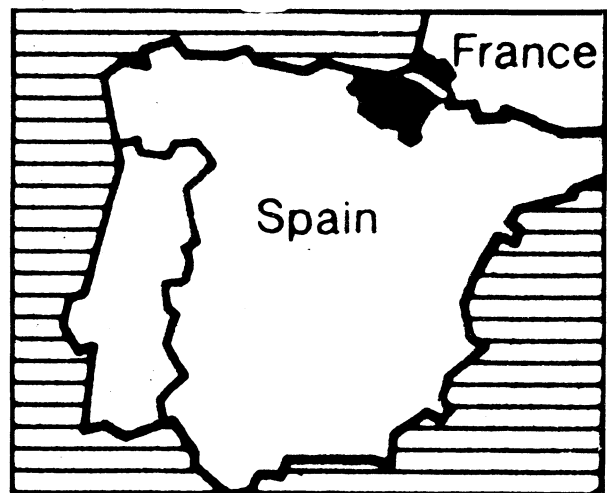
The number of university students has tripled in the past fifteen years. The Spanish people have become dramatically more urban, more working-class, more educated, and less religious. The new generation of workers have not yet felt any major defeat such as occurred in the 1930s.

The Spanish ruling class has been forced—by the irrepressible waves of strikes over the past decade—to recognize that this new working class cannot be ruled by naked repression alone. More sophisticated methods are necessary. They need to cultivate a trustworthy bureaucracy that can gain the confidence of enough of the working class to be able to help put over and enforce an austerity plan on working people.

Spain's capitalists need labor peace even more desperately today because of the depressed condition of the economy. Inflation in 1976 was 20 percent, according to official figures. Unemployment was nearing 6 percent of the work force, or about 800,000 workers.

In addition, the bankers and busi-

Protests free Basque prisoners



EUZKADI (BASQUE PROVINCES) marked in black

By José G. Pérez

MADRID—The Spanish government has responded to a massive upsurge of the Basques, an oppressed people within the Spanish state, by promising to release nearly all Basque political prisoners, on condition that the prisoners leave this country.

On May 22, five of the seven Basques condemned to death in 1970 in the Burgos military trial arrived in Belgium, and the government promised that nineteen other political prisoners would follow.

Most of the prisoners are members of the Euzkadi ta Askatasuna (ETA—Basque Nation and Freedom), an organization that fights for an independent Basque nation made up of the four Basque provinces within the Spanish state and three Basque departments ruled by France.

One other is a member of the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria (LCR—Revolutionary Communist League), a sister organization of the U.S. Socialist Workers party.

"We owe the Basque people our lives because of their struggle during the Burgos trial, a struggle that prevented our execution," said Javier Larena, one of the five Basque prisoners upon arriving in Belgium May 22. "And now, we owe the Basque people our liberty, thanks to their tremendous mobilization in support of amnesty."

The prisoners explained that government officials had promised the exiles could return to Spain after the June 15 elections here.

The promise to release the prisoners came May 20, after two weeks of massive protests in Euzkadi, the Basque name for their own land. The Basques were supported by massive solidarity actions in other parts of the Spanish state.

On May 9, Basques began a week of protests called by proamnesty committees in Euzkadi and broadly supported by virtually the whole range of

political forces in the Basque country.

These protests, demanding full and total amnesty for all political prisoners, were to conclude Sunday, May 15, with mass demonstrations in each of the capital cities of the four Basque provinces.

On May 10, seventeen political and trade-union organizations called a *jornada de lucha* (day of struggle) for amnesty, including a general strike.

The strike and protests the following days were very effective. In the province of Guipúzcoa, the government said up to 70 percent of the workers walked out May 12.

On May 12 the Civil Guard—a heavily armed national police force that specializes in breaking strikes and demonstrations—savagely attacked protesters in the town of Rentería in Guipúzcoa Province. The Civil Guard machine-gunned a demonstration, gravely wounding seven persons and murdering Rafael Gómez Jauregui.

The government claimed its forces had acted in self-defense. But the people of Euzkadi told a different story, rising up as one in protest.

Strikes and demonstrations

For the next several days, up to 500,000 workers struck in Euzkadi, closing everything from large factories to corner grocery stores. There were numerous clashes with the cynically named "Forces of Public Order" of the Spanish state, resulting in at least six additional deaths. In at least one case, eyewitnesses to the murder say cops summarily executed a Basque demonstrator.

The government tried to suppress such eyewitness accounts. For example, police forces occupied the printing plant of a newspaper to prevent distribution of an edition that carried an eyewitness account of the execution.

Despite the fierce repression, Basques in many areas organized themselves into factory and town

nessmen see their future tied to Spain's entry into the European Common Market. But the other European capitalist democracies are not about to let in a fascist Spain, since that would hurt their image before their own restless working classes.

The Spanish ruling class has also drawn certain lessons from recent events in Italy, where questions such as divorce and abortion have exploded into governmental crises. The social straitjacket clamped on Spain by Franco and the Catholic church can come apart at the seams if the ruling class does not make adjustments.

At the same time, the "reformed" fascists who rule Spain want at all costs to avoid a break in continuity of their rule. They prefer to grant limited democratic reforms themselves, rather than risk the necessity of a forcible change of regime—such as occurred in Portugal with the April 25, 1975, coup.

Such a break in continuity, they figure, provides too much of an opening for the masses of working people to expect to get in on the ground floor in determining what kind of new government should be established.

Despite all their fanfare about embarking on the "democratic" road, the Spanish rulers have a deathly fear of democratic rights. "Elections without freedom" is how revolutionary socialists in Spain characterize these reforms. Here is what the "democratic reforms" of Suárez look like:

- The new Cortes will consist of two houses, a chamber of 350 deputies elected by province with representation according to population, and 246 senators. Of the senators, 40 will not be elected at all but are appointed by the king; the rest are to be elected, 4 from each province, giving disproportionate weight to rural, more conservative areas.

- The king retains the power to pick the premier, who chooses the council of ministers. The council of ministers can issue "decree laws," which can only be reversed by votes of two-thirds of both houses of the Cortes.

- Only the two largest workers parties are legally allowed to participate in the elections. These are the Partido Comunista Español (PCE—Communist party of Spain) and the Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE—Socialist Workers party of



Militant/Caroline Lund

SIGNS OF THE TIMES IN SPAIN: (upper left) members of Communist League youth sell their paper 'Octubre' in Madrid subway; (lower left) Communist and Socialist party slogans cover subway walls; (above) posters of rightist People's Alliance and Communist party, each claiming to support women's equality.

Spain, Spain's major social democratic party). The PSOE was only legalized about three months ago and the PCE only seven weeks ago, after each had threatened to call for abstention from the elections if they were prevented from participating.

- All other working-class parties, including the Trotskyists, cannot present candidates in their own name. The two Spanish Trotskyist organizations, the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria (LCR—Revolutionary Communist

League) and the Liga Comunista (LC—Communist League), have both applied for legalization. But the government has refused to either grant or deny their applications.

- The only possible way for the nonlegal workers parties to participate is by running as blocs of independent candidates or of nonparty organizations.

These nonlegal parties are not insignificant forces, but include several

Continued on next page

assemblies—mass decision-making meetings that called further demonstrations and protests.

The upsurge had tremendous repercussions throughout the Spanish state. In Madrid, for example, tens of thousands of workers participated in solidarity work stoppages on May 16 and 17.

In Barcelona, the second largest city in the Spanish state, workers also staged many stoppages and demonstrations.

And the same was true in many other cities.

However, the extent of solidarity demonstrations was limited—and the mobilization in Euzkadi itself undercut—by the openly strikebreaking role of the Partido Comunista Español (PCE—Communist party of Spain).

The PCE is clearly the working-class party with the most members, reportedly 170,000. Although its leaders voice limited criticisms of some violations of democratic rights in the Soviet Union, the PCE follows the same class-collaborationist politics that characterize all Stalinist parties, both the staunchly pro-Moscow parties, such as the American CP, and the so-called Euro-communist parties of France, Italy, and Spain.

The trade union the PCE controls, the Coordinadora General de Comisiones Obreras (CCOO—General Coordinating Committee of Workers Commissions), has the broadest following in the working class of any of the trade unions.

Faced with the upsurge of the Basque masses, brutal police repression, and a call by the other unions and workers parties for a general strike throughout the Spanish state in solidarity with Euzkadi, the leadership of the Workers Commissions and the Communist party told the masses to carry out no actions.

A May 14 communiqué adopted by the national leadership of the CCOO stated: "The General Coordinating Committee of CCOO, conscious of its

responsibilities at this moment, rejects any calls to general actions and calls on the workers to remain serene."

This complete capitulation before the murderers of Basque militants—including two members of the CCOO—was broadcast repeatedly over Spain's radio and television stations and featured prominently in capitalist newspapers. Reportedly, the orders to the state-owned radio and TV to play up the statement came from the highest levels of the government.

Many worker activists—including a significant layer of members of the PCE—were revolted by the Stalinist leadership's betrayal. Even the Unión General de Trabajadores—the trade union of the Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE—Spanish Socialist Workers party, the mass social democratic party)—felt obliged to criticize the CCOO's stance.

Thirteen of the 150 members of the national leadership of the Workers Commissions issued a statement blasting the majority decision. Some 181 leaders of the Workers Commissions in Euzkadi issued a statement calling the position of the leadership "a clear and total betrayal of the interests of the working class."

Many other Workers Commissions bodies, leaders, and activists issued statements or adopted resolutions criticizing the national leadership's decision, including significant layers of PCE members. These statements were often initiated by Workers Commission militants who were members of other political parties, including the Trotskyists of the LCR.

By May 18, the upsurge in the Basque country and other parts of the Spanish state had begun to die down. Rumors circulated about concessions from the government. The PCE, PSOE, and moderate Basque nationalist forces used the occasion to call a "truce."

Although the moderate Basque nationalists and the PSOE played a role, the most immediate responsibility for limiting the gains won from the upsurge belongs to the PCE.

Marcelino Camacho, the Stalinist head of the CCOO, explained his position this way: "At the present moment, when our rights are still fragile, we believe that the fundamental objective of the working class is to consolidate and develop these liberties. All action that tends to destabilize the situation, whatever the origin, is contrary to the interests of the working class."

Stalinist leaders said that reactionary forces were trying to sabotage the elections scheduled for June 15 and to provoke a reactionary coup.

What the Stalinists told the workers and oppressed peoples is that the democratic rights they have won so far are safe—as long as they're not used. Making use of your rights, the Stalinists claim, will only "provoke" the government into taking them away—as it tried to do by attacking the Basque demonstrations. The idea that workers might defend their rights and force an extension of them is totally foreign to the Stalinists. They rely completely on the newfound democratic sympathies of Franco's heirs.

The capitalists who run this country are carrying out a tricky political maneuver. They are trying to give their government—discredited by four decades of fascist dictatorship—a shiny new coat of democratic paint, hoping this will legitimize it.

But to carry this out, the capitalists need the help of the Stalinists and social democrats, who can stop the workers from sending the whole gang of capitalist exploiters packing. In the Spanish state today, where there is a profound mass radicalization, this is a political operation that could blow up at any moment, as the events in Euzkadi demonstrate.

...Spain in turmoil

Continued from page 7

Trotskyists and Maoist-leaning parties of 5,000-10,000 members each, which have been in the leadership of important struggles.

In an opinion poll about the four Trotskyist and Maoist groups presenting independent candidates in the elections, the widely read magazine *Cambio 16* found that 24 percent of those polled thought it would be "good" or "very good" for Spain if the "far left" won the elections. Twenty-six percent thought that "the problem of inequality of women could be solved" if the groups that claim to be to the left of the PCE and PSOE were to win.

The larger of the two Trotskyist groups, the LCR, is running in a bloc of independent candidates that includes some members of two smaller left groups. Although the legal parties need not do so, these independent slates must submit thousands of signatures on petitions in order to get on the ballot.

In numerous provinces it was necessary to submit not only signatures, but notarized photocopies of all signers' identity cards (which are compulsory in Spain). Leaving a margin over the required number, the LCR felt it necessary to gather 7,000 signatures in Barcelona, 5,500 in the Basque country, 4,000 in Madrid, 1,500 in Valencia, and 1,000 in Sevilla, to list only the largest numbers.

An LCR leader estimated that it cost them at least one million pesetas (about \$15,000) simply to get all the signatures notarized.

- The LCR leaders are still unsure whether their candidates will be granted any radio and TV time whatsoever, because of legal technicalities. All parties are theoretically supposed to have equal access to the media. However, campaign radio statements of the PSOE have been censored for mentioning the oppression of women and the problem of unemployment.

- All legal newspapers are still subject to censorship. Nonlegal newspapers, such as those of the LCR and LC, do not submit to censorship but are subject to police harassment of sellers or confiscation. And they can't be placed on newsstands.

- Although recent government decrees have claimed to grant the right of assembly and the right to form trade unions, in the months before the election period more meetings were banned than approved, and the vast majority of strikes are still illegal.

Workers' demonstrations and strikes—such as on May Day or the mid-May actions in the Basque country—are met with police rampages of repression, right-wing gang terror, and executions of demonstrators.

- By government admission there are still 110 people rotting in Spanish prisons for their political beliefs. This figure does not include the many women jailed for "crimes" such as having an abortion, or the many political oppositionists still in exile because they fear prison if they return.

Shaky tightrope

The Spanish rulers have many problems, however, in staying on the tightrope of this political reform.

To move toward parliamentary forms, they need authoritative capitalist political parties. These they don't have, since for forty years the hated fascist organizations were the only political force allowed.

Working-class parties, on the other hand, have mushroomed. Emerging from illegality only weeks ago, the PCE and its sections in the Basque country and other the oppressed nations claim a membership of about 170,000. The PSOE claims it will have between 70,000 and 80,000 activists working in support of its campaign.

In an opinion poll reported in the June 5 issue of the magazine *Cambio 16*, the PSOE and its Catalanian

affiliate are credited with greater support than any other party, including the bourgeois parties—12 percent (56 percent were still undecided).

In addition to their rapid growth, the PCE and the PSOE tend to have a few very old leaders and then a big gap down to the young generation of leaders and rank and file. The lack of a strong middle-generation leadership tends to make these parties more fragile under the pressure of the rank-and-file workers than is the case with their Stalinist and social democratic counterparts elsewhere in Western Europe.

Even the very limited reforms thus far have given rise to an intense radicalization throughout Spain. One of the most spectacular reflections of this has been the explosive growth of trade unions. The PCE-led union, the Comisiones Obreras (CCOO—Workers Commissions), claims a membership of 300,000. The PSOE-led union, the Unión General de Trabajadores (UGT—General Union of Workers) claims 215,000. The anarchist union, the Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (CNT—National Confederation of Labor) claims 40,000. The Unión Sindical Obrera (USO—United Labor Union) claims 87,000. And there are others.

In addition, Spanish rulers are weakened by divisions among themselves.

On the one hand are sectors—expressed in the electoral formation called the Alianza Popular (People's Alliance)—who are not confident in leaving the "good old days" of fascist repression and thought control. But this sector can get little popular support in Spain today. (The first electoral meeting held by the Alianza Popular in the Basque country on May 24 was by invitation only.)

On the other side are bourgeois figures such as Añade Areilza, a leader of the majority bourgeois electoral formation built around the figure of Premier Suárez—the Unión de Centro Democrático (UDC—Union of the Democratic Center)—who feel that the reforms have not gone far enough to be credible to the masses.

Areilza made a big splash in the Madrid press with a declaration explaining why he was refusing to run as a candidate in the elections. He stated that he "voluntarily remains outside this truncated electoral system, which has been set up badly and in a hurry, because its final result will be an unviable parliament."

Another major factor cutting across the plans of the Spanish ruling class is the explosive hatred of the oppressed peoples in the Spanish "prison house of nations." Distrust of the election plan is greatest in the Basque country and in Catalonia, which—with two million and six million inhabitants, respectively—constitute more than one-fifth of the population of the Spanish state and include the most developed industrial areas.

Franco had tried to literally stamp out the national identity of these and other oppressed peoples, outlawing the use of their own languages or the display of their national flags.

The boycott position

The smaller of the two Spanish Trotskyist groups, the LC, holds the position that the elections represent no real gains for democratic rights or possibilities for strengthening the position of the working class. They therefore call for boycott.

However, despite the fraudulent aspects of these elections, the majority of Spanish working people appear to consider them a victory that can be used to register at least a distorted protest by the working class. According to the June 5 issue of *Cambio 16*, 78 percent of the citizens of Spain plan to vote, and only 8 percent think they will not.

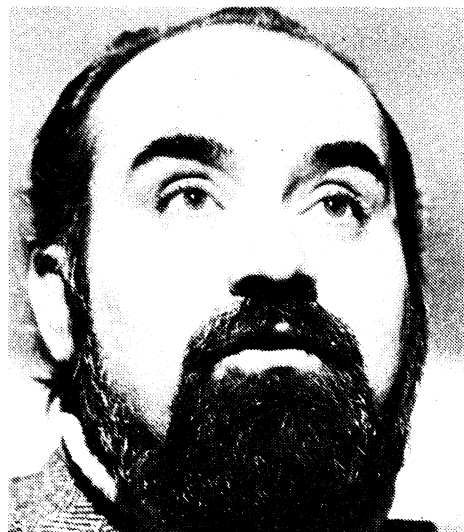
Disrupters fail to halt Iran defense rally

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—A meeting in defense of Iranian political prisoners was held here May 19 despite a frenzied effort to prevent it.

The meeting was sponsored by the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran. The featured speaker was the noted Iranian poet Reza Baraheni, who won freedom from an Iranian prison as the result of an international campaign initiated by CAIFI.

The scandalous effort to prevent the meeting, and then to prevent Baraheni from speaking, was made by a group of Maoists, members of the Iranian Students Association. Blinded by fac-



REZA BARAHENI Militant/Lou Howort

tionalism, they level the grotesque charge that Baraheni is an agent of the Iranian secret-police organization SAVAK.

Baraheni, who was imprisoned by SAVAK for 102 days, has devoted his energies since arriving here to public speeches throughout the country exposing the totalitarian dictatorship in Iran and building support for Iranian political prisoners.

Some fifty of the Maoists were among the audience of 350 that filled a campus meeting hall to capacity at Cal State Los Angeles. Holding aloft banners, they chanted, "Down with SAVAK!"

Similar attempts to silence Baraheni have been made at meetings across the country. In several cases, they succeeded in totally disrupting such meetings.

Despite the disruption, many in the audience were able to hear the speech. Baraheni made his presentation over the shouts of the disrupters. Initially, the Maoists also tried to disrupt other speakers.

Another Iranian political group came to register their opposition to Baraheni. Also members of the Iranian Students Association, they are supporters of a political group called the National Front. They separated themselves from the Maoists and did not attempt to prevent the meeting.

This group does not repeat the

scurrilous slander that Baraheni is a police agent. But they do label him a "traitor" on the ridiculous grounds that the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom, of which he is honorary chairperson, is by virtue of its name not in favor of freeing all political prisoners.

In addition, they apparently do not like Baraheni's poetry and see this as a political issue. A representative of the group was given time to make these points from the floor.

The failure of the Maoists to carry through their declared intention of preventing the meeting was due in good measure to the broad support that was won for the event.

This was reflected in a letter that appeared the day before the meeting in the *University Times*, the campus daily.

Signed by eight professors and department heads, the letter described Baraheni's contribution to the struggle against repression in Iran and noted the threats against his meeting.

The signers of the letter declared, "Irrespective of their motives, individuals who try to silence CAIFI and Baraheni succeed only in silencing the voice of opposition to political repression and torture in Iran. Any disruption of the May 19 meeting at CSLA... serves only the ends of the Shah."

One of the signers, Prof. Timothy Harding of the Latin American studies department, chaired the meeting.

The speakers, in addition to Baraheni, were former Attorney General Ramsey Clark, Dorothy Healey of the New American Movement, Becky Tapia of Amnesty International, Ernie Peters of the American Indian Movement, and Ali Shokri, a defector from the Iranian Air Force seeking political asylum in the United States.

In opening the meeting, Professor Harding noted the extensive defense system and explained, "We are determined to allow freedom of speech and the free expression of ideas."

Among the groups joining with CAIFI to defend the meeting were the Socialist Workers party, Young Socialist Alliance, New American Movement, Lavender and Red Union, and Comité Popular del Pueblo.

Over the shouts of the disrupters, Reza Baraheni presented an eloquent indictment of the shah's regime and hailed the rising opposition of Iranian workers and students.

Initially, the Maoists also tried to shout down American Indian Movement leader Ernie Peters. Peters silenced them with a denunciation of their shameful conduct.

Declaring that AIM stood in solidarity with all victims of oppression, he told the disrupters, "You are doing the very thing the U.S. government wants you to."

Dorothy Healey also silenced the disrupters. A former leader of the Communist party, she referred to FBI

Continued on page 30



DOROTHY HEALEY



RAMSEY CLARK

Commoner on nuclear risks

'Like using a cannon to ring a doorbell'

This interview with noted environmentalist Barry Commoner was obtained May 15 by Militant Boston correspondent Lee Artz. Commoner had just spoken to a crowd of 300 people protesting the construction of a nuclear power plant at Seabrook, New Hampshire. Director of the Center for Biology of Natural Systems at Washington University in St. Louis, Commoner is the author of *The Closing Circle* and *The Poverty of Power*. He is chairperson of the board of the Scientific Institute for Public Information in Washington, D.C.

Question. What is the significance of the antinuclear movement and the recent occupation of the Seabrook site?

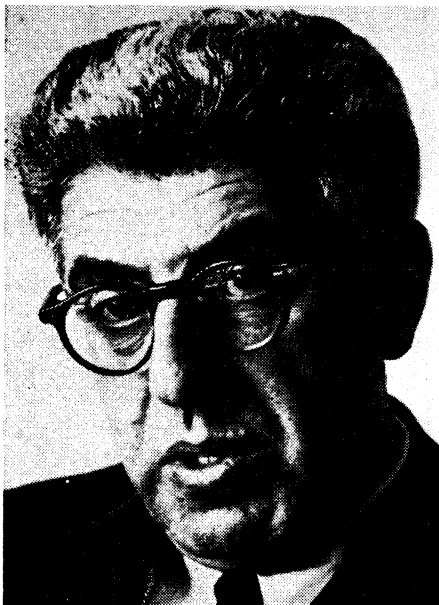
Answer. The occupation will have powerful repercussions in Washington. The government is already paying for the full price of concrete to construct these plants for private businesses. The antinuclear movement can force them to pay the full political price instead.

The movement may be the most important political development in this country over the next decade. It poses a direct threat to Carter's energy scheme to increase nuclear power. If the American people refuse to accept nuclear power, Carter's plan is in real trouble.

Q. Is it likely that the American

people will oppose nuclear power?

A. Well, besides the dangers of nuclear power, the American people are not likely to continue to want to pay for nuclear energy while big corporations make big profits. We have to pay the full price for electricity.



BARRY COMMONER

city generated by nuclear power already. The plants are all built for the corporations with government subsidies. And you know where the subsidy comes from—our taxes.

Q. Would you talk more about the danger of nuclear power? Don't

scientists already have the know-how to make it safe?

A. First of all, nuclear power is inherently unsafe and irrational.

If you want to boil water, you heat the flame or the electricity up to 212 degrees. That's basically what is necessary in nuclear power plants—heating water to make steam, turn the generators, and produce electricity.

The problem is that nuclear reactors heat up not to 212 degrees, or even 1,000 degrees, but get a lot hotter. Thermodynamically, it's very unsound.

If you want to ring a doorbell, you can put your finger on it or you can stand across the street with a cannon, aim at the doorbell, and fire. Either way, the doorbell will ring. Except the cannon is likely to destroy the house while ringing the doorbell.

That's how I see nuclear power—trying to ring doorbells with cannons.

Other energy sources exist, like solar energy, that are safe, reliable, and practical. Obviously, there isn't a large profit to be made by the energy industry. After they sell the solar converters, the consumers are on their own.

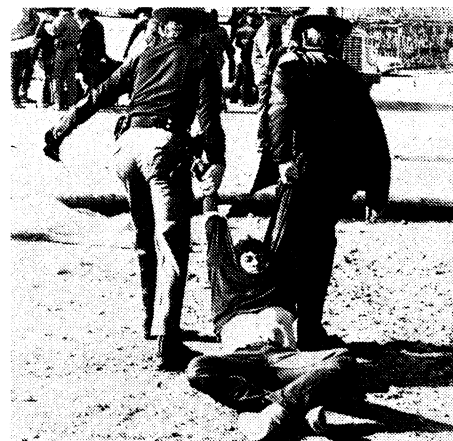
It's true, it's possible to make nuclear power safe, but it is very expensive. It would cost more than the energy is worth. We have the technology. But it's very expensive. No business in America will use that technology—it isn't profitable.

There is also the danger of disposing of the radioactive waste from nuclear fission.

And no one has yet developed nuclear fusion.

Q. Would you comment on the claim that nuclear energy will provide more jobs?

A. It's true that to stop building nuclear plants, especially ones already started, will mean disruptions and the loss of jobs for a while. But other energy sources can be developed that will also provide jobs without the threat to lives. General Electric has already "asked out" of nuclear energy. They say they are losing money. Even without safety provisions, these plants are exorbitantly expensive.



Seven Days/Eric A. Roth
Cops drag away demonstrator at Seabrook nuclear power plant site, May 1.

D.C. meeting pledges to fight Bakke ruling

By David Frankel

WASHINGTON—"Crisis in Affirmative Action," a conference held here May 25 and 26, reflected the realization of a significant cross section of Black and Chicano organizations that the gains of the civil rights movement are under attack.

The conference was called as a response to the *Bakke* case, in which the California Supreme Court struck down as unconstitutional the admissions program at the University of California at Davis medical school. The program sought to guarantee that 16 percent of each entering class would be members of oppressed minorities. The court termed this "reverse discrimination."

"We believe that America has not yet begun to right the wrongs of its racist past," the call to the conference stated. "We believe it would be a national tragedy if the United States Supreme Court were to accept the conclusions of those who are ready to bury the concept of 'affirmative action' in its infancy."

Living proof of the impact of the *Bakke* decision on the Black community was given by Sen. Edward Brooke (R-Mass.), who warned the conference in a keynote address that "affirmative action is threatened without ever having fulfilled its basic goal."

Brooke, who has hardly been in the front lines of past civil rights struggles, spoke of the need "to beat back forces in our society . . . that argue we have gone too far in trying to eliminate discrimination."

Prof. Arthur Kinoy, a longtime defender of Black rights and a defense lawyer in many noted civil liberties cases, also struck a note of warning. Referring to "the total sellout of the promises of the Reconstruction peri-

od," Kinoy argued that "we are at a new crisis point in the history of this country. . . . We are at the edge of a new 1877."

"If this [*Bakke*] case is upheld," Kinoy added, "it will threaten affirmative action in every area of life, not just for racial minorities, but also for women."

Kinoy pointed out that the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth amendments to the constitution, adopted in the wake of the Civil War, did not only allow positive action aimed at overcoming the inferior position of Blacks as a result of slavery, but in fact commanded such action. "That's what the amendments were all about," he said.

Kinoy said that racists today argue that "action designed to raise a class of people from a 300-year position of forced inequality to the constitutionally promised position of equality is unconstitutional."

While Kinoy urged an aggressive legal strategy to defend affirmative action, he also insisted that "we must take this issue to the people."

"We require between now and October, when this case will be decided, the most massive popular movement that can be built."

Although Kinoy received an enthusiastic response, the conference did not issue a call for mass demonstrations or other protests. The participating groups were primarily interested in quiet legal and educational efforts and lobbying.

But the breadth of the representation at the conference was an important indication of the potential for mobilizing opposition to the attacks on affirmative action.

The thirty groups that sponsored the

gathering included the National Bar Association, National Conference of Black Lawyers, Mexican-American Legal Defense and Educational Fund, La Raza National Lawyers Association, Japanese American Citizens League, American Civil Liberties Union, United Church of Christ Commission for Racial Justice, Sociologists for Women in Society, Mexican-American Women's National Association, National Council of La Raza, National Lawyers Guild, and National Education Association.

At a news conference after the first day's session, Philip Johnson, the executive director of the National Bar Association, pointed out that even though affirmative-action programs had resulted in a doubling of the number of Black lawyers in the United

States since 1970, Blacks still make up less than 2 percent of the legal profession.

He vowed that no matter what the Supreme Court rules in October, "We will continue to struggle along with other groups to eliminate barriers in this society against Blacks."

Participants in the conference agreed to form a national coalition on *Bakke* that would continue the fight to overturn the decision and try to educate on the necessity for affirmative-action programs. The NAACP did not formally sponsor the conference and is carrying out its own activities in this area, but Clarence Mitchell, the executive director of the NAACP's Washington bureau, spoke at the conference workshop on political action and strategy.

Rights groups will back court appeal

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—A number of civil rights groups have decided to enter friend-of-the-court briefs with the U.S. Supreme Court on behalf of reversing the California Supreme Court *Bakke* decision, which would eliminate minority admissions programs.

Among those now entering the case are the NAACP, the American Civil Liberties Union, and the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Educational Fund. Initially, they had all strongly urged the university not to appeal the state ruling to the high court. The case itself was so badly prepared that

they felt it invited an unfavorable decision that would endanger special admissions programs throughout the country.

The rights groups have apparently decided, however, that once the university decided to ignore their objections and make the appeal, they would do best by trying to strengthen it.

After the California court decision was handed down, it was revealed that the UC Davis official in charge of admissions had actually advised Allan Bakke on preparation of his suit against the special program. There is more than ample evidence that key university officials will not be heartbroken if the case is lost.

Defend the miners!

A massive, concerted attack against the United Mine Workers union is being prepared by industry and government. It is signaled in the big-business press with headlines such as "Coal miners threaten Carter energy plans."

In recent months the mineowners, called coal operators, have forced a series of wildcat strikes by violating the UMWA contract and mine safety laws. When the miners try to defend their lives and rights by shutting down production, the coal operators rant about "anarchy," "disruption," and "chaos." They quickly secure antistrike injunctions from compliant judges and seek to jail union activists and levy punitive fines against the UMWA.

The coal operators see in the Carter administration's energy program—with its emphasis on higher coal production—a potential profit bonanza. The major obstacle to their greed is the UMWA's demands for job safety and decent wages. The coal operators see their problems worsened by the democratic reforms within the UMWA since the 1972 victory of Miners for Democracy, and by the fighting spirit of the mining work force, which is largely new, young, and militant.

The wildcats of recent months are skirmishes that the operators hope will demoralize miners and weave a straitjacket of legal restrictions around the union. Meanwhile, they have their eyes on a showdown when the national bituminous coal contract expires December 5.

With help from the government under guise of a "national energy emergency," and with growing reliance on nonunion western coal, the operators sense a chance to inflict a major defeat on the UMWA.

The attack on the UMWA is part of the overall antiunion offensive under way for several years. Up until now, the employers have concentrated fire on the weaker unions, such as public employees and the craft-divided printing trades and building trades. They have hesitated to take head-on a major industrial union. But now they are weighing their chances of crippling or destroying the UMWA.

Meanwhile, far from the public spotlight, 160 coal miners in Stearns, Kentucky, have been waging a bitter strike for ten months to win a UMWA contract. The Stearns mine is owned by Blue Diamond Coal Company, a scab outfit notorious for the explosion at its Scotia mine last year that killed twenty-six men.

The fight of the Stearns miners is in many ways a microcosm of the national struggle of the coal miners today. Safety and union rights are the key issues. The miners are united and determined, backed by the active support of women in the community. But they are up against hostile courts and government agencies, state police, and nightly gunfire from hired thugs.

Dozens of miners have been indicted on trumped up charges of assault, robbery, and even "kidnapping" company gunmen!

The Stearns strikers are proud of the help they are getting from the UMWA. They also need and deserve the support of other working people throughout the country.

Unionists in particular can aid the strikers by *getting out the truth*. Union locals can invite speakers from the UMWA to explain the issues. They can pass resolutions of support and contribute to the miners legal defense fund.

Publicizing and organizing support for the Stearns strikers is a good way to begin focusing the attention of the entire labor movement on the embattled UMWA. It can help prepare labor for the impending struggle on a broader front.

Abortion rights

Supporters of abortion rights should be alerted that the enemies of women are making a second go at the Hyde amendment. The House of Representatives is expected to vote on this proposal to cut off Medicaid-funded abortions on or around June 15.

There's no reason to expect that the rights of Black, Chicana, Puerto Rican, and other working-class women will fare any better this year than they did last fall.

Last year's Hyde amendment is now before the Supreme Court. The all-male court—which has recently handed down a string of rulings legalizing discrimination—is no doubt watching to see if this renewed attack will succeed without protest.

It's time the women's movement, along with its allies, said a powerful *No* to this assault on *all* women's rights. An emergency campaign of picket line, news conferences, and speak-outs is needed to show the government that the majority of women still support the right to choose. It took a fight to win the right to abortion, and it's going to take a fight if we are to maintain that right.

On the track with Fight Back

The article "Con Rail: Con job on rail workers" (*Militant*, May 27) by Ed Heisler, covering the recent demonstrations of ConRail track workers protesting massive layoffs, was well received here by members of Lodge 3012, Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way. We are generally recognized as among the hardest-worked, lowest-paid, and worst-represented of all railroad employees. The latest wave of layoffs in the track department was a final blow our ranks could not endure quietly.

The layoffs occurred at the same time our federation "leadership" signed an agreement that created more than 500 positions in production rail gangs, which now are forced to work eighty-hour shifts at straight time. Many of the laid-off workers were forced to accept these slave-labor conditions or remain on the street.

It was the single worst act of treachery and company collaboration our bureaucracy has been guilty of, and an angry protest from many railroad employees was both spontaneous and necessary.

However, the failure to make that protest loud enough and strong enough to be heard throughout the system points all the more to the railroad workers' need for a genuine industrial organization of the type envisioned by Eugene Debs. Of immediate importance is the need to develop a railroad workers Fight Back similar to what has shaken the steel industry.

Indeed, as your article pointed out, "the union bureaucrats and railroads are worried about this prospect."

Bill Smith

Chairperson, Lodge 3012

Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Prisoners protest

This has been a basically quiet institution. Doesn't it seem a little coincidental that just at the time the guards are trying to get more money this place would suddenly experience an explosion of assaults? Why have so many guards allegedly been assaulted in such a short span of time, and why did the attacks supposedly occur

exactly when the guards were picketing the district attorney's office?

Now guess what's happening. State Rep. James Lewis has introduced a bill aimed at curbing assaults on guards. He stated in the May 10 *Capital Times* that there were as many as seven attacks on guards in one week.

Mr. Lewis says that heavy penalties should be invoked for assaulting a guard. But the law already mandates an additional ten years for that. How much stiffer a punishment does Mr. Lewis want?

And what penalties should be invoked for the guards that assault inmates that have been chained to their bunks? If, in fact, guards have been attacked, at least they had the chance to defend themselves and weren't subjected to a gang beating like so many prisoners.

Why should we inmates be subjected to a different set of laws than everyone else? If you get into a fight in the street, do you get ten years?

We believe the officers are just trying to get more money out of the public. If a person works in a place like this, he has to expect a certain amount of hostility and violence. Wouldn't you be furious if you had to spend five to ten years behind walls just because you made a mistake?

We say that instead of imposing a new and harsher penalty for inmates that assault guards, the division of correction should look into why these attacks are happening so frequently.

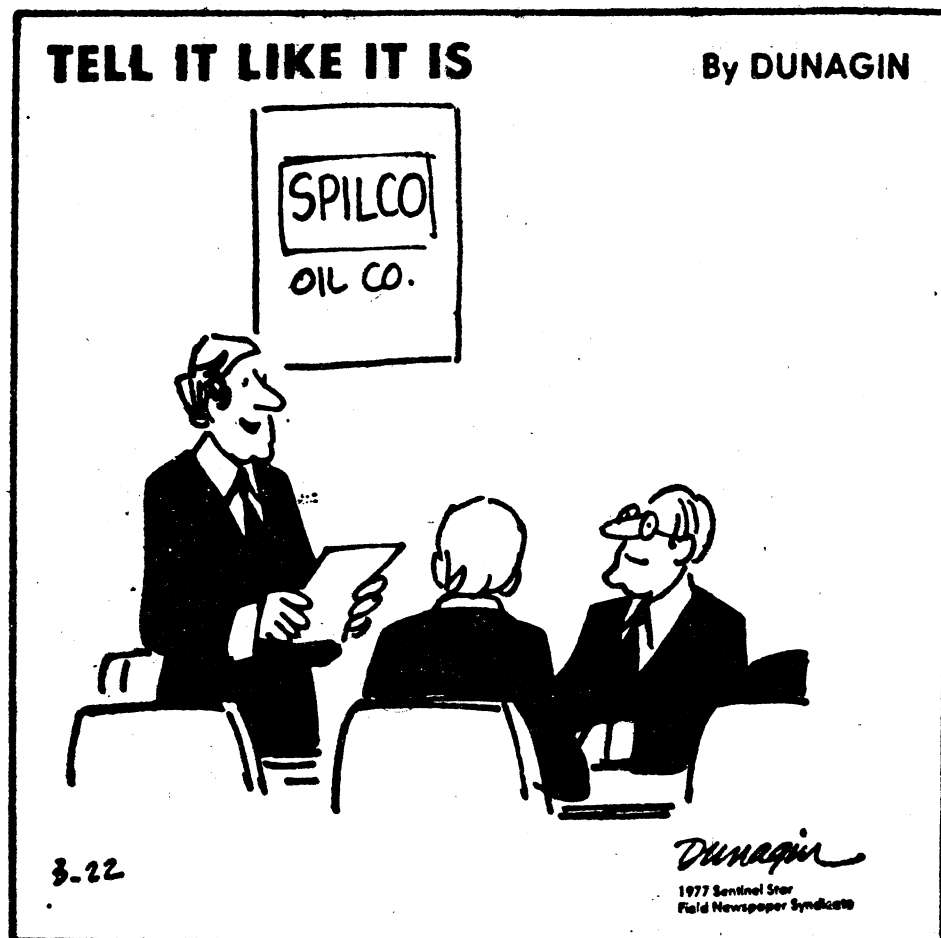
Two prisoners

Wisconsin

Cops and robbers

I would like to call the attention of readers of the *Militant* to a series being broadcast on public television stations. Titled "The Age of Uncertainty," it is the creation of economist John Kenneth Galbraith in cooperation with the British Broadcasting Corporation. The focus of the thirteen-week series is the history of economic ideas and the economic and social institutions that those ideas helped to shape.

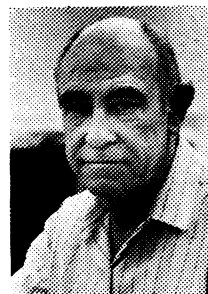
The first installment, aired during the week of May 16, concentrated on the ideas of Adam Smith and David Ricardo. Galbraith explained how their



"Our geologist assures us that we won't run out of oil before the consumers run out of money!"

National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



Agency shop-hardly settled

The U.S. Supreme Court ruled May 23 that state and local governments can sign "agency shop" agreements with unions. Apprehensive union officials hailed the decision and breathed easier. Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers, called it "an important victory for all public employees." But this is unlikely to end the matter.

The agency-shop agreement recognizes the union chosen by a majority of workers as the sole collective bargaining agent, requires it to represent all employees in labor-management negotiations, and stipulates that all workers in the bargaining unit must pay union dues for services rendered. Dues are withheld by the employer from the workers' paychecks—the checkoff system.

The court ruling came on the challenge of an agency-shop provision in a Detroit teachers' contract. Some teachers challenged it for various reasons, including the charge that the union engaged in politics and misrepresented their views.

Regardless of the stated reasons for the challenge, the antiunion "right to work" association was behind it. This is a heavily financed employer organization that seeks to weaken and destroy the union movement. One of its objects of attack is the agency shop. It claims that no worker should be "forced" to join a union just because a majority favors it.

This "right to work" outfit is not easily discouraged, even though it appears to have suffered a defeat. That is one reason the agency-shop issue is far from settled. Another reason is the nature of the court decision.

The court has previously held that the agency shop is legal in private employment. In this most recent ruling, all nine judges agreed that in public employment the First Amendment rights of a worker would be violated if a government agency withheld money that was used by a union for political purposes that the worker opposed. A majority ruled, however, that the government can legally collect union dues *until* it is established that the dues money is improperly used—that is, used for other purposes than collective bargaining.

Any ruling of this kind contains a built-in challenge to all future activity of the union. In this way the court adds another restriction on the potential for independent political action by unions representing public workers.

One of the considerations of the court in upholding the agency shop (while imposing political restrictions

on the unions) was the need to avoid the confusion of two or more bargaining agents. It is more convenient for the employer to deal with one union, so long as the union is kept under control.

In the case of teachers, it may be that this ruling will serve in some districts to replace the American Federation of Teachers with another union or no union. The bargaining unit is usually decided by the National Labor Relations Board in accordance with the request of the school board or other government agencies. These bargaining units can be adjusted, enlarged, or restricted to ensure the outcome of an NLRB election.

An additional feature of this court ruling is that it applies only when the local government agrees to sign an agency-shop contract. There is nothing that says any administration or employer must sign such a contract.

Only about sixteen states allow the agency shop for unions representing state employees, and these governments sign agency-shop agreements covering some workers and not others who may be represented by the same union. This seemingly capricious treatment develops in the bargaining between local politicians and union officials.

It is not in the nature of public employee unions, taking into account that they have flourished in the recent past as a result of cozy agreements between union bureaucrats and capitalist politicians, to immediately strip themselves of political entanglement. The time was when top officials such as Shanker of the teachers union or Jerry Wurf of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees could get a small wage increase and an improved pension for the workers they represented, in exchange for hustling votes. That time is gone.

The local politicians in the new economic climate have put on the face of austerity. Government spending is out. The services of union officials are not needed as before. So these union officials find themselves cut out of the old two-party political game, much to their surprise and discomfort.

They are trying to make themselves useful on the national political scene, hoping that times will change for the better. That is why they looked to the Supreme Court decision on the agency shop with anxiety. They badly needed something to cling to, hoping to show that they still have a useful place. That's what they got, but it isn't much.

ideas grew out of a setting that was still basically agricultural, but that was rapidly being transformed by commerce and industrialization. Galbraith contended that Smith and Ricardo promoted the interests of the rising capitalist class against those of the landlord class and the mercantilist state.

Obviously this is heady stuff compared to the drivel that usually flows from the tube. While Galbraith is not a Marxist, he is far to the left of most conventional economists and historians, as demonstrated by his ability to call capitalism by name and to refer to the struggle of classes.

Galbraith has recently published a book, also titled *The Age of Uncertainty*, each chapter of which is an elaboration on the weekly script. It reveals that installment two will deal with the ideas of social Darwinism, which were used to defend the position of American robber barons during the latter part of the nineteenth century.

Installment three, to be broadcast during the week of May 30, is titled "The Dissent of Karl Marx," and will treat the ideas of *Das Kapital*, as well as review the revolutions of 1848 and the Paris Commune. Later shows will deal with imperialism, Lenin and the Russian Revolution, the depression of the thirties, the Keynesian "solution," the arms race, monopoly corporations, and the chances for democratic decision making in the future.

Alan Gummerson
Denver, Colorado

'Tube plant' on right channel

In "One night in a tube plant" (*Militant*, May 20) I think Debby Deegan ought to have mentioned her salary. For such filthy and dangerous work, high pay would be the only compensation, yet the omission of that information gave me the idea that the pay was not of major importance.

It was otherwise a very informative article, and I think it would be of high interest to *Militant* readers if there were frequent articles on jobs and working conditions, like the fine article that appeared a few years ago in the *International Socialist Review* by a woman who worked for the telephone company.

Martha Harris
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Hampton and Clark

I am a Black law student interested in defending Blacks and other poor minorities in the courts. I don't want to let this racist system sabotage our people the way it did Fred Hampton and Mark Clark.

We should appeal to all concerned politicians and other positive forces and united behind Fred's brother Bill, his family, and his lawyer Jeff Haas.

If they can murder Fred and get away with it, then "Look out" Black people and other minorities.

Rosalind Grisham
Tulsa, Oklahoma

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.

Capitalism Fouls Things Up

Arnold Weissberg



A smash on Broadway?

The following is a guest column written by Robert W. Hedges, treasurer of the Ad Hoc Committee Against Columbia's Reactor.

A 250-kilowatt nuclear reactor may soon be activated by Columbia University in the heart of Manhattan. Completed ten years ago, the TRIGA reactor has never been operated. It is intended for the instruction of about twenty engineering students, not to produce electric power.

Community residents, Columbia faculty and students, and elected officials have fought TRIGA for seven years.

In April 1977 the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) gave permission to Columbia to start up the reactor. However, New York City's Department of Health denied a license, giving a list of fifteen reasons.

If the city stands by its decision, the case may go to federal court. The NRC may claim that federal jurisdiction overrides city laws. A federal court used this argument in allowing the Concorde jet to land in New York.

In addition, state senators and assemblymen from the district have introduced legislation that would bar nuclear reactors from New York City.

Why should New Yorkers oppose activation of Columbia's reactor? Because a nuclear reactor in a densely populated area would pose a real danger to health and safety.

Even during normal, perfect operation, radioactive

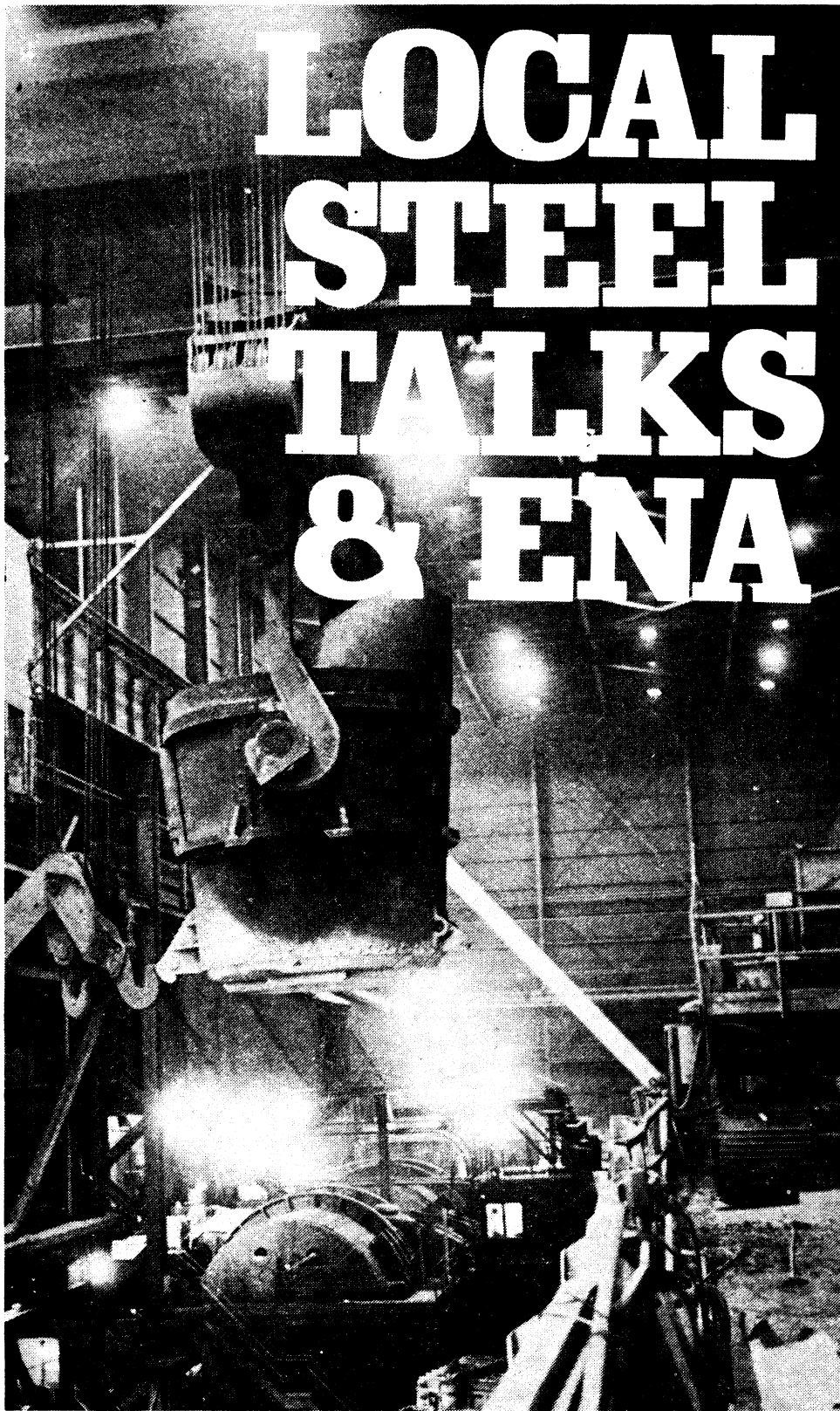
gasses such as argon-41 would be emitted into the atmosphere through a stack or chimney built for the purpose. These gasses would descend to street level, be breathed into the lungs, and enter the blood stream. This would be especially harmful to fetuses, babies, and young children resulting in stillbirths, leukemia, and death in the first year of life. Such radioactivity would also have an adverse effect not immediately obvious, on the genes of adults.

These dangers are supported by studies by Dr. Ernest Sternglass of Pittsburgh University, Dr. John Gofman of the University of California at Berkeley, and others.

But, Columbia cannot even guarantee perfect operation of the TRIGA reactor. Accidents, even improbable ones, will happen. If Columbia's reactor is placed in operation, the damage to life and property would be great if an accident happened.

Some Columbia professors advance the argument that they must have academic freedom to teach what they want. In the name of academic freedom, Dr. William McGill, Columbia's president, equates teaching how to operate reactors to teaching Marxism.

No one was ever injured physically by studying the works of Karl Marx. But, in the case of the reactor, there would be no choice but for the community to breathe the radioactive air. It is antisocial to subject hundreds of thousands of New Yorkers of all ages to the dangers of radiation for the instruction of twenty students and the glory of Columbia.



LOCAL STEEL TALKS & ENA

Chicago-area locals request strike votes

By Michael Gillespie

CHICAGO—Six of the biggest basic steel locals in United Steelworkers of America (USWA) District 31 have petitioned the international union for permission to conduct membership strike votes.

Together these locals represent more than 44,000 of the 120,000 steelworkers in the Chicago-Gary district.

Their plight in trying to force the companies to terms on local issues is a prime example of how the power of the steelworkers union is crippled by the Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA).

A new national basic steel contract was signed in Washington April 9. Local unions negotiate and sign separate agreements on working conditions and other issues at the plant level.

ENA prohibits a national steel strike. But it supposedly allows locals to strike their plant over unresolved local issues.

Many local issues concern such questions as the conditions of wash-houses, lunch rooms, parking lots, new water coolers, and so on. Others involve plant safety, incentive-pay plans, scheduling, discipline, and grievance procedures.

Although some of the local issues may appear trivial at first, they are of great importance in the local unions, affecting the day-to-day lives of thousands of workers.

Union members are denied the right to vote on either national or local

agreements. But they can hold their local leaders directly responsible for how these issues are resolved—more so than the distant bureaucracy that negotiates national pacts.

Thus the political future of union officers often rides on the outcome of local negotiations.

In the current talks, the six local presidents—all of whom voted against ratification of the national contract—report that the companies have refused to move on the union's proposals. The threat of a strike is the only pressure the locals can bring to bear.

ENA minimizes this pressure, though, since the companies know they can keep up production at most facilities while sitting out a strike at one or another plant.

Weakness of local strikes

District 31 Director Ed Sadlowski hit this restriction during his recent campaign for USWA president. If the companies refuse to bargain seriously, he asked, "What the hell are you going to do at the Irwin Works to correct that situation? Strike the Irwin Works and let South Works run, and let Homestead run, let Gary run, let Fontana run, let U.S. Steel run?"

"U.S. Steel can strangle you to death," Sadlowski said. "You know that and I know that and that's the fallacy of striking on a local issue."

The USWA bureaucracy makes it as difficult as possible for local unions to wield even this limited weapon. All

along the line, union members are denied the right to conduct their own affairs.

First, the international has the power to determine which issues submitted by a local qualify as local issues, and which are "contractual" or "national" and therefore disqualified from local bargaining. The international can thus gut a local's negotiations by disqualifying the major issues and leaving only petty items.

This doesn't mean, of course, that the disqualified "national" issues are then taken up and fought for by the international. It means they cannot be fought at all—they are in effect resolved on company terms.

Second, the international decides whether and when a local can hold a strike vote. Such votes can only be taken between June 10 and June 30.

Third, even if the members vote to strike over unresolved issues, the international decides whether a strike will be held. And the international sets the date for the work stoppage, sometime after the August 1 expiration date of the current three-year contracts.

The District 31 locals have just begun this extended procedure by requesting strike votes over a wide variety of local issues. Here is a plant-by-plant summary:

Republic Steel

Local 1033 represents 4,600 workers at Republic Steel in South Chicago. It was the first to request a vote, after talks on seventy-eight issues stalled last April. Some of the seventy-eight items have since been disqualified by the international, but major safety and incentive-pay proposals remain.

Inland Steel

Local 1010, with 18,000 members at Inland Steel in East Chicago, Indiana, is the largest local in the USWA. Low incentive rates, atrocious conditions at the coke ovens, and lack of a seniority agreement are the major items of some 300 unresolved local issues.

Inland ranks ninth of the ten major steel firms in incentive rates. It has consistently refused to increase them in talks with local President Jim Balanoff, who was elected in February to succeed Sadlowski as District 31 director.

Extension of relief periods and increased transfer rights are sought at Inland's coke ovens.

Inland remains the only major steel producer that has not signed the 1974 court-ordered Consent Decree, which was supposed to eliminate some aspects of racial and sexual discrimination in the steel industry.

Implementation of the decree would ostensibly allow greater opportunities for Black, Latino, and women steelworkers, and establish plant-wide seniority to supercede departmental schedules.

The lack of such an agreement at Inland, where there are more than 1,100 different seniority units, has been under negotiation for several years.

U.S. Steel South Works

Lack of a new seniority agreement is also the subject of a strike vote request at Local 65, with 7,500 members at U.S. Steel South Works in South Chicago.

For several years the local has sought to strengthen the consent decree in four or five major areas. Local President John Chico says the company has flatly refused all union proposals.

Youngstown Sheet & Tube

Safety is a major issue at Local 1011, representing 8,000 workers at Youngstown Sheet and Tube in East Chicago, Indiana. The company has the worst safety record of any of the area's basic steel mills over the past three years.

Among the other 200 unsettled items are proposals to eliminate "contracting out" work at the mill to non-USWA workers, incentive-pay rates,

scheduling, discipline, and grievance procedures.

One significant local demand is that the company "not use or purchase products produced under nonunion conditions in southern Africa, including but not limited to chrome from Rhodesia and coal and coke from the Republic of South Africa."

Midwest Steel

Protection from speedup and job eliminations heads the list of 173 unresolved issues at Local 6103, representing 1,300 workers at Midwest Steel in Portage, Indiana.

Since the union lost an arbitration case several years ago, Midwest has cut crew sizes on many production and maintenance jobs, laying off low-seniority workers and increasing work loads.

Midwest is a division of National Steel, fourth largest steel company in the United States. It is the only National plant with no protection of crew sizes.

Bethlehem Steel

Local 6787 represents 4,700 workers at Bethlehem Steel in Burns Harbor, Indiana. Local President Paul Kaczocha went to bargaining sessions in Washington in May with 231 unsettled issues, including discipline procedures, contracting out, and incentive rates.

After Kaczocha came into sharp conflict with Jim Smith, assistant to USWA President I.W. Abel, the international disqualified 110 issues and threatened to take 30 more out of the local negotiations.

The international has left Kaczocha, a Sadlowski supporter in the union election, with only the weakest and least significant of the local's original issues.

Attempts at coordination

Local officials are making some attempts to overcome the weakness of local bargaining through coordinated action.

In early May, David Wilson, president of Local 2609 at Bethlehem's Sparrows Point mill in Baltimore, agreed with Local 6787 officials that neither Bethlehem local would sign a local agreement until the other had settled as well.

All six local presidents in District 31 are seeking a common June 22 date for their locals' strike votes. But they are hamstrung by the international's power to set the referendum dates.

The international bureaucracy might not be unhappy to see some weak strikes on the local level. By approving local strike action, Abel and his successor, Lloyd McBride, could boost their sagging reputation after the national contract and posture as staunch supporters of the locals.

At the same time, a drawn-out strike that wins few if any gains could be used to curb militancy and illustrate the "virtues" of the no-strike ENA.

The companies, too, would not mind "teaching steelworkers a lesson" about strikes—when the conflicts are rigged in the employers' favor from the outset.

Among the union ranks in District 31 there is general dissatisfaction with the national contract and anger over many local issues. But it remains to be seen how these sentiments will register in any strike vote.

The last strike in most mills was the punishing 116-day walkout in 1959, which ended with setbacks on wages and other issues. For many steelworkers a strike vote this year would be the first ever. There has been little political preparation, either nationally or locally, for such a vote.

However, as Jim Balanoff noted in a recently published interview, "it is very important that the members back their unions in the strike vote if the issues are still unsettled."

"To vote for a strike doesn't mean that you'll have one," Balanoff said, "but I guarantee that if a local has a strong strike vote, they'll settle the local issues a lot faster."

Selling the ENA

Abel opens propaganda blitz for no-strike deal

By Andy Rose

"Facts, not propaganda."

That's what United Steelworkers of America President I.W. Abel says is in a booklet on the 1977 basic steel contract recently mailed to USWA members.

The booklet does appear to contain some facts, along with some falsehoods, about the contract. *It does not contain the contract.* Steelworkers still have not had a chance to read the actual document that will rule much of their working lives for the next three years.

So there's no telling what facts—such as secret agreements and qualifications—may be left out of the booklet "explaining" the contract.

The real irony of Abel's assertion is that the booklet, Abel's cover letter, and the reports on the contract in the May issue of the USWA's *Steel Labor* newspaper are *above all* propaganda.

They are part of a propaganda blitz to sell steelworkers on the Experimental Negotiating Agreement, the no-strike pact Abel signed in 1973 with the steel corporations.

Abel writes in his cover letter: "There are radical political groups on both the far left and the far right that want to see ENA wiped out. They think unions and management should engage in 'class struggle' instead of collective bargaining. They would like to hold our coats while we fight with the steel companies—until either the companies, or the Union, or both, are destroyed. Then they hope to pick up the pieces."

If criticism of the no-strike deal came only from "radical political groups," Abel would not bother to write about it. That's a cheap debating trick designed to brand anyone who questions the ENA as a "radical" with suspicious ulterior motives.

What worries Abel is not "radical political groups" but the growing number of steelworkers who think the ENA reduces the union to collective *begging*, not collective bargaining.

What worries Abel is the workers who believe "class struggle" is not an invention of radicals but a fact of life—that the steel corporations try to boost their profits by attacking the wages, working conditions, and job security of workers. And that the union ought to be defending the interests of the workers, not the profits of the bosses.

What worries Abel is that last February a quarter of a million steelworkers voted for Ed Sadlowski for union president, on a platform against the ENA and everything it represents.

Union members organized and campaigned and voted for the Steelworkers Fight Back slate—not because they want to destroy the union, as Abel



Members of Local 1397, Homestead, Pennsylvania, protest steel contract

slandorously claims—but because they know *Abel's policies* are crippling the union and threaten to destroy it.

Sadlowski carried a majority among union members in basic steel—the very workers who just got the ENA rammed down their throats again in the new three-year contract.

Abel and his cronies are clearly alarmed and embarrassed by the widespread discontent within the union over the new contract.

A number of big locals in the Pittsburgh; Youngstown, Ohio; and Chicago areas have voted to condemn the pact. Some call for a special union convention to repudiate it.

Thousands of steelworkers bought copies of the *Militant* containing the contract summary approved by local union presidents in Washington April 9.

All or part of the summary was also printed by the newspapers of Local 1557 in Clairton, Pennsylvania, and Local 1462 in Youngstown. The presidents of both locals had voted against the contract. The paper *1397 Rank & File* at Local 1397 in Homestead, Pennsylvania, also printed the summary.

Steelworkers could see that papers like these—not *Steel Labor*—respected their democratic right to know the terms of the settlement. No doubt this is why the officialdom got their "explanation" into print much earlier—according to veteran unionists—than in previous contract years.

Abel's propaganda pamphlet tries to make a case that because of the ENA steelworkers have received "the greatest wage and benefits package in the 41-year history of our Union."

The pamphlet says: "In the judgment of your Officers and a majority of

the delegates to the Basic Steel Industry Conference which approved the 1977 Settlement, the ENA has continued to serve the best interests of the members. Accordingly, the ENA has

been readopted. . . ."

But in fifty-six pages of tables, charts, examples, and inflated claims, the pamphlet fails to answer one simple question:

What about the judgment of the members? If the contract and the ENA are so great, why is Abel afraid to submit them to a membership vote?

Abel did give an answer, of sorts, in an interview in the *Pittsburgh Press* May 8. *Press* labor writer Ira Fine describes Abel gazing out from his plush office overlooking the Pittsburgh skyline. Here's how Abel dismisses the opposition to the contract: "I guess a selfish, narrow attitude is a natural thing, but when you sit here you have to look at the overall."

That sums it up. Steelworkers are naturally "selfish" and "narrow," in Abel's view. The union tops know what's best, and they'll make the decisions.

But what about the challenge Abel poses—have contracts signed under the ENA delivered on the workers' needs? I'll take that up in the next article on "Selling the ENA."

Steel notes...

WILDCAT PROTESTS SUSPENSION OF GRIEVER: On May 18 the third shift at Patterson-Leitch, a small steel fabricating shop in Cleveland, walked off the job to protest the five-day suspension, pending firing, of one of their grievancemen. By morning the wildcat strike spread to all three shifts. More than 100 workers were out.

The company suspended union grievanceman Don Novak on hearsay evidence that he told co-workers not to work overtime. In fact, management had broken the contract by not giving the proper notice that overtime would be required.

Bill Waller, chief grievanceman at Patterson-Leitch and recording secretary of USWA Local 14613, told the *Militant* that Novak's suspension was the spark but "grievances had been piling up for some time. Management is intent on speeding up production at the plant and hopes to wear down the union."

Despite no support from the international union and a court antistrike injunction, the workers stayed out until May 25. At that time, under threats of fines and possible jailing of their leaders, they returned to work under protest.

The company agreed to bypass the first and second steps of the grievance procedure and meet immediately on Novak's case, and to take no reprisals against strikers.

ANOTHER WINNING CONTRACT: The new three-year contract covering 46,000 USWA members in the aluminum industry is hailed by union tops as "a further breakthrough beyond steel" on job security. Namely, workers with ten to twenty years' seniority will get an extra six months of Supplemental Unemployment Benefits.

On the other hand, the contract gives up cost-of-living adjustments for pensions—hailed as "historic" when they were won just three years ago. Sorry, pensioners—but you can't expect the *companies* to foot the bill for Abel's "breakthroughs," can you?

—Andy Rose

Vindictive judge jails 'Washington Post' strikers

By Marc Strumpf

WASHINGTON—Six former *Washington Post* press operators have been sentenced to prison. The vindictive sentences are the latest move in the campaign to smash the press operators union, which the *Post* management forced out on strike more than a year and a half ago.

Unionist Jack MacIntosh received the stiffest sentence. He was given one year in jail on a charge of simple assault—a misdemeanor.

District of Columbia Judge Sylvia Bacon also sentenced MacIntosh to another year in jail, to be served concurrently with the first, for destruction of property.

Singled out as "ringleaders" of the strike by the prosecution, defendants Eugene O'Sullivan and Cecil Rusk were sentenced to 120 days in jail and

one year on probation. Prosecutor Richard Chapman stated that O'Sullivan had "shown a pattern of potential labor violence and therefore should not be permitted to walk the streets."

Judge Bacon sentenced press operator Pete Raffo to a 120-day jail term for spitting on a scab in a restaurant.

Bacon ignored the written recommendations of the probation report, which had concluded that jail terms would be inappropriate for any of the defendants and had recommended leniency.

Fifteen press operators pleaded guilty to the misdemeanor charges in April in return for a prosecution agreement to drop trumped-up felony charges that had been hanging over their heads. One defendant was fined immediately, while the other fourteen were sentenced May 20.

The eight defendants who were not sent to jail were slapped with fines ranging from \$250 to \$750, along with suspended jail terms and probation in most cases.

The courtroom, which was packed with supporters of the press operators, burst into hisses and boos after each sentence was read. Eventually, the crowd moved toward the front of the room, leading to a rapid adjournment of the trial and the hasty exit of the judge and prosecutors.

In an interview with the *Militant*, O'Sullivan—the father of three young children—was clearly upset. "She [the judge] ruled that we were to be made examples for other trade unionists. She knows what it's all about when it comes to union people sticking together. . . . This could have happened just as easily in 1937 as in 1977."

Judge Bacon comes from an old publishing family and has herself owned large amounts of stock in several newspapers. Just before the trial she sold her shares in order to avoid conflict-of-interest charges.

O'Sullivan pointed out that "Judge Bacon's statement could have been written in the editorial department or the corporate offices of the *Post*."

The Local Six Legal Defense Committee, which has been organizing support for the press operators, plans to petition the court to lower the sentences. They will also be raising funds to help the families of those in jail.

The six unionists with jail terms must turn themselves in to the authorities on May 27. Referring to his three children, O'Sullivan said, "They are taking it very hard."

ERA fight: should women sacrifice other rights?



Militant/Tony Grillo

Unlike above demonstrators, NOW leadership proposes ERA supporters keep quiet on other women's rights under attack.

'Militant' reader comments on NOW conference

I take strong exception to the Socialist Workers party attempt to introduce a broad-scale action resolution into the National Organization for Women's Conference in Detroit.

Even though the resolution had support from minority women and some others who are not members of the Socialist Workers party, it was a maneuver to draw attention away from the most pressing issues facing the women's movement. It is urgent that NOW direct its attention to ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment and to use the political system to accomplish this goal.

Certainly the National Organization for Women recognizes the plight of Chicano, Puerto Rican, Indian, and Black women in this society and I believe they have welcomed their participation and supported their issues. However, attempts to direct attention away from ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment toward other goals is obscuring the major issue at this time.

Speaking as a Socialist and as a long-standing member of the National Organization for Women, I believe it is wrong to attempt to impose the Socialist Workers party views on the National Organization for Women. Maneuvers such as this could rightly be interpreted as blatant co-optation, which has characterized some radical groups in the past.

The resolution's intent is good; I would like to see the SWP make it a reality within its own party.

Zelda K. Nordlinger
Richmond, Virginia

By Nancy Cole

Zelda Nordlinger takes "strong exception" to the Socialist Workers party on two levels.

First, she charges that the SWP's participation in the April conference of the National Organization for Women was a "maneuver" and an attempt to "impose" its ideas on NOW.

Second, she argues that these ideas themselves spell defeat for the feminist movement.

The introduction of a "broad-scale action resolution" was "a maneuver to draw attention away from the most pressing issues facing the women's movement," Nordlinger writes.

That is the opposite of the truth. The resolution she refers to—the Defending Women's Rights in the Second Decade proposal—tried to draw attention to the most pressing issues and to chart a winning strategy for the women's movement.

It urged NOW to recognize the current offensive against women and to meet it with a campaign in defense of abortion rights, affirmative action, pregnancy benefits, child care—as well as for the Equal Rights Amendment.

These are not components of some abstract, theoretical game plan for the future, without meaning or

consequence for NOW of today. These are rights that feminists of the 1960s and early 1970s fought for and won. They are the fruits of the first decade of NOW and of this wave of feminism. And they are in grave danger of being lost.

Yet Nordlinger would have NOW table the defense of some rights—and of the women they most affect, that is, Black, Chicana, Puerto Rican, and other working-class women—and deal only with the drive to ratify the ERA. This is a strategy of defeat, even for the ERA.

She tacitly agrees it would mean abandoning women of the oppressed nationalities. "Certainly," she writes, NOW "recognizes the plight" of these women. "However," she continues, addressing any issues other than the ERA is "obscuring the major issue. . . ."

But what is "the major issue" when the drive against women's rights has expanded from defeats of the ERA to include wholesale attacks on virtually every gain we have fought for? Can we really put on blinders to block out these other attacks, hoping that in this way the ERA may stand a chance?

Nordlinger says yes.

This conclusion—which members of

the SWP and many other women at NOW's national conference disagreed with—stems from the perspective that, as Nordlinger puts it, feminists must "use the political system to accomplish this goal."

This is a code word for lobbying and electing "good" politicians, mostly liberal Democrats. It is a strategy that, by necessity, tailors the movement to fit the needs of politicians, rather than the needs of women.

It is the method that, with a few exceptions, NOW and other groups have practiced thus far in their efforts to win the ERA.

It relies on the mistaken notion that the way to win ratification is to "reason" with politicians on a one-to-one basis. Therefore, by steering clear of issues that may appear more controversial, women can supposedly broaden the field of their potential "allies" among the legislative crew.

This strategy defies the historical experience of the women's movement and of all other movements for social change. And it has certainly earned pro-ERA forces nothing but defeat thus far.

Victories are won when social movements demonstrate a strength that the powers-that-be must contend with—or else.

The struggle for the Equal Rights Amendment cannot be divorced from the struggle for other women's rights—even if some ERA proponents, for expediency's sake, would like it that way.

The ERA is seen by this country's rulers as a symbol of the women's movement as a whole. A display of weakness, such as the lack of response to government attacks on abortion, only encourages them to intensify the attacks on all fronts.

If they can get away with retreating on fundamental women's rights, why should politicians expand rights in another arena—through a constitutional amendment, for example?

There is no question that ERA supporters must mount an emergency campaign. But if it is to be successful, it cannot counterpose the ERA to other women's rights. The women's movement has to reject the government's ploy of pitting working-class women and women of oppressed nationalities against their more privileged white sisters.

The only ones who stand to gain from such a division are the government and the reactionary anti-abortion, anti-Black, and anti-women's rights forces.

The fight for the ERA has to be a

united effort—but not the kind of "unity" conveniently invented by the NOW leadership to push an electoral strategy that labels fighting for other issues a betrayal of the ERA.

A truly united movement to win the ERA would welcome all women's rights supporters to its ranks, and it would solidarize and join with fighters for other women's issues.

Just what is the nature of the ERA campaign the NOW leadership has vowed to carry out?

Public support drops

Pollster Louis Harris reports that public support for the ERA, while still a majority, is slipping. At the same time, support for "efforts to strengthen and change women's status in society today" is increasing.

He credits this to the fact that the "opponents of the ERA appear to be clearly more effective in marshalling their forces."

Illinois is one of the major holdouts in ratifying the ERA. It's also headquarters for Phyllis Schlafly, head of the right-wing Stop ERA movement.

Illinois NOW Treasurer Nancy Burton recently told the Chicago *Sun-Times* that in late 1974 "we decided not to make waves because we thought we had enough votes. The anti kept plugging up votes; we realize our mistake now."

In her acceptance speech at the national conference, NOW President Eleanor Smeal pledged an ERA campaign with "a multiplicity of means and tactics," including "high visibility and militancy."

The NOW leadership soon had a chance to make good on those promises. A coalition of pro-ERA groups organized an ERA rally in Chicago for May 14.

The leaders of NOW—both nationally and in Chicago—declined to be a part of this action. Chicago NOW even organized conflicting activities in some of the city's electoral districts. The NOW state council scheduled a meeting in Peoria that day.

Nonetheless, more than 1,000 attended the rally—making it one of the largest demonstrations of pro-ERA forces nationwide since the May 16, 1976, NOW-sponsored action in Springfield, Illinois. It was an unmistakable signal to the legislators that Illinois is not Schlafly country.

But it could have been even larger and more powerful had NOW joined in building it.

So, if militant, visible actions such as the one in Chicago are not what the NOW leadership has in mind, then

what is its plan?

Although it wasn't spelled out in any detail at the national conference, Nordlinger knows the answer... because there was a recent example right in her own city of Richmond, Virginia.

On May 5, NOW's ERA caravan stopped in Richmond. A news conference announced its presence and paraded a few local politicians. A rally later heard political candidates—including one who announced he opposed the ERA!

Before the meeting, members of the local NOW abortion task force placed leaflets on the seats announcing a May 8 NOW-endorsed abortion rights action. The local ERA task force coordinator followed the women around, ripping up the leaflets.

Despite the fact that the candidates were distributing their campaign literature—including, presumably, the one who opposes the ERA—the NOW leaders justified banning the abortion rights leaflets with a new policy that only ERA literature can be passed out at ERA activities.

Opposition to this kind of anti-women's rights perspective, and a belief that women's endangered rights require a different course, was the basis for the Defending Women's Rights resolution at the NOW conference.

It was not a "maneuver," as Nordlinger tags it. It was an attempt to introduce a real discussion into a conference designed only to elect the new leadership and rubber-stamp that leadership's proposals.

Whether Nordlinger agrees with the resolution is beside the point. This was a national conference to decide on a course for NOW for the next year and a half, and proposals from all members of NOW were in order.

Red-baiting

Terms like "maneuvers" and "blatant co-option" are the vocabulary of red-baiting. They are intended to taint the openly expressed ideas and proposals of the supposed maneuverers.

Like the NOW leadership, Nordlinger attributes dissent at the conference to the SWP's attempt to "impose" its views on NOW.

She admits the Defending Women's Rights proposal did have support from the Minority Women's workshop and other non-SWP members. Later she even credits its intent as "good." Yet she contributes to the charges circulated by the NOW leadership across the country that the resolution was an SWP "plot" to deter NOW from fighting for the ERA.

There is no way that members of the SWP and others who shared their views on NOW—clearly a minority at the conference—could have imposed their proposals on NOW. The delegates were free to approve or reject any ideas they had the chance to consider.

In a democratically run organization, where all ideas are aired and the membership makes the decisions, a few members are unable to impose their views on the majority.

At the NOW conference, however, the national leadership managed to impose its proposals by refusing to debate their merit or consequences.

As a socialist and longtime member of NOW, Nordlinger should carefully consider the course she is endorsing.

The Equal Rights Amendment, abortion rights, and other rights necessary to give women the chance for equality will only be won, maintained, and implemented if massive numbers of women are mobilized to fight for them—Black women, Puerto Rican women, Chicanas, and other working-class women.

It is, and will remain, an ongoing, unrelenting struggle—witness the history of abortion rights. The organized feminist movement will have to grow and take on increasing visibility if the struggle for women's rights is to move forward.

Congress renews attack on right to abortion

By Gale Shangold

Congress is preparing another attack on poor women by denying their right to abortions.

The House Appropriations Committee has okayed the 1978 Labor and Health, Education and Welfare bill with an anti-abortion rider—the Hyde amendment—intact.

The bill will be introduced into the full House during the first week in June. It is expected to come to a vote around June 15. Action in the Senate will follow.

This attack comes after months of anti-abortion pronouncements by President Carter and HEW Secretary Joseph Califano and escalating efforts by abortion foes on the state and federal levels.

According to Karen Mulhauser, executive director of the National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL), a woman's right to abortion is at stake.

"The threat is there," she told the *Militant*, "and most people who support abortion rights don't realize the threat."

Last September, Congress passed the 1977 appropriations bill containing an amendment originally proposed by Rep. Henry Hyde. The Hyde amendment prohibits all federally funded abortions, except where the life of the woman is endangered.

Supporters of abortion rights went to court. A federal district judge in New York declared the amendment unconstitutional. It is now before the U.S. Supreme Court.

Had it gone into effect, 300,000 women would have been denied their right to Medicaid-funded abortions.

The only alternatives for these women "would be to have an unwanted child, or obtain an unsafe abortion performed by a nonphysician," stated Rep. Parren Mitchell during April hearings of the House Appropriations Subcommittee. Mitchell is chairperson of the Congressional Black Caucus and was testifying in opposition to the Hyde amendment on behalf of the caucus.



Liberal Senators Eagleton (top) and Schweiker urge colleagues to join anti-abortion campaign.

The well-financed, well-organized "right to life" movement has been hard at work since its victory in Congress last fall. Some congressional liberals are "switching their votes under the pressure," says Ellen Leitzer, head of the American Civil Liberties Union's Reproductive Freedom Project.

To help ensure the amendment's passage this year, liberal Senators Richard Schweiker (R-Pa.), Thomas



Militant/Caryl Loeb

October protest against Hyde amendment in New York.

Eagleton (D-Mo.), and William Proxmire (D-Wis.) sent out a "Dear Colleague" letter. It urges a vote for the Hyde amendment, saying, "There is a strong feeling among our constituents opposed to abortions that they do not want their tax dollars used for what they strongly believe is the killing of innocent human beings. We respect that belief."

The senators also cite the aid another congressional vote for the amendment would lend the case before the Supreme Court.

"They didn't do this last year," Leitzer says of the organized campaign to push the Hyde amendment through Congress. "The situation looks very grim."

"The most successful attacks have been on... poor women's right to abortion," Leitzer told the *Militant*. "A lot of middle-class women don't see their right to abortion being jeopardized."

"They don't see that attacking poor women's rights is only a stepping-stone to their rights. It's a chipping away."

According to Leitzer, Senator Eagleton is also planning to introduce an anti-abortion amendment to the pregnancy benefits legislation now under consideration by Congress.

This bill was proposed to counter the December 1976 Supreme Court decision declaring discrimination against pregnant workers to be legal. Eagleton wants to make sure no disability benefits are given to women who have abortions.

Congress will also soon vote on whether federal funds can be used to pay legal-aid lawyers to help women obtain abortions.

Another campaign of the anti-abortionists is to get an amendment that outlaws abortion added to the U.S. Constitution. Four constitutional amendments have been introduced in the Senate, with thirteen cosponsors. Thirty-two have been introduced in the House, with fifty-nine cosponsors.

States join anti-abortion drive

Anti-abortion forces are busy on the state level too.

State legislators are coming up with all kinds of schemes to weaken the 1973 Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion.

Some of the bills passed, many failed, and others are still under active consideration. This anti-abortion barrage is a signal of what to expect in the future. The so-called right-to-lifers are on the offensive.

Recent state attacks on abortion rights include:

- Eight states have called for a constitutional convention to add an anti-abortion amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

- On May 11 the Texas House voted to restrict abortions after the first twenty-two weeks of pregnancy.

- On April 21, a New Jersey Supreme Court justice barred a woman from having an abortion. The court order was at the request of a man who said he was the "father." Fortunately the order came after the abortion had already been performed.

- In South Dakota a law passed that makes having an abortion evidence that a woman is unfit to be a mother in child-custody suits.

- From January to April of this year, fifteen anti-abortion bills have

been introduced in Maryland. One of the two that passed requires a doctor to notify a woman's parents before an abortion if she is single, under eighteen, and lives at home.

- In Florida legislation is pending that requires a doctor to notify a woman's parents or husband before an abortion. If the doctor doesn't, he can be charged with a felony and face up to five years in jail.

- Six anti-abortion bills were up for adoption in California this year. Five were defeated, and one was never voted out of committee.

- The state legislatures in Illinois and Wisconsin are each considering three bills to restrict abortion.

But supporters of women's rights aren't letting these attacks go unnoticed.

For example, a Utah version of the Hyde amendment to cut off Medicaid funds for abortion brought protesters into the streets organized by the local chapter of the National Organization for Women, the American Civil Liberties Union, and other groups.

When the law passed May 10, the ACLU filed suit. On May 13, a federal judge issued a restraining order against enforcement of the law.

—G.S.

ISRAEL'S ARAB LAND

'Replacing the Arab population with Jewish settlers...this is the essence of Zionism'

By David Frankel

OCCUPIED PALESTINE—On June 5, 1967, Israeli forces struck against neighboring Arab countries on three fronts. In less than a week, Israel's invading armies conquered the Sinai Peninsula, the Golan Heights, and the West Bank of the Jordan River.

Ten years later, virtually all of the territories captured in 1967—and a million Palestinians who remained in them—are still under Israeli rule. One has only to drive through the conquered territories to sense the determination of the Zionist regime to hold its stolen land.

Those interested in investigating for themselves can begin by going to one of the information offices run by the Israeli Ministry of Tourism. There you

This eyewitness account was written by Militant correspondent David Frankel while he was on assignment in Israel before the May 17 elections there. In the voting the ruling Labor party was defeated by the Likud bloc headed by Menahem Begin. Frankel's account shows that the Zionist land grab in the occupied Arab territories was as much the policy of the outgoing regime as it is of the government that will replace it.

can obtain, free of charge, an attractive color map listing all the settlements established in the occupied territories from 1967 through 1976.

My eighteen-by-twenty-four-inch map listed ninety-one settlements in the occupied territories. I visited eleven. In addition, I visited four other settlements that were established after the map was printed.

The map does not list the massive colonization projects that have transformed the area immediately surrounding Jerusalem. Although accurate figures are difficult to obtain, it can be safely estimated that at least 100,000 persons have been settled on conquered land around Jerusalem in the past ten years.

Neve Ya'akov, for example, is a newly built neighborhood about four miles north of Jerusalem. It consists of scores of four-to-six-story apartment buildings. As of August 1976 there were about 8,000 persons living there, and the present population is considerably higher.

Ramot Eshkol, another settlement north of Jerusalem, was built for 15,000 inhabitants, while Gilo, in the south, was planned for 10,000. All of these massive housing estates ringing Jerusalem were built on confiscated Arab land, and all of them are open only to Jewish families.

Mishor Adumim

I visited ten Zionist settlements in the occupied West Bank. These ranged from small agricultural villages to industrial towns under construction. Mishor Adumim, for example, is the site of a new town on the Jerusalem-Jericho road.

This was the first settlement that I visited. Like all the others, it was surrounded by a chain-link fence and an outer fence of barbed wire. The bored army reservist in the guard house at the gate allowed us to pass as soon as my companion showed his army card and demonstrated that he could speak Hebrew with the proper accent.

This experience was repeated at almost all the settlements we visited.

As of late March, four factories were already in operation at Mishor Adumim. Three more were under construction. The March 22 issue of the Israeli daily *Ha'aretz* reported that in addition to these seven plants, most of which are connected with the metal industry, "a huge security plant will be transferred to Mishor Adumim."

Thirty-five families are living on the site, and 300 more are expected shortly. Extensive work is going on to prepare for further expansion of the town. A road and power lines extend about a mile from the already settled area, and water pipes are being installed. Two military bases are already in operation next to the new town.

Another industrial town is being built at Ma'aleh Efra'im in the hills above the Jordan Valley. Fifty houses have been completed at that site, which is about seven miles from the Jordanian border.

New borders

Close as Ma'aleh Efra'im is to the Jordanian border, there is a line of settlements that is nearer still. About fourteen settlements have been established in the Jordan Valley. Most of these are about five miles from Jordan, but one is less than two miles away.

These agricultural colonies, ranging in size from 80 to 300 inhabitants, are intended to mark the line of Israel's new borders. They are backed up by a second line of settlements in the hills overlooking the Jordan Valley, and by an elaborate network of military bases and installations.

Even the smallest of these settlements represent a considerable investment. To begin with, the must be linked up to Israel's national power grid and water must be either found or piped in. Every settlement has its double barbed-wire fence, its watchtower, and its communal bomb shelter, as well as individual shelters for each house.

The houses themselves, complete with air conditioning, are substantially better than the apartments available to most new immigrants and young couples in Israel's established cities.

A year ago, in May 1976, *New York Times* correspondent Terence Smith quoted an estimate of nearly \$500 million as the cost of the colonization program in the occupied territories. Since that time there has certainly been no slowdown. A new settlement was established in the West Bank on April 19 at Mas'ha, for example.

Nor is there any coyness about the purpose of the settlements. At the Memorial to the Fallen of the Jordan Valley, a military monument near the flourishing religious moshav (cooperative farm) of Petza'el, one can see high school students swearing to defend the new borders of Israel.

The students are brought to the memorial in uniform and under military command during their premilitary training.

Special mention should also be made of Gitit, a moshav of about thirty families just up the road from Ma'aleh Efra'im. The Israeli army cleared the way for this settlement by spreading herbicide to poison the crops of the Arab villagers, who are the rightful owners of the land. In Zionist parlance such activities are known as "redemption of the land."

The West Bank, with its 700,000 inhabitants, has been the center of the struggle against the Zionist occupation. While passing through Nablus on April 10, for example, I witnessed sharp battles between youthful demonstrators and the Israeli occupation forces.

I was able to take some pictures, but the Israeli troops prefer not to have witnesses around at such times. They made their sentiments clear by coming over and rocking our car.

At Bir Zeit University, however, I was able to have a more relaxed discussion about the situation on the West Bank with a few of the 570 Palestinian students who attend the school. Bir Zeit has been the site of numerous demonstrations against the occupation and in solidarity with the struggles of Palestinians inside Israel's pre-1967 borders.

But even here, the heavy hand of the Israeli occupiers is felt. Several students preferred not to be identified. And when I asked how the students were organized, Hisham al-Khatib reminded me, "It is difficult to reply to such questions because of the security considerations here."

In any case, the extent of political activity was obvious. Slogans such as "Death to the Spies" and "No to the Geneva Conference" were written in Arabic on the cafeteria walls. The dormitory where I interviewed the students happened to be the same one in which Israeli troops seriously injured eighteen students after a demonstration in March 1976.

When I asked Hisham about attempts of the occupation regime to stop the political ferment among the Palestinian population, he replied:

"What can they do? It is too difficult for the Israeli investigators to prevent people from discussing the problems they face. We are discussing, and we are not afraid."

Naif Khallaf, another student, added, "I think no

Israeli apartment house being built on occupied Arab land.



GRAB

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ne can prevent you from expressing yourself, even if you are under occupation."

The written word, however, can be censored. "In the West Bank it is impossible to publish political material, but in Jerusalem some things can be published because it has been made part of Israel," Hisham noted.

"The authorities also don't want students from Bir Zeit to work here in the West Bank," Naif told me. "They don't want educated Palestinians. They are always trying to force them out of the country by having the graduates fired from their jobs."

The lack of substantial industry on the West Bank and the refusal of Israeli enterprises to hire Palestinians except in the lowest-paying jobs leaves few careers open for graduates of Bir Zeit to begin with. A student who asked not to be identified added some details to this picture:

"About fifty students graduated [from Bir Zeit] last year. Twenty-five went to other Arab countries; six were not allowed by the military government to work at all; six were fired from their jobs as a result of government pressure; and the remainder are working in private schools."

Nevertheless, Naif stressed, "There has been a political awakening on the West Bank under the Israeli occupation. There is more political consciousness than ten or twenty years ago, and more than compared to Jordan."

The student who wished to remain anonymous agreed. "The political awakening," he said, "did not take place because of what the Israelis tried to do to us, but because of how bad the situation here is. Everybody tries to understand their situation and to reach for their freedom."

in the Gaza Strip

The other great concentration of Palestinians in the occupied territories is in the Gaza Strip, where some 350,000 people live under military rule. As one drives along the Mediterranean coast toward Egypt, miles of barbed-wire fence can be seen.

Huge tracts of land have been fenced in by the ugly strands of barbed wire, and the Arab herders and citrus growers who previously lived there have been evicted. Most of this land is simply lying unused, waiting for further settlements.

Of the thirty-three settlements in the Sinai shown on the map I obtained from the Israeli government, nineteen were clustered in the Gaza area, and two more were intended to dominate roads leading to Gaza. In addition, I came across another settlement that was not marked on the map, but which was virtually completed.

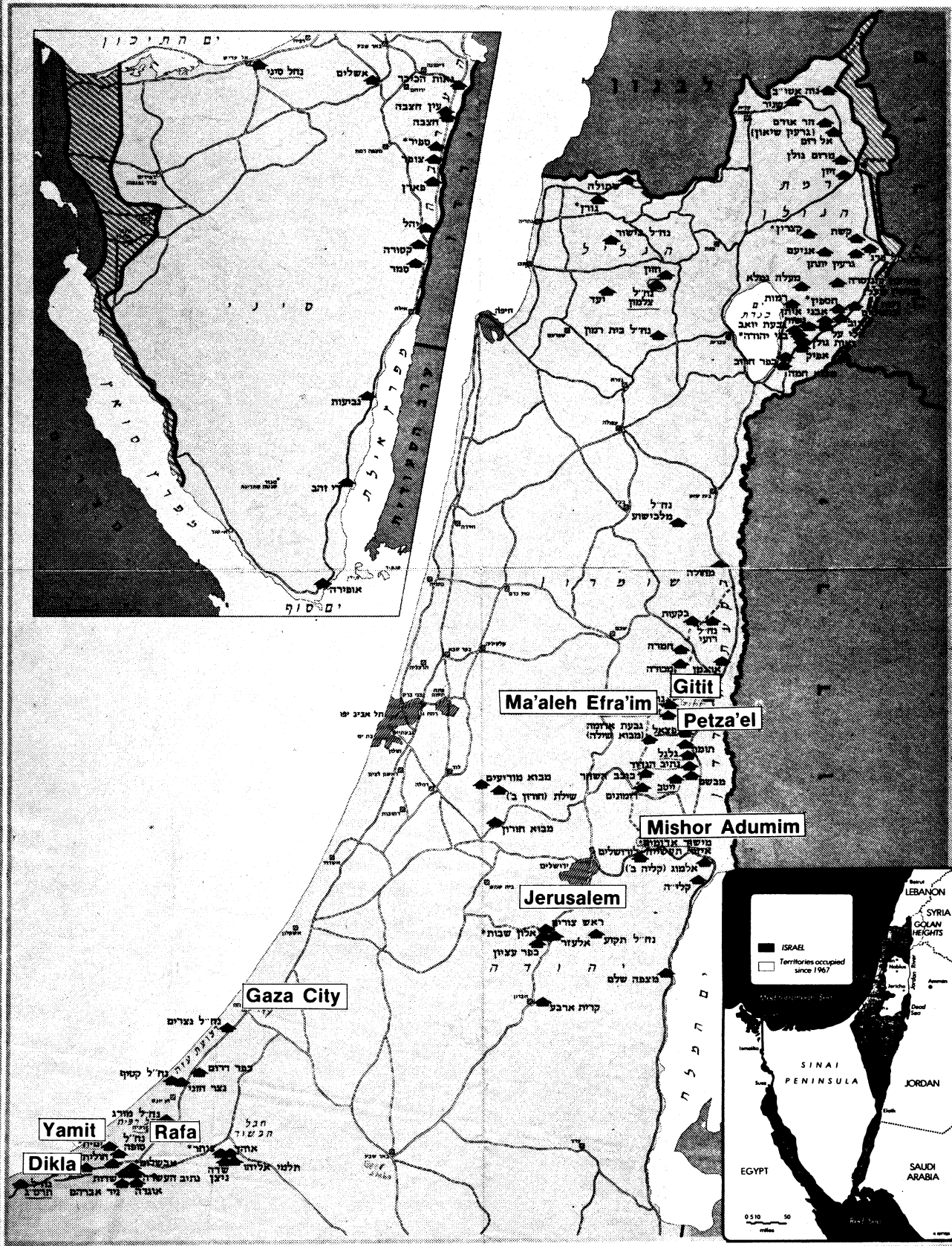
As in the West Bank, the colonization plans are continuing in the Gaza area, despite all the talk about a Mideast peace settlement and even a Palestinian "homeland." Thus, Asher Wallfish reported in the April 19 issue of the *Jerusalem Post*, Defence Minister Shimon Peres . . . revealed in his speech yesterday that the government has plans to develop a vast area of two million dunam [about 800 square miles] in the south. It proposes to set up 110 settlements in the future, in the Rafah-Lev Sheva-Kadesh Barnea triangle."

This triangle includes the Gaza Strip and a section of the Sinai outside of Israel's pre-1967 borders. But even more convincing than the Israeli regime's plans on paper is the reality of its colonization program, especially the new city of Yamit.

Situated on the Mediterranean coast, slightly more than twenty miles southwest of Gaza, Yamit was the most ambitious undertaking I saw in the occupied territories. Although it appeared to have a population of only 2,000-3,000 right now, it is clearly planned on a much bigger scale than Neve Ya'akov or the other projects developed outside of Jerusalem.

Literally hundreds of two-story apartment blocks were under construction on a site that covered

מפת ההתיישבות החדשה 1967-1976



Zionist settlements in the occupied territories and Galilee established between June 1967 and the end of 1976 are shown on this map. Like all official Israeli maps, this one indicates no boundary between pre-1967 Israel and the territories conquered in the June 1967 war. These borders are shown on the smaller English-language inset map. Sites that are mentioned in the accompanying article are indicated in English on the Israeli map.

several square miles. More substantial buildings were also being worked on, and a separate industrial park is being built.

Moreover, Yamit is planned as a resort as well as a residential and industrial city. A hotel and restaurant by the beach are already in operation.

I also stopped at Dikla, a moshav less than ten miles further up the coast from Yamit. Dikla has become rich by growing tomatoes for export to Europe. The forty-three families who live there have their own well-stocked supermarket, where I was able to buy a cold beer. The Arabs who were thrown off the land to make way for Dikla now work as hired laborers in what used to be their own fields.

'One struggle'

Israeli propagandists are fond of recounting the alleged benefits brought to the Arab population in the conquered territories by Zionist rule. Racists that they are, they can't imagine that the Palestinians would be able to do things better themselves.

In fact, anybody who takes a drive through Rafa or Gaza City would be hard pressed indeed to describe the benefits enjoyed by the people there. The same is true of the Jordan Valley, where I saw irrigation systems built during the 1930s, but nothing built to help the Arab population under Israeli rule.

Of course, the truth is that the Zionists are out to

help only themselves. Those Palestinians who were robbed of their land and homes and driven into exile in 1948, and those in the occupied territories who have been victimized by the more recent expropriations, are well aware of this fact.

A tour of the occupied territories gives convincing evidence of the expansionist nature of the Israeli state. But it also gives proof of the basic identity of the struggle of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories and inside Israel's pre-1967 frontiers.

It is not accidental that the same official map that lists the settlements in the occupied territories also lists seven settlements in the Galilee, inside pre-1967 Israel. The Galilee has an Arab majority, and it is the declared policy of the Israeli government to "Judaize" the region.

The methods used in trying to "Judaize" the Galilee are the same methods that are being used in the conquered territories, and that were used in the establishment of the Israeli state to begin with: the expropriation of Arab land and the replacement of the Arab population with Jewish settlers. This is the essence of Zionism.

In view of this, it is hardly surprising that a single slogan expressing this reality has gained great popularity among the Palestinian masses, both inside Israel and in the occupied territories: "One People, One Struggle."

Support voiced for gay rights in June 7 vote

Miami

By Joe Kear

MIAMI—Black leaders, feminists, and the Dade County Coalition for Human Rights are rallying support for gay rights as a showdown on the issue approaches. Miami voters will decide June 7 whether to repeal the city's law that prohibits discrimination against homosexuals in housing, jobs, and public accommodations.

Miami Black leaders held a news conference May 28 to support the gay rights law. Noting the importance to Blacks of all civil rights issues, the leaders urged voters to reaffirm the antidiscrimination law.

Black leaders at the news conference included C. Gaylord Rolle, publisher of *Liberty News*, a Miami Black newspaper; Dr. Marvin Dunn, sociologist at Florida International University; Rev. Irwin Elligan of the Community Relations Board; Euthalia Fraser of the Tenants Rights Organization; and Black activists M. Athalee Range, Samuel Moncur, and Shirley Pearson.

Two local chapters of the National Organization for Women sponsored a fund-raising event for gay rights May 28. Some 250 people attended and heard NOW Vice-president Arlie Scott and Ms. publisher Gloria Steinem.

Scott challenged the antigay movement here that claims to be "saving" children from homosexuality: "In the United States today there is an epidemic of child abuse; why don't they speak out on this issue? . . . Why don't they speak out for day-care centers and for improved education? Why didn't they speak out against the death of a young gay man who was beaten to death by four football players outside a bar in Tucson, Arizona?"

About 700 people attended a fund-raising event for the Dade County Human Rights Coalition May 30. The "Gotham" trio and cast members from the hit play *Chorus Line* appeared.

This support for gay rights is especially important in light of the right-wing crusade led by singer and orange-juice peddler Anita Bryant. Bryant's "Save Our Children Coalition" mobilized 10,000 people at the Convention Center in Miami Beach May 22 in a show of strength for legalized antigay discrimination.

A Lou Harris survey has estimated that Dade County voters approve of the antidiscrimination law by 62 to 38 percent, but predicted that as few as 15 percent of Miami voters will go to the polls June 7.

The Miami referendum is the first vote on repealing gay rights in a major city. If the right-wing attack is successful here, it may touch off a similar offensive on civil liberties for the nation's 20 million homosexuals in other cities.

Nationwide

By Diane Wang

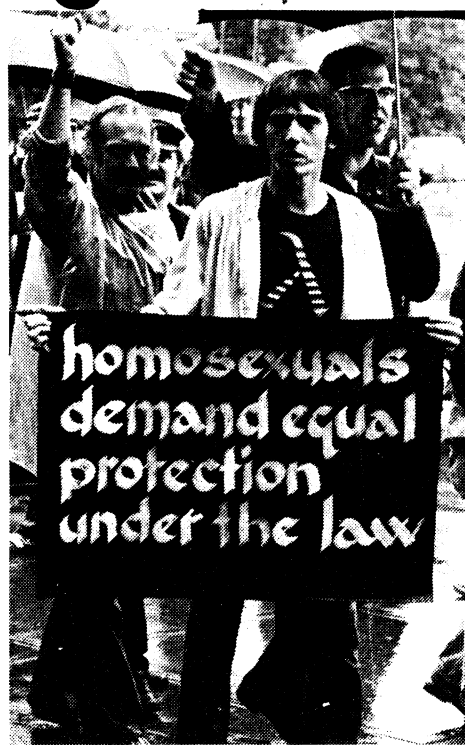
It's not a civil rights issue at all. What's happening is that, in the name of human rights, vice is becoming virtuous.

—Anita Bryant

Many organizations and prominent individuals disagree with Bryant and recognize that civil rights is the issue in Miami's June 7 referendum on gay rights. Among those who have released public statements or commented in telephone interviews with the *Militant* are the following:

Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers, sent a letter to Miami's commissioners and mayor last April 12.

Shanker quoted from a 1970 AFT resolution: ". . . it is the responsibility of trade unions to provide job protection from all forms of discrimination that are not based on performance such as race, color, sex, religion, age, or ethnic origin. . . ."



Militant/John Lauritsen

"As a result," Shanker wrote, "we support legislation such as is currently in effect in Dade County which insures civil rights protection on the basis of sexual orientation and we strongly oppose any attempts to repeal such legislation."

The **National Education Association** also has passed a resolution saying, "The NEA believes that personnel policies and practices must guarantee that no person be employed, retained, paid, dismissed, or demoted because of . . . sexual orientation."

Walter Johnson, president of Local 1100, Retail Clerks, in San Francisco commented:

"I think that individual rights are probably the most important aspect of our country. And the work that we have to do to support gays is really completing the civil rights agenda. . . ."

"We specifically disagree with Anita Bryant because we think she's being very judgmental regarding individual rights, and is substituting her religious feeling over the constitutional rights involved."

Pointing to nondiscrimination clauses in union contracts, Johnson said, "We have a legal obligation to enforce contracts. . . . These aren't just noble thoughts but a responsibility we have as citizens and as union officers."

Ann Gazourian, Florida State legislative coordinator for the National Organization for Women, said, "Why should people be denied a place to live or, particularly, equal job opportunity for a reason that has nothing to do with their ability to perform a job? To us it's obvious. It's an erosion of human rights. . . . If you single out homosexuals and deny them equal opportunity or equal housing or public accommodations, then who's next?"

The Miami chapter of the **Socialist Workers party** released a statement saying:

"Opponents of gay rights are the same forces that oppose school busing, affirmative action, abortion rights, the Equal Rights Amendment, and labor unions. A victory for these reactionaries will embolden their drive in other areas."

"This makes it all the more important for all supporters of democratic rights to stand on the side of human rights for gays."

Political and religious leaders from the Netherlands are placing an ad in the *Miami Herald* June 4:

"Since this is the first time that a referendum is being held in the United States to consider taking away human rights from a significant group we feel compelled to send this message. . . . We wish the Dade County Coalition for Human Rights success on June 7 and hope that all people of conscience will vote against repeal of human rights."

Birchite Rep. bemoans socialist successes

By Diane Wang

Larry McDonald, the John Birch Society leader in Congress, is raging against the lawsuit filed by the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance against government dirty tricks.

McDonald routinely fills the *Congressional Record* with slanders and accusations about supposed "terrorism" and "subversion" by socialist, civil liberties, Puerto Rican, Black, Chicano, and other human rights groups.

Recently he has been fuming because the socialists' \$40 million lawsuit against the FBI and CIA has been so successful. With the FBI under public scrutiny and keeping mum about its crimes, McDonald is acting as a mouthpiece to argue their case.

"The Socialist Workers Party successes have been achieved by a combination of their own aggressiveness and the Government's lack of will to fight," McDonald complains in one article.

He's right about the socialists' aggressiveness in taking on the political police. But McDonald is way off about Washington's passivity. Justice Department attorneys have fought hard for four years, since the lawsuit was filed, to keep the lid on evidence of FBI burglaries, mail openings, wiretaps, and disruption programs.

Despite the government's efforts, however, the socialists have pried thousands of pages from secret FBI files.

The government hasn't lacked a will to fight. It's lacked a case.

Or as SWP leader Larry Seigle put it at the 1976 SWP convention in a report quoted by McDonald: "The government side on the case really does have a morale problem. It's a serious one for them. Our suit and the Justice Department criminal investigation our suit has triggered have done things to them they can't adjust to. They can't adjust to being defendants in their own courts. They don't know how to act, how to argue for their positions openly. It's not one of the things they're trained to do, and historically they've never had to do it."

"Millions are learning the name of the Socialist Workers Party," McDonald quotes Seigle as saying. "And if they don't know anything else about us, they know that this is the party that is standing toe to toe with the FBI. Slugging it out. Not giving an inch. And—to the surprise of millions—we are landing some blows, some heavy blows, against the FBI."

McDonald seems to have felt each blow personally. One that really hurt, apparently, was the attorney general's admission that after thirty-eight years of FBI operations against the SWP the government has no basis for continuing its "investigation" of the socialists. Last fall the FBI was forced to claim that it was calling its informers off the SWP and YSA.

"The inability of the executive branch of the U.S. Government to obtain the secret internal documents of the . . . Socialist Workers Party has

further hindered the Government defense," McDonald moans. (He has more confidence than the socialists do in the FBI claim that it is no longer spying on the SWP.)

Another sore spot for the Georgia Birchite is the international support the lawsuit has won. McDonald quotes greetings to the SWP convention from Alan Jones of the International Marxist Group of Great Britain. And reading McDonald's article, you can picture him sputtering over the message he quotes from Swiss Trotskyists: "We would like to wish you special success in your court case against the imperialist U.S. government. . . ."

McDonald acts as if this worldwide support is a crime. He whines that the FBI must be allowed to "document that collusion" on the lawsuit.

How he must be gnashing his teeth to hear that an appeal has gone out for even more international support. The appeal has been sent to many countries, signed by Nobel Laureate Linus Pauling; Ralph Schoenman, former executive director of the Bertrand Russell Foundation; Dr. Israel Shahak, president of the Israel League for Human and Civil Rights; Noam Chomsky; Gloria Steinem; and Philip Berrigan.

More collusion!

What McDonald finds most offensive, perhaps, is that the socialists openly claim their right to function publicly in this country without the political police spying on and disrupt-

ing their activity. "The SWP has no right to object to surveillance by the law enforcement and intelligence-gathering agencies. . . .," McDonald contends.

He quotes Syd Stapleton, a leader of the SWP and national secretary of the Political Rights Defense Fund, which is organizing support for the lawsuit:

"As Marxists, we know that the ruling class of this country, one of the most bloodthirsty in history, will not peacefully hand over power to a majority who want socialism and oppose capitalist rule. To the contrary, the capitalists will use all methods, including, at a certain stage, backing bands of fascist thugs to try to smash the workers organizations by force. In this final showdown, the only power capable of defeating the armed violence of the rulers will be the independent, organized power of the overwhelming majority, the workers and the oppressed."

"This means that a perspective for seriously defending democratic rights must be one that revolves around strengthening the class consciousness, self-reliance and independent mobilization of the workers. . . ."

"It is in *this* context that we conduct our fight for the rights of the oppressed, and specifically, for the rights of our party."

If McDonald finds such determination to defend democratic rights appalling and the success of the socialist lawsuit a threat—just wait. He hasn't seen anything yet.

World Outlook

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

JUNE 10, 1977

Carter's nuclear policy: what are the real stakes?

By Allen Myers

[The following article appeared in the May 19 issue of *Direct Action*, a revolutionary-socialist weekly published in Sydney, Australia. It has been slightly abridged for reasons of space.]

US President Carter's announcement in early April that the US would not proceed at this time with the development of fast breeder reactors has generally been welcomed as a victory for the anti-nuclear movement.

In combination with other less-publicised measures Carter has announced, however, the decision not to develop fast breeders may well *increase* rather than decrease the environmental dangers.

Reactors

In presenting his energy program to Congress on April 20, Carter made clear that "no fast breeders" does not mean "no nuclear development." On the contrary, he is planning a big increase in the number of uranium-fueled thermal reactors:

"We must . . . increase our capacity to product enriched uranium fuel for light-water nuclear power plants. . . .

"We must also reform the nuclear licensing procedures. . . . I propose that we establish reasonable, objective criteria for licensing, and that plants which are based on a standard design not require extensive individual design study."

In other words, once a "standard" design has been approved, the nuclear industry will be able to turn out nuclear plants almost on an assembly-line basis, with no opportunity for environmentalists to raise objections.

The size of the increase in nuclear capacity being planned is indicated by the fact that Carter proposes to spend nearly US\$5000 million in expanding the country's ability to enrich uranium, which is necessary to convert it into fuel for thermal reactors.

The light-water thermal reactors, with which Carter proposes to dot the landscape, require fuel which has been enriched to increase the proportion of uranium 235 isotopes it contains. In nuclear terms, thermal reactors are relatively inefficient, extracting only about 1 per cent of the energy potentially available from the nuclear fuel. As a result, thermal reactors require large quantities of uranium, and they produce large quantities of highly lethal radioactive waste, consisting of the unused uranium isotopes mixed with plutonium.

How to dispose of this waste is one of the problems which the nuclear industry has been content to leave unsolved while it proceeds to build more nuclear plants. In the United States today, 90 per cent of the spent fuel is stored at reactor sites. It is highly dangerous and will retain its radioactivity for centuries.

Advocates of the fast breeder reactor argue that it is the "answer" to the problems created by thermal reactors. Because it can use uranium 238, it requires much smaller quantities of uranium. (Naturally occurring uranium is more than 99 per cent uranium 238.) This also means that the spent fuel of thermal reactors could be disposed of by using it to fuel fast breeder reactors.

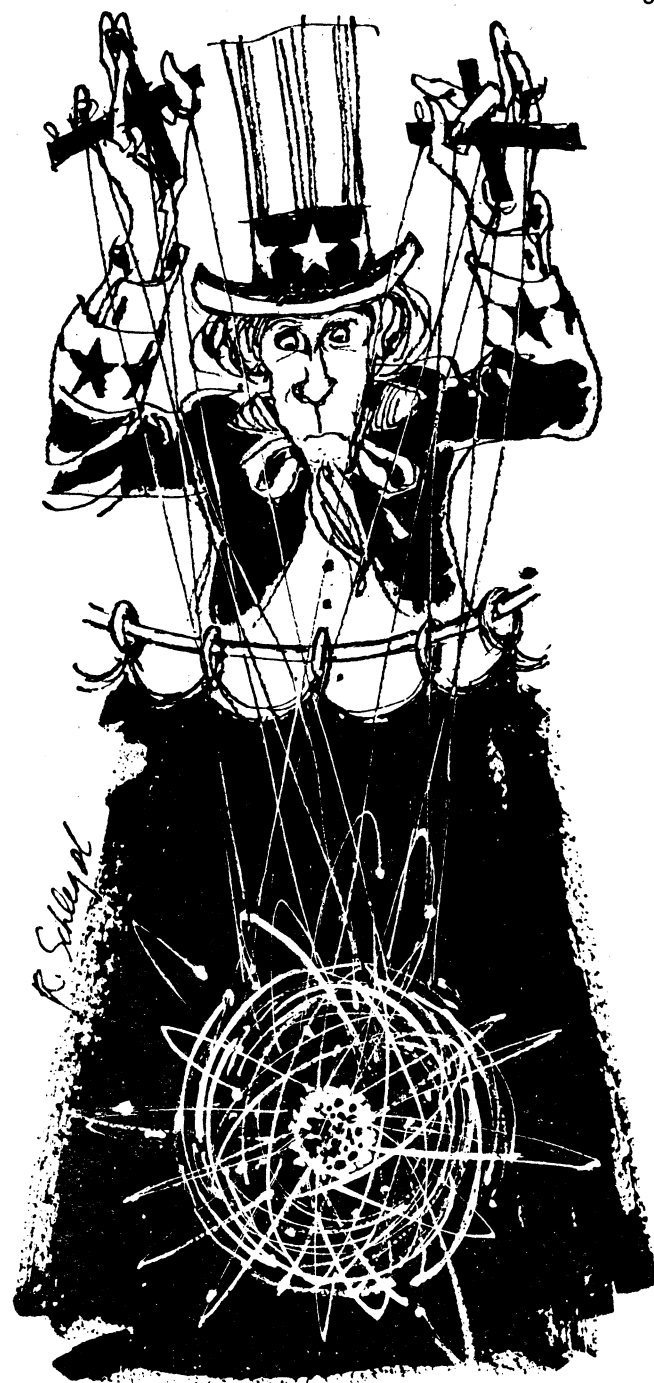
In a fast breeder reactor, plutonium is the main fuel. The economic advantage of fast breeders lies in the fact that they convert uranium 238 into plutonium faster than they consume plutonium. Continued use therefore means a constantly increasing stock of plutonium.

Plutonium is an artificial element, virtually none of it existing in nature. It is one of the most toxic substances known. Minute quantities of it cause cancer. It is also extremely long-lived, having a half-life of 24,400 years. (This is the time that it takes for half of a given quantity of a particular radioactive substance to decay into other less dangerous elements.)

Most of the fears of proliferation of nuclear weapons concentrate on plutonium. Six to nine kilograms, depending on its chemical form, is sufficient to cause a nuclear explosion.

According to the first Fox Report, world stocks of plutonium now amount to several hundred tonnes, almost all of it in atomic bombs. At present, an additional 20 tonnes are produced each year. If fast breeders become widespread, by the year 2000 plutonium production will rise to several hundred tonnes a year.

Fast breeder reactors have an additional disadvantage not possessed by thermal reactors. While the latter are a hazard because of their radioactive waste products and the possibility of an accident causing the release of radioactivity from the reactor core, the uranium used in them is not sufficient-



Ralph Schlegel

ly enriched to cause an atomic explosion. But a fast breeder reactor is in essence a controlled atomic bomb. If the plutonium rods in the core are inadvertently brought too close together, a nuclear explosion could result.

Thus, fast breeder reactors are no answer to the pollution problem caused by thermal reactors. But this fact does not make thermal reactors any more desirable. In rejecting—for now—fast breeder reactors, Carter has not contributed to the solution of the problem. All he has done is to reject one proposed solution as inadequate, while proceeding to multiply the original problem many times over.

The economic motives

Carter did not renounce a "plutonium economy" only on behalf of the United States. He made it clear that the US would exert every pressure on its capitalist competitors to do likewise. If he succeeds, *the US will be given a virtual world monopoly on nuclear fuels.*

Countries like West Germany, France, Great Britain, and Japan which are concentrating on fast breeder technology do not have large supplies of uranium. That is what makes fast breeders attractive for them, since they require much less uranium than do thermal reactors. The US, on the other hand, has the world's largest known reserves of uranium. If its competitors are forced to abandon plutonium reactors, they will greatly increase the demand for uranium in a

market already largely dominated by the US.

The desire to establish a nuclear fuel monopoly undoubtedly explains Washington's interest in the uranium supplies of Australia and Canada. It is not so much a matter of assuring sufficient uranium, as the Carter Administration claims, but rather of making sure there are no breaches in the planned cartel.

Writing in the April 30 *Bulletin*, Sir Phillip Baxter, former head of the Atomic Energy Commission, pointed out some of the economic benefits which the US would reap if Carter succeeds in forcing competitors to switch from fast breeders to thermal reactors:

"The American uranium mining industry . . . will have its prosperity assured into the next century. The Australian and Canadian industries will also benefit to a point. . . ."

The smell of profits

The Australian capitalists concerned and those who represent them politically have not been at all slow to sniff out the profits that might be possible from joining the cartel Carter has in mind.

In this context, the talk from both government and ALP politicians about safeguards to prevent "diversion" of uranium into the production of plutonium is probably a good deal less hypocritical than it would have been a

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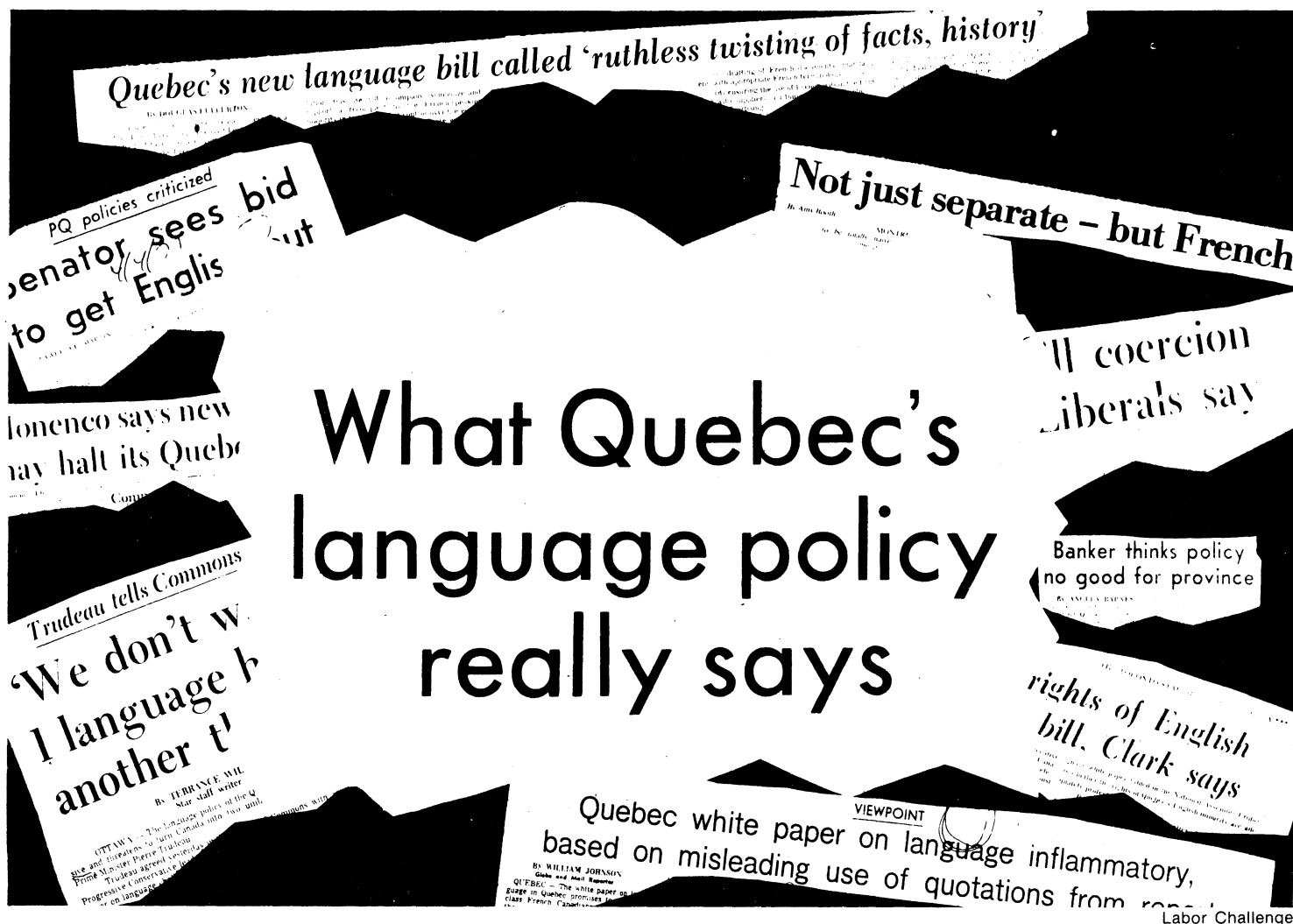
Washington boosts pro-export forces

Australia's Deputy Prime Minister Douglas Anthony went to Washington, D.C., in early May to discuss the implications for his government of Carter's nuclear energy plan.

Anthony's visit marked a turning point for interests in Australia who want to export uranium. Australia has 20-25 percent of the known uranium reserves in the capitalist world.

Mining interests had been prevented from opening the Ranger mine in northern Australia, a major source of new uranium, by an antiexport coalition of labor unions, environmentalists, intellectuals, and the Aborigine movement.

A government study board, however, issued a report May 25 that dealt a blow to foes of uranium export. The report called for beginning operations at Ranger as a step toward developing Australia's reserves.



By Dick Fidler

[The two articles on these pages are taken from the April 25 issue of *Labor Challenge*, a revolutionary-socialist fortnightly published in Toronto, Ontario.]

"Ethno-centric at best, racist at worst." "Brutal, coercive." "Myths and misapprehensions." "Deeply sleazy in its piously stated dishonesty."

Those are just a few of the epithets the English-Canadian press has applied to the Québec government's white paper on language policy.

The white paper is none of these things, as a reading of it shows. It describes in sober, even moving terms the threat facing the national language, culture, and way of life of the Québécois, and offers some modest proposals designed to alleviate the problem.

A central concept—and one that has drawn the most violent attacks from English-Canadian critics—is summed up in the following simple assertions:

"The Québec we want to build will be essentially French. The fact that the majority of its population is French will at last be clearly visible: in work, in communications, in the landscape. . . . The use of French will not be generalized simply to disguise the predominance of foreign powers over the francophones; its use will accompany, symbolize, and favor the reconquest by the francophone majority of Québec of the control it should have over the levers of the economy. . . .

"For the first time in Québec, a law will proclaim that every Québécois has the right to work and be educated in French, to be informed and serviced in French, to express himself in French in any deliberative assembly, to demand that the public administration, health and social services, professional bodies, employees associations, and the various companies communicate with him in French." (All quotations are translated from the original French text.)

That this proposal can be described as "revolutionary," as it was in the English-Canadian media, is a devastating indictment of the way in which the present status of the French language in Québec discriminates against the rights of the French-

speaking majority.

The white paper's essential concern is to promote the use of French in Québec, where more than 80 percent of the population has French as its mother tongue.

English-Canadian critics have fastened on the white paper's rejection of "bilingualism."

"There will no longer be any question of a bilingual Québec," the docu-

ment states. French is to have priority.

Undemocratic? A violation of the rights of Québec's English-speaking population? Not at all.

The English language is not under attack in North America. But the French language is threatened—including in Québec, the homeland of five million francophones. And with it is threatened "not simply a mode of expression, but a social milieu, a way

of life," the white paper points out. It cites many recent studies like the federal Laurendeau-Dunton commission (the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism) and Québec's Gendron commission, which documented this threat very graphically.

There is one overriding reason for this state of affairs. "English is the language of business," the white paper states. As a result, "the higher one rises in the corporate hierarchy, the more one must use English."

Thus, while francophones are under strong pressure to learn English, the anglophones need not and tend not to learn French.

Immigrants naturally prefer to learn English, and are drawn toward integration into the English minority.

"Only when French has truly become the language of work and business will most immigrants understand that it is in their interest to solidarize with the francophone community," the white paper says.

Government-inspired "bilingualism" policies run counter to this goal, it points out. In a society like Québec's, "bilingualism" necessarily means promoting the language of the minority, English, to the detriment of French.

The fundamental error in preceding language legislation like Bill 22 was that it tried to reconcile "two conflicting objectives: Frenchifying Québec, and institutionalizing bilingualism."

What is needed, the white paper argues, is legislation that will create a social milieu in which every resident of Québec is required to understand and use French.

"In stating that in a society like Québec everyone must understand the French language, the government does not intend to prevent anyone from learning or speaking other languages as well. It simply wants to ensure that

Trudeau threatens to overturn law

The federalist assault on Québec's right to self-determination, far from awaiting the promised referendum on independence, is already taking shape in the reaction to the Québec government's white paper on language policy.

The white paper, issued by Cultural Development Minister Camille Laurin on April 1, is the forerunner of a bill that will constitute the first major legislated reform of the new Parti Québécois government.

Prime Minister Trudeau told a news conference April 5 that the federal government might disallow the Québec language law. He refused to discount reports that Ottawa is considering the possibility of challenging the legislation in the courts as unconstitutional, and threatened "that even if there is nothing unconstitutional in the law, the federal government will fight the proposals because of the type of society they espouse," the *Toronto Star* reported.

"Let them live in fear and trembling of my power," Trudeau mocked the Québécois.

Syndicated Ottawa columnist Richard Gwyn reported April 7 that the Liberal cabinet already has debated the possibility of "passing legislation to give Ottawa responsibility, cultural and educational, for all minorities in Canada."

Ottawa, of course, has never evinced much interest in protecting threatened national minorities; the plight of the French-Canadians outside Québec, or of the Native peoples, is proof of that. The real purpose of such legislation would be to protect the existing privileged

status of the English language in Québec.

The Conservative government in Ontario has also announced it is preparing a possible court challenge to the Québec legislation. Government officials in other provinces, including Saskatchewan's NDP Premier Allan Blakeney, have expressed opposition to the Parti Québécois government's moves to protect the French language.

The draft language legislation and the Charter of the French Language that is to accompany it have not yet been introduced, let alone discussed, amended, adopted, or implemented. But the current campaign in English Canada against the white paper is designed to mobilize chauvinist opinion in opposition not just to specific features of the bill, but to the very right of Québec to enact such legislation.

The capitalist politicians, newspaper editors, and businessmen hope to use the weight of English-Canadian chauvinist opinion to terrorize the Québécois and to force major concessions from the Parti Québécois government.

Their ultimate goal is to instill such fear in the Québécois of possible repercussions—including a flight of capital, economic depression, even armed intervention—that they will reject not only these modest proposals to defend the French language, but independence itself.

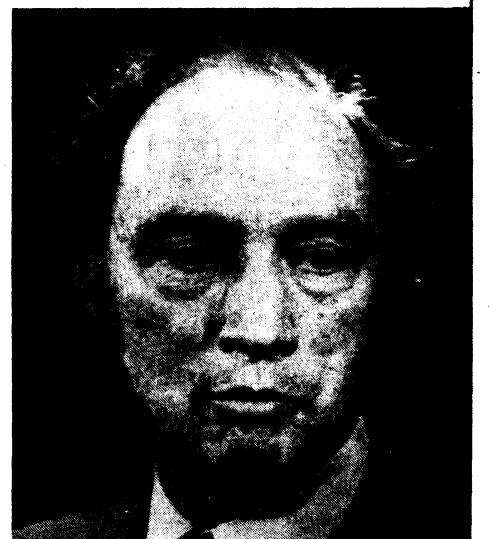
In Québec, the white paper's proposals to promote the use of French have the sympathy of virtually all francophones, as even English-Canadian reporters have

had to acknowledge. (The handful of critics, like *Le Devoir* editor Claude Ryan, have been widely condemned.)

Many leaders of the non-English immigrant communities initially expressed acceptance of the policy outlined in the white paper (which was published in Italian, Greek, and English as well as French). However, under the pressure of the anglophone chauvinists' campaign, some immigrant leaders have subsequently retreated.

To the best of our knowledge, not one English-language newspaper outside Québec has seen fit even to publish the text of the white paper, although they have not hesitated to attack it in the wildest terms, often grossly misrepresenting the contents.

—D.F.



TRUDEAU



Labor Challenge

there is an underlying common means of expression. . . ."

The white paper outlines the key provisions of the legislation that will follow, in such areas as public administration, business and the workplace, and education. Notwithstanding the blast of criticism in English Canada, the proposed measures indicate that the PQ government is bending over backwards to accommodate the English minority, giving them "rights" that don't exist for francophones in the other nine provinces.

French will become increasingly the sole language of public administration. However, laws will be translated into English, transcripts of legal proceedings will be available in English, some services such as health care will be available in other languages, and citizens will be able to communicate with government offices in other languages.

Proposals to create a French environment in business and industry remain very vague. The white paper says that companies with fifty employees or more will have to qualify for a "certificate of francization" by 1983. The certificate would indicate that a satisfactory "French milieu" exists in the firm. But proposed exceptions are numerous.

One of the most conspicuous concessions to anglophone claims that they have special rights is in the white paper's proposal on education policy. For years nationalists and labor organizations have pointed out that the only democratic solution to the schools question lies in establishing a single secular French-language school system. But the PQ's white paper retains the English school system, although it restricts access to such schools to children with at least one parent who was educated in an English school.

This proposal has been widely criticized in Québec.

The underlying premise of the white paper is that by legislating the compulsory use of French in business, education, and government services, the Québécois can win effective control of the key levers of their society.

It is true that greater use of French in corporate operations can increase the number of francophones in administrative and even management posts. But as long as the major corporations that dominate Québec's economic life continue to be owned by non-Québécois, the latter will have the

Union support

Québec's union federations, representing more than 700,000 workers, support the new language proposal.

Fernand Daoust, general secretary of the Québec Federation of Labor (FTQ), said his organization was particularly pleased with the proposal to establish a "French milieu" in companies with more than 100 employees.

Norbert Rodrigue, president of the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN), expressed the hope that the white paper will not be weakened by forthcoming legislation.

Yvon Charbonneau, president of the Québec Teachers Federation (CEQ)—while critical of the proposal's failure to call for a single French-language school system—said its basic principles reflect the views of the CEQ general council.

real decision-making power. Francophones will be little more than branch-plant managers. English will continue to be the language of big business.

That may meet the limited objectives of the Parti Québécois leaders, but it won't satisfy the aspirations of the Québécois workers who elected them to government. Québec's economy will still be distorted by imperialism. And the French language and culture will continue to be threatened by economic pressures.

But the attack on the white paper by the big-business politicians and media in English Canada is directed not at these limitations but at the reforms being proposed. Above all, the anglophone chauvinists challenge the very right of the Québec government to make any moves to redress the colossal injustices of two hundred years of national oppression.

Why are Québécois in their vast majority sympathetic to the goals of the white paper? Is it because they are "racists," "backward," gullible, as the English-Canadian press would have us believe?

On the contrary. It is because the white paper, despite its limitations, speaks to some of the most deeply felt conditions of oppression experienced by the Québécois.

It takes a lot of gall—and more than a pinch of real "ethnocentrism," real racism—to portray the victims of that oppression as the criminals.

'Pravda's' stand on Quebec independence

A May 10 column in *Pravda*, organ of the Communist party of the Soviet Union, condemned the movement for independence in Québec.

Noting that "French Canadians have serious grounds for wanting to improve their situation," *Pravda* nonetheless insists that "all these problems should be solved within the Pan-Canadian framework."

The CP paper says "the multinational corporations of the West, first of all, the U.S. monopolies . . . are trying to play a particularly active role" in stirring up proindependence sentiment in Québec. Of course, the exact opposite is actually the case.

"Canadians who think realistically," *Pravda* proclaims, "cannot help but see the danger that lies in these attempts by foreign forces to interfere in the internal problems of Canada and encourage separatist tendencies."

...Nuclear

Continued from page 19

few years ago. Production of plutonium, the fuel of fast breeder reactors, could undermine the guaranteed market for uranium.

Paul Keating, the shadow minister for minerals and energy, figures that Australia could benefit greatly from Carter's scheme to put West Germany, Britain, and Japan over a barrel. Their dependence on foreign uranium at present gives the uranium suppliers a club with which to keep them dependent indefinitely.

The club is already being wielded with vigor. John Raedler of the *Australian's* New York bureau reported in the paper's April 15 issue that Carter was holding up shipment of 2900 pounds of highly enriched uranium to research institutions and power plants in Japan, Canada, Brazil, South Africa, Bolivia, West Germany, and several other Western European countries. That's the US nuclear industry demonstrating that it means business.

Second thoughts

But Carter's proposals have not been met with unmixed joy by Australian uranium mining corporations.

"The most pessimistic interpretation of President Carter's plan," Robert Milliken wrote in the May 9-14 *National Times*, "has come from George MacKay, who is managing director of Electrolytic Zinc, one of the partners in the Ranger Project, as well as chairman of the Uranium Producers Forum."

This pessimism is based on the fear that Carter's plan may not succeed, leaving Australian uranium producers in an unprofitable alliance with the losing side.

"MacKay estimated," Milliken explained, "that some of Australia's potential market could be lost if the US extracted an agreement from Australia not to sell to reprocessing countries. This is based on the fact that Western Europe and, to a lesser extent, Japan show no sign of falling into line with the US proposals."

It is difficult at this point to foresee the outcome of the developing struggle between the US and Western European and Japanese nuclear industries, particularly since this field is shrouded in secrecy and complicated by international political factors.

A US victory in the contest seems anything but assured. And even if such a victory is achieved, it might not prove to be an unmixed blessing for allies of the US nuclear industry.

If Carter's scenario becomes a reality, the countries wanting to buy nuclear fuel will be confronted by a single seller. But it could also mean that countries wanting to sell the product of their uranium mines—such as Australia—will find that there is only a single buyer.

Problem of proliferation

It is almost impossible to find an article in the Australian capitalist press which does not describe Carter's nuclear policy as being motivated by the desire to prevent proliferation of atomic weapons beyond the present members of the "nuclear club." Even Milliken, whose article is concerned almost exclusively with the economic ramifications, mentions, as though it were something universally understood and unquestionable, that Carter is "seeking to minimise the proliferation of nuclear explosives."

But while it is undoubtedly true that US imperialism would not be particularly happy about a situation in which 20 or 30 states have the ability to set off a nuclear war before the imperialists have decided it is necessary, Carter's new policy cannot have been particularly motivated by this concern, if only because it will do little or nothing to stop proliferation. This is so because most of the countries which have the technology to construct atomic bombs would not require plutonium from breeder reactors in order to do so. In his *Bulletin* article, Phillip Baxter pointed out:

"Outside the Iron Curtain there are some 15 countries which may have the industrial and technological sophistication to produce a few atomic weapons should they so decide. Years ago they might have attempted this, using plutonium produced in a power reactor, which would have had to be run in an uneconomic and unconcealable way. Today there is a simpler, cheaper and more direct way, via the gas centrifuge, which does not require reactors or nuclear power. Most of these countries could develop, quite unaided, as Australia has done, and in the space of a few years, know-how for facilities to make a Hiroshima-type bomb. Only about five tonnes of uranium are required for one weapon and most of these countries have such supplies within their command."

Carter's talk of preventing proliferation can therefore be dismissed for what it is—an attempt to enlist the widespread and justified fear of nuclear war in support of his efforts to establish a monopoly for the US nuclear industry.

Profits above all

Similarly, Carter's plans to multiply the number of dangerous thermal reactors is sufficient evidence that his present opposition to breeder reactors has nothing to do with safety considerations.

What is uppermost in the minds of the US President, and in the minds of his counterparts in other countries concerned, is the profits of their countries' industries.

The more we look into the past, present, and planned use of both thermal and plutonium reactors, the more obvious it becomes that profit has been and will be the overriding consideration.

There is no evidence to suggest that capitalists who build or operate nuclear reactors are any more inclined to put safety before profits than are the capitalists who make death-trap motor cars or pump poisons into our air and water. For them, profits are more important than anything.

Thermal and fast breeder reactors both pile up long-lasting, highly toxic wastes for which there is no known means of disposal. Even if there were no possibility of an accident to a reactor causing a sudden release of quantities of radioactivity, this consideration alone would justify banning nuclear power.

Both types of reactors are too dangerous to permit their continued use by the capitalists or their governments. All of us who are more interested in preserving a habitable environment than in guaranteeing the profits of corporations should redouble our efforts to demand a complete ban on nuclear power development.

FULL EQUALITY NOW

National Student Coalition Against Racism urges mass action to defend Black rights



May 17, 1975, probusing march in Boston

Militant/Cindy Jaquith

What is behind the growing attacks on Black rights today?

Where will the forces come from that are needed to halt these attacks?

How can the Black movement best organize to fight back?

These questions are answered in the statement of the National Student Coalition Against Racism, Full Equality Now, printed below.

At its April southern steering committee meeting, NSCAR decided to launch a broad-ranging discussion within the Black movement. "Every single gain we've made over the past twenty-odd years of struggle is being called into question," said NSCAR national staff coordinator James Harris.

"School desegregation and busing. Jobs. Housing. Women's rights. All are being threatened.

"At the same time," Harris added, "we see more and more racist frame-ups, the revival of the death penalty, deportation of undocumented workers, and continued U.S. backing for the racist regime in South Africa.

"Taken as a whole," said Harris, "it's a full-scale war on Black Americans."

Harris said that NSCAR plans to distribute the statement to national conventions of Black and civil rights organizations, to Black women's and students'

groups, and to trade-union civil rights committees and Black caucuses.

"We're also encouraging the Black community press and other Black media to publish the statement and make editorial comments on it," he said.

"We hope to generate a serious discussion across the country on our proposal. That kind of discussion is urgently needed to prepare for the next step—action in defense of Black rights."

NSCAR also plans to continue its activities against U.S. complicity with southern Africa's white-minority regimes and against Carter's planned crack-down on undocumented immigrants. In addition, NSCAR activists will be fighting to defend affirmative-action programs, school desegregation, frame-up victims, and women's rights.

"Pickets, marches, rallies, and teach-ins around these issues are important," Harris said.

"As a student organization we recognize the limits of our power. That's why we're addressing this statement to the entire Black movement.

"But we also recognize," Harris added, "that by the example of our action, we help pave the way for the type of movement this statement says is essential—a mass movement of the Black community for full equality now."

—John Hawkins

Black communities across this country face a severe and worsening crisis. Beginning with the 1974-75 recession our standard of living and rights have come under attack on all sides.

Though no individual or family in our communities has been exempt from the impact of this crisis, few of us have personally felt every blow.

The overall effect is staggering:

- **Unemployment.** Despite the economic recovery, well into its second year, unemployment among Blacks and other racial minorities remains twice that of whites. Among Black

adults unemployment stands officially at 13 percent; among Black youth at more than 35 percent. And among Black women—where the unemployment rate is equal to that during the recession—unemployment is climbing not falling.

- **Affirmative-action.** Discriminatory layoffs on a "last hired, first fired" basis began, even before the recession, to undermine affirmative-action programs. The employers and the government, with the cooperation of the union bureaucracy, are now

launching an offensive to dismantle them.

The false charge of "reverse discrimination" has become the watchword of affirmative-action opponents. The California State Supreme Court's Bakke decision, scheduled for review by the U.S. Supreme Court in October, overturned a minority-admissions program at the University of California Davis medical school on the basis of the "reverse discrimination" argument. This decision threatens affirmative-action programs in both education and employment.

Already state and federal judges have overturned affirmative-action programs in the construction trades in New York City.

- **School desegregation.** More than twenty years after the Supreme Court declared school desegregation the law of the land, Black students still attend inferior, segregated schools.

Attorney General Griffin Bell now argues that massive school busing to achieve desegregation can be ordered only if *intent* to segregate by school and government officials can be proved.

Bell's new reading of the law has prompted judges to issue more conservative desegregation orders. It has encouraged racist opponents of busing to resist desegregation and to seek to overturn existing plans.

The Justice Department itself has carried out Bell's new guidelines in its interventions in the Wilmington, Delaware case, and the Indianapolis case, and will undoubtedly do so in others.

- **Housing.** Since the passage of the 1968 Fair Housing Act greater numbers of Blacks and other minorities have tried to take advantage of the chance to move to newer homes—more often than not in predominantly white neighborhoods. But prospective Black renters and home buyers face a network of discriminatory practices, because open housing is still not the law of the land.

The fight to make open housing the law received a severe setback earlier this year at the hands of the Supreme Court. The Court's Arlington Heights decision virtually legalized racial discrimination in housing.

Nor do Blacks and other minorities find buying or repairing homes in our current neighborhoods easier. Redlining by banks and other lending agencies cuts off the mortgages and loans necessary to do so.

- **Women's rights.** Black and other minority women are not only under the most fierce attack on the economic front. Their rights as women—to equal treatment before the law and freedom of choice in child bearing—are under attack also.

The Hyde amendment, barring the use of Medicaid funds for abortions, hits hardest at minority women. The Supreme Court's December decision that maternity benefits need not be covered by employers' health insurance programs hits working women—thus the bulk of minority women—hardest. And minority women are still the most likely to be forced to submit to unwanted sterilization.

- **Deportations.** Undocumented workers find themselves under growing threat of deportation, as the government seeks a scape-goat for still rampant unemployment and other aspects of the current social crisis. This government offensive against so-called illegal aliens threatens all working people in this country.

Establishing a system of "counterfeit-proof identification cards" would provide the government a ready-made black-list of civil rights, labor, women's rights, and radical activists.

Dragnets through the nation's ghettos in search of "illegal aliens" for deportation threaten every person of color. Immigration and Naturalization Service police in the Southwest currently can round-up anyone who "looks Mexican." When the crack-down begins in earnest against Haitians, West Indians, Dominicans, and other Central Americans more and more Blacks and Puerto Ricans will become subject to harassment and abuse.

- **Frame-ups, assassinations, cop brutality.** New names are added almost daily to the long list of victims of racist frame-ups. Gary Tyler, the Wilmington Ten, Delbert Tibbs, Assata Shakur, Dennis Banks, Skyhorse and Mohawk, the 5 Puerto Rican Nationalists are only a few of the best known victims.

At the same time that Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Native American, and Asian-American activists are

being framed-up, the assassinations of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King have yet to be seriously investigated.

Meanwhile a new wave of police brutality and government repression—crowned by the revival of the death penalty—is sweeping minority communities nationwide. Racist terror is also resurging, organized by right wing gangs like the Ku Klux Klan.

• **South Africa.** At the same time that our rights are under attack at home, our government is propping up directly and indirectly white minority rule in South Africa, Namibia, and Zimbabwe (Rhodesia).

Despite Carter's many pious pronouncements concerning human rights, he's spoken not one word on the plight of political prisoners in southern Africa.

The crisis confronting the Black community today stems from the employers' drive against the standard of living of the American working people. Central to their strategy is the age old game of divide and rule. They aim to force Blacks and other minorities to bear the brunt of this assault.

The top officialdom of the labor movement has gone along with this offensive against the living standards and rights of Blacks. They have abdicated their responsibility, thereby, to a large section of their unions' memberships. They have also abandoned labor's responsibility to champion and defend the rights of all oppressed sectors of society.

These attacks have largely gone unanswered by the major civil rights organizations. Their strategy of lobbying Congress, electing Democrats to office, and filing suits in court has reached a dead-end.

Where Black organizations have applied a more militant strategy, however, they have begun to make a significant impact. The May 17, 1975 pro-busing March on Boston called by the NAACP is a good example of the type of power such an orientation can wield.

The action of students at the University of California at Berkeley protesting the Bakke decision is another example. The many protests against the U.S. role in southern Africa, which employed the same method of direct action, are good examples.

Equally important is the current drive to unionize southern industry. Black workers have already played a significant role in this drive. Further success depends directly on broadening that role and enlisting the active aid of a mobilized Black movement.

Undoubtedly many more examples could be mentioned.

What is needed now is to generalize these actions, draw them together in a cohesive, coordinated movement to defend and extend our rights. The Black movement—from the major civil

rights organizations to the Black union caucuses, Black women's organizations, community groups, student groups, and all supporters of our rights—must launch a national campaign for: **FULL EQUALITY NOW!**

This national campaign must focus on key issues of concern to the Black community: jobs, affirmative-action, school desegregation, housing, women's rights, police brutality, the death penalty, and southern Africa.

Defense of school busing must be a top priority. We must demand full school desegregation nationwide. This means 100 percent support to bilingual education for non-English speaking youth and bicultural education for all our children. We have the right to know the true roots of our history.

We must also demand that the government use all necessary force to ensure that our rights are protected and enforced.

Such a campaign should include rallies, picket lines, marches, educational conferences, speak-outs and other forms of visible protest action. These activities should be organized to involve our allies: trade unionists, students, women and other racial minorities.

The best way to organize such a campaign would be through a national conference of the Black movement, called by the major civil rights organizations such as the NAACP, SCLC, CBTU, Urban League, the Black student and women's organizations, and Black trade union caucuses. Only such a broadly sponsored conference would have the necessary authority to plan and coordinate a nationwide counteroffensive. It could give needed impetus to local struggles and initiate national actions such as a March on Washington for Full Equality Now!

The many years of powerful mobilizations of the civil rights movement—involving local and national Black organizations—buried Jim Crow segregation in the South and forced enactment of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the 1965 Voting Rights Act, and the 1968 Fair Housing Act.

The Black revolts that swept the nation's ghettos during the mid-1960s also forced the government to grant sweeping concessions.

The success of the civil rights movement was grounded in the strategy it employed—direct action and self-reliance. This strategy is what we need today. A national conference of the Black movement, determined to implement this strategy, could begin organizing the type of powerful counter-offensive needed to defend the gains we've won and press on to win new ones.

Beginning to organize this counteroffensive is the challenge facing the leadership of the Black movement today.

Civil rights panel hits L.A. school board

By Joanie Quinn

LOS ANGELES—In a 252-page report issued May 26, the U.S. Civil Rights Commission denounced the Los Angeles school board's decade-long "resistance to desegregation."

The commission report, entitled "A Generation Deprived," called the board members' past refusal to desegregate the schools and their current sponsorship of a phony desegregation plan violations of their oath to uphold the Constitution.

The commission accused the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare of failure to enforce civil rights laws by continuing to fund the segregated school system.

HEW is required to "seek termination of federal funding" to any school district that does not comply with federal law.

The commission also accused state School Supt. Wilson Riles and the state board of education of violating federal laws by "distributing federal funds to a segregated school system."

Moreover, the commission flatly rejected the Los Angeles school board's claim that its proposed "integrated learning centers" would do anything to bring equal education to Black and Chicano students.

Such centers are at the heart of the school board's current plan. This phony plan seeks to avoid busing to achieve real desegregation by substituting yearly nine-week integrated field trips encompassing only fourth- and fifth-graders. Even this do-nothing

scheme would touch only 93 of the district's 264 heavily segregated elementary schools.

The report labeled the board plan "constitutionally deficient." The plan, the report charges, "neither eliminates nor begins to eliminate segregated schools or the harm that has resulted from the segregated school system."

In a cover letter to President Carter, the commission said the criticisms it made of the school board are "applicable to other communities which will be desegregating their schools."

The commission's report was obviously upsetting to supporters of the board's "integration" plan. Board President Julian Nava labeled the report "at best imprecise and at worst insulting and grossly inaccurate." Nava asserted that it "was not worthy of a college senior's term paper."

Superior Court Judge Paul Egly, who is conducting hearings on the board's plan, promised not to read the commission document until the hearings ended. He says he does not want to be unduly influenced by the commission's findings. Egly is a partisan of the board's contention that it need only devise a "reasonably feasible" plan.

To supporters of desegregation, the report cuts through some of the malarkey heard in the courtroom debate.

Particularly appreciated was the declaration by the civil rights commission that "it is not necessary to evaluate whether or not the board's plan is reasonably feasible because it is not a desegregation plan at all."

Louisville socialists: 'long on enthusiasm'

By Nancy Cole

LOUISVILLE—A front-page story in the May 17 *Louisville Times*, this city's afternoon daily, was headlined "Louisville leftists."

"They may be short on numbers, but they're long on enthusiasm," the subtitle declared.

The story by staff writer Judy Rosenfield began: "It is a muggy Friday afternoon at Village West apartments. Kathy Murphy, 20, a small, blonde college student and Socialist, is going door to door, stepping around playing children, talking earnestly over music from radios."

"Have you ever seen *The Militant*?" she asks, holding out a copy of the Socialist Workers Party newspaper.

"It's all about women's rights and black people's rights and struggles all around the world. . . ."

"She sells a dozen papers for 35 cents each in less than an hour."

"And a lot of people don't even ask the price."

Rosenfield goes on to describe some other left-wing groups in Louisville: Communist party, Revolutionary Communist party, Burning Spear Support Committee, and Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee.

The number of people involved in these groups is small, Rosenfield says. "But it is probably greater than at any time in the past 30 years, according to Anne Braden, a leftist activist in Louisville since the 1940s."

The desire to give support to school desegregation was a central reason for organizing a branch of the Socialist Workers party last September, the story explains.

In a city where busing for school desegregation has been under severe attack by racists for some time, the

SWP emerges from Rosenfield's account as the only socialist group here to make defense of busing a major focus of its activities.

The RCP and Burning Spear, she notes, even oppose busing.

"We felt the point was not just desegregation, but all black rights," an SWP spokesperson is quoted as saying.

The SWP "regularly sells its newspaper, *The Militant*, mostly at sites in western Louisville and at local plant gates," the story continues.

"Its message will be spread in two new ways soon. The branch intends to open a bookstore and office next month at 15th Street and Broadway. And Ms. [Debby] Tarnopol plans to launch her campaign for mayor in late June."

It is a point probably not lost on *Times* readers. The SWP will be the only left group with a storefront headquarters and bookstore in Louisville. It is the only socialist party planning to run a mayoral campaign. The SWP plans to make itself and its ideas known, and it plans to grow.

The *Times* story was the first public announcement of Tarnopol's campaign for mayor. When she went to her job the next day at an educational research center, the director—a Black man—called her into his office.

"I was a little worried at first," she told the *Militant*. "But then he told me that he thought the other candidates were going to make their opposition to busing a major issue in the mayoral campaign."

"I told him the SWP planned to make defense of busing a major issue in our campaign."

"Then he asked who to make the check out to. And I walked away with our first campaign contribution—\$50."

Join the fight against racism

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How can teachers defend education, jobs, union rights?



Cincinnati teachers and supporters at demonstration sponsored by Citizens for Responsible Education

Militant/Dick Roberts

Cincinnati: community support is key

By Bill Scheer

CINCINNATI—In a four-week strike, the teachers of Cincinnati fought the school board to a standstill and won a contract.

It was the first successful teachers' strike here, and the first contract recognizing the Cincinnati Federation of Teachers as the bargaining agent. The CFT defeated the Cincinnati Teachers Association in a representation election last December.

The three-year contract gives teachers an immediate 6 percent raise, with a possible 3 percent more if the board gets more money. A number of smaller concessions were also won, and the contract allows for further negotiations on several items next year.

The strike was significant in many respects. The labor movement of Cincinnati, traditionally weak and on the defensive, witnessed an impressive show of militancy and organization.

The CFT organized active community and labor support, held frequent mobilizations of its membership, used large picket lines and "flying squads" of pickets, and printed a daily strike bulletin to counter the board's lies.

The lack of public support for the school board was largely responsible for preventing it from getting a "back to work" injunction until three weeks into the strike.

Although more could have been done, and much labor, community, and student support went untapped, hundreds of people actively helped the strikers.

The most significant support group

to emerge was the Citizens for Responsible Education.

The CRE involved hundreds of people in picketing, petitioning, letter writing, and phone calling. It helped mobilize 300 angry parents at a school board meeting to denounce the board for forcing the strike.

A joint CFT-CRE march and rally drew 600 parents and teachers.

Renee Lumpkin, chairperson of the CRE, told the *Militant* she supported the strike because the union was "fighting for quality education and the rights of our children." Participating in the CRE, she said, has made her "more aware of how the school system is run and how it should be run—by parents and teachers, not corporation lawyers."

Lumpkin doesn't believe the school board's claim that there is "no money." She noted that the board is squandering money to circumvent school desegregation.

"The labor movement is watching you closely," said William Sheehan to a teachers rally early in the strike, "and we like what we see." Sheehan is the executive secretary of the Cincinnati AFL-CIO Labor Council.

Unfortunately, the labor tops did little more than watch, except to maneuver behind the scenes to pressure the teachers to settle. The lack of active labor support was an important reason why the CFT didn't win its most significant nonmonetary demands, including a class-size maximum.

As the ink on the contract was drying, the board threw the union a serious new challenge. The school board took advantage of a loophole in the contract to suspend and prepare to fire four teachers for strike-related incidents.

One of those suspended, Rick Mitts, is "guilty" of being hit on the picket

line by a scab's car. After Mitts filed charges against the scab for vehicular assault, the board went after him.

Mitts is charged with striking, encouraging others to strike, using "abusive language" to scabs, and blocking the flow of traffic while picketing. The charges against the other three teachers are similar.

"This is an attack on the whole union and everyone who walked the picket line," said Mitts.

For the first few days after the suspensions, angry teachers threatened walk-outs and work stoppages. A membership meeting of about 200 was held to organize defense of the victimized teachers.

At the most recent school board meeting, Renee Lumpkin read a statement from the CRE demanding that the board "bury the hatchet, end the suspensions, and drop the charges" against the teachers.

In the course of this strike a number of young, militant teachers demonstrated their capacity as leaders on the picket line. Many of them felt the union could have won more.

The union must now turn to defending teachers against the school board reprisals. This task is crucial if the union is to strengthen itself in preparation for the coming battles.

Kansas City: board presses attack on union

By Michael Laird

KANSAS CITY, Mo.—Members of the Kansas City Federation of

Teachers returned to work here May 9, ending a strike that began March 21. The teachers decided to end the strike in compliance with a local court order.

After teachers returned to work with only minor gains, the school board and courts have continued to press their offensive to demoralize the teachers and smash their union.

The school board has announced it will fire twenty or more tenured teachers for as yet unspecified acts they are alleged to have committed during the strike.

A special prosecutor plans to prosecute 120 teachers for disobeying court orders against picketing. He is also pressing charges against the union for failing to comply with earlier court orders to end the strike.

The court order that ended the strike required the school board to rehire the teachers and other employees it fired and prohibited reprisals against striking teachers, except those found guilty of violent acts. These provisions were quickly overturned by a state appeals court.

The union is now at the mercy of the courts. Teachers and unionism in Kansas City have suffered a serious setback.

It is unlikely that the union could bring the teachers back out on strike to fight this assault. When the strike ended, the board had succeeded in opening school for all but about 10,000 of the district's 51,000 students. Only about 20 percent of the teachers were honoring the strike.

The board fired 500 nontenured teachers and then told them they would only be rehired if they crossed the lines. This tactic frightened many teachers into returning to work.

The board received the full cooperation of the courts in its union-busting efforts. Hundreds of teachers were arrested. Threats of legal action were made against all teachers who walked picket lines.

Some of the teachers were tried for contempt of court for picketing. Seven of them chose to go to jail for fifteen days rather than go back to work. But under the threat of being fired, jailed, or fined, many others returned to work.

The most serious weakness of the strike was the failure of the union to actively seek the support of the community and other labor unions.

The union sent a representative to a meeting in the Black community sponsored by Operation PUSH, but it failed to encourage union teachers to help at "Freedom Schools" set up in the community.

The union carried out no mass educational campaign. It aimed its rallies at union members only.

The courts also helped in isolating teachers from potential supporters. An unconstitutional restraining order was issued prohibiting statements of support to the strike from "outsiders!"

There were two demonstrations in support of the teachers built with participation of the Central Labor Council and various unions. About 2,000 people turned out for each rally. But the numbers would have been larger if they had not been held on weekday mornings when most working people could not attend.

The union made a serious error in its position on a sales-tax referendum. It tried to use support for the sales tax as a bargaining chip in its negotiations with the board, threatening to defeat the tax with the help of organized labor if the board did not give the union fair treatment. The union changed its position three times and ended up supporting the tax.

A principled opposition to the sales tax—explaining that funds for education should come from the war budget and corporate profits—would have gained the sympathy of large numbers of working people, who are tired of the unjust tax burden they are forced to carry.

Although Kansas City teachers have experienced a serious setback, the school board did not accomplish its goal of smashing the union. The tasks

facing the union now are to draw the lessons of the strike; to regain the confidence, loyalty, and support of all the teachers; and to develop a strong alliance with the community and other unions.

This is what it will take to defeat the continuing attack from the school board and the courts, and build a union that can defend public education in Kansas City.

Louisiana: 15,000 rally for contract

By Joel Aber

BATON ROUGE, La.—Fifteen thousand teachers massed at the state capitol building here May 19 to demand a salary increase from the state legislature.

WDSU-TV in New Orleans called it "probably the biggest demonstration ever" to take place in Baton Rouge. More than one-third of the state's 40,000 teachers participated. All schools in the state were closed that day by order of Gov. Edwin Edwards.

When the Louisiana Teachers Association (LTA) first called the rally five days earlier, no mention was made of the words "strike" or "walkout." But the state's refusal to raise salaries over the past three years had made teachers so angry that they were ready to walk out.

The LTA call for a "representative rally" to "lobby" the legislators sparked momentum toward a state-wide one-day teachers' strike.

Although not affiliated with the LTA, the 4,000-strong United Teachers of New Orleans threw its forces into building the action. In neighboring St. Bernard Parish, a poll showed 87

Joel Aber is a member of the United Teachers of New Orleans. He is the Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor of New Orleans.

percent of teachers in favor of walking out.

School boards in Lafayette and Lake Charles acceded to teacher demands to shut schools May 19.

On May 17, Governor Edwards declared May 19 a special state holiday. He said school superintendents feared that children might show up at schools where there were no teachers.

The roads to Baton Rouge were clogged for miles with chartered buses and cars as teachers converged on the capital city from across the state. Thousands of teachers were still arriving when the hour-long rally had ended.

LTA President Steve Stephens had urged the demonstrators not to bring picket signs and not to boo the legislators. But hundreds of signs and banners were waving.

A huge banner reading "Louisiana Federation of Teachers AFL-CIO" was unfurled atop the state capitol, a hundred feet above the crowd.

Calling for a \$1,500 across-the-board pay raise, Stephens introduced the Democratic governor to the crowd as "our friend."

Edwards said he hoped the funds for a salary hike could be found, but he made no commitment. His speech was greeted with some boos, some polite applause, but mostly indifference.

Last year and the year before, the teachers had heard similar vague statements from Edwards, but he and the legislature had failed to deliver.

As soon as Edwards finished speaking, teachers began to leave the capitol grounds. Many were disappointed in the governor's statement, but confident that their massive numbers in Baton

Rouge had not gone unnoticed.

Teacher unionists are up against a major offensive by big business. The Louisiana Association of Business and Industry spent \$2 million last year pushing an antiunion "right to work" law. The open-shop bill was passed by the Democratic-controlled legislature and promptly signed by Edwards.

This year the business association has announced that the first priority of its lobbying war chest is "reform" of public education.

A whole slew of antiteacher bills is before the legislature, including attacks on tenure and bills aimed at holding individual teachers responsible for the failure of public education.

In New Orleans, the contract of the United Teachers of New Orleans has expired and the Orleans Parish School Board is refusing to come up with more money for the school system.

The UTNO is one of the only two teacher locals in the state that have had binding contracts. Now it seems likely the UTNO will have to strike to win an acceptable new agreement.

Growing numbers of teachers are drawing the conclusion that we must be willing to strike and fight for union contracts throughout the state. And we must depend on our own strength, not the phony promises of elected officials on the school boards or in the governor's mansion.

Milwaukee: was teacher strike racist?

By Tony Prince

MILWAUKEE—During the recent teachers' strike, charges of racism were raised against the Milwaukee Teachers Education Association (MTEA). Many supporters of school desegregation and Black rights asked whether this was a racist strike and whether the MTEA should be supported.

A group of Black teachers in the MTEA, the Black Teachers Caucus, branded the MTEA as racist and crossed the picket lines. Their major demands were for an affirmative-action hiring program, greater Black representation on the MTEA executive board, and strengthening the MTEA faculty desegregation plan.

The Milwaukee teachers' strike was not aimed at overturning school desegregation, however. Its purpose was to defend teachers against a school board campaign to "restore management rights."

One board proposal included provi-

Tony Prince is a member of the Milwaukee Teachers Education Association. This article is based on a talk he gave at the Milwaukee Militant Forum May 13 on "The Teachers' Strike and the Black Community: What Are the Issues?"

sions to eliminate class-size limits from the contract.

The board proposed to eliminate the nonrecrimination clause from the contract, which would have enabled it to victimize militant teachers.

It also successfully pushed for lengthening the school day by ten minutes with no corresponding increase in pay.

Some of the board's attacks on teachers were presented as necessary for the desegregation of the schools. This was true of its proposal for the staffing of specialty schools.

In what is essentially a variation of the ineffective "magnet" school idea, many Milwaukee schools are scheduled to become specialized in one field or another in September. These specialty schools are, in theory, supposed to attract an integrated student body from the entire city and promote voluntary desegregation.

Under the pretense of finding the most qualified personnel and desegregating the staff, the board proposed to remove all teachers in a specialty school and make them compete with the rest of the teachers in the system to get their jobs back, regardless of seniority.

Seniority

Seniority has often been used to uphold discrimination against Black and other minority teachers—the last hired and first fired. Seniority systems should be modified by the unions so they do not allow discriminatory layoffs of minority teachers or otherwise block the educational needs and rights of minority communities.

But the aims of the Milwaukee school board had nothing to do with fighting discrimination. The board was out to wreck seniority—period—so as to have a free hand to transfer and fire any teachers it chose.

If the board's proposal had gone through, it would inevitably have been used to victimize militant or outspoken teachers—including many Black teachers.

The board's sudden professed concern for desegregation is pure hypocrisy. The board has maneuvered for more than a decade to prevent desegregation. Even now, it is appealing to the Supreme Court to avoid implementing any serious desegregation plan.

The school board and the Black Teachers Caucus demanded that teachers live in the city of Milwaukee. They argued that this would make teachers more committed to the concerns of inner-city residents and that the city's tax base would not decline so sharply if teachers had to live in Milwaukee.

Both of these arguments are false.

The measure of teachers' concern for Black rights does not have any necessary connection with where they live. And the solution to the declining tax base of the cities is not to increase the tax on working people, but to tax the corporations and the banks, the real centers of wealth.

The Black Teachers Caucus did advance demands that would result in real gains for desegregation and for Black teachers.

Affirmative action

It demanded that the MTEA push for an affirmative-action hiring plan to increase the number of Black teachers. Only a little more than 10 percent of Milwaukee teachers are Black, while the student population is 40 percent Black. The caucus said that three out of every five newly hired teachers should be Black, until the staff is one-third Black.

The caucus called for greater Black representation on the MTEA executive board.

It correctly criticized the MTEA faculty desegregation plan, which has been approved by the court. The MTEA plan is completely voluntary and might not be completed for years, if ever. A mandatory backup plan is needed.

The demands of the caucus ought to be supported by all teachers. They are necessary steps to end discrimination and overcome the effects of past discrimination.

Black and white teachers can only be united in a strong union on the basis of an uncompromising stand against racial discrimination. The MTEA leadership's failure to take such a stand is fundamentally responsible for the divisions that appeared during the strike.

The decision by the Black Teachers Caucus to cross the picket lines was a grave error, however. It did nothing to advance its demands or the interests of Black teachers.

By going into the schools, caucus members were saying, whether intentionally or not, that they were unconcerned with teachers' rights, or else that they sided with the board's offensive against teachers.

Class size, union rights, and the other issues raised by the board's attacks are important for both Black and white teachers. The majority of Blacks in the union knew this and supported the strike.

Win the ranks

Crossing the picket lines only isolated the caucus from the majority of Black teachers and from white supporters of Black rights within the union.

A better strategy would have been to win the rank and file to the Black Teachers Caucus's proposals. Then it would have been possible to force the leadership to change its policies—or, failing that, to replace the union leadership.

White teachers *can* be won to support the rights of minorities. They can be taught in struggle that unless the labor movement becomes an aggressive campaigner for minority rights, it will find itself cut off and isolated in the face of growing assaults by big business.

Some teachers unions, such as the United Federation of Teachers in New York City, have followed such openly racist policies that very few teachers from oppressed minorities join them.

The UFT leadership has crippled that union's ability to win community support or speak with any authority in defense of education.

Once white teachers realize they must unite with the community—especially the communities of the oppressed minorities, who bear the brunt of the attack on public education—they will look at issues such as desegregation and affirmative action in a different light.

Blacks and their supporters in the MTEA can do much to further this process. The possibilities for forming a prodesegregation committee in the MTEA are good. Such a committee could fight within the union for desegregation, Black rights, and bilingual-bicultural education.

Rather than cutting itself off from the rest of the union membership, the Black Teachers Caucus should be a part of this process.



Milwaukee picket line. Majority of Black teachers supported strike.

BUSING: TWO VIEWS

The Battle of Boston by Jon Hillson. Introduction by Robert Allen. New York: Pathfinder Press, 1977. 286 pp. \$3.95.

Boston—liberal conscience of the nation. Some call it "The Hub."

Boston—so quaint. So delightfully provincial. So charmingly "New England."

Perhaps the ocean breeze blowing nicely around Dorchester Bay drowned them out, but no one heard the banishes on the roof.

Boston's liberal image was shattered in the fall of 1974. Ugly mobs of white bigots poured into the streets, stoning school buses carrying Black students. In the schools Black students were subjected to daily violence. The racist attacks on Blacks extended and became a wave of terror against Boston's Black community.

The battle of Boston was on. The Black community and its white sup-

ported itself with illegally maintaining the city's segregated schools. Racist legislators continually challenged the Racial Imbalance Act in the State House.

But the Black community kept the heat on. In 1974, Federal Judge W. Arthur Garrity issued a desegregation order for massive busing to break up Boston's well-organized segregated school system.

Yellow school buses had been a common sight for years—carting smiling white faces to all-white schools. Now the buses would be carrying Black students. Racist forces throughout the city went into a frenzy.

The racist terror that reigned in Boston in the fall of 1974 brought the plight of the city's embattled Black community to world attention. The so-called antibusing movement, led by Democratic party politicians on the school committee and city council, had thrown down a challenge to all supporters of Black civil rights. Who would win the battle of Boston? The racist opponents of school desegregation, or the Black community and supporters of the right of Blacks to an equal education?

The first task in the fight to beat back the racist drive was to show the world that the racist forces *did not own the streets of Boston*. Antibusing bigots were dealt a blow by the November 30, 1974, prodesegregation demonstration, which drew 2,500 into the streets. Still reeling, the racists were caught by the bolo punch of a December 14, 1974, march and rally in defense of the Black students' right to an equal education.

After the December march, student leaders from across the country met to make plans for continuing the antiracist campaign. At a subsequent conference, the National Student Coalition Against Racism was formed. It was at NSCAR's founding conference that the NAACP issued its call for the May 17, 1975, demonstration in support of school desegregation. More than 15,000 people poured into the streets of Boston for that action.

One of the most interesting chapters of Hillson's book is entitled "Cracks in the Racist Monolith." The rhetoric of ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights), the leading antibusing organization, portrays whites in the city as a solid bloc opposed to desegregation. By showing that there are whites who support desegregation within the racist strongholds, *The Battle of Boston* illustrates the power of mass street actions by the prodesegregation movement.

Of course, the most important voices of all are those of the Black students, who are on the front line of the battle. The story Black students tell in Hillson's book chronicles the racist attacks they face every day. Their story indicts the government for its failure to fully enforce the desegregation order.

Some Boston schools are yet to be desegregated. ROAR and other racist forces continue their offensive. Nationally, prodesegregation forces have been set back by recent court decisions in Detroit, Michigan; Austin, Texas; and Pasadena, California.

How are the Black community and other antiracist activists to meet the continued challenge of these new attacks on Black rights?

The Battle of Boston assesses the centuries-old struggle for equal education for Blacks and concludes that it will take the massive showing of support by antiracist forces to main-



tain and extend Black civil rights. To bring about such mobilizations, Black leaders will have to break from the hold of the Democratic and Republican parties—the very parties responsible for racial oppression in the first place.

Martin Luther King, Jr., himself a supporter of the Democratic party, knew the power of mass action.

"The 1960 sit-ins desegregated lunch counters in more than 150 cities within one year," Hillson quotes King.

"The 1961 Freedom Rides put an end to segregation in interstate travel. The 1956 bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama, ended the segregation on the buses not only of that city but practically every city of the South. The 1963 Birmingham movement and the climactic March on Washington won passage of the most powerful civil rights law in a century. The 1965 Selma movement brought enactment of the Voting Rights law. . . ."

It is this kind of forceful action that will halt the racist drive against Black rights in Boston. The strategy of mass action is a winning strategy. *The Battle of Boston* is a book that arms antiracist fighters with this political weapon. It should be in everyone's arsenal. —Mohammed Oliver

Liberty's Chosen Home: The Politics of Violence in Boston. By Alan Lupo. Published by Little, Brown, 1977. 334 pages, \$12.50.

When the buses began to roll in the fall of 1974, all hell broke loose. It was Little Rock and Selma all over again. Black students, Black workers, Black pedestrians—Black people across the city—became targets of organized and spontaneous race hatred and violence.

In the language of the newsroom, Boston was, and is, "good copy." There is no end to the drama and ideas journalists could find there.

But you have to work a bit for the truth. And you have to take sides.

Alan Lupo is a damned good writer, a reporter for the *Boston Globe* with an eye for detail and a sense of the meat of what he's talking about. His book covers the first year of desegregation.

But despite Lupo's journalistic skill, *Liberty's Chosen Home* is a failure, on the basis of factual reportage alone.

Lupo's book is based upon his access to the inner chambers of Boston's Mayor Kevin White, with chapter titles such as "Kevin Visits the Trenches," "Kevin's Instincts," and "The Mayor's

Books

porters were determined to desegregate the school system. The so-called antibusing movement was determined to scuttle the desegregation plan.

The Battle of Boston by Jon Hillson is an in-depth analysis of the struggle. It is written from the perspective of an activist in the prodesegregation movement. The book explains why Boston exploded and highlights important points in the desegregation fight.

Moreover, *The Battle of Boston* takes us behind the scenes and reveals the discussions and disputes over what strategy and tactics are needed to win Blacks the right to an equal education.

To understand the struggle "up South" for Black civil rights, the struggle "down South" needs to be studied. Early in his book, Hillson takes up the defeat of Jim Crow segregation by the civil rights movement in the 1960s.

The Boston antiracist struggle began long before the 1960s. In 1787, Blacks petitioned to desegregate Boston schools. Due to the continued struggles of Blacks and abolitionists, Massachusetts ended segregation by law in 1854. However, as with the defeat of Jim Crow in the deep South, de jure segregation gave way to de facto segregation. The racist laws had been removed, but racist institutions remained intact.

The ways that Blacks were denied an equal education by the Boston School Committee were exposed in 1960 by the education committee of the Boston chapter of the NAACP. This study was initiated by Ruth Batson, who continues to be a leader of this struggle. It laid an important foundation, enabling parents to take the issue of Boston's segregated schools before the state legislature.

The pressure the Black community brought to bear on the government—the high point was a 1965 march to the State House of 15,000 led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.—made Massachusetts the first state to declare de facto segregation illegal.

However, this passage of the Racial Imbalance Act would have no meaning until the Black community and other prodesegregation forces compelled its enforcement and extension.

The Boston School Committee busied

Rage." Lupo fawns over White's every word, making the mayor into a fictional mix of lonesome Irish cowboy, existential tough guy, and nose-to-the-grindstone "people's mayor."

This infatuation does, inadvertently, allow certain truths about hizzoner to peek through—from White's fundamental disregard of Boston's Black leaders to his simple-minded inability to anticipate trouble during the school openings. But all this only confirms what was apparent in Boston from day one of desegregation.

True, White was a major figure in the Boston school crisis. But to isolate his decisions, opinions, style, and family history from Boston's totality is simply misleading and unfair.

Lupo is also fascinated by one aspect of Boston's relatively ancient history—the mistreatment of white, mainly Irish immigrants by the WASP rulers of the city. He sees the busing crisis as merely part of this simmering Irish versus Yankee dispute.

In fact, when racist Southies ram-page at the buses, Lupo titles his chapter "Sons of the Draft Riots"—hearkening back to Irish workers' rebellions against the draft a century before. Such an analogy is dishonest; the Irish fought against tyranny, not for it, back then. And it is dangerous—an attempt to prettify racist bigotry. Antibusing Southie, by its deeds, has severed all roots to its progressive past.

Lupo accepts as good coin the myth that all of white South Boston opposed busing. He does not investigate the reality that many Boston reporters knew: that those whites in Southie who opposed racism and sought to comply with the desegregation order were also victims of racist terror.

Lupo's romanticized view of Boston's Irish determines his bias against Federal Judge W. Arthur Garrity, who ordered school desegregation in Boston. Garrity is cast as the "suburbanite" judge.

Lupo echoes White's demagogic insistence that the school problem is a "class," not a "race," issue. This means that the struggle by Blacks for equality under the law should be subordinated to vague nostrums about the need to "get the rich suburbs involved."

The real "class" behind the Boston busing crisis is the ruling class, whose Democratic party machine in Boston organized school segregation and whipped up a racist frenzy in white working-class neighborhoods.

White workers have more in common with the Black community than with the rich who rule them. But Lupo's Democratic party heroes have done everything possible to keep white workers from seeing that.

Lupo's method is an insult to Boston's Black community, whose own social, economic, political, and demographic evolution takes up only about 5 of the book's 334 pages. The Black community plays only a marginal role in Boston's history, according to Lupo.

Lupo does not describe—or even note—the Black community's attempt to meet the bigots' challenge, the rising movement against racist violence. He does not interview any Black leaders in Boston.

There is, in the final reading, nothing redeemable in *Liberty's Chosen Home*. And that is unfortunate. Unfortunate for the huge audience it could have reached. An audience concerned and confused about desegregation. An audience seeking the real story about Boston and the real issues behind the headlines.

They will not get it from this cynical, stylized potboiler. Boston was, after all, more than "good copy."

—Jon Hillson

'Annie Hall'

Annie Hall. Written and directed by Woody Allen. Starring Woody Allen and Diane Keaton.

A popular formula for effective communication goes like this: First tell the audience what you're going to say; then say it; then tell them what you've said. In *Annie Hall*, Woody Allen does just that—with wit and style surpassing anything he's done before.

Allen can always be counted on for zany, ironic comedy with a special appeal for liberal New Yorkers who like to think of themselves as being in society but not of it. His latest film has

retelling, so those who want to hear them will have to see the movie, but his philosophy can still be outlined simply enough.

Life is a drag, says Alvy, and all the more so for being so short. What makes it bearable for him is his ability to see it all in a comic aspect. "It only hurts when I laugh" becomes "I only laugh when it hurts." Life itself is the big punch line. Yet Alvy doesn't despair; he keeps trying, remaining as good-natured as he is inept.

Politics is an important, though not central, concern of his. He is a liberal who campaigned for Adlai Stevenson, but is by no means enamored of liberalism. "Haven't you heard? *Commentary* and *Dissent* have merged and formed *Dysentery*." Alvy is also wary of politicians: "You know the ethics those guys have. It's like a notch underneath child molester."

Much more important to Alvy, however, is sex. Almost from the dawn of consciousness, he has been driven by a relentless pursuit of sexual fulfillment, never more than fleetingly attained.

The most recent object of Alvy's obsessions is Annie Hall, played marvelously by Diane Keaton. She is a shy, aspiring singer from—of all places—Chippewa Falls, Wisconsin. Annie and Alvy experience the growth and decline of a love affair, from their first self-conscious encounter to a sentimental reminiscence after their final breakup.

Along the way, we are entertained

by a steady stream of droll comments on such diverse subjects as public schools, intellectuals, anti-Semitism, and the culture of California.

One unsightly blemish in an otherwise flawless film is an utterly humorless "joke" about a pair of gay men who, in a stereotypical caricature, are seen dangling their hands like rabbits as they walk by. What motivated Allen to abandon his own fine comic style here in favor of the Don Rickles approach is beyond me.

Woody Allen has made remarkable use of cinematic technique to reveal the complexities of the relationship in *Annie Hall*. A frequent device is the portrayal of things "as they really are," side by side with things as they appear to be. People's genuine feelings are projected over their false appearances. Ironic juxtapositions are achieved using subtitles, double exposures, split screens, and fantasy scenes. Just following the shifts in time from flashbacks within flashbacks to flash-forwards might even be engrossing enough to make it worth seeing for a person who lacks a sense of humor.

The story of *Annie Hall* is told from Alvy's point of view, which not everyone can be expected to totally identify with. But what it says about life and love between the sexes nowadays is one of the most honest and effective statements on the subject ever made by an American director.

—Rich Robohm

Film

it in good measure, but with a poignancy that transcends mere farce.

The story is a semiautobiographical meditation by Alvy Singer (Woody Allen) on a lifetime of ill-fated relationships with women, seen from the perspective of his latest romance. In Alvy, Allen has developed the endearingly idiotic character of *Take the Money and Run*, *Play It Again, Sam*, and other films into a personality of real dimensions. In doing so he has passed, quite literally, from the ridiculous to the sublime.

In an opening monologue, Alvy defines his outlook on life through a series of jokes that become proverbs in the telling. They become dead in the

Hearing history's lessons

Education for Socialists Tapes, distributed by Pathfinder Press. Order from Education for Socialists Tapes, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Now you can get more than music on cassette tapes. Education for Socialists Tapes present a unique opportunity for those interested in the social and political struggles of recent history, Marxist theory, and the history of the revolutionary movement.

All these recorded talks are by leading participants in struggles of the labor, Black, and women's movement.

Tapes

Speakers include James P. Cannon, Farrell Dobbs, Joseph Hansen, and Mary-Alice Waters.

The talks deal with important theoretical questions that have confronted revolutionary socialists. The theory of permanent revolution and the Cuban revolution, and the organizational character and procedures of the revolutionary party are just two of the topics.

One highlight of the series is four talks given in 1965 by Farrell Dobbs: *The Minneapolis Strikes and the Revolutionary Party*. Dobbs was a leader of the Teamster strikes in the 1930s that "made Minneapolis a union town." In his talks, he lays out the economic conditions that led to this organizing struggle. He vividly describes how the workers defended themselves and organized one of the most powerful unions in the country, which helped spur the formation of the CIO.

But their right to organize was continuously challenged by the employers; by the local, state, and federal government; and by the bureaucratic national officialdom of the Teamsters as well. Yet, these pressures were not enough to crush the strength of the striking workers of Teamster Local 574.

Dobbs not only describes this battle, but draws many important lessons

from the strategy and tactics that were used to organize and win the workers' demands. These talks are rich in historical content and can be invaluable to trade-union militants today. The lessons learned and the strategy applied are most relevant to today's fight for trade-union democracy and a better standard of living.

This series can be an important resource to the classes scheduled on Teamster Local 574 this summer in SWP branches throughout the country. Along with Dobbs's fourth book about the struggle—*Teamster Bureaucracy*, just published by Pathfinder—this tape series can provide a thorough historical and political understanding of class-struggle trade-unionism.

All the talks have been duplicated from the original reel-to-reel tapes to ninety-minute cassette tapes. This makes them relatively inexpensive and easy to store. Best of all, having the talks on cassettes makes it possible to use them any time, any place—perfect for individual listening and study.

The talks range from 45 to 115 minutes, so they are ideal for group educationals as well.

The Education for Socialists Tapes will broaden the available topics and speakers. Soon such topics as the history of the anti-Vietnam War movement and the history of the Socialist Workers party will be on cassette

tapes. Marxist scholars such as Evelyn Reed and George Novack will also be featured.

Currently, ten series are ready to order: *The Minneapolis Strikes and the Revolutionary Party*, by Farrell Dobbs (five tapes); *Afro-American History*, by George Weissman (three tapes); *The Role of Women's Liberation in the Socialist Revolution*, by Mary-Alice Waters (one tape); *What Socialist America Will Look Like*, by James P. Cannon (one tape); *The Trend of the Twentieth Century*, by James P. Cannon (one tape); *The Theory of Permanent Revolution and the Cuban Revolution*, by Joseph Hansen (two tapes); *Building the Revolutionary Party*, by Farrell Dobbs (two tapes); *Organizational Procedures of the SWP*, by Bea Hansen (one tape); *Background and Development of Cochran-Pablo Split*, by Al Hansen (three tapes); and *The Role of the Intellectual in the Party*, by Joseph Hansen (one tape).

These tapes are available at a special discount rate to *Militant* readers. The price is seven dollars for a one-tape series; twelve dollars for a two-tape series; fifteen dollars for a three-tape set; and twenty-five dollars for the entire five-tape set of classes by Dobbs.

For each order add one dollar for shipping and handling.

—Kirk Fowler



BEA HANSEN



FARRELL DOBBS



JAMES P. CANNON

Bitter debate, split vote

N.Y.C. Labor Council endorses Beame

By Steve Beck

NEW YORK—At the May 19 meeting of the New York City Central Labor Council, many delegates were outraged when Council Secretary Harry Avrutin announced that the executive board had voted unanimously to endorse the reelection campaign of Mayor Abraham Beame in the Democratic primary.

Beame has won the hatred of workers throughout the city—especially public employees—for spear-

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

heading the drive to cut city services.

The endorsement had even been announced to the press before the delegates' meeting.

Ray Markey, delegate from American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) Local 1930 (New York Public Library Guild), rose to oppose the endorsement.

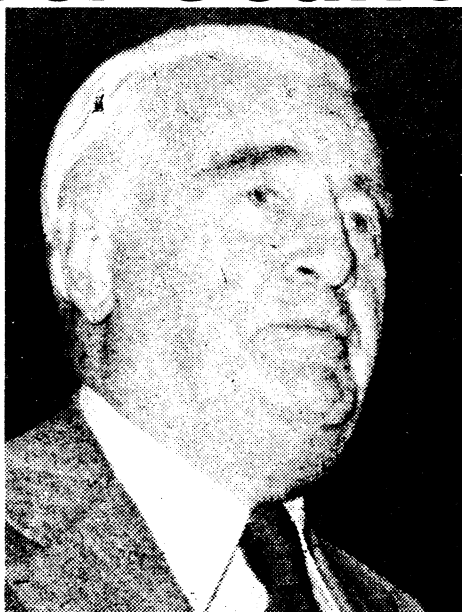
"Mayor Beame, for the last four years, has been an unmitigated disaster. . . . For the labor movement to endorse this antiunion candidate is an absolute disgrace," Markey charged.

He pointed to the 40,000 laid-off municipal workers, including 40 percent of the New York Public Library's staff. Labor should put up its own candidates, independent of the Democratic and Republican parties, Markey said.

Harry Van Arsdale, president of the Central Labor Council, rushed to Beame's defense. Pointing to Markey, he asked, "Do you mean that if you were mayor, you wouldn't lay anyone off?"

"That's right!" Markey replied.

"This delegate is an exceptional individual," Van Arsdale said sarcastically.



VAN ARSDALE: 'You mean you wouldn't lay anyone off?'



MARKEY: 'That's right!'
Militant/Henry Snipper

Markey demanded to know who had voted for and against the endorsement at the executive board meeting.

The chair insisted that the vote was unanimous, but read a long list of union leaders who had been absent, including those representing the teachers, transit workers, communication workers, and even Victor Gotbaum of AFSCME District Council 37.

The council voted to approve the Beame endorsement after a bitter debate. About half voted with Van Arsdale, and a quarter voted against.

The opposition vote would have been even larger, but some delegates were confused over whether the vote was to endorse Beame or simply to accept the minutes of the executive board.

For many years the Central Labor Council has been little more than a rubber stamp for its bureaucratic leadership. Presided over for decades by Van Arsdale, the meetings were short and the votes unanimous. Even brief delegates' reports were a recent innovation.

In an upside-down version of demo-

cracy, the council's constitution does not even permit delegates to introduce resolutions from the floor—they must first be referred to the executive board. The council's only apparent function is to approve the decisions made earlier by the executive board.

Frustrated with their powerlessness, many delegates are cynical about the council, and meetings are sparsely attended. The officers have tried to rectify this—by holding drawings for savings bonds at the end of each meeting!

But recently, rank-and-file delegates have begun to speak out.

In February one delegate objected to a joint communiqué by Van Arsdale and Nelson Rockefeller attacking rent control. Responding with a half-hour defense of his record, Van Arsdale complimented himself upon his close relations with the bankers and billionaires of the city. He said they supported him in his drive for construction of Westway (a multi-billion-dollar highway project opposed by environmentalists).

The council also went on record in support of the Concorde supersonic jet landing at Kennedy Airport. This was challenged at the next meeting by a delegate who cited the strong public objections to the Concorde's noise.

Although first a voice and then a hand vote were about evenly divided on the question, Van Arsdale overrode a request for a roll-call vote, pushing through continued support to the Concorde.

An incident later in the May 19 meeting further illustrates how support to Democratic party politicians pushes the labor council officials into the bosses' camp.

Since April the social service and community agency workers represented by AFSCME District Council 1707 have been in a struggle with their employers. Many of them were locked out.

In describing their struggle, Van Arsdale devoted most of his time to sympathizing with the employers and listing excuses why these employers could not settle because of the city cutbacks. He finally ended with a lukewarm endorsement of a May 20 rally in support of the workers.

The New York union leadership, trapped by the probusiness philosophy that human services are expendable but tax cuts for giant corporations are necessary, has failed to carry out any fight to reverse the cutbacks.

Following the meeting, Ray Markey pointed out that the problem is not that city workers are unwilling to fight.

"In the past four years," Markey said, "the teachers, sanitation workers, and hospital workers have all carried out defensive strikes. But these strikes have been isolated and uncoordinated."

"The assault on New York City workers should be met by a united response of the entire New York labor movement. That's what the Central Labor Council should be organizing, not endorsing Mayor Beame and passing resolutions attacking rent control and supporting the Concorde."

New York City crisis: the payoff begins

By Lynn Henderson

NEW YORK—On May 24 the U.S. District Court in Manhattan ruled that the payment of unemployment benefits to striking workers in New York State was unconstitutional.

In the past, strikers could collect up to ninety-five dollars a week, although only after being on strike seven weeks. The judge said this made it possible for strikers to stay out longer and thus gave them an unfair advantage over employers.

The *New York Times* reported that business and industry leaders were elated, saying the decision would make New York a "more attractive place for employers." John Roberts, executive vice-president of the Empire State Chamber of Commerce, said the ruling had removed "a severe irritant to business" in New York.

Making New York State and especially New York City a "more attractive place for employers" and removing "irritants to business" has become a booming campaign in recent months.

In April Democratic Mayor Abraham Beame announced that the 1977-78 city budget would grant business almost \$100 million in tax cuts. These include a cut in the real estate tax rate, a 20 percent reduction in the commercial occupancy tax, and elimination of the 4 percent city sales tax on purchases of new machines and equipment by business.

In May Beame announced the elimination, over the next four years, of the stock transfer tax. This action will cost the city \$250 million a year in lost revenues, and increase profits by a like amount for securities brokers and their wealthy clients.

On May 12 the city administration announced

it was giving the American Broadcasting Corporation a 50 percent, ten-year deduction on property taxes for a new headquarters ABC plans to build.

On May 20 the Beame administration announced plans to give the American Stock Exchange a "wide variety" of tax reductions. The city is also offering to float a \$35 million to \$100 million bond issue to finance a new building for the stock exchange in lower Manhattan.

But what about New York's dire fiscal crisis? Has there been a reversal of the financial fortunes of the city? How can the Beame administration be handing out millions of dollars in tax cuts for business? The city is supposedly so short of funds that over the past two years it has:

- Eliminated 63,000 municipal jobs.
 - Frozen wages of the remaining municipal workers.
 - Drastically reduced all social services, including health care, garbage collection, fire protection, day-care centers, libraries, parks, and museums.
 - Increased the transit fare by 43 percent while cutting transit service.
 - Gutted public education, increasing class sizes to the point that no meaningful education takes place in city schools.
 - Begun a massive program to close municipal hospitals.
 - Imposed tuition at the City University for the first time in its 120-year history, pushing out tens of thousands of students, most of them Black or Hispanic.
- The city may be "more attractive" for employ-

ers, but for municipal workers the crisis is far from over. First Deputy Mayor John Zuccotti, Beame's right-hand man, says that cuts in the labor force must continue for "the next five years."

Nor is the crisis over for the other working people who live and labor in this city. Felix Rohatyn, head of the Municipal Assistance Corporation that now rules city finances, says cuts in social services "cannot be reversed in the foreseeable future."

The events of the past two months are the real payoff of the "fiscal crisis"—the goal aimed for since the beginning by the corporations and banks and their representatives, the Democratic and Republican politicians. These events also make it clear that the root of the so-called crisis is not a lack of wealth and resources in the city, but a new division of that wealth.

The standard of living of all working people in New York is being slashed so that the ruling rich can increase their profits. That's the meaning of the "fiscal crisis."

The move to take unemployment insurance away from strikers is part of this all-around attack on the rights of labor.

One of the union officials who was most upset by the decision was Harry Avrutin, secretary of the New York City Central Labor Council. "It's terrible," Avrutin said, calling the decision "a setback for organized labor."

This is the same Harry Avrutin who, less than a week before, helped ram through the Central Labor Council a political endorsement of the chief administrator of the antilabor assault: Democrat Abraham Beame.

...stakes in United Mine Workers election

Continued from back page

That began a series of departures of UMW staff who had worked with the union since the MFD days. The number who resigned or were fired by Miller reportedly grew to seventeen.

The three-way split between the original reform slate (Vice-president Mike Trbovich supports Patterson) has delighted commentators who share the companies' point of view. Reports in some of the major capitalist newspapers have variously described the state of the union as "a madhouse," "chaos," and "paralyzed."

Patterson charges the reform leadership has brought the union to the "brink of disaster."

Ever since he was elected to the international executive board in 1973, Patterson has led the board majority in trying to frustrate Miller in carrying out the MFD platform.

Patterson rose to prominence in the union as a cog in the Boyle machine. In 1969 he was appointed by Boyle as president of District 23 in western Kentucky.

These days he's silent on his former connections with Boyle. But Patterson reveals his real program when he declares: "Outsiders' money put the present administration in office, and the union has been run to meet their whims; not our needs."

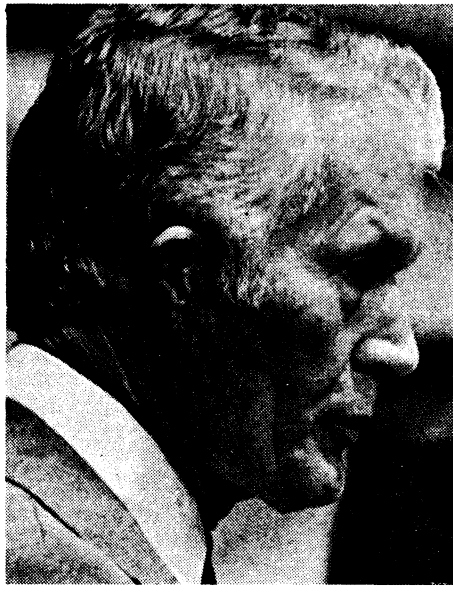
The "outsiders" Patterson denounced are none other than the ranks of the UMW. When he was district president, he *opposed* membership ratification of contracts, democratic election of district officers, and all other measures toward real membership control.

All Patterson has to offer miners is to return to what he proclaims as the good old days . . . without union democracy.

Secretary-treasurer Patrick apparently broke with Miller not over program so much as over Miller's inability to carry it out. He charges Miller is "incapable" of leading the union.

Patrick stresses his desire to maintain and build "on the principles of democracy and justice" in order to "insure greater rank-and-file participation in the policy and operation of their union."

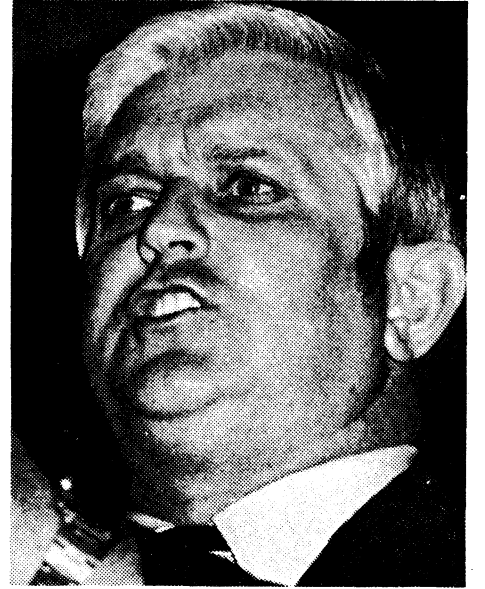
To bolster their charge that Miller is



ARNOLD MILLER



HARRY PATRICK



LEE ROY PATTERSON

more concerned with staying in office than with fighting for the goals of the reform movement, Patrick supporters note that Miller chose an old Boyle-ite, Sam Church, as his vice-presidential running mate.

Organizing western coal mines is a theme of Patrick's campaign. With the percentage of UMW-produced coal at 54 percent (a drop from 70 percent in 1972), the growth of non-UMW mines in the West is a serious danger for the union.

Without a major campaign to organize the unorganized, Patrick says, "for all intents and purposes this union is finished."

Miller has been unable to set any such campaign in motion. Patterson aims to sabotage any organizing drives with demands to cut back on the "wild spenders."

All in all, Patrick's platform for defending the union and the democratic rights of miners appears to stand the closest to the original aims of the reform movement.

All three candidates are opposed to the wildcat strikes.

There are no strike provisions in the current contract, and the Supreme Court has ruled that the existence of a grievance machinery is an implicit no-strike pledge.

At the 1976 UMW convention, the delegates mandated negotiators for the next contract to fight for a right-to-strike clause.

Each of the candidates verbally supports the right to strike at individual mines over local grievances when a majority of workers vote in favor.

The militancy of the mine workers and their refusal to accept the conditions imposed on them by the coal operators has stymied Patrick, as well as Miller and Patterson.

"We've got to get rid of roving pickets, and that means getting past eighty-eight years of tradition," says Patrick. "Somebody has got to bring the wildcat strikes under control."

For their part, the coal operators are dead set against any kind of strike clause, reports the big-business weekly *Barron's*.

The operators are well aware that the powerful wildcat strikes aren't set into motion by one disgruntled worker setting up a picket line that all others respect out of mindless tradition.

The strikes erupt when the miners—who work at some of the hardest and most dangerous jobs in American industry—are unable to settle their grievances with the companies.

"The company can do damn near anything it wants, so the right to

strike is all we have," one miner points out.

On one front, the coal operators were delivered a temporary setback in May. A federal judge rejected their lawsuit demanding a nationwide injunction against all such "illegal" strikes.

According to the Bituminous Coal Operators Association, the suit's main plaintiff, the goal was to "create a climate conducive to long-range harmonious and stable labor relations in the coal industry."

"Strikes are a serious problem for the coal industry," added BCA general counsel Guy Farmer. "President Carter wants us to increase coal production by two-thirds by 1985, but without stable labor relations we'll never be able to do it."

The operators plan to gain that "stability"—which means more profits for them and more deaths and maimings for miners—by taming the UMW ranks. And they think they can do it all in the name of patriotism.

The miners' frustrated effort to enforce their contract is the central issue that must be decided in the coal mining industry. It is unlikely to be resolved to the satisfaction of miners until they develop a leadership capable of disciplining the coal operators and introducing union standards and safe working conditions.

...Stearns Women's Club backs coal strikers

Continued from back page

another. It now sits on top of a wooden post at the picket line.

"After the women had this talk with him," Gibson relates with glee, Thomas took to surrounding himself with bodyguards.

Once the UMW gets established at the mine, some of the women say they're going to apply for jobs there. "Women's lib, and all," Gibson explains.

What does *she* think of women's liberation? "Oh, I like it. I wish I had a little more of it," she answers.

"I was always one to sit back. I've

never done anything like this in my life. It's a lot better than sitting at home not knowing what's happening."

One project of the women's club is to raise money to supplement strike benefits. They went to the local merchants to solicit donations.

"Some refused," Gibson says. "They'd say, 'I don't donate to anyone on strike.' So we put them on the boycott list. They wanted to stay in the middle, but you can't do that. You have to pick one side or the other in this strike."

Taped to a window in the storefront strike headquarters in Whitley City is

a letter from Geraldine McKnight King. King's husband was one of twenty-six men killed last year in two explosions at another Blue Diamond-owned mine—Scotia.

The letter, addressed to women's club Secretary-Treasurer Ila Corder, accompanied a \$50 contribution.

"I firmly believe that had the men at Scotia been represented by a union, Scotia would never have been allowed to carelessly kill so many good men," King wrote.

"Long has Blue Diamond bragged that they will never accept the U.M.W. I hope and pray that the men at the

Justus Mine will put an end to this brag. . . .

"Surely God will never again let another Scotia happen before Blue Diamond will recognize that a miner is more valuable than the coal he mines."

Blue Diamond is never going to "recognize" that kind of value. Its first and only concern is profit. But the UMW has convinced other mine-owners that if they want coal mined, they'd better make some provisions for safety.

The Stearns Women's Club and the Stearns strikers plan to teach Blue Diamond the same lesson.

L&M defeats walkout by tobacco workers

By Joe Bunkley

DURHAM, N.C.—A twenty-eight-day strike against Liggett & Myers Tobacco Company ended May 15 as members of Tobacco Workers Local 176 voted to accept a three-year contract.

This was the first strike since 1939 at L&M's only U.S. cigarette plant.

The 1,700-member union settled for much less than its original demands, which had included an unlimited cost-of-living adjustment.

The new contract calls for cost-of-living increases of fifteen, sixteen, and seventeen cents an hour over the next

three years and catch-up raises on June 1, 1979. The settlement was a little more than the fifteen-cents-per-hour yearly adjustment with catch-up raises on March 15, 1979, that the company proposed at the outset.

On Friday, May 6, L&M announced that it would begin hiring replacements for striking workers. The company ran clip-out job applications in the *Durham Morning Herald*.

In response, the L&M machinists walked out in solidarity with Local 176. Hundreds of angry tobacco workers gathered in front of the personnel office Monday morning to

prevent scabs from taking their jobs.

Several fights broke out, and some strikers were hit by cars driven by scabs.

Then dozens of helmeted, stick-wielding riot cops rushed in to protect L&M's "right" to hire scabs. Several unionists were arrested.

That afternoon, the courts issued an injunction against the union severely limiting picketing.

The next morning, the *Durham Morning Herald* ran an editorial denouncing the "violence" of the union and defending L&M.

The union was unprepared for this joint assault by the courts, cops, news media, and entire employing class of Durham. Feelings of isolation and demoralization set in. Workers began to trickle back into the plant. Picket lines grew smaller.

On May 11 the machinists went back at the request of their lawyers and international union.

On May 15, before a crowd of 1,500 strikers, the negotiating committee recommended passage of the contract. Although several hundred workers rose in angry opposition, the contract passed overwhelmingly.

...CAIFI

Continued from page 28

files on her that she had just obtained. She said the files included reports on how FBI infiltrators had sought to disrupt other meetings at which she had appeared.

She also told the audience of attempts prior to the meeting to pressure her into withdrawing from the speakers list. She explained why she refused to do so.

To fight effectively against U.S. imperialism, Healey declared, it is necessary to work together with anyone who is seeking to expose the complicity of the U.S. government in propping up such murderous tyrannies as the one in Iran.

Noting that some of the disrupters might be well-intentioned opponents of the shah, she declared, "It's not a matter of sincerity. In politics, it is the objective results of our policies by which we will be judged."

Ramsey Clark also won a hearing with a strong indictment of U.S. complicity with the shah's regime.

Becky Tapia of Amnesty International described that organization's findings on the extent of the repression in Iran.

The audience was deeply moved by the speech of Ali Shokri.

He described how, as a teen-ager, he had enlisted in the Iranian Air Force, mainly to support his mother. As a trainee, he was subjected to extreme brutality. Once in the United States, where he was assigned for further training, he was able to read and to discuss with others. Realizing he was part of a military whose function was to oppress his people, he defected and went to Canada.

There he married a U.S. citizen. They returned here, and he applied for a permanent visa. The U.S. government responded by curtly informing him that he had until May 26 to leave the country voluntarily. If compelled to return to Iran, he faces torture and possible death.

The meeting voted unanimously to send a letter to immigration authorities demanding Shokri be granted political asylum.

In closing, Professor Harding deplored the disruption, but said that the meeting constituted a victory for free speech and defense of Iranian political prisoners.

June 4 Kent rally to protest gym on site of 1970 killings

By Bob Coolidge

KENT, Ohio—The May 4 Coalition at Kent State University has called a national rally for June 4 to demand that the administration here not build a gym on the site where four anti-Vietnam War students were killed by Ohio National Guardsmen on May 4, 1970.

The coalition is urging the school to build the gym elsewhere. Construction on the historic site will destroy evidence of the shootings that could be used in future lawsuits or studies.

Dick Gregory, attorney William Kunstler, and author and activist Ron Kovic will speak at the June 4 event. All three spoke earlier at a May 4 Kent State rally marking the seventh anniversary of the 1970 shooting.

On the May 4 anniversary, 300 students occupied a campus administration building to protest construction of the gym. The students also demanded that four campus buildings be named after the four murdered students, that no classes be held on future

Calendar

ALBANY, N.Y.

CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Kevin Kellogg, SWP candidate for mayor; Catarino Garza, SWP candidate for mayor of New York. Fri., June 10, 7:30 p.m. YMCA, 274 Washington Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (518) 449-1380 or 465-2755.

ATLANTA: EAST ATLANTA

PREPAYMENT PLAN AT GRADY: AN ATTACK ON POOR PEOPLE. Speakers: Dr. Henry Kahn, M.D.; Gene Ferguson, Coalition to Save Grady; Virginia Ramsay, Grady chapter chairperson AFSCME Local 1644; Linda Millwood, SWP. Fri., June 10, 8 p.m. 471A Flat Shoals Ave. SE. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (404) 688-6739.

BALTIMORE

THE PRESENT SITUATION IN PALESTINE. Speaker: David Frankel, SWP. Fri., June 10, 8 p.m. 2117 N. Charles St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (301) 547-0668.

BOSTON

CUBA FROM 1959 TO THE PRESENT. Speaker: Steve Craine, former participant in Venceremos Brigade, member SWP. Fri., June 10, 8 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Fl. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4620.

CLEVELAND

THE FRAME-UP OF AHMED EVANS—TEN YEARS LATER. Speakers: Patricia Evans, daughter of Ahmed Evans; Thabo Ntweng, SCAR. Fri., June 10, 8 p.m. 2300 Payne. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 861-4166.

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DETROIT

CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Trudy Hawkins, SWP candidate for mayor; Leslie Craine and Clarence Brown, SWP candidates for common council. Sat., June 11. Reception 7 p.m., program 8 p.m., party to follow. Downtown YWCA, 2230 Witherell, Rm. 601. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Detroit 1977 Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (313) 961-5675.

HOUSTON

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Series of weekly classes based on four books on the history of the Teamsters union by Farrell Dobbs. Every Wednesday, 7 p.m. 4987 S. Park. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (713) 526-1082, 643-0005, or 697-5543.

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INTRODUCTION TO MARXISM CLASSES. Every Monday, 7:30 p.m. 4987 S. Park. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (713) 643-0005.

HOUSTON: NORTHEAST

INTRODUCTION TO MARXISM CLASSES. Every Fri., 7 p.m. 2835 Laura Koppe. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (713) 697-5543 or 526-1082.

MIAMI

WILMINGTON TEN: VICTIMS OF RACIST FRAME-UP. Speaker: Ray Greenwood, Wilmington Ten Defense Committee; slide show. Fri., June 10, 8 p.m. Center for Dialogue, 2175 NW 26th St. (at 22nd Ave.) Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (305) 271-2241.

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.

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SALT LAKE CITY

A PUBLIC MEETING IN DEFENSE OF THE UNDOCUMENTED WORKER. Speakers: Dr. Armando Gutierrez, vice-president of the Raza Unida party and assistant professor of Dept. of Gov't., Univ. of Texas. Also individuals who have personally suffered from the policies of *la migrá* will relate their experiences. Sat., June 4, 1:30 p.m. 155 S. 600 West (Mexican Civic Center). Ausp: Committee of United People. For more information call (801) 363-2399.

SAN DIEGO

THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM IN SOUTH AFRICA. A teach-in. Speakers: Anthony Ngubo, Black South African professor; Dr. Ron Karenga; Bert Corona, antideportation leader; others. Fri., June 17, 7:30 p.m. Neighborhood House, 841 S. 41st St. Ausp: Student Coalition Against Racism. For more information call (714) 239-0631.

ST. LOUIS

BLACK LIBERATION AND SOCIALISM. Three classes by Malik Miah, SWP Black liberation work director. Sat. June 4, 11 a.m. & 2 p.m. Sun., June 5, noon. 4875 Natural Bridge. Donation: \$1 per class. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (314) 381-0044 or 725-1570.

TEAMSTER REBELLION. First of two classes. Speaker: Dave Walters, SWP. Thurs. June 9, 7:30 p.m. Place to be announced. Donation: \$1. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (314) 381-0044 or 725-1570.

ST. PAUL

THE FIGHT AGAINST DEPORTATIONS. Speakers: Mike Garza, SWP; others. Fri., June 10, 8 p.m. 176 Western Ave. North. Donation \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 222-8929.

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Correction

In the June 3 *Militant* the article "N.J. women condemn red-baiting" listed the Baltimore chapter of the National Organization for Women among those that had passed resolutions reaffirming that NOW is open to all feminists regardless of political affiliations. In fact, the chapter discussed such a resolution but decided to table it.

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The Role of Women's Liberation in the Socialist Revolution, by Mary-Alice Waters, 1976. Price: \$14. Special discount price: \$7. (Talk given at the 1976 SWP convention.)

Organizational Procedures of the SWP, by Bea Hansen, 1964. Price: \$14. Special discount price: \$7. Also included: Political Tribute to Bea Hansen, by Joe Hansen.

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THE MILITANT

Women organize to back coal strike

Stearns Women's Club:
'You have to pick one side or the other...'

By Nancy Cole

STEARNS, Ky.—The 160 miners on strike here against the Blue Diamond Coal Company are all men. But the ten-month-old strike for a United Mine Workers contract is also of great concern to the women of this small mining community.

And they're not about to sit back and await the results.

Wives, mothers, and friends of the striking miners formed the Stearns Women's Club in March of this year.

It's not your traditional "ladies' club." In fact, the local sheriff and

An editorial on the attacks against the United Mine Workers union appears on page 10.

Blue Diamond's vice-president have on occasion referred to the women as a "mob."

"They're not going to break this strike," says women's club President Wanda Gibson, young wife of one of the strikers. "The men have been through too much."

The "too much" includes gun-toting company security guards who make the picket line a shooting range each night with steady gunfire.

And it includes a judge who enforces his court order—intended to "preserve law and order"—only when it comes to strikers.

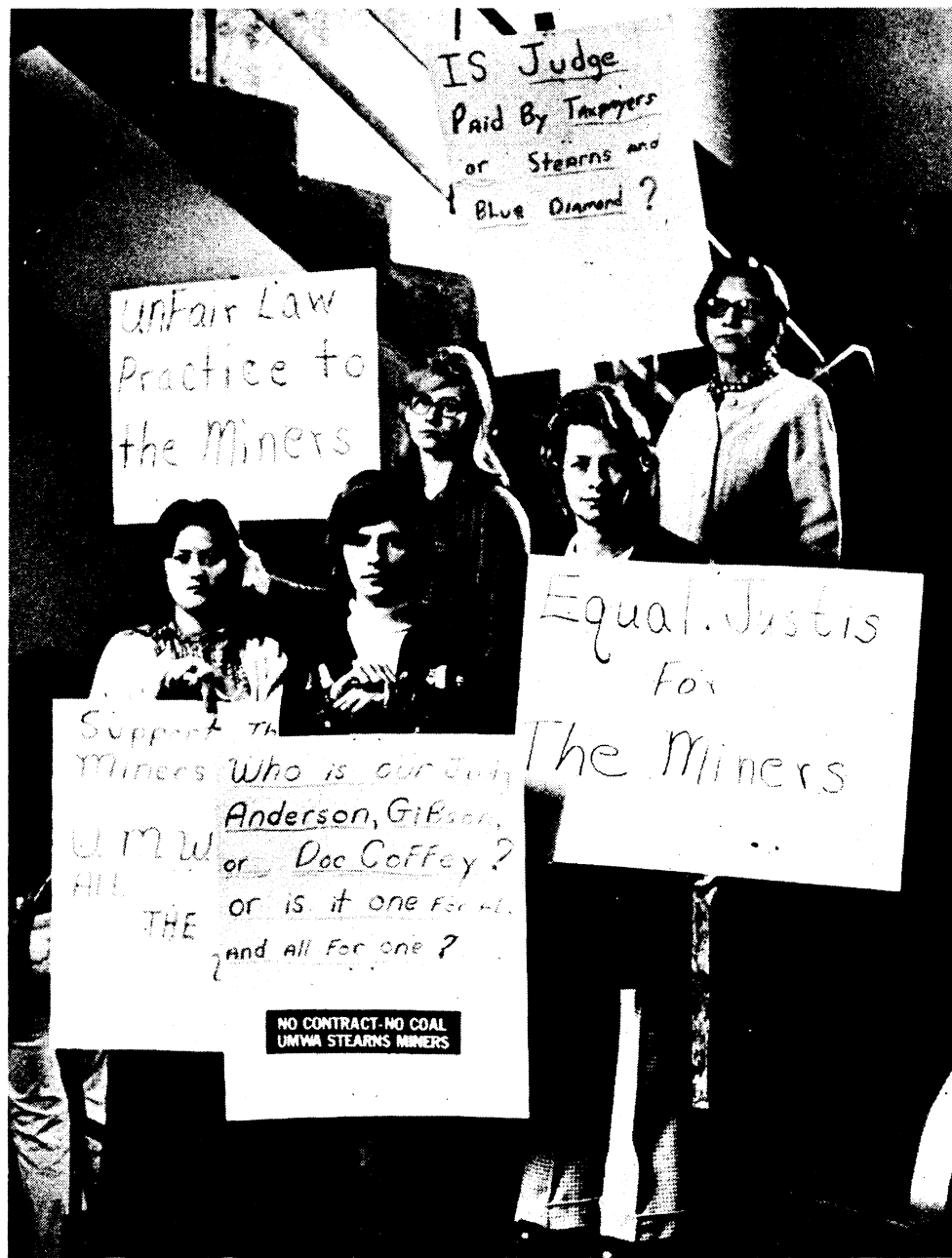
The union has been fined thousands of dollars for violating the court order, which includes a limit on the number of pickets. The judge ordered the union to post \$100,000 bond out of which any future "damage" to company property would be paid.

And thirty-one men have been indicted by a grand jury in the shooting of two of the company gun thugs.

What happens if the judge tries to send the miners to jail?

"I'll tell you what I'd like to do," Gibson told the *Militant*. "I'd like to go to the picket lines to take their places."

That's what the Brookside Women's Club did in the 1973 Harlan County, Kentucky, strike. A while back, one of the women from Brookside came to Stearns to share experiences with the women's club here.



United Mine Workers Journal/Karen Ohmans

Stearns women picket at McCreary County courthouse to protest company use of armed guards, court injunctions, and state troopers.

Then a few weeks later, women from Brookside brought the film *Harlan County, USA* to show in Stearns. About 100 people showed up to see the academy-award-winning documentary, starring the Brookside Women's Club.

Everybody liked it, reports Gibson. "Only thing is, I heard some people say they'd never let scabs through the line like they did at Brookside. That would never happen here."

The Stearns Women's Club has picketed the courthouse in Whitley City three times. And they organized a demonstration of 150 at Blue Diamond's headquarters in Knoxville, Tennessee, April 1.

"Blue Diamond locked the doors,"

Gibson says. "Later they said they had no comment."

It isn't the only time Blue Diamond hasn't wanted to talk. At one of the courthouse pickets, about twenty women from the club approached Blue Diamond Vice-president Frank Thomas. They wanted to discuss the company's threat to hire scabs.

"He said he wouldn't talk to a mob," Gibson recalls. "He tried to get away, and we tried to hold him back. He claims he ended up with bruises and scratches."

He definitely did lose his hat. Gibson says she told him they were taking it off one dummy to put on

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What's at stake in UMWA election?

By Ed Heisler

The United Mine Workers election comes at a time of conflict and decision in the coal industry. But the election will not be the major factor in the final outcome of the battle the coals miners face.

On June 14 miners will vote for international officers of the UMWA. Two challengers face incumbent President Arnold Miller: Harry Patrick, currently the union's secretary-treasurer, who ran on the Miners for Democracy (MFD) slate with Miller in the last election; and Lee Roy Patterson, a longtime foe of Miller on the international executive board and a crony of former UMWA dictator Tony Boyle.

As miners go to the polls, the country's mineowners are preparing for a showdown with the "unruly" UMWA. When the union contract expires December 5, it appears certain that the coal companies will force the miners out on strike. The mineowners'

goal is to cripple or destroy the UMWA.

This election is the first since the Miners for Democracy slate triumphed over the Boyle regime in 1972. And it has revealed divisions and weaknesses in the reform leadership.

The MFD victory brought a measure of union democracy to the UMWA, a dramatic break from the policies of Boyle and his predecessor, John L. Lewis.

A fight for safety in the mines was launched.

Contracts were voted on for the first time.

The *UMW Journal* became a forum for the rank and file.

And there was real discussion free from physical intimidation at the national conventions.

The current election campaign is yet another example, with extensive and equal space provided in the past three issues of the *UMW Journal* for all candidates to present their positions.

Such democratic gains are steps toward miners controlling the UMWA and using it to fight for decent wages and safe working conditions. And that is what the mineowners, with the complicity of the courts and government, have been seeking to reverse for five years.

Government agencies wink at safety violations. Then, when miners are forced to strike in order to enforce federal laws and their contract, the courts step in with fines and injunctions. Government officials and the big-business press demand that the union officers act "responsibly" and "discipline" the miners.

And all the while, the considerable remnants of the Boyle machine snipe at the reform leadership and plot to regain power.

The fact that Miners for Democracy was disbanded after the Miller slate won office has hindered the miners' efforts to consolidate and defend their gains. And the Miller leadership has

failed to stand up to the immense ruling-class pressure.

During last summer's wildcat strike involving 100,000 miners, for instance, Miller started off with a refusal to comment. Then he gave the strikers—who were protesting being "kicked around" by federal judges—what they considered a cautious go-ahead. As the pressure intensified, Miller ordered the strikers back to work.

Miners who had supported Miller in the elections were disappointed in him. "If he can't lead, he ought to get out of it," one striker told the *Militant*.

At the UMWA convention this past September, Miller just barely held his own against the old Boyle forces intent on destroying union democracy.

After the convention, Miller returned to the union's Washington headquarters and fired a couple of longtime aides, who he claimed were loyal to the then unannounced candidate Patrick.

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