

THE MILITANT

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

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LOUISIANA KILLS ERA AGAIN: The Louisiana House Civil Law Committee voted 11-5 June 7 not to recommend passage of the Equal Rights Amendment to the full house, delaying passage for at least another year.

This was the fifth straight year the ERA failed to get out of committee, and the sixth year it has been defeated.

CONCORDE NOISE MUFFLED: The world's noisiest commercial plane won't be allowed to land in New York for a while after all. It has been banned for more than a year by the Port Authority (PA), which operates New York's airports, despite federal approval for sixteen months of "trial" landings to see if the plane really is noisy.

A federal judge ruled last month that federal authority takes precedence, and ordered the PA to allow the Concorde to land.

But on June 14 an appeals court overturned that decision, ruling that the PA had the power to ban the plane if the ban was "nondiscriminatory." The court said that the PA had to set objective noise standards, and that if standards weren't set soon, the Concorde ban might constitute discrimination.

The decision came over the objections of the Carter administration, which filed a brief supporting "test" landings.

Miller wins mine vote

As we went to press, United Press International reported that with 60 percent of the votes counted, incumbent Arnold Miller appeared to be the victor in the race for United Mine Workers president with 34,877 votes. Second was Lee Roy Patterson with 29,959. Harry Patrick, a former Miller ally supported by many younger miners, was running third with 21,576 votes.

For an analysis of the issues in the election, see pages 6 and 7.

CHICAGO ELECTION RETURNS: With a low turnout of about 40 percent of registered voters, Michael Bilandic, heir to Richard Daley's machine, took the Chicago mayoral race with 490,688 votes. His Republican opponent got 135,282. Socialist Workers party candidate Dennis Brasky ran third with 5,546. The candidate of the "U.S. Labor party," a right-wing group, got 2,497 votes.

JUDGE CLEARS NURSE OF MURDER CHARGE: Leonora Perez—one of two Filipino nurses charged with murdering patients at a Veterans Administration hospital in Ann Arbor, Michigan, in 1975—was cleared June 8 of all murder charges by Federal Judge Philip Pratt. Pratt ruled that the prosecution had failed to prove its case. He also dropped one of two murder charges against Filipina Narciso, the other defendant.

Both women still face multiple charges of poisoning patients.

The two nurses are now accused of injecting Pavulon, a muscle-relaxing drug, into eight hospital patients who suffocated mysteriously. The government claims that the deaths were the result of Pavulon injections in lethal dosages, administered by Perez and Narciso.

Although the two were exonerated in a suicide note left by their work supervisor, the government has pressed ahead.

Perez, the first defense witness, testified that she hadn't even been working the night that two patients she is accused of poisoning died.

PROLABOR PROFESSOR REINSTATED: The University of Pittsburgh has agreed, after a fifteen-month battle, to rehire Prof. Paul Nyden, the *Daily World* reported June 9. Pitt refused to offer Nyden a new contract in March 1976, despite his distinguished scholarly record.

Nyden's record was ignored because he is pro-labor and a Marxist, while Pitt's board of trustees is a virtual who's who of American big business. For example, R. Heath Larry, a vice-president of U.S. Steel, is on the board.

The attempt to dump Nyden was hit by Ed Sadlowski, then a United Steelworkers district director and later the candidate for union president on the Steelworkers Fight Back slate. "We want more professors like Paul, who support the United Steelworkers of America, and fewer professors and researchers who sell themselves to U.S. Steel . . .," Sadlowski said.

Although Pitt agreed to a new fifteen-month contract, the university is trying to cut back on Nyden's rights as a faculty member. Nyden accepted the contract offer under protest.

AFFIRMATIVE, BUT NOT TOO AFFIRMATIVE: A University of California affirmative-action program for staff and faculty members has made some progress, but is

"essentially standing in place." So says a report provided the university board of regents May 19.

Just where the "progress" is was not clear, since the report found that the percentage of minorities in academic positions had gone down from 13.4 percent to 12.5 in the past three years. The report shows that minorities comprise only 6 percent of the university's tenured faculty, and women only 7 percent.

One reason for the lack of progress, the report said, is the failure of the state government to provide the funds necessary to increase the number of women and minorities in faculty and staff positions.

For its 1977-78 budget, UC requested \$1.2 million for affirmative action. The "progressive-minded" Gov. Edmund Brown cut the request to \$250,000.

Because of the extensive on-the-spot coverage from Spain this week, the World Outlook section will not appear.

FREE THE PENDLETON 14: Three hundred people marched in Oceanside, California, June 4 to demand the dropping of charges against fourteen Black marines at nearby Camp Pendleton. The fourteen face years in prison for their involvement in a fight between Black and white marines.

Their trials have revealed complicity between marine brass and the base Ku Klux Klan, which reportedly had 300 members.

Leonard Weinglass, chief defense attorney for the fourteen, urged demonstrators to build a massive public campaign to demand their freedom. Other speakers included a representative of the Camp Pendleton 14 Defense Committee and José Medina, a Chicano activist facing deportation.

The fourteen Black marines attended the rally and received a warm reception.

SUPPORT INTERNATIONAL HOTEL TENANTS: Two thousand people rallied on the sidewalk outside San Francisco's International Hotel June 12 to oppose moves to evict the predominantly elderly Chinese and Filipino tenants. The building site is sought by real estate developers.

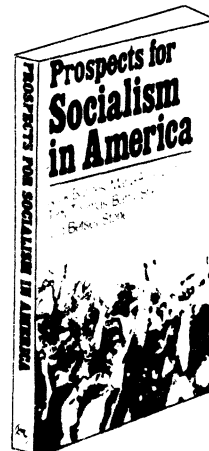
Supporters at the rally included Walter Johnson, president of Local 1100, Retail Clerks, and representatives of the longshoremen's union.

A contingent of 150 gay activists joined the demonstration after marching elsewhere in a gay rights action.

—Arnold Weissberg

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Support growing for national antideportation conference

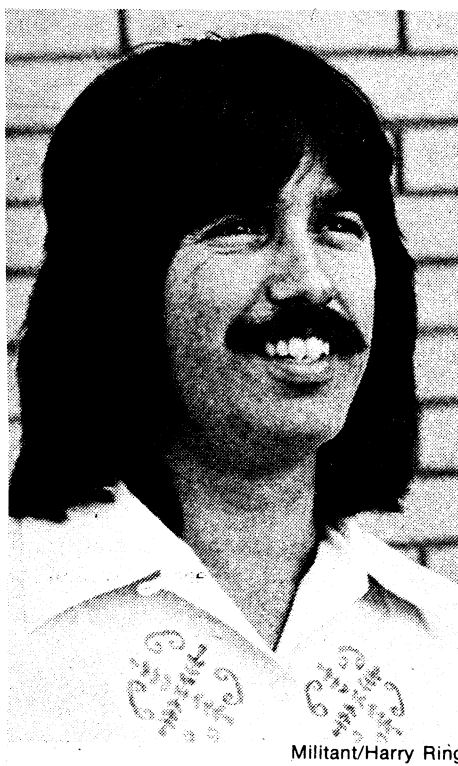
Utah

By Katherine Sojourner

SALT LAKE CITY—A meeting of ninety people here June 4 voted to back the call for a fall national Chicano conference to respond to stepped-up attacks by the Carter administration on Chicanos and undocumented workers.

Held at the Centro Cívico Mexicano, the event was sponsored by the newly organized Comité de Gente Unida (United People's Committee). It was cosponsored by the University of Utah Chicano Student Association and Adela, a Chicano community organization.

Dr. Armando Gutiérrez, vice-chairperson of the Texas Raza Unida



Militant/Harry Ring

ARMANDO GUTIERREZ

party, was the featured speaker. Conference coordinators also invited a representative of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, but *la migra* was apparently too busy at the airport checking planes for "illegal aliens."

Plans for the meeting received wide publicity in the Salt Lake media. People came from as far away as Idaho and southern Utah. The meeting was conducted in English and Spanish.

"For decades," Gutiérrez told participants, "immigrants to the United States have been branded 'inferior.' Their entry is speeded up or slowed down according to the economic needs of the U.S. Whenever the U.S. has gone through economic difficulties, it has always been blamed on the immigrants."

Gutiérrez refuted the myth that undocumented workers "use up" services like welfare and food stamps.

"Even the government's own statistics do not bear this out," he said. "But the government gets away with such lies because Mexican workers today are defenseless. They have no access to *Time* magazine, *Newsweek*, or the *Salt Lake Tribune*."

Gutiérrez said the government crackdown is based on fear: "They are afraid of a new mass movement in a few years created by the children of undocumented workers. So they want to shut the door against the millions of Mexicans who come to this country to try to find jobs."

Gutiérrez pointed out that the bosses have always welcomed the Mexican workers because they could get away with paying them near-starvation wages.

A minimum wage of \$3.50 per hour for all workers—including domestic and farm workers—Gutiérrez said, "would take the pressure off the individual workers and put it where it belongs—on the bosses."

"Officials should not be allowed to go around to the employers asking, 'Do you have any illegals working for you?' Instead, they should be asked, 'Are you paying all of your workers \$3.50 per hour?'"

One proposal being discussed by Carter is to make it illegal for an employer to "knowingly" hire a worker without papers. Several state governments have already passed such legislation, and others are now considering it.

"Laws like this will be used by employers to discriminate against all Latinos," Gutiérrez said. "The employers will use it to discriminate—to hire no one who looks like a Mexican on the basis that they may be an 'illegal.'"

Gutiérrez also blasted Washington's moves to increase the number of *la migra* border cops.

Carter's promise of more U.S. investment and trade with Mexico may "look good on the face of it," said Gutiérrez. "But it means more money for the rich, more Goodyear companies, Sears Roebucks, and J.C. Pennys in Mexico, not jobs and decent wages for the Mexican people."

Gutiérrez also commented on reports that the Carter administration may grant "amnesty" to all undocumented workers who can prove they have been in the United States five years or more. "It would be extremely difficult for a person who has gone to great lengths to hide their identity for years to suddenly prove they have been in the U.S. for at least five years," Gutiérrez pointed out. "The amnesty proposal is clearly a move by Carter to defuse our movement, and terminate it if possible."

In light of these attacks, Gutiérrez stressed the importance of the October national conference in San Antonio called by Texas Chicano leaders last month. The Utah meeting voted to endorse the call and send representatives.

The conference also set plans for a statewide protest meeting in October, and for local activity in defense of undocumented workers on November 18. On that day, a delegation of Chicano leaders will present a "Latino Agenda" to the federal government in Washington, D.C. The meeting voted to send representatives to Washington.

Kandy Romero, a conference coordinator, told the *Militant*, "We feel that there is great potential for a strong, united movement in Utah around defense of our Mexican brothers and sisters."

"We must go out and win the support from the Chicano community, the unions, the students, the Black community, and women's organizations," Romero said. "I think that after today, more people are confident that we can do this."

Texas

By Miguel Pendás

SAN ANTONIO—TU-CASA, a local antideportation organization, is sponsoring a one-day conference here June

26 on immigration and the suppression of civil liberties.

Scheduled speakers include Bert Corona, longtime Chicano antideportation activist; civil liberties attorney William Kunstler; Ramon Chacón, a Chicano activist from south Texas who was recently released from a Mexican prison after being held there as a political prisoner; San Antonio Chicano activist Mario Cantú; José Molina, a movement songwriter from Mexico; Nicasio Dimas, Chicano lawyer; and Margie Ratner, a New York civil liberties lawyer.

The poster advertising the conference states, "The new immigration laws and policies of the Carter administration and the administration of [Mexican president] López Portillo make it necessary for *mexicanos* to know how they will be affected and what they must do to defend themselves."

TU-CASA leader Paco Cantú told the *Militant*, "One of the most important aims of our organization is just to inform our brothers and sisters from Mexico about the immigration laws."

"Our gathering also will condemn the repression of human rights" both in Mexico and the United States.

The conference will be held at the Rubén Salazar Cultural Center. For more information, call (512) 223-9602.

New Mexico

By Barry David

ALBUQUERQUE, N.M.—The central committee of the New Mexico Raza Undia party has issued a call for a statewide meeting June 26 to plan defense of undocumented workers and participation in the October national Chicano conference in San Antonio.

The planning meeting will be held here. Juan José Peña, chairperson of the San Miguel County, New Mexico, RUP, said that "all Chicano and non-Chicano organizations interested in defending undocumented Mexican immigrants will be invited."

Peña said that discussion will include a proposal for a New Mexico conference early in October.



Militant/Cindy McCarver

JUAN JOSE PENA

2,000 march in NYC for amnesty

By Arnold Weissberg

Two thousand protesters rallied at the United Nations building in New York June 4 to demand amnesty for immigrants without visas. The action was organized by the National Committee for the Defense of Immigrants, (NCDI).

Rev. José Alvarez, a leader of the NCDI, told the crowd that the plight of "illegal aliens" in the United States is a human rights problem. He called on President Carter "to see the problem of human rights here in our country."

The demonstrators left a letter at the United Nations for U.S. delegate Andrew Young.

The letter called for "a generous amnesty" for the eight million "illegal aliens" in this country.

The letter also called for increasing the immigration quota from Latin America. The current quotas are ridiculously low. For example, only 20,000 people a year are allowed in from Mexico, while many tens of thousands more want to emigrate.

"We are being harassed," said Mario Paredes of the NCDI. "We have no social benefits. We are lawful people, and we are working for food, shelter, decency, and justice."

'A total victory'

By Barry David

ALBUQUERQUE, N.M.—Isabel Blea, state chairperson of the Raza Unida party, and Juan José Peña, chairperson of the San Miguel County RUP, announced plans here June 6 for a victory rally June 19 in Espanola, in the northern part of the state.

Originally called as a defense rally for RUP leader Antonio (Ike) DeVargas, who has been charged with assault and battery on an off-duty sheriff, the event will instead celebrate the dropping of charges.

DeVargas had been expected to go to trial June 20. The indictment was the latest of a long series of harassment cases to which the RUP has been subjected in rural Rio Arriba County.

Rio Arriba, which is overwhelmingly Chicano, has long been the victim of the Democratic party machine there. Residents are very poor. Chicano Democrats have maintained their rule through a combination of violence and patronage.

The Rio Arriba Democratic machine first gained notoriety in the 1960s by crushing the land-grant movement led by Reies López Tijerina. This was one of the first struggles that projected the Chicano movement into the news.

The Democrats—led by Sheriff Emilio Naranjo—see the growth of the RUP as a threat to its continued rule, and have sought to destroy it.

However, Peña noted, every charge against RUP members in Rio Arriba has either been dropped or defeated in court. "This is a total victory for the *partido*," he said.

Blea said the party will announce its slate for the 1978 state elections at the June 19 rally. The RUP will field candidates for governor, U.S. Senate, and attorney general.

Demonstrations across nation support gay

Miami

By Jack Lieberman

MIAMI—On June 7 the law protecting gays from discrimination in jobs, housing, and public accommodations was repealed in a referendum here. If there was any question about what was at stake, it was quickly settled. One June 8 gays were evicted from apartments and fired from jobs.

Responding to the setback, more than 750 gay rights supporters vowed to continue their struggle at two rallies held here June 7.

One highlight was a speech by Walter Kemp, a leader of the gay movement in the Netherlands, who came to Miami to pledge international support for the struggle. Kemp brought people to their feet in a standing ovation when he said, "Tell Rosalynn Carter to come home from Brasilia, because human rights are being denied right here at home!"

Immediately after the referendum several gays received eviction notices from their apartments. Tod Kaufman, a nineteen-year-old salesperson at a Jeans West clothing store, was fired the day after the election because he had once worked in a gay bar.

Kaufman has filed a complaint with the Dade County Fair Housing and Appeals Board. On June 11 forty gay rights supporters picketed the store demanding that Kaufman be rehired.

Right wing, antigay forces here are also continuing to organize. On June 12 nearly 1,300 people attended a rally led by Anita Bryant at a local Baptist church.

Calling the referendum results a "victory for God and decency in America," Bryant pledged, "If God says go, I will go to another part of the country" to lead her crusade.

San Francisco

By David Kaufman

SAN FRANCISCO—News of the Miami defeat and an attack on gay rights in California sparked a week of angry and defiant protests here.

When the results of Miami's referendum hit San Francisco June 7, about 400 people gathered spontaneously at 10:00 p.m. By the time the crowd made its way to the Civic Center for a rally, it had grown to 5,000.

"At first I think a lot of us felt depressed," said a member of Gay Action, which helped initiate the march. But clearly the mood changed.

"No more Miamis!" "Gay Rights Now!" chanted the protesters. Passing motorists honked approval, and the crowd cheered back.

The mood of the demonstrators was so spirited that, according to the next day's *San Francisco Chronicle*, many people passing by thought that the Miami gay rights law had won and that they were witnessing the victory celebration.

On Thursday a headline in the *San Francisco Examiner* declared, "Anti-gay backlash predicted in state." State legislator John Briggs announced plans to introduce legislation legalizing discrimination against gay teachers. Any idea that "it can't happen here" quickly disappeared.

Actions to defend gay rights have happened every day since the Miami defeat. Wednesday, June 8, saw 1,500 in the streets. About 500 people demonstrated on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday. On Sunday another 500 held a vigil and marched to various churches.

On Saturday 100 women met to form the Lesbian Rights Alliance. The group decided to help build the June 26 Gay Freedom Day here and to defend Jeanne Jullion, a lesbian mother who recently lost her children in a custody case.

On June 13 some 850 people, almost one-third of them women, met and

formed the Coalition for Human Rights. The group adopted a statement of purpose and discussed making the Gay Freedom Day Parade a massive show of support for gay rights.

New York

By Kurt Hill

NEW YORK—More than 5,000 supporters of gay rights rallied in Greenwich Village's Sheridan Square June 8 to protest the repeal of the Dade County, Florida, ordinance banning discrimination against homosexuals.

The late-night rally was called on only twenty-four hours' notice by the Gay Activists Alliance, Lesbian Feminist Liberation, and the Metropolitan Community Church.

Jean O'Leary, political coordinator of the National Gay Task Force, told the crowd, "Anita Bryant says she is going to go across the country against gay rights." A chorus of boos went up from the protesters. "But we are going to stop her! We can take this campaign and really do a job nationally." The crowd cheered.

David Thorstad of the Gay Activists Alliance blasted the Bryant forces for their demagogic campaign to deny gays full civil rights. He noted that the reactionaries had based their campaign on slanders that gays are "child molesters." He pointed to studies that have disproved these lies. Thorstad called on the protesters to continue mobilizing against the antihomosexual campaign.

"We were unable to counteract the fear campaign peddled by Anita Bryant, but our campaign is not over," declared Morty Manford of the National Coalition of Gay Activists. "We are going to stay in the streets—we will not go away!"

After hearing other speakers, the demonstrators marched more than fifty blocks to Columbus Circle for another brief rally.

By Michael Maggi

NEW YORK—More than sixty people attended a meeting of the Gay Activists Alliance here June 9. The meeting voted to form a city-wide coalition to organize a conference on response to the attack on gay rights.

More than 150 people attending the annual membership meeting of the



Human rights molester

National Gay Task Force June 11 heard a panel on gay rights struggles around the country. A heated discussion took place on how best to respond to the Miami defeat.

New Orleans

By Chris Gauvreau

NEW ORLEANS—When Anita Bryant comes here to star in the city's annual "pop festival," she will be greeted by a pro-gay rights demonstration organized by the Human Equal Rights for Everyone (HERE) coalition.

Supporters of gay rights will rally at Jackson Square at 5:30 p.m. June 18. Leonard Matlovich, the Vietnam veteran ousted from the air force when he made his homosexuality public, will be the featured speaker. From the rally protesters will march to Bryant's concert on Rampart Street and set up a picket line there at 7:00 p.m.

A leaflet put out by HERE explains "Why we protest": "What are the stakes in this fight? Past history shows that when the rights of one social group are denied or taken away, the dynamic does not stop there. Thus, it is no accident that Anita Bryant is linked to the same right-wing forces that oppose the Equal Rights Amendment, legal abortion, and school desegregation. . . .

"This fight is thus for everyone's human rights, not just the rights of gay people. We appeal to everyone—and especially women and blacks—to join us. . . ."

Local endorsers for the June 18 action include two Black state representatives, Carl Galmon of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, John Vodika of the Louisiana Coalition on Jails and Prisons, Ike Nahem of the Student Coalition Against Racism, and the local chapters of the National Organization for Women and American Civil Liberties Union.

Los Angeles

By Joanne Tortorici

LOS ANGELES—"We're here to serve notice on Anita Bryant and her kind: we won't be chased back into the closet—ever again!"

The crowd of 8,000-10,000 people here roared and jumped to their feet, cheering Rev. Troy Perry for saying what was on everyone's mind. Gay people will not sit back and let Bryant's "Save Our Children" campaign trample on hard-won civil rights.

The June 13 candlelight march through Hollywood was built on just a few days' notice, mostly by word of mouth. Nevertheless, people poured into the city by the carload, busload,

Join the protests!

Many participants in the New York gay rights protest June 8 received copies of a statement by Catarino Garza, Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor of that city.

"Flush with victory, the forces of reaction are mobilizing to spread their poison throughout the country," Garza warned.

"To defeat this threat, we must continue to counter-mobilize. This year the Christopher Street demonstration will take on added meaning as gays march for full human rights.

"I urge all supporters of democratic rights to support these protests."

The scheduled protests include:

ATLANTA: June 18—The Gay Rights March will assemble at the Civic Center at Piedmont and Forrest Avenue and step off at 2:00 p.m. The march will go to Piedmont Park for a rally.

BOSTON: June 18—The Gay Pride Parade will leave Copley Square at noon and march to the Boston Common bandstand for a 1:30 p.m. rally.

CHICAGO: June 17—Candlelight march will leave from Cannon Drive and the Lagoon at 7:00 p.m. and go through Lincoln Park. June 24—A noon rally at Daley Plaza in the Loop will feature Leonard Matlovich. June 26—The lesbian and gay pride march will step off from Belmont and Halstead at 2:00 p.m.

CLEVELAND: June 25—The Gay Pride Day march will assemble at 1:00 p.m. in Public Square.

LOS ANGELES: June 26—The Christopher Street West Parade will assemble at Argyle and Hollywood Boulevard at 3:00 p.m. and march to Las Palmas and Sunset. Malcolm Boyd is the featured speaker.

MIAMI: June 25—Memorial for 250,000 gays killed by Nazis. 10:30 a.m. at the Center for Dialogue, 2175 NW Twenty-sixth Street (at corner of Twenty-second Avenue).

MINNEAPOLIS: June 25—The Lesbian and Gay Pride Parade will assemble at noon at the Loring Park bandstand. After a rally the march will step off at 1:30 p.m.

NEW YORK: June 26—The Christopher Street Liberation Day parade will assemble at Sheridan Square at 10:00 a.m. and step off at noon. The march will go to the Great Lawn in Central Park (near Seventy-seventh Street) for a 2:00 p.m. rally.

SAN FRANCISCO: June 26—The Gay Freedom Day Parade will assemble at Second and Howard at noon and march to the Civic Center for a rally.

SEATTLE: June 25—The Gay Pride Week march will assemble in Occidental Park at noon and march to Westlake Mall for a rally.

rights

and truckload to produce the largest political demonstration Los Angeles has had in many years.

The crowd was buoyant and confident, even jubilant, as we marched down Hollywood Boulevard. Thousands of people driving by leaned on their horns in solidarity, eliciting cheers and raised fist salutes from the demonstrators.

The chants bounced off neon-lit buildings: "Anita Bryant go away! Gay rights are here to stay!"

The marchers made it clear that Bryant and her campaign to smash gay rights will not be welcome in this city. The antigay crusader has announced she is considering California for her next stop.

The response to the threat here has been quick, involving many people who are becoming politically active for the first time. A meeting called on one day's notice to plan the June 13 demonstration drew 150 people representing many different political viewpoints.

Minneapolis

By Gillian Furst

MINNEAPOLIS—Two hundred lesbians, gay men, and gay rights supporters came to the Militant Forum here June 10 to hear a discussion on the fight against gay oppression. The overflow crowd stood on the sidewalk and sat in the basement to hear speakers.

Karen Clark of the Lesbian Feminist Organizing Committee; State Sen. Allan Spear, author of a gay rights bill; and Koreen Phelps, a lesbian activist and member of the Socialist Workers party, spoke.

There was lively discussion about the need for a response to the Miami defeat. The setback has fired the lesbian and gay communities here to unite in building Lesbian and Gay Pride Day '77 on June 25.

Salt Lake City

By Roberta Frick

SALT LAKE CITY, Utah—The Mormon church, which dominates this state, was thrilled by news of the defeat for Miami's gay rights law. Church officials mounted a vicious campaign against the local gay community.

A gay conference had been scheduled for June 11-12 at the Hotel Utah here. But after the Miami referendum, hotel manager Victor Brown canceled the conference reservation and refused to refund a \$100 deposit. Brown—who is also presiding president of the Mormon church—told conference organizers he would count the deposit as a "contribution."

After being turned down at ten to fifteen other sites, the conference finally held its meetings at the Royal Inn Hotel. The hotel was besieged by threatening phone calls, including a bomb threat.

When Leonard Matlovich, a leading gay rights spokesperson, arrived for the conference Friday and held an airport news briefing, the Mormon church's private police attended and took pictures of gay rights supporters.

Ken Kline, a conference organizer, said that the intimidation had frightened many from attending. Nonetheless some seventy-five people came to hear Matlovich Saturday night. Kline reported that several hundred attended one or another conference activity.

The Mormon Relief Society sent Anita Bryant a telegram hailing her "courageous and effective efforts combating homosexuality." Supporters of human rights for gays are discussing what to do when Bryant comes to Utah September 18.

YSA wins free speech fight at Central Michigan Univ.

By Chuck Petrin

The Young Socialist Alliance won its seven-month battle with Central Michigan University June 2. Criminal charges against YSA members Brigid Douglas, Jim Garrison, and Tom Smith were dropped.

The CMU administration had charged the three with criminal trespass for distributing socialist books, pamphlets, and newspapers outside a public meeting last October.

At a June 3 news conference in the Michigan headquarters of the American Civil Liberties Union, Douglas talked about the significance of the case.

"If CMU had succeeded in convicting us," Douglas said, "a dangerous precedent would have been set for the suppression of dissident views everywhere."

The central issue was freedom of speech, Douglas explained. The YSA was determined to exercise its constitutional right to advocate socialist ideas.

Three days earlier CMU President Harold Abel explained his version of the case. On May 31 Abel announced "new and revised" regulations for campus political activity. He explained that "rules and policies are in a continual process of review and change to accommodate changing values in the culture."

"The incident of last October, which culminated in the arrest of members of the Young Socialist Alliance, contributed a measure of urgency to the redrafting of the rules," Abel said.

He even piously declared that "the highest obligation of the University is to protect, so far as humanly possible, the freedom to express ideas within a highly pluralized community."

Actually, Abel learned that lesson the hard way during the campaign the YSA mounted to defend Douglas, Garrison, and Smith.

Last fall when Abel insisted that the socialists be prosecuted, he had a different idea of the university's "highest obligation." Then Abel had claimed, "The issue . . . is whether or not the university has the authority to make and enforce reasonable rules."

He had slandered the YSA members, calling them "outsiders" and "hucksters."

How YSA won

Abel's witch-hunt-style attack failed because the YSA fought back.

Attorney Ronald Reosti built a case focusing on the important civil liberties issues at stake and exposing CMU's criminal charges as a fabrication and an attempt to suppress free speech.

After a pretrial hearing in January the YSA filed a counter-lawsuit against CMU President Abel, Dean of Student Affairs James Hill, and the CMU Board of Trustees. The suit documented gross violations of First Amendment rights by the administration.

At the same time the YSA worked with other supporters of civil liberties to organize public support.

CMU students and professors formed the Committee for Free Speech. The committee issued a broad appeal for support to the case. The committee's aim was to mobilize maximum support for the demand: Drop all the charges!

Prominent sponsors of the committee included the American Civil Liberties Union of Michigan, the National Student Association, U.S. Rep. John Conyers, linguist Noam Chomsky, and journalist I.F. Stone.

Michigan State Rep. Perry Bullard, chairperson of the Michigan House Civil Rights Committee, wrote Abel: "The University tradition of free exchange of ideas and the democratic tradition of free expression of political



Militant/Gary Davies

FREE FROM CHARGES: (from left) Brigid Douglas, Jim Garrison, Tom Smith.

beliefs are both of central importance to maintaining our free society. The actions of the University in arresting the three YSA workers and in continuing to press these charges is in direct contradiction to these two basic traditions."

Other letters, telegrams, and resolutions flooded Abel's office from campus groups, student governments, and civil libertarians—not only from Michigan but from around the country.

Digging deeper

Once the issue of political freedom was made public by the YSA, no act of administration harassment escaped attention.

A year earlier CMU had imposed a tight curfew on sales of all literature by the YSA. It had forced the campus Chicano group to choose between "partisan political activity" backing the United Farm Workers union or loss of its charter, office, and funding. It handcuffed women's liberation activists with rules forbidding leaflets and posters. And it openly defied a student referendum vote against the use of armed security cops in dormitory rooms.

Discussion of all these attacks on students' rights was triggered by the arrest of the three YSA members.

In March the YSA uncovered another sordid practice of CMU officials: spying. FBI files showed that CMU's so-called Department of Public Safety regularly fed information about the campus YSA to the Detroit FBI bureau from 1971 to 1975.

Abel insisted it was far-fetched to draw a connection between CMU's spy racket and its arrest of the three socialists. But students and professors demanded an investigation.

The public support for the arrested socialists, campus debate of the issues, the threat of more protests and further revelations—these pressures made the case too explosive for CMU's administration. Abel was forced to conclude

that a retreat was necessary.

The CMU administration dropped charges against the socialists and changed some of its most oppressive regulations. In light of these victories, the YSA decided not to press its countersuit.

"The new political activity rules announced by CMU President Harold Abel acknowledge certain constitutional rights that were previously denied on campus," read a statement issued by the CMU chapter of the YSA.

But the YSA pointed to undemocratic restrictions that still exist. YSA member Brigid Douglas said, "Students and professors will be eyeing the CMU administration carefully from now on. They will want to test its policy toward political activity in deeds, not words."

At the June 3 news conference Meg Hayes, secretary of the Committee for Free Speech, pointed out:

"As long as campus administrators seek to regulate student rights away by imposing limitations of First Amendment freedoms we will continue to see cases like this one in the future. Any infringement on students' rights to hear or express ideas must be fought by all civil libertarians."

By Della Rossa

PASADENA, Calif.—The Young Socialist Alliance has won the right to sell the *Militant* and other socialist literature on the Pasadena City College campus after a year-long battle with the board of trustees.

Faced with a possible lawsuit, the board of trustees decided to let the socialists sell on campus. Frederick Tepker, an attorney from the American Civil Liberties Union, has handled the legal case.

The campus newspaper, the *Courier*, featured a front-page photo of YSA members selling on May 24, the first day of legalized sales.

What is the Young Socialist Alliance?

What are the ideas that campus administrations were so afraid would "stir up" students at Central Michigan University?

That we are opposed to cutbacks in education and to tuition hikes? That we organize against campus complicity with the apartheid regime in South Africa? That we support the fight for preferential admissions programs, abortion rights, and the Equal Rights Amendment? That we are fighting for gay rights?

Most of all, they didn't want students to hear about the type of

society we think is necessary to achieve full human rights—a socialist and democratic society.

The CMU administration found that the YSA is willing to fight for what we believe in. And that we can win.

We can win other struggles, too. But only with your help.

Join the YSA!

Contact the YSA chapter nearest you or write to the YSA National Office, Post Office Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

By Frank Lovell

The final weeks of campaigning in the June 14 United Mine Workers election took an unexpected twist. "Outside interference" appeared to become the central issue.

That same charge was raised by Lloyd McBride and the entrenched bureaucracy in the United Steelworkers election last February when challenger Ed Sadlowski ran for president of that union.

There is a difference, however—an ironic difference. Because the "outsider" charge this time was raised *against* officials of the Steelworkers union—retiring President I.W. Abel in particular, and others in the hierarchy of the USWA.

The "outsider" label was used by incumbent UMWA President Arnold Miller and challenger Harry Patrick to further discredit the third candidate, Lee Roy Patterson, a hangover of the corrupt Tony Boyle regime.

Patterson is the favorite of the coal operators. He has pledged that if elected president of the UMWA he will bring the "unruly" coal miners under control. He is also endorsed by Abel and his successor, USWA President McBride.

Shortly before his retirement Abel collected \$4,000-\$5,000 from top steel-union officials for Patterson's campaign. McBride declines to say if he contributed but says he "wouldn't be unhappy" if Miller and Patrick were defeated.

Both Miller and Patrick were part of the insurgent Miners for Democracy (MFD) slate that ousted the Boyle machine in the 1972 court-ordered election. Patrick is UMWA secretary-treasurer, and now charges that Miller as union president bowed to pressure from former Boyle loyalists and failed to forge a leadership team of rank-and-file miners.

Officials of the steel union claim that the insurgency in the mine union has caused "chaos," and that Patterson will restore "order."

McBride told reporters from the *Wall Street Journal*, that "just about every responsible labor leader in the country looking at the UMW, which was once great and is now in deep trouble, would only conclude that the leadership has been irresponsible and inept."

What McBride doesn't explain is his hatred for the democratic reforms introduced by the MFD administration, and his fear that these changes could become contagious and spread to the ranks of the USWA.

Miners vs. operators

Charges and countercharges by the candidates, and interest from all sides in the outcome of the election, reflect in a distorted fashion the struggle between the coal miners and the operators.

The campaign also revealed some of the problems within the miners union, and the strategy of the coal operators to disrupt the union in preparation for a showdown when the union contract expires December 5.

All three candidates promised to meet the challenge of the operators. All

Challenge for miners union



trade away other important benefits for a high daily wage."

The problem for the miners is how to defend themselves and their union from the relentless attacks of the coal companies. How to face the coming showdown over wages and working conditions when the present contract expires this winter.

There is little evidence that any attention is being paid to what the miners will do in the event of a long strike, or if faced with government intervention to force them back to work.

Miller said that if reelected he expects that the new executive board will be more favorable to his management of the union. But all indications in recent district elections are that he will have less support than before.

Patrick campaigned for an all-out union organizing drive, "for organizing both East and West." He claimed that "Patterson voted last year to cut UMWA organizing by one-third and Miller has lost all interest in organizing after IEB opposition." Nearly half the coal that goes on the market today

It is true that the union lacks leadership. Miller has not won the support and respect of the executive board and isolated Patterson and other remnants of the former Boyle administration.

Unable to reorganize the shambles he inherited, Miller seemed to imagine that his problems as president of the union stemmed from enemies within his own administration. He dismantled the staff that was assembled in his successful 1972 election campaign and failed to systematically expand the union apparatus to include union stewards and safety committeemen.

Patrick served as part of the Miller administration until, he says, the union began to drift away from the Miners for Democracy goals.

There is criticism of Patrick's handling of union funds as secretary-treasurer. Miller says Patrick was unable to collect dues and that proves he wouldn't be able to run the union.

Patterson served on the union executive board as an opponent of the Miners for Democracy goals and a critic of the Miller-Patrick administration from the first day it took office.

There is no doubt that the Miners for Democracy slate came to their leadership posts with good intentions, determined to establish democracy in the union. But they failed to recognize the devious methods and ramifications of coal company power.

Misjudgment

Miller had the mistaken idea that if the coal operators association signed a contract, the companies represented by the association would abide by the terms of that contract.

Likewise, Patrick mistook the intentions of the operators. He is accused of introducing an expensive computerized dues collecting system that didn't work. Such a system will work in an industry where labor-management relations are stabilized and the employers agree to collaborate in the collec-

tion of union dues. That is not the case in the coal industry.

As in these examples, all the problems of the union—large and small—stem from the plans of the coal companies to undermine and eventually destroy the United Mine Workers.

The companies are jubilant over the success they seem to be enjoying, especially as shown in this year's election campaign.

But there is another side of the union as it has developed during the past five years, the side that worries the operators. In nearly every coal mine there is now a union safety committee. These committees are trained by the union, and have authority with the miners on the job.

Local officials are elected by the miners they represent and subject to recall by those miners. This is something new for the UMWA.

A West Virginia coal miner was recently quoted on the meaning of the union election by one of the leading capitalist newspapers. "Don't make no difference who gets elected," he said. "They all promise you everything and produce nothing."

Such remarks by coal miners are not so cynical as the antiunion bosses like to believe. Many of these coal miners are not looking to others anymore to produce for them. They think they have the power, that the union belongs to them.

This is a source of great strength for the UMWA in time of crisis, greater than any other single union today.

Company strategy

The coal companies had their hands in the union election, but for them the outcome is not crucial. Their strategy remains unchanged.

Their chief negotiator is the former research director of the union, a staff functionary of the procompany Boyle gang. His name is Joseph Brennan. He calls union-management relations in the coal industry "industrial anarchy on a grand scale."

'Officials of the steel union claim that insurgency in the mine union has caused chaos, and Patterson will restore order.'

insisted that they will not accept a new contract that does not recognize the right of miners to strike over local issues. Beyond this the promises were vague.

President Miller stood on his record as negotiator of the 1974 wage settlement and initiator of the rank-and-file referendum. The present contract is the first ever submitted to a vote of the membership.

Patterson promised "\$100 a day, plus . . ." Also no dues increase.

Patrick said, "1977 will be a time to catch up. But we must be certain not to

comes out of nonunion mines, or a few in the West covered by the AFL-CIO operating engineers.

Patterson's running mates claimed he is an able administrator and a good negotiator. The implication is that a union official who understands the industry and the operators can win concessions for the membership.

State of the union

Judging by what the candidates said about each other and about how the union is managed, the UMWA seems in bad shape.

"The wildcat," says Brennan, "is nothing less than a cancer eating at the very heart of collective bargaining in coal."

There is more truth in this statement than Brennan intends to reveal. The wildcat strikes that have increased every year since the 1974 coal contract was signed are the direct result of systematic violations of that contract, especially the safety provisions and the grievance procedures.

The coal companies don't want collective bargaining. They want company rules. If the union helps them enforce their rules, well and good. But if the union challenges those rules, get rid of the union. This is the unvarnished position of the coal companies.

Company directors think it is now possible to impose this policy.

They are adamant on the strike issue. No contract until the miners agree to a no-strike pledge for the duration of the contract! And they want language that gives the companies the freedom to violate the new contract with impunity.

This means that there will almost certainly be a strike when the current contract expires.

The second step of their strategy is to offer to negotiate local settlements—on *their* terms, of course.

'All the problems of the union stem from the plans of the coal companies to undermine and eventually destroy the UMWA.'

Another move, while pretending to negotiate in good faith, is to keep as many mines open as possible. They count on full production from the unorganized sector of the industry and hope that the strip miners in the West represented by the AFL-CIO operating engineers will also continue to work.

If they can prolong the strike, they think the miners can be starved back to work because the union treasury is not able to pay strike benefits for very long.

While the strike drags on, the coal operators will depend upon their class allies to demand government intervention against the strikers because of the "energy crisis."

And they have reason to think that Carter and the Congress will respond on their behalf.

It all sounds like a blueprint for victory, a sure way to bring the coal miners to heel. And that's what the operators would like the miners to believe. But the operators are not sure. They are not all of one mind.

They talk publicly about the disunity of the union leadership, but among

the outcome of the vote. Regardless of who represents the Mine Workers, they announced that they will be affected by the outcome of negotiations in the coal industry, and they intend to be represented—directly or indirectly.

The coal miners have good reason to be suspicious of the Steelworkers bureaucrats. They know the steelworkers are saddled with a no-strike agreement, which they were not allowed to vote on.

In view of their performance over the years it is a safe bet that McBride and Abel were prompted by the steel companies to announce themselves to the coal miners, as with everything else they do.

But they also have their own independent motives in this. They know that if the mine union is defeated in a test of strength, the steel union will be weakened as a result. They would like to find a way to avoid the coming showdown. They will be heard from again.

Miners not alone

When all the forces in the struggle between the miners and the coal operators are weighed up it is clear that the operators rely upon other sectors of the ruling class and upon the government. The miners cannot expect

to win against this array by themselves. But they have allies, too.

An important element in the strategy of the operators is to isolate the coal miners from the rest of the union movement and from their potential allies in the mine regions.

The outcome will be determined not only by how the miners organize themselves for the hard fight ahead, but how skillfully they fight. They can win over most of the unorganized miners if they appeal to them for a solid front against the operators.

There will be times when young members of UMWA locals will need to organize and lead actions during the strike. They will be faced with new political problems, more complicated than those familiar ones with local police and compliant company-minded judges. These are the tests that will develop the new leaders of the union.

At issue is whether the miners, through their union, can police the coal industry and make mining safe.

The cause of the miners is just and they have great sympathy everywhere. They are respected for their determina-

'The outcome will be determined not only by how the miners organize themselves for the hard fight ahead, but how skillfully they fight.'

themselves they know that the industry is far more anarchistic than the union. They have made careful plans before, but they know from past experience that they are not yet in complete control. Much depends on what the miners do.

Miners and "outsiders"

The coal companies are not alone in waiting out the summer with mixed hopes and apprehension. Behind the coal companies stand the steel trust and the oil monopoly, both with investments in coal. And behind them the banks.

The capitalist class has a much greater interest in the coal industry than ever before, largely because it is their greatest known source of energy. And for this reason the government is also deeply interested.

This explains why the officials of the Steelworkers union openly intervened in the mine union election. McBride and Abel were not much worried about

tion that "coal will be mined safely or not at all."

Any attempt to crush the mine union will be recognized by the rest of the union movement as a new state in the general antiunion offensive that is being pressed on all fronts. This will be the first open challenge to the future existence of an established union in basic industry.

If the antiunion drive advances this far, the most powerful unions—especially the industrial union bloc, the original CIO unions—will be aroused to the danger they face. They should come to the defense of the miners. But the miners will need to seek their help, and should not hesitate.

It is not too soon for rank-and-file miners to organize UMWA local teams and visit other unions, speak at summer campus meetings, and go wherever there are potential allies in the working class to explain their problems and ask for support now.

W. Va. 'Militant' team: 88 subs to miners

By Steve Bride

MORGANTOWN, W. Va.—The access road bounces over two miles of gravel and pot holes, then plunges suddenly into a dense wooded area. Along the way campaign posters tirelessly repeat the names of mine union election hopefuls. You can follow them right to the company parking lot.

The name of the mine is Consolidated Coal Number 93. In the past two weeks a team of five *Militant* salespeople has traveled maybe a dozen roads like this one. We're here to introduce members of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) to the *Militant*.

Team captain Ed Heisler commented on the response to our efforts. "Miners have been exceptionally responsive to the *Militant*. To date we have sold eighty-eight *Militant* subscriptions to mine workers and eighty or so single copies. About half the miners we talk to buy the *Militant*."

Sales to UMWA members take place during shift changes, as workers are entering or leaving the mine portal. Average time for a shift change is about ninety minutes. Company men at several mines have ordered the team off the premises. At other mines security measures prohibit entry.

Despite these limitations, team member Joyce Stoller called it "the easiest selling I've ever done to industrial workers." Stoller previously participated in sales teams to steel plants in the Chicago area.

"We were somewhat cautious at first," Heisler continued. "I attended the 1976 UMWA convention, and I remember the red-baiting that went on there. But after the favorable response, particularly to the articles

on the UMWA, we stopped hawking single issues and concentrated on subscriptions. We encountered no red-baiting.

"We explained to miners that the *Militant* was a socialist newspaper that featured regular coverage of developments in the union movement.

"Black miners were especially interested in our coverage of South Africa and antiracist struggles in the United States."

Team members attributed the exceptional response among miners to the nature of the union. "The UMW has a history of militancy," said George Dolph. "The miners are called 'militants' by the operators and the whole history of the union tells them that the operators are their enemies."

"The miners identify closely with the union," added Marc Strumpf, the fourth team member. "The union is part of their lives, they view it as theirs."

Despite this strong union consciousness the candidates for the UMWA president have stirred something less than wild enthusiasm.

Heisler offered this explanation: "Most miners we talked to regard Lee Roy Patterson as a step backward to the Boyle era. But many of these miners are uncertain about Arnold Miller and Harry Patrick and see no real difference between the two. The result has been a certain disinterest in the election."

"On the other hand," Heisler said, "our discussions with miners and the reception given the *Militant* indicate that the miners understand their union is under serious attack by the coal operators and are looking for a program to defend themselves."

Steel notes...

DISTRICT 31 FIGHT BACK: One hundred supporters of Steelworkers Fight Back turned out June 4 to celebrate Jim Balanoff's installation as director of District 31. Balanoff pledged to continue the open-door policy begun by Ed Sadlowski and to fight for membership ratification of contracts, for dues reform, and against the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement.

The next day, 300 people attended a Fight Back fund-raiser in Chicago that netted about \$6,000.

DISTRICT 38 FIGHT BACK PUBLISHES NEWSLETTER: Steelworkers Fight Back in District 38 published the first issue of their newsletter in May.

Nash Rodríguez, a former candidate for secretary on the national Fight Back slate, thanked steelworkers for their support in the campaign and wrote: "It is important to remember that the conditions under which some steelworkers live and work will not allow us to walk away from the movement begun during the election campaign. Really it is just the beginning of an ongoing movement to bring about changes you members expressed a desire to see with your votes."

Copies of the newsletter can be obtained by writing to Steelworkers Fight Back, 4833 East Slauson Avenue, Maywood, California 90270.

DISTRICT 8 AND DISTRICT 15 ELECTIONS CHALLENGED: The secretary of labor has filed federal suits to nullify the USWA February 8 elections for district director in Districts 8 and 15.

The suits are based on complaints by Tony Tomko, president of Local 1408 in McKeesport, Pennsylvania, and David Wilson, president of Local 2609 at Sparrows Point, Maryland. Tomko and Wilson, both supporters of the Sadlowski campaign, sought to run for district director but failed to get enough local union nominations to win a ballot spot. Both actions charge the international with failure to provide reasonable opportunity for the nomination of candidates.

Some of the irregularities that Tomko and Wilson point to are: members were not notified of the time and place of local nominating meetings; no provisions were made for members who were working at the time of nomination meetings; members were permitted to withdraw nominations duly submitted and accepted; staff representatives improperly interfered in the elections; and inadequate safeguards were provided.

The suits ask that new elections be held in each district.

—Lynn Henderson

Mid-Atlantic regional meeting

NOW members debate how to win ERA

By Nancy Cole

WASHINGTON—More than 360 women attended the mid-Atlantic regional conference of the National Organization for Women here June 4-5.

Similar conferences are scheduled in each of the nine regions in order to elect regional directors and representatives to the NOW national board and to consider proposals for regionally coordinated activities.

The conference wrapped up a week in which the government's war on women's rights escalated on three fronts:

- On May 31 the Supreme Court ruled that seniority systems that perpetuate discrimination against Blacks and women are legal.

- On June 2 the Illinois house defeated the Equal Rights Amendment.

- That same day the Hyde amendment to cut off Medicaid funds for abortion was reintroduced in the U.S. House of Representatives.

While the conference did not map an adequate response to these and other attacks, several resolutions were approved that point in the right direction.

The plenary passed a proposal from the minority women's workshop to call a regional conference of Black, Chicana, Puerto Rican, and other women of oppressed nationalities (see box).

Resolutions in support of the struggle for gay rights and against the Hyde amendment were also approved.

NOW President Eleanor Smeal announced that NOW has declared August 26 a day for the ERA. "We are trying to kick off a national walk-a-thon for the ERA," she said.

Walk-a-thons are fund-raising, as well as publicity, events. Participants line up individual pledges in advance, then collect the money if they complete the walk.

Initiators of a resolution to hold regional walk-a-thons on August 26 made clear that this was not meant to exclude other activities on that day, such as rallies before or after the walk.

But an amendment to urge that such rallies also address other related issues, such as abortion rights and affirmative action, was defeated.

'Major setback'

If the ERA is defeated, Smeal warned in her opening speech, "we stand to lose everything we have gained. . . .

"This would be such a major setback that no self-respecting feminist should do anything but consider how they are going to help this drive in the next twenty months."



Militant/Nancy Cole

Conference approved August 26 ERA walk-a-thon, but rejected proposal to have day's activities protest attacks on abortion rights, affirmative action, and other women's rights.

All women at the conference agreed with the importance of the effort to win the ERA. There were disagreements, however, on how this drive should be carried out. In the view of the NOW leadership, all eyes should now be on the next legislative elections. The push is to elect "pro-ERA" legislators.

That was symbolized by the absence here of all but a handful of NOW members from Virginia, the only unratified state in this region. The majority of Virginia NOW activists were attending district Republican conventions to urge nomination of "pro-ERA" candidates.

This approach was also spelled out in the ERA caravan that followed adjournment of the conference on Sunday. About 200 drove past the home of Virginia Democratic Del. James Thomson. He heads up the committee that has bottled up the ERA for five years.

One rally speaker challenged the Republican party to come up with a candidate that supports the ERA to oppose Thomson in the November election.

Defending rights caucus

Women who oppose this strategy of looking to the election of "friendly" politicians as the way to win our rights caucused at this conference as they had done at the Detroit national

conference around the Defending Women's Rights resolution.

The caucus was convened by Philadelphia NOW members Clare Fraenzl and Rhonda Rutherford. About thirty women attended the Saturday evening meeting.

The caucus decided to support a resolution for an August 26 Day of Action Defending Women's Rights, which called for rallies, picket lines, and demonstrations to demand ratification of the ERA and an end to the attacks on abortion, affirmative action, child care, pregnancy benefits, and an end to sterilization abuse.

Women in the caucus also supported the resolution from the minority women's workshop.

ERA strike force

The largest conference workshop was on the ERA strike force and was chaired by Smeal. The strike force was approved by the national conference. It is headed by Smeal and has authority to set the group's ERA strategy.

Smeal repeated her pledge to "mobilize the entire nation" in a campaign of "high visibility and militancy." The first step, she said, is to get the strike force off the ground. One of its first actions is the call for August 26 walk-a-thons.

She also announced that Alice Cohan from Trenton, New Jersey, NOW has been hired as strike force field organizer.

Cohan organized the ERA caravan in Indiana, Florida, and Virginia, and she described the caravan successes.

Toba Singer, a supporter of the August 26 Defending Women's Rights resolution, related a different impression of the caravan. When it came through Richmond, she reported, its main activity was a rally to which local candidates were invited to speak.

This included Singer herself, who is the Socialist Workers party candidate for Virginia House of Delegates, District 33. But one invited candidate, Singer said, actually had the gall to announce his opposition to the ERA on the caravan platform!

The caravans are a good idea, Singer continued, but, in Richmond at least, it was not used as an opportunity to organize the troops needed to fight for the ERA.

"On August 26," Singer continued, "I invite you all to come down to Virginia where I hope we can mobilize women against the whole state legislature, which has sold us out year after year."

"There are a host of organizations that support the ERA. Among those

are groups like Planned Parenthood, the NAACP, and labor unions. The Supreme Court decision against affirmative action was as much a slap in the face to them as it was to us. We should try to involve them in this ERA action around issues such as affirmative action and abortion rights."

Singer later proposed an amendment to the walk-a-thon resolution that rallies before and after the walks address "other related issues such as affirmative action and the right to choose."

One woman opposed to the amendment argued that without it "we may pick up women who are not for the right to choose or who are not sure of gay rights."

'Don't antagonize'

Another urged NOW not to "antagonize different groups by raising other issues."

Field organizer Cohan declared that each issue was "so critical and so crucial" that each deserved its own "unique strategy." Adding other issues to August 26 would make for a "muddled message," she said.

Priscilla Schenk from Richmond disagreed, pointing to the most powerful demonstration of women during this wave of feminism—the August 26, 1970, New York march of 50,000. That demonstration demanded a lot of women's rights, and the message to the government was anything but muddled.

Helen Schiff from Newark supported allying with struggles around other women's rights as the way to build the most powerful movement for the ERA.

"Forced sterilization, for example, is an important issue for Black and Puerto Rican women," she said. If we can relate the ERA to these issues, "we can get Black and Puerto Rican

Continued on page 30

South Central gathering calls August 26 actions

By Jo Della-Giustina

EL PASO, Tex.—About eighty people gathered here over Memorial Day weekend for the south-central conference of the National Organization for Women.

Twenty women attended a caucus meeting around a statement of purpose called "NOW Members for an Action Perspective." The meeting was initiated by women who had been part of the Defending Women's Rights caucus at the NOW national conference in April.

The caucus, which grew to thirty by the end of the weekend, decided to present a resolution to the conference. The proposal urged a national action campaign to respond to the attacks on women's rights and called for August 26 actions around the theme, "Stop the attacks on women's rights."

During the plenary, one woman

made an amendment to delete the body of the resolution, which explained the need for a "massive visible women's movement" to defend abortion rights, affirmative action, child care, maternity benefits, gay rights, and to win the Equal Rights Amendment and end sterilization abuse.

In motivating this amendment, some NOW members said that NOW must be "positive and not negative" and that we "must not become angry."

The amendment passed by a vote of twenty-seven to twenty-three, with three abstentions.

The amended resolution resolved that "local chapters in the region should be urged to hold actions on August 26 around the theme 'Defend women's rights.'" It passed the conference.

Black and Puerto Rican women plan regional meet

WASHINGTON—Black and Puerto Rican women who met here in a minority women's workshop proposed to the mid-Atlantic conference of the National Organization for Women that it issue a call for a regional conference of minority women.

The goal of the conference, which was approved by the plenary, is to "help accomplish the goals of the Minority Women's Task Force and committee and to increase the numbers of minority women within NOW."

Specific goals of the task force and committee include "initiating specific actions" to respond to the needs of Black women and Latinas; providing "workshops, seminars, and other outreach programs" to recruit more minority women to NOW; uniting with "other minority organizations when necessary to elevate the status of minority women"; and requesting a column on minority women in NOW's national publication, *Do It NOW*.

The conference is to be cosponsored by national NOW and local chapters. A meeting to plan the conference is scheduled for Pittsburgh, July 16-17. For more information contact Brenda Frazier at 503 Gettysburg Street, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15206. Telephone: (412) 361-1817.

—N.C.

More women in work force; new problems for the bosses

By Cindy Jaquith
and Mary-Alice Waters

The changes in the economic and social status of women in the last quarter of a century have created serious new problems for the owners of industry in the United States. This was brutally illuminated by the 1974-75 depression, the deepest economic crisis since the 1930s. The incompatibility between the fundamental changes needed to lay the groundwork for women's liberation and an economic system based on profit received striking confirmation.

Following World War II the world capitalist economy experienced an unprecedented and prolonged period of growth, lasting up through the 1960s. While there were some downturns during the



postwar boom, the economy followed a general expansionary course, creating millions of new jobs. The employers took full advantage of all the social conventions that molded women to enter the work force at a lower wage scale, expecting less job security and fewer fringe benefits. Hiring women who could be induced to work for less meant higher profits for the bosses. In a relatively short period of time—historically speaking—this produced a qualitative change in the social and economic position of women and the character of the U.S. labor force.

Changing labor profile

According to the latest statistics from the U.S. Department of Labor, between 1950 and 1975 the total number of employed women doubled. Women were hired to fill nearly 60 percent of all new jobs created between 1965 and 1975.

Whereas women made up only 20 percent of the work force in 1920, by 1975 they were 40 percent.

Equally significant was the changing work pattern of women with children. The number of working women with children under eighteen years of age has increased more than threefold since 1950. Today 39 percent of working mothers have children under six years of age—as compared to 13.6 percent in 1950.

By 1975 participation in the labor force by women with children was slightly *higher* than the rate for all women.

Changes in education also accompanied the shifting work patterns as technological advances demanded a more educated labor force. The average woman in the work force today has completed a median of 12.5 years of schooling—the same as her male counterpart. And generally, the more education a woman has, the more likely she is to be in the work force.

But, at the same time, the more education a woman has, the larger the average pay differential between herself and her male counterpart is likely to be!

The rapid increase in employment of women has led to a widening of the average pay differential between men and women in general. While women averaged 64 percent of men's earnings in 1955, by 1974 they averaged only 57 percent. This is the result of the fact that women are employed disproportionately in traditional "female" sectors and often have the lowest seniority.

It also reflects the decline in union protection. Only 12.5 percent of women workers are unionized today as opposed to 17 percent in 1950.

The widening gap in the pay differential only serves to underscore how employers profit from maintaining the myth that women's place is in the home as wife, mother, and homemaker. That is the foundation on which the oppression and superexploitation of women workers is built.

Without that social mythology and its wide



For the first time in U.S. history, white males no longer make up a majority of the work force.

acceptance by the overwhelming majority of women and men, why would any woman accept that her work is worth less than a man's? Why would any man accept that the person working next to him on the line should be paid less (thus holding down his wages as well), if he had not been taught from birth that there is something inherently different about that person and the social role she is preordained to play?

Catch-22

While it was more profitable to hire women in increasing numbers the employers faced an insoluble contradiction as well. The incorporation of 46 percent of the adult female population into the work force gave impetus to struggles to change the social status of women on which the superprofits of the employers are based.

Beginning in the late 1960s, struggles by women to control their own reproductive lives, to secure better child-care facilities, to implement affirmative-action programs, to win maternity benefits, to establish a constitutional guarantee of equality—all began to cut into the prerogatives of the employers, their "right" to profit more from the labor of women. Just as important, they reflected broad changes in social attitudes toward women and the character of the family institution, which is built on the social and economic inequality of women.

Depression hits

While some of the demands raised by women were met—after a few fights—during the period of relatively rapid economic expansion, the contradictions became more apparent as the 1974-75 depres-

sion took its toll.

In every previous depression, women have borne a disproportionate share of the crisis. For example, during the 1930s, women as a percentage of the work force dropped precipitously in a matter of months.

Commenting on the difference this time around, Ann Crittenden, writing in the January 9, 1977, *New York Times*, noted that "fewer women left the job market in the last recession than ever before."

"Even during the worst recession since the 1930's," she continued, "there has been little perceptible backlash against women's job gains. . . . This is in sharp contrast to the often harsh attitudes and even laws detrimental to women working prevalent during the Great Depression."

Even the blows of the depression failed to recreate a sufficiently large, flexible pool of women who had withdrawn from the labor market to wait for the next boom. Increasingly convinced that a job is their *right*, not just a favor due them in "good times," women refused to gracefully bow out. Together with Blacks and other oppressed nationalities they fought to prevent discriminatory firings that would wipe out affirmative-action gains of recent years. When fired, they refused to stop looking for work—a fact that prompted the government economists to complain that unemployment statistics were being kept "artificially" high by the unprecedented numbers of women who refused to go home.

Offensive against women's gains

Thus, the stage was set for an offensive of a different kind, a drive to reverse the gains registered by the women's liberation movement in the last decade, to turn back the clock on changing social attitudes that reflected women's growing self-confidence and economic independence.

Such a change in mass consciousness would be necessary to convince large numbers of women to voluntarily withdraw from the labor market to devote themselves to "homemaking," as occurred under the aura of the feminine mystique campaign at the end of World War II. Such a change would be necessary to convince working-class families to voluntarily cut their standard of living by having only one working parent. Such a change would be necessary to convince people to voluntarily accept drastic cutbacks in child-care facilities, to remind women that after all it is a mother's responsibility to care for her own children, isn't it?

The drive to halt passage of the Equal Rights Amendment. The assault on abortion rights, and increase in sterilization abuse. The Supreme Court ruling against medical disability payments to pregnant employees. The blows against affirmative-action programs and attempts to turn more secure white, male workers against Black workers, women workers, and other oppressed groups. All these elements of the ruling-class offensive against women's rights are aimed not only at wiping out some of the constraints on the superexploitation of women workers, but at rolling back the changes in attitudes toward women that make it harder than ever before in history for the bosses to shift the burden of economic crisis onto the backs of women—something which used to be accepted as "natural."

While women are a special target in this drive, they are not the only one. Theirs is but one battle front in a broader assault on the rights and living standards of the entire working class, bringing cuts in social services, retreats from desegregation plans, and union-busting drives.

Thus, the stakes are enormous, and the women's movement cannot fight alone. Our fate is tied to the broader social struggle of which we are a part. It is to the labor movement, the Black and Chicano movements, especially the youth, that we must look for allies—not the government of the employers, the politicians they hire, or the parties they own.

This broad social and political understanding must be reflected in the program we fight for, in the goals we pursue. That will be the subject of our next articles.

In Our Opinion

Belgrade hypocrisy

Both Washington and Moscow are hoping to score propaganda points at each other's expense at the Belgrade conference that began June 15. The conference was called to review implementation of human rights provisions of the 1975 Helsinki accords, as well as other aspects of "East-West relations."

The truth is that from the moment the ink dried on the accords two years ago, human rights in both the United States and the Soviet bloc have sustained major blows.

In the United States:

- The Wilmington Ten, civil rights activists serving a total of 282 years on frame-up arson charges, are still in jail.

- So are the five Puerto Rican Nationalists, whose commitment to their country's independence from U.S. colonial rule has made them the longest-held political prisoners in the Western Hemisphere.

- Peruvian peasant leader Hugo Blanco and others whose views Washington fears and opposes continue to be barred from visiting the United States.

- Washington has launched a crackdown on undocumented immigrants forced to enter this country to escape the grinding poverty imposed on their own countries by profiteering U.S. corporations.

- Women are fighting an uphill battle against government attacks on abortion rights and to win ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

- The rights of Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans to equality in employment, education, and housing is under attack from the White House, Supreme Court, and Congress.

In the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe:

- Aleksandr Ginzburg, Yuri Orlov, Mikola Rudenko, and others have been arrested by the Kremlin simply for forming a group to monitor Moscow's compliance with the Helsinki human rights provisions.

- The Stalinist dragnet continues to snare and imprison fighters against national oppression such as Crimean Tatar leader Mustafa Dzhemilev and Jewish rights activist Anatoly Scharansky.

- Workers and students in Poland have been imprisoned, fired from their jobs, and even murdered for protesting Warsaw's undemocratic policies.

- Signers of the Czechoslovak human rights manifesto Charter 77 have been jailed, exiled, and harassed simply because they call for enforcing the rights guaranteed in their country's constitution.

- The Romanian and Yugoslav regimes have imprisoned and harassed those in their countries who have spoken out in defense of the Charter 77 signers.

The record is clear.

Despite Carter's demagoguery, American capitalism remains the number one enemy of human rights both at home and abroad.

And the Stalinist bureaucrats—who claim to speak in the name of Marx and Lenin—only defile the commitment of those two great revolutionists to the liberating vision of a socialist world.

Washington and Moscow are both seeking to manipulate the justified revulsion at each other's policies. Consistent fighters for socialism and democratic rights must expose this fake Belgrade diplomacy.

Our task is to carry on the *real* struggle for human rights against the crimes of both Carter and Brezhnev.

Justicia!

Even Chicago top cop James Rochford now admits that police killed Rafael Cruz and Julio Osorio during a Puerto Rican celebration there June 4. Rochford's transparent claim that Sgt. Thomas Walton—who shot both Puerto Ricans in the back—acted in "self-defense" will fool no one in the Puerto Rican community.

To help seal the cover-up, Rochford charges that mysterious "outside agitators" were in the park that day "to stir up the crowd."

It's the same old story. When everyday police brutality sparks a response, and cops grab the chance to launch a murderous assault, there's always some "outside" force responsible.

But Puerto Ricans in Chicago and other cities don't need "outsiders" to tell them that they are deprived of equal job opportunities, a decent education, and adequate social services.

They don't need "outsiders" to tell them that their communities—like those of Blacks and Chicanos—are under constant siege by racist police.

And they don't need "outsiders" to tell them that they want *justicia* for Osorio and Cruz.

Prosecute the killer-cop!

Letters

'Mediocre humbug'

Alan Gummerson's letter (*Militant*, June 10) presents the opinion that John Kenneth Galbraith is "far to the left" of other bourgeois economists because he calls capitalism "by name" and refers to class struggle.

There are a lot of people on Wall Street who also call capitalism "by name" and talk about class struggle. They are not leftists, however, but capitalists. And Galbraith, a mediocre humbug whose stock-in-trade is the attempt to *refute* Marxism, is no more left than these capitalists, the leaders of the class he sides with in the struggle he refers to.

Lee Smith

Bronx, New York

'U.S. Labor party' violence

I was selling the *Militant* in front of a supermarket here recently when I was accosted by a man who said he was an organizer for the "U.S. Labor party." He began to interrogate me, asking me how many members the Young Socialist Alliance had, where we met, when we met, and so on. I refused to answer his questions.

A few minutes later I was physically attacked by a group of five "Labor party" members. They grabbed at my *Militants* and tried to push me into the busy street. They yelled at me that this was a free country, and called me a "troublemaker" and a "whore."

The organizer shouted at me, "When Rockefeller tells us to move, we say 'fuck you.' Now you tell us to move and we are not going to say 'fuck you.' We are going to knock you down right here on this street corner and rape you, sister." I weigh 107 pounds.

He grabbed my jacket, but I warned him to let go, and he did.

Two women from the "Labor party" then tried to sell their paper, *New Solidarity*, but people had been watching them harass me and refused to buy it.

A little bit later, another "Labor party" member approached me and told me that he was going to quit. He'd joined, he said, thinking it was a socialist group, but witnessing their actions had convinced him it wasn't.

J.R.

Grand Rapids, Michigan

Maoist 'education'

While browsing in a bookstore run by the October League, I caught a glimpse of the Maoist approach to education. I was leafing through a study guide to Lenin's *State and Revolution* published by the OL when I can across a list of supplementary readings. One item on the list had been crossed off with a heavy black marker.

It was an article from the Chinese press about the "Lin Piao anti-party clique." The campaign against Lin was spearheaded by the now-disgraced "gang of four." Events in China had transformed this article from a supplement to Lenin into a forbidden work.

The American working class needs a revolutionary leadership educated in Marxism and able to think for itself, not a bunch of parrots who can believe that what was right yesterday is wrong today just because someone else says so.

S.C.

Boston, Massachusetts

The *Militant* recently asked prisoners around the country who have been receiving the paper if they'd like to continue getting it. Printed below are excerpts from some replies.

The *Militant's* special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help out, send your contribution to *Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund*, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

A pleasure

It is a pleasure to say, "Yes, renew my subscription." I do think this is the best paper that is being put out, and the only paper that carries the truth.

I am looking forward to leaving here soon. I am going to be a legal representative to help prisoners who need help. When you have been in here yourself, you know what kind of dirty work is going on behind these walls.

A prisoner

Maryland

'Enlightening insights'

I really enjoy the enlightening insights into third world plights and other current events. Thank you for your time and altruism in seeing that the brothers inside receive this publication.

A prisoner

Missouri

'Very informative'

I definitely wish to remain a recipient of the *Militant*. I find it very informative, and it gives its readers something the capitalist papers seem to ignore: the truth.

Since my incarceration here, I've tried to reach and raise the level of consciousness of all prisoners—Black, white, Chicano, Muslim, Marxist, Christian, gay. It is only through joining collectively in a common effort that we can win our human rights in the U.S. prison system. In simple terms, collective struggle is the only answer to our situation here, as well as on the outside.

I hope the *Militant* continues to enlighten the people—our people, the working class—about the social, economic, and political neglect by the government.

A prisoner

Kansas

Extracurricular reading

Although I am a prisoner, I am also a college student. I can't tell you how helpful the *Militant* has been as supplementary extracurricular reading.

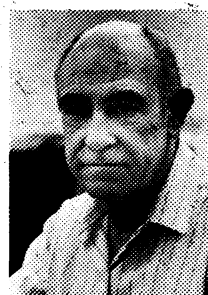
Although I can't in clear and good conscience agree politically with every article you print, I sincerely respect your difference of opinion and am most grateful for the opportunity to evaluate it in my own mind.

A prisoner

Ohio

National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



A step on the right road

In the 1930s the old AFL craft unions proved incapable of organizing workers in the mass-production industries. So they were superseded by the industrial union movement, giving rise to the CIO. In the construction and printing industries, where mass production had not yet replaced craftsmanship, the craft unions survived.

But today their survival is in question.

There is talk of merger among top officials in the AFL-CIO craft divisions, their best bet to keep alive. A halting half step in this direction is taken occasionally in the building and construction trades department, and even more tentatively and less often in the metal trades department. Jurisdictional rivalry among the building-trades unions remains strong and feeds on their fear of declining power.

The old railroad brotherhoods declined—some even became extinct—when the diesels replaced steam locomotives. Some that survived were finally forced to merge, forming the United Transportation Union in 1969.

Now the printing trades unions are in deep trouble, also largely because of advances in technology. The new talk of union merger is serious, and it now appears that the International Typographical Union (ITU) and the Newspaper Guild (TNG) will combine to form a new industrial union.

Guild President Charles Perlik has announced that TNG's 1977 convention will act on plans to establish the new union.

At a recent guild conference, top officials of the printers union explained that the ITU is undergoing changes not dreamed of a few years ago. Both Perlik and Allan Heritage, the spokesperson for the ITU International Executive Committee, said the proposed merger is not envisaged as one union absorbing the other, nor as a rehashed version of one of the old ones.

Heritage added that the leadership and members of the union "recognize that we are now—have to be—an industrial union, organizing from front door to back." This means, he said, that the journeyman status of ITU members must give way to new job classifications.

Even in the newspaper field, where the printing-trades unions are strongest, most workers are unor-

ganized, and unions are being displaced.

Last year there were more than 1,750 daily newspapers. But the ITU was in only about 500 papers, the guild in 140, the press operators union in less than 400, and the mailers in only about 200.

What happened recently at the *Capital Times* and *Wisconsin State Journal* in Madison, Wisconsin, is typical of the antiunion trend. The printers' contract expired March 31. The publishers declared negotiations at an "impasse," fired thirty of the fifty-five printers, and slashed the pay of the rest by almost \$100 a week.

This action was taken after installation of the new cold-type printing process and video display terminals. Management no longer had any need for the printing skills required under the old processes.

The pay slash for the remaining printers, after cutting the work force by more than half, was achieved by reclassifying their jobs as "paste-up" at \$5.20 per hour, a reduction from the \$7.79 per hour wage scale of journeymen printers.

The union has gone to federal court and the National Labor Relations Board, charging Madison Newspapers, Inc.,—the jointly owned operating company and bargaining agent of the two newspapers—with "unfair labor practices."

The printers union and other craft unions are simply unable to strike and close these newspapers. But an industrial union would be in a different and stronger position, ITU officials believe. "At the bargaining table, where we are now sitting in many cases with a wet noodle," Heritage said, "we can sit there and stare the employer in the eye again."

The problem now is how to organize these new industrial unions. That means abandoning the old job-trust concept of the craft unions, which concentrates mostly on organizing bosses.

The ITU, out of necessity, appears to be moving in the right direction. But, like all other craft unions, it has a long way to go.

The organization is solved not simply by a change in organizational form. It requires a whole new outlook—an outlook of organizing unorganized workers and winning allies in a continuous struggle against the employing class on all fronts.

'Breath of fresh air'

During my incarceration here, the *Militant* has been a breath of fresh air, slicing through the atmosphere of oppression and racism that pervades this prison. It is refreshing to read articles that tell exactly what is happening and why it is happening. Your articles add evidence for my theory that the poor, rank-and-file workers, and people of color are and have been systematically discriminated against—and subsequently forced to resort to so-called crimes in order to merely survive.

As I try to educate my fellow prisoners to the fact that we are prisoners of this capitalist system, it helps to be able to substantiate my statements with facts in black and white.

A prisoner
Illinois

Constant reader

The *Militant* is widely read here. My usual procedure is to pass it around to the comrades, and then place it in the prison library. I have found that the *Militant*, along with other alternative news publications, has helped to raise the level of political awareness among the brothers who want to do something but lack direction.

I haven't missed one issue since I started getting it.

A prisoner
Maryland

Prison censorship

I would like to receive the *Militant*. However, don't send it, as I have not been getting it! I was allowed to receive it in Marion federal prison, in Lewisburg federal prison, but I've only gotten two or three copies here in the last ten or eleven months. I don't know if they have returned my copies to you as they are supposed to—probably not, or you wouldn't have asked if I still want to receive it. Nor have they sent me the required rejection form indicating my copies were rejected—but they don't do many things that they publicly claim they do.

Our current mail censor is an ex-CIA employee who was involved in the cover-up of the notorious South Vietnamese "tiger cages." With a mentality such as this handling mail here, they even rejected *Hollywood Babylon*, a book about movie stars. Perhaps they would allow me to receive "The Boobs Bible" (*The Readers Digest*).

I've filed a habeas corpus in the various courts over theft of my mail, but this is a futile process.

So, until I discover some manner, form, or subterfuge, I won't be able to read the *Militant*. Thanks for sending it, though.

A prisoner
Kansas

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

By Any Means Necessary

John Hawkins



A slip of the tongue?

U.S. ambassador to the United Nations Andrew Young has a penchant for getting himself into apparently hot water with the powers that be. Not so much for what he does, as for some of what he says.

The latest example of the ambassador's errant tongue sent the guardians of political myth in Congress and the press into a furor. In an interview with *Playboy* magazine—he should have learned from his mentor in the White House to steer clear of that forum—Young had the effrontery to say that former presidents Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford, along with the former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, were racists.

"They were racists," Young told his interviewer, "not in the aggressive sense but in that they had no understanding of the problems of colored peoples anywhere."

At a House International Relations Committee hearing where Young reported on his recent Africa trip, the representatives grilled and scolded the ambassador for his views on "racism."

One Republican member pointed out that Young's definition would include presidents Kennedy and Johnson too. Young agreed.

In a conversation with reporters following the hearing Young said, "The way I use the term, racism applies to almost everybody."

"Even Abraham Lincoln?" asked an incredulous reporter.

"Especially Abraham Lincoln," Young replied.

Fortunately for Young no one asked what he thinks of his boss, Jimmy Carter—who signed the racist death penalty into law in Georgia; who pays his Black peanut warehouse workers the minimum wage; who worships his God in a segregated church; who

campaigns for "ethnic purity" en route to the White House; who appointed arch-racist Griffin Bell attorney general; and who's as ready as any president before him to do all that's necessary to delay, derail, and destroy the fight for Black majority rule in southern Africa.

If someone had asked that question, Young would have had to hem and haw. And the NAACP national office—still starry-eyed over Carter's election victory—couldn't have sent Young congratulations for speaking "the brutal, unvarnished truth" about racism's role in shaping American attitudes.

Far from speaking "the brutal, unvarnished truth" about racism, Young has consciously taken on the responsibility of covering it up—especially the role of racism in U.S. foreign policy.

In the same interview that so upset Congress and the press, Young predicted that a "race war" in southern Africa would inevitably lead to attacks on Blacks here. The message, directed to Blacks this time—and to which Congress and the press took no exception—comes across loud and clear: "Cool it on supporting the liberation struggle over there. Let us negotiate the thing. Or else you'll bring down the wrath of white folks here."

Young's tongue-wagging about racism is simply rhetorical cover for his support to American imperialism's racist aims at home and abroad. A little tongue-lashing of racists now and then bolsters his credibility with leaders of African liberation struggles, helps win support from some Black leaders here for Carter's so-called new Africa policy, and costs the ambassador absolutely nothing.

After all, it's one thing to bite the hand that feeds you—another to give it a frisky lick of the tongue.

The Great Society

Harry Ring



By way of Mexico?—The Richard M. Nixon Park in York, Pennsylvania, received a \$200 contribution from Richard M. Nixon.

Le grand frère—Some French firms are using an IBM computer system including magnetized employee badges. Workplace door knobs are removed, requiring employees to use their badges to pass from one area to another. This, a French paper reported, permits the computer to keep "merciless accounts of all pauses, justified or

unjustified, before the coffee machine, in the toilets . . . even in front of the bulletin boards." French unions have protested.

A star is born—If you're planning to invite Billy Carter for an appearance, he's now being represented by Top Billings, a Nashville theatrical agency.

Don't be so dogmatic—Cancerous goiters and tumors are increasing "alarmingly" among Great Lakes fish, with most of it occurring near big cities, says a Canadian researcher

cited in the *Los Angeles Times*. "This suggests," the *Times* suggested, "a relationship to industrial or municipal waste discharge."

Jesus Saves—Two religious directories feature listings of businesses operated by born-again Christians. A spokesperson for one directory said, "This will help unite the family of Christians."

The dusty lining—Increased fuel bills will be but one problem with Carter's energy plan. University of

California researchers say that indoor pollution, which can be more harmful than the outdoor kind, will increase as people seal homes more tightly to conserve heat. This will trap more gases, dust, and odors to be breathed.

While they still can—Radioactive gas emissions from uranium tailings buried in Colorado have increased threefold since being dumped there. In a nearby residential area, the toxic gas concentration is ten times normal. Said the EPA: "People are going to have to start looking at this situation again."

Capitalism Fouls Things Up

Arnold Weissberg



The cancer establishment

Although the United States is plagued by a cancer epidemic, most Americans believe that science is on the verge of a cure for the country's number two killer—or at least getting close.

We've been subjected to years of fund appeals from the American Cancer Society (ACS), coupled with promises about what our dollars can do.

The federal National Cancer Institute's budget has been tripled in the last six years. It's now \$815 million.

Unfortunately, our hopes are mere illusions, according to information unearthed by Judith Randal and Daniel Greenberg and published in the *Washington Post* on May 1.

It didn't take Woodward and Bernstein to figure out that cancer research is biased so as not to embarrass big business. Although the National Cancer Institute admits that the cause of some 90 percent of all cancer is in the environment, only 15 percent of its research budget goes to investigate environmental cancer.

The sources of carcinogens in the environment are the big industrial plants and utilities and their products.

Randal and Greenberg explain that the NCI is dominated by the ACS. Lost for years in the bureaucratic backwaters of official Washington, the NCI only spends 13 percent of its budget itself. The rest gets parceled out to nongovernmental projects. But take away 87 percent of \$815 million and you still have a lot of money.

The ACS is the visible, active anticancer organi-

zation. And it has a lot of friends in high places. For example, the society has thirty-two life members. One is a longtime director of the Warner-Lambert Pharmaceutical Company. Another is a founder of a major advertising agency. And so on. There are no Black or union lifetime members.

The ACS House of Delegates has 194 members. Ninety-four are not scientists. Of these, 18 are senior officers or directors of banks, 7 are members of investment firms, and 13 are executives.

This corporate influence has very direct consequences. For example, the ACS opposed the ban on saccharin proposed by the Food and Drug Administration, a move that shocked many cancer scientists.

The reason? Perhaps it was the "generous grant" (ACS's words) from the Coca-Cola Company (which makes Tab, a best-selling saccharin-sweetened soda) for an ACS delegation's trip to the Soviet Union.

The ACS remained indifferent to a congressional investigation of DES, once used as a birth-related drug and now known to cause vaginal cancer in daughters of women who took it.

A basic widely distributed ACS pamphlet on cancer professes ignorance of the disease's causes. But it fails to mention the dozens of known carcinogens to which millions of working people are exposed every day—asbestos, benzene, and more. And it doesn't mention the many food additives that can cause cancer.

ACS's powerful friends enable it to call the shots in cancer research, Randal and Greenberg conclude. And therefore, the money doesn't go for environmental studies.

ACS's concerns can be judged from how it spends its own money. From a \$9 million research budget in 1975, \$92,000 went for environmental studies and another big \$145,300 for research on chemical carcinogens.

But while strangling research into the causes of 90 percent of cancer, the ACS pushed hard for money to find viruses that could be identified as cancer-causing. More than \$700 million has been spent on this futile chase since 1965.

But if they could find a virus, it might let the corporate polluters off the hook.

The establishment of the President's Cancer Panel in 1971 gave big business another link to cancer research. The chair of the panel is Benno Schmidt, managing partner of the J.H. Whitney investment firm. He has also been, Randal and Greenberg write, "a consistent damper on efforts to steer NCI into a greater commitment on environmental carcinogenesis."

Cancer hits people on the bottom of society hardest. Blacks, for example, have a lower survival rate than whites. An executive vice-president of the ACS reportedly rejected a proposal to take a more aggressive approach to cancer among Blacks with the comment, "Blacks don't give much to the society anyway."

Their Government

David Frankel



Public works?

Jimmy Carter, man of peace. Remember how he sent Cyrus Vance to Moscow this March to propose "deep cuts" in nuclear weapons systems?

It turns out, however, that while Carter was talking about disarmament he had already given the go-ahead for a new "enhanced radiation" warhead, better known as the neutron bomb.

Funds for the new warhead were included in the Energy Research and Development Administration (ERDA) budget, part of a \$10.2 billion appropriation bill for "public works" now before Congress. All research on and production of nuclear warheads is carried out by the ERDA, which then turns its products over to the military.

In fiscal year 1978 the ERDA plans to spend \$1.1 billion in this area—a 20 percent increase that was

approved by the Carter administration.

Pentagon brains apparently hope that the new neutron warhead will make the deployment of nuclear weapons in Europe more acceptable to public opinion. As one expert explained, the new warhead "cuts down on blast and heat and thus total destruction, leaving buildings and tanks standing."

Another expert, according to *Washington Post* reporter Walter Pincus, concurred on the advantages of the new weapon. "You reduce the blast effect and get the kill radius you want through enhanced radiation."

Since factories would be left standing, any survivors could presumably begin work again as

soon as the war was over. Or perhaps it would be necessary to restock the bombed cities with workers from more fortunate areas. In either case, the way the Pentagon sees it, the advantages are obvious.

After *Post* reporter Pincus revealed the details about the new warhead, Carter aides tried to disclaim responsibility. A White House official assured Pincus that Carter would delay production of the warhead "until he has specifically approved the program."

You might think that Carter, as a man of peace, should be able to come up with something better than a delay in production until the publicity about the new hell-weapon has died down. But after all, think of all the buildings that would be saved.

SOUTH AFRICA

One year after Soweto protests

By Omari Musa

When the South African regime decided to impose the use of Afrikaans—the Dutch-based language of the majority of South African whites—on Black students in 1974, they lit the fuse that two years later would ignite the June 16 rebellion in Soweto.

Signs of an imminent explosion appeared in March 1976.

On March 14 the National Cultural Liberation Movement organized a rally of 16,000 Blacks in Soweto. Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, previously a supporter of the South African government's policy of "separate development," called for a series of "Black National Conventions" to discuss the policies of the South African regime.

Buthelezi pointed to "a new mood" among Black South Africans. "The events in Mozambique and Angola and similar impending events in Zimbabwe and Namibia have brought a new sense of National awareness into the hearts and minds of South Africa's Blacks."

A few days later, white mobs and police attacked a rally protesting the trial of members of the South African Students Organization (SASO), and the Black People's Convention.

On March 21 several thousand Blacks attended a memorial service commemorating the Sharpeville massacre.

Black workers were becoming increasingly restive over low wages and rising prices. An April 12 article in the *Christian Science Monitor* reported: "... Already there have been two or three small wildcat strikes by black workers in Johannesburg."

These actions, and weeks of student protests against the imposition of Afrikaans, set the stage for the June 16 demonstration.

Tsietsi Mashinini, then president of the South African Student Movement (SASM) chapter at Morris Isaacson High School, explained how the demonstration was called. "We were getting sick and tired. . . . I called the students together, and on Wednesday a week before June 16 we talked about

it." Students at other schools were contacted and agreed to join the protest.

On June 16, 10,000 protesting students gathered at a junior high school that had been on strike for many weeks.

"We were very peaceful all the time and there were just placards denouncing Afrikaans as another method of oppression," Mashinini said in an interview published in *Intercontinental Press*. "We were converged already, and I was still trying to tell the students to settle down so that we could address them properly, when the cops started shooting."

In the first few days following the June 16 demonstration, the government killed—according to its own admission—174 Blacks. But most Blacks have estimated the death toll at many times that figure.

By mid-August massive protests had swept Black townships around every major city in South Africa, forcing the white-minority regime to drop its scheme to impose Afrikaans on Black students.

While they made a few concessions, South Africa's racist rulers unleashed a witch-hunt against Black organizations. By the end of October, nearly 5,000 Blacks were known to be arrested and more than 600 killed.

One of the most important aspects of the Soweto revolt was the growing solidarity among different sections of the Black population—the nearly 19 million Africans, 2.4 million Coloureds, and 746,000 Indians.

The South African regime has sought to divide the Black population by granting Coloureds and Indians a few more rights and more skilled jobs than they grant the Africans.

The radicalization occurring among Coloured and Indian youth flowed into the rebellion by Africans against apartheid. They organized boycotts and staged demonstrations in Natal Province and in Cape Town itself. They were met with the same brutal repression as their sisters and brothers in Soweto.

Another important aspect of the



Student protests against Afrikaans led to broader actions against white minority rule

revolt was the massive participation of Black workers in the protests.

The Soweto Students Representative Council (SSRC)—formed after the June 16 demonstration—called a general strike for August 23-25. Tsietsi Mashinini, the first president of the SSRC, explained why the strike was called: "After June 16 we realized that there were too many killings, so we tried to get a method whereby we could hit the system and reduce the casualties."

"Our only weapon," Mashinini said, "was to cripple the economy of the country, which lies in Black hands."

A central demand of the strike was the release of the jailed leaders of the protest movement. The strike was 70-80 percent effective in Soweto.

The government sought to stop it with arrests. When that failed, they organized strikebreakers from among the migrant workers.

The SSRC called another general strike for September 13-15. This strike was 50 percent effective in Cape Town.

Khotso Seatlholo, the SSRC's second president explained that the students issued pamphlets directed at the migrant workers to win them over to the strike. "The workers understood clear-

ly what the motives were behind the stay-aways," he said. "They then supported the stay-aways and made sure that nobody went to work."

The South African regime has continued its attacks on Black leaders. Their hope is to behead the growing movement and defuse the rising anger of the Black majority.

But their strategy hasn't worked. The demonstrations have continued against Bantu education policy and rent hikes, and for the release of the jailed activists.

The Soweto Students Representative Council has called for nationwide protests in South Africa commemorating the June 16 rebellion. Exiled leaders of the SSRC have also appealed to "the progressive peoples of the world to mark this anniversary by demonstrating their solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa and against all forms of support for the brutal Vorster Apartheid regime."

This weekend's commemorations of the Soweto rebellion in the United States and Europe are timely demonstrations of solidarity with the fight for Black majority rule in South Africa.

New Soweto demonstrations

More than 1,000 students participated in antigovernment protests in Soweto June 10. The protests came less than a week before the first anniversary of the Soweto rebellion.

According to a Reuters dispatch, unconfirmed reports say that cops opened fire on the demonstrating students. Gen. David Kriel, chief of the anti-riot police, denied the reports, saying his cops "used minimum force."

In an attempt to stop plans for the

June 16 protests and work boycott called by the Soweto Students Representative Council (SRC), Kriel arrested SRC President Sechaba Montsitsi and several other SRC leaders. Police also arrested four white students from the University of Witwatersrand.

All the victims of the dragnet were detained under the Law Amendment Act. Under this act they can be held up to fourteen days before appearing in court.

N.J. casinos stack the deck against Puerto Ricans

By Juan Rodríguez

ATLANTIC CITY, N.J.—About 100 elderly and poor residents, mostly Puerto Rican, testified here May 21 about housing conditions and a drive by landlords to move them out of the city. The hearings were called by the Puerto Rican Congress. Eight Puerto Rican attorneys questioned the residents.

The testimony at the hearings exposed a conspiracy by landlords and big real estate firms to force out Hispanic, poor, and elderly residents to make room for gambling casinos. A statewide referendum last fall legalized casinos in Atlantic City.

Since then, landlords have increased rents; cut off heat, water, and electricity; substituted oral for written leases; and issued wholesale eviction notices. Tenants have been burned out by suspicious fires.

Mathew McCool, Atlantic City's director of community development, told the *New York Times*, "It's quite possible that things like that may be going on. . . . If a landlord does something to change the use of a building, the city may not know it and may have no power to do anything about it."

The most shocking story was told by Tomasa Matos, a Puerto Rican mother of eight. Matos has

been on welfare in Atlantic City since she arrived from Puerto Rico.

The family lives in a two-bedroom apartment. The bathroom is sinking into the basement, held up only by a few boards. Two children have been treated for lead poisoning caused by falling paint chips.

A doctor told Matos to be sure her two children are properly fed, but that is impossible. She is forced to cook on one hot plate. The gas was cut off because the landlord refused to pay a bill for which he was responsible.

Matos told the hearing that she was afraid to sleep for fear rats would hurt her children. She added that she has to buy the baby a new pacifier practically every day because rats take them right out of the crib.

Her landlord recently told her she had to move.

Jack Blat, an elderly man who lives at the President Towers, testified on behalf of the residents there, 85 percent of whom are elderly or disabled. The President Towers were recently sold, and the rents jumped 7 percent. Social security will only cover 5 percent.

Blat said that elderly and disabled tenants are gripped by fear that they will be evicted.

'New' S-1: an old trick

By David Frankel

WASHINGTON—It's the oldest trick in the book. Right-wingers in Congress propose some monstrous piece of legislation. There is a big outcry, so some "reasonable" right-wingers get together with some "responsible" liberals and come up with a compromise. The result is only very bad instead of horrible, so naturally everybody is expected to support the "lesser evil."

The latest example of this hard cop-soft cop approach is Senate Bill 1437, called "Son of S. 1" by the American Civil Liberties Union. S. 1, originally presented by the Nixon administration as a reform of the federal criminal code, was a wholesale assault on the Bill of Rights.

Provisions in the original S. 1 included a section that would have permitted the mass arrest of demonstrators within sight or sound of the president by the ingenious device of declaring them to be trespassers upon a "Temporary Residence of the President."

Other parts of the S. 1 showed less originality, but the same hostility to basic democratic rights. For example, the bill contained a section reviving the witch-hunting Smith Act that would have punished those whose advocacy of political ideas "incites others to engage in conduct which . . . at some future time would facilitate the overthrow" of the government.

The liberals step in

Public outrage over the S. 1's repressive proposals, coupled with the impact of Watergate, forced the sponsors of the bill to retreat. In March 1976, however, the attack was renewed when Senators Roman Hruska and John McClellan, two of S. 1's original sponsors, entered into negotiations with Senate liberals Edward Kennedy, Philip Hart, and James Abourezk.

The results of this collaboration have now been unveiled. On May 2 a Washington, D.C., news conference announced the introduction of the new



Under Senate Bill 1347, cosponsored by Sen. Edward Kennedy (right), antiwar activist Daniel Ellsberg (above) could have been sent to prison for his role in exposing the Pentagon papers. Demonstrations outside federal frame-up trials such as the 1974 Wounded Knee trial (top right) would be declared illegal.

bill, which is jointly sponsored by Senators Kennedy and McClellan. Attorney General Griffin Bell was the central figure at the news conference, clearly indicating the Carter administration's support for S. 1437.

Although many of the most repressive sections of S. 1 have been toned down or removed altogether in S. 1437, literally dozens of antidemocratic provisions remain. Among those proposals whose *only* purpose is to inhibit dissent are the following:

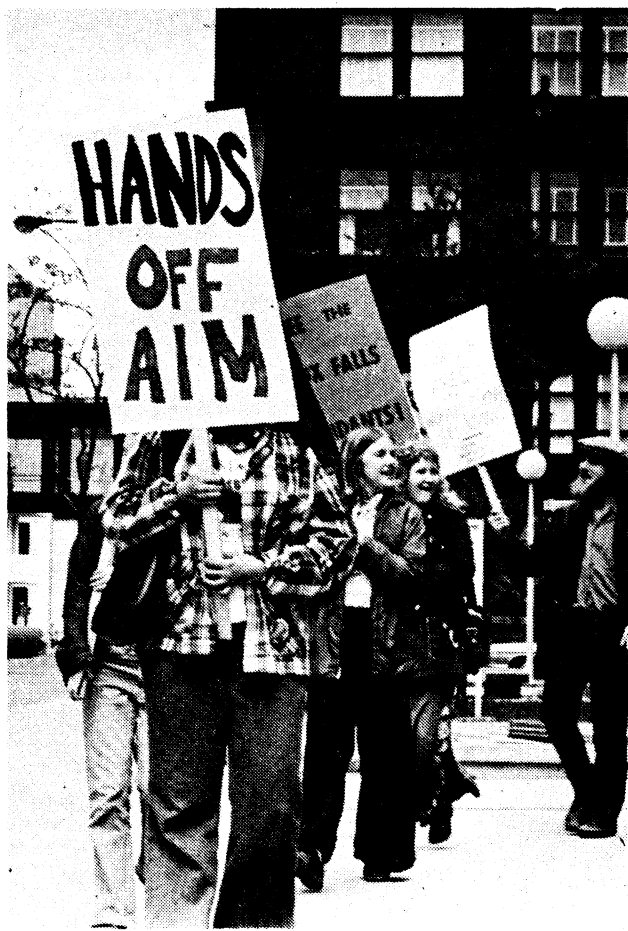
- "Demonstrating to Influence a Judicial Proceeding." Under this section, "A person is guilty of an offense if, with intent to influence . . . a judicial proceeding, he pickets, parades, displays a sign, uses a sound amplifying device, or otherwise engages in a demonstration" within 200 feet of a federal courthouse while a trial is going on.

- "Obstructing a Proceeding by Disorderly Conduct" would make it an offense punishable by up to six months in jail to make "unreasonable noise" in any "official proceeding."

- "Obstructing Military Recruitment or Induction"—a section that was undoubtedly considered in light of the government's problems during the Vietnam War—would allow imprisonment of anyone who "incites others to engage in conduct" hindering recruitment or conscription for the armed forces.

- The two sections on "Leading a Riot" and "Engaging in a Riot" are also threats to basic rights of free speech and protest. A riot is defined as ten or more persons engaged in "violent and tumultuous conduct" that "creates a grave danger of imminently causing injury to persons or damage to property."

With the use of this definition, the government would be able to declare even the most peaceful



mass demonstration a riot by sending in a handful of provocateurs.

Other provisions in the new "reform" bill provide penalties for obstructing or impairing "the performance by a federal public servant of an official duty" and for "Hindering Law Enforcement." Both of these proposed laws can also be used against demonstrators in almost any circumstances.

One direct attack on freedom of the press in the new Kennedy-McClellan bill is the section on obscenity. Federal prosecutors would be given the chance to supplement the efforts of local and state prosecutors against material deemed to be in violation of "community standards." Such obscenity laws can be used—and have been used—not only against pornography, but also against nonconformist works of art. Ultimately they are a threat to unpopular political views.

Liberals support repression bill

WASHINGTON—Hearings on the so-called Criminal Code Reform Act of 1977 were opened by Sen. Edward Kennedy on June 7. Kennedy hailed the bill as "the most important attempt in 200 years to reorganize, restructure, and streamline the administration of federal criminal justice."

Maintaining that the crime rate has "soared out of sight," Kennedy promised to make passage of the new criminal code "one of my principal legislative goals in the current Congress."

As the accompanying article shows, Kennedy's new "reform" act is studded with attacks on democratic rights. Yet it has picked up wide support from leading liberals. They focus on the improvements over the original S. 1 bill and in some cases over existing laws.

Thus, the fact that S. 1437 would decriminalize possession of small amounts of marijuana and repeal the notorious anticommunist Smith Act is given as justification for supporting it.

Liberal *New York Times* columnist Anthony

Lewis recently made a virtue of his refusal to take a stand in defense of civil liberties. Lewis argued in his March 14 column that "in this case, as in so many, perfectionism would be the enemy of progress."

Other liberal supporters of S. 1437 have gone so far as to suggest that this bill will actually be a step in making American justice fair. Tom Wicker, known as an advocate of prison reform, claimed in an article in the June 7 *New York Times* that S. 1437 would ensure "fixed but fair sentences to Federal criminal offenders."

Wicker's article, timed to coincide with the opening of the hearings, appeared to have been written with the help of handouts from Kennedy's staff. As Kennedy himself said, S. 1437 would provide "a new sentencing system grounded on the twin principles of fairness and certainty."

It is certainly true that the sentencing and parole system in use today is riddled with abuse and inequity. But the idea of parole itself was

originally introduced by prison reformers. A new "reform" that abolishes parole, as Kennedy proposes, will only change the *form* of inequity in the prisons, not the inequality itself.

Inequality is the underlying principle of all capitalist justice, despite the lip service given to the idea of equal treatment before the law. If you are Black, Hispanic, or poor, you are more likely to get arrested, more likely to be charged with a serious crime, more likely to get convicted, and more likely to get a harsh sentence, including the death penalty.

Attorney General Griffin Bell, who expressed "the full support of this administration" for S. 1437 at the June 7 hearing, inadvertently gave the best insight into the real effect this "reform" will have. While praising the virtues of codifying the criminal code, Bell noted that "we codified our laws long ago in Georgia."

Any Black person in Georgia will be quick to confirm whether or not this codification made criminal justice there "fair." —D.F.

In general, federal prosecutors out to get opponents of the government will have a field day with the new federal code. For example, the conspiracy statutes under which the infamous Chicago Seven conspiracy trial was held will remain in force. These statutes enabled the federal government to charge organizers of an antiwar demonstration at the 1968 Democratic party convention with conspiracy, even though that legal demonstration was broken up by what a government commission later admitted was a police riot.

Those accused of conspiracy need never have met each other, as was the case in at least one conspiracy case brought against antiwar activists.

A particularly inspired addition to this prosecutor's dream is the provision that would allow the government to convict an "accomplice" on conspiracy charges even if the principle suspect has been acquitted. Moreover, if evidence has been excluded from the original trial because it was illegally obtained, it can still be used in the trial of the alleged accomplice, thereby encouraging illegal searches and seizures.

Although recent Supreme Court decisions have already undermined the principle that all evidence used in a trial must be legally obtained, S. 1437 takes this a step further by allowing illegally obtained confessions and the results of illegal searches to be considered in sentencing procedures.

Another obnoxious innovation is a section on "Criminal Attempt" that allows conviction of a person who "intentionally engages in conduct that . . . indicates his intent" to complete a crime. Thus, a defendant can be sentenced for planning a crime even if the crime itself never took place. The sentence for "criminal attempt" is in most cases no different than if the criminal act had actually been accomplished.

Finally, the new criminal code would enshrine in law the use of forced immunity. This practice has already been used extensively by prosecutors in grand jury fishing expeditions against the Puerto Rican independence movement, radical feminists, and trade-union militants. It is a violation of both the right to privacy and free political association, and also of the right to remain silent guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment.

Keeping the truth hidden

An important part of the original S. 1 bill was devoted to ensuring that the truth about secret government operations would in the future be kept secret from the American people. Although some of the most sweeping sections in this area have been deleted from the new draft, a substantial number have been retained.

For example, sections of the Kennedy-McClellan bill on theft, "Trafficking in Stolen Property," and "Receiving Stolen Property," can all be applied to "a record or other document owned by, or under the care, custody or control of the United States."

Moreover, the bill retains penalties for disseminating classified information and for "Obstructing a Government Function by Fraud." The latter provision was used against Daniel Ellsberg in the Pentagon papers trial.

Capitalist politicians of both right-wing and liberal hues call the new bill a needed reform of the federal criminal code. But what the capitalists are really concerned about was indicated this March in the 661-page report on "Civil Disorders and Terrorism" published by the National Advisory Committee on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals.

"The urban crisis," the report warns, "is far from being resolved; in many ways, the state of the great cities is more desperate than it was during the most serious riots of the 1960's. An unstable economic situation has forced curtailment of public services in many cities and caused a general deterioration in the quality of life for the poorer classes. . . . Unemployment has risen markedly, and job opportunities for the disadvantaged have dwindled. . . . this is a false calm, and we must see in the current social situation an accumulation of trouble for the future."

It is no accident that one step taken in the new criminal code is to rewrite the extortion and blackmail provision so they can be applied to strikes and other labor disputes. As the report on "Disorders and Terrorism" notes, "Labor unrest, racial violence, and poverty are all issues that can lead once again to civil disorder."

Social conditions created by capitalism will inevitably impel ever greater numbers of people into struggle for a decent life. The capitalist rulers know this and admit it, but their only answer is repression. It will be Carter's answer, just as it was Nixon's answer.

Because the capitalist system is incapable of solving the fundamental social evils that will turn the masses against it.

Phila. coalition of parents calls action against school cuts

By Ben Bailey

PHILADELPHIA—On Tuesday, June 7, 8,000 angry parents, students, and teachers converged on the state capitol in Harrisburg to demand money for Philadelphia schools.

Last month a consortium of eleven Philadelphia banks, in exchange for a \$31.5 million loan to the city school system, demanded and received a \$173 million cut in the 1977-78 education budget. This represents more than one-quarter of the entire budget and will devastate public education here.

The 165 buses that rolled into Harrisburg were organized by the Philadelphia Home and School Association (Philadelphia's parent-teacher association) with support from the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers (PFT).

The demonstration was billed as a massive lobbying effort for the passage of two school-aid

Ben Bailey is a teacher and a member of the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers.

measures. It was led by Gov. Milton Shapp; Philadelphia Mayor Frank Rizzo; and Michael Marcuse, head of the city school board.

Shapp, Rizzo, and the school board hope to pass the buck from the banks to Harrisburg and dissipate the growing anger over the cutbacks.

Neither of the proposed bills is a solution for Philadelphia schools. The first would provide a \$55 million subsidy, preventing less than one-third of the scheduled cuts and layoffs. The other \$100 million measure would still mean massive budget slashing.

Both bills would also increase taxes on working people. The burden for education would again be forced onto their shoulders, while the banks would continue to rake in \$50 million yearly in interest and insurance payments.

Many at the demonstration understood the trick the Democratic and Republican politicians were trying to play on them. The crowd booed and jeered Governor Shapp when he told the parents that many of the proposed cuts are necessary.

Florence Smith, one of the demonstrators, was

not impressed with the officials' promises. "They say they've got no money," said Smith, "so what are they doing with my taxes? I don't even have children, but I'm here because I pay school taxes. I don't want children to grow up ignorant and work hard as I did."

Meanwhile, a group of parents in Philadelphia have formed a coalition called United for Schools.

On Monday, June 6, United for Schools called for a picket line outside board of education offices while the school board was meeting. Thirty to forty parents participated. They called for full funding of the schools.

United for Schools has called for a joint demonstration of parents, students, and teachers on Monday, June 20.

"The proposed school budget shows the contempt of the Board, the Banks and the Politicians for the people of Philadelphia," their leaflet states.

Teachers are also beginning to organize. A number of teachers have proposed a resolution that will be presented at the next union meeting. It calls on the PFT to initiate a cutbacks coalition that can reach out to and involve the community.

At the last union meeting, this resolution was ruled out of order by union officials. Since then, however, the PFT Executive Board met, discussed the proposal for an hour and a half, and—after initially rejecting the teachers' request—voted to allow the resolution to be presented to the membership at the June 13 union meeting.

These same teachers are also encouraging the PFT to actively build and participate in the June 20 demonstration called by United for Schools, which will meet at 12:30 p.m. at the board of education (Twenty-first Street and Parkway).

The Democratic and Republican politicians are united in their desire to impose austerity. We too must be united. The power of parents and students should be welded to the strength of the union movement. A PFT that seeks out and helps mobilize its real allies—parents and students, the Black and Puerto Rican communities, and other working people—can reverse this attack on public education.



Some of the 8,000 parents in June 7 demonstration against education cuts.

Militant/Seth Galinsky

Oregon court rules SWP must reveal campaign donor names

PORTLAND, Ore.—Judges Skopel and Kilkenny of the U.S. District Court here aren't convinced that the First Amendment rights of Socialist Workers party campaign supporters need protection.

In a two-to-one split decision issued May 31, they ruled that "there exists no 'reasonable probability' that disclosure of the names of contributors to the SWP will result in official or unofficial harassment of these contributors."

The Oregon Campaign Disclosure Act requires that the name, address, and occupation of anyone who contributes more than \$100 to a candidate for statewide office or more than \$50 to a candidate for other offices be handed over to the secretary of state.

Oregon Socialist Workers party Chairperson Rita Moran said that in handing down this reactionary ruling, the judges had blinded themselves to

massive evidence of government harassment brought to light through the SWP's national lawsuit against the FBI and other spy agencies.

"Disclosure would provide the government with ready-made 'enemies lists' for further spying, harassment, and attempts at intimidation," Moran said.

Dissenting Judge Solomon agreed that such disclosure "will effectively prevent potential contributors from exercising their First Amendment rights of expression and assembly through the electoral process."

The Oregon decision is in contrast to preliminary rulings in several other states, where the SWP's right to exemption has been generally acknowledged.

Oregon socialist are now discussing with their attorney the possibility of appealing the ruling.

Election in Spain

Campaigning with the revolutionists of the LCR

The following articles report on two campaign rallies of the Frente por la Unidad de los Trabajadores (FUT—Front for Workers Unity.) The FUT is an electoral bloc between the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria (LCR—Revolutionary Communist League, a sister organization of the U.S. Socialist Workers party), the Organización de la Izquierda Comunista de España (OICE—Organization of the Communist Left of Spain), and Acción Comunista (AC—Communist Action).

The three groups are all still "illegal" under Spanish law, exposing the democratic pretensions of Franco's heirs and their political "reforms." Nonetheless, all three are running candidates for the June 15 election to the chamber of deputies under the FUT ballot designation in twenty of Spain's fifty provinces.

By José G. Pérez

MADRID—Some 2,000 people packed the Chamarín theater here May 26 for the FUT's kickoff election campaign rally.

Candidates who spoke at the rally included Jaime Pastor, Rosario Arcas, José Sánchez, Enrique Pérez, Francisco López, Julio Rodríguez, and Clara Ballesteros. A majority of those who spoke are members of the LCR.

The meeting began with the singing of the "International," followed by several rounds of chants: "For the legalization of all parties." "Total amnesty." "Dissolution of all repressive bodies." "Prisoners to the street, common prisoners too." "You, fascists, you are the terrorists."

Rosario Arcas spoke first. "We would like to dedicate our meeting to the seven who died in Euskadi," he said. Euskadi, the Basque country, is an oppressed nation within the Spanish state where a general strike demanding amnesty for political prisoners in mid-May was met with brutal government repression.

As soon as the crowd heard the reference to Euskadi, they rose, chanting "Euskadi, hermanos, no os olvidamos!" (Euskadi, our brothers, we do not forget you!)

Speakers at the meeting summarized the main points of the FUT's program:

- For full democratic rights, such as freedom of speech, press, and association, including legalization of all parties; for the right to vote at age sixteen instead of twenty-one.
- For dismantling the machinery of the Francoist dictatorship; for a freely elected sovereign constituent assembly instead of the unrepresentative parliament now being elected; for a republic instead of the monarchy.
- For the rights of the oppressed nations within the Spanish state, such as Euskadi, to control their own destiny through national constituent assemblies that can decide whether and how each oppressed nationality will be associated with the rest of Spain.
- For equal rights for women; equal pay for equal work; free access to contraceptives and abortion; for

the right to divorce.

- For the economic and social needs of working people, such as full employment, a sliding scale of wages to make sure workers' income keeps up with inflation; for social services such as free, public, secular education and socialized health care.
- For a workers government.

The speaker who drew the most enthusiastic response from the crowd was Clara Ballesteros, who outlined the FUT's program to fight the oppression of women. She was repeatedly interrupted by rounds of applause, cheering, and chanting, and received a standing ovation.

The most sustained applause came after Ballesteros said the FUT defended a woman's right to choose abortion "a rajatabla"—to the death. Both the Partido Comunista España (PCE—Communist party of Spain, Stalinist) and the Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE—Spanish Socialist Workers party, social-democratic) have abandoned the abortion demand in their campaigns, making only vague noises about the "right to family planning."

All the speakers at the FUT rally repeatedly counterposed their strategy of independent political action by working people and oppressed nationalities to the strategy of alliances with the liberal wing of the Spanish capitalists proposed by the PSOE and PCE.

They pointed to the lessons to be learned from the recent mobilization for amnesty in Euskadi. Through their mass mobilizations, strikes, and protests, the Basques won a commitment from the government to free all Basque political prisoners. Independent mobilizations are the kind of actions that can win victories, the FUT speakers said.

Jaime Pastor, a central leader of the LCR who heads the list of FUT candidates in Madrid, stressed that the FUT represented an alternative of struggle and of "consistent class independence."

Pastor explained that the PSOE and PCE are constantly chasing after a "government of national unity," a "government of national responsibility," or a "constitutional compromise" with capitalist parties.

"We are for a workers government," Pastor said. "This is the only way to prevent the Spanish state from becoming another Chile."

The meeting also heard greetings from Coordinadora de Presos en Lucha (COPEL—Coordinating Committee of Prisoners in Struggle), a prisoners rights group. The intense radicalization in Spain has led to broad discussion of amnesty for all prisoners of the Francoist dictatorship, both "political" and "common."

Although the FUT is based on a program agreed to by the three organizations, there exist many differences between the three groups.

AC, which is much smaller than the other two groups, sees its main task as drawing together revolutionists through discussions of theoretical questions.

The OIC is a "councilist" or "sovietist" group that doesn't support the organization of trade unions. The LCR, on the other hand, sees the formation of unions in Spain as a big step forward in strengthening the working class, and actively participates in organizing them.

The FUT as a whole calls for a workers government that can fulfill the demands raised in its program.

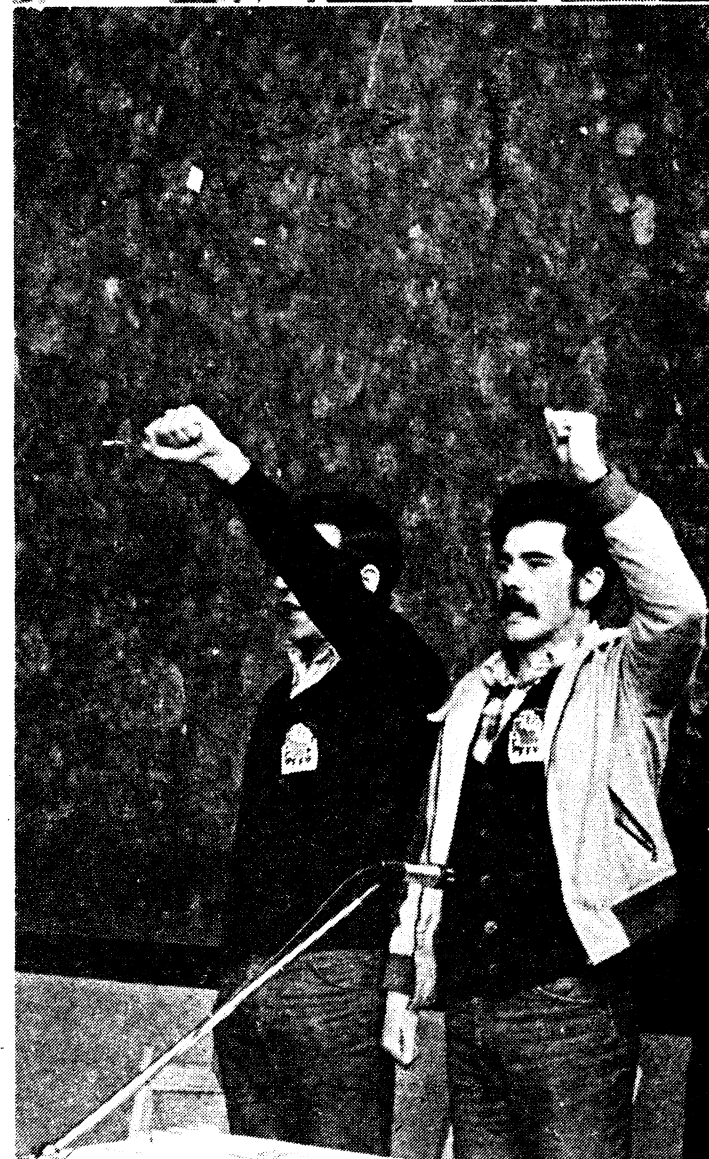
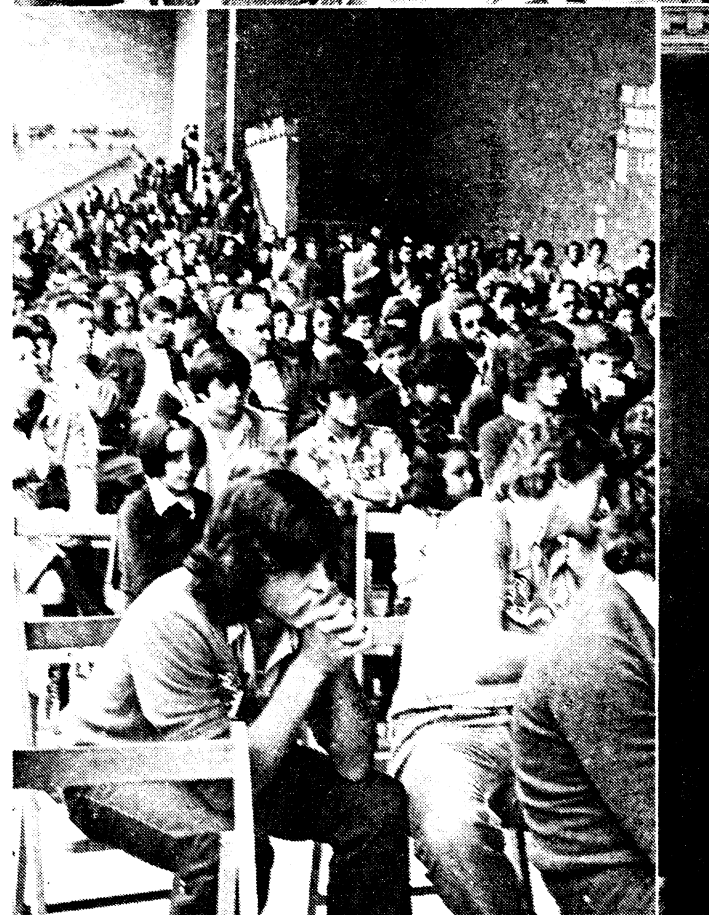
The LCR proposes that "the parties that hold the confidence of the majority of the working class should form the government," a demand aimed more sharply at exposing the treacherous role of the Stalinist and social-democratic leaders before their rank-and-file members.

All groups in the FUT are free to present their own point of view at campaign meetings and other places, as long as they make clear it is the point of view of one organization and not of the whole FUT.

* * *

LAMIACO, Spain—If you're thinking of trying to find Lamiaco on a map, forget it. Because while still in Madrid, I bought the most detailed road map of this country I could find. It cost 225 pesetas—\$3.50 American—and it would take half a football field to

Continued on page 18



WORKERS UNITED FRONT CAMPAIGN RALLY IN LAMIACO: FUT (top), whose banner reads 'For Workers Unity, Onward to' enthusiastically to speeches by (bottom, left to right): Ko Arrizabalaga, and Miren Odriozola.

Militant on the scene



'Militant' correspondents Caroline Lund and José G. Pérez wrote the eyewitness accounts on these pages before the June 15 election in Spain. Future issues of the 'Militant' will carry their on-the-scene reports on the outcome of the elections and more on the ongoing upsurge of the working class in Spain.

A Madrid journal: politics in the air

By José G. Pérez

The last afternoon I spent in Madrid I was walking down Bravo Murillo Street near the Tetuan subway stop when I saw a big truck with a sound system blaring martial music heading in my direction.

The truck pulled up a little past me, and I approached for a closer look. There were a half dozen teen-agers in the back of the truck waving red and black flags. The truck was covered with campaign posters: "Vota Falange." The Falange is Spain's fascist movement.

An older man in the back of the truck was encouraging the teen-agers to get out and distribute leaflets.

Standing next to me was a woman holding the hand of a small boy. She let go of his hand, raised her arm shaking a fist, and started shouting: "Vosotros, fascistas, sois los terroristas!"

Almost everyone else on the sidewalk—maybe one hundred people in all—took up the chant: "Vosotros, fascistas, sois los terroristas!"

I had heard the shout before. It had been a popular one at an election rally I attended two nights before. And it was frequently cited in newspaper accounts of rallies and demonstrations: "You, fascists, you are the terrorists!"

The crowd began to surge toward the truck. Some people jumped over a railing that separates the sidewalk from the street.

The older man in the back of the truck shouted something—I couldn't hear what—and the teen-agers threw bunches of leaflets at us. Most landed in the road, but some floated to the sidewalk. Then the truck sped away.

The woman next to me who had started the chanting turned to look after her toddler. He was squatting down to pick up one of the leaflets.

"Miguelito, no," she said, gently slapping his hand. "Caca," she said, pointing to the leaflets.

"Caca" is what a mother tells her children when there is something she doesn't want them to touch, like a bottle of Drano. It's Spanish for "shit."

Just behind us stood a well-dressed man and woman. "Eighteen months without Franco, and look how Spain is," the man said. "Everywhere you look, communism."

Every block or two as I walked down Bravo Murillo Street, I saw the same scene: scores of fascist leaflets littering the streets. Some people would go out of their way to step on them.

"Communism is twentieth century Monarchism" isn't the official slogan of the Stalinist Partido Comunista de España (PCE—Communist party of Spain). But it might as well be.

Because the PCE is running an election campaign that is so conservative—including support for the monarchy—that it has left even some of the party's own members startled.

Saturday, May 28, I found two PCE members selling *Mundo Obrero* outside a subway entrance in Madrid. I bought a copy of their paper and told them I was a reporter from a U.S. socialist weekly.

I asked them a couple of friendly questions about the size of their meetings and sales of *Mundo Obrero*, dutifully writing down their responses. Then I got to the point.

"One thing that interests me is the attitude of your party to the present regime. It has been said you support the monarchy."

"The question cannot be posed in that way," one explained. "It could be said we do not support and we do not oppose the monarchy. What is important is the constituent process of democratization."

I pressed a little further. "So it could be said you are agnostic."

"No. If it were up to us, we would not institute a monarchy. But one party cannot impose its own solutions—there has to be broad unity of all democratic forces in the constituent process."

I asked them about Euskadi, the Basque country, an oppressed nation within Spain. There had been big protests there recently and a general strike to demand amnesty for political prisoners. After cops assassinated several demonstrators, the Stalinists came out against further demonstrations or solidar-

ity actions in other parts of Spain.

"This has been very twisted by the ultraleft," the Stalinist explained. "Of course we are with Euskadi. Of course we are for amnesty. Of course we are against the repression, the assassinations."

"But," he explained, "this was not the time. The democratic forces have a great opportunity, and a great responsibility. The democratic forces in Spain are just emerging, just now—six or eight weeks ago—our party was legalized, a party that has been the backbone of the democratic forces."

"The problem our leaders pointed out was that destabilizing the situation could only benefit the fascists. Street fights could provoke a military coup. This was threatened in a Madrid daily—a *military coup*—it is not something invented by us. Everyone knew the danger."

I'd been hoping he'd get around to that. In my coat pocket I had a copy of that afternoon's *Informaciones*, a Madrid daily. I pulled it out and opened it to page three. At the top of the page the headline read: "Carrillo Salutes Armed Forces Day." Santiago Carrillo is the general secretary of the PCE.

The *Mundo Obrero* seller who had been quiet for most of the interview gasped.

Little wonder. "Armed Forces Day" is the new name of "Victory Day," the official commemoration of the triumph of Franco's fascists over the Republican forces in the Civil War.

"No, no, no. I can assure you that headline is a total twisting of what comrade Carrillo said," the talkative Stalinist explained. "I was at the meeting and what was said was that we salute the fact that it is no longer Victory Day, that is, that there exists the intention of bringing the army into the democratization process to extend national reconciliation."

"National reconciliation?" I asked. "With the fascist officer corps that would stage a coup?"

"The question cannot be posed in that way," the talkative Stalinist explained.

* * *

The night train from Madrid pulls out at 10:50 and doesn't reach Bilbao, a city in the Basque country, until 7:45 the following morning. I had gone to get my ticket with a Spanish friend. On his recommendation I bought a ticket for a *litera*, the sleeping car, which costs 300 pesetas more than a regular seat. That's about \$4.50 American money, and it turned out to be a good investment.

The sleeping car has fifteen compartments, each with six bunk beds, the beds maybe two feet wide. When I reached my compartment someone was already there—a big man, in his late forties, sitting on the lower bed on the right side and reading a copy of *Mundo Obrero*. Occasionally he would grimace as he read and send clouds of smoke billowing from a fat cigar.

I introduced myself and tried to start a conversation. But he wasn't interested. So I stepped into the hallway and leaned out the window looking at people coming aboard while I waited for the train to pull out.

In a little while the man came out of the compartment. "So you are a reporter. What have you been telling the yankees about us?"

I was evasive at first but he kept pressing. Finally I confessed I worked for a socialist newspaper.

"Well, I am not a socialist. I am a communist. I have been one since 1965. It is not a problem to tell you this because it is not a crime any more. In this country a few months ago it was a crime even to be a democrat, and much more so a communist."

I explained to him the way the word socialist was used in the United States, and that I was a revolutionary socialist, what in Spain would be called a communist.

He told me some of his background and experiences, fights he'd led in the aluminum plant where he works. Then he said, "But I think my role as a rank-and-file leader has ended. I quit the PCE and Workers Commissions two weeks ago."

I asked him to explain and he did. He had been a cell leader of the PCE, but was removed when he

Continued on page 19



Militant/Caroline Lund & José G. Pérez

leary 500 attended Basque country rally of the cialism' (center right). The audience responded Tapia, Jesús Belmonte, Olatz Ibañez, Andoni

EVA FOREST

Mass protests free
frame-up victim



By Caroline Lund

BILBAO, Spain—"Prisoners into the Street" read the banner headline of the June 2 *Diario 16*, a Madrid daily. The front page featured a large photograph of Genoveva Forest, one of seven newly released political prisoners, in a joyful embrace with her husband outside the gates of the Yeserías women's prison in Madrid on June 1.

She was greeted by people—250 family members, well-wishers, and candidates of various left political parties—who had waited for hours outside the prison gates. They chanted, "Eva, Eva, Eva," and "Total amnesty!"

Forest had spent two years and eight months in "preventive detention" without trial, charged with involvement in the 1973 assassination of rightist Admiral Carrero Blanco and a subsequent bomb attack on a Madrid restaurant. She is a well-known feminist.

Forest has insisted she had nothing to do with either attack. After her imprisonment, a book was published called *Operation Ogro*, in which members of the Euskadi ta Askatasuna (ETA—Basque Nation and Freedom), a nationalist group of the oppressed Basque country, claimed credit for the Carrero Blanco assassination and explained exactly how it had been carried out.

At a long news conference following her release, Forest said the only "case" the police interrogators seemed to have against her was built around her participation in a committee of solidarity with the struggle of the Basque people.

Forest was granted provisional liberty without bail. Also released, but immediately sent into exile, were six other political prisoners—González Terrón, Ruiz Apodaca Landa, Ibarburu Azcue, Iñaki Sarasqueta, Javier Izko, and

José Antonio Garmendía Artola.

Iñaki Sarasqueta, a Basque who was condemned to death in 1968 and subsequently had his sentence commuted, is a member of the LKI (Ligan Komunistan Iraultzalea—the Basque name of the Revolutionary Communist League, a sister organization of the U.S. Socialist Workers party). He was immediately flown to exile in Norway.

Amnesty for the many political prisoners in Spain, isolated, tortured, and humiliated for years as punishment for their resistance to the Franco dictatorship, is one of the most deeply and broadly felt demands of the peoples of Spain today. Protests around this issue led, only weeks ago, to a general strike in the Basque country as well as street battles and barricades when Spanish police went on a rampage to crush the protest.

"This is a great popular victory," said Eva Forest, greatly moved, to the crowd who welcomed her at the prison gates. "It is a victory won by the people; but it is not the amnesty that we want. This liberty has cost much blood. I am thinking most of those who are not here. We cannot forget those who remain inside; we must get everyone out."

She expressed her thanks for the many acts of solidarity carried out in defense of her and other political prisoners. "And to the families of those who are dead because they demanded amnesty [at least seven Basques were killed as a result of the police assault on the proamnesty demonstrations in mid-May]," she concluded, "I want to say that none of those deaths were in vain. Their blood was transformed into energy to continue the struggle for total amnesty."

...LCR

Continued from page 16

spread it out completely. Lamiaco isn't on that map.

Neither is Neguri, the larger town along the Nervión River just north of Lamiaco. In Neguri live the rich people who own many of the factories that the people of Lamiaco work in. The rich people of Neguri own a lot of other things up and down the string of industrial towns clustered on either side of Bilbao along the Nervión River.

The difference between Neguri and Lamiaco is probably one reason why nearly 500 people from Lamiaco attended the FUT rally held here June 4.

Another reason is that Lamiaco is in Vizcaya Province, which is part of Euskadi, the Basque country. The rich people of Neguri think it's just dandy that tyrants and bureaucrats in Madrid make all the decisions that affect the lives of the people of Lamiaco.

But the people of Lamiaco don't like it one bit. They don't like having Castilian—the language you and I call *Spanish*—shoved down their throats when they'd rather speak Euskera, their own language. They don't like having a nuclear plant plopped down right in the middle of the Bilbao metropolitan area where it can heat up the water—not in their homes but in their river—and maybe irradiate everyone around into oblivion.

A third reason so many people from Lamiaco came out is because of who was speaking at the rally: Jesús Belmonte, Koldo Tapia, Olatz Ibáñez, Andoni Arrizabalaga, Miren Odriozola, and Mikel Labeaga.

The people of Lamiaco know them. They fought to save Andoni Arrizabalaga's life when he was sentenced to death by Franco's dictatorship. They fought for amnesty so that Olatz Ibáñez could come back to Euskadi after six years in exile. Some may work in the same factories as Jesús Belmonte, Koldo Tapia, or Miren Odriozola.

Most everybody in Lamiaco knows Mikel Labeaga. He grew up here and worked at the Agra chemical plant here until last November, when he was fired after being arrested for "illegal association"—belonging to the LCR.

The new-found democratic affinities of the Francoist flunkies who inherited the government after the old butcher died stop at letting people form a political organization simply because they want one. Dozens of radical organizations are "illegal" to this day, including several such as the LCR that have thousands of members and supporters.

When they fired Labeaga in November, the bosses at Agra thought they'd gotten rid of him for good. But the workers didn't see it that way. They made him a full-time organizer of the Workers Commission and a member of the factory committee. The

Workers Commission is a union that has signed up about eighty workers at the plant since it was legalized a few weeks ago. The factory committee is elected by all 600 Agra workers at shop and general assemblies. One demand of the Workers Commission and factory committee is that Labeaga be reinstated.

I got to the jai alai court where the FUT rally was to be held at 5:30 p.m., a half-hour before it was to begin. Members of the LCR were putting up banners that read: "FUT: an alternative of struggle to elections without freedom," and "For workers democracy—for socialism." The banners were in both Castilian and Euskera.

As 6:00 p.m. approached, very few people were there, except a couple of dozen LCR members. Someone said the Communist party had held a meeting the night before and only 100 people had come.

Labeaga got into a sound truck, and with the "International" for background music, he drove up and down the main street inviting people to come to the campaign rally.

Whole families would arrive together, everyone from the grandfather to toddlers. Some people wore Euskadiko Eskerra (Basque Left, a coalition of "illegal" radical organizations) campaign stickers, others Basque Nationalist party stickers. Members of the town's proamnesty committee circulated in the crowd selling stickers that read: "Amnistia denontzat"—"Total amnesty." In Spain, people wear stickers like people in the United States wear buttons.

Labeaga was the first to speak. He explained that although he was not a candidate, the other five were, and they would outline the FUT's program. He introduced them. When he began to introduce Andoni Arrizabalaga, some in the crowd broke out into a chant that said in Basque, "Andoni will not die."

The various speakers outlined the major themes of the FUT's campaign: for full democratic rights, including equal rights for women and youth, and the right of Euskadi to control its own destiny.

They spoke out against the idea of a social pact, an agreement between the government and the mass workers parties to impose wage controls. They said the capitalists should be the ones to pay for the economic crisis they have created.

They called for a workers government as the only government that could offer solutions to the economic and social problems of the different peoples of the Spanish state.

Everyone listened intently, staying for all of the two-hour rally. Occasionally they would break out in applause, like when Koldo Tapia said, "The government says it is illegal to speak against three things: the monarchy, the centerpiece of the continuation of the institutions of the dictatorship;

the army and police, the armed guardians of capitalist exploitation and oppression; and the so-called sacred unity of the Spanish state, which strangles the cultures and aspirations of the oppressed nationalities of this state.

"But we've been gagged for forty years," he said, to growing applause, "and we won't stay quiet longer!"

"Down with the monarchy!" he shouted.

"Immediate dissolution of all repressive bodies!" he said moments later to another ovation.

"Freedom for Euskadi! We Basques should control our own destiny!" he concluded, again to overwhelming applause.

During one speech, someone from the audience went up to Labeaga. After the person speaking was through, the young worker who had talked to Labeaga was introduced and given the floor.

The worker explained that he was a member of a Spain-wide coordinating committee of 60,000 workers in one branch of the construction industry who had just gone out on strike to demand a contract with better pay and working conditions, and rehiring of workers who had been fired as punishment for organizing the struggle.

"Our struggle is the same as Euskadi's," the worker said, referring to the general strike there in mid-May. "We strike for amnesty, as you did."

"Some tell us this isn't a good time for a strike because of the elections," he said, in an oblique reference to the positions of the two largest workers parties, the Communist and Socialist Workers parties, who have told workers to hold off all struggles because the elections will solve all their problems.

"But the workers of my industry have already had our election. And we voted to strike, because our problems and demands didn't begin May 24 [when the election campaign officially opened] and won't end June 15 [the day of the balloting]."

The rally ended with a minute of silence for the Basques murdered by police during the mid-May proamnesty upsurge, and a singing of the Basque anthem and the "International." Everyone, including small children, raised their fists.

After the rally I went around and spoke with some of the people in the crowd.

One man was a veteran of the civil war of the 1930s.

He said he had gone to the Communist party rally the night before and would attend several other rallies.

"During the hardest years of Francoism, I hoped that I would live to see the day when the 'International' could be sung openly. I go to the meetings to hear it."

He has a lung problem and wheezes as he talks. "I can't sing anymore. But I still have enough life to raise my fist."

The capitalist parties in Spain

By Caroline Lund

BILBAO, Spain—Since the death of Franco, Spain has seen an explosion of literally hundreds of political organizations.

Following is a summary description of the most important capitalist parties or blocs. Future articles will take up the Communist and Socialist parties, the anarchists, the centrist and Maoist groups, and the revolutionary socialists.

The fascist groups

On the far right are several explicitly fascist organizations.

Most of these groups are running candidates in the election. Examples of their slogans are: "Carillo [leader of the Communist party], we will make hamburger out of you" and "Power to the army."

The main activity of these organizations in the election campaign is to carry out physical attacks on parties to their left.

For example, the May 28 issue of the Madrid daily *Informaciones* reported that a publicity caravan of the Spanish Socialist Workers party (PSOE), the main social-democratic party, had been attacked the night before by twenty persons shouting, "Long live Christ the king!" The fascists forced open the doors and beat the socialists, while shooting into the air.

The same night two CP members were beaten with chains and other weapons by twelve members of Fuerza Nueva (New Force). And the owner of a movie theater in Madrid decided not to allow the hall to be used for a campaign meeting of the Popular Socialist party (Partido Socialista Popular—PSP) because of death threats against the party's president from a fascist commando group called Triple A (Alianza Apostólica Anticomunista—Apostolic Anticomunist Alliance).

The previous day, a leader of the ORT (Organización Revolucionaria de Trabajadores—Revolutionary Workers Organization) also received a death threat at his home from the Triple A.

These groups of fascist thugs have very little support among the population. Often, when they come out into the open to distribute literature, they are surrounded and chased away.

Alianza Popular (Popular Alliance—AP)

This electoral formation groups together many former officials from the Franco regime and is headed by Manuel Fraga, former minister of the interior. The AP supports the principles of the now-dissolved National Movement, the only legal party under Franco. These days, they talk less about fascism and more about the need for a "strong state." Members of the AP's marshal squad are fascist thugs, armed with chains and pistols.

The AP supports the forced retention inside Spain of all the oppressed nationalities; opposes a Cortes, or parliament, empowered to write a new constitution for the country; and opposes the right to divorce or abortion, legalization of the Communist party, and amnesty for political prisoners.

Most of their campaign meetings have been by invitation only. On June 3 the AP held its first mass meeting in a bullfight stadium in Madrid. Fifteen thousand people showed up. Throughout the affair, reported the June 3 issue of *Diario 16*, chants of "Franco, Franco, Franco," became confused with shouts of "Fraga, Fraga, Fraga."

Leaders of the AP recently sent a special letter to all nuns in Spain, stressing the party's strong anti-

Franco's heirs in the campaign



CAPITALIST CONTENDERS IN ELECTION IN SPAIN (clockwise from top): fascist demonstration, Suárez, Fraga.

Marxist platform and its support for the doctrines of Pope Paul VI. It also appeals for support from the police.

The AP does have the backing of significant minority sectors of the capitalist class. Its strength has been exaggerated, however, by everyone from Prime Minister Suárez to Communist party leader Carillo, who call for a vote for themselves to supposedly head off the AP and the danger of a return to fascism.

Unión de Centro Democrático (Union of the Democratic Center—UCD)

The UCD is a heterogeneous bloc of bourgeois parties and politicians built around the figure of Adolfo Suárez, the present prime minister and former head of Franco's National Movement. It appears to have the support of the dominant sections of the Spanish capitalist class.

Suárez and the UCD claim that they are the people who have moved Spain forward toward democracy through slow, calm changes. A UCD poster puts it bluntly: "To vote for the Center is to vote for Suárez." The UCD's democratic image has also been built up by the leadership of the mass workers parties, the CP and PSOE, who believe that the main line of division in Spain today is between the "democratic forces," headed by Suárez, and those who want to return to fascist reaction. PCE leader Carillo has said openly he would give full cooperation to a government headed by Suárez.

"On Monday morning I saw my cell leader outside the plant and I told him I still a communist with a little 'c,' but that I could not swallow this thing that Camacho did."

I asked him if many others had resigned. He said he didn't know of any, because the leadership had made it hard for him to have contact with other members. "They talk a lot about the right to dissent in the Soviet Union, but in the party, forget it."

I asked him if he planned to join one of the groups who say they're to the left of the CP. He said he didn't know. "The thing is, these groups make a lot of noise, but they're too small. They don't have strength. You need a big party to fight the bosses and to make the revolution."

What we discussed most was Lenin's pamphlet *State and Revolution*. He had just read it while visiting his daughter in Madrid, and it was a revelation.

"In the PCE, they never encourage us to study. They told us it was risky to have books because of the repression. But now I see something else. They

The coalition finally came out with a program at the end of May. It proposes a "constitutional monarchy," and claims to support freedom of expression and the right to meet and to demonstrate. The coalition says it supports trade-union freedom and the right to strike, but it would only limit, not eliminate, state intervention into the negotiation of labor contracts. It says it supports equality between men and women, but upholds the enforcement of the family as the basic unit of society. It claims to favor separation of church and state, but upholds criminal penalties against abortion.

Suárez's supposed devotion to democracy can be judged from the fact that the government he heads has refused to legalize the vast majority of the working-class parties in Spain.

However, the Spanish capitalists do need certain democratic forms in order to be able to negotiate deals with political figures and trade-union officials (such as those of the PCE and the PSOE) who have the confidence of big sections of the working class—a confidence that the old fascist "trade union" lacked. They need this in order to achieve a "social pact." The idea of the pact is that the workers should "voluntarily" accept sacrifices, including a wage freeze, for the good of Spanish capitalism. The capitalists have found it impossible to impose the necessary burdens on working people through methods of repression alone.

Thus the politicians of the UCD, the PCE, and the PSOE have a relationship—underneath all the rhetoric—of "you scratch my back, I'll scratch yours." For example, the June 4 issue of *Diario 16* reported on a UCD meeting in which a leading candidate expressed his happiness "at the moderation of the election campaigns of the socialist and communist parties. . . ."

Federación Demócrata Cristiana (Christian Democratic Federation—FDC)

The Christian Democrats claim to represent a clear break from Francoism. They have associated themselves with the PCE and PSOE in various pacts and common statements. In short, they aim to represent a more credible democratic alternative which the capitalist class can turn to in case Suárez runs into difficulties because of his long identification with Francoism. The FDC hopes to form an alliance in this venture with the bourgeois nationalist parties of the Basque country and Catalonia, and with the PSOE.

The Christian Democrats were repressed under Franco and say they support total amnesty and legalization of all parties. They support a constitutional monarchy.

The bourgeois nationalists

In addition to the state-level capitalist parties, there exist procapitalist political formations of the two biggest oppressed nations, the Basque country and Catalonia. The most important is the Partido Nacionalista Vasco (Basque Nationalist party—PNV), which calls for autonomy for the Basque country, including the part of it that is now included in France. The nationalist parties and blocs have procapitalist programs, but they are able to attract significant support from workers and poor peasants because they are seen as fighters against national oppression.

The PNV is participating in the elections as part of the Christian Democratic Federation.

didn't want us to know what Lenin said, to see the PCE's revisionism of communist principles."

We talked a good hour, and the train was well on its way. I climbed into the top left bunk bed and he into the right. I turned on the little reading light, took out a notebook, started writing down snatches of the conversation before I forgot all of it.

"Sleep, comrade," he chided me. "The revolution will wait until tomorrow."

I explained what I was doing, that I planned to write a story about our conversation, if it was all right with him. I told him American workers needed to know about his experiences to better judge the U.S. Communist party.

He said it was okay on one condition:

"You must put this in the article. Tell the North American worker comrades that the communist workers of Spain will make the revolution. What the Communist party of Spain does is its affair. But we will make the revolution, with the Communist party, or against the Communist party. We will find the way."

...Madrid

Continued from page 17

began criticizing what he calls the rightist course of the PCE.

"But despite problems with the party bureaucracy, I never considered resigning until what happened two weeks ago."

What happened was that the Communist party and the union it leads, the Workers Commissions, torpedoed a solidarity movement in defense of the Basque people, who were waging a general strike for amnesty for all political prisoners.

"Many people where I work are nationalists," he said, "and there was no way I could explain to them or justify what Camacho did." Marcelino Camacho is the head of the Workers Commissions. He had gone on the national government-run TV network with a statement urging workers to be "serene" and not protest.

This was over a weekend.

Longer hours for less pay

NY painters resist special 'rehab' contract

By Steve Bloom

NEW YORK—Members of the Brotherhood of Painters, District Council 9, here completed voting recently on the proposed "rehabilitation" contract for work funded by the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). The contract includes a wage cut of approximately 25 percent for workers renovating certain low- and moderate-income residential dwellings.

The contract was approved. But the narrow margin—about 60 votes out of the approximately 500 cast—represented a setback for the union bureaucrats.

The "rehab" agreement has been hailed by the major dailies here, the construction bosses, and the leaderships of construction unions. They call it a "historic step" toward stimulating

Steve Bloom is a member of the Brotherhood of Painters, District Council 9.

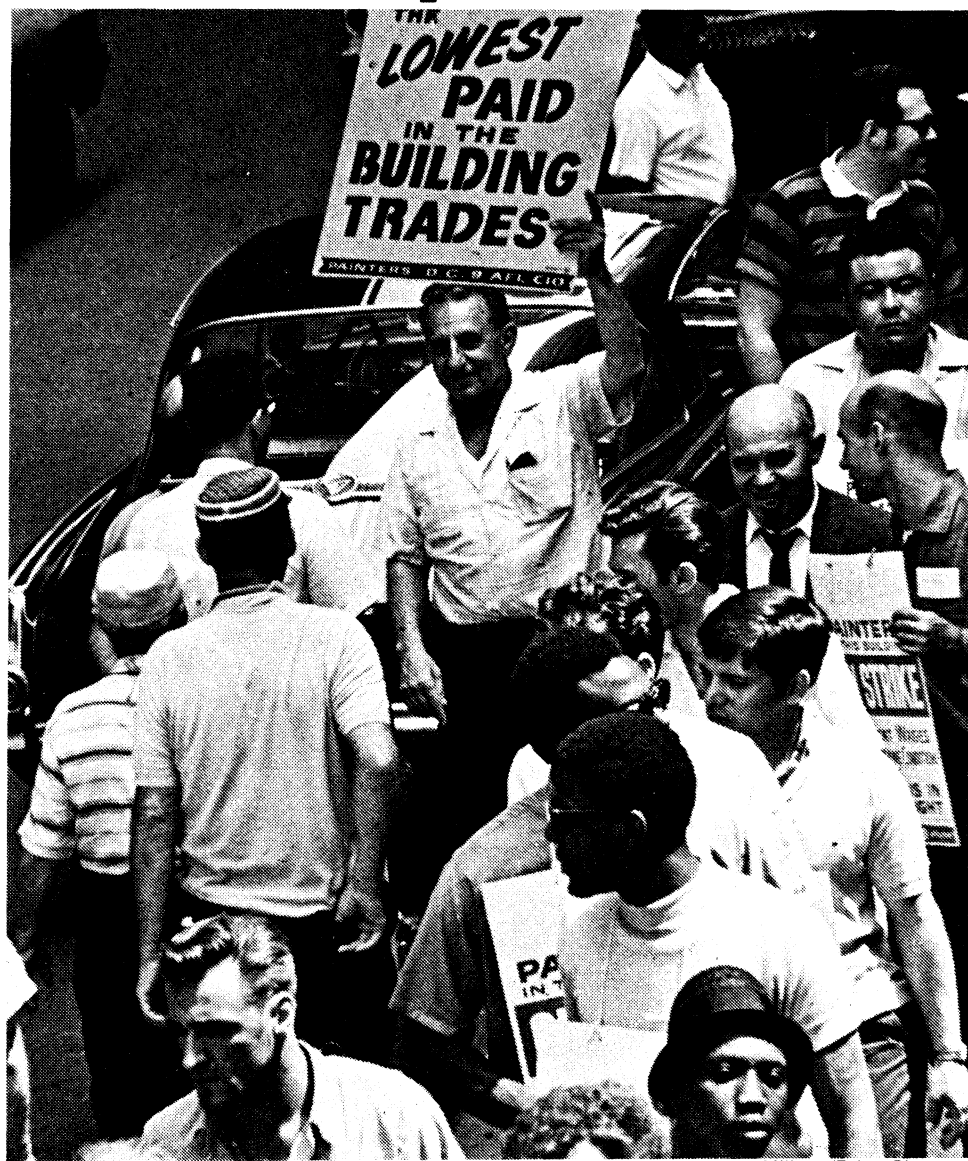
more construction jobs. But when stripped of the verbiage, the "rehab" contract is simply another attack on the building-trades unions.

In addition to the wage cut, the "rehab" agreement calls for an "eight-hour" day (painters in New York City have worked seven hours for forty years), severe cuts in fringe benefits, and involuntary overtime.

The new contract also gives the go-ahead to the unlimited use of "labor-saving devices" at the discretion of the employer. This means an end to limits on spray painting—a change that would significantly cut labor costs (and eliminate jobs), and also increase job health hazards.

Faced with a growing attack from nonunion contractors, the share of work done by union painters is dwindling rapidly. This frightens the union bureaucrats, not because it hurts painters, but because it threatens to cut off the flow of dues that maintain their well-paid positions. So the only solution these union tops offer is for union painters to cut back on wages and conditions so that union-contract bosses can compete with nonunion bosses.

Such a policy can never succeed. A worsening of union conditions can only cause a further loss of union members and a corresponding deterior-



District 9 painters demonstrate in New York during a 1968 strike.

ation in conditions for union and nonunion workers alike.

Despite a relatively small turnout for the vote—which would ordinarily favor the bureaucrats—it was clear that an increasing number of union painters do not go along with the idea of working longer hours for less money.

Painters in New York City are fragmented in twenty-one separate local unions, which makes it difficult for those who oppose official positions to make their point of view heard. Each local discusses and votes separately on referendum issues.

In some locals, the leaderships sensed the rank-and-file resentment and argued against approving the

agreement. In these locals, the "rehab" proposal was voted down overwhelmingly.

In still others, the agreement was voted down, or large minorities were tallied against it, despite strong pushes by the district council representatives and business agents.

But in most cases the members simply did not have a chance to learn what was at stake, and only heard the official promise of more jobs.

The solution is not to compete with nonunion contractors, but to organize the workers in nonunion shops and force employers to meet union wages and conditions.

This will require a break from the

current, narrow, craft outlook of these unions. Building-trades workers will have to organize on an industry-wide basis.

The growing use of simplified tools and prefabricated materials in construction makes it impossible for craft unions to maintain their previous position as job trusts for highly skilled, highly paid workers.

The bosses are not divided and isolated by craft. They are organized into formations like the Association of Building Contractors—a national group that has as its expressed purpose the destruction of the building-trades unions and the improved conditions they have won for all construction workers.

Defeating this offensive necessitates a united campaign by all building-trades workers to defend and improve their standard of living.

The union bureaucrats contend that the "rehab" agreement will affect only one kind of work and only for a limited period of time. But the logic goes far beyond this.

While New York painters are voting to accept these cuts for "rehab" work, the union is also beginning negotiations with employers for a new contract.

These contractors are not going to give the union the increases in wages and benefits it is demanding when the members are voting to work longer hours for lower wages and the union has no program for organizing unorganized shops.

It is simply not true that high construction costs are a result of exorbitant wages paid to construction workers. Wages represent only 15 percent of construction costs today, down from 30 percent in the past.

Only a small minority of construction workers find steady employment today, and most make only a fraction of the yearly incomes played up in the news media.

The real profiteers are the bankers who speculate on construction, suppliers of materials such as lumber and steel, and the big construction contractors themselves.

A union leadership worth its salt would launch a vigorous campaign to counteract the propaganda about "overpaid" construction workers, not capitulate to it by agreeing to wage cuts.

Boston coalition fights cutbacks

By Chris Horner

BOSTON—Between 500 and 600 residents of Dorchester, this city's largest neighborhood, gathered at Grover Cleveland School last month to protest cutbacks in the new city budget.

The 1977-78 fiscal budget submitted by Mayor Kevin White eliminates virtually all the human services still retained by the city's neighborhoods. Just a few of the programs slated to be axed are: Community schools; Human Rights Office; Cultural Affairs; Troubled Employees (alcoholism counseling); Youth Activities Commission; Consumers Council; and Rent Control Administration.

Invited to the meeting by the Dorchester Human Services Coalition, which represents forty-five Dorchester

citizens' organizations, were Deputy Mayor Young and members of the city council. When Young told the crowd, "We just can't spend what we don't have," he was greeted by a chorus of booing and hissing.

Members of Massachusetts Fair Share, a consumer group, cited detailed statistics to disprove the mayor's claim that Boston "simply cannot afford" human services.

Hattie McCutcheon, Socialist Workers party candidate for Boston School Committee, distributed a statement linking the proposed budget cuts to the city government's resistance to court-ordered school desegregation.

McCutcheon pointed out that the most severe cuts are directed at students, recently hired Black teachers, transitional aides, and bus monitors. She urged that "the defense of equal educational opportunity be the top priority of the struggle against the city's cutbacks."

The day after the meeting, the city council voted to reject the mayor's budget and ordered Mayor White to restore the \$1.4 million to save the Community Schools Program. But the Dorchester Human Services Coalition has vowed to go on fighting until all the programs slated to be cut have been restored.

Wisconsin teachers face reprisals

By Robert Schwarz

MILWAUKEE—In a move designed to take away part of what teachers here won in their recent strike, school officials will force teachers to pay their own health and life insurance premiums for the month of June.

According to news reports, the school board decided at a closed meeting not to pay premiums for teachers who participated in the strike.

The board had cut off insurance premiums during the strike, using the city attorney's opinion that such payments would be illegal. But since premiums are paid several months in advance, the ruling did not go into effect before the end of the seventeen-day strike.

Administration officials estimate payments at \$90-110 for most teachers.

By refusing these payments, the school board will save about \$500,000.

On the same day in Racine, Circuit Judge Howard DuRocher fined the Racine Education Association (REA) and its officers \$7,420 for refusing to obey his back-to-work order during their strike last March.

DuRocher ordered the union back to work seven days before the teachers voted to end their strike. The fines cover that final week.

The REA was fined \$1,000 a day, or \$7,000, with Executive Director James Ennis and President Robert Ables receiving fines totaling \$350 and \$70 respectively.

DuRocher stayed the fines for ten days to allow for appeals.

**American
Labor Struggles
1877-1934**

By Samuel Yellen

416 pp., \$3.95.
Order from Pathfinder Press, 410
West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Socialist answers 'Salute to Israel'

'We must unite to defend Palestinians'

On June 5 some 75,000 people—according to police estimates—marched in New York City's annual "Salute to Israel" parade. The demonstration this year marked the tenth anniversary of the Israeli occupation of the Arab section of Jerusalem during the June 1967 Middle East war.

Opponents of the Zionist occupation of Egyptian, Syrian, and Jordanian lands—and the intensified repression of Palestinians in those occupied territories—also marked that anniversary. Some 300 demonstrators marched through midtown Manhattan calling for an end to U.S. aid to Israel and chanting support for Palestinian self-determination.

The anti-Zionist demonstration was organized by the Palestine Action Coalition. Organizations participating in the demonstration included the Palestine Solidarity Committee, Arab Information Project, Palestinian Red Crescent Society, Eritreans for Liberation in North America, Workers World party, Prairie Fire Organizing Committee, Iranian Students Association, Socialist Workers party, and New York Committee for the Defense of Palestinian Land and Rights.

Jane Roland, Socialist Workers party candidate for New York City Council president, brought greetings to the demonstrators. Following are her remarks.

The recent victory of Menahem Begin, the right-wing Irgun terrorist, in the Israeli elections flows logically from the establishment of a colonial-settler state in Palestine at the expense of the Arab people who

lived there.

Begin's victory flows logically from the further conquest of Arab lands by Israel during the June 1967 war—a conquest being celebrated today by Zionist forces and their supporters in the "Salute to Israel" parade.

That parade is a salute to the jets and tanks Washington gave to Israel making the 1967 conquests possible. That parade is a salute to the success of American imperialism in building up the Zionist state as a powerful ally against the just aspirations of the Palestinian and Arab peoples for liberation from colonial domination. That parade is one that Democratic and Republican party politicians in the United States—the friends of Jimmy Carter like Bella Abzug and Abraham Beame, and the former friends of Richard Nixon alike—rush to join.

Some capitalist politicians now express hypocritical regret over the outcome of the Israeli election. This is only because the facade of Israel's "labor" government has now been torn away so that the ugly reality is more clearly revealed.

We can now see more clearly what "free elections" in an "exclusively Jewish state" are all about. They have always been contests in which Zionist parties compete over how best to exclude and dominate the Palestinian people.

Begin will use the same army of occupation that the previous government used to suppress Palestinian workers' strikes and student demonstrations.

Begin threatens to annex the occupied lands. But hasn't there already been a de facto annexation by the previous government, which established about 100 permanent Zionist settlements in the occupied territories?

There is no fundamental difference between the policies of the new and old governments in Israel. And there is no real difference between their old and new friends in Washington, despite the deliberately vague hints by President Carter about a "homeland" somewhere for the Palestinians.

Carter will put such promises in the same bag of hot air where he keeps his other pledges—about jobs, aid to the cities, support for women's rights, justice for oppressed nationalities, and an end to the arms race.

During the past year, the Palestinian people have endured some of the harshest trials in their long struggle against exile and genocide.



Guardian/George Cohen

Participants in June 5 Palestine Action Coalition demonstration

Together with the Lebanese workers and peasants, they suffered terribly from ruthless bombardments by Syrian troops and right-wing Christian militia, aided by an Israeli blockade and secret arms shipments carried out with Washington's blessings.

Certain Arab regimes, as well as countries like the Soviet Union and China, on which many Palestinians counted for meaningful help, turned against them, or counseled their surrender, or kept silent during these attacks.

But just the same, the Palestinian masses in Lebanon stood up—their steadfastness and courage symbolized by the heroic defense of the refugee camp at Tel Zaatar.

And the continuing resistance to Zionist victimization and exile found another heroic symbol in the massive "Day of the Land" demonstrations on the West Bank and inside Israel itself.

Defenders of the Palestinians' right to self-determination—and those who support the revolutionary advance of all the Arab working masses, the women, the peasants, the oppressed nationalities, the youth—have a special obligation to spread the truth about these struggles.

Above all, we need to mobilize support for the many Palestinian activists who have been deported or jailed for political opposition to their Zionist oppressors. The political prisoners held by Israel must be brought to the world's attention.

Some say the Palestinians should be "reasonable" and "patient" and "realistic," that they should accept a little state somewhere under the shadow of Zionist Israel and in the grip of the butcher, Jordan's King

Hussein.

But is it "unreasonable" for the Palestinians to want an end to their exile? To want to go home to a new and democratic Palestine open to all the people who want to live and work there as equals? To want an end to the racial and religious exclusionism of Zionism? An end to the role of Arab exploiters? An end to imperialist domination of the Arab world?

How outrageous to accuse the Palestinians of being too "impatient" and "unrealistic"! After twenty-nine years, why should they trust any longer in United Nations declarations, or Geneva conferences, or Arab "summit" deals?

The Palestinian masses want to guide their own destiny, to struggle for their own liberation, and *never* to give up their rights to *all* of their own country!

They will not agree to hand Palestine over to new exploiters. Their struggles will result in the creation of a democratic and socialist Palestine as part of a socialist Arab world.

We in the United States must demand that Washington keep its hands off the Arab and Palestinian struggle, just as we mobilized public opinion here against Washington's genocidal assault on Vietnam.

The Socialist Workers party has always supported the struggles of the exploited and dispossessed peoples of the world—from Vietnam to the fight for self-determination and socialism in Palestine.

Ten years after Israel's occupation of even more Arab land, we again express our determined solidarity with this struggle. And we pledge to continue in united actions to defend it until final victory is won.



Militant/Lou Howort

JANE ROLAND

Tacoma socialists launch mayoral campaign

By Richard DeGaetano

TACOMA, Wash.—This industrial port city on Puget Sound has the highest official unemployment rate in the state of Washington. City Light, the big electric utility, recently increased its rates by 54 percent. Thirty-five percent of the city's budget is

being used to beef up the police force, while social services and recreation facilities are being cut back and neglected.

Local industries, such as the big ASARCO copper smelter, the St. Regis and Weyerhaeuser wood and paper mills, and the Kaiser steel plant are pouring poisonous chemicals into Tacoma's air and water.

ASARCO has threatened to close down its operations here rather than comply with federal Environmental Protection Agency standards.

And the Democratic and Republican party politicians who run Tacoma and the state government are prepared to chop down even more on the living standards of working people here.

Challenging these attacks is Dave Zilly, who recently launched his campaign for mayor as the candidate of Tacoma's new Socialist Workers party branch.

Zilly is a member of Boilermakers Union Local 104. He is an active participant in Tacoma's Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa (CLSA). As a U.S. Marine Corps veteran, who served during 1964-68, he feels a personal stake in protests against U.S. meddling with the rights of working people in other countries.

Zilly introduced his campaign to Tacomans at a May 28 kickoff rally at the Unitarian Church.

He blasted the profits-first priorities of the Democrats and Republicans. "Unlike the politicians of the two parties of big business," Zilly said, "if I were mayor of Tacoma, my administration would say to polluting corporations like ASARCO: 'Don't try and blackmail the workers of this city. Rather than lay off your work force because your operations are too filthy to operate legally, we demand that all 800 workers be kept on the job making ASARCO a safe, clean place to work!'"

But in order to enforce this program, Zilly explained, working people need to end their reliance on the Democrats and Republicans. "We need a party of our own, a party of working people based on our organizations—the trade unions—that can use the strength of our numbers to fight for us and for our interests!"

Zilly urged his audience to vote for the SWP as a way of showing support for independent labor political action.

Urging listeners to join the SWP, Zilly said, "Our responsibility is to be the first ones, to help pave the way for millions of others. It starts today, but it doesn't end on election day."

Also speaking at the rally were Willie Mae Reid, the 1976 vice-presidential candidate of the SWP; Noah Midamba, a Kenyan active in the CLSA who is an instructor at Tacoma Community College; and Margaret Trowe, the SWP's candidate for mayor of Seattle.

Blow to segregationists

Judge rejects L.A. board's 'white flight' poll

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—School officials here recently lost a round in their ongoing campaign to thwart school desegregation. Superior Court Judge Paul Egly refused to accept as evidence a school board public opinion poll designed to show that mandatory desegregation would result in "white flight."

Ordered by the California Supreme Court to draw up a desegregation plan, the board responded with a miserable caricature of one.

The board's plan would bus fourth, fifth, and sixth grade pupils to "integrated learning centers" for part of the day nine weeks a year. Even this would touch only a small minority of students in one of the most heavily segregated school districts in the country.

Egly is currently considering whether this school board "plan" complies with the supreme court order. In rejecting the poll—purportedly commissioned for the information of the court—Egly said it does not help him answer that question.

He also castigated the board's attorney for publicizing the poll's results while he was determining if it should be admitted as evidence.

It was to justify its scandalous nondesegregation proposal that the



Militant/Harry Ring

board commissioned the survey. The results were supposed to persuade the court that a meaningful plan would result in such massive "white flight" that even worse segregation would follow—a prospect the board piously states it deprecates.

If the court should order a year-around city-wide desegregation plan, the polltakers found, 80 percent of the white parents say they would not go along with it. Thirty-four percent of those parents reportedly said they would move or put their children in

private schools, and another 16 percent said they would probably do so. The other 30 percent would apparently just be unhappy.

According to the survey, a majority of the parents had not heard the specifics of the board's plan.

When it was explained by the polltakers, 55 percent of whites, 67 percent of Blacks and 62 percent of Chicanos said they favored it.

But when the proposition was changed from "voluntary" to "mandatory," the number of Blacks favoring it

shot up to 78 percent. Among Chicanos it remained about the same.

The difference between Black and Chicano response is explained in good measure by the fact that the Chicano community has been the target of a lying campaign that school desegregation would mean the end of bilingual programs.

The associate school superintendent told the media that the survey shows that "you can't, at least right now, implement a more extensive plan" than the one the board has proposed.

This argument is based on the thoroughly reactionary notion that Blacks and Chicanos must wait for their right to equal education until a majority of whites are "ready" for it. On the basis of that approach southern slaves would still be waiting for emancipation.

This crooked survey stunt is but one part of a continuing pattern of official resistance to school desegregation—extending from the school board to the Democratic administration of Mayor Thomas Bradley, which remains silent as a tomb.

The current desegregation proceedings began when Black people took the school board to court nearly fifteen years ago. If it's left up to the board, the case will still be in court fifteen years, from now.

Indianapolis hearings debate busing plan

By Tom Campion

INDIANAPOLIS—"If the Supreme Court says you can't bus between townships, how can you bus between neighborhoods?"

This and other racist arguments against school busing have surfaced here in reaction to a desegregation plan released by the Indianapolis school board recently.

In January the U.S. Supreme Court overturned a cross-district busing plan for Indianapolis and eight surrounding suburbs. Federal Judge Hugh Dillin had found the Indianapolis Public Schools (IPS) guilty of de facto segregation in 1973 and had ordered cross-district busing between IPS and suburban districts.

In 1969 Indianapolis and its Marion County suburbs merged under the same municipal government. School

districts, however, were exempted from the merger. Dillin found that this resulted in school segregation.

Under Dillin's order, token desegregation of elementary schools occurred. At least twenty inner-city schools, however, were left more than 90 percent Black. The new ninety-one-page IPS "working paper" will supposedly complete elementary school desegregation and also desegregate high schools.

While the three variants of the plan would bring about significant desegregation of the high schools, a number of elements in the plan would penalize the Black community.

High school students who would be bused—the majority of them Black—would be charged a dollar a day for transportation. In other words, Blacks would have to pay for the right to an

equal education.

Under one variant of the plan, Shortridge High, the most heavily Black high school in the city, would be closed. The school board says it would cost too much to improve and expand facilities to keep Shortridge and another predominately Black high school in operation.

At public hearings on the new plan, Shortridge students and staff have testified about the discriminatory treatment and inadequate funding the school has received for years. The proposed closings, they say, would increase crowding in other schools and displace teachers. They would therefore be a further attack on the right of students, especially Black students, to a decent education.

Elementary school desegregation is to be accomplished through an "op-

tions" plan supposedly limited by desegregation guidelines. But the board has yet to say how this will be done. In other cities this type of "options" or "magnet school" plan has been used to keep schools segregated, since white parents "opt" to send their children to white schools.

For some in the Black community here, elements such as these have obscured the real steps toward desegregation contained in the "working paper." Black community leaders have been noticeably absent from public hearings on the plan, giving racist antibusers a relatively free hand.

At a May 23 city-wide hearing held in an all-white section of town, white busing opponents—including many from Indianapolis suburbs—were able to dominate the discussion. Jimmy

Continued on page 30

I'm a socialist to fight 'la migra,' win equality

By Joanne Tortorici

LOS ANGELES—3:00 a.m. "Buenos días—Immigración." La migra's officers wore fake smiles, trying to hide that what they really wanted was to send everyone in the house to Mexico.

Like many other Chicanas, Laura Chey Acuña's brush with deportation was too close for comfort. She recalled

JOINING THE SWP

the incident:

"Maybe you talk a little bit different than them. Maybe your habits are a little different. But you live here! And now you're being shipped to Mexico, and you've only seen it once in your life."

Twenty-one years old, Acuña is especially interested in issues that affect the Chicano and mexicano people—issues such as deportation. Recently those interests led her to join

the Socialist Workers party.

Acuña first met the socialists when she bought a *Militant* last month from a salesperson outside a supermarket near her Long Beach, California, apartment. She hadn't seen a radical newspaper since leaving the University of California at Santa Barbara in 1975. She was glad to see the *Militant*.

A few days later Acuña met the same *Militant* salesperson on a bus. Public transportation being what it is in Los Angeles, they had a long time to discuss politics. By the time Acuña reached her stop, she had an invitation to the following week's *Militant* Forum, a weekly public discussion series at the SWP's bookstore.

Acuña went to the forum. Not too long after that she became a provisional member of the SWP. Provisional membership gives people a three-month period to become acquainted with the SWP before deciding whether to join.

Last week I asked Acuña how she came to be a socialist.

"Minorities are on the bottom, and

we're being kept there," she answered. "I'd like to see equality."

Acuña told me she had become active in politics while at school in Santa Barbara. In 1975 students there organized actions demanding that the two fired minority representatives to the chancellor be reinstated. The firings were part of general cutbacks in Chicano and Black studies.

"The school didn't approve B.A. degrees in Chicano studies that year," Acuña recalled. For her that meant a year's worth of work wasted.

Pushed out of school, Acuña went to work as a waitress. In her spare time she wrote songs.

"Some people say we've come a long way," Acuña commented. "Maybe we've made some progress, but not much. We might get a union job, but they still send us out to Vietnam first to fight their war. And they still come to deport us in the middle of the night."

Acuña told me that she thinks all the attention being put on "illegal aliens" is nothing more than the U.S.

government's attempt to find a scapegoat for unemployment and the deteriorating way of life for the majority of people in this country.

"They're trying to divide us and whip up people against Chicanos and mexicanos to blame us for the economy's problems," she said.

We discussed the conferences and demonstrations scheduled for this fall to protest the deportations. Acuña expressed hope they will prove effective in stopping the government's attacks on undocumented workers.

"The government—and the Democrat's [Leonel] Castillo [Carter's new head of the Immigration and Naturalization Service]—should remember who was here first!" she declared.

* * *

If you would like to join the Socialist Workers party, get in touch with the SWP branch nearest you listed on page 31, or write the SWP National Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.



Washington, Moscow, and the arms race

An exchange

To the editor:

In an otherwise clear and well-argued article by Joseph Hansen (see "Washington & Moscow return to secrecy in disarmament talks," *Militant*, April 29, 1977), there is a very confusing passage. At least I am confused by it.

The passage says, "Seated on their stockpiles of nuclear arms, either of which is capable of destroying all human beings many times over, Carter and Brezhnev are haggling over items that do not affect their overall death-dealing capacities. . . . Clearly it would be a fatal policy to rely on either Washington or Moscow to halt the arms race and dismantle their nuclear stockpiles."

Is writer Hansen's position with respect to nuclear disarmament "a plague on both your houses"? Let me make my question clear by stating several opinions I hold and asking writer Hansen to comment on them.

A workers state, even a degenerated or a deformed workers state, has the abstract right to defend itself militarily from imperialist attack.

The Soviet Union has indeed the *concrete need* to arm itself fully within the limits of its resources in defense of its existence.

The United States has not and cannot abandon its long-range goal of restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union.

Although the motives of the Stalinist rulers of the Soviet Union are counterrevolutionary through and through, and their use of the Soviet Union's military might is premised on the policy of "peaceful coexistence" (class collaboration), the *blame* for both the arms race and the failure of any meaningful disarmament talks must fall squarely on the shoulders of U.S. imperialism.

Morris Starsky
Cleveland, Ohio

Joseph Hansen's comments:

The question goes deeper than agreeing that the *blame* for the arms race and the failure of meaningful disarmament talks falls on U.S. imperialism. The capitalist system is expansionist and aggressive because of its insatiable thirst for profits, whereas no such compulsion operates in a planned economy. However, the question remains—in assigning *blame* should the Kremlin go scot-free?

Let us recall that Stalin showed in practice how little the bureaucratic caste can be relied upon in organizing the defense of the Soviet Union. Stalin in fact paved the way for Hitler.

Let us pursue this line of thought further. The world Trotskyist movement has never wavered in its defense of the Soviet Union (and the other workers states) against imperialist attack. It has sought to make that defense as effective as possible. On that premise it has never defended the parasitism or the special privileges seized by the bureaucracy. What the Trotskyists have defended is the proletarian basis of the workers state (expropriation of private property in the means of production, monopoly of foreign trade, economic planning). This has meant *opposing the bureaucracy*, which explains why the Trotskyists are so feared and so savagely persecuted by the Kremlin.

The defense of the workers states occurs on two levels, *political* and *military*. Of these the political is the more important by far.

However, let us consider the military defense first, since this is the predominant level in the current SALT talks and in the bourgeois estimates of the meaning of these talks.

On the issue of nuclear bombs, what constitutes an adequate number? It appears to me that a stockpile large enough to obliterate humanity *once* marks a natural quantitative limit so far as use values are concerned.

This natural limit on military needs might be designated Armageddon One.

In the qualitative improvement of nuclear weapons, a process that is being advanced at a truly American pace, Armageddon One offers possibilities as the point that rational beings might select for converting quality into quantity; that is, reducing the number of bombs in consonance with their rise in destructiveness. Under this sliding scale, the total death-dealing capability of each side would remain constant. Neither state could go above Armageddon One without violating the contract.

The logical end of the nuclear arms race would thus be possession by each side of a single device capable of achieving Armageddon One no matter where it was exploded.

But the fact is that each side possesses a stockpile much larger than needed to wipe out all human beings once. Both have stockpiles sufficient to obliterate humanity many times over. The figure

may be hundreds of times over to believe some estimates.

Yet in a madness that has no equal in human history the nuclear arms race continues. "Military defense" has obviously become meaningless in terms of saving a country from the most terrible catastrophe imaginable—its extinction.

To me it appears quite clear that the Kremlin, by participating in this mindless race, is dealing terrible blows against the defense of the Soviet Union. For no matter how huge the Kremlin's stockpile might be or how accurate its delivery systems, the Soviet Union cannot escape the fate of the rest of humanity once the bombs begin to be exchanged.

Now let us turn to the political defense of the workers states. This means above all mobilizing popular support.

Among the poverty-stricken masses of the world, the Soviet Union is still favored against the imperialist powers. This precious asset stems from the fact that the Soviet Union originated in a revolution that overthrew capitalist property forms, enabling backward Russia to advance to the status of the second strongest world power in a matter of decades. The victory over the German imperialist invasion in the Second World War enhanced this favorable image in the eyes of the masses.

The best possible defense of the Soviet Union (and of the other workers states) is to further establish the superiority of planned economy over the anarchy of capitalism, and to demonstrate its inherent capacity to expand democracy in a way never experienced under capitalism, making possible a great new flowering of science, literature, art.

But the bureaucracy, by blocking optimum economic planning, by diverting huge sums in the form of special privileges, by defending its positions with monstrous repressive measures, stands squarely in the way of converting the Soviet Union into a shining example with enormous political appeal to the oppressed masses everywhere.

The injury to the defense of the Soviet Union is enormous. The Kremlin forgoes—in fact rejects—active support of the masses. It seeks to restrain or divert them from carrying out a socialist revolution in their own countries that could bring about a definitive victory: the replacement of capitalism by socialism on a world scale.

The Kremlin favors class-collaborationist deals with the main imperialist powers in which it plays the role of leading—or trying to lead—anticapitalist forces to their doom.

The Kremlin's practice of class collaboration thus emerges as deadly sabotage of the defense of the Soviet Union.

If we now place within this political context the Kremlin's policy of haggling with Carter over relatively insignificant details in the nuclear arms race, it is clear that Brezhnev must be blamed for failing to seize the initiative on disarmament, an issue of great importance in exposing Carter's imperialist objectives. Brezhnev is to be blamed all the more because he permitted the new White House demagogue to appear as the proponent of reducing nuclear stockpiles although he is completely committed to stepping up the nuclear arms race.

Brezhnev even permitted Carter to leave the impression that Moscow—not Washington—believes that an astronomical nuclear stockpile is a military imperative.

Had Brezhnev challenged Carter to join him in reducing nuclear stockpiles to a maximum capability of destroying humanity only *once*, it appears to me that Carter would have had some difficulty in replying. Naturally, it would have been preferable if Brezhnev had proposed in addition a schedule leading at short intervals to a one-half capability, one-fourth, one-eighth, and so on. Why shouldn't rapid decay rates be imposed on stockpiles of nuclear arms?

But Brezhnev will not do that. Nor Carter. "Clearly it would be a fatal policy to rely on either Washington or Moscow to halt the arms race and dismantle their nuclear stockpiles."

Detente

Why It Won't Bring Peace

By Caroline Lund and Dick Roberts
32 pp., 50 cents

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

Human rights in the USSR & East Europe

A discussion with the Puerto Rican Socialist party

By Peter Seidman

This spring *Claridad*, newspaper of the Puerto Rican Socialist party, published an editorial defining its position on "human rights, and particularly as regards the dissidents in socialist countries." (See article on this page.)

The editorial, published in the March 11-17 issue, was written in response to a request made on television in Puerto Rico.

Taking a cue from Carter's attempt to score propaganda points against the Kremlin with his hypocritical campaign around human rights, *Claridad's* questioner was no doubt trying to embarrass the PSP in its struggle to bring socialism and independence to Puerto Rico.

But, as *Claridad's* editorial makes clear, human rights are not really a matter of concern to opponents of the struggle for socialism such as Carter. They are, however, of grave importance to working people.

Claridad's editorial upholds socialism as the only system that can bring about genuine democracy in all spheres of life. It differentiates this from Stalinist rule in Eastern Europe and the USSR. And it reveals the underlying hypocrisy behind Carter's demagogic "human rights" campaign.

But apparently there are disagreements within the PSP on this issue.

Debate in PSP

For example, in *En Rojo*, a magazine supplement also in the March 11-17 issue of *Claridad*, international editor Alberto Pérez wrote another article on human rights.

Pérez disagrees that there are serious violations of human rights in Eastern Europe and the USSR.

He maintains that in the USSR "man doesn't need to look for freedom outside the state, or against the state, but rather enjoys freedom within the state, and therefore it is true freedom."

While admitting there may be some imperfections, Pérez attributes these to the fact that "socialism" in the USSR is "very young" and that it was subjected to "grave errors and deviations" during the "Stalinist epoch."

But, Pérez says, "These problems were recognized by the CP of the USSR at its twenty-fifth congress [in 1976] where resolutions tending toward perfecting Soviet socialist democracy were adopted. . . ."

Besides, Pérez argues, "What capitalist country carries out the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights . . . on what are considered the basic rights of a human being—the right to a job, to an education, and to social security?"

Pérez says, in effect, that if the political systems in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe are not "an example for emulation," as the *Claridad* editorial argues, then what alternative view of socialism do the editors of the paper put forward?



FIGHTING THE LEGACY OF STALIN: Hungarian workers pulled down this statue of the Kremlin dictator during 1956 rebellion against bureaucratic repression. PSP opposes such repression, but fails to take a clear stand in support of those who fight against it.

This is a key question for the PSP to answer.

But the *Claridad* editorial fails to do this.

For example, *Claridad* says it is "the unalienable right of the workers who have achieved power in those countries to exercise their class dictatorship implacably so as to block the old exploiters from regaining power."

Of course, *Claridad* is correct. But this is begging the question.

It is equally correct, for example, that workers in this country and Puerto Rico have an "unalienable right" to defend their unions from being smashed by the capitalist government and bosses. But to do that these workers will have to fight to install new leaderships committed to democratic and militant policies necessary to fend off such attacks. That is the significance of the Steelworkers Fight Back movement, for example.

Much the same thing is true of the challenge facing workers in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe today.

Unfortunately, because of its failure to take Pérez's arguments head on, *Claridad* offers no answer to how the Soviet and Eastern European workers can free themselves of the "repressive inheritance of Stalinism" the editorial admits exists.

For example, *Claridad* says, "No matter how tyrannical a given socialist regime might have been, it will always end up opening the road to full liberation."

This simply is not true.

First of all, are regimes like that in the Soviet Union—regimes that imprison people for their ideas, and invade neighboring workers states whose regimes they oppose (as the Kremlin did in Czechoslovakia in 1968)—are such regimes socialist, as *Claridad* claims?

No. These regimes have broken out of the orbit of capitalist property relations—the essential first step on the road to socialism. But the bureaucratic misrule in all these countries prevents the necessary remaining steps.

These regimes cannot open "the road to full liberation" at all. Their reactionary policies are a brake on the spread of world revolution, the only guarantee of full liberation. These policies have instead led to many grave setbacks to "full" liberation for revolutionary struggles around the world.

Puerto Rican independence

For example, the lack of democratic rights in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe poses an especially acute problem for those seeking to win the masses of an oppressed nation, such as Puerto Rico, to the struggle for socialism.

A central axis of the struggle for socialism in Puerto Rico is the democratic demand for national independence. Only a socialist revolution, as the example of Cuba makes clear, can bring full political, social, and economic independence from U.S. imperialism.

But when radicalizing Puerto Rican workers look at the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe today, they see evidence that seems to contradict socialists' claim to stand for freedom and national self-determination.

Soviet troops occupied Czechoslovakia in 1968,

Claridad hits 'crimes in the name of socialism'

The following editorial appeared in the March 11-17 issue of 'Claridad,' weekly newspaper of the Puerto Rican Socialist party. The translation from the original Spanish is by the 'Militant.'

On last Sunday's television program "Face to Face in Front of the Country," attorney Bennie Frankie Cerezo challenged *Claridad* to define its position on human rights, and particularly as regards the dissidents in socialist countries.

Claridad backs without any reservations the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations and believes that its cardinal principles should prevail and be respected completely in all parts of the planet. Independently of the social system or political regime of each country, there are certain principles of respect for human dignity and for personal freedoms the violation of which is intolerable.

We maintain that to achieve full human rights, it is necessary to wipe out every form of exploitation, and this can only be reached by way of socialism. We are aware that even though socialism is essential to promote a full flowering of freedom, this does not mean that there haven't been flagrant injustices and violations of the

most elemental human rights committed in the name of socialism. We condemn these crimes with much more vehemence than anyone else, precisely because the sacred cause of socialism has been invoked to justify them. For those reasons, for us, the repressive inheritance of Stalinism in the Soviet Union will never be an example for emulation, but rather a very grave error that we hope Puerto Rican socialism will never fall into.

With all that said, it should be noted that there is a qualitative difference between capitalism and socialism with regards to human liberties. However liberal and democratic a capitalist regime might be, it can't overcome its essentially oppressive nature. There is no greater offense against human dignity than the practice that permits some men and women to enjoy great privileges while others, the majority, suffer great restrictions. And that's the way things are in the capitalist democracies as well as in the capitalist tyrannies.

Under socialism, things are precisely the opposite. No matter how tyrannical a given socialist regime might have been, it will always end up opening the road to full liberation. Because by eliminating the material basis of

inequality and injustice, and providing for the cultural and educational elevation of the masses, it is paving the road toward democratization.

For that reason we make a clear distinction between what could be unjustifiable violations of human rights in whatever socialist country and what is the unalienable right of the workers who have achieved power in those countries to exercise their class dictatorship implacably so as to block the old exploiters from regaining power. And we have not failed to notice as regards the so-called Soviet dissidents, there are more phony cases fabricated by the intelligence systems of the imperialist countries than there are cases that truly reflect violations of the human rights of real citizens of that country.

In summary, *Claridad* backs, upholds, and proposes the firmest commitment to the basic principles on which the concept of human rights is founded. Above all, it is important to us to make them prevail in our nation, now and in the future. It is here that history will judge our posture. And we will answer before history today, with our militant struggle for those rights, and in the future of independence and socialism, with the most punctilious practice of socialist democracy.

JULY 4 DEMONSTRATE

FOR JOBS
AND A DECENT STANDARD OF LIVING

FOR FULL DEMOCRACY AND EQUALITY

FOR A BICENTENNIAL WITHOUT COLONIES-
FREEDOM FOR ALL OPPRESSED NATIONS

MARCH: 11th & DIAMOND ST. 3:00 PM

RALLY: 33rd & OXFORD ST. 7 PM

2-6673

Banner from July 1976 Philadelphia demonstration for a 'Bicentennial Without Colonies' in which the PSP played a leading role. Why does the PSP turn its back on those fighting national oppression in the USSR and Eastern Europe?

and in 1956 crushed the Hungarian workers' struggle for democratic rights, including the right to national self-determination.

Inside the USSR, "Russification" is the Kremlin's policy toward the Soviet Union's many national minorities. Fighters for the national rights of the Ukrainian, Crimean Tatar, Jewish, and other peoples—who simply want to speak their own languages, administer their own cities, and learn their own cultures in school—are thrown in prison.

These facts fuel the suspicion of nationalists in Puerto Rico that they cannot really win self-determination through socialism. Only when socialists show in action that they are willing to fight against national oppression in the Soviet bloc, as well as in their own country, will they gain the full confidence of the Puerto Rican masses.

Powerful obstacle

These suspicions are a powerful obstacle to the struggle for socialism in Puerto Rico—an obstacle carefully cultivated by the imperialists.

Washington repeats over and over again that Stalinism equals socialism. It tries to create the impression that the dissidents are fundamentally a movement to restore capitalism. (This same false impression is peddled by the Kremlin bureaucrats, who charge that all the dissidents are "anti-Soviet" and "counterrevolutionary agents of imperialism.")

This is effective propaganda that can only be countered by consistent opposition to Stalinist oppression by those fighting for socialist revolution.

In this regard, one statement in *Claridad's* editorial is particularly erroneous. The editorial says, "We have not failed to notice as regards the so-called Soviet dissidents, there are more phony cases fabricated by the intelligence systems of the imperialist countries than there are cases that truly reflect violations of the human rights of real citizens of that country."

It is true that the CIA tries to stir things up in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, with the ultimate aim of bringing these parts of the world back into the arena of direct capitalist investment and exploitation.

But this is not what stands behind the growth of a dissident movement in the Soviet bloc today. The repressive policies of these regimes generate the legitimate discontent that has led to protests throughout the USSR and Eastern Europe.

Echoes Stalinist slanders

Claridad's charge unfortunately echoes the slanders of the Stalinist bureaucracy against all the dissidents and revolutionary struggles in the USSR and Eastern Europe.

When the bureaucrats imprison dissidents under repressive laws against "anti-Soviet propaganda," without allowing their views to be published or their trials to be conducted publicly, then true socialists should militantly oppose—not echo—the Stalinist frame-up artists.

Socialists fight against witch-hunts, frame-ups, and use of secret grand jury proceedings and indictments in the capitalist countries. They must oppose these techniques just as vehemently when they are carried out in the name of "socialism."

Is *Claridad* referring to the massive struggle in Czechoslovakia in 1968 for "socialism with a human face" as a "fabrication" of imperialism?

What about the Hungarian workers councils in 1956?

Does the PSP claim that the widespread strikes by Polish workers against bureaucratically imposed food price increases last June were inspired by the CIA? Are the efforts of the Crimean Tatar people to return to their homeland from which they were exiled by Stalin a capitalist plot?

These charges would be absurd. And *Claridad* could present no evidence to support them. Moreover, if these slanders were true, wouldn't the existence of such widespread procapitalist sentiment among the masses of working people living under workers states for thirty to sixty years require some explanation?

At the very least, the readers of *Claridad* are entitled to see the documents produced by the dissidents so they can judge for themselves.

They should be able to read the Czech human rights manifesto Charter 77, or the speeches by dissident former red army general Pyotr Grigorenko and the exiled Ukrainian Marxist oppositionist Leonid Plyushch. Then *Claridad's* readers could decide for themselves whether these frame-up cases are "fabricated by imperialism."

The *Militant* has published many of these documents in English. *Perspectiva Mundial*, the new biweekly socialist newsmagazine, is making them available in Spanish.

The dissidents have a wide range of views. Some look to the capitalist democracies as models that are superior to socialism. They get this incorrect idea from the bureaucrats themselves, who soil the name of socialism by using it to justify their totalitarian regime.

Other dissidents focus primarily on struggles for religious freedom or against national oppression.

Many others consider themselves Marxists.

The key point is that workers in the Soviet Union have the right to hear all these views without censorship or the threat of repression.

Surely the PSP has no doubt that in a genuinely democratic discussion—where the dissidents could answer the slanders of the bureaucracy and expose the hypocrisy of Carter's "human rights" offensive—the Soviet workers would be more firmly convinced than ever of the ideas of genuine Marxism. Surely it does not believe that the Soviet and Eastern European workers would opt for a return to capitalist exploitation.

In a free discussion revolutionary Marxists would call for an end to the system of bureaucratic rule, lack of democracy, suppression of national minorities, denial of religious freedom, and the counterrevolutionary foreign policy of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism.

And if, following such a discussion, the Soviet workers threw out the privileged bureaucratic caste that administers these policies, if that example were set, the workers in Puerto Rico, as well as the United States and other capitalist countries, would join the struggle for socialism with triumphant speed.

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Robert Langston: Marxist educator

By Arnold Weissberg

Robert Langston, a member of the Socialist Workers party for eleven years and a former staff writer for the *Militant*, died of a heart attack in Paris June 10. He was forty-five.

Born in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, Langston had a life-long interest in ideas, especially radical ideas. In high school he would conclude debates with ringing quotations from American socialist leader Eugene V. Debs.

Langston attended the University of Oklahoma, later pursuing a master's degree at Harvard and a doctorate in Germany, where he studied at Heidelberg and the Free University of Berlin.

His studies in German philosophy led him to examine the ideas of Karl Marx. When he returned to Oklahoma City in 1963 he joined the Socialist party.

Later that year Langston moved to New York City, where he became attracted to the Cuban revolution. At one meeting, Langston heard a Socialist party spokesperson defend the U.S. blockade of the revolutionary Castro government, a position with which he profoundly disagreed.

The SP's political support to U.S. imperialism in Cuba and elsewhere in the colonial world hastened Langston's souring on that organization and heightened his interest in the ideas of the Socialist Workers party, which championed the Cuban revolution.

Langston had become interested in the ideas of Leon Trotsky while in Germany and became a regular *Militant* subscriber shortly after his return from Germany.

In New York he started to attend meetings of the Militant Labor Forum sponsored by the local branch of the SWP.

Through his contact with the SWP, Langston became active in 1965 in the Alexander Defense Committee. The committee was set up to demand the release of Neville Alexander, a South African antipartheid fighter sentenced to ten years in prison.

In 1966 Langston joined the SWP, and two years later came onto the staff of the *Militant*. During his two years on the staff he wrote on the Vietnam War and the antiwar movement, the Middle East, environmental questions, and many other topics.

Langston also wrote for the *International Socialist Review* and *Inprecor* on Marxist economics and philosophy. His wide-ranging knowledge of these topics also made him an excellent teacher.

A memorial meeting for Langston will be held in New York City on June 26 at 4:30 p.m. at Community Church, 40 East Thirty-fifth Street.

French Trotskyist press bombed

By Noah Ellsworth

On Wednesday morning, June 8, at 8:00 a.m., a bomb exploded in the *Rouge* printing plant just outside Paris. *Rouge* is the revolutionary-socialist French daily reflecting the views of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (Revolutionary Communist League), a sister organization of the U.S. Socialist Workers party.

Four persons were in the *Rouge* printing plant at the time the bomb exploded. Some machinery was damaged but no one was injured.

The bomb was a lethal combination of two grenades, gunpowder, and metal fragments. Only one grenade exploded, without igniting the powder. If both devices had detonated, it would have shattered a wall several yards away and undoubtedly have caused several deaths.

The bomb was planted the same day as a demonstration of 8,000 people in Paris to protest the killing of strike picket Pierre Maitre by an ultra-rightist murder squad. *Rouge* and the LCR had actively supported the protest.

Angola: coup crushed, 'factionalists' jailed

By Ernest Harsch

A group of dissidents within the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) made an abortive coup attempt on the morning of May 27. The rebels seized the Luanda radio station for a few hours and attacked the presidential palace, army headquarters, and São Paulo prison. The June 1 *Le Monde* reported that the 9th Armored Brigade had mutinied.

Heavy fighting reportedly took place in several parts of the city, including in some of the *muçeques* (the slums surrounding Luanda). Angolan President Agostinho Neto admitted that some fighting also took place in the town of Malange, east of Luanda. The government charged that six MPLA leaders, including Finance Minister Saydi Mingas, were killed by the rebels.

There have been signs of a growing factional struggle in the MPLA for nearly a year. Neto charged in July 1976 that "there are comrades in the Popular Movement who create groups that meet in secrecy. They report neither to the central committee nor to the politburo."

The conflict came to a head after a two-day central committee meeting in May. Nito Alves, the former minister of internal administration, and José van Dunem, a political commissioner in the army, were expelled from the central committee. They were then arrested. Neto claims that Alves and van Dunem organized the attempted coup.

The factors behind the coup attempt are still not clear. However, some of the charges leveled against Alves and van Dunem may be a reflection of the differences within the MPLA.

Neto has accused Alves of leading a "Black racist faction" within the MPLA. According to a report in the May 29-30 *Le Monde* by René Lefort, Alves had built up a base of support among the 400,000 inhabitants of Luanda's *muçeques*.

He has tried to portray himself as a champion of Black slum dwellers and denounced the inclusion of whites and *mestiços* (those of mixed African and Portuguese ancestry) in the MPLA regime. In particular, Alves attacked Neto's three main aides, MPLA General Secretary Lucio Lara, Economics Minister Carlos Rocha, and Defense Minister Iko Carreira, all of whom are *mestiços*.

Neto also claims that Alves and van Dunem had accused him of being hostile to the Soviet Union. Neto denied this, stating, "We cannot forget



MPLA support rally after Angolan civil war. Today many slum dwellers are disenchanted with MPLA regime.

that we gained independence because we obtained aid from countries like the Soviet Union."

In the wake of the abortive coup, Neto's regime has launched a major crackdown against suspected dissidents. The extent of this new wave of repression testifies to the depth of the internal crisis that has shaken the MPLA regime.

Neto announced in a speech broadcast May 31 that "hundreds of factionalists" had been arrested, including members of the army's women's section, the youth wings of the military police and armed forces, and the Organization of Angola Women.

Neto also said that "some members of the political commission of FAPLA [Angolan People's Liberation Armed Forces] have likewise been detained in Luanda."

The dissidents, Neto said, would be punished "with utmost severity." He warned that "in the following days, other elements will be arrested for having participated in this factionalist activity. . . . A serious battle against factionalism is necessary. In every neighborhood, in every village, we will search out the factionalists and see that justice is done."

Neto indicated what he had in mind when he said, "We don't want to waste time on trials, we want to get this over with as quickly as possible."

The coup attempt by the followers of Alves and van Dunem is only the latest crisis in the MPLA.

In 1962 Viriato da Cruz, one of the founders of the MPLA, split, taking the majority of the membership. He later joined the FNLA (Angolan National Liberation Front).

In mid-1974, shortly after the coup in Portugal that overthrew the Salazarist dictatorship, another factional dispute shook the organization. Two groups—the Eastern Revolt led by Daniel Chipenda and the Active Revolt led by Joaquim Pinto de Andrade—challenged Neto's leadership. Chipenda's group was expelled, and he later joined the FNLA.

In April 1976, a few weeks after the end of the Angolan civil war, Neto moved against the Active Revolt. Pinto de Andrade and other dissidents within the MPLA were arrested, as well as members of the Maoist Angola Communist Organization and other leftist groups, including "the partisans of Trotsky and Bakunin." More than 100 persons were arrested that month and taken to prison camps.

Ironically, the central figure in that purge was Nito Alves. Employing the same charges that were later to be used against himself, Alves had condemned the dissidents as "reactionaries" and "divisionists."

The crisis in the MPLA comes at a time of growing discontent with the Neto regime. Most industries are operating at about one-third of their capacity. There are frequent food shortages in Luanda. Despite its anti-

imperialist rhetoric, the MPLA regime has nationalized only those companies abandoned by the Portuguese. The biggest imperialist interests, the Gulf Oil concession in Cabinda and the diamond fields in northeastern Angola, remain untouched.

Lefort noted that "the inhabitants of the *muçeques*, in their vast majority, believed that the proclamation of independence would open the doors to an Eldorado. Their illusions have quickly soured."

According to Lefort, part of this bitterness and discontent has been directed against *mestiços*:

"The *mestiços* community, which has a cultural level far above the average, seems to have been in a position to fill the vacancies left by the departure of the Portuguese, in the state apparatus as well as in business. The Black 'common people' have become frustrated by seeing the jobs they had hoped to occupy go to men who often have little concern for the public welfare."

"At a time when the MPLA leadership has run into immense difficulties, the contrast between the misery into which the shantytowns have been plunged and the growing affluence of a class of 'nouveaux riches' becomes more pronounced."

It was these sentiments that the Alves grouping apparently sought to take advantage of in its factional struggle with the rest of the MPLA.

Mexican troops take over Univ. of Oaxaca

From Intercontinental Press

A long-simmering conflict between university students and governmental authorities erupted in violence at the end of April, when the Benito Juárez Autonomous University of Oaxaca (UABJO) was taken over by troops for the second time this year. Police and army units broke into the buildings where the Movimiento Democrático Universitario (MDU—Democratic University Movement) was on guard, removing students and professors by force. Francisco Ramírez reported in the May 7-21 issue of the Mexican revolutionary-socialist fortnightly *Clave*.

"The toll from this new attack was one dead, five wounded, dozens beaten up, and eighty-six arrested, among them Martínez Soriano, the rector heading the MDU."

Most of those arrested were later released, Ramírez said, "but not before being harassed and beaten up." Moreover, troops continued to occupy university buildings and patrol the streets of the city more than a week later.

The conflict at the UABJO dates back to the end of 1974, when then-rector Guillermo García Manzano appointed heads to five of the university's schools in opposition to the wishes of the teachers and the student body. His action sparked strong protests and he was forced to resign.

During the following months, a series of rectors served in the UABJO until in November 1976 the university council named Felipe Martínez Soriano to fill the post. The authorities refused to recognize Martínez Soriano, appointing Jaime Tenorio Sandoval instead, a move that had the full support of the state governor, Manuel Zárate Aquino.

Tenorio Sandoval took office January 8, 1977—through a forcible occupation of the rectory.

"In order to be able 'to take office,'" Israel Becerril reported in the January 29-February 14 issue of *Clave*, "Tenorio Sandoval had to be accompanied by a group of more than two hundred persons (thugs) and to have the support of the police."

This attack on university autonomy

was followed in February and March by other repressive measures ordered by Zárate Aquino.

Commenting on the meaning of the April 24 assault on the UABJO, Ramírez said that "even with the fall of Zárate Aquino, the problems in Oaxaca have not been solved, since Provisional Governor General Jiménez Ruiz and his policy of repression are the solution the López Portillo government has offered to the problems of students, professors, and peasants."

Moreover, Ramírez pointed out:

The intervention of the federal government with the army shows that the problem of Oaxaca is not simply a problem of a division at the UABJO. It has gone beyond that framework to become a deep social and political conflict, which cannot be buried by silencing people through force of arms. . . .

The intervention of the army in Oaxaca has clearly shown the situation that is beginning to prevail on a national level. . . .

That situation is one of economic, social, and political crisis for the Mexican ruling class, Ramírez said, and "the López Portillo regime is

trying to make the workers and the most oppressed sectors of the population bear the brunt of the crisis."

"To accomplish this, the government has launched an offensive against democratic freedoms. The attacks on the unions of university workers and the universities make this clear."

The most important lesson to be learned from the government's action in Oaxaca, Ramírez said, "is that the government has begun to use repression more and more. It uses the army to reply to those sectors that do not go along with its plans."

The only way to respond to López Portillo's offensive is "to form a body capable of coordinating and driving forward mobilizations of as many sectors as possible in support of a struggle," he said.

Such a united front must draw in the trade unions, "the only sector that can resist the austerity plans of the government," Ramírez said. But it is also "necessary to broaden the struggle by seeking active support from other sectors."

Protests put Polish Stalinists in tight spot

By Gerry Foley

From Intercontinental Press

Polish Premier Piotr Jaroszewicz gave a report to parliament May 30 that was marked by a combination of lamentations and threats.

Despite increased imports of meat and bigger investment in the consumer goods industries, he said, the supply of these products is still far below demand.

The reason for the imbalance, he continued, is that workers' incomes have increased by 14 percent in the past period instead of the 6.3 percent provided for in the plan.

Jaroszewicz did not go into the origin of the imbalance. The fact is that the projections were upset by massive working-class rebellions in June 1976. The regime was forced to yield to this pressure. But it has not been able to reorganize the economy so as to meet the workers' demands.

The regime has failed even to carry out its big public works projects. In the June 2 *Le Monde*, Manuel Lucbert wrote:

The head of government's second main worry has to do with the construction industry. According to Jaroszewicz, the building plan has lagged far behind its goals since the start of the year. This admission is all the more embarrassing since faster housing construction has been a big part of the regime's promises for higher living standards.

Jaroszewicz complained that the regime's hopes for profitable trade with the Western countries had been largely disappointed. He mentioned tariffs and other obstacles to Polish exports. In addition, he noted, the economic crisis in the West has reduced the potential market for Poland's products.

The premier said that unless the Western capitalist countries made more of an effort to absorb Polish exports, his government would have to cut back imports from these countries. He said that "rationalization" of imports would begin immediately. It was not clear what this meant, but it implies restrictions. Nor is Jaroszewicz reported to have explained how, if his government cuts imports from the capitalist world, it intends to meet the "excess" demand for meat and consumer goods.

Obviously, the Polish bureaucracy is in a tight corner. The plans for solving the economic problems of the bureaucratic regime that were adopted after the 1970 revolts have clearly failed. In particular, increased economic relations with the capitalist world have not provided the solutions hoped for. Moreover, in view of the increasing scope of the Polish economic problems, it is not likely that the Soviet Union will continue to bail out the Gierk regime.



ON LINE AT POLISH MEAT MARKET: bureaucracy has been unable to reorganize the economy so as to meet the workers demands.

New wave of arrests

The Polish regime has launched a wave of arrests following protests against the murder of a student active in the Committee to Defend the Worker Victims of the Repression Connected with the Events of June 25, 1976. The youth, Stanislaw Pyjas, twenty-three, was found in the stairwell of a Cracow apartment building with his head smashed in.

At least six leaders of the Committee to Defend the Workers and three well-known sympathizers of the group have been jailed since May 15. On that day 5,000 students demonstrated in memory of Pyjas.

The six are Jacek Kuron, Miroslaw Chojacki, Jan Jozef Lipski, Jan

Lipinski, Antonin Macierewicz, and Piotr Naimski. The three committee sympathizers who have been jailed are Seweryn Blumsztajn, Adam Michnik, and Wojciech Ostrowski.

During the third week of May, sixty workers in Ursus—the scene of militant protests that forced the government to back down on bureaucratically imposed price increases last June—were arrested, as were thirty others in Radom, Lodz, Warsaw and Cracow.

Committee to Defend the Workers spokesperson Professor Lipinski said the committee will "replace those arrested with others who are constantly coming to work with us."

Two alternatives remain. One is to move away from the bureaucratic methods of organizing the economy. Obviously a ruling bureaucracy cannot go far in that direction. In fact, it is now clear that the Polish regime's attempts at reform have only entangled it deeper in contradictions. The other alternative is increasing repression. The results of this in the short run cannot be predicted. But the bureaucracy has good reason to fear the consequences.

With less possibilities for making concessions, the bureaucracy is trying to turn toward more repression. But it does this on a more precarious basis than ever before.

In his speech, Jaroszewicz indicated that the government is having difficulty even in controlling its own lower echelons. He said that one of the reasons for the disruptive rise in incomes was "irregularities in employment policy and in managing wage funds."

In his own way, Jaroszewicz referred to the threat to the bureaucratic regime from below. Lucbert reported: "He noted the existence of certain attempts to 'tear apart the society.'" This apparently meant the continuation of protests against bureaucratic repression, despite the arrest and jailing of

most of the prominent leaders of the fight for democratic rights.

Fourteen persons held a hunger strike from May 24 to May 31 in St. Martin's Church in Warsaw demanding the release of the workers still imprisoned as a result of the suppression of last June's worker revolts, as well as of the jailed fighters for democratic rights.

The fact that the Catholic church extended its protection to the protesters seems to reflect the growing strength of the opposition to the regime. The hierarchy had tried to work closely with the rulers. But despite its conservatism, the church has learned not to put all its bets on the established authorities.

The Polish writers union, no more known for its altruism than the church and more dependent on the regime, "let it be known," according to Lucbert, that it had appealed to the government to release one of the leaders of the Committee to Defend the Worker Victims, Jan-Jozef Lipski.

At the same time, protests are growing in the international socialist and workers movement, as well as among progressive intellectuals who oppose anti-Communism in their own countries, against the repression of the Polish Stalinist regime.

Argentina: a new coup in planning stage?

By Judy White

From Intercontinental Press

The arrest of General Edgardo Adel Vilas reported May 27 is a new indication of the instability of the ruling military junta in Argentina.

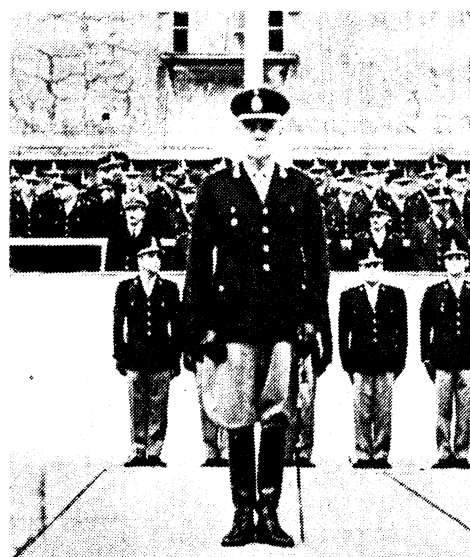
Vilas was one of the leading figures in the "war against subversion" launched under Isabel Perón. A few days before his arrest, Vilas was forced into retirement.

He thereupon issued an open letter, which was published in the Argentine dailies May 26. In it, the Associated Press reported, "he pledged that the blood of soldiers who had fought under him would 'not be used as fertilizer for another political compromise.'"

AP said that Vilas "did not elaborate on what he meant by 'another political compromise,' but it was interpreted as a criticism of the junta's plans to turn the government over to civilians at some future date."

In excerpts published in the Buenos Aires daily *Clarín*, Vilas said he could not "betray" the "supreme interests of the Fatherland," which he explained he had defended during the campaign to crush "subversion" in Tucumán and the universities.

"It is one thing to resign oneself to accept the verdict of the Qualifications Board," Vilas said, "which has found me incompetent to continue in command, and it is another, quite different matter not to heed the call of the



LANUSSE

Nation."

Vilas's arrest came two days after the editors of the *New York Times* warned against a possible seizure of power by "a group of extreme right-wing generals" who would "surely further disrupt Argentina's economy, deal an even more disastrous blow to the cause of human rights and raise the chances of full-scale civil war."

The *Times* editors called for "some American help" to block a "fascist movement" led by the governor of Buenos Aires province, Gen. Ibérico Saint-Jean, whom they quoted as

having said:

"First we will kill all the subversives; then we will kill their collaborators; then . . . their sympathizers; then . . . those who remain indifferent; and, finally, we will kill those who are timid."

On May 4, Gen. Alejandro Lanusse, who served as dictator of Argentina from 1971 to 1973, was arrested along with three other top functionaries of his government. Lanusse is favored by the Unión Cívica Radical (Radical Civic Union), the second largest political party of the country, to be the next president of Argentina.

He is described by the *New York Times* editors as one "of the country's most distinguished moderates" and one of its "more successful recent Presidents." Even Videla, in the *Time's* view, should be considered a "moderate," owing to the "perverse standards that must now be applied to Argentina."

This is utter nonsense, designed to prepare the way for support to a wing of the Argentine junta that the American capitalists believe is more capable of holding the Argentine masses in check.

On the human rights issue alone, the facts speak for themselves:

There are between 5,000 and 6,000 political prisoners rotting in Videla's jails; they have suffered systematic torture and inhuman conditions of

confinement. Between 2,000 and 5,000 persons have disappeared without a trace since Videla seized power in March 1976. Most of them have probably been killed by the president's extraofficial murder gangs. Thousands more have been driven into exile to escape his bloody rule.

Lanusse's record is no better. He became famous for the degree to which he refined torture techniques and devised barbaric conditions of imprisonment for thousands of Argentines.

Free Pablo Riesnik!

Pablo Riesnik, a leader of the Argentine student movement and editor of the Trotskyist newspaper *Política Obrera*, was detained on a public street and taken to a Buenos Aires police station on May 25.

An appeal for protests on Riesnik's behalf was issued May 27 by the Unión de Juventudes por el Socialismo in Buenos Aires. "We must build a united front," the appeal said, "so that the struggle for Pablo Riesnik's life marks the beginning of a broad movement for democratic rights. . . ."

'Born on the Fourth of July'

Born on the Fourth of July by Ron Kovic.
Published by McGraw-Hill, 1976. 208 pages,
\$7.95.

*I am the living death
the memorial day on wheels
I am your yankee doodle dandy
your john wayne come home
your fourth of july firecracker
exploding in the grave*

—Ron Kovic

This book is very powerful. It describes the Vietnam War and the struggle against it from a standpoint that is unfamiliar to most of the activists in that struggle.

Ron Kovic comes from a New York suburb where his father was a checker at the A & P. When he graduated from high school in Massapequa, Long Island, Kovic joined the marines. He was shot in Vietnam two years later and paralyzed from the waist down. He was nineteen.

Grueling treatment in various New York veterans hospitals, memories of what happened in Vietnam, and Washington's violence against antiwar dissidents ultimately transformed Kovic's thinking.



Militant/David Warren
Ron Kovic at 1972 anti-Vietnam War demonstration in Los Angeles.

"Like Mickey Mantle and the fabulous New York Yankees, John Wayne in *The Sands of Iwo Jima* became one of my heroes."

The contradiction is unfolded with little sentimentality.

Kovic reduces his experience in the boot camp of the Marine Corps mainly to one day, the first. It is the day the inductees are stripped, shaved, and uniformed. The brutalization begins.

A "fat kid was now kneeling on the floor. His whole body was shaking; he had his hands against his face like he was praying. 'I don't want this,' he was saying. 'I . . . I want . . . to go home. . . .'"

" . . . And as he watched, the drill instructors, having had all the fun they could, slowly stepped back from where the fat boy was kneeling, laughing

and scorning him, pitying him and cursing him, running back and forth and screaming in the ears of the other boys, cursing them and grabbing them again and again, until the whole maddening thunderous echo of cursing sounds and raging angry voices began to deafen his ears and turn his head around and around till he wondered who he was and what was happening and what was this place."

But Kovic does not pause for introspection. Throughout the book his writing is vividly descriptive.

Kovic believes that he accidentally shot and killed an American corporal in Vietnam; he knows that his squad machine-gunned down a group of Vietnamese children and old men; and he himself got shot to pieces.

These are the only episodes that are recalled from the war in *Born on the Fourth of July*. The message is that My Lai is what the U.S. invasion of Vietnam was all about.

"Well, goddam it sergeant! What's the matter? How many did we kill?"

"They're children!" he screamed at the lieutenant. . . .

"Hello Cactus Red. This is Red Light Two. Ahhh this is Red Light Two. We need an emergency evac. We got a lot of wounded . . . ahh . . . friendly wounded. . . ."

"You men! You men have got to start listening to me. You gotta stop crying like babies and start acting like marines!" The lieutenant who was off the radio now was shoving the men, pleading with them to move. "You're men, not babies. It's all a mistake. It wasn't your fault. They got in the way. Don't you people understand—they got in the goddam way!"

Kovic is no less angry about the veterans hospitals where he and thousands of other wounded GIs ended up ignored and treated like cattle. Here too, however, Kovic catches ironies.

"I push the call button again and again. No one comes. I am lying in my own excrement and no one comes. I begin shouting and screaming. I grab an ice pack and my water pitcher. I throw them out of the open door into the hallway, splashing water and

his insanity and therefore his undesirability.

The subcurrent that runs through the action is a sharp commentary on the oppressive conditions in Harlem during World War II. For example, the shrink tries to get Malcolm to explain what he does for a living and has a hard time understanding Malcolm's response that he is a hustler.

Doctor: But what do you do for a living?

Malcolm: Anything I can get away with.

As the doctor becomes more and more hysterical, gradually forced to conclude that Malcolm is crazy, the audience is also increasingly convinced that Malcolm is crazy—like a fox. Malcolm finally pushes the doctor over the brink and wins a 4F exemption. He allows the shrink to pry out of him that his desire to join the army is not unrelated to his desire to learn to handle weapons, which in turn is not unrelated to his hatred of whites and the oppressive society he faces.

The final selection is a three-act play, *The Decision*, which explores Paul Robeson's fight to remain true to his principles during the witch-hunt.

You see a little of Greenwood's artistic philosophy in the statement by Robeson that an "artist must be let to take sides in the struggle of freedom versus slavery." And a lot of Greenwood's humor pokes through too: "It's bad enough to be Black without being Red and Black."

But all in all, while it performs a service in educating about Robeson, this play is the weakest on the program. Robeson's character is a little too flat—too good.

Greenwood's style, pedagogical in character, is hard to pull off without coming across too strong, too moralistic. In the serious pieces, such as *The Decision*, it is sometimes a little heavy. It works best in the comedy that Greenwood applies with a gifted hand.

Books

In 1970 he joined the antiwar movement and became a leader of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW).

Born on the Fourth of July is brief and fast moving. In Kovic's boyhood, he writes, his friend "Castiglia and I saw *The Sands of Iwo Jima* together. The Marine Corps hymn was playing in the background as we sat glued to our seats, humming the hymn together and watching Sergeant Stryker, played by John Wayne, charge up that hill and get killed just before he reached the top. And then they showed the men raising the flag on Iwo Jima with the marines' hymn still playing, and Castiglia and I cried in our seats. . . ."

Langston Hughes Players

Langston Hughes Players. Directed by Frank Greenwood. Performing in Los Angeles.

The Langston Hughes Players could be any group of aspiring young actors who have come together to entertain and create a showcase for their talents. But largely because of Frank Greenwood, the energetic director and playwright for the group, the players are much more.

The Langston Hughes Players were founded two years ago "to offer an outlet for the innumerable

Theater

creative and talented theater artists and theater workers in our community," as Greenwood puts it. And "to offer the community at large an alternative theater entertainment based on the Black experience, past and present."

The players themselves are a talented group of actors, mostly quite young. Some of them—such as Robert Payne, who plays Malcolm X in their current

program—are a tribute to Greenwood's conviction that superb acting talents can be unearthed by creating an opportunity for people to test their abilities.

Greenwood's writing is characterized by a biting humor and a pedagogical style, not unlike some of Brecht's work. Most of his plays are historically based. The players are now preparing a program centered around the fight for abolition, highlighting the role of Blacks in that fight.

Their current program, recently presented at several Militant Forums in Los Angeles, opens with a selection in which one of the players introduces the audience to the life of the man the group has named itself after: Langston Hughes—Black poet, playwright, and theater pioneer.

This introduction is followed by a selection entitled *Malcolm X: Crazy Like a Fox*. The one-act comedy is based on an incident Malcolm X recalled in his autobiography. The setting is a New York psychiatrist's office in 1943. In the words of the play, "The history of Afro-Americans in this country is the history of their oppression . . . but also of their unceasing resistance to oppression . . . by any means necessary . . . including deception."

The Malcolm depicted is not the polished speaker or the conscious revolutionary he was to become as Malcolm X. Instead, this is Malcolm Little—the zoot-suited, streetwise hustler of the 1940s, with only the most basic instincts to tell him that the war being fought is not in his interests.

The play turns on an interchange between Malcolm Little and the psychiatrist, who is trying to determine whether anyone he was interested in enlisting in the army as Malcolm appears to be could possibly be sane.

Malcolm is hoping that his performance as an eager recruit will—by any means necessary—prove

ice all over the floor. I have been screaming for almost an hour when one of the aides walks by. . . . 'I'm a Vietnam veteran,' I tell him. 'I fought in Vietnam and I've got a right to be treated decently.' 'Vietnam,' the aide says loudly. 'Vietnam don't mean nothin' to me or any of these other people. You can take your Vietnam and shove it up your ass.'"

Kovic's first antiwar demonstration was in Washington, D.C., after the 1970 Kent State murders. He witnessed a police riot against demonstrators at the Reflecting Pool. "The demonstration had stirred something in my mind that would be there from now on. It was so very different from boot camp and fighting in the war. There was a togetherness, just as there had been in Vietnam, but it was a togetherness of a different kind of people and for a much different reason. In the war we were killing and maiming people. In Washington on that Saturday afternoon in May we were trying to heal them and set them free."

Kovic became an outspoken opponent of the war, speaking at rallies, to school audiences, and in TV interviews. He seems to have known from early on that VVAW had more than its share of police informers and provocateurs.

In a Los Angeles demonstration he is arrested by a red-haired cop: "How are you doing, brother?" says a man with long red hair in back of me. "Is everything okay?" He is someone I have seen at other demonstrations, but I do not know his name. . . .

"Suddenly the man with red hair is leaning over from behind me, grabbing my hands. 'You're under arrest.' Another man whom I recognize from the picket line runs up to help him. 'Come on you bastard. You're going to jail!'"

Seventeen other veterans have also been arrested. "I cry because I want to be walking with them and because I want so much to trust them. But after what has happened I don't know whether I will be able to trust anyone, even my closest friends now. What are they doing to me? I think. They have taken so much from me already and still they are not satisfied."

But Kovic did not give up fighting in the veterans movement. A high point for him was the 1972 Republican convention, which he and two other wheelchair veterans succeeded in crashing—right at the point Richard Nixon began his acceptance speech.

Earlier that year Kovic also addressed an antiwar demonstration in Los Angeles. Fred Halstead, the chief marshal at that demonstration, recalled that Kovic's speech was a "beautiful speech. It ended on a very high note," Halstead said. "The crowd loved it."

They will love this book even more.

—Dick Roberts

Greenwood, a former ROTC captain who "cried when I was turned down from the army—fool that I was," has done a lot of thinking about presenting relevant material. And it has paid off well.

Actor Robert Payne best summed up Greenwood's work, saying, "So many characters [like Malcolm] have had a lot to say and not had a chance to say it."

From Langston Hughes, whose books were removed from libraries during the witch-hunt; to Paul Robeson, the great entertainer who was made a nonperson during that same period; to Malcolm X, who was silenced by a bullet a decade later—the Langston Hughes Players bring these fighters of the past to life. The Langston Hughes Players give us a second chance to experience the vitality, the will, the wit—alive again on stage.

—Joanie Quinn



Robert Payne as the young Malcolm X

How the United States stole the Panama Canal

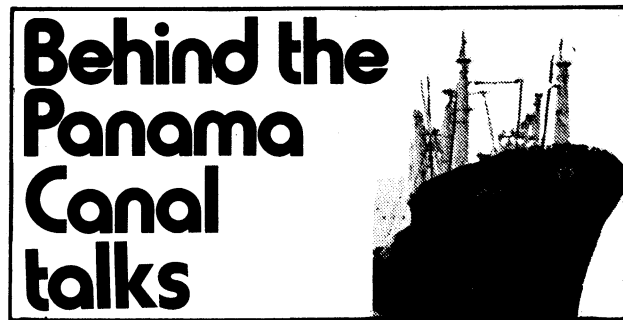
By Judy White

From Intercontinental Press

(second in a series)

Last week's article recounted Washington's growing interest in building a canal across Panama since the mid-1800s. At that time Panama was part of Colombia. In 1902 the Colombian Senate refused to ratify the Hay-Herrán Treaty, which would have given the United States the right to construct such a canal. The senate demanded a large increase in Washington's payment for the use of the strategic isthmus.

Since 1821, the year Colombia achieved independence from Spain and annexed Panama, divergent interest groups had been in control of the central government and the isthmus.



Panamanian merchants and land speculators wanted autonomy for the isthmus so that they could build a canal and establish a center of free trade there.

Every political crisis in the central government stimulated the autonomist movement in Panama. There were fifty-three revolts in the isthmus between 1846 and 1903 alone.

In 1855 the Colombian rulers tried to undercut the separatist movement by granting Panama a semi-autonomous status as a federal state. However, the 1885 revocation of this status and a step-up of measures to tighten control over the area, along with the threat posed to Panamanian merchants by the French canal project, only heightened the determination of the autonomists.

Meanwhile, in 1899 a civil war broke out in Colombia, and in 1901 the faction led by Gen. Benjamín Herrera invaded Panama. The invaders opposed the Colombian central government and were quickly joined by local autonomists. The Thousand Day War, as it was called, terminated with Herrera's surrender in November 1902. However, as Panamanian historian Ernesto Castillero pointed out:

The Thousand Day War delivered the decisive blow to that political union (between Colombia and Panama) and definitively broke the moral tie that linked the Panamanian people with what had been our homeland for almost 100 years.

For the first time broad sectors of the Panamanian population had become involved in the separatist movement, which took on a national character.

This strife provided the pretext for Washington to intervene in support of the Panama independence movement.

In *The Rise of American Civilization*, Charles and Mary Beard described what happened:

And in this emergency two stormy petrels of revolution, Dr. Manuel Guerrero, a Panama conspirator, and Philippe Bunau-Varilla, a French adventurer, deeply involved in the intrigues of the French canal company, realizing that the hour had struck, hurried to the United States to raise money for an upheaval in Panama and to gain assurances of protection from the federal government in case such a revolt could be engineered. Bunau-Varilla saw Roosevelt in the White House and visited Secretary Hay in the State Department. Though he got no official guarantees he at once sent word to the strategists in Panama that American war vessels would stand by them in an uprising against Colombia.

In the ensuing rebellion, American troops landed in Panama and U.S. ships refused to carry Colombian troops to aid in preventing a Panamanian victory, reversing what Washington had done in the past.

Panama declared its independence from Colombia on November 3, 1903. Three days later Roosevelt recognized the new regime, and on November 18 a canal treaty was signed in Washington by Bunau-Varilla—representing Panama—and Hay.

The nature of the deal between Roosevelt and Bunau-Varilla can be gathered from the first two articles of the treaty:

Art. I. The United States guarantees and will maintain the independence of the Republic of Panama.

Art. II. The Republic of Panama grants to the United States in perpetuity the use, occupation and control of a zone of land and land under water for the construction, maintenance, operation, sanitation and protection of said Canal . . .

Subsequent articles of the treaty spell the arrangement out in more detail:

Art. III. The Republic of Panama grants to the United States all the rights, power and authority within the zone mentioned and described in Article II of this agreement and within the limits of all auxiliary lands and waters mentioned and described in said Article II which the United States would possess and exercise if it were the sovereign of the territory . . . to the entire exclusion of the exercise by the Republic of Panama of any such sovereign rights, power or authority. . . .

Art. VII. . . . The same right and authority are granted to the United States for the maintenance of public order in the cities of Panama and Colon and the territories and harbors adjacent thereto in case the Republic of Panama should not be, in the judgment of the United States, able to maintain such order. . . .

Art. X. The Republic of Panama agrees that there shall not be imposed any taxes, national, municipal, departmental or of any other class upon the Canal, the railways and auxiliary works. . . .

Art. XXIII. If it should become necessary at any time to employ armed forces for the safety or protection of the Canal, or of the ships that make use of the same, . . . the United States shall have the right, at all times and in its discretion, to use its police and its land and naval forces or to establish fortifications for these purposes.

And, in case there should be any doubt about what the phrase "in perpetuity" meant, the treaty stipulated:

Art. XXIV. No change either in the Government or in the laws and treaties of the Republic of Panama shall, without the consent of the United States, affect any right of the United States under the present convention, or under any treaty stipulation between the two countries that now exists or may hereafter exist touching the subject matter of this convention.

The terms of the treaty were worse than what had been offered in the Hay-Herrán agreement. Instead of obtaining the rights for 100 years, the United States had now gotten them "in perpetuity."

"In Panama there was talk of refusing to ratify," Richard Severo wrote in the March 20, 1973, issue of the *New York Times*, "but Bunau-Varilla wrote a letter still in the official archives. In it, he warned, 'If the Government is thinking about not adopting this little resolution, I do not want to be responsible for the calamities that could follow.'"

"He made it clear he felt that the United States would not support Panama if Colombia attacked her former colony."

Bunau-Varilla's letter reached the new republic "as two Colombian gunboats were on their way to Panama," Diógenes de la Rosa, an official of the Torrijos government, told Severo.

Panama ratified the treaty, accepting \$10 million from the United States—the same sum that had been offered to Colombia. The French company received \$40 million.

And on August 15, 1914, the first ship went through the canal.

(Next week: *Under the Iron Heel*)

Students rally against U.S. occupation

A dispatch from Associated Press reported that several thousand students rallied against U.S. domination of Panama on June 6.

The demonstrations were held in memory of the death of a Panamanian student in 1966. Although the cause of his death was never officially determined, students believe he was killed by the CIA.

The larger of the rallies took place at the Shayler Triangle, an intersection on the Canal Zone side of an avenue separating the zone from Panama.

...NOW

Continued from page 8

women to march with us in greater numbers."

The amendment was defeated in the workshop as it was at the plenary session the next day.

The first day's session focused on regional candidates. Judy Knee from Essex County, New Jersey, was elected regional director. Jane Wells-Schooley from Lehigh Valley, Pennsylvania, and Carol Helenchild Swaim from Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, were elected to the national board.

On Sunday, two hours were set aside to discuss resolutions. Speakers were limited to one minute each, with five minutes discussion for each resolution.

The August 26 Defending Women's Rights resolution was defeated. Supporters of the resolution voted to support the August 26 walk-a-thon resolution.

With the June 15 Hyde amendment vote virtually around the corner, the right to choose merited an emergency discussion.

In her opening remarks, Smeal struck a militant stance, calling on NOW members to "get out there and fight" for the right to choose. The only specific action she suggested was a plea for women to come back to Washington and lobby Congress before June 15.

Smeal concentrated her fire on the state legislative calls for a constitutional convention to draft an anti-abortion amendment. Part of the description given of moves against these conventions was confusing and disturbing.

It was explained that the constitutional convention is considered by many to be a threat to the entire constitution, and an ineffective method to outlaw abortion by others.

Smeal announced that the president of the national Right to Life Committee opposes a constitutional convention. This implies that it's possible to organize greater opposition to these conventions if abortion rights are not mentioned.

Some NOW members felt that avoiding the issue of a woman's right to choose abortion and searching for allies among the enemies of abortion rights is not the way to build a movement to defend safe, legal abortion.

The calls for constitutional conventions are serious threats to abortion rights, and they should be answered. Nine of thirty-four states needed have passed bills for them so far. But campaigns against these calls should also include an urgent effort to stop the Hyde amendment. Its implementation would affect hundreds of thousands of low-income women now and threaten the abortion rights of all women.

Six women submitted a resolution calling for activities—such as picket lines and news conferences—on or around June 15 to protest the Hyde amendment.

Supporters of lobbying argued against any reference to specific activities. The resolution was changed to read "suitable tactics" and then passed by the Sunday plenary.

...ERA

Continued from back page

most visible, "militant" actions have come from the right-wing Stop ERA movement.

Since the May 16, 1976, national demonstration of 8,000 in Springfield, the only sizable pro-ERA action was a rally of more than 1,000 in Chicago this May 14.

The 1976 Springfield protest was sponsored by NOW and made significant steps toward involving trade unionists and Black women. It was a powerful sign of what the ERA movement could become if it continued on the path of mass mobilizations.

That didn't happen. Instead, Illinois NOW, following the course chartered by the national leadership, decided to channel the enthusiasm and militancy of participants in the May 16 action into campaigning for "pro-ERA" candidates.

Even after the 1976 elections, the NOW leadership, along with other pro-ERA groups here, continued this strategy to the exclusion of all else. At the state NOW conference in November, the Illinois NOW leaders' proposal for the spring ERA campaign was targeting legislative districts where "swing" votes (undecided legislators) existed and hiring a lobbyist to work in Springfield.

After a Chicago coalition of groups organized an ERA event of 200 on March 12, the Committee for the ERA was formed. It called an ERA rally for May 14 in Chicago. The rally was supported by a broad range of community, Black, campus, labor, and women's groups.

Chicago NOW and Illinois NOW refused to add their support. Instead they scheduled working in electoral districts for the day of the rally.

Despite this, the rally attracted 1,000 ERA supporters. Those in attendance cheered speakers who called for more visible actions in response to all the attacks on women's rights.

At the NOW workshop on the ERA held during the Illinois International Women's Year meeting in Normal June 10-12, Chicago and state NOW leaders once again laid out their strategy of working in the electoral districts.

But it was clear from discussion during and after the workshop that there are differences within Illinois NOW over the strategy to win ratification.

One development since the June 2 defeat is a call for a "new response" by Betty Friedan, a founding leader of NOW, and some NOW members from chapters around the state. At a news conference during the IWY meeting, Friedan called for Father's Day actions at the homes of state legislators and a protest in Springfield the following Tuesday, June 21.

Some people ask why the ERA failed last year after the Springfield mobilization and then again this year after the Chicago rally. If mass actions are the answer, why didn't these win the ERA?

But proponents of mass action have never claimed that one demonstration would instantly alter legislators' votes. The strength of such an action is in its potential to broaden and display women's power in more and bigger mobilizations.

That didn't happen after May 16, and the legislators in Springfield knew full well that the leaders of the women's movement had turned from May 16 to work in the November elections. They knew they were safe, at least for a while.

The *Sun-Times* implies that militant actions on the part of ERA supporters paint the ERA as just for "a certain kind of person," an image the NOW leadership must rectify.

To the contrary, supporters of public, visible actions not only portray the ERA as a gain for all women, but they seek to involve all women in winning it.

The "slowdown on ratification" corresponded to the demobilization of women's rights supporters and the mobilization of ERA opponents. The slowdown is part of an overall attack on women's rights, including serious retreats on abortion and affirmative action.

The women's movement should firmly reject any dependence on politicians to come through with their campaign promises on our rights. Instead we need to involve Black, Puerto Rican, Chicana, and other working-class women in massive numbers to demand our rights. When we do that, pompous legislators will no longer dare to label us a "bunch of braless, brainless broads."

Calendar

BERKELEY, CALIF.

OPPOSE CARTER CRACKDOWN: STOP THE DEPORTATIONS! Speakers: Juan Martinez, SWP candidate for supervisor of District 6, San Francisco; Lavon Geiselman, Berkeley UFW organizer; Carlos Corral, chairperson, La Raza Student Union, Merritt College, member NSCAR. Fri., June 24, 8:00 p.m. 3264 Adeline. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 653-7156.

BOSTON

THE UNQUIET DEATH OF JULIUS AND ETHEL ROSENBERG. Film showing. Fri., June 24, 136 River St. Ausp: National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case.

CLEVELAND

A TRIBUTE TO THE ROSENBERGS. Sun., June 19, 4 p.m. Lagoon behind the Art Museum, University Circle Section. Ausp: National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case.

THE ECONOMY & THE AMERICAN WORKER: A SOCIALIST VIEW. Speaker: Dan Styron, SWP. Fri., June 24, 8 p.m. Sat., June 25, 1:30 & 3:30 p.m. 2300 Payne. Donation: \$1 per class. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (216) 861-4166.

HOUSTON

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Series of weekly classes based on four books on the history of the Teamsters union by Farrell Dobbs. Every Wed., 7 p.m. 4987 S. Park. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (713) 526-1082, 643-0005, or 697-5543.

HOUSTON: EAST END

INTRODUCTION TO MARXISM CLASSES. Every Mon., 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.

KANSAS CITY, MO.

WHAT SOCIALISTS STAND FOR. A series of three classes on basic concepts of socialism. Wed., June 22 & 29, 7:30 p.m. 4715A Troost. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

RECENT TRENDS IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT. MINNEAPOLIS TEAMSTER STRUGGLE 1934, ITS MEANING FOR TODAY. Speaker: Wendy Lyons, SWP National Committee. Tues., Wed., & Thurs., June 21, 22, & 23, 7 p.m. 4715A Troost. Donation: \$1 for series; 50¢ for each class. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

DESEGREGATION: HOW WILL BUSING ACHIEVE EQUAL EDUCATION? Speakers: Linda Sinclair, 49-63 Coalition; Isaac Gardner, Desegregation Task Force; Jim Levitt, SWP. Fri., June 24, 7:30 p.m. 4715A Troost. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

LONG BEACH, CALIF.

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Revolutionary strategy in the labor movement. Wed., June 22, 7:30 p.m. 3322 E. Anaheim St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: SWP & YSA. For more information call (213) 597-0965.

LOS ANGELES

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. *The Emerging Revolt of U.S. Labor.* Fri., June 24, 8 p.m. *Background and Perspectives for Developing a Left Wing in the Unions.* Sat., June 25, 1 p.m. & 3 p.m. Tom Kerry, former SWP national organization secretary. East Los Angeles College, Student Union Lounge, 1301 Brooklyn Ave., East Los Angeles. Dinner to follow, \$2. Ausp: SWP and YSA. For more information call (213) 265-1347.

LOUISVILLE, KY.

GRAND OPENING OF MILITANT BOOKSTORE AND SWP CAMPAIGN FOR MAYOR. Speaker: Debby Tarnopol, SWP candidate for mayor of

Louisville. Sat., July 9, reception 6-7:30 p.m., rally 7:30 p.m. 1505 W. Broadway. Ausp: Socialist Workers' 1977 Louisville Campaign. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

MILWAUKEE

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Understanding Marxism. *What Is To Be Done, Part 2.* Thurs., June 23, 7 p.m. 3901 N. 27th St. Donation: \$1 for entire series. Ausp: SWP & YSA. For more information call (414) 442-8170 or 963-5551.

NEWARK, N.J.

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Series on Teamster struggles of the 1930s. Tues., June 21 & 28. Fri., July 8. Tues., July 12. All classes 7:30 p.m. Rm. 240 Conklin Hall, Rutgers Univ. Ausp: SWP & YSA. For more information call (201) 482-3367.

SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL WEEKEND. Three classes on the *Communist Manifesto*. Fri., June 24, 7:30 p.m. Sat., June 25, 1 p.m. & 2:30 p.m. Rm. 240 Conklin Hall, Rutgers Univ. Ausp: SWP & YSA. For more information call (201) 482-3367.

NEW ORLEANS

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN CLASSES. Weekly classes and discussions dealing with political issues. Find out the Socialist Workers Campaign positions and what Joel Aber, socialist candidate for mayor of New Orleans, stands for. Every Sat., 2 p.m. 3812 Magazine St. Ausp: 1977 Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (504) 891-5324.

NEW YORK: THE BRONX

CLASSES ON SOCIALISM. Thursday, 8 p.m. 2271 Morris Ave. (near 183rd St.). Ausp: SWP. For more information call (212) 365-6652.

NEW YORK: QUEENS

WEEKLY CLASS SERIES ON BASICS OF MARX AND LENIN. Thursdays, June 23 & June 30, 7:30 p.m. 90-43 149th St., Jamaica. Donation: \$.75. Ausp: SWP & YSA. For more information call (212) 658-7718.

PHOENIX, ARIZ.

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. History of the Fourth International 1940-51. Speaker: Glenn Campbell. Tues., June 21, 7:30 p.m. 314 E. Taylor. Donation: \$.50. Ausp: SWP & YSA. For more information call (602) 255-0450.

RICHMOND, VA.

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL: CLASS TWO. ON TEAMSTER POWER. June 22, 7:30 p.m. 1203A W. Main St. Donation: \$.75. Ausp: SWP & YSA. For more information call (804) 353-3238.

THE FIGHT FOR UNIONIZATION AT J.P. STEVENS. Speaker: Jim Gotesky, SWP. And the movie *Testimony*. Fri., June 24, 8 p.m. 1203A W. Main St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (804) 353-3238.

ST. PAUL, MINN.

SOWETO—ONE YEAR AFTER: THE FREEDOM STRUGGLE IN SOUTH AFRICA. Speakers: Lansine Kaba, professor of political science at Univ. of Minn.; Minn. Committee on Southern Africa; August Nimtz, SWP, professor of political science at Univ. of Minn.; Mahmoud El-kati, community activist, Antioch College. Fri., June 24, 8 p.m. Reformation Lutheran Church, corner of Oxford & Laurel. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 222-8929.

SALT LAKE CITY

AFTER THE DADE COUNTY DEFEAT: WHAT NOW? Speakers: Ken Kline, president of Gay Student Union at Univ. of Utah, member of Salt Lake Human Rights Coalition; Bob Waldrop, worship coordinator, Metropolitan Community Church; Shirley Pedler, executive director, Utah ACLU; Joyceen Boyle, NOW; Roberta Frick, SWP. Thurs., June 23, 7:30 p.m. Metropolitan Community Church, 870 W. 400 S. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant. For more information call (801) 521-6624.

TOLEDO

ANTI-IMPORT DRIVE: EMPLOYER HOAX. A panel discussion. Fri., June 24, 8 p.m. 2507 Collingwood Blvd. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (419) 242-9743.

LOS ANGELES

The Emerging Revolt of U.S. Labor

Speaker: **Tom Kerry**, former SWP national organization secretary. Fri., June 24, 8 p.m. "Background and Perspectives for Developing a Left Wing in the Unions," Sat., June 25, 1 p.m. & 3 p.m. East Los Angeles College, Student Union Lounge, 1301 Brooklyn Ave., East Los Angeles. Dinner & party to follow at 1237 Atlantic Blvd. Sponsored by SWP & YSA.

...Indpls.

Continued from page 22

Yates, an IPS parent and member of the Socialist Workers party, was the only Black speaker at the hearing. Yates defended the steps toward desegregation in the plan, but blasted those portions that run counter to desegregation.

The next day, at a school board business meeting held downtown, at least half the overflow crowd of more than 300 were Black high school students who came to protest the proposed closing of the two high schools.

What is lacking is direction from the city's established Black leadership. Thus many opponents of the high school closings have taken a neutral or even hostile attitude toward busing.

This could place the fight to end segregated, unequal education in danger here. The racist antibusers realize that the success or failure of desegregation in Indianapolis will have an impact on future extension of busing to the suburbs.

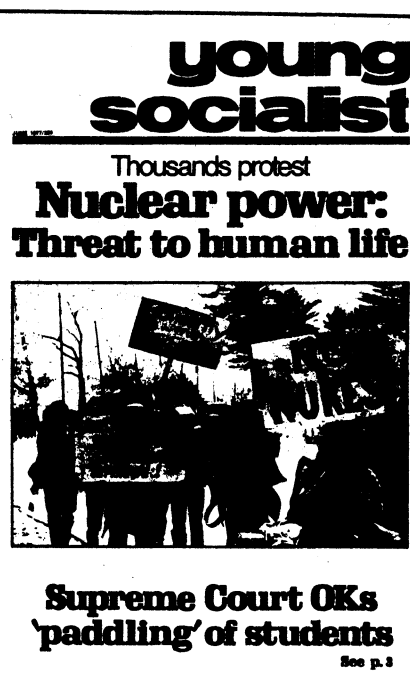
Supporters of desegregation and equal education for Blacks should also keep this in mind, and work for implementation of real desegregation without further delay, while working to modify the negative aspects of the board's plan.

In this month's Young Socialist

The June issue of the *Young Socialist* features an article on the dangers of nuclear power. While Jimmy Carter wants to double the number of nuclear power plants in the U.S., the YS examines the threat that even one such reactor poses to thousands of lives.

The issue also includes an article on the recent Supreme Court decision giving teachers and administrators the right to beat students, an interview with Robert and Michael Meeropol, and much more.

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THE MILITANT

Chicago cops admit killing two Puerto Ricans

Protesters demand 'justicia'

By Manuel Barrera

CHICAGO—Police Supt. James Rochford has admitted that Julio Osorio and Rafael Cruz were both shot and killed by Police Sgt. Thomas Walton during the Humboldt Park Police riot here June 4.

Up until now, Rochford has claimed that Cruz's death was caused by "gang activity." But ballistics tests showed that both Cruz and Osorio were killed by .38 bullets—the caliber of Chicago police specials.

The two Puerto Rican youths were murdered when police attacked a Puerto Rican day celebration in Humboldt Park on this city's west side.

Rochford's new story is that Cruz was shot "accidentally," and Osorio was killed while firing a

An editorial on Chicago cop murders appears on page 10.

gun at police. Police have yet to explain why both men were shot in the back and why no gun was found near Osorio's body.

Rochford sought to justify the murderous attack on the Puerto Rican celebration, saying, "Throughout the entire incident, police officers acted courageously under attack by a tense, hostile mob." He also resorted to the standard "outside agitators" charge used to justify cop brutality around the world.

Demanding that the cops responsible for the murders be prosecuted and jailed, more than 700 people marched to city hall from Humboldt Park on

Saturday, June 11. Marchers also demanded an end to police brutality and harassment of their community.

Reflecting a deep nationalist pride, many marchers chanted, "Free Puerto Rico now!" and "*Los puertorriqueños se respeten, ici no, maceta!*" (The Puerto Ricans will be respected, and if not, watch out!)

The march was organized by the Comité pro Orientación Comunal (Committee for a Communal Orientation), a group involving several churches and community organizations.

The sisters of the two murdered Puerto Ricans spoke at the rally. Maria Cruz told the crowd, "I saw my brother die. They said it was because of the [gang] fight, an exchange of fire. But I saw when the sergeant felled him. It wasn't any gang, it was a sergeant that killed him, and I want *justicia!*"

Among the participants in the march were the Puerto Rican Socialist party, CASA Aztlán, Student Coalition Against Racism, Socialist Workers party, Young Socialist Alliance, October League, and Revolutionary Communist party.

Following the demonstration, march organizers announced at a press conference that on Saturday and Sunday, June 25-26, a People's Tribunal will be held in Northwest Hall, 2403 West North Avenue between 10:00 a.m. and 5:00 p.m. The tribunal will hear eyewitness testimony on the incident and plan future protest activities.



Militant/Dan Shalit

June 11 rally in Chicago to protest cop murders in Humboldt Park.

Why did ERA lose in Illinois?

By Suzanne Haig

CHICAGO—On June 2 the Illinois House of Representatives defeated the Equal Rights Amendment by six votes. The tally was 101 for the ERA and 74 against. A two-thirds majority is required. There's still a chance it could be reconsidered before adjournment June 30.

The defeat was bipartisan, with twenty-nine Democrats and forty-five Republicans voting "no" on women's rights.

If ever there were doubts about the opposition's contempt for women, they were laid to rest by Democratic Rep. Thomas Hanahan's oratory on the House floor. Among other distortions about the ERA, he characterized its supporters as a "bunch of braless, brainless broads."

Supporters of women's rights are assessing the defeats for the ERA, not just here in Illinois but across the nation. What has gone wrong since the initial flurry of ratifications after Congress approved the ERA in 1972? And what can be done to win three more states before the final deadline on March 22, 1979?

Both proponents and opponents of the ERA have targeted Illinois as a key unratified state. The June 2 defeat sparked renewed discussion here on a strategy to win the ERA.

On the day before the vote in the

legislature, the *Chicago Sun-Times* offered its view in an editorial headlined "Vote 'yes' on ERA":

"It's plain that the slowdown on ratification stems in part from excessive militance by strident supporters," the editorial charged.

"Thus the new president of the National Organization for Women—a Pittsburgh housewife—wants to alter NOW's approach. ERA is not just for 'a certain kind of person,' she said, but would aid all women, homemakers as well as businesswomen."

Was the ERA defeated here and elsewhere because of "excessive militance"? Or just the opposite, that is, because of a lack of militance by ERA supporters?

During the past year in Illinois, the
Continued on page 30

Women set August 26 actions

By Gale Shangold

On August 26, 1920, women won the right to vote, after seventy years of militant struggle. A powerful, mass suffrage movement forced the American rulers to grant this basic right.

It is no wonder that in 1970 a new women's liberation movement chose August 26 as a day to commemorate. On that day tens of thousands of women took to the streets to make their demands known.

The demonstrators demanded free abortion on demand, free twenty-four-hour child-care facilities, and equal education and job opportunities.

From that point on, the women's liberation movement could not be ignored or dismissed.

Since then, women have won

substantial victories in ending job discrimination and in controlling our bodies.

This year, however, these gains are under attack. August 26 is an opportunity for the women's movement to answer those attacks.

Five hundred women at a Northwest Women's Action Conference this spring in Seattle called for an August 27 march and rally.

Ratify the ERA. Stop the attacks on women's rights. No forced sterilization. Stop cutbacks in child care. These are the demands of the action planned for Seattle.

The conference also voted to form a minority women's task force to build Black, Chicana, and Asian participation in the action.

"A Day for Women's Rights: Ratify the ERA" has been initiated

by New York National Organization for Women. A march, rally, and festival are planned for August 27.

At the mid-Atlantic NOW regional conference in Washington, D.C., June 4-5, NOW President Eleanor Smeal announced that NOW has declared August 26 "a day for the ERA." She urged that walk-a-thons for the ERA be held.

A resolution proposing August 26 ERA walk-a-thons in cities throughout the mid-Atlantic region was passed by the conference (see page 8).

The south-central and mid-south NOW conferences voted to urge local chapters to hold August 26 actions in defense of women's rights. The Southeast conference passed a resolution calling for August 26 actions that demand ratification of the ERA.