

THE MILITANT

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



60th anniversary of the **Russian Revolution**

Why neither
capitalists nor
Stalinists will
tell the truth

—PAGES 15-19

Chicanos unite to fight Carter deportation plan

1,500 attend
San Antonio conference



Militant/Harry Ring

SAN ANTONIO—Chicano and Latino activists from across the United States and Mexico met here October 28-30 to oppose fake White House amnesty plan for undocumented immigrants—pages 6, 7.

MINERS

Companies stonewall
at contract talks

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Stearns strikers jailed

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Harry Patrick speaks
on union democracy

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Carter's complicity with apartheid

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SMALLER PAY RAISES . . . Wage increases were cut back in 1977, the U.S. Labor Department reported October 28. Negotiated contract wage increases averaged 5.8 percent over the life of a contract, compared with 6.4 percent in 1976.

. . . AND HIGHER CON ED PROFITS: Con Ed, the New York City utility monopoly, reported a 10 percent increase in third-quarter profits over last year, reaching \$107.9 million. The third quarter includes the July blackout, which the utility claims cost it \$10 million.

New York State has granted Con Ed two rate hikes already this year, but the utility says its financial outlook isn't too good and that it may have to ask for still more money.

That makes the outlook gloomy for working people, but not everyone is grim. As one Wall Street analyst commented, "I think it's still safe to assume they will raise the dividend next January."

POLL SAYS ELDERLY FARE WORST: Seventeen percent of the respondents in a recent Gallup poll said that Carter administration treats elderly people the least fairly. Fourteen percent said it was the unemployed.

Among Blacks, 28 percent said Blacks in general got the worst treatment, 24 percent said the unemployed, and 20 percent said welfare recipients.

MORE VIEW CARTER AS CONSERVATIVE: Forty-eight percent of the people polled just after Carter's nomination at the Democratic National Convention thought he was left of center. Twenty-six percent said he was to the right.

Now, according to a new Gallup poll, 45 percent say he is to the right, and 35 percent say to the left.

INDIANS VERSUS RACIST SCHOOLS: A New York State appeals court heard arguments October 17 over the right of an Indian mother to keep her daughter out of a racist public school.

Jeanne Baum, a Blackfoot Indian, took her daughter Siba out of a Long Island school in 1975 after Siba's teacher remarked that Indians were "lazy" and "preferred to stay on the reservation."

A Suffolk County court ordered Siba back to school in May, 1976, and authorized the county to take her from her mother's custody. The county has so far been unable to do so.

Siba wrote in a review of a book on Geronimo: "Geronimo, as other Indians, is seen as a blood-thirsty savage. But he and his people were trying to defend their lands and their way of life from invaders, who are pictured as heroes . . . When the Indian fought back, he was the villain. And it still goes on now."

Siba's teacher gave the review a "B". The teacher said she had an uncle, an Indian, who thought the Indians "got what they deserved."

HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS WANT THEIR PAPER BACK: The editors of a Philadelphia high school newspaper have threatened to go to federal court to force the school board to release 5,000 copies of the paper, *The Town Crier*.

The board seized the papers because of an article describing abortion and contraception as options for pregnant women. The board claimed the article was "inaccurate and in poor taste."

GAY RIGHTS: ONE WIN . . . The Eugene, Oregon, City Council approved a measure October 25 forbidding discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation. The law applies to housing, employment, and public accommodations.

. . . AND ONE LOSS: The Massachusetts legislature defeated a bill that would have barred discrimination in public employment on the basis of sexual preference. The October 13 vote was 129-93.

EARTHQUAKE HAZARD CLOSES NUKE: After years of fighting, antinuclear groups in the San Francisco Bay Area won a victory October 27 when a nuclear reactor near earthquake faults was closed.

The Vallecitos reactor, owned and operated by General Electric, produced radioactive materials used for research and medicine.

The plant's operating license had expired, and it was running under a temporary one. The Nuclear Regulatory Commission declined to extend the temporary permit.

Reactors twenty times larger than the Vallecitos plant also lie close to earthquake faults. It remains to be seen if the NRC will take steps to insure against catastrophes at Diablo Canyon, in California; Virginia Electric and Power's North Anna plant; and the long-fought Seabrook, New Hampshire, twin reactors.

TEACHERS JAILED: Eight striking teachers in Westchester County, north of New York City, were jailed October 28 for disobeying a court order to end their strike and return to work. The teachers have been out for thirty-four school days.

Most of the district's 450 teachers are striking, but the school board has hired scabs to replace them.

The teachers' union, the Lakeland Federation of Teachers, was fined \$75,000 plus \$2,500 for every day the strike goes on.

Union officials said the penalties were among the harshest ever handed out to striking teachers in the state.

Six of the teachers, all union officers, got thirty-day sentences. The other two were hit with fifteen-day terms.

CHICAGO COPS SPIED ON JEWISH GROUPS: Documents recently made public as a result of a lawsuit against police spying in Chicago reveal that the red squad kept tabs on twenty-five Jewish organizations. Some of the files dated back forty years.

The Chicago *Jewish Post and Opinion*, which reported on the spy operation, listed several Jewish groups that had been victims of police surveillance, including the American Jewish Committee, the Anti-Defamation League, and the National Council of Christians and Jews.

There was no explanation of why the Chicago police spied on the groups. The suit that forced the revelations is a class action filed by several Chicago political and civil rights organizations.

STEWARDESSES WIN: American Airlines agreed October 3 to rehire 300 stewardesses and give them \$2.7 million in back pay after a seven-year legal battle. The women were fired because they had become pregnant.

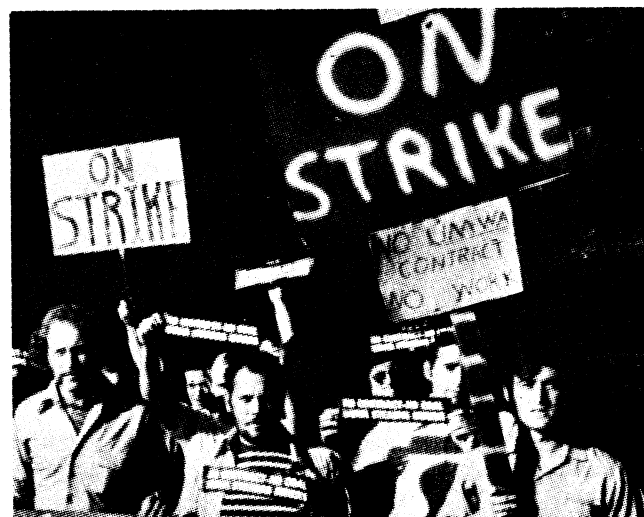
FOOD SERVICE WORKERS STRIKE: Striking food service workers at Long Island University's Brooklyn Center argued their case before 125 students, staff, and faculty members at an October 27 forum.

The strike began when twenty-five members of the Retail and Wholesale Department Store Union Local 377 were fired this month after the administration switched to a nonunion food service. The fired workers were mostly Black and Hispanic women. They lost all hospitalization and pension benefits along with their jobs.

—Arnold Weissberg

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U.S. vetoes So. Africa trade ban in UN

By Ernest Harsch
From Intercontinental Press

The South African regime's allies in the United Nations Security Council—the American, British, and French governments—have once again come to its rescue. On October 31, the three powers vetoed resolutions proposed by African representatives that called for a ban on foreign investments and credits for the racist regime, a halt to arms sales and other military collaboration, and a move toward UN punitive measures.

It was the fourth time that they used their veto powers on Pretoria's behalf. In 1974 they blocked South Africa's expulsion from the UN and a year later voted twice to prevent the imposition of a mandatory arms embargo.

In an earlier effort to head off the demands for sweeping sanctions, the three Western powers, together with the Canadian and West German governments, proposed instead a mandatory arms embargo, but with a six-month, renewable time limit. The African representatives in the UN demanded an indefinite arms embargo.

But even this, on the surface, was a shift in official Western policy toward the racist white-minority regime. They had been forced to adjust their previous stance as a result of mounting international protests against the apartheid regime's crackdown on Black activists, especially the outlawing on October 19 of every major Black organization in the country, the arrests of scores of Black leaders, and the "banning" of a number of prominent antiapartheid figures.

One reflection of this international pressure has been the demands of forty-nine member states of the Organisation of African Unity, not only for a mandatory arms embargo, but also for the imposition of worldwide trade sanctions against the apartheid regime and an end to foreign investments in South Africa.

The Western moves in the UN in response to this pressure are certainly a diplomatic blow to Pretoria. In particular, they are a setback to Prime Minister John Vorster's efforts over the past few years to enlist a greater degree of open political support from his American and European allies.

As with some other recent adjustments in imperialist policy toward southern Africa, the initiative for the cosmetic arms embargo came from the White House.

On October 24, Andrew Young, the American representative to the UN, declared that he favored the imposition of "some form of sanctions" against Pretoria. Three days later, President Carter, during a Washington news conference, stated, "My decision has been to support strong sanctions against the sale of weapons to South Africa. This will be carried out immediately by us." He also indicated that Washington would extend the partial "voluntary" arms embargo it had adopted in 1963 to cover spare parts for

military equipment and possibly other items as well.

A few days later, however, on October 30, Young made it clear that this extension of the U.S. embargo would not include an end to the shipment of American nuclear fuel for Pretoria's nuclear reactors. He claimed that such a move "would only encourage separate development of South Africa's own nuclear potential." But in reality, it has been Washington's technological collaboration with Pretoria over the past two decades that has helped the white-supremacist regime build up its nuclear industry to the point where it is now capable of producing its own atomic weapons, if it so desires.

Although the Carter administration has been following what it calls a "new" policy toward southern Africa since assuming office in January, it is notable that the president did not even mention a further reduction in the flow of American military supplies to Pretoria until after Vorster's recent crackdown and the subsequent increase in protests over American complicity with the apartheid regime.

The criticisms of the White House were even reflected within the Congressional Black Caucus, a body of Black congressional representatives that has thus far largely supported Carter's policy toward Africa. The caucus chairman, Parren J. Mitchell, declared October 21, "It's a desperate situation in South Africa and we in the caucus are becoming desperate because of the lack of definitive action by our government."

He rejected the White House contention that it was necessary to temper American criticisms of Pretoria because of Washington's efforts to gain South African cooperation in its neocolonial plans in Namibia and Zimbabwe, stating that the argument was "part of the game-playing that is going on in this administration to justify support of this racist regime."

Besides seeking to prevent even greater disillusionment with the White House among the Black population in the United States, Carter was also forced to shift his official stance toward the Vorster regime in an effort to shore up American political influ-



ANDREW YOUNG: claims U.S. must arm Vorster regime to disarm it.



U.S. military aid helps bolster South African repression

ence with the Black-ruled states of Africa.

The pledge by Carter in his October 27 news conference to extend the formal restrictions on the sale of military supplies to Pretoria was an implicit admission of how extensively Washington had violated its own "voluntary" arms embargo since 1963.

This included the provision of spare parts for American military equipment, participation in the building of a military communications and intelligence system near Cape Town, and the sale of "dual purpose" aircraft—such as Bell helicopters, L-100 transport planes, and twin-engined Lear jets—that were shipped to South Africa under a civilian guise but could also be used for military purposes. For instance, Pretoria used its commercial fleet of Boeing 747 jets to ferry troops during the South African intervention in the Angolan civil war.

Some of Pretoria's other allies, France, Britain, Belgium, West Germany, Italy, and Israel, to name only the most prominent, have been even more direct in their military collaboration with the apartheid regime. During the past decade alone, they have sold Pretoria hundreds of millions of dollars worth of jet fighters, tanks, armored cars, helicopters, missiles, nuclear supplies, and other armaments.

The mandatory arms embargo proposed by the Western powers would not now seriously impair the Vorster regime's ability to continue stockpiling more and more weapons, even if Pretoria's allies adhere to their own pledges (which, judging from past performance, is unlikely).

With foreign assistance, the South African racists have been able to build up their own extensive armaments industry.

A number of these weapons, it should be noted, are produced within South Africa under license from Euro-

pean companies.

As the UN vetoes showed, what the Western powers were really aiming at with their proposal for a mandatory arms embargo was to head off demands for trade and investment sanctions, which would be much more crippling to Pretoria.

American companies and banks alone have about \$3.8 billion in direct and indirect investments in South Africa. The British imperialists have an even greater economic stake.

While willing to give on the largely symbolic issue of an arms embargo, the major imperialist powers are digging in their heels against anything that would cut into the fabulous profits they are able to squeeze out of South Africa's extremely underpaid and repressed Black work force.

In fact, Carter has in the past spoken in favor of even greater American economic involvement in the apartheid economy. In an interview published in the November 5, 1976, *Johannesburg Financial Mail*, just three days after he won the presidential elections, he declared that economic sanctions against Pretoria would be "counter-productive." When asked if he would encourage more American loans and investments in South Africa, Carter replied, "Yes indeed."

Rather than applying any effective pressure on Pretoria, the actions of the Western powers, despite their "anti-apartheid" verbiage, have only encouraged the Vorster regime to continue escalating its racist and repressive policies.

The extensive ties that Pretoria has with Washington and the European powers underlines the continued importance of independent mobilizations by all real supporters of democratic rights, against both the repressive policies of the Vorster regime and the complicity of Washington and other government in the racist system of apartheid.

Protests hit repression in South Africa

By Omari Musa

"No arms, no aid, no guns, no trade," was the chant, as 150 people picketed the White House October 20 protesting repression in South Africa and U.S. complicity with the apartheid regime.

The picket line was cosponsored by the Coalition in Solidarity with Southern Africa and the National Coalition for Justice in South Africa.

Congressional Black Caucus chairperson Parren Mitchell (D-Md.) called for a full trade, military, and economic embargo on South Africa. He outlined the twelve-point agenda on U.S.-South African relations proposed by the CBC in the wake of the Vorster regime's crackdown.

African National Congress member

Dumi Matabane brought his organization's greetings to the rally.

Matabane said, "This rally shows that our struggle in South Africa is not isolated from Blacks and others in the United States."

Other speakers at the rally included Rep. Walter Fauntroy, D.C. nonvoting delegate in Congress; Ted Lockwood, Washington Office on Africa; Doug Moore, D.C. City Council member at large; Rev. Bob Pruitt; James Garrett of the National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision; and Jo Butler, Statehood Party.

Earlier the sponsors of the picket line held a well-attended news conference. Speakers focused on the hypocrisy of the Carter administration's claim

to support a United Nations arms embargo against South Africa.

Howard University Prof. Ron Walters, director of the political science department, pointed to the \$1.6 billion invested in South Africa by U.S. corporations. He called these investments the backbone of the apartheid regime's economy.

The deputy executive director of the D.C. Urban League demanded freedom for all political prisoners and an end to the bannings of antiapartheid activists and groups.

Exiled South African trade unionist Drake Koka called for a total economic boycott of South Africa.

Koko Farrow of the Commission on Racial Justice of the United Church of

Christ, Skip Bailey, and Prof. Alvin Thornton also spoke.

In New York the Emergency Coalition for Civil Rights in South Africa sponsored a picket line at the South African embassy October 18.

Margaret Bush Wilson, chairperson of the NAACP National Board of Directors; Manhattan Borough President Percy Sutton; and actor Ossie Davis joined the protest.

The picket line was endorsed by the American Committee on Africa, NAACP, National Urban League, National Council of Negro Women, *Amsterdam News*, Association of Black Journalists, Black Council on South Africa, and Washington Office on Africa.

Schools closing down

Free public education—a vanishing right?

By Lynn Henderson

Schools in Toledo, Ohio, are shutting down completely until January 3.

In Cleveland the board of education announced it lacks sufficient funds to complete a full school year.

Schools in Philadelphia are operating with 3,000 fewer employees than last year after suffering mammoth cuts in their budget. Despite these cuts, schools face a fiscal crisis that could shut them down beginning in November.

Detroit schools opened this year without any varsity sports, music, or art programs.

Two years ago New York City laid off 17,000 teachers. Fewer than 4,000 of these were rehired for the 1977-78 school year.

The story is the same in school districts across the country.

When the financial squeeze on public education began in the 1960s, the stock explanation was that the post-World War II baby-boom generation was still moving through the nation's school systems. The deterioration of the schools, we were told, was the product of abnormally large enrollments straining educational facilities, the teacher supply, and school budgets.

But today enrollments are dropping, classrooms stand empty, and a growing number of qualified teachers are out of work. Yet the financial squeeze and declining quality of public education has dramatically accelerated in the 1970s.

What is happening to public education can only be understood as part of the more general assault on the living standards of the overwhelming majority of Americans.

Funds for social services are being slashed in virtually every urban area. Democratic and Republican politicians enthusiastically spearhead drives to reapportion wealth so as to protect and bolster the profits of the nation's major banks, corporations, and real estate interests.

The crisis in New York

The "fiscal crisis" of New York City is a classic example. Politicians tell us that in New York (one of the poverty centers of the nation), residents are now paying the price for having lived "too high on the hog." New York has simply been outspending its tax revenues, the explanation goes.

The necessary cure? A massive dose of belt-tightening.

And according to this myth, everyone participates in the therapy—banks, corporations, workers, schoolchildren, the sick, the elderly, the infirm. All have to sacrifice—equally—to balance the budget and save the city.

The reality is quite different. And it has nothing to do with equality of



Militant/Martha Harris

sacrifice or balancing the budget.

Millions of dollars have been "saved" by cutting social services to the bone and gutting public education. But the money "saved" has not balanced the city's budget. After hundreds of millions of dollars in cuts, the September 22 *New York Times* revealed a surprising new \$350-400 million deficit for the 1978-79 fiscal year. The deficit will require a new round of drastic cutbacks.

Savings for whom?

The money "saved" has been channeled into the pockets of the ruling rich. It's been used to reduce their taxes and increase their profits.

Two major sources of the new deficit, according to the figures in the *Times*, are an almost \$200 million increase in interest payments to the banks and wealthy bond holders, and a \$30-40 million loss in revenue from the recent elimination of the city transfer tax on corporate stocks.

On September 6, in the midst of the city's so-called fiscal crisis, New York's Democratic Mayor Abraham Beame signed into law two additional tax-cut giveaways.

This virtually guarantees the budget will not be balanced in the foreseeable future. And the budget "crisis" will continue to be used as a tool for shifting resources out of social services and into larger business profits.

The first tax measure decreases the commercial rent or occupancy tax by

20 percent. This will result in a \$20 million loss in revenue for the city every year.

The other measure reduces the general corporation tax from 10.5 percent to 9.5 percent this year, and further reduces it to 9 percent on January 1. This will reduce revenues by another \$72 million a year.

Throughout this process the tax bite on the average homeowner and worker continues to soar.

This shift in the tax burden—away from the giant corporations, realtors, and banks, and onto the backs of working people—is not something new, or limited to New York City.

National scope

In 1949 corporate and business taxes represented 47.5 percent of total federal tax revenues. By 1976 (the most recent year for which figures are available) corporate and business taxes represented only 31 percent of federal tax revenues—a 35 percent reduction.

Municipal and state governments are now accelerating this process by using the cry of "fiscal crisis" to institute new rounds of tax cuts for the superrich. This, they explain, is to increase "business incentives"—a slick way of saying "increase profits."

These "incentive" tax cuts for big business are justified as necessary to stem the flow of industry and jobs to the largely nonunion South and Southwest. This is one example of how working people in general, and

teachers and students in particular, pay a heavy price for the historic default of the AFL-CIO bureaucrats to aggressively organize the South.

Meanwhile, big business exploits the crushing tax burden on working people in still another way. Mounting taxes are used to panic the public into acceptance of further cuts in education and social services in a desperate and futile search for tax relief.

The leaderships of both major teacher unions have done little to counter this boss-inspired propaganda, which is designed to drive a wedge between public education and over-taxed workers. Top officials of the American Federation of Teachers and the National Education Association have joined with capitalist politicians to push for increases in residential property taxes, sales taxes, excise taxes, and to float school bond issues—the cost of which all ends up falling primarily on the average working person.

Average tax bill

The average tax bill for a single family urban homeowner rose 45 percent in Des Moines, Iowa, between 1966 and 1972; by 113 percent in Boston, Massachusetts; and by 116 percent in Hartford, Connecticut.

Catarino Garza, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York and a bilingual teacher in that city's school system, recently

Continued on page 30

Chicago school board stalls on desegregation

By Mark Ugolini

CHICAGO—For a year the Chicago Board of Education has been blocking the implementation of a comprehensive school desegregation plan. Now, in face of increasing pressure from state authorities to further desegregate Chicago schools, the board is stalling again.

On October 26, Dr. Edward Welling, coordinator of desegregation planning for the board, released a long-awaited "planning paper" that would exclude mandatory busing. Instead, Welling proposed a voluntary plan that he estimated would take ten years to implement fully.

The Chicago school system is among the most segregated in the country. A voluntary plan with a ten-year timetable would mean leaving the entrenched dual school system here virtually unchanged.

Welling's proposal condemned court-ordered busing programs in other cities as "quickie solutions" that are "more destructive than constructive."

The fifty-page report, which lacked the detailed proposals Welling had promised, was submitted to the City-wide Advisory Committee, a group organized to advise the school board on the desegregation plan to be implemented next September.

The state board of education has threatened to cut off \$150 million in state and federal education funds if Chicago fails to implement a "comprehensive" desegregation plan.

The same day Welling made his announcement, the *Chicago Sun-Times* endorsed a totally voluntary program in an editorial. Rejecting court-ordered desegregation, the *Sun-Times* explained, "Welling's proposal would give Chicagoans a chance to act before desegregation methods are imposed from the outside. . . . Calls for mandatory provisions in any school plan can wait."

Cecil Lampkin, a coordinator of the

Chicago Student Coalition Against Racism, blasted Welling's proposal. "In 1954 the U.S. Supreme Court mandated that desegregation take place 'with all deliberate speed,'" Lampkin said. "Well, it's now been twenty-three years. Welling is saying, wait another ten."

"Equality in education is the law of the land, and we want it now! What we need is not a voluntary plan. In Chicago, equality in education can only be achieved through implementation of a massive metropolitan two-way busing program. That's what we need, and that's what we will continue to fight for."

Students debate issues in 'Bakke' case

By Marcel Black

With the fate of affirmative-action programs at universities across the country hanging in the balance, the *Bakke* decision is becoming a topic of debate on many college campuses.

Allan Bakke, who is white, claims he was a victim of "reverse discrimination" when the University of California's Davis Medical School rejected his application for admission. Bakke blames his rejection on the school's special-admissions program which admitted sixteen minority students who, he claims, were less qualified than he is.

The California Supreme Court agreed with Bakke's claim of "reverse discrimination" in a decision handed down in January. The ruling is currently on appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court.

In Binghamton, New York, October 25, more than 200 students, mostly Black and Latino, turned out for a debate on the *Bakke* decision.

Defending the phony reverse discrimination argument were Pat O'Neal of the Young Americans for Freedom and head of the local Conservative Party; James Gitlitz of the Anti-defamation League of B'nai Brith; and William Smith, general counsel for General Electric Corporation and head of the Binghamton Chamber of Commerce legislative committee.

The anti-*Bakke* forces were represented by Ellen Fox of the National Coalition to Overturn the Bakke Decision (NCOBD), Donald Jones of the Broome County Urban League, and Ken Miliner of the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR).

Gitlitz claimed that quotas would harm the Black community. Not only would quotas lower the quality of medical care for Blacks, he contended, but they would also create needless antagonism between Blacks and other ethnic groups and poor whites.

O'Neal tried to downplay how much minorities had advanced through affirmative-action programs like the one at G.E. where the percentage of minorities in management jobs had doubled from 2 to 4 percent.

Smith pleaded that corporations



D.C. protest against 'Bakke' decision. Real issue in case is whether Blacks, Latinos, and women will receive equal education and chance at good jobs.

should be allowed to institute positive change voluntarily as they are doing, he said, in South Africa.

Ellen Fox, a New York school teacher, effectively exposed the myth that minority and white students receive equal education. At the 98 percent white high school her daughter attends, she pointed out, parents are contributing \$100 apiece to help the school install "basics." The basics include a computer and free instruments for music lessons. These facilities, she said, are not available at the 98 percent minority school where she teaches. There the majority of students can't afford hot meals for lunch.

Donald Jones hit at the heart of the *Bakke* ruling when he stated, "Quotas are not 'reverse discrimination' but the reversal of discrimination." Jones went on to explain that there could be no effective affirmative-action programs without quotas.

Ken Miliner explained that, despite the attempts of Bakke's supporters to confuse the issue, the question is "really very simple. It's whether or not Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Asians, and women will have a chance

to go to school and get a good job."

Miliner pointed out that defending affirmative-action gains meant mounting an action campaign to overturn the *Bakke* decision, and he expressed NSCAR's support for anti-*Bakke* protests.

While the majority of the Black and Latino students opposed *Bakke*, many of the white students were neutral or supported the "reverse discrimination" argument. During the debate a number were convinced that Bakke's claim is fraudulent.

At the end of the question and answer period many students stood in line to join NSCAR and NCOBD.

At Rhode Island University in Kingston, Rhode Island, eighty-five students attended a teach-in on the *Bakke* decision. The event was sponsored by the Black student organization, Uhuru Sa Sa; Kingston Women's Liberation; Young Socialist Alliance; and Student Coalition Against Racism. Speakers at the teach-in included Eli Green of NSCAR; Charles Ogletree, president of the Black American Law Students Association; and Betsey Farley, member of the YSA National Executive Committee.

By Pedro Olivari

ATLANTA—Sixty supporters of affirmative action picketed here October 27 outside the annual meeting of the American Jewish Committee (AJC). Inside the meeting, Reynold Colvin,

Continued on page 30

Dec. 2-4 NSCAR meet

The National Student Coalition Against Racism, in its October 31 newsletter, announced plans for a National Student Antiracist Strategy Meeting December 2-4 in Washington, D.C. The meeting will be held at the Howard University School of Social Research.

Among the activities the strategy meeting is slated to discuss are ongoing protests against the *Bakke*

decision, school desegregation struggles in Chicago and other cities, the fight against deportation of undocumented workers, and organizing protests against repression in South Africa and U.S. backing of the racist regime there.

For more information contact NSCAR, 220 Fifth Avenue, Room 808, New York, New York 10001. Telephone: (212) 686-7020.

Tour set in drive to free P.R. Nationalists

By José G. Pérez

Zoraida Collazo, daughter of one of the Puerto Rican Nationalist political prisoners, will tour several East Coast cities in mid-November to press for release of her father and his comrades.

Oscar Collazo, Irving Flores, Lolita Lebrón, and Rafael Cancel Miranda have been in federal penitentiaries since the early 1950s for actions carried out in support of Puerto Rican independence. A fifth prisoner, Andrés Figueroa Cordero, was released October 6 by President Carter after doctors said Figueroa Cordero was suffering from terminal cancer and had only weeks to live.

Not only are the Nationalists the longest-held political prisoners in the entire Western Hemisphere, but Oscar Collazo is the longest-held prisoner now in any federal institution in the United States.

Zoraida Collazo's tour is sponsored by the U.S. Committee to Free the Five Puerto Rican Nationalists. This is a recently formed national coalition of religious, political, Puerto Rican, labor, and civil liberties organizations.

In addition to the U.S. committee, there are other groups supporting the release of the five. These include the Comité Nacional Pro-Libertad de Los Presos Nacionalistas (National Committee to Free the Nationalist Prisoners) based in Puerto Rico, and a New York group, the New York Committee for the Freedom of the Puerto Rican Nationalist Prisoners, which recently

sponsored a protest at the Statue of Liberty.

The tour is part of a campaign launched by the U.S. committee to win freedom for the five by the end of this year. Christmas is a traditional time for the government to free prisoners, and the committee is circulating petitions urging Carter to grant Christmas pardons to the Puerto Ricans.

A delegation of prominent individuals is being organized to present the petitions to Carter in December.

There is nearly unanimous support in Puerto Rico for freeing the Nationalists. Among those who have spoken

out are both houses of the legislature; all four former elected governors; top leaders of the four main political parties; the Federation of Teachers, Teamsters, and other labor groups; and both the Roman Catholic Bishop's Conference and Episcopal Church Diocesan Executive Council.

The U.S. committee is trying to generate the same kind of broad-based support here.

Sponsors of the new U.S. committee include such prominent individuals as Prof. Noam Chomsky; Dr. Benjamin Spock; U.S. Rep. Ronald Dellums (D-Calif.); Harold Urey, Nobel laureate; Henry Foner, president Fur, Leather and Machine Workers Joint Board; Henry Di Suvero, president, National Lawyers Guild; and Michael and Robert Meeropol, sons of McCarthy-era victims Ethel and Julius Rosenberg.

Also, Linus Pauling, Nobel laureate; Rev. Ned Murphy, Catholic Peace Fellowship; Rev. Rick Edwards, Methodist Federation for Social Action; Marjorie Boehm, president, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Lucius Walker, Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization; and Jimmy Durham, International Indian Treaty Council.

In addition, many leaders of political organizations and editors of publications have joined in sponsoring the committee, such as José Alberto Alvarez, Puerto Rican Socialist Party; Herbert Aptheker, Communist Party; Rosa Borenstein, Puerto Rican Solidarity

Committee; and José Colón, El Comité.

Also, Dorothy Day, the *Catholic Worker*; Dave Dellinger, *Seven Days*; Catarino Garza, Socialist Workers Party; Arthur Kinoy, Mass Party Organizing Committee; Harry Maurer, assistant editor, the *Nation*; David McReynolds, War Resisters League; Huey Newton, president, Black Panther Party; and Irwin Silber, executive editor, the *Guardian*.

Zoraida Collazo's tour schedule is as follows:

November 9	Storrs and Hartford, Conn.
November 10	Boston
November 11	Amherst and Northampton, Mass.
November 12	Boston
November 13	New Haven
November 14	Baltimore
November 16	Philadelphia
November 17-21	New York metropolitan area

Further information on the tour can be obtained from tour coordinator Michael Kelly at the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners, 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10003. Telephone: (212) 254-6062.

Information about other work of the U.S. Committee to Free the Five Puerto Rican Nationalists can be obtained from the committee at 80 Fifth Avenue, Room 1204, New York, New York 10011. Telephone: (212) 673-0540.



Zoraida and Oscar Collazo

1,500 attend San Antonio conference

Chicanos unite to fight Carter's

By José G. Pérez

SAN ANTONIO—Some 1,500 people took part in a historic, united show of opposition to President Carter's attacks on undocumented immigrants at the National Chicano/Latino Conference held here October 28-30.

Those present included leaders of diverse organizations—the broadest array of Chicanos and Latinos united around a single issue since the height of the anti-Vietnam War movement.

The widely publicized conference showed the Chicano movement speaks with one voice in saying "No!" to the Carter plan to step up deportations. The gathering was a political blow to the Carter administration, and especially to Leonel Castillo, who has pretended to represent Latino interests as head of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the hated *la migrá*.

The conference called for nationally coordinated protests November 18-20 in support of immediate, unconditional amnesty for all undocumented workers.

Mexican delegation

According to conference organizers, people from more than thirty states attended. Especially significant was the delegation from Mexico, which included representatives of the Democratic Tendency of the Electrical Workers Union and National Front for People's Action (FNAP), two of the most prominent oppositionist organizations in Mexico.

The conference was initiated last May by José Angel Gutiérrez, founder of the Crystal City, Texas, Raza Unida Party.

Support for the conference grew after Carter submitted a message to Congress outlining his proposed crack-down on undocumented immigrants. Carter called for doubling the Border Patrol, making it illegal to hire undocumented immigrants, and tightening visa procedures for those who try to enter the United States with official permission.

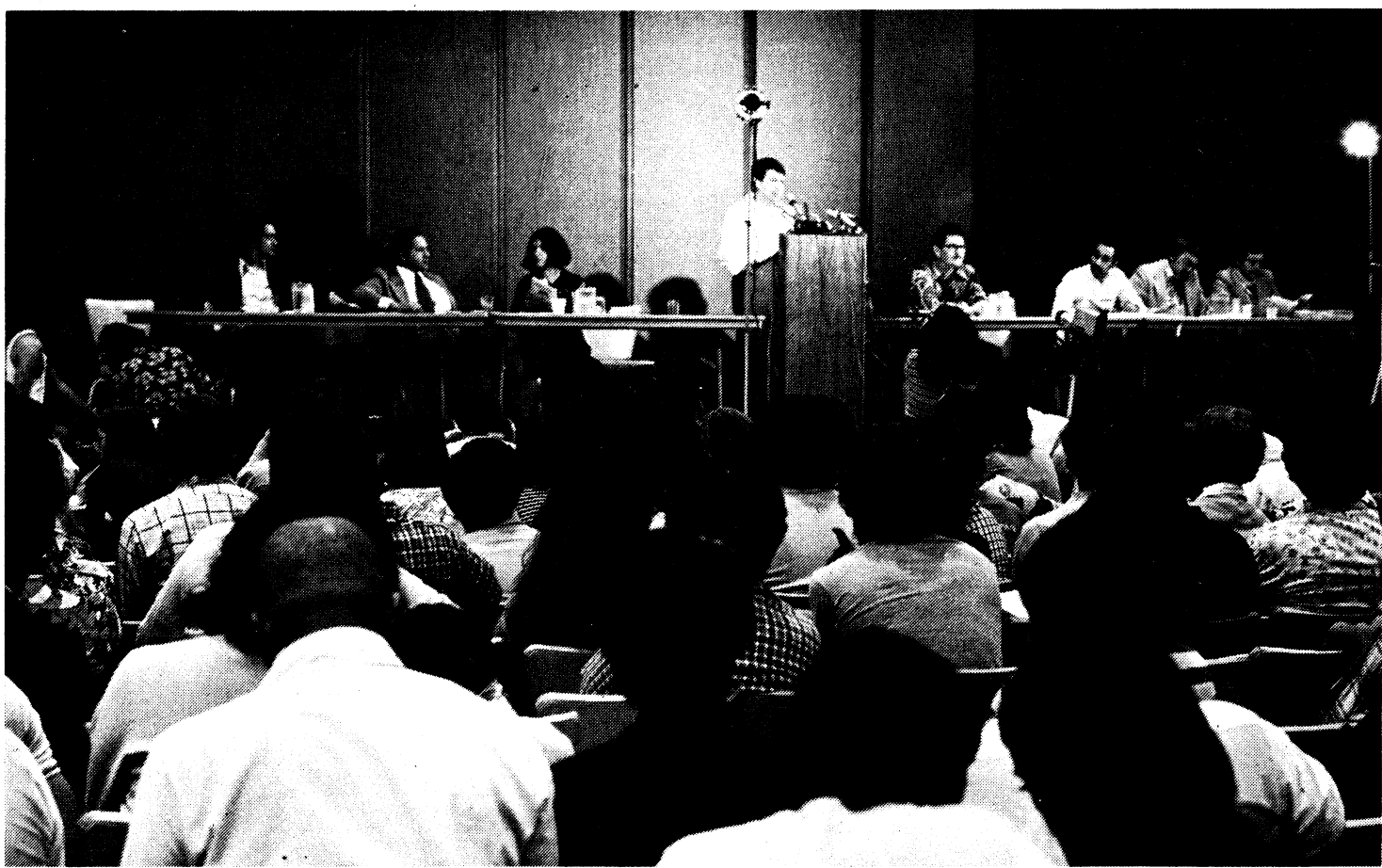
Under the Carter plan, most of the immigrants already here could stay as temporary residents, but could be subject to deportation after five years. In the meantime, they would be denied food stamps, unemployment insurance, and other social services.

Leading up to the conference there were numerous local forums, demonstrations, and conferences to protest the Carter plan. Hundreds of groups and prominent individuals in the United States and Mexico joined in co-sponsoring the San Antonio meeting.

In addition to activists from local antideportation coalitions, those attending the conference included members of the Texas and New Mexico Raza Unida parties, MEChAs and other Chicano and Latino student groups, National Student Coalition Against Racism, Young Socialist Alliance, Socialist Workers Party, and CASA, a Los Angeles-based sectarian group.

Broad rally

The conference began Friday night with a rally that reflected the breadth of the opposition to Carter's proposed crackdown on immigrants. Speakers included: Manuel Casanova, state director of American GI Forum, a well-known moderate Chicano group; Raul Izaguirre, executive director of the National Council of La Raza; Juan José Peña, U.S. Senatorial candidate of the New Mexico Raza Unida Party; and San Antonio City Council member Rudy Ortiz. A representative of the Mexican FNAP also spoke, as well as Marta Gutiérrez of the Spanish-language TV Channel 41 in San Antonio.



Saturday morning plenary heard broad range of speakers. Government refused to send representative.

Militant/Harry Ring

Chicano poet Abelardo "Lalo" Delgado; Isabel García, of the Tucson, Arizona, Manzo Area Council; and Prof. Juan Gómez Quiñones.

Other speakers were Jorge Zaragoza of the Texas Farm Workers Union; Sister Mario Barrón of the Catholic nuns' organization, HERMANAS; Isabel Chávez of CASA's Political Commission and the Coalition for Fair Immigration Laws and Practices; and Peruvian peasant leader and revolutionist Hugo Blanco.

Political refugees

Three persons spoke of the plight of political refugees facing deportation: José Jacques Medina, a CASA leader seeking asylum in the United States; Ali Shokri, who faces torture and execution if deported to Iran as a deserter from the shah's air force; and Jean Bart of the Haitian Refugee Center in Miami. The center is fighting for the rights of some 2,000 refugees who face deportation back to Haiti.

The following morning well over 1,000 people attended the opening plenary session.

The keynote speaker was José Angel Gutiérrez, who received standing ovations both when he approached the podium and when he finished speaking.

Gutiérrez outlined the goals of the conference. He said the conference should adopt "a plan for action. We must prepare well those days of action. . . . We're going to make our plan and go to the streets" against the Carter crackdown.

Gutiérrez said the government is creating a racist hysteria against Latinos. "The attacks of the Ku Klux Klan are born of that same racism," referring to KKK claims that it will patrol the U.S. border.

He appealed for unity in the struggle against deportations. "We cannot become great and masters of our destiny if we are not united, if we don't put together this panorama from left to right or right to left."

Gutiérrez was repeatedly interrupted by cheering and applause during his presentation, but possibly the most enthusiastic response came when he denounced the Carter administration.

"They promised our people that if we voted well we would be given a reward,

and we were given a gigantic reward, a snitch, a chief of *la migrá*."

Rubén Bonilla, head of the Texas League of United Latin American Citizens, charged the Carter plan embodied a double-standard immigration policy. He said the five-year work permit "is the establishment of a second-class citizenship in modern-day society."

Another well-received speaker was Pedro Camejo of the Socialist Workers Party. Camejo denounced Carter and Castillo for failing to send a representative to the conference to explain their program, as they had been invited to do.

"This is a confession," Camejo said. "Castillo has made a confession by not being present. He is scared of his own people now."

Referring to Carter's statements on human rights for East European dissidents, Camejo charged, "Carter's all for human rights when he can't give them, when it's outside his jurisdiction."

"As a socialist, I believe working people anywhere in the world should be free to travel anywhere they want. Period."

When Camejo finished his talk, the crowd also gave him a standing ovation.

Other speakers at the Saturday morning plenary included Vilma Martínez, head of the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund; Eduardo Morga, national director of LULAC; Antonio Rodríguez, general secretary of CASA; and Prof. Jorge Bustamante, an internationally renowned expert on immigration who teaches at a Mexican university.

Media attention

This unprecedented display of united opposition to the Carter plan received widespread coverage in the media. Both the CBS Evening News and En el Mundo, a news show produced in Mexico and carried on a Mexican network and on U.S. affiliates of the Spanish International Network, featured the conference.

The diversity of Chicano groups wasn't the only way in which the unity represented by the conference broke new ground.

Another was the appeal made by the conference organizers, mostly Chicanos, to other Latinos, Blacks, and all

supporters of human rights to join in defending undocumented workers and take part in the conference.

This was dramatized when Black activist Dick Gregory and American Indian Movement leader Vernon Bellecourt gave major addresses explaining how the struggle against racist deportations related to the struggles of their own peoples.

CASA's disruption

Although the conference enjoyed broad support, this backing was by no means unanimous. Among the forces opposed to a united antideportation campaign was CASA.

In typical sectarian fashion, CASA pretends that by itself it can mobilize masses of undocumented workers and their allies in the Chicano movement against deportations. If a broad coalition comes together, CASA would either have to participate on an equal basis with other groups, thus shattering its pretensions, or isolate itself by choosing not to participate.

CASA's hostility to the conference was deepened because of its political opposition to the Socialist Workers Party. CASA openly supports the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union. As apologists for this reactionary social caste, which rules through brutal repression of the Soviet working people, CASA invariably tries to exclude Trotskyists, especially the SWP and YSA, from the Chicano movement.

Even before the conference, CASA had joined in red-baiting the sponsoring coalition, charging that the gathering had been taken over by the SWP.

During most of the conference itself, CASA held its red-baiting in check, especially after failing in an attempt to prevent Camejo from being included as a major speaker at the conference. Most activists were opposed to excluding socialists or anyone else who wanted to join the antideportation movement.

Instead, CASA concentrated on disruptive chanting, endless "points of order," and parliamentary maneuvering aimed at preventing the conference from reaching any decisions on action.

CASA specifically hoped to prevent the gathering from approving the proposal for actions on November 18 and 19 to demand an immediate and un-

deportation scheme

conditional amnesty.

At the decision-making plenary session Sunday, CASA, supported by other sectarians, tried to filibuster until time would run out and the conference would be forced to adjourn without a vote on this major action proposal.

But the minute supporters of the proposal finally succeeded in getting it on the floor, CASA opened a vicious red-baiting campaign aimed at all those who supported continuing broad-based protests, including José Angel Gutiérrez and the Texas RUP.

This was a clearly coordinated effort to create an anticommunist hysteria and make it impossible to hold a calm discussion on the proposal for action. The central theme of CASA's attack was that the organizers of the conference had been "manipulated" (some used more classical witch-hunt formulations such as "infiltrated" and "subverted") by the socialists.

The red-baiters worked themselves into a fever pitch as CASA members and their supporters began shouting "Fuera! Fuera!" ("Out! Out!") at the socialists.

The frenzy reached such a point that one man, almost incoherent, grabbed a microphone and threatened Pedro Camejo of the SWP. "That bastard, Camejo, you're mine. . . ."

But the red-baiters were a small minority. Speaker after speaker got up to denounce the divisive attacks.

Immigrants respond

The answer to the red-baiting came most forcefully from several undocumented workers who, at tremendous personal risk, took the floor to appeal for unity.

"It is obvious that there are organizations and people present here trying to sabotage this conference," one said to a room that, for once, was hushed. "Here they are trying to throw out some persons and organizations. I

remember that one compañero known to you all, [Texas Farm Workers Union leader] Antonio Orendain, once said in response to accusations that he accepted help from a group that was communist, 'If the devil comes to help, I say welcome to the devil.'"

José Angel Gutiérrez also took the floor to condemn the disruptive tactics. He explained that there were obvious differences between the groups attending the conference, but that shouldn't block united actions.

"If CASA . . . the SWP . . . LULAC, the GI Forum, the nuns, the priests don't like what's proposed here, vote against it. It's easy. Raise your hand. But let the people who want to continue with the Call for Action vote."

Gutiérrez received an ovation from most of the audience. When it ended, Juan José Peña, who was chairing the session, stated that speaking on behalf of the New Mexico RUP, "we throw our support with José Angel Gutiérrez."

Following these remarks, the delegates proceeded to approve a number of resolutions from the workshops by acclamation.

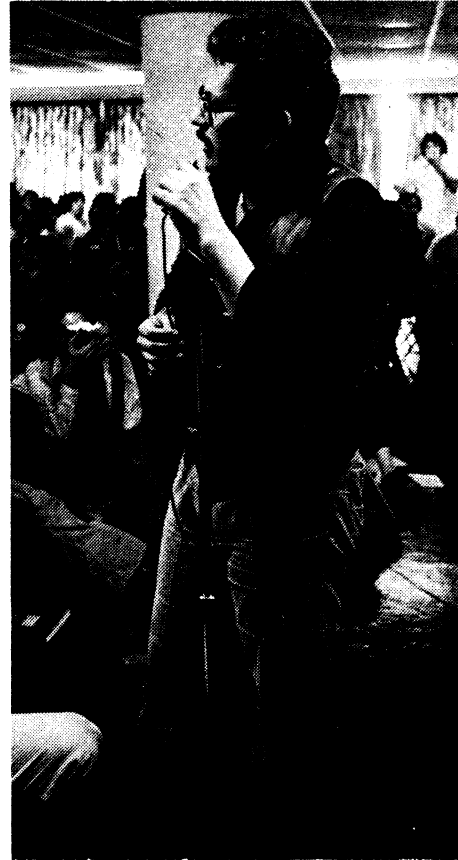
Only one—the proposal for actions on November 18 and 19—drew major opposition as the CASA forces and some activists who had been confused by the red-baiting voted against it. Nonetheless, it was approved by a decisive majority.

Ironically, after unsuccessfully demanding the exclusion of socialists from the conference, CASA itself walked out of the gathering after losing this vote. They had earlier walked out of a workshop after losing a vote on the same proposal but had decided to return to the conference.

This time, however, CASA General Secretary Rodríguez stated, "We have to tell you, unfortunately, that based on certain principles, it is possible that we may not continue in this process while the Socialist Workers Party is included."

Despite the disruption efforts, the conference represented a major step forward in the fight against deportations. It began to crystallize a broad opposition to Carter's anti-immigrant plan. INS Director Castillo and his boss in the White House stand more isolated on this issue, stripped of the pretense that their plan has support from broad segments of the Chicano community.

Equally important, 1,500 activists went through a major political experience, learning from each other and understanding the value of unity in action against deportations despite differences they may have on other questions.



Militant/Harry Ring
GUTIERREZ: appeals for unity in fight against deportations.

Support grows in Mexican student's fight for U.S. asylum

By Arnold Weissberg

The San Antonio conference on deportations called for political asylum for several victims of *la migra*, among them Mexican student activist Héctor Marroquín Manríquez.

The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), which is coordinating Marroquín's defense effort, has released a broad list of initial sponsors of the Mexican activist's case. USLA is circulating on an emergency basis an "Appeal for Asylum" on Marroquín's behalf. The appeal will be sent to U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service Director Leonel Castillo.

Marroquín is currently being held in a Texas jail. As the appeal points out, his life is endangered if U.S. authorities send him back to Mexico, whose repressive regime has falsely charged him with murder and "subversion."

Initial signers of the appeal include such figures as Nobel prize-winning scientists George Wald and Salvador Luria; comedian Dick Gregory; filmmaker Emile de Antonio; screen writer Alva Bessie; Bettye Wiggs, National Council of Churches Office of Haitian Refugee Concerns; and Trudy Martin, presi-

dent of the Associated Students, University of California at Berkeley.

Journalist I. F. Stone; Helen and Morton Sobell; Michael Meeropol, son of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg; and Dr. Philip Oke, United Nations representative of the Christian Peace Conference, have also added their names to the appeal.

Latino endorsers include Ralph Carreras, United Barrio Union, Phoenix, Arizona; Prof. Antonio Nadal, Puerto Rican Socialist Party; Juan Silén, author of *We, the Puerto Rican People*; and Reuben Robago, League of United Latin American Citizens.

Fabian Greenwell, president of Local 4-16000, Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers in Baytown, Texas, and Oscar Steiner of the American Civil Liberties Union National Advisory Board have signed the appeal.

Marroquín was a student at the Autonomous University of Nuevo León in Monterrey, Mexico, for several years, active in struggles to democratize the campus. In 1974, he was framed up on a murder charge by the Mexican government. He left the country, fearing for his life, and came to the United States.

The urgency of his appeal to the INS is underscored by the fate of two

of the other Mexican students accused along with Marroquín. Both were gunned down by the Mexican police under the pretext of making arrests.

Marroquín was arrested by the Border Patrol in September as he tried to reenter the United States after a brief visit with a Mexican lawyer.

The U.S. government seeks to "exclude" Marroquín—that is, simply send him back to Mexico. Although he has applied for political asylum, INS rules don't allow him to raise that appeal as a reason for staying his exclusion.

INS rules also don't allow a hearing on his asylum request. The decision is entirely up to the INS district director.

Marroquín's attorney, Margaret Winter, has filed court challenges to these undemocratic procedures. But meanwhile, the government could send Marroquín back to Mexico at any time.

For more information about the Marroquín defense effort or to endorse his appeal for asylum in the United States contact USLA, 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10003, or call (212) 254-6062.

Hundreds hear Hugo Blanco in Wisconsin

By Tom Maurer

MILWAUKEE—Exiled Peruvian revolutionist Hugo Blanco continued his North American speaking tour with four appearances here and in Madison October 20 and 21. More than 900 people heard Blanco condemn the Carter administration's support of repressive regimes in Latin America and call for increased efforts to free political prisoners.

His tour is sponsored by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA).

Blanco addressed a meeting of 600 people at the University of Wisconsin at Madison October 20.

"If anyone in the SRO [standing room only] audience of more than 500 held any illusions that President Jimmy Carter's policy on human rights has put an end to the torture and abuse of thousands of Latin Americans, international political figure Hugo Blanco shattered their illusions last night," the campus *Daily Cardinal* reported.

"What Carter says and what he does are two different things," Blanco explained. He cited the inhuman conditions at the Marion, Illinois, federal prison where Native American activist Leonard Peltier is incarcerated.

"A regime that does this type of thing in its own country can hardly be expected to be concerned about human rights in Latin America," Blanco said.

The Peruvian leader also spoke at a meeting of 135 people in the Milwaukee Latino community and to 120 at the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee.

Blanco is known throughout Latin America as the leader of the land-reform movement of the Quechua-speaking peasants that shook Peru in the early 1960s. The Peruvian government sentenced him to death for his role, but an international campaign saved his life.

The U.S. government has refused Blanco entry into the country for years, but this year a major protest campaign undertaken by USLA and Blanco's publisher, Pathfinder Press, won him the right to speak here.

Blanco's meetings here won broad sponsorship, including from MEChA, Native American Student Movement, Black Student Union, Wisconsin Veterans Union, UWM Spanish Speaking Outreach Institute, and the Young Socialist Alliance.

Forty-five copies of his book *Land or Death* (published by Pathfinder Press) were sold during his tour of Wisconsin.

Blanco also spoke recently in St. Louis, Kansas City, and New Orleans.

Blanco tour schedule

Nov. 9	Seattle
Nov. 10	Portland
Nov. 11-16	Calif. Bay Area
Nov. 17-20	Los Angeles
Nov. 21-25	San Diego
Nov. 28	Phoenix
Nov. 29	Salt Lake City
Nov. 30-Dec. 1	Denver
Dec. 2-3	Albuquerque
Dec. 4-5	Dallas
Dec. 6-7	Houston
Dec. 8-9	San Antonio
Dec. 12	Philadelphia

For more information contact USLA, 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10003, or call (212) 254-6062.

Miller says coal industry asks 1930s contract

By Nancy Cole

It's "tantamount to a 1930 contract proposal," says United Mine Workers President Arnold Miller, blasting the coal industry's terms for a new UMWA contract.

Miller suspended negotiations with the Bituminous Coal Operators Association October 27, charging they had made "absolutely no progress" in three weeks of talks.

Miller says the issue is medical benefits for the miners, which the BCOA insisted on cutting this past July. That sparked a ten-week wildcat strike involving nearly half the union's 180,000 working miners.

BCOA chief Joseph Brennan contends there are "equally important issues" to be discussed—namely, "wildcat strikes, absenteeism, and declining productivity." He has threatened that a new contract will either clear these roadblocks to "industry growth" or the UMWA will face "extinction."

The proposals by Brennan and the coal industry would wipe out gains

long accepted by miners as their basic rights and institute a series of curbs on the UMWA's "unruly" rank and file.

The BCOA demands reportedly include:

- On safety: elimination of helpers who assist operators of mining machines, and an end to the authority of union safety committees to close mines judged dangerous.

- On the right to strike: a no-strike guarantee, backed up with a 40 percent pay penalty for those who join strikes and a requirement that strikers make up funds lost to the health and retirement fund. (The fund is financed by company payments based on hours worked and coal mined.)

- On benefits and work schedules: provisions requiring miners to work any five days out of seven with no premium pay, combining personal days off with vacations, and scheduling vacations around continuous operations instead of the set two weeks miners now take off.

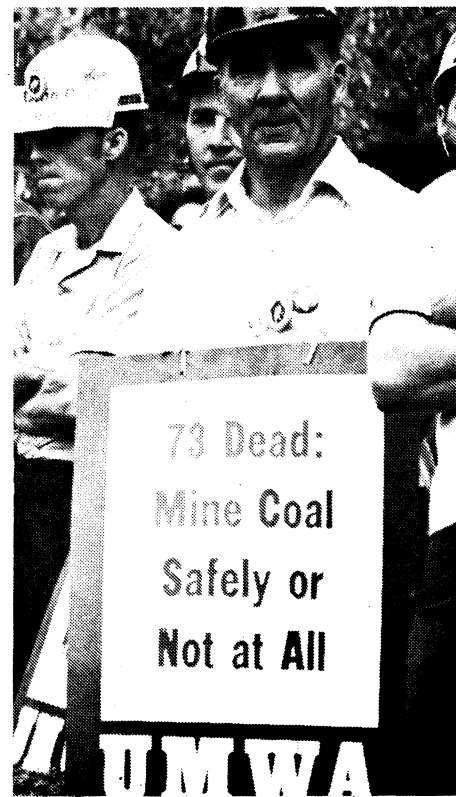
The coal industry is also seeking to change the union's bargaining rights (the specifics were not reported) and to limit workers under the UMWA's jurisdiction.

President Carter's energy scheme calls for tripling this country's coal production by 1985. And his administration and the coal barons have no intention of letting the lives and well-being of miners get in the way of their superprofits.

Miners may die, black lung and injuries increase, and the strip mining blight the land—but the coal will roll in.

It's a none-too-subtle warning of what is in store for miners when their contract expires December 6 and the "no contract, no work" tradition comes to the fore.

"One thing the companies should realize," cautions a *Business Week* source, "is that they can miscalculate the ability of miners to take a strike. When they're mad, they're mad."



Militant/Steve Watson

Selling 'Militants' in Morgantown

'Other papers lie about miners—so I'll try yours'

By Nancy Cole

"All I want to know is, are you for the UMW [United Mine Workers], or are you against it?"

That was the first question asked, reports Linda Mae Flint, when a miner answered his door in a small town outside Morgantown, West Virginia.

Flint is part of an organizing committee that has set out to establish a branch of the Socialist Workers Party in Morgantown. For their first door-to-door *Militant* subscription-selling effort, they chose Granville—a small town across the river from Morgantown, dominated by a huge mine.

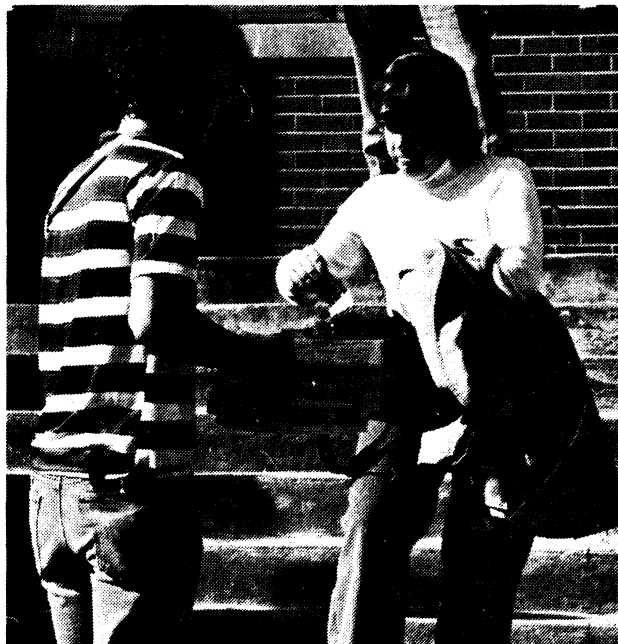
Nine subscriptions were sold there, but many more will read the paper judging by the number of interested people in each home visited. They also have a number of "call-backs"—places where salespeople promised to return having sold a single issue of the *Militant*.

Ken Shilman says he sold a subscription to an angry miner who fought a three-year battle to win black lung benefits—and lost. "All the papers lie about us," the miner told Shilman. "But I'll try the *Militant*. Maybe it will be different."

The Morgantown SWP members have set a goal of sixty *Militant* subscriptions by the end of the drive November 19. So far, they've sold sixteen.

How it's done

Three subs were sold by a couple of people at mine entrances, along with about a dozen single copies of the *Militant*. The key, says Shilman, is stopping the cars going in and out of the gate. After selling for some time at one mine, a car stopped on the way out, and the driver said, "I hear you're selling subscriptions." Two in the car bought subs.



Militant/Nancy Cole

Whitley City, Kentucky. Member of women's club—formed to support striking miners in Stearns—gets copy of *Militant*.

One miner told salespeople that his son brings him the *Militant* every week. A Black miner said he started subscribing last summer and still receives it. He judged the *Militant* "a good paper."

Morgantown supporters have now made up a leaflet reprinting articles on miners from the *Militant*. The flyer directs interested people to send in their subscription coupon or to "give it to a *Militant* salesperson—we'll be back (date)."

Shilman says they find that many miners don't take money to the mines with them. It's a good idea to tell them exactly when salespeople will be back so that they can plan to bring money that day.

Campus sales brisk

Morgantown salespeople have also found a good response on the University of West Virginia campus. With help from a three-person team from Pittsburgh, eighteen students subscribed to the *Militant* in a few days and about eighty others bought single copies.

Steve Chainey, one of the Pittsburgh team members, describes the "big hit" the literature table made on campus: "Crowds were around it all day long and there was always some political discussion going on." About fifteen people signed up for more information on the Young Socialist Alliance.

"Everyone was aware of the impending miners' strike," reports Chainey, "and they perked up when I said the *Militant* would be carrying consistent, on-the-spot reports of that fight."

Sales on railroad

Another fight the *Militant* plans to devote attention to is that by railroad workers against employer attempts to drive down their standard of living.

In Chicago, supporters of the *Militant* who are rail workers have sold thirteen subscriptions to their co-workers so far. They too did up a leaflet to help with sales—theirs reprints a *Militant* story on the railroads.

"We distributed these throughout the yards where we work," reports John Isenhower. "And for a more limited number of people, we made up packets."

The packets include a back issue of the paper, the leaflet, a subscription blank, and Ed Heisler's pamphlet on the United Transportation Union, *A Struggle for Union Democracy*.

They gave these packets to individuals they thought might be interested, asked them to take the material home and read it, and if they wanted, to bring in money for the pamphlet and subscription. This netted them several subscriptions.

Isenhower says selling subscriptions has proven an excellent way to initiate political discussions with co-workers. Earlier in the subscription drive, the *Militant's* coverage of the racist attacks on desegregation in Chicago sparked considerable interest among Black rail workers.

Sales scoreboard

(Total received as of October 29)

City	Goal	Sent In	Percent
Lehigh Valley, Pa.	20	16	80.0
Albuquerque	150	111 (17)*	74.0
Raleigh, N.C.	120	83 (1)	69.2
Tacoma, Wash.	150	101 (5)	67.3
St. Paul	200	134 (3)	67.0
St. Louis	350	234 (3)	66.9
Salt Lake City	150	100 (8)	66.7
Kansas City, Mo.	225	147 (21)	65.3
San Diego	300	183 (35)	61.0
New Orleans	300	183 (3)	61.0
Grand Rapids, Mi.	10	6	60.0
Dallas	250	149 (6)	59.6
Los Angeles	1,100	636 (121)	57.8
Portland, Ore.	250	144 (5)	57.6
Houston	600	334 (24)	55.7
Baltimore	175	97 (1)	55.4
Phoenix	250	138 (13)	55.2
Cincinnati	200	102	51.0
Milwaukee	400	203 (29)	50.8
Cleveland	300	151 (6)	50.3
New York	1,800	903 (72)	50.2
Miami	250	122 (8)	48.8
Denver	300	143 (9)	47.7
Louisville, Ky.	150	71 (1)	47.3
Tucson, Ariz.	15	7	46.7
Pittsburgh	450	208 (3)	46.2
Washington, D.C.	600	274 (6)	45.7
Chicago	900	411 (28)	45.7
Boston	825	366 (49)	44.3
Albany, N.Y.	75	33	44.0
Atlanta	600	261 (20)	43.5
Gainesville, Fla.	10	4	40.0
Champaign-Urbana, Ill.	25	10 (1)	40.0
Toledo, Ohio	150	58 (4)	38.7
Oakland, Calif.	600	228 (20)	38.0
Detroit	825	289 (12)	35.0
San Jose	350	121 (15)	34.6
Berkeley	300	102 (5)	34.0
Seattle	300	99 (4)	33.0
Newark	350	108 (14)	30.9
San Antonio	350	105 (3)	30.0
Philadelphia	675	195 (10)	28.9
San Francisco	600	164 (8)	27.3
Minneapolis	350	88 (1)	25.1
Penn State, Pa.	40	10	25.0
Morgantown, W. Va.	60	13	21.7
Amherst, Mass.	40	8	20.0
Bloomington, Ind.	50	10	20.0
Lexington, Ky.	25	4	16.0
Indianapolis	150	18	12.0
Kent, Ohio	50	4	8.0
Total for Cities	16,765	7,689 (594)	45.9
Teams &			
Miscellaneous	1,235	292 (23)	23.6
Total	18,000	7,981 (617)	44.3
Should be		10,800 (300)	60.0

*Figures in parentheses indicate number of 'Perspectiva Mundial' subscriptions included in the total.

'Plan of Action' issued for IWY gathering

By Diane Wang

The International Women's Year Commission has issued a thirty-eight-page "National Plan of Action" to be the basis for discussion at the IWY conference scheduled in Houston November 18-21. The proposal includes recommendations from the commission, as well as some of the 140,000 resolutions heard at state IWY meetings last summer.

In her latest issue of *Eagle Forum*, antiwoman mouthpiece Phyllis Schlafly crows: "The IWY Houston meeting will be the death knell of the women's lib movement because it will reveal its radical goals for all the world to see: ERA, government-funded abortion, abortion mandated in all hospitals, pro-lesbian privileges including teaching & adopting children, Federal child-care to replace mother-care, reverse discrimination to put women in jobs in place of men . . ."

While the National Plan of Action falls far short of meeting all the needs of American women, its proposals will be a source of heated debate in Houston, as Schlafly's latest attack shows.

The plan calls for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. Opposition to the ERA has been the rally cry for Schlafly's Stop ERA group, the Mormon church, the Ku Klux Klan, and other antiwoman bigots mobilizing for the IWY conference.

The plan does not mention the Hyde amendment in Congress, which cuts off abortion funds for poor women. But it does include a paragraph saying, "We oppose the exclusion of abortion



ERA opponent Phyllis Schlafly says International Women's Year conference will 'reveal radical demands' of feminist movement.

or childbirth and pregnancy-related care from Federal, State or local funding of medical services or from privately financed medical services."

The commission's original proposals had not included lesbian rights. But as a result of a campaign by feminists at state meetings, the new plan does call for an end to antigay discrimination. A footnote in the new plan explains that thirty state meetings considered lesbian rights important enough to add to the recommendations.

The plan avoids the controversial words "affirmative action quotas." Instead it says, "All programs de-

signed to assist women in overcoming discrimination should include specific proposals and actions to overcome the double discrimination against minority women."

Other recommendations call for "full employment so that all women who are able and willing to work may do so," and improvements for women in other areas.

The National Plan of Action, despite its title, is actually only a series of proposed recommendations to the government. Nonetheless, the Houston conference will be a national forum for

debating these issues publicly. And it will be a meeting place where feminists can discuss how to build a movement that can turn their demands into action.

Women's liberation activists are organizing around the country to send observers to Houston:

- At least fifteen women from Chicago's Committee for the ERA are going to Houston. The group has raised transportation money from individual women's rights supporters, student governments and newspapers, and through sales of ERA buttons on street corners.

- The October 18 meeting of the New Orleans chapter of the National Organization for Women (NOW) heard a report from IWY delegate George Ethel Warren, a Black feminist who is president of the local domestic workers union. Half of those at the meeting signed up to go to IWY and set up a planning committee.

- In Thibodaux, Louisiana, fourteen feminists at Nicholls University are forming a NOW chapter. Angered that the school recently doled out \$1,000 for a sexist beauty contest, the women are insisting that the school provide funds to send representatives to the IWY conference.

- In Maryland the Baltimore Feminist Network hosted a discussion of IWY on October 23. Some forty women discussed the right-wing threat in Houston and how to explain the ERA, abortion, and lesbian rights to the 20,000 women expected to attend the IWY conference.

But union 'neutral' on abortion

Gov't workers protest threatened pay freeze

By Shelley Kramer

"Don't keep us pawns in your game. A day's pay for a day's work!"

This was the demand of government workers picketing federal offices in New York City October 28. Their informational picket line was part of a nationwide protest organized by the American Federation of Government Employees (AFGE).

Thousands of AFGE workers are paid out of the budgets of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and the Department of Labor. Their paychecks were slated to stop after October 31 if Congress did not pass this year's appropriations for the two departments.

The appropriations are being held up by the congressional deadlock over the Hyde amendment, which prohibits the use of medicaid funds for abortions. The antiabortion bill, which has been tied up in a House-Senate conference committee, is attached to HEW/Labor appropriations.

The government is attempting to ram through the Hyde amendment by threatening to withhold paychecks until the bill is passed.

In effect holding government workers hostage, the maneuver is aimed at pitting the victimized workers and those receiving social services against supporters of abortion rights.

The *Militant* visited the picket line outside Department of Labor offices in New York to see how AFGE members, especially women, felt about the Hyde amendment.

AFGE has unfortunately taken no position on the amendment itself. Officials say that involving the union in the abortion controversy would be self-defeating.

Many on the picket line, however, expressed strong support for the right of all women—especially poor women—to safe, legal abortions.

"I'm a woman too," one young Black picketer exclaimed. "Abortion is a med-

ical necessity and should be paid for."

Another objected to the politicians' attempts to foist the blame for AFGE's troubles onto the women's movement. "The women who want abortions are not the ones responsible for this," she told the *Militant*.

Should abortion rights advocates and AFGE members join forces?

"That's a good idea," said one young woman. "Those women should be down here with us—on the line."

Picketers were angry about the attempt to deny them their pay checks.

Fourteen thousand workers in the Department of Labor, 83,000 in HEW, and 650,000 in state and local government face the prospect of a November without pay.

In addition, vital services provided by these workers will be cut off by the government's blackmail.

These programs include workers' compensation, widow's benefits, safety and health inspections, CETA job training and employment programs, and minimum-wage and child-labor investigations.

One tragic result would be the denial of November benefits to 475,000 victims of black lung.

Joseph Califano and Ray Marshall, chiefs of the affected departments, evince about as much compassion toward their employees as Jimmy Carter does toward the thousands of poor women who will be denied abortions by the Hyde amendment.

Carter's arrogant response this summer to women in need of medicaid abortions—"life is unfair"—is now being echoed by HEW and Labor department heads.

Memorandums to employees in both departments have advised workers to "think about going on welfare, to buy cheaper food and to remember the Salvation Army if Congress fails to dislodge money for future pay checks," the New York *Daily News* reported



AFGE picket line in New York

October 13.

AFGE workers and their families will also be hit hard by the passage of the Hyde amendment. Thousands of AFGE members are women; the majority of picketers in New York were Black and Hispanic women.

Given the government's strategy to deliver a blow to the union and to women all at once, it would be self-defeating for AFGE not to take a clear stand against the Hyde amendment.

Failure to do so can only weaken support for AFGE's just claim for immediate payment of November benefits, especially among women.

As picket captain Gerry Wilson put it, "The union is a pawn in the government's game."

And that's precisely why AFGE will win no sympathy in Congress by "playing it safe" on the abortion issue.

If the federal workers do not get their

pay, AFGE is planning further actions against Congress. "If this problem is not corrected, there will be more demonstrations," Gary Dinunno of AFGE's public relations department told the *Militant*.

How much more effective these actions would be if they were organized to demand both an end to the stalling on paychecks and defeat of the Hyde amendment.

If AFGE took this stand, it could appeal to the organized women's movement for support, particularly to the National Organization for Women and the Coalition of Labor Union Women. Demonstrations, rallies, and picket lines that united the union and women would call attention to the government's attacks against both. That would improve the chances for the victory of AFGE and supporters of abortion rights.

Secrecy at the helm

Secrecy in government has won out again. The Justice Department closed its two-year investigation of former CIA Director Richard Helms on October 31 by having him plead "no contest" to minor charges of failing to testify "fully, completely and accurately" before Congress.

That is a mild way of saying that when Helms testified before the Senate Foreign Relations committee in 1973, he lied. Helms denied that the CIA had attempted to overthrow the elected government in Chile. Actually, the CIA spent more than \$8 million on that operation.

The government explained that it was letting Helms off the hook because a trial might "jeopardize national secrets." That is, the Washington officials admit their fear that Helms might have let the truth slip out about CIA plots and the White House role in them. A public trial might have shown that Helms's crime was, and still is, common government practice.

And so Helms got off with less than a slap on the wrist. He avoided any trial for perjury or for the CIA crimes he directed. He did not even have to plead guilty to the misdemeanor charges. The so-called Justice Department asked the judge to suspend any prison sentence. The maximum fine Helms faces is a mere \$2,000.

After all, a government statement reminded the American people, Helms "has had a most distinguished career and has performed outstanding services to the United States Government."

That career included not only the secret funds to Salvadore Allende's right-wing opponents in Chile, but the 1953 coup that put the shah in power in Iran. Helms headed the CIA when it illegally spied on the anti-Vietnam War movement in this country and when it tried to assassinate Fidel Castro. During the Watergate scandal he destroyed tape recordings and documents. "Outstanding services" indeed!

So much for Jimmy Carter's promises to "end the double standard of justice in America" and "strip away government secrecy."

The Helms cover-up emphasizes again the need to open all the CIA files and put an end to government secrecy.

Carter & So. Africa

On October 31, twelve days after the racist South African regime unleashed the most sweeping repression there in twenty years, U.S. Ambassador Andrew Young joined the United Nations representatives of France and Britain in vetoing a mandatory embargo on trade with the apartheid regime.

Young's action unmaskes the Carter administration's rhetoric of support to human rights and majority rule in South Africa.

During the Vietnam War, Washington claimed it had to bomb villages in order to "save them." Using the same twisted logic, Young now says the U.S. is obliged to continue supplying the Vorster regime nuclear fuel in order to contain South Africa's weapons capability.

Adopting the guardian-of-the-rich stance of his mentor at the White House, Young implied that a ban on trade would not be productive.

Nothing could be further from the truth.

Without outright and covert Western military aid and technological support for its arms production, the South African regime could not maintain its repressive apparatus.

And without trade and investments from the United States and its imperialist allies, the South African economy would collapse.

The UN veto shows once again that the Carter administration's real policy in South Africa is defense of the profits of big business—the exploited and oppressed Black majority of the country be damned.

This callous swipe at world opinion comes in face of mounting demands in this country for an end to the repression and a halt to U.S. complicity with the South African regime.

Members of Congress, civil rights organizations, and others have vigorously protested the crackdown and continued U.S. support for the Vorster regime. Calls to action have been issued by the National Student Coalition Against Racism, the *Guardian* newspaper, and other organizations.

What is needed is for these forces and others to unite to organize a powerful response to Pretoria and Washington:

End the repression in South Africa!

Halt U.S. trade, investment, and military aid to the apartheid regime!

Born in Palestine

In a recent issue you reported that the prominent Palestinian rights activist and civil liberties attorney Lea Tsemel had been born in Israel (*Militant*, October 14). But this would be impossible if her age is thirty-two, since she would have been born prior to the United Nations's arbitrary vote to partition Palestine in 1947 and the subsequent forcible establishment of Israel in 1948 against the wishes of the Palestinian people.

This historical background is important to understanding the conflict in the Middle East and Tsemel's current speaking tour of the U.S. to defend the democratic rights of Palestinians living within Israel's borders or in other Arab territories later conquered by the Zionist state.

Rich Finkel

Los Angeles, California

Defend five activists

In the October 7 *Militant* the "In Brief" section by Arnold Weissberg included a story about the five people fined for leafleting against the FBI at Muhlenberg College. The five are all members of the Lehigh-Pocono Committee of Concern (LEPOCO), an active peace organization in Lehigh Valley, Pennsylvania. During the 1960s when LEPOCO was fighting against U.S. involvement in Vietnam, the FBI spied on us and collected files on our members. For that reason, and others, LEPOCO leafleted FBI Director Clarence Kelly's appearance at a crime symposium.

As a member of the LEPOCO Defense of the Muhlenberg Five Committee, I was delighted to read your accurate account of the events in Lehigh County over the past eighteen months. With the notable exception of one editorial, the overall coverage of our local press has been far from accurate.

As the *Militant* reported, the five have appealed their case. Because it is the first case of its kind, the outcome of that appeal is crucial to the citizens of Lehigh County and ultimately the state of Pennsylvania. The ruling on this case will establish the law of the land in our state. The Pennsylvania ACLU is helping fund the appeal, but many costs will not be covered by it. We need help to win this case. Checks payable to the Muhlenberg Five Defense Fund can be sent to the LEPOCO Office, 14 West Broad Street, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania 18077.

Sarah Snider

Riegelsville, Pennsylvania

CP and gay rights

I was very pleased to read in the *Militant* that Angela Davis had spoken in favor of a gay rights resolution at the Women for Racial and Economic Equality convention.

Sadly, not everyone else in the Communist Party shares her views. I am a former member of the Young Workers Liberation League—which is the CP's youth group. Since I am gay, I had some difficulty joining to begin with, but I kept prodding until I became a member. For awhile I ignored antigay comments that "slipped" out, but I could not ignore a speech made by James Steele, who is a leader of the YWLL, in which he slandered gay rights. This, by the way, was in 1977.

Opposition to gay rights and the ERA in the CP is not based on Marxism-Leninism but on Stalinism. It is my hope that the Communist Party will take more interest in the rights of

women and gays and forget its drive to support the family, clean up pornography, etc.

Robert D'Avanzo

New York, New York

Black Solidarity Day

I am a member of the Black Solidarity Committee. I am writing to you concerning this year's Black Solidarity Day as a method to struggle against and expose the viciousness of prison. A system of brutality, exploitation, and racism, which is especially perpetrated against Black and other Third World prisoners.

The most recent statistics reveal that nearly 60 percent of the 11,500 prisoners confined in New York State's prisons are Black.

Black Solidarity Day within New York prisons culminated as a result of Black prisoners at Auburn prison in 1970 literally "taking" that day to come together because Auburn's administration refused them this request. And when the prison was retaken by the guards, many Black prisoners were brutally beaten, isolated, deprived in segregation, and shipped to other prisons. Six men were singled out as leaders and were prosecuted and convicted of the usual trumped-up charges—inciting to riot, kidnapping, assault, and destruction of state property.

There are approximately 1,100 Black prisoners here, but only 300-400 participated in Black Solidarity Day. Why? Because the Black population found out that two administrators were defining what Black Solidarity Day should be. And because we were tired of others defining our lives, the majority of us did not participate.

It was by their design—the administrators—that our families spent hours waiting to come inside; that the work crews were delayed; that a lot of our families, although on the approved list, were denied access to the gym area.

We wanted a real Black atmosphere to greet our families. Black entertainment. Excerpts from Malcolm X, poetry by Langston Hughes, Sonia Sanchez, Don Lee. A social setting. Not a stomp-down boogie affair. We certainly do not need a party in prison. Nor give our children the ruinous image that prison is a place for fun.

Black Solidarity within and outside prison walls was never meant to be a time of festivities. Although we cannot negate the harm that has been done, we are hopeful of making Black Solidarity Day here a meaningful experience for our families and guests. Peace.

A prisoner

Stormville, New York

Blame capitalists for oil spills

The findings of a Norwegian investigation committee looking into the massive "blowout" and oil spill in the North Sea April 22 has come up with a typical capitalist conclusion. The blame is put on "human error and poor planning!"

The hero of this scenario is Paul (Red) Adair, the rapacious Texas oil man who capped the well days after the blowout.

This repetition of "human error" for a capitalist-induced tragedy—whether it is a railroad, shipping, subway, aircraft, chemical, mine, or other industrial accident—is an all too familiar public-relations ploy.

The *Militant*, as a socialist paper, must pay more attention to these occurrences and spell out the real cause

Women in Revolt

Diane Wang



The Bolsheviks on women

In his article about the Russian revolution in this issue, David Frankel describes some of the victories women won in 1917. In the following excerpts, three Bolshevik leaders—V.I. Lenin, Leon Trotsky, and Alexandra Kollantai—describe their vision of what the revolution would do:

Take the position of women. In this field, not a single democratic party in the world, not even in the most advanced bourgeois republic, has done in decades so much as a hundredth part of what we did in our very first year in power. We actually razed to the ground the infamous laws placing women in a position of inequality, restricting divorce and surrounding it with disgusting formalities, denying recognition to children born out of wedlock, enforcing a search for their fathers, etc., laws numerous survivals of which, to the shame of the bourgeoisie and of capitalism, are to be found in all civilised countries.

We have a thousand times the right to be proud of what we have done in this field. But the more thoroughly we clear the ground of the lumber of the old, bourgeois laws and institutions, the more we realise that we have only cleared the ground to build on, but are not yet building.

—V.I. Lenin, from a pamphlet published in 1919. Available in *The Emancipation of Women, from the writings of V.I. Lenin, published by International Publishers.*

The physical preparations for the conditions of the new life and the new family, again, cannot fundamentally be separated from the general work of socialist construction. . . . We need more socialist economic forms. Only under such conditions can we free the family from the functions and cares that now oppress

and disintegrate it. Washing must be done by a public laundry, catering by a public restaurant, sewing by a public workshop. Children must be educated by good public teachers who have a real vocation for the work. Then the bond between husband and wife would be freed from everything external and accidental, and the one would cease to absorb the life of the other. Genuine equality would at last be established.

—Leon Trotsky, from a 1923 article in *Pravda*. Available in *Women and the Family by Leon Trotsky, published by Pathfinder Press.*

No more domestic 'servitude' for women. No more inequality within the family! No more fear on the part of the woman to remain without support or aid with little ones in her arms if her husband should desert her. The woman in the communist city no longer depends on her husband but on her work. . . .

The Workers' State has need of a new form of relation between the sexes. The narrow and exclusive affection of the mother for her own children must expand until it embraces all the children of the great proletarian family.

In place of the individual and egoistic family, there will arise a great universal family of workers, in which all the workers, men and women, will be, above all, brothers, comrades.

In the name of equality, of liberty, and of love, we call upon the working women and the working men, peasant women and peasants, courageously and with faith to take up the work of the reconstruction of human society with the object of rendering it more perfect, more just, and more capable of assuring to the individual the happiness which he deserves.

—Alexandra Kollantai, from *Communism and the Family, written in 1921, republished in 1971 by Pluto Press.*

of these so-called "accidents."

Blowouts and oil spills—with the danger to lives, waste of resources, and contamination and pollution of the seas and beaches—are nothing but a result of profit-hungry management. This is part and parcel of capitalist production and will only be corrected when we reorganize society on a socialist basis where workers, engineers, and scientists will work together to run an enterprise with concern for humanity, not profits.

H. Lewin

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Andy's bread train

I am writing regarding the recent statement made by United Nations Ambassador Andrew Young concerning the struggle of Black people inside racist South Africa and the political nonalternative facing African-Americans inside imperialist USA.

On the subject of whether brothers and sisters in South Africa should fight or not, I am an African who is being oppressed, exploited, abused, and misused just from the mere existence of imperialism.

Anyone who dares not to struggle for freedom, dares not to be free. Example: Andrew Young.

In Andrew Young's endeavors for Jimmy Carter's imperialist scheme—to try and persuade the brothers and sisters in South Africa not to fight against apartheid—one can see the real characteristics of Andrew Young. In his pious statement, Young says that the brothers and sisters in South Africa should lay down their weapons (the last means left to bring about Black majority rule in South Africa) and place the fate of their destiny within the hands of the U.S. imperialists.

What the African-American people must realize is that "boy wonder" Andrew Young has never played any progressive or significant role in the struggle of the African-American people—their fight for freedom, equality, and justice. Nor has it been his intention to.

During the past events in Blacks' struggle to achieve equality inside imperialist USA, Andrew Young was in a position which eventually enabled him to exploit the 1960s Black movement led by Martin Luther King, Jr. This movement helped to elevate him to the present position he now occupies as UN ambassador.

Andrew Young has always been on the alert for some bread train passing by. His life-long dream has been how to get from beneath the small table to beneath the big table. He sold out his last chance to get some respect and dignity. Now he's walking around with the big imperialists. He feels good because he has a pocket full of imperialist crumbs and a cigar stuck in his mouth, with fire on one end and a fool on the other. He's Black, like me. But that's all.

Uhuru na Ujamaa (Freedom and Socialism).
A prisoner
Joliet, Illinois

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

Capitalism in Crisis

Andy Rose



Bethlehem cracks the whip

The giant steel companies have been crying as though they were about to be driven out of business by foreign imports, high wage costs, and antipollution laws. Bethlehem Steel's dramatic announcement of a \$477 million loss for the third quarter of 1977 was perfectly timed to create a panic atmosphere in which to present company demands for aid.

Rather than burying the steel industry, though, the financial press has come to praise it—for making the "cold blooded" decisions that are expected to boost profits in the years ahead.

A *Wall Street Journal* profile of Bethlehem Steel, for example, predicts that "the company is likely to emerge from this year's disasters a leaner and more efficient producer, better able to survive in what has become a cutthroat world steel market."

Bethlehem has carried out some of the most severe layoffs and plant closings in the industry, firing thousands of workers in Lackawanna, New York, and Johnstown and Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

The *New York Times* notes that the huge announced loss "does not mean that Bethlehem faces an immediate cash drain of that magnitude." Millions of dollars of the "loss" are estimated future payments such as pensions. Millions more represent no cash payment by Bethlehem at all—only a bookkeeping write-off of the closed plants. The company declared its regular dividend, so stockholders took no loss at all.

Bethlehem Chairman Lewis Foy is confident about the company's prospects. "The facilities that are going to be left in this country to produce steel," he asserts, "are going to be the best facilities, and they're going to be profitable facilities with what I believe is a very, very good future."

The *Wall Street Journal* observes that "this long-term prognosis probably isn't much comfort to steelworkers who are losing their jobs. . . ." It isn't much comfort to those still on the job, either—not if they have any idea what Bethlehem has in store for them.

In the days of slavery the whip was used to force human beings to labor under dangerous conditions, to

exert themselves beyond the limits their flesh and bone could bear.

Capitalism has for the most part dispensed with such crude methods of coercion. No one is forced to work in a steel plant. If you don't like the way the company does things, you are free to quit.

Unemployment is the capitalist's whip. With some 10 million workers already jobless in this country, the steel companies figure, who will dare protest speedup?

The *Wall Street Journal* explains: "Beyond the direct payroll savings, Bethlehem's job cuts seem likely to boost the productivity of its remaining shell-shocked work force of over 90,000. Mr. Foy notes that 'we are already seeing indications' of improved productivity at Bethlehem's mills. He believes employees 'are concerned about what is happening with the steel business and they are saying to us that we're going to have to work harder.'"

The manager of a machinery manufacturing plant, quoted in an earlier *Wall Street Journal* article, explained more bluntly how to crack the whip.

"We've adopted a conscious strategy of holding the work force down so the people on the shop floor have a little bit more than they can do," he said. "We have to pay them a little overtime to get it done, which costs money. But there's been a real climb in efficiency as they struggle to reach the goals. Other companies appear to be doing the same thing."

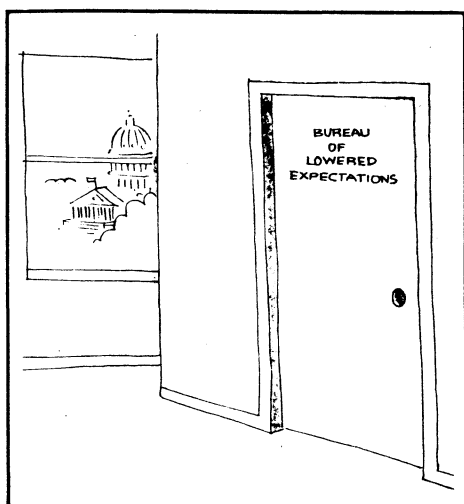
Such measures to increase productivity are necessary, top officials of the steelworkers union agree, if "our" industry is to compete successfully against imports. "It would be a terrible thing," says United Steelworkers President Lloyd McBride, "if we found ourselves at the mercy of foreign producers in steel as we now are in oil."

Rank-and-file steelworkers find it pretty terrible being at the mercy of the domestic producers such as U.S. Steel and Bethlehem. And it is around issues of speedup, safety, and working conditions that resistance to the corporate profit drive is likely to begin—even while the majority of steelworkers are still confused by the anti-import propaganda.



Who's depraved?—(UPI) "A Utah Supreme Court justice said the constitutional argument used by some judges to protect pornography is one that only 'mind-warped queers' ought to advance."

Power + power =—The government threatened to prosecute a Duke University student after the Duke Power Company complained he was writing slogans on the envelopes bearing his monthly remittances. In a court suit, the determined student said he was simply expressing his frustration and rage with this "monument to capitalist . . . indifference and greed."



Bernard Schoenbaum

Artists' plight—James Jordon, president of Batten, Barton, Durstine & Osborne, was previously "creative director" of the giant ad agency and misses his old job. "I miss the day-to-day creative involvement," he laments. Jordon is creator of such artistic works as the ring-around-the-collar jingle.

A real drag—Men who smoke filter-tip coffin nails run an even greater risk of heart attack than those who use regulars. Researchers found the carbon monoxide level in the blood of filter-tip users 20 percent higher than among other smokers.

Theology dep't—Rev. John Burke, P.O., director of the Word of God Institute, a Catholic organization, says any serious biblical scholar will agree that Christ didn't literally rise from the grave. But, he cautions, you can't go around saying that. "You're dealing with people's happiness," he explains. And people "become very insecure when someone says it's not that simple." And it could hurt the collection.

Shopping tip—According to *Car*, a British automotive magazine, the new Rolls Royce Silver Shadow II, which sells for \$40,800, is not as good a car as the new Jaguar XJ12, which is available for only \$15,000.

Capitalism Fouls Things Up

Shutting 'em down

FOR SALE—Previously owned nuclear power plant. Only thirty years old, hardly used. Ocean view. Available in 100 years. Price negotiable.

Although this classified ad hasn't appeared in any newspaper yet, it might in the not-too-distant future.

One of nuclear power's less-frequently discussed problems is the relatively brief life span of nuclear plants. They last only thirty to forty years.

The nukes owe the brevity of their existence to several factors. After their allotted two-score years, the plants are simply too radioactive ("hot") for human beings to get near.

In addition, the normal operating level of radioactivity creates such stresses in the structure of the reactor itself that the materials simply wear out.

Unfortunately, you can't just walk away from an old nuke like a landlord from a slum apartment building. Some of the radiation products remain radioactive for more than 100,000 years.

So what do you do with a used nuke?

There are two theories. One is entombment, in which the nuke is sealed with concrete and lead after all radioactive materials have been removed

(although where they will be stored is another problem). The reactor building remains radioactive.

A second scheme is to seal up the plant for a hundred years or so, allowing it to "cool," and then dismantle it. While some older, small plants have been taken down, no one is sure a modern one—with its ten-foot-thick steel and concrete walls—can actually be dismantled, or how much it will cost, or how risky it is.

Decommissioning a nuke is expensive. The General Accounting Office (GAO) of Congress estimates entombing a plant would cost between \$7 million and \$9.5 million.

Dismantling might cost \$30 million to \$40 million.

There are about 65 reactors operating now. The Carter administration wants 300 by the year 2000. How much will it cost to decommission all 300? And who will pay for it?

So far, the federal government has been picking up the tab—with our tax dollars.

One plant in Minnesota cost \$6.2 million to dismantle—but it only cost \$6 million to build. Then there's the Oyster Creek nuke in New Jersey.

Estimates for dismantling it run up to \$100 million—\$35 million more than the original cost.

It's even more expensive to get rid of nuclear waste disposal sites. There's one in West Valley, New York—thirty miles from Buffalo—that can't be used any more because so much waste has escaped. Estimated cost for cleaning it up: a hefty \$600 million.

The decommissioning problem extends to military reactors, as on submarines; research facilities' particle accelerators (cyclotrons and the like); waste disposal sites; and nuclear fuel fabricating plants.

There are about 1,500 existing nuclear sites now. The federal Energy Research and Development Administration estimates a total decommissioning price between \$2 billion and \$3 billion. GAO says this estimate is too low.

In any case, the corporations that profited from nuclear power operations won't be footing the bill—working people will.

No one really knows if dismantling or entombing is a realistic solution to the problem of what to do with used nukes. That, of course, is typical of the nuclear industry—build first, ask questions later.

Arnold Weissberg



National Picket Line

The right-wing menace

Right-wing politics is a strong current in the governing institutions of this country, including the Democratic and Republican parties. This is nothing new. The trade-union bureaucracy in the recent past found it convenient to collaborate with the right-wingers in supporting the Vietnam War, opposing affirmative-action quotas for minorities, and knocking the movement to protect the environment.

But the bureaucracy has now discovered that the John Birch Society and myriad others of this kind are enemies of the union movement. It is revealed that the right wing is an organized conspiracy, financed by big business.

The October issue of *The Machinist*, official publication of the International Association of Machinists, features the right-wing danger.

"The menace from the right is a giant web that poses a threat to every union member and the families they support," says the IAM paper. It goes on to give a partial network listing of more than a dozen organizations, all connected through their financial backers.

The National Association of Manufacturers (NAM) and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce are the

oldest, most heavily financed, and the directing agencies of the right-wing antiunion movement.

They spawned the Veterans Industrial Association, a strike-breaking agency; the anti-Semitic, anti-Black Christian American Association; the National Right-to-Work Committee, which seeks to outlaw unions; and the John Birch Society, founded by former NAM vice-president Robert Welch.

Among the many right-wing timeservers in the U.S. Congress from both the Democratic and Republican parties are representatives Lawrence McDonald, George Hansen, Steve Symms, and senators Jesse Helms, Jake Garn, and Carl T. Curtis. They are used (with others) for sending out fund appeals on congressional stationery and planting antiunion propaganda in the *Congressional Record*.

These are the front-runners. But there are many more in government, unmentioned by the IAM and other unions, who serve the antiunion employers much more effectively for the moment. They are not yet identified as right-wingers, but their services are appreciated and they are supported by those solidly established employer organizations that sponsor the most rabid union-haters.

Frank Lovell



George Hagedorn, chief economist and vice-president of the NAM looked at the Carter administration's economic goals and pronounced them satisfactory, especially Carter's pledge to balance the federal budget in 1981. "The administration is aiming at the right targets," said Hagedorn, "even though its shots may fall short."

The Machinist article concludes with this revelation: "As crucial issues affecting the lifestyles of IAM members and their families are decided this year and next in Congress, these [right-wing] groups will continue to prosper and flourish," it says. "Only the union movement and its elected friends can stem their tide."

The bottom line here is wrong, a delusion.

The union movement with its allies—the unorganized majority of the working class, the unemployed and cruelly exploited Blacks and other minorities, the youth, and women—these are the forces that can stem the tide. They are the energy and the voting strength, if organized in a labor party based on the unions, that can put working men and women in Congress. Then, and only then, will the union movement have reliable representatives in government.

Why did White House betray women?

By Diane Wang

In the September/October issue of *Do It NOW*, Toni Carabillo, a leader of the National Organization for Women (NOW), looks at what President Carter has done for women.

Carabillo recalls Carter's campaign declaration, made in Los Angeles on October 8, 1976: "If I am elected, I want to be the president that will have done more in establishing the rights of women than any president before..."

After summarizing his record on women's issues, Carabillo concludes that "the signs and portents emanating from the Carter Administration are increasingly distressing to NOW observers."

On the question of the Equal Rights Amendment, for example, Carter had promised, "As president, I intend to see the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment." Carabillo points out that Carter's "support" has consisted of a few phone calls to legislators in states voting on ratification.

"No supporter of the ERA in this country believes that the most the President of the U.S. can do on behalf of a top priority issue—even when the decision rests with state legislators—is make a couple of phone calls," says Carabillo.

She cites Carter's pronouncement on the plight of poor women who can't afford abortion: "Well, as you know, there are many things in life that are not fair."

"The statement itself may be just the tip of the iceberg," Carabillo warns.

On the *Bakke* affirmative-action lawsuit, Carabillo writes, "If the Carter Administration has indeed come down on the side of Bakke and against 'affirmative action'—when it had the option of staying out of the case—it may well be the last straw for feminists and minority groups."

(Why Carter should "stay out of the case," instead of upholding affirmative action and enforcing equal rights, Carabillo doesn't say.)

The NOW leader notes that Carter has appointed even less women to his administration than President Ford claimed he had appointed.

On the question of gay rights, Carabillo considers it a "hopeful sign" that Carter's assistant Margaret Costanza met with leaders of the gay movement. She suggests that "it remains to be seen whether or not the President will provide the genuine moral leadership on this issue NOW would regard as appropriate."



Carter and women campaign supporters: the courtship's over

Perhaps Carabillo did not see the display of "genuine moral leadership" at the president's June 18 interview. When asked whether gays should be denied the right to teach school, Carter answered, "This is a subject I don't particularly want to involve myself in. I've got enough problems without taking on another."

How has the Carter administration gotten away with breaking all its promises to the women's movement? Carabillo doesn't say. And, even after documenting Carter's betrayals, she still doesn't retract the support NOW leaders lent Carter in the 1976 race.

At one point, Carabillo even absolves Carter for the most flagrant of his antiwoman campaign statements on abortion.

During his campaign Carter said, "I personally disapprove of abortion. I do not believe government should encourage abortion. The efforts of government should be directed at minimizing abortions."

Quoting that, Carabillo baldly says, "Even his statement on abortion, though it was light years away from desirable, was one—on close analysis—most feminists could live with."

But the willingness to "live with" Carter's threats against legal abortion had dire results for the women's movement. NOW leaders maintained a tolerant silence on this issue so as not to embarrass Carter during the elections. That was not only a betrayal of the Medicaid recipients whose abortion rights were already on the line, but a betrayal of the feminist movement as a whole.

Testing the waters and meeting little

organized resistance, Carter moved with lightning speed once in office to terminate Medicaid funds for abortion.

Today, almost a year later, many members of NOW recognize the disastrous consequences of subordinating women's demands to the election of "Mr. Jimmy." Many are looking for a new strategy for how to fight back.

Unfortunately, Carabillo's article offers no new strategy. The most she says on what to do next is that NOW will "hold the party in power accountable."

But the only way to make the government listen to women is for the feminist movement to go on the offen-

sive, organizing a massive public campaign to defend legal abortion, the ERA, affirmative action, and other rights.

It was the appearance of an independent women's struggle in the late 1960s—with its demonstrations, rallies, speakouts, and picket lines—that struck fear in the hearts of U.S. rulers and forced them to grant important concessions. That same kind of movement, if it is not tied down to the likes of Carter, can defend those gains and win more victories.

NOW, as the country's largest women's rights organization, can take the lead in organizing women in a visible and militant movement that cannot be ignored.

One opportunity to mount this defense of women's rights is coming up soon—the International Women's Year conference scheduled for Houston, Texas, November 18-21. The conference will give women the chance to publicly answer the anti-ERA, anti-abortion, antiwoman forces who are mobilizing for a showdown.

And more, the conference will be a chance to confront the Carter administration and protest its betrayal of women's rights.

Feminists gathering in Houston to defend equal rights can make sure the whole nation, including Carter, hears that women will not be put off any more.

S.D. abortionist acquitted

In an important victory for abortion rights, a South Dakota jury voted October 20 that there was no evidence to support manslaughter charges against Dr. Benjamin Munson, the only doctor performing abortions in that state.

Munson had been charged with "culpable negligence" in the case of a patient who died several days after an abortion in 1973.

In a telephone interview with the *Militant*, Munson called the ruling "a smashing sort of victory, in that it as much as repudiated the state for even bringing the charges."

Munson's conviction would not only have made abortion unavailable in South Dakota, a guilty verdict would have spurred on abortion foes to use phony manslaughter

charges against other abortionists.

South Dakota Attorney General William Janklow had made no secret of his personal opposition to abortion. Munson charged that the frame-up trial "was a political ploy in which this particular prosecutor, who is running for governor, expected to advance his cause. . . . There are maternal deaths other than this; there are about three or four in South Dakota per year. He never investigated any of those."

Ruth Lindeman, head of the South Dakota National Abortion Rights Action League, told the *Militant*: "All over the country people don't realize how much abortion rights are in jeopardy. Hopefully this will bring more prochoice people out."

—D.W.

200 women attend Black feminist conference

By Willie Mae Reid

CHICAGO—"A Meeting of the Minds—a national conference for, by, and about Black women." That's the way the National Alliance of Black Feminists (NABF) described their weekend conference here, October 21-23.

Brenda Eichelberger, executive director of NABF, explained in an interview with the *Militant* that this gathering was planned to bring Black women together to exchange experiences, discuss ideas, and pass resolutions that would be policy statements on several major social issues, such as abortion, forced sterilization, affirmative action, and the Equal Rights Amendment.

More than 200 Black women from cities throughout the Midwest; Phoenix; Denver; Raleigh, North Carolina; Washington, D.C.; and New York City attended the panels, workshops, and evening entertainment.

NABF was formed in May 1976 as a reflection of the growing interest of

Black women in their oppression both as Blacks and as women. Its membership in Chicago is about 150, and small groups of Black women are forming chapters in Cleveland and Denver.

While the cost of the conference limited the number of young working women and students who could attend, the Black professional women in the arts, media, management, government, self-employed, and nontraditional jobs who did attend were interested in political discussion.

The Pathfinder literature table, with its display of socialist books and pamphlets, became an important center of these discussions. Books on economics, Black liberation, Chicanas, and Marxism sold just as well as literature on women's liberation. *Black Women's Struggle for Equality* was especially popular.

Many Black women at the conference cited Evelyn Reed's *Woman's Evolution* in discussions on the nature

of female oppression. Poet Sonia Sanchez, one of the keynote speakers, identified the book as her source for information on the origin of women's oppression.

The overwhelming majority in the Sunday plenary session voted for resolutions against the California *Bakke* decision, the physical attacks on Blacks being bused to desegregate Chicago schools, sterilization abuse, and ones in support of abortion rights and passage of the ERA. Women decided they needed a newsletter, ongoing task-force committees, and information directories.

Discussion around an amendment to a health-care resolution, which pointed to the fight of lesbians against discrimination in health care, revealed the concern participants felt about the importance of opposing all forms of discrimination women face.

In the Political Awareness workshop, there was wide interest in socialist ideas as presented by Pat Wright of

the Socialist Workers Party.

Barbara Merrill, staff representative for the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, led a lively workshop discussion on the facts and figures of the economic status of Black women, the role of the unions, and the need to organize and "be noisy" in attacking racism and sexism on the job.

Addie Wyatt, an officer in the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, the Coalition of Labor Union Women, and a member of the national commission of the International Women's Year Commission, spoke in the IWY workshop. Participants there raised complaints of no democracy at state IWY conferences, of right-wing organizing, and the insensitivity of IWY officials to input and to problems of Black women. Wyatt discussed the caucuses organized by labor unions and Black women for the Houston conference and urged everyone to attend.

N.Y. city council race

Why I'm running against Bellamy

By Jane Roland

It's the question I'm asked most frequently: Why are you running against Carol Bellamy?

And it's a good question. Carol Bellamy, the Democratic candidate for president of New York's city council, has attended and endorsed activities supporting women's right to abortion, ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment, and lesbian and gay rights.

So it's not surprising that women ask why I am running against one of the few women who will be on the ballot, one who stands a good chance of winning.

Jane Roland is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for New York City Council president.

After all, we need more women in office, don't we? And we certainly need more supporters of women's rights in office. So why don't I endorse Carol Bellamy's campaign, instead of opposing her?

As the Democratic Party candidate, Bellamy tells women that basic social change can be made through her party. But years of experience have taught us that the Democrats and Republicans are accomplices in the oppression of women. You can't change things by relying on the very parties that are responsible for your oppression.

The Democrats and Republicans have shared control of the White House. They've appointed every Supreme Court justice; and they control Congress, every state house, and every city hall.

They're responsible for attacks on our right to abortion, for the stalemate on the ERA, for the closing of child-care centers, and for the attacks on affirmative-action programs.

It's not a question of how many women hold office. It's a question of whose interests the party in office

council president held at City College of New York, Bellamy showed the audience how well she teams up with Koch. As state senator, she said, she voted for the Emergency Financial Control Board, the appointed board of bankers and businessmen that controls New York City's finances.

In response to a question at that forum, Bellamy agreed with Koch's slogan that whoever was elected to office in New York would have "tough" decisions to make. "And," she said,



Socialist JANE ROLAND

"they'll be tough on all of us."

I disagree. I do think that the next mayor and city council president, probably Democrats, will make decisions that are "tough," but not on all of us. Just tough on most of us.

They'll be tough on city workers, who can expect more layoffs, as Koch predicts. They'll be tough on minorities, especially young Blacks, whose unemployment level in the city has risen to 86 percent. They'll be tough on students, who can expect tuition to rise at the City University; on women, because child-care centers will remain shut and affirmative-action programs will be dismantled. They'll be tough on all working people in this city, whose standard of living deteriorates with every cutback in subway service, garbage collection, hospital funding, and education.

Bellamy has no answer to the problems of New York City, except to continue in the path of the Democrats before her—keep paying the banks their interest and keep cutting social services.

Her strategy is, simply, to elect Bellamy. To put less energy into building abortion rights demonstrations, and instead canvass for Bellamy. To forget about actions to overturn the *Bakke* decision, and instead distribute brochures for Bellamy. To hold off on demonstrations for jobs, and instead elect Bellamy.

Her strategy is counterposed to mine quite clearly. She says: build Bellamy's election campaign. I say: build demonstrations, build picket lines, build a movement and keep it visible.

We need a strong, independent women's movement, working together with Blacks and Puerto Ricans, with unionists and other working people.

We also need our own political voice. We need a party that fights for women's rights and in the interests of all working people, not in the interests of the banks and corporations. We need a party of working people—a labor party, that bases itself on the trade unions.



Democrat CAROL BELLAMY

serves. And the Democrats have made it clear that they rule New York in the interests of the banks and big corporations.

Bellamy's running mate is Edward Koch, the Democratic candidate for mayor. Koch blames New York's problems on the labor unions, and pledges to be "tough on spending" when elected. That means more cuts in social services and a harder line on union contracts. And women workers will be among the prime victims of these "get tough" measures.

At a forum for candidates for city

Pittsburgh socialist hits steel blackmail

By Susan McCulloch

PITTSBURGH—Howard Beck's ideas set him sharply apart from his opponents in the race for Pittsburgh mayor.

While the Democratic and Republican nominees fall over each other seeking ways to shore up corporate profits, Beck, the nominee of the Socialist Workers Party, stands on the side of the city's working people.

Steel production is the heart of Pittsburgh's economy, and the steel industry is in trouble. Citing falling profits, the steel companies have carried out massive layoffs, called for limiting imports of foreign steel, and demanded relaxation of environmental controls.

Only if the government gives in to their demands, the companies say, will they be able to rehire steelworkers.

Howard Beck disagrees.

"The real threat to American steelworkers is not the Environmental Protection Agency or the Japanese steelworker," he points out.

"The real enemy is the American steel industry and its drive for more profits. That means producing more steel with fewer and fewer workers. It means speedup at the expense of workers' safety. And it means corporations spending nothing to renovate deteriorated production facilities or to install pollution control equipment."

Beck calls for opening the steel

companies' books to public inspection. If the companies say they can't afford to keep their plants open, he says, the plants should be nationalized and placed under the control of the steelworkers themselves.

Beck's campaign has received wide coverage in the media. He debated his three opponents on an hour-long TV show and on a two-hour Black radio show.

The *Pittsburgh Press*, one of the city's two capitalist dailies, summarized Beck's campaign in a page 2 feature story: Beck is "the only professed pro-abortion candidate . . . the only one who doesn't favor more police. . . . He considers Pittsburgh's crop of union officials 'business unionists who think that anything bad for the company is bad for the union.'"

Steel layoffs aren't the only crisis facing Pittsburgh. The city has also stalled for years on coming up with a serious plan to desegregate the schools.

Beck's running mate, Tania Shai, is the SWP candidate for city council. She blasted the delay on desegregation at a recent campaign rally.

"Each year city officials continue to evade the issue of equal education. They come up with every plan for our schools but desegregation. A child who entered the first grade when Pittsburgh schools were ordered desegregated is a high school sophomore now."

Campus paper backs N.Y. socialist ticket

The following is taken from an editorial that appeared in the October 17 'City PM,' the newspaper of the City College of New York evening and night schools. The editorial was headlined: "PM Endorses The Socialist Workers Platform. Catarino Garza For Mayor, Rob Des Verney For Comptroller, Jane Roland For City Council President."

The front-runner in the New York mayoral race is Democrat Edward Koch.

Mr. Koch says that we need "competence" for a change. We say we need socialism for a change. The same man says that if elected he will make "tough decisions." What he doesn't mention is that those decisions are going to be tough on you. They are going to keep your friends, your younger brothers and sisters and your children out of college.

These candidates of the Socialist Workers Party are also going to make tough decisions if they are elected. But those decisions are going to be tough on the rich. Those decisions will be tough on giant corporations like AT&T, which reported a profit of almost four billion dollars last year while the city starved and your friends lost their chance at a college education.

Realize this: under the present economic system, capitalism, you are not recognized as a being with human needs. You are an investment. If times are good some of your needs are fulfilled. If times are bad, forget it. Right now you are considered a very bad investment and rejected like an inferior product in the supermarket. To vote for a Re-

publican, Democrat or Liberal is to vote for a system which is rejecting you.

On the other hand, to vote for Garza, Roland and Des Verney is to propose a system which speaks for human needs before profits. It is to call for an order which does not view free public higher education as "waste," but sees the millions in corporate profits made while we lose everything as waste.

Some say that there is no reason to vote for these Socialist Workers candidates because they won't win. But if Ed Koch is elected, will we win? No. In fact, we will lose more than we have already in these last few years. Mr. Koch represents the prevailing belief among our elected representatives that we will have to burn the village in order to save it. That our standard of living will have to be considerably reduced before we can be considered "fiscally responsible" again. How much more must our unemployed sacrifice before they can be considered human beings?

Garza, Roland and Des Verney represent the kind of independence we urge students to adopt in the future. They call for an end to the private profit system which strangles us. They call for change through the work of people in their own communities. To vote for them this November is to reject the system which is rejecting you. If even a moderate number of people in this city vote for these candidates, it will tell our next Mayor more than he has ever been told in his entire life. It will tell him we rely upon ourselves, and that is the last thing he wants to hear.

The Russian Revolution



Bolshevik sailors march in Petrograd two weeks before 1917 revolution

An assessment sixty years later

Sixty years after the Bolshevik revolution in Russia, neither the capitalist ruling class nor the Soviet bureaucracy is willing to tell the truth about that event.

By David Frankel

Sixty years have passed since the overthrow of capitalism in Russia. That event was seen by the leaders of the Russian revolution as a confirmation of Marxist theory and the first step in the triumph of socialism on a world scale. Were they right, or wrong?

It takes no special insight to predict what kind of articles will appear in the capitalist press on the revolution's sixtieth anniversary. After three years of economic crisis and stagnation throughout the capitalist world, defenders of the profit system will certainly emphasize what they claim to be the fallacies of Marxism and its irrelevance to modern society.

On the political level, the existing Stalinist regimes will be held up as true representatives of the Russian revolution and Marxist ideology. Socialism will be equated with tyranny, and capitalism with liberty.

Propaganda mill warms up

A number of warm-ups on these themes have already appeared. For instance, Peter Berger, a professor of sociology at Rutgers University, held forth on "The Link Between Capitalism and Democracy" in the August 1 issue of the *Wall Street Journal*.

Berger's attempt to prove "the connection between capitalism and liberty" relied on repetition of the fact that "there is not a single Socialist country with a democratic form of government."

Although Berger is not the first to see this supposed relationship between the profit system and democracy as a selling point for capitalism, he is certainly one of the bluntest in stating his hopes.

"Capitalism today finds itself in an increasingly hostile cultural environment in the West," Berger noted. "This has implications for business' international activities, but also for the manner in which business presents its case at home."

"A number of astute commentators have recently pointed out that capitalism will not become more attractive to its detractors by the propagation of economic theory, however attractively packaged. . . . However, they might possibly be persuaded, or at any rate disturbed, by a better understanding of the correlation between capitalism and moral decency."

Readers of the *Wall Street Journal* undoubtedly lap up talk about "the correlation between capitalism and moral decency"—in between killings on the stock market.

We will return later to the question of socialism and democracy. Meanwhile, it seems reasonable to ask: if capitalism is the seedbed of moral decency, why is it facing "an increasingly hostile cultural environment in the West"?

Berger skirted this delicate issue, but it is one that deserves more attention. Perhaps the professor would be willing to explain the fine points of capitalism and moral decency to striking coal miners, unemployed Black youth, and women denied the right to abortion because of their lack of money.

A warning from on high

Another warning about Marxism came August 15 from the *New York Times*. "True Marxists do not make true democrats," the most prestigious American daily declared.

Looking down from the heights of their offices,

the *Times* editors condescendingly asked: "Shall we applaud, yawn, chuckle—or simply wonder at the persistence, 60 years after the Russian Revolution, of Western intellectuals' fascination with a theory that is associated mainly with economic muddle and political barbarism?"

For the editors of the *Times*, Marxism is like death and taxes—it simply won't go away. Why are the perverse intellectuals constantly being drawn to a supposedly outmoded and discredited theory? How can the "persistence" and "fascination" of Marxism and the Russian revolution be explained?

It is significant that in discussing such questions, the capitalist commentators go into detail only about Stalin's crimes in the 1930s and the current regimes in the Stalinized workers states. They prefer not to talk about the Russian revolution itself, its real program, and its real accomplishments.

The omission is understandable. An honest look at the Russian revolution shows not only why it is still relevant today, but why it remains a model for the international working-class movement. Let's go back and take a closer look at the most important event of the twentieth century.

World War I sparks revolution

The year was 1917. Europe was in its third year of war. Barbed wire and trenches stretched from one end of the continent to the other. Millions had already died, and still the generals kept calling for new offensives.

Mines, factories, transport—the whole apparatus of capitalist production—had been turned into one huge killing machine, as the imperialist govern-

Continued on next page

Russian Revolution

Continued from preceding page

ments sought to annex new territories and win control over new markets.

To their everlasting credit, the workers of Petrograd said, "Enough!"

Sparked by women textile workers protesting the deprivations of war, the Petrograd workers went into the streets. Troops were called out to put down the demonstrations, but three years of war had done its work in the army. While the peasant soldiers died and their families went hungry, the tsarist aristocracy and capitalist war contractors had been making new fortunes off of the slaughter. The soldiers were fed up with the war.

In February 1917 (March according to the modern calendar), the workers and soldiers overthrew the oldest despotism in Europe. A provisional government was formed.

But the provisional government refused to take

Russia out of the war. On the contrary, it continued the tsarist policies, vowing to stand by the secret deals the old regime had made with its imperialist partners. The old tsarist general staff was maintained, and the exhausted and bitter soldiers were sent into new offensives, each one more suicidal than the last.

Support for the provisional government began to melt away. At first the masses looked to the parties of compromise and reform, the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries. But these parties insisted on the necessity of an alliance with the liberal capitalists. In refusing to break with the capitalist class, they also refused to break with its war.

Increasingly, the people began to turn to the Bolsheviks. Experience taught them that only one party was willing to take action on their most urgent demand—a demand for life itself.



'Ordinary workers and soldiers meetings; orators and debates debating and deciding on the future'



over the economic apparatus that was being used to tear Europe apart.

This in turn could only be accomplished through political action—through the overthrow of capitalist power and the establishment of a government committed to replacing the system of production for private profit with one based on production for human needs.

The October revolution brought such a government to power. It was a government based on the working class, in alliance with the masses of peasants. It was the most democratic government ever known.

The Soviet government derived its authority from direct elections in mass organizations of workers, peasants, and soldiers. The Bolshevik majority in these councils—"Soviets," as they were called—was based on popular approval of the Bolshevik policies on questions such as war, land, and the nationalization of industry.

Numerous eyewitness accounts, such as John Reed's famous *Ten Days That Shook the World*, describe the reality of those days. Ordinary workers and soldiers participating in constant mass meetings; orators and debates on every corner; the entire people debating and deciding on the future of the country.

The ability of the Soviet regime to survive two-and-a-half years of civil war, imperialist invasion, and the active hostility of virtually every government in the world was later to give convincing

What Bolsheviks did

Trust in the Bolsheviks was not misplaced. "One of our urgent tasks is to put an immediate end to the war," Lenin declared in his speech to the Petrograd Soviet on the very first day of the October revolution.

"All the secret treaties must be immediately published in order to strengthen the confidence of the proletariat," he added.

Within three days of this statement, the Soviet government began publishing the secret diplomatic documents of both the tsarist regime and the provisional government.

A few weeks later 12,000 people heard an explanation of the new government's peace policy at a mass meeting in Petrograd. Leon Trotsky, the Soviet government's first commissar of foreign affairs, told the crowd:

"The question which had been most emphatically before the people in all the eight months of the revolution was the question of war and peace, and we maintained that only a power basing its authority directly on the people could put an end to the slaughter. We maintained that the secret treaties must be published, and declared that the Russian people, not having made these treaties, could not be bound to carry out the conquests agreed upon therein."

But the imperialist powers rejected the Bolshevik demand for a peace without annexations or indemnities. That was not what they were fighting for. The Bolsheviks, therefore, concluded a separate peace, while the rest of Europe went through still another year of slaughter.

If the only accomplishment of the October revolution had been to take Russia out of the imperialist war, the revolution would have been justified ten times over. But that was far from its only accomplishment.

The land question

The second great issue facing the peoples of old Russia was the agrarian question—the question of land.

Some 20 million peasant families in tsarist Russia lived on an average allotment of less than nineteen acres of land for each family.

In contrast, 30,000 wealthy landowners each had an average of 6,300 acres. All together they held as much land as 10 million peasant families.

With the overthrow of tsarism, the peasants expected the provisional government to give them the land. Instead, as one recent history describes, "military detachments were sent to keep the peace in areas afflicted by agrarian unrest" (*The Russian Revolution; A Study in Mass Mobilization* by John Keep, page 163).

By the autumn of 1917, peasant revolts were in progress across all of Russia. Of the 624 departments of old Russia, 482 were affected by the movement—that is, 77 percent!

Still, the provisional government refused to declare that the land belonged to those who tilled it. It was one thing to talk about democracy, but quite another to actually carry out the will of the majority. Private property was to be protected at all costs!

Once again, the Bolsheviks were the only party willing to act in accord with the needs and desires of the masses. The first resolution of the Petrograd Soviet, adopted on the first day of the revolution, declared that the Soviet government "will immediately abolish landed proprietorship and hand over the land to the peasants."

Not surprisingly, many of those peasants who were not won to the Bolsheviks by their antiwar program were won by the party's position on the agrarian question.

'Permanent revolution'

During the great French revolution of 1789-94, the rising capitalist class in France was driven forward by the rebellion of the peasantry against centuries of feudal oppression. Although even then this new propertied class was fearful of the masses and reluctant to go too far, in the end it accepted the demands of the peasantry and used the peasant rebellion to batter down the old feudal system.

But in Russia in 1917, unlike France in 1789, there was a modern working class. Though small, this class was sufficiently powerful to provide an alternative leadership for the peasant masses and pose a challenge to capitalist rule.

The Russian capitalists were too weak to stand on their own feet in the midst of revolution. Faced with the threat from the workers, they needed the support of the old landowning classes at home, and of French and British imperialism in the international arena. This dependency explains the reactionary policies of the provisional government in regard to the war and the land.

The peasants, searching for a power that would guarantee their demands, had to turn to the working class. In Russia, the peasant uprising thus became an essential basis for the proletarian revolution.

Thirty years later, the same dynamic was repeated during the Chinese revolution. It took a socialist revolution to accomplish the tasks of agrarian reform and national liberation that had previously been associated with the rise of capitalism.

Since then, we have also seen the examples of Cuba and Vietnam, where democratic demands for land reform and national unification and independence were accomplished only through socialist revolutions.

All this confirmed the theory of permanent revolution, developed by Trotsky during the Russian revolution of 1905. Trotsky argued that what the capitalist class had been able to achieve during the rise of its system was now beyond its grasp.

Although his theory grew out of the experience of the class struggle in Russia, further experience convinced Trotsky that the capitalist class was no longer capable of fostering progressive change even in much less developed countries such as India, Iran, or Mexico. Capitalism had become a barrier to progress everywhere in the world. The problems of colonial and semicolonial countries could be solved only under working-class leadership through a proletarian socialist revolution.

Soviet democracy

But the Russian revolution did not simply confirm the leading role of the working class in the underdeveloped countries. It represented the first step along the road from capitalism to socialism, a road we in the United States have yet to set foot upon.

Looked at from this broadest point of view, the Russian revolution was the beginning of a great social experiment. The blind economic forces of capitalism had driven humanity into a bloody swamp. If civilization was to advance, it was necessary to assert democratic and rational control



participating in constant mass every corner; the entire people re of the country.'



testimony to the popular base of the revolution.

Before the establishment of a workers and peasants government in Russia, the capitalists put forward the myth that without them it would be impossible to run modern industry.

Like the feudal aristocracy before them, the capitalists thought they were indispensable. Just as the kings of old asked what the serfs would do without orders from the nobility, the capitalists asked what would become of the factories if they weren't there to tell the workers what to do.

Since the Russian revolution, however, this argument has gone out of style. Soviet industry has been taken out of the hands of individual capitalists and administered by the government according to an economic plan, with indisputable results.

Although Soviet industry was devastated twice by war within a single twenty-five-year period, and despite often disastrous administration by a parasitic bureaucracy, the Soviet economy has achieved unequalled success.

At the time of the revolution, Britain and Germany were the primary industrial powers in the world, while Russia was a backward, peasant country. Within thirty years, both Britain and Germany had been surpassed by the Soviet Union. Today the Soviet economy is comparable to those of Britain, France, and Germany combined. Unemployment has been eliminated, as have the cyclical crises of overproduction peculiar to capitalism.

Apologists for capitalism are often forced to make

grudging admissions of the scope of Soviet economic gains. However, they argue, the economic advances were made at the expense of democratic rights.

The first thing that must be said about this argument is that if economic progress can be made simply on the basis of ruthless police measures, then it has to be explained why countries such as

Chile, Iran, and Paraguay are not models of economic progress.

In fact, the economic gains registered in the USSR were won *in spite of* the tyrannical Stalinist dictatorship that was imposed on the country after the decline of the revolution. To give just one example, Stalin's forced collectivization of the peasantry is generally acknowledged to have set back Soviet agriculture by decades.

On side of oppressed

While establishing the property forms necessary for a planned economy was one of the basic aims of the Bolsheviks, their social program went far beyond this.

For the first time in history, there was a government that had no stake in the defense of private property. This made possible social policies aimed at fighting every form of human oppression.

As befitted a workers government, one of the first decrees issued by the Soviet regime was on workers' control of production. Lenin wrote the draft of this law within three days of the revolution.

Lockouts were forbidden. "Unless permission is given by the elected representatives of the workers and office employees, the suspension of work of an enterprise . . . or any change in its operation is strictly prohibited."

The regulations also stated that "elected representatives [in each enterprise] shall be given access to all books and documents and to all warehouses and stocks of materials, instruments and products, without exception."

"Four days after the revolution," E.H. Carr says in his *History of Soviet Russia*, "a decree was issued establishing the principle of the 8-hour day and the 48-hour week, placing limitations on the work of women and juveniles and forbidding the employment of children under 14. Provision for social insurance against unemployment and sickness" was also made.

Another major concern of the new Soviet government was the legacy of racism and national oppression left by tsarism.

Tsarist Russia was known throughout the world as "the prisonhouse of nations." Only 43 percent of the population of the tsarist empire was Great Russian in nationality; the remaining 57 percent—referred to by the tsarist regime as "other races"—consisted of subjugated and oppressed peoples.

Ukrainians, Poles, Latvians, Lithuanians, Finns, and others had a long history of struggle for their national independence. In the East, many of the smaller nationalities encountered as the Russian empire expanded into Asia met the same fate as the American Indians.

The overthrow of the tsar in February 1917 opened up the political arena for the oppressed nations. But on the most fundamental point—the right of the oppressed nationalities to self-determination—the provisional government remained adamant. What the tsars had conquered, it would keep, regardless of the wishes of the oppressed peoples.

On this issue as well, the Bolsheviks found a ready audience for their program. When they came to power they declared the right of all the oppressed nationalities to self-determination. A month after the revolution, Finland declared its independence without any opposition from the new revolutionary government.

Nor did the Bolsheviks shirk their duty to those formerly oppressed nationalities that elected to remain inside the new Soviet state. They carried out a systematic policy designed to foster the languages and cultures that had been discriminated against under the tsars.

A familiar situation

Under the tsars, for instance, the oppressed nationalities were required to attend Russian-language schools, just as Chicanos and Puerto Ricans in the United States are required to attend English-language schools. Jews were systematically excluded from institutions of higher education under the tsar, a situation familiar to Black Americans.

The Bolsheviks changed all that. To give one example: "During the first period of the communist regime Jewish cultural life was encouraged. In 1925

there were 250 Jewish schools in the Ukraine. There was an institute of Jewish culture in the Ukrainian Academy of Science. A number of Jewish theatrical companies existed. In 1935 there were ten Yiddish newspapers in the Ukraine. Jewish scholars, writers, and poets enjoyed facilities for creative activity" (*The Jews in Soviet Russia Since 1917*, edited by Lionel Kochan, page 38).

A concerted attempt was made to replace functionaries from the old Great Russian bureaucratic apparatus with administrators recruited from among the various nationalities.

These are precisely the policies that a workers government in the United States would follow in dealing with the legacy of racism and national oppression that we have here.

The old spirit of racism and cultural discrimination would be attacked through a massive educational campaign. Affirmative-action programs would be implemented on a massive scale to achieve true equality. The full weight of the government would be used against perpetrators of racist crimes.

Meanwhile, the independence of Puerto Rico would be recognized, and Blacks and Chicanos would decide whether they wanted to establish their own independent states or remain within a socialist United States.

For the liberation of women

The Bolsheviks also took action to radically change the status of women—a subject that has begun to be widely discussed in American society in the past decade.

Tsarist law explicitly permitted men to beat their wives. Its general approach was summed up in the statement that "the wife is held to obey her husband, as the head of the family, to remain with him in love, respect, unlimited obedience, to do him every favor and show him every affection, as a housewife."

What a contrast that was to the view of the Bolsheviks! The 1919 program of the Soviet Communist Party stated:

"The party's task at the present moment is primarily work in the realm of ideas and education so as to destroy utterly all traces of the former inequality or prejudices, particularly among backward strata of the proletariat and peasantry. Not confining itself to formal equality of women, the party strives to liberate them from the material burdens of obsolete household work by replacing it by communal houses, public eating places, central laundries, nurseries, etc."

At a time when lectures on contraception were being broken up by the police in the United States, women in the Soviet Union had the right to free abortion on demand.

A 1917 decree of the Soviet government made marriage an easy registration process. Both partners could either keep their own name or take the name of the other person. The concept of illegitimate children was abolished.

Another law enabled either partner in a marriage to obtain a divorce simply by requesting it.

At the same time, the tsarist laws against homosexuality were repealed. The attitude of the Bolsheviks on this question was indicated by the director of the Moscow Institute of Social Hygiene, Dr. Batkis, in his 1923 book, *The Sexual Revolution in Russia*.

According to Batkis, "Soviet legislation bases itself on the following principle: *It declares the absolute noninterference of the state and society into homosexual matters, so long as nobody is injured and no one's interests are encroached upon.*"

Taken as a whole, the social program implemented by the Bolsheviks sixty years ago was far ahead

Continued on next page

Russian Revolution

Continued from preceding page

of what exists in the United States today. The working class simply had no interest in maintaining the forms of oppression necessary for the existence of capitalist society.

Backwardness & isolation

But despite all the magnificent achievements made during the early years of the revolution, the fact remained that the former Russian empire was a miserably poor and devastated country. It was a peasant country where the wooden plow drawn by horsepower—or human power—was still the rule.

In 1921 drought and locusts, added to the destruction caused by years of warfare, resulted in famine. Millions were reduced to starvation. In some areas there were even cases of people being driven to cannibalism.

The Bolshevik leaders were well aware of the country's backwardness. The idea that a socialist society could be built up on such a base never entered their heads. They expected that their example would be followed by the workers in the rest of Europe, and that the construction of a socialist society would be based on the combined efforts of the workers in the most advanced industrialized countries.

This internationalist perspective was hardly a utopian one. Revolutionary crises did in fact occur in Hungary in 1919, in Germany in 1918-1919 and 1923, in Italy in 1920, in Ireland in 1922, and in Bulgaria in 1923.

"The whole of Europe is filled with the spirit of revolution," British Prime Minister Lloyd George wrote in 1919.

However, the revolutions in Europe were defeated, and the Russian revolution was isolated.

Rather than the help from outside that the Bolshevik leaders expected, they met with economic blockade and military invasion. British, French, American, Japanese, Greek, Italian, Czechoslovak, Serbian, and Romanian armies—among others—invaded Soviet territory.

'Systematic murder'

At the same time, the imperialist powers financed the efforts of native counterrevolutionary forces. In December 1917, for example, one month after the victorious revolution, President Woodrow Wilson authorized the use of U.S. government funds to finance the printing of 3.9 billion rubles—the equivalent of \$1 billion in 1917 dollars—for the



Women demonstrate in Petrograd in 1917. Gains made by women during revolutionary upsurge were later taken away by Stalinist regime.

deposed provisional government. That same month, the U.S. government channeled 110 tons of bar silver into the hands of counterrevolutionary forces in southern Russia.

In the Ukraine alone, the imperialist-financed armies carried out pogroms that killed more than 200,000 Jews. Their activity in Siberia is described by D.F. Fleming in his book, *The Cold War and Its Origins*:

"'Systematic pillage, murder and incendiarism' constituted the plan of campaign. . . . On August 19, 1919, Colonel Stephanov's command slaughtered fifty-two car-loads of prisoners. . . . In another district 'women were ripped open, children bayoneted, and men flayed alive.'"

These attempts to convince the Soviet population of the benefits of imperialist "democracy" failed, just as a similar attempt failed in Vietnam forty years later. But while not sufficient to destroy the Soviet regime, the destruction caused by the imperialist intervention hastened its degeneration.

Consider, for instance, the following quotation from a recent speech by Boris Ponomarev, the secretary of the central committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Ponomarev, a man who knows how to make any theory fit the immediate needs of the Stalinist bureaucracy, is Moscow's leading "expert" on Marxism.

"In the past sixty years," he says, "our party has made a great contribution toward the revolutionary transformation of the world and it owes this largely to its responsible Leninist approach to theory, its fidelity to the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and to the fact that it has been steadily and creatively carrying forward Marxism-Leninism. . . ."

Lenin vs. Stalin

How has the Soviet Communist Party been "steadily and creatively carrying forward Marxism-Leninism"? It doesn't take much to refute the lies of both capitalist and Stalinist ideologues in this regard.

- In order to consolidate his rule, Stalin had to exterminate virtually the entire generation of Bolshevik fighters who had led the revolution and defended it during the civil war. The reign of terror against those who remained loyal to the original ideals of Bolshevism continues to this day.

How does this square with the claim that Stalinism is just another name for Bolshevism?

- Under Stalin's leadership, the social policies followed by the Bolshevik Party in the decade after the revolution were reversed. The Leninist policy on nationalities was replaced with a renewed emphasis on "Russification"—the same policy of forced assimilation followed by the tsarist regime. Laws against homosexuality and abortion were restored, divorce was made progressively more difficult, and coeducation was practically eliminated.

Does this support the theory that Bolshevism led automatically to Stalinism?

- Stalin's foreign policy was a reversal of the revolutionary internationalism practiced by the Bolsheviks. Instead of basing his policy on the need to extend the social revolution, Stalin sought to make an alliance with world imperialism.

Socialism, Stalin argued, could be built in one country, provided that the imperialist powers could be convinced not to invade the Soviet Union. To win such agreement, Stalin offered the influence of the Soviet workers state in helping to preserve the capitalist system internationally.

This policy of subordinating the interests of working-class struggles around the world to the immediate diplomatic needs of the Kremlin bureaucracy is known today under the label of *détente*. Instead of publishing the secret treaties made by imperialist diplomats, as was done by the Bolsheviks, the Stalinists are making their own secret deals with imperialism.

Is this a logical outgrowth of Bolshevism?

In reality, Stalinism is the opposite of Leninism. The policies of Lenin and the Bolsheviks were a reflection of the Russian revolution itself, of the needs and demands of the insurgent masses.

Rise of Stalinism

Circumstances were so difficult for the masses of people that they began to retreat from political activity. The pressures of everyday life were intensified by the disappointment and demoralization caused by the defeats of the revolution in Europe. After five years of waiting for the extension of the revolution, people began to give up hope.

Many of the boldest and most devoted representatives of the working class had been killed in the civil war. Those who remained were influenced by the widespread exhaustion and apathy and by despair over the defeats in Europe. There was a strong tendency to turn inward, to assure one's own security and comfort before anything else.

Of course, those in the governmental apparatus were in the best position to do this, and as the masses retreated from politics, popular pressure became less and less of a factor restraining the behavior of functionaries. Special privileges began to appear.

But the maintenance of special privileges was incompatible with Soviet democracy. As the years of poverty and isolation passed, the grip of the privileged bureaucracy led by Stalin became tighter and tighter, strangling the political rights won by the workers in the course of the revolution.

Capitalists backed Stalin

However, the bureaucracy was not able to consolidate its rule without resistance. Led by Trotsky, a significant part of the Bolshevik Party fought against the betrayal of the ideals of the revolution and sought to reverse its degeneration.

Not surprisingly, the imperialist hypocrites who today talk about the lack of democracy in the USSR after themselves doing their best to destroy democracy there, sided with the Stalinist bureaucracy

against the Trotskyist opposition. Commenting on the expulsion of Trotsky from the Soviet Communist Party, the February 1, 1928, issue of the *Nation* said:

"This action brings to the front the question: Who represents the continuation of the Bolshevik programme in Russia and who the inevitable reaction from it? To the American readers it has seemed as if Lenin and Trotsky represented the same thing and the conservative press and statesmen have arrived at the same conclusion. Thus, the *New York Times* found a chief cause for rejoicing on New Year's Day in the successful elimination of Trotsky from the Communist Party, declaring flatly that 'the ousted opposition stood for the perpetuation of the ideas and conditions that have cut off Russia from Western civilization.' Most of the great European newspapers wrote similarly. Sir Austin Chamberlain during the Geneva Conference was quoted as saying that England could not enter into conversations with Russia for the simple reason that 'Trotsky had not yet been shot against a wall'. . . . At any rate, the mouthpieces of reaction in Europe are one in their conclusion that Trotsky, and not Stalin, is their chief Communist enemy."

The above quotation is particularly interesting in view of the opinion—universally advanced among procapitalist writers today—that Stalinism was a necessary outgrowth of Bolshevism, rather than its negation.

This, of course, is a position that is enthusiastically endorsed by the regimes of the Stalinized workers states. While the Stalinist regimes continually twist and distort the traditions of the Russian revolution and the world working-class movement, they rely on this heritage to defend their rule before their own peoples.

Stalinism, on the other hand, reflected the retreat of the masses and the decline of the revolution. Its policies expressed the interests of a narrow, privileged bureaucracy, not of the Soviet workers and peasants.

Stalinism represented the conservative reaction that followed the years of revolutionary ferment. Although the reaction was not strong enough to destroy the foundations of the nationalized economy established by the October revolution, it did destroy the political and social gains made during the revolution.

The big lie

For both capitalists and Stalinists, the big lie that Stalinism is the legitimate heir and representative of the Russian revolution is a matter of life and death.

How long could capitalism survive if the world working class was not horrified and repelled by the example of Stalinism? In the last analysis, the only serious answer that capitalism has to the socialist perspective is the argument that socialism must end in tyranny.

As for the Stalinists, their rule also depends upon the myth that they are the true heirs of Lenin and the Bolsheviks. Despite the denials of the capitalist propagandists, the tradition of the Russian revolution and the memory of the gains made as a result of it still have a powerful hold on the peoples of the Soviet Union.

If the only alternative posed to the Soviet masses is the restoration of capitalism, they will choose to keep what they have, even if it means putting up with the rule of a parasitic and arbitrary bureaucracy. But how long would the bureaucrats last if the choice was seen by the masses as being between genuine workers democracy, such as that practiced under the Bolsheviks, and the existing regime?

In any case, the days of the big lie are numbered. Workers in the capitalist world, pushed by continuing economic and social problems, are looking at the ideas of Marxism with new interest. In the workers states as well we see ongoing ferment, typified most recently by the massive strikes and demonstrations of Polish workers last year.

The situation faced by both capitalists and Stalinists was summed up in 1974 by the Soviet poet Yevgeny Yevtushenko. Yevtushenko used a Russian proverb to warn the Soviet bureaucracy about its attempts to cover up its own past.

"A lie is like a bow," Yevtushenko said. "You hide the ends in water but the middle protrudes. You hide the middle, and the ends stick out."

Lies have never yet served the cause of progress. For the socialist movement, lies about the real situation in the world are a particularly deadly form of poison. They sow confusion and distrust among the workers, rather than the consciousness and mutual solidarity that it necessary for common

action against the class enemy.

Such considerations, unfortunately, are of little concern to the Stalinist regimes or their supporters. Thus, a statement by the central committee of the Communist Party USA, on the sixtieth anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution, declares:

"Viewed from the vantage point of the 60th anniversary, it is no exaggeration to state that sixty years of Soviet socialist power mark the greatest advance in the theory and practice of human rights in world history, rights which are being further enriched in meaning as the material and cultural base for communism gradually arises."

Claptrap such as this only hurts the cause of socialism. Every thinking worker knows that the Soviet "material and cultural base for communism" bragged about by the American CP is in reality narrower than the existing achievements of American capitalism. Similarly, the biggest Stalinist parties in Europe have been compelled to admit the reality of human rights violations in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

But the loyalty of the American CP is not to the working class, and certainly not to the truth.

The real perspective

The real significance of the Russian revolution is not that it succeeded in establishing a socialist society in the Soviet Union. To claim that only demeans the nature of socialism and the revolution itself. What the Russian revolution did do was to show the way forward for the workers in the rest of the world. The abolition of capitalist property relations in Russia was a great conquest, but it is one whose potential can only be realized when the workers in the imperialist countries follow the example set in Russia in 1917.

We face the same problems that the Russian workers faced in 1917: war and the threat of war; racism and national oppression; the oppression of women; and behind all this, an economic system that is in conflict with the further economic and cultural development of humanity.

These problems—and others, such as environmental destruction and the threat of nuclear annihilation—can only be solved by the working class taking power and drawing the masses of people into political and social activity.

It is true that many of these are age-old problems. But it is also true that the best all previous societies could accomplish was based on the creative power of only a tiny portion of the human race—while the masses of people remained chained to the plow, the shovel, and the factory bench.

The program of workers democracy, first implemented by the Bolsheviks and later defended by the Trotskyist movement against Stalinism, remains the way out for humanity not only in the capitalist countries, but also in the workers states. The Stalinist bureaucracies, no less than the capitalist ruling class, must be overthrown.

Only one tendency in the working class movement upholds this perspective today. The perspective of Lenin and the Russian revolution is advanced only by the international Trotskyist movement—the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance in the United States, and the parties of the Fourth International elsewhere in the world.

To some, it may seem utopian to believe that the most powerful governments in the world can be replaced and the social system remade worldwide. Lenin and the Bolsheviks were also called utopians in their day.

But the fact remains that neither capitalism nor Stalinist collectivism can meet the basic needs of the masses. As long as that is true, and as long as an alternative exists, revolution is inevitable.

Pyotr Grigorenko, one of the foremost representatives of those antibureaucratic fighters in the USSR

‘ . . . We placed our hopes in other generations that would come; and they will come, not only in our country but in all countries of the world. . . . ’

who consider themselves Leninists, explained this in another way in an open letter written in 1968.

"The Communist ideal for social organization lives in the dreams of humanity on a much broader scale than the teachings of Marxism," Grigorenko said. "And naturally Marxism, as the scientific expression of humanity's dream, cannot disappear just because there has been an unsuccessful attempt at the realization of that dream."

Finally, on the sixtieth anniversary of the Russian revolution, we should recall the view of one of those who lived through the whole experience, an anonymous Bolshevik who served in the Red Army during the Civil War, who joined the Trotskyist Left Opposition, and who spent years in Stalin's concentration camps.

Looking back on his life, the old Bolshevik says in his memoirs (available in the book *Samizdat: Voices of the Soviet Opposition*):

"Yes, we carried our idea of the world socialist revolution through great and frightful experiences. But neither the taiga, nor the tundra, nor our difficult life with its icy breath broke our will to struggle, to the end, giving up our lives.

"Many of us fell in that struggle. But we placed our hopes in other generations that would come; and they will come, not only in our country but in all countries of the world, to carry the torch of world revolution proudly on into every country of the world without exception, to every people that lives on our planet."

Books on Russian Revolution and Stalinism



LENIN'S FIGHT AGAINST STALINISM by V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky, 160 pages, \$2.25.

THE REVOLUTION BETRAYED by Leon Trotsky, 314 pages, \$3.95.

THE HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION by Leon Trotsky, 1,295 pages \$9.00.

FROM LENIN TO STALIN by Victor Serge, 160 pages, \$2.45.

THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY IN THE SOVIET BLOC by Gus Horowitz, 30 pages, \$.60.

Order from: **PATHFINDER PRESS**, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.

Veteran socialist: 'I'm glad to have worked for a better world'

Socialist Workers Party members Lil Curtiss and Max Goldman each mark their fiftieth year of service to the cause of revolutionary socialism this year. On September 25, 150 of their friends attended a celebration of this milestone sponsored by the Los Angeles SWP.

Below we reprint remarks by Lil Curtiss in which she shared with others some of her experiences and the lessons of half a century in the struggle for socialism.

Max Goldman joined the Young Communist League in 1927. He broke with the Communist Party in 1930 and joined the Communist League of America, a forerunner of today's SWP.

As a leader of the Federal Workers Section of Local 574 of the Teamsters Union in Minneapolis, Goldman was indicted along with other leaders of the union and the SWP in 1941 under provisions of the notorious Smith Act.

The government succeeded in using this anti-free-speech law to railroad Goldman and seventeen other defendants to prison.

Goldman was sentenced to sixteen months in the federal penitentiary at Sandstone, Minnesota.

He has continued his work as a builder of the SWP through the present.

I've listened to countless speeches during more than half a century—I've heard orators like Eugene V. Debs and James P. Cannon, and also speeches that would have been better left unspoken. Yet I've never overcome my irrational fear of the public platform and even of such gatherings as this, made up of comrades, family, and friends.

Bear with me, then, for a few moments of some very subjective comments. I obviously cannot cover fifty years of history in five minutes.

I was one of the lucky ones born into a radical family and knew of socialism and trade unionism from childhood, though I did not join the Young People's Socialist League (known as the Yipsels) until 1926 when I was fifteen.

As compared to the present, the Socialist Party and the Yipsels were relatively large organizations, with



Lil Curtiss and Max Goldman at Los Angeles celebration

Militant/Bruce Marcus

tens of thousands of members, including many foreign-language branches. They had a considerable influence in the leadership and membership of many trade unions, particularly in the garment industry.

The large Jewish fraternal organization, the Workmen's Circle, considered itself a socialist organization. Not all the members were active, but on the other hand, hundreds of thousands of nonmembers considered themselves socialists and voted for the socialist ticket.

The year before I joined in Los Angeles, we held a meeting for Gene Debs in the Hollywood Bowl. The bowl was smaller than it is now, but even the newspapers reported an attendance of over 3,000.

Unfortunately, life drew most of those socialists and their offspring in other directions.

In 1926 I hoped and expected to see the realization of our slogan, "Socialism in our time." We had so reasonable a plan for eliminating hunger, exploitation, oppression, war, and countless other evils. It was incomprehensible to me that workers would not accept so clear a solution as the social ownership of the means of production and of internationalism.

I knew I had to be a part of effecting the change.

I viewed it so simply that I thought it was just a matter of getting the word out. I worried about the dread artillery—how could we fight cannons with our seemingly paltry weapons?

Today, we all know that not only technologically are the weapons incomparably more powerful, but the economic and political weapons are also more sophisticated. (It didn't take me fifty years to learn that the media is a more powerful weapon than the cannon.)

Those who operate these weapons and those who produce the goods that people require for a full and productive life are all workers. When we, the workers, recognize this, we will be the greatest power in the world, and I believe it now as I did over fifty years ago.

In 1937 I left the SP with the Trotskyists. Today there still remain four members in the Los Angeles SWP local who left the SP as Trotskyists: Howard Rosen, Mit and Ann Snipper, and I.

But aside from doing what needed to be done and what I wanted to do, I have had an interesting and exciting life in the party. The daily give-and-take of working toward a common goal with interesting, talented, and dedicated people has forged lifelong and very deep relationships. I have no illusions

that this does not happen in other fields of endeavor, but there are added dimensions in the revolutionary movement—developing and implementing ideas and activities geared to fundamental change affecting all aspects of life—that have a profound effect on all of us. We are all the flawed products of capitalism, but in striving to build a socialist world, our efforts have given added meaning to all our lives, whether we stayed with it for five or fifty years.

There were special bonuses along the way in fighting the good fight—each battle that we waged involved me deeply and personally (even though I was not always on the bloody battlefield) whether it was running for state assembly, fighting fascism and racism, the Spanish civil war, our work in the Committee for European Workers' Relief, building the CIO, working in the SWP National Office, working with Trotsky, the association with comrades from other lands, managing Pioneer Publishers (Pathfinder's ancestor), participating in the civil rights and antiwar movements. None of these was of personal benefit, yet I gained immeasurably from them.

Among the many comrades who have so greatly enriched my years in the movement, I must pay special tribute to two. My mother joined the Bund as a young woman in Russia, and was still a member of the SP until her death eleven years ago at the age of eighty-four. Though we often disagreed, I was very proud of her as a person and as a woman of principle.

And over his protestations, I must give public recognition to Charlie Curtiss. Without his wholehearted understanding and support, in spite of political differences, my role might have been a very different one and certainly a far less happy one.

It takes all kinds of contributions to achieve a revolution. I'm glad I've had the opportunity to add my small bit, and I'm glad I've lived to see this day and to thank the movement for the opportunities it has given me to work for a better world rather than for personal acquisition or recognition. Knowing the system was warping our lives, it is gratifying and rewarding to have joined hands with my comrades in the task of changing it.

I strongly recommend it as a way of life.

Judge rejects Gary Tyler's plea for new trial

By Joel Aber

NEW ORLEANS—On October 28 Judge Ruche Marino rejected Gary Tyler's plea for a new trial. That night, 100 people rallied at the Treme Center to show their outrage at the judge's ruling and to vow their solidarity with the Black nineteen-year-old's struggle for freedom.

Tyler is serving a life sentence in Angola State Prison.

Judge Marino's verdict came on a writ filed by Tyler's attorney Jack Peebles. The writ said Tyler's original defense lawyer had not represented him effectively at the 1975 trial where Tyler was convicted on charges of first-degree murder.

Tyler was accused of shooting a thirteen-year-old white youth when a racist mob, throwing bricks and bottles, surrounded a busload of Black students at Destrehan High School in 1974.

Peebles also presented evidence that Blacks were systematically excluded from the St. Charles Parish grand jury that indicted Tyler and from the all-white jury that convicted him.

In testimony given October 25, Gary Tyler and his parents, Juanita and Uylos Tyler, said they had repeatedly asked Jack Williams, the original lawyer, to have the trial moved out of St. Charles Parish.

Williams told them the trial could not be moved. Gary Tyler told the court that Williams said he could get the youth a fair trial in St. Charles Parish because the attorney knew parish officials.

Tyler also testified he had asked Williams to interview the sixty-five students on the school bus but that Williams claimed it would not be legal for him to do so.

Peebles also called witnesses to show how Blacks are systematically excluded from juries in St. Charles Parish, making it impossible for Tyler to get a fair trial there.

Potential jurors are selected at random from the parish's registered voters. But only half the people called for jury duty usually appear.

Two Black men, Norman Williams and Clarence Jenkins, testified that they had never been served subpoenas

for jury duty. Although subpoenas had been issued for the two men, sheriff's deputies apparently failed to serve them.

Frequently judges dismiss most of those Black potential jurors who do show up in court—generally for reasons of supposed hardship. In Tyler's case, these racist practices screened out all but one Black from the grand jury that indicted him and kept his trial jury all white.

Judge Marino blindly dismissed this evidence of discrimination at Tyler's first trial. This was not surprising, since Marino presided over that frame-up also.

"Gary Tyler had a fair trial," Marino declared.

Spectators looked on in shocked disbelief at this mockery of justice.

During a break, Tyler told his backers, "Your support will win my freedom."

The Tyler family was angry but determined to fight.

They will bring Gary Tyler's appeal for a new trial to the Louisiana Supreme Court in thirty days.



Militant/Barbara Mutnick

GARY TYLER: 'Your support will win my freedom.'

As protests rise

Panama announces 'yes' vote on treaties

By Fred Murphy
From Intercontinental Press

In a plebiscite held October 23, Panamanian voters were reportedly approving by almost a 2-to-1 margin the set of Panama Canal treaties recently negotiated with Washington by the Torrijos government. The *New York Times* reported October 25 that of 697,000 votes counted, more than 468,000, or about 71 percent, were in favor of the treaties. The accords must still be ratified by a two-thirds vote in the U.S. Senate before going into effect.

The plebiscite in Panama was preceded by a forty-day period during which the Torrijos regime mounted an extensive propaganda campaign in favor of the accords, presenting them as a victory against U.S. imperialism. The results nevertheless fell short of early predictions by Torrijos that at least 90 percent of the 800,000 registered voters would approve the treaties.

Facelift for U.S. domination

The accords are to replace the 1903 treaty forced on Panama, which granted the United States "in perpetuity the use, occupation and control" of the canal and the Canal Zone, a ten-mile swath cut through the middle of the country. The new treaties do not secure Panamanian sovereignty. Rather, they provide a facelift for continued U.S. domination of Panama. Their basic features were summed up in an official White House document issued August 12:

- The U.S. will have the permanent right to defend the neutrality of the canal from any threat, for an indefinite period.
- U.S. warships will have the permanent right to transit the canal expeditiously and without conditions, for an indefinite period.
- For the rest of the century U.S. military forces will have the primary responsibility to protect and defend the canal.
- The Government of Panama guarantees the U.S. the right to station troops in Panama and to use all lands and waters necessary for the canal's defense.

Torrijos's hopes of ramming this lopsided agreement through with a minimum of public discussion were partially thwarted as protests broke out among students and others shortly after the terms of the treaties became known. To give the appearance of a democratic debate, the government was forced to grant some access to newspaper advertising, radio, and television to opponents of the treaties. In addition, public meetings and rallies by opposition political parties—which had been declared "extinct" in 1969—were allowed to take place.

Much attention was paid in the U.S. news media to a group called the Independent Lawyers Movement. According to the October 21 *New York Times*, this organization was "given two hours on national television Tuesday night [October 18] during which they challenged the controversial treaty that the Carter Administration maintains gives the United States the right to send military forces to prevent any violation of the canal's 'neutrality' after Panama regains full sovereignty in the zone in the year 2000."

The *Wall Street Journal* quoted a leader of the lawyers, Diogenes Arosemena, who said, "If the canal is good for the Pentagon, it is very, very difficult to see how it is a good deal for Panama."

Marlise Simons reported from Panama to the *Washington Post* October 13 that the Christian Democratic and Social Democratic parties were calling for a "no" vote on the treaties, "pointing out that in 1926 and again in 1947, Panama had rejected drafts attempting to legalize the U.S. military bases here."

Three thousand persons rallied against the treaties in Panama City on October 19. Speakers denounced the accords as "treason."

The Independent Lawyers Movement charged at an October 21 news conference that the government had set rules for the plebiscite that would allow electoral fraud, and that opposi-



Proposed treaties assure continued U.S. control of Panama Canal

tion groups had not been given adequate opportunity to present their case.

But Torrijos refused to allow more time for the debate. "Officials say that Panamanians know enough about the treaties and only troublemakers want more time," Simons reported. The main reason for the regime's desire to cut off the discussion was no doubt that noted by Juan de Onís in an October 20 dispatch to the *New York Times*:

"The opportunity for public assemblies opened by the government's decision to permit a national debate on the treaties is being used by people to complain about the cost of living, unemployment, supposed corruption by Government officials and heavy-handed repression by the National Guard."

An October 14 meeting with Carter in Washington gave Torrijos more motivation to get the plebiscite over with. The two heads of state issued an unsigned statement "clarifying" vague provisions in the treaties that have been the object of a right-wing campaign in the United States against the supposed "giveaway" of the canal. The statement read in part:

... each of the two countries shall ... defend the Canal against any threat to the regime of neutrality, and consequently shall have the right to act against any aggression or threat directed against the Canal. ...

This does not mean, nor shall it be interpreted as a right of intervention of the United States in the internal affairs of Panama. Any United States action will be directed at insuring that the Canal will remain open, secure and accessible, and it

shall never be directed against the territorial integrity or political independence of Panama.

The reality beneath the diplomatic formulations was quickly brought to light. James Wiegart reported in the October 15 *New York Daily News*:

"Some senators ... raised questions about the phrase 'territorial integrity' in the statement, asking if whether this did not mean that the U.S. could not land troops in Panama to protect the canal. U.S. officials conferred with their Panamanian counterparts and reported back that in the view of Panama the U.S. could indeed land troops in Panama to protect the canal" (emphasis added).

New vote risky

The jingoists are still not satisfied, however. Senator Robert Dole is now pressing for amendments to the accords that would incorporate the text of the October 14 statement. "There is no longer any justification for leaving the treaty language ambiguous," Dole told the Senate October 17. "In fact, it is essential that the treaty itself be modified to reflect the agreement."

Such unilateral action by the Senate would require renegotiation of the treaty, and Torrijos would be pressed to submit the changes to a new vote in Panama. Opposition to the treaties was growing before the October 23 plebiscite as the Panamanian people were becoming aware of their true meaning. There would be no guarantee that the regime could put through its concessions to U.S. imperialism a second time.

Massacre of sugar workers in Ecuador

By Fred Murphy
From Intercontinental Press

On October 18 the 1,800 workers at the Azucarera Tropical Americana (Aztra) sugar mill near the village of La Troncal, Ecuador, went out on strike. They were demanding that their employers observe contract provisions granting an automatic wage increase with each increase in the price of sugar. Despite two government-decreed sugar price hikes, salaries had remained the same.

Late in the afternoon of the eighteenth, about 4,000 persons—workers and many of their wives and children, who had brought food to the strikers—were inside the main building of the sugar mill, which had been occupied. A squad of about 200 heavily armed troops of the national police arrived. The officer in charge demanded that everyone leave the mill within two minutes—through a single door.

An advertisement placed by Ecuador's three main trade-union federations in the Guayaquil daily *El Universo* October 25 described what happened next:

"Without even waiting for compliance with this absurd time limit, the police attacked brutally, with gunshots, tear-gas bombs, and saber blows against the defenseless workers. This caused the death of some compañeros by drowning, and others fell from bullet wounds. Numerous others were wounded."

Union leaders said 120 persons died altogether. Several hundred were arrested.

As news of the massacre spread throughout the country, protests by workers and students and by political parties and other groups mounted. The military government responded by issuing a statement implying that leaders of the sugar workers union

were themselves to blame for the deaths.

By the end of the week (the attack occurred on a Tuesday), unions and students organizations were demanding the dismissal of the minister of the interior, Col. Bolívar Jarrín, and the minister of labor, Gen. Jorge Salvador Chiriboga, who had ordered the attack. Demands for an independent investigation into the massacre were also raised.

On October 20, the three union federations called for three days of national mourning, as well as for mobilizations to demand the release of the arrested.

The upsurge of protest continued to mount. On Monday, October 24, representatives of twelve political parties and organizations issued a joint statement.

The same day, workers at the San Carlos sugar mill in Milagro, who had

held a demonstration of solidarity with the Aztra workers the day before, declared an indefinite strike. At the Valdez sugar mill workers held a two-hour strike October 24 and stopped work indefinitely October 25.

Demonstrations and assemblies were held by university and secondary school students in Guayaquil, Milagro, Azogues, Cuenca, and Babahoyo, as well as in Quito, the capital city. The student marches were met with police attacks in which many persons were injured and dozens arrested.

The military government held a cabinet meeting October 25, but refused to give in to the demands of the sugar workers and students.

At the same time, the military reaffirmed that a referendum in which Ecuadorians are to vote on a new constitution returning the country to civilian rule will be held as scheduled on January 15, 1978.

Interview with Israel Shahak

The Sharon plan: West Bank 'final solution'?

[In mid-September Dr. Israel Shahak, the head of the Israel League for Human and Civil Rights, arrived in the United States for an extended speaking tour sponsored by the Palestine Human Rights Campaign.



[Born in Poland in 1933, Dr. Shahak spent his childhood in the Warsaw ghetto and the Nazis' Bergen-Belsen concentration camp. He emigrated to Palestine in 1945. As a result of his experiences in the Israeli army during the June 1967 Middle East war, Shahak became an opponent of Zionism.

[The following are excerpts from an interview conducted by *Intercontinental Press* shortly after Dr. Shahak arrived in New York City.]

* * *

Question. Ariel Sharon, who serves as Agriculture Minister and head of the Committee on Settlement in Menachem Begin's cabinet, recently announced a plan to settle two million Israeli Jews in the occupied West Bank territory over the next twenty years. What are the details of his proposal?

Answer. The "Sharon plan" was hatched about a year ago in a kibbutz, Hameuchad, by supporters of the Labor Party, mainly. But the Labor Party being what it is—a tissue of hesitations, confusions, internal quarrels, and so on—the plan remained on paper. There was no possibility that [Labor Party leaders Yitzhak] Rabin and [Shimon] Peres would be able to quickly and clearly put the plan into action.

But, like all the seeming differences between Begin and his Labor Party predecessors, Begin is simply more of the same with less hypocrisy. He took over the settlements plan and he is beginning to carry it out.

The plan itself is very simple. It is called the "Second Avenue." At present the Jewish population of Israel is concentrated along "First Avenue," referring to the strip of land running north-south along the Mediterranean coast.

The Israeli government now wants to build a "Second Avenue," another strong belt of population which will run through the West Bank along the Jordan River and the Dead Sea—along the eastern border of what is now called "Greater Israel."

There remains the rest of the area of the West Bank. To keep the Palestinian population of the West Bank in hand, the Sharon plan calls for the area to be crisscrossed by belts of new Jewish settlements. Two population belts will run north-south and three will run east-west.

In addition, Jews will replace Palestinians in a wide belt running east from Jerusalem to the Jordan River. This would split the northern and southern parts of the West Bank.

These steps will result in concentrating the Arab population in what Sharon calls "squares," which will be controlled from outside by militarized Jewish settlements. In other words the

Palestinians will be ghettoized—not in one, but in numerous separate ghettos.

The same plan is also being advanced in Galilee. Settlements being established in Galilee are being regarded by the Israeli government as the same as the settlements proposed for the West Bank. They are called "border settlements within the country."

The Sharon plan cannot succeed without compelling Jews to settle the West Bank. And that means further eroding what democracy remains in Israel. To this effect a proposal has already been made by friends of Sharon who are officials in charge of Kiryat Arba.

The September 16 issue of *Ha'aretz* reports that the two officials—a Mr. Mayevsky and another man who is not named—have proposed that the Israeli government prohibit all new housing construction within the pre-1967 borders of Israel. Then Jews would be compelled by the absence of housing to move into the new West Bank settlements.

I think the Israeli government will pass such a law because Sharon is not so naïve as to have based his plan on hopes of a new wave of immigrants arriving from outside Israel.

Efforts by the Israeli government to bolster "Aliya"—that is, the immigration of Jews to Israel—failed miserably. According to official population figures, which are distorted in the direction of optimistic projections, there is either a small net outflow or a stationary state.

You can understand it even better if you see what is happening today with Argentinian Jews. Large numbers of Jews are leaving Argentina. It is estimated in Israel that 90 percent of them do not want to go to Israel. They want to go to France, or England—any place but Israel.

This is in spite of the fact that if they go to France, they go by their own means. If they go to Israel, they receive a free airline ticket, free housing for three months and a nearly rent-free apartment after that, free education for their children for three years, and many other benefits.

Q. Given the lack of immigration to Israel, is Sharon's figure of two million Jewish settlers for the West Bank in twenty years realistic?



Shaded lines indicate new 'belts' on Israeli settlements proposed by Sharon.



SHARON: plans a 'Second Avenue' on Palestinian land.

A. In the present circumstances, no. But Sharon can easily achieve several hundred thousand from inside Israel. When Sharon speaks of millions of settlers, he is thinking about the effects of the next war.

Another war, whatever the result, will undoubtedly cause some increase in anti-Semitism, and the right-wing Zionists are very good at promoting anti-Semitism. Perhaps, and it is supposition, under those conditions he can achieve his announced goal. But without a war he can only count on native Israelis.

I might just add that war under the Begin regime is also more of the same. The Labor government was also determined to make war, but it waited for a "provocation" or a good diplomatic opportunity. It would have behaved like Golda Meir behaved in October 1973.

With Begin, we are returning to the scenario of the 1956 war. That is, "preventive" war undertaken without any provocation. If you want a small example, the current Israeli invasion of southern Lebanon provides one.

But southern Lebanon is peanuts, to use a "Carterian" phrase. Israel is determined to smash the three "confrontation" states [Syria, Jordan, and Egypt] and their armies. Israel under Begin is determined to conquer and occupy Jordan itself.

A principle that Begin has been true to for forty years—a principle that is a prominent part of his Herut [Freedom] Party program—is that Jordan is a part of the land of Israel. That not only Palestinians have no right to their country, but Jordanians don't have any right to theirs either.

Q. There has been speculation in the American press that the Begin government is simply making gestures towards colonizing the West Bank as part of its diplomatic maneuvering;

that Jerusalem is not seriously going to massively settle the occupied territories. Could you comment?

A. The Carter administration purposely promotes that speculation in order to win some time and shield itself from the direct anger of the Arab regimes. Not only do I think, I am completely sure, that the Carter administration itself knows that the Sharon plan is real.

Q. Can you discuss what effect the London Sunday Times articles on torture of Palestinian prisoners and the follow-up visits by American and Swiss human rights investigators have had both in Israel and internationally?

A. So far—let me speak with caution—at least until the fifteenth of September, the impact on Hebrew-reading Jews was nil. This was for the very simple reason that the Hebrew press didn't publish any details.

The Hebrew press has published that haters of Israel and "self-hating" Jews have attacked Israel based on slanders provided by attorneys Felicia Langer and Lea Tsemel. No details at all have been published.

The general Hebrew-speaking public is completely ignorant of the substance of the *Sunday Times* report.

On the other hand, I think by now the majority of Israeli Jews are aware of torture and accept it when it is used against Arabs.

Here there is a distinction between the Hebrew press and the English-language press inside Israel. The *Jerusalem Post* has provided an answer to the *Sunday Times*' allegations of torture in which they admit that an interrogation method is to strip male Palestinian prisoners naked and then bring in a woman soldier to "mock his manliness."

This also was not reported in the Hebrew press. Again, the government control of communication media both in Israel and the United States is, in this respect, almost absolute. The *New York Times* also failed to quote the *Jerusalem Post*.

Can you imagine, for example, that *Pravda* would admit that a Russian dissident had been stripped naked and a woman brought in to "mock his manliness"? Can you imagine what a storm would break in the United States? And not just from the politicians, who are prostitutes by definition, but also the so-called human rights movement.

Another point I want to add is that mistreatment and torture of Jewish prisoners by the Israeli police is widely reported in the Hebrew press. So you have a situation where a large segment of the Jewish population accepts as fact that Jews are tortured by Israeli police, but are substantially ignorant of torture used against Palestinians.

The reason for this anomaly is that the Israeli regime cannot prevent the publication of allegations of mistreatment by Jewish prisoners. It is one of the consequences of Zionist racism. No matter who it is or what they have done, a Jew is always important.

Even a right-wing Hebrew paper will report allegations of torture made by a Jew. No Hebrew paper will report similar claims made by an Arab.

World news notes

France

Immigrant workers face racist crackdown

By Susan Wald
From Intercontinental Press

Under cover of demagogic rhetoric about finding solutions to unemployment, the French government has launched a xenophobic campaign aimed at substantially reducing the number of immigrant workers in France and terrorizing into submissiveness those who are allowed to remain.

On September 27, Lionel Stoléru, secretary of state for immigrant workers, announced the following measures:

1. Beginning October 1, the government would stop issuing work permits to foreign-born workers. This would include not only those entering the country for the first time, but also those who have been holding down jobs illegally while trying unsuccessfully to obtain legal status.

2. For the next three years, immigrants would be prohibited from bringing their families to live with them in France.

3. The "re-entry aid" of 10,000 francs [US\$2,000] offered by the government in June to unemployed immigrants who would voluntarily agree to return permanently to their own countries would be extended to all immigrants, whether employed or unemployed, who have resided in France for at least five years.

Knowing that the proposal to deny immigrants the right to send for their families would probably arouse a huge outcry, Stoléru attempted to pass this off as a "humanitarian" gesture, while at the same time playing on racist fears. Since work permits would only be issued to heads of households, allowing workers' families to immigrate to France "would almost inevitably drive foreign teen-agers who have completed their schooling but are forbidden to work to the verge of delinquency."

Stoléru left no doubt that the government's decision to clamp down on work permits would mean giving the green light to all forms of police harassment of immigrants.

The French Trotskyist daily *Rouge* summed up the meaning of the new policy in its September 28 issue: "The government has opened season on immigrants."

The government has been trying for some time to pin the blame for the economic crisis on the immigrant workers.

Last year, for example, Jacques Chirac, who was premier at the time, signaled the opening of this campaign by declaring, "A country with 900,000 unemployed and 2,000,000 immigrants should be able to solve its unemployment problem."

Then, in June 1977, the government launched its bonus program with the declared aim of persuading 100,000 immigrants to "voluntarily" leave France, thus ostensibly providing job openings for French workers. However, so far only 1,500 immigrants have taken advantage of the offer.

It is not hard to see why most immigrants think the government is getting the better of the bargain. Many of them come from former French colonies in Africa, where the French

imperialists left behind them a legacy of poverty and unemployment. Furthermore, the lump payment of 10,000 francs does not even equal the amount of unemployment compensation a French worker is entitled to—nor are the immigrants reimbursed for the Social Security taxes they have paid.

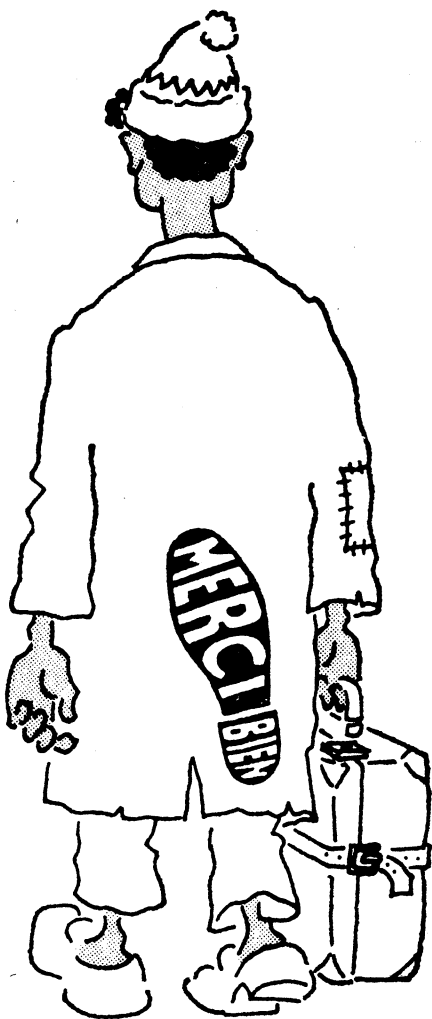
At the same time, a recently published official study pointed out that if 160,000 immigrants left France, this would only create 13,000 jobs, because few French workers would be willing to take the jobs that are held by immigrants. Foreign workers are overwhelmingly concentrated in the lowest-paying, most menial, and dangerous occupations.

The need from the capitalists' standpoint to change this situation undoubtedly entered into the government's calculations. In its October 1 issue, the Trotskyist weekly *Lutte Ouvrière* wrote:

But the campaign against immigrant workers is also aimed at French workers. The government wants to force French workers to take the immigrants' places, which it can scarcely hope to do nowadays.

The government's crackdown on immigrants comes at a time when immigrant workers have been the victims of a number of racist attacks. In September, for example, a residence for immigrant workers in Paris burned down, killing three persons and injuring fifty others. No one disputed that the fire had been set deliberately.

Rouge reported in its September 29 issue that the two main trade-union federations, the CGT (General Confederation of Labor) and CFTD (French Democratic Confederation of Labor) have sharply condemned the new measures as "racist" and pledged to combat them.



'Thanks a lot.'

New Israeli austerity measures

Airport, dock, and factory workers in Israel struck following October 30 price increases averaging 11 percent for 150 basic commodities. A government decision to end price subsidies produced the increases. Bread went up 28 percent, eggs 14 percent, chicken 15 percent, and fuel 25 percent.

The regime plans to increase its value-added tax (similar to the U.S. sales tax) also. It will go from 8 to 12 percent November 2.

At the same time, the government lifted currency restrictions, thereby allowing the Israeli pound to plummet to 45 percent of its previous value.

United Nations censures Israel

The General Assembly of the United Nations voted overwhelmingly October 28 to censure Israel for the establishment of illegal settlements in occupied Arab territories. Only Israel voted against the motion, which called the setting up of almost 100 Zionist outposts in the Gaza Strip, Syria's Golan Heights, and the West Bank of the Jordan River, a threat to peace.

The United States abstained. While claiming to support the text of the resolution, Washington said it had to maintain strict neutrality as a cochairman of the Geneva Middle East peace conference.

First major strike in months hits Argentina

Six thousand workers at the Renault plant near Cordoba went out on strike in mid-October. About 150 workers were fired as troops surrounded the plant. This was the first major strike in Argentina in months. The military government has declared all strikes illegal.

The workers hit the bricks after prices increased 11 percent in August and 9 percent in September, on top of monthly increases of 8 to 10 percent earlier this year.

Madrid moves to ease adultery laws

Under pressure from women's organizations and radicalizing workers, the Spanish government announced October 29 that it will ask parliament to end criminal sanctions against extramarital sex. Under Spain's reactionary legislation, about a dozen people, mostly women, are serving prison terms or awaiting trial on adultery charges.

Women's organizations have charged that women convicted of adultery have been jailed for up to six years while their partners often go free.

'Black bag' job against Parti Québécois

The Royal Canadian Mounted Police broke into headquarters of the Parti Québécois in Montreal in 1973, the Canadian government admitted October 28. The Québec provincial government is already investigating the RCMP—Canada's counterpart to the FBI—for an earlier raid on offices of a radical news agency in Montreal.

Prime Minister Elliott Trudeau denied the break-in was anything like Watergate. He tried to justify it by citing concern over a terrorist murder and kidnapping carried out by a different group, the Front for the Liberation of Québec. That incident took place three years before the PQ burglary.

New military coup in Thailand

Dissatisfied with the policies of the puppet civilian government it installed in a bloody coup one year ago, Thailand's military junta ousted the Thanin Kraivichien regime in a bloodless operation October 20.

The junta acted because of its dissatisfaction with the Kraivichien regime's inability to end a deteriorating balance of trade, restore investor confidence, and combat unemployment—now nearly one-third of the work force in Thailand.

But the junta has no workable solutions of its own. Meanwhile, martial law remains in effect.

Anti-Gandhi protesters killed by Indian cops

Two people were killed and at least forty others injured October 30 in Madras when cops opened fire on crowds demonstrating against former Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. The police battled with the protesters for more than two hours.

The day before, police arrested more than 200 anti-Gandhi demonstrators in Trichinopoly. Also that day, Gandhi's car was stoned by angry demonstrators in Madras.

Thousands protest Tokyo airport

Almost 22,000 people rallied October 9 outside the unopened Tokyo International Airport in Narita, Japan.

The action was one of the largest ever held in the twelve-year struggle by farmers of the Sanrizuka area in Narita. They are fighting against the land seizures and environmental damage brought on by the airport.

The Fukuda government had made the opening of the airport by November a top priority. But the struggle has again pushed this target back—this time to March 1978.

Students demonstrate in Seoul

One thousand students at Seoul National University demonstrated against the South Korean dictatorship of Park Chung Hee October 7. The demonstration began as a quiet symposium on democracy. But after several hours, riot police moved in with tear gas to break it up. About 500 students then staged sit-ins around the campus demanding freedom for political prisoners. As many as 200 students were reported taken into custody.

Charter 77 supporters sentenced

Trial of Czech dissidents stirs protests

By Matilde Zimmermann
From Intercontinental Press

The trial of four leading Czechoslovak dissidents has generated a storm of international protest and made Czechoslovakia the center of attention at the Belgrade Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The trial began October 17; sentences were handed down the next day.

Three of the four defendants were early signers of Charter 77, the civil liberties manifesto issued in Prague last January and signed by about 800 persons. (For text, see the *Militant*, February 25, 1977.)

Jiri Lederer, a journalist who has already served one prison term for his criticism of the Prague regime, was convicted of subversion and sentenced to three years in jail for helping to send articles outside the country for publication. Vaclav Havel, an internationally known playwright, received a fourteen-month sentence for trying to smuggle the memoirs of a former minister of justice out of the country.

Dramatist Frantisek Pavlicek, once a member of the Central Committee of

the Czechoslovakian CP, was convicted of attempting to slander the state by granting an interview to Lederer. His seventeen-month sentence and Havel's sentence were suspended with three years probation.

Ota Ornest, a leading theater director and the only defendant not an actual signer of Charter 77, received the longest sentence—three and a half years—for “subversive activities against social order and the socialist state.” His “crime” was helping Lederer send articles outside the country.

All the defendants pled not guilty except Ornest, who admitted having contact with foreign diplomats. Ornest, sixty-four, is in failing health and has been in prison since mid-January.

All four have announced their intention to appeal.

Only fourteen invited observers were allowed to enter the tiny courtroom where the trial took place. The reporter from the French CP daily *L'Humanité* was denied permission even to enter the country to cover the trial. *L'Humanité* issued a sharp protest against “this denial which will deprive our

readers of first hand information on a trial in which the human rights for which we are struggling are at stake.”

Czechoslovakian police have also stepped up their harassment of other Charter 77 signers. Since the document first appeared, a number of signers have been fired, evicted from their homes, or deprived of their passports. About twenty were rounded up for questioning as the trial began. These included prominent representatives of the Charter 77 group such as former foreign minister Jiri Hajek, singer Marta Kubisova and playwright Pavel Kohout.

Defendant Havel predicted after his sentencing that there would be a new wave of political trials in Czechoslovakia.

Socialists and civil libertarians inside and outside Czechoslovakia have protested the dissident trials. An appeal to European Socialist and Communist parties was signed by thirty-three intellectuals including two former ministers, Jiri Hajek and Vladimir Kadlec, and the widow and son of Czech CP secretary Slansky, who

was executed by Stalin in 1952.

Polish dissident group KOR (Committee to Defend the Workers) issued a protest and an appeal to the Belgrade conference.

A statement signed by leading French socialists and intellectuals was published in the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge* October 17. It concludes:

...we want to register a vigorous protest against this caricature of a trial; we demand the immediate release of the accused and a halt to all repression against the signers of Charter 77. We consider these infringements of democratic freedoms to be incompatible with socialist ideals.

The Czech trials gave Carter's chief representative at the Belgrade conference, Arthur Goldberg, an opportunity to pose as a defender of human rights. Even the delegates from other Eastern European countries were embarrassed by the fact that Czechoslovakia was staging the trials at exactly the same time as the Belgrade conference.

In their final statements to the court, Lederer, Pavlicek, Havel and Ornest all stressed their continued belief in socialism.

Plyushch tours on human rights in USSR

By Peter Seidman

NEW YORK—Former Soviet political prisoner Leonid Plyushch spoke at a Militant Forum here October 11 on “Human Rights at Home and Abroad.”

His appearance was part of a two-month tour through more than a dozen cities in the United States and Canada. The New York Committee for Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners sponsored the tour.

One of Plyushch's first stops was the World Psychiatric Association convention in Honolulu at the end of August.

Plyushch has actively publicized the Kremlin's use of psychiatric torture against political dissidents. This work helped convince WPA convention delegates to pass a resolution condemning these practices.

Plyushch himself was sentenced to an indefinite term of compulsory “treatment” in a Soviet psychiatric prison in January 1973 after having been imprisoned for almost a year.

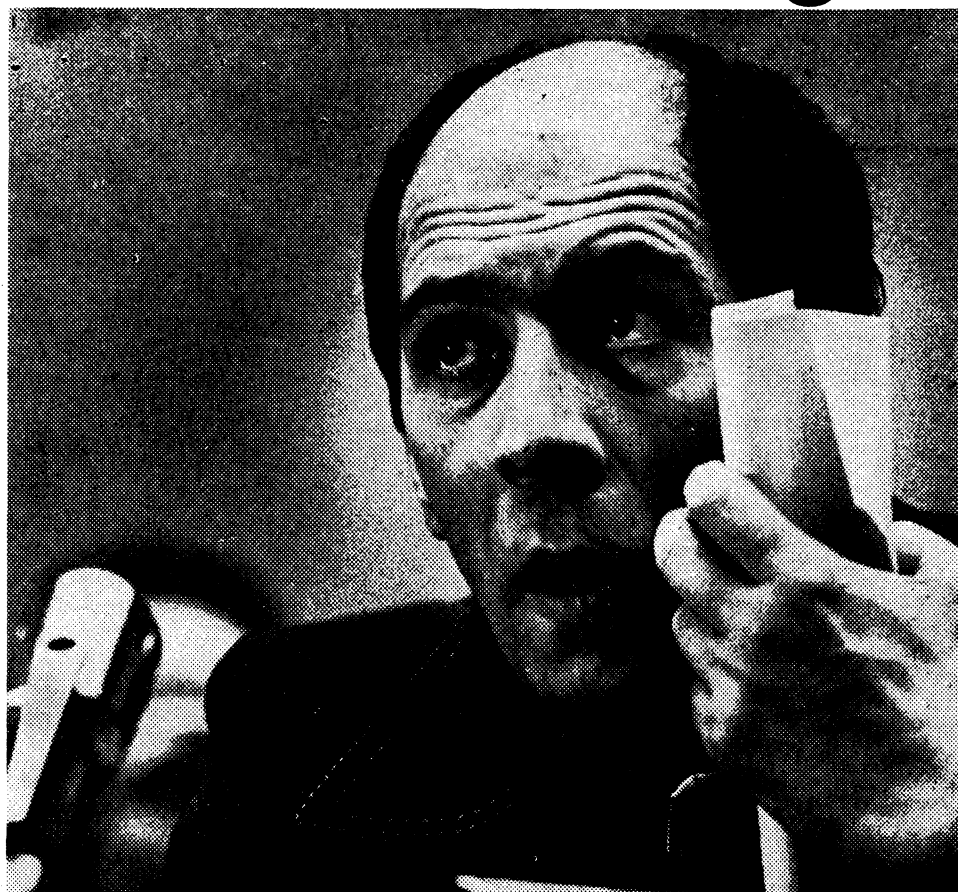
Arrested in the Ukraine because of his work in defense of democratic rights, Plyushch was subjected to psychiatric torture after Kremlin doctors diagnosed him as suffering from “paranoid disturbances characterized by ideas of reformism.”

An international campaign demanding Plyushch's freedom grew so large that even the French Communist Party was ultimately compelled to join it. As a result, Moscow finally released him in January 1976.

Plyushch and his immediate family were exiled. They now live in France. He is continuing his work in defense of Soviet political prisoners.

Besides extensive speaking tours, Plyushch is one of six representatives in the West of the Helsinki Monitoring Groups, set up in the USSR to survey Soviet human rights compliance. He is also a member of the Paris-based International Committee Against Repression, and he works closely with Amnesty International.

Also speaking at the New York Militant Forum were activists who documented cases at home and abroad of U.S. human rights violations: Martin Sostre, an Afro-Puerto Rican frame-up victim freed from a New York state



LEONID PLYUSHCH

prison in 1976 after eight years of international protests on his behalf; a spokesperson for the Chilean exile group, the Anti-Fascist Committee; journalist Robert Maurer, speaking on the case of the Wilmington Ten; and Marilyn Vogt of the Socialist Workers Party.

“Human Rights at Home and Abroad” was a subject much in the news, for a controlled and carefully staged confrontation between Moscow and Washington over this issue was taking place at a thirty-five-nation conference that opened in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, the week before the New York forum.

The Belgrade conference was called to review implementation of the 1975 Helsinki Accords.

Plyushch centered his remarks at the forum on what he described as “a new phase” of repression, “a preparation

for a total purge or crackdown” by the Kremlin against all those struggling for democracy in the USSR.

If socialism with a human face existed in even one country, he said, it would be possible to say that for masses of people the political alternatives are defined by the struggle between socialism and capitalism.

Instead, he said, the choice is really between repressive capitalism and “socialism with an inhuman face.”

Therefore, Plyushch argued, there must be an international human rights struggle that poses “a human question, to some extent going beyond class questions, beyond national or state questions.”

Plyushch cited the hypocrisy of both the capitalist and Stalinist-ruled countries in this human rights debate. Both sides, he explained, use the repression in the other camp to divert attention

from their own crimes.

“When people are tortured in the USSR,” he noted, “authorities there point to Chile. When there is torture in Peru or Argentina, those authorities point in turn to the USSR. This is constantly being done These governments are supporting each other When [Soviet dissident Vladimir] Bukovsky was sent to the West, he was wearing handcuffs reading, ‘Made in U.S.A.’”

To counter this official hypocrisy, Plyushch says, “trade unions, political parties, and various youth and women's organizations” should organize “an international committee” that can “avoid entrusting to governments the question of human rights.”

Such a movement should demand of Carter that he “consistently enforce” his Helsinki human rights promises. But it should set up a parallel “People's Belgrade,” Plyushch says, to “avoid illusions” that human rights activists are “supporting Carter's policies.”

Plyushch also advocated stepped-up collaboration between former Latin American and Soviet bloc political prisoners, including an exchange of inspection teams to publicize psychiatric prisons used by repressive regimes in both regions.

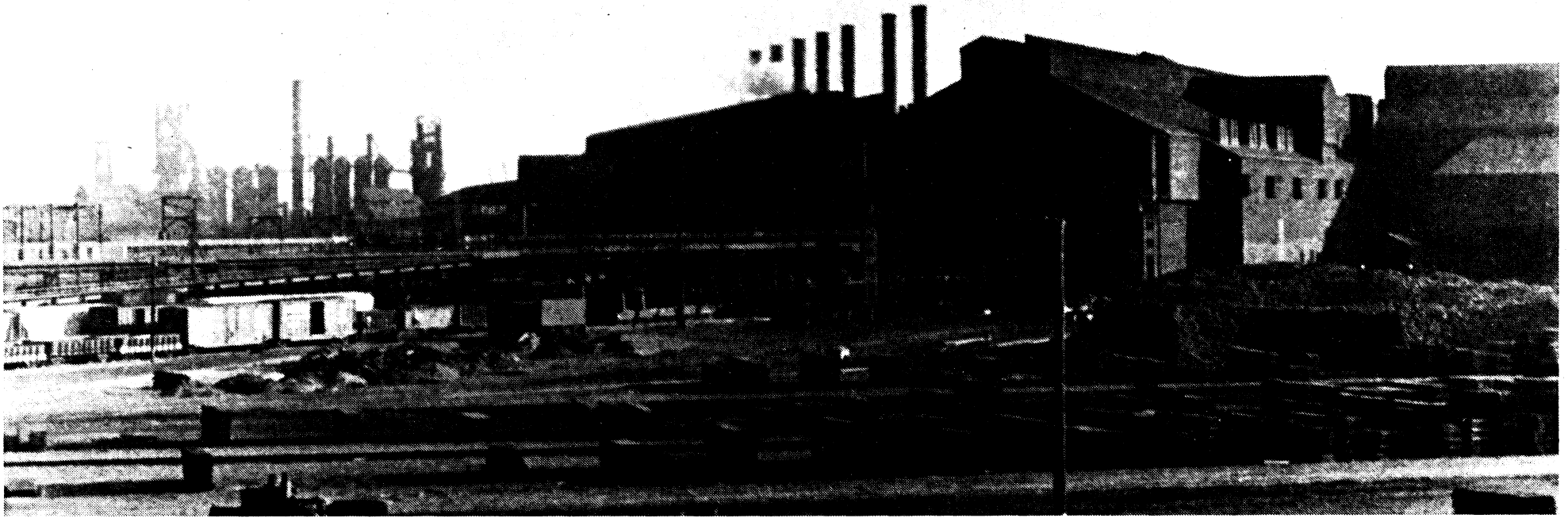
In her remarks, Marilyn Vogt agreed with Plyushch that both Washington and Moscow were participating in the Belgrade talks to further their collaboration in pushing back struggles for human rights and socialism on a world scale.

This is why, she stressed, it would be a serious mistake for Soviet dissidents to be taken in by Carter's demagogic human rights offensive.

Vogt welcomed the chance to join with Plyushch and other human rights activists on the panel in a discussion of how working people in the capitalist world could best pursue the fight for human rights, regardless of political differences they might have.

“Ideas can only be judged right or wrong if they can be heard and tested,” she said, “and this cannot happen if we are all repressed or imprisoned.”

Baltimore: U.S. cancer capital



Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point complex

Militant/Bob Kissinger

By Gordon Fox

BALTIMORE—The local chamber of commerce—joined in recent years by Democratic Mayor William Donald Schaefer—touts Baltimore as “Charm City” in its effort to lure industry here.

A more appropriate nickname would be “Cancer City.”

A recent study by Johns Hopkins University found that Baltimore has the highest cancer death rate for white males in the country.

Between 1967 and 1973 white males died of cancer in Baltimore at a rate 45 percent above the national average. The death rate from lung cancer is 60 percent above the average.

Seven areas of the city have cancer death rates twice that of the rest of the city. Six of those areas are adjacent to heavily industrialized sections. The seventh is one of the poorest parts of Baltimore's Black community.

The Baltimore *Sun* recently ran a seven-part series on cancer in the city. Responding to the public outcry, Mayor Schaefer commented that the *Sun* articles would make it hard to bring new business to the city. But he announced the formation of a commission to investigate cancer.

Kepone and arsenic

One of the seven heavily affected areas surrounds Allied Chemical's Race Street plant, which closed in 1976.

Allied packaged kepone there. In 1976 Allied paid a \$5 million fine for polluting Virginia's James River with kepone, a suspected carcinogen. It is a

deadly toxic pesticide that can badly damage the human nervous system.

Allied also manufactured arsenic compounds at Race Street. In 1975 the federal government announced that arsenic had joined a growing list of substances that were known to cause cancer and declared there was no safe exposure level.

But it's too late for hundreds of former Allied workers. “People literally bathed in [arsenic],” said a Labor Department official, describing what the plant used to be like.

A 1973 study commissioned by Allied itself found that retired workers died from cancer at a rate *fourteen times* higher than the city as a whole.

Sparrows Point

An eighth high-cancer area in Baltimore is the Bethlehem Steel mill at Sparrows Point. About 15,000 people work there. The death rate there from lung cancer is 56 percent above the national average. For all forms of cancer, the rate is 27 percent higher.

“We have something loose in this plant,” commented Dr. Edward Radford, who was commissioned to study Sparrows Point by United Steelworkers Local 2609. Local 2609 represents 6,500 Sparrows Point workers.

These studies have revealed not only shocking death rates, but a web of corporate lying aimed at keeping workers from finding out how dangerous their jobs are.

Bethlehem Steel's response to the cancer epidemic at Sparrows Point is a textbook example of corporate indifference to on-the-job health and safety.

The company first denied Radford access to employee health records, then denounced his findings as inaccurate.

Later, using the records denied Radford, company-sponsored researchers claimed to have found a lower cancer death rate for Bethlehem workers than for the city as a whole. These calculations, however, included shipyard workers, who don't breathe the same toxic fumes that steelworkers do.

Local 2609 wasn't satisfied. Enlisting the aid of U.S. Sen. Robert Mathias, it pressured Bethlehem into a second study.

This study omitted retired workers—precisely the group most likely to get cancer. Cancer generally takes twenty years or more to show up, so the newly hired steelworker is the least likely candidate for it.

“You can punch a lot of holes in it,” said an official of the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health, commenting on the study.

With all its stalling, Bethlehem has managed to avoid doing anything to make working conditions at Sparrows Point any safer. The company refuses even to admit that there is a higher than average incidence of cancer.

Ignoring the risks

Allied Chemical ignored repeated warnings about health hazards posed by kepone and arsenic.

“Arsenic has a long and gory history,” said one public-health researcher.

Warnings on the need to handle arsenic very carefully date back at least to 1943, but Allied paid no attention. Up to 1952 the situation at the Race Street plant was scandalous. Allied has taken some steps since then to decrease the worst dangers. But worker exposure levels still remain high.

Significantly, Allied never told any of its workers that arsenic might cause cancer.

Allied also played fast and loose with kepone, which was spotted as a carcinogen in 1961. The company hid the results of kepone research from public view, and, of course, never told its employees about it.

Nor was Allied especially careful about how the deadly substance was handled. A 1974 inspection, paid for by Allied, noted that a “considerable amount of kepone spilled on the floor.”

At least ten Race Street workers now show signs of kepone poisoning.

The Race Street plant is 100 years old and is presently being demolished to make way for a freeway.

The problem is that the building is stuffed with kepone. Allied can't get rid of it. Even the nearby U.S. Army post at Aberdeen, Maryland—which specializes in chemical and biological warfare—won't store the kepone.

Inside and outside

One of the most significant parts of the Johns Hopkins study of cancer in Baltimore tracked down the sources of carcinogens.

Cancer struck homes near the railroad spur into the Allied plant. Arsenic routinely spilled from freight cars, contaminating the neighborhood.

This illustrates why it is so important for the union movement to support the movement for a clean environment. Exactly the same poisons that workers are exposed to *inside* the plant are what environmentalists are trying to keep out of the air and water *outside* the plant.

Bethlehem and other U.S. steel corporations have already let the public know what they think about environmental protection. With claims of “unfair competition from foreign steel,” the companies link their demands for import quotas to demands to cut back on the minimal environmental safeguards now in effect.

They claim the costs of pollution controls are so high that the companies are unable to compete with “cheap imports.”

The corporations' laments have been echoed by the bureaucrats of the labor movement, especially in the United Steelworkers. Top union officials parrot the bosses' claim that pollution controls add to joblessness.

For example, when the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency tried to force steel mills along the Mahoning River in Youngstown, Ohio, to stop dumping cyanide, ammonia, grease, and other waste into the river, Frank Leseganich, Steelworkers union district director, objected: “What the hell good is a clean river if the people have no place to earn a dollar?”

Leseganich was asking steelworkers to make a choice they shouldn't have to make—either a job or a clean, safe environment. Every worker is entitled to both. It is only the profit drive of the “free enterprise” system that stands in the way.

Allowing the companies to dump poisons into the atmosphere isn't going to save steelworkers' jobs. All it will do is make the jobs more dangerous for the steadily decreasing number of workers lucky enough to have a job at all.

The steel companies—not the steelworkers, not the people unfortunate enough to live next to the mill—should be made to pay all the costs of pollution.

One worker in four exposed to poisons

By Arnold Weissberg

The serious health hazards that Baltimore workers face (see accompanying article) are shared by workers around the country.

A federal study, reported in the October 3 *New York Times*, revealed that one out of every four American workers is exposed to a dangerous chemical on the job.

The chemicals range from toxic to cancer-causing.

The survey found that 880,000 workers are regularly exposed to one or more of the seventeen carcinogens regulated by the federal government.

Some scientists believe there may be 2,000 carcinogens now in industrial use.

Hundreds of thousands of workers are exposed to carcinogens with no protection, the survey found: 75,000 to asbestos, more than 25,000 to benzene, and more than 100,000 to cutting oil.

Very few of these workers ever got medical tests. For example, three out of four workers exposed to benzene, which causes leukemia, never got blood tests.

The National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH) estimated that it would cost the government \$2 billion a year to monitor chemical exposure.

NIOSH concluded that this was too high a cost and urged turning monitoring over to the very corporations that allowed the exposure in the first place.

LESSONS OF MINERS' FIGHT FOR UNION DEMOCRACY

Speech by Harry Patrick



Harry Patrick (inset) is secretary-treasurer of the United Mine Workers of America. He was a working miner for eighteen years and a founding member of Miners for Democracy.

By Lynn Henderson

"About three or four or five months ago I would have said—and I did say it—that I thought we could work within the Democratic Party to force the kind of legislation that we need

"I will not say that today and I think that if we don't form some kind of coalition, if labor doesn't form some kind of coalition—and make their own party, then we're going to continue to go down the drain."

Harry Patrick, secretary-treasurer of the United Mine Workers, was addressing the national convention of Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU), a reform grouping within the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

He had just been asked if he thought that the labor movement in this country should form its own political party.

"I have to look back to January and to Jimmy Carter and to all the dreams that he promised labor," Patrick continued. "I was part, by the way, of the labor coalition that included a lot of the labor unions in this country that helped elect Jimmy Carter."

"The first thing that was shot down with no help from the White House was the common situs picketing bill. And you go on from there. It's one disaster after another."

"Certainly I am for [a labor party]. If we can start a labor party in this country at this point, I'm all for it because we sure as hell ain't getting nothing out of the Democrats."

Miners for Democracy

Patrick was a founding member of Miners for Democracy (MFD), the reform movement that swept the corrupt Tony Boyle regime out of UMWA office in 1972.

Earlier this year, Patrick broke with his MFD running mate, UMWA President Arnold Miller, charging Miller was no longer "capable" of leading the union. Patrick ran for UMWA president this past June against Miller and an old Boyleite, Lee Roy Patterson. Miller won. Patrick's term as secretary-treasurer of the union expires in December.

In his speech to the TDU convention, Patrick frankly reviewed the lessons of the MFD movement—its gains and its shortcomings and mistakes. He also offered his conclusions on the state of the labor movement as a whole.

"I want to talk about the American labor

movement as I see it," he said. "Frankly, I think it stands stagnant. I don't think anything is happening in the American labor movement."

"You look at the figures, they're frightening, they're terrifying. You find out that only about 20 million of all the American workers in this country are organized."

"The fact of the matter is last year alone we lost three-quarters of a million members. Union members."

"Why is this so? . . .

"Labor leaders are not responsive to the membership. They have grown fat. As soon as the union dues start coming in and the union dues got big enough to pay expense accounts and salaries, the organizing efforts stopped."

"There are labor unions in this country that let companies move down South and there's really not that big of an attempt to organize."

"If we would really do what unions were formed for in the first place they would have representatives from every major labor union in this country down at J.P. Stevens [a notorious antiunion textile corporation located primarily in the South] right now on that picket line."

Patrick encouraged the TDU delegates to learn from both the positive and negative experiences of the MFD movement.

No new leaders trained

"Because of old labor leaders' desires to control their unions," Patrick said, "they really never have trained people to play a leadership role in the union."

"Now that's very smart from a dictator's point of view—because they want to keep the troops stupid and then they don't have to worry about it."

"We [MFD] ended up with full control over 270,000 people, more or less, and twenty-one districts, including Canada, without really anybody to fulfill a leadership role."

"That's what I'm talking about. As you go along, develop that leadership so that when you get ready you'll have somebody to take over that knows what they're doing."

Patrick also stressed the importance of building an ongoing rank-and-file movement that would continue to exist and play a decisive role in running the union after the election of a new leadership.

"Let me say this, what happened in the mine workers was a breath of fresh air to the whole labor movement, and I know that it lifted spirits all over the country for people that were in the same fix that

we were in.

"One of the tragedies was that we didn't have foresight enough to understand that. We never really disbanded [the MFD movement], it was just simply let go. There was no attempt to organize people who went through Miners For Democracy."

"As I look back on it now—we had to continue to organize the same people that put us in office, and they had to be a constant watchdog to make it work."

"I know what it's all about. It's very easy to get into that kind of life where you're sitting behind a desk with your feet up on it and wearing three-piece suits and driving big automobiles and forgetting the coalfields."

Patrick also advised the delegates to concentrate their fire on the main enemy.

'Fight is with company'

"The one thing," Patrick said, "that you've got to take into consideration, the one thing in your movement, in any movement for reform, is that the real enemy is the company. That's the people you've got to get—the company."

"Sure you want to change things that are wrong in the union, and that takes time. . . . You can't change things overnight. I don't think I have to tell anybody that we've had a very bad experience in the United Mine Workers. Go very slow. Go very careful. Change your union if you must but make sure that you have the proper leadership to take over when the old leadership goes."

Several times in his speech Patrick commented on the dangers of red-baiting and how it's used to attack union militants.

"I was red-baited mercilessly during my campaign," he said. "And in Appalachia that works very well. Everytime I walked into a bathhouse everybody waited for the clouds to open up and red flames to come down and burn them all up."

"So I've gotten used to that and I guarantee you that everyone of you sitting here tonight, you'd better get used to it because you're going to go through exactly the same thing. And especially you fellows that are running for office."

"I can't remember where it was but right in the middle of my speech some coal miner stood up and interrupted me, and I said, 'What do you want?' and he said, 'You know I've heard a lot about you, you look pretty unsavory to me. Are you left wing?'"

"And I said, 'Well, I'll put it this way. If being for workers' rights, if being for national health care, if being for decent legislation that protects our workers and keeps them alive—label it anything you want to.'

"And he said, 'yeah, you're a red all right.'

"I'm so sick of labels, and I'm so sick of people being grouped and saying, 'Well, don't listen to that group because they're this and don't listen to that group. Actually as I said, that's the old theory of divide and conquer . . .

"You know I've been what I call a liberal Democrat all my life and that clearly hasn't got me anyplace either."

"Oppression will make a hell of a lot of things out of you that you don't think you are."

Patrick also explained that the right to strike is the most essential weapon of every union.

"When I took office in 1972," he said, "I was just like any other young idealist, and I came away from this bargaining table in 1974 and I felt fantastic. . . .

"And for the first time in the history of the United Mine Workers the membership had the right to ratify their own contract, and they ratified it on the first go-around. And here's the contract. I want everybody to look at it. See how thick it is? A nice thick contract."

'Worth two pages'

"Right now, a few years later, that contract is reduced to about two pages. That's about all it's worth. And you know the reason why? Everything in that contract has been arbitrated out."

"I don't think there is any union in this country that can negotiate a forceful contract unless they negotiate the right to strike in that contract."

"The only way you can bring the company to their knees is economically. There is no other way."

In his concluding remarks Patrick again returned to the question of a labor party.

"I think there's hope. I think that we have to put pressure on. That's why I said I hope I can stand here a couple years from now and see miners, and teamsters, and steelworkers, and auto workers, and all others."

"We're not going to argue about jurisdiction. We don't give a damn about jurisdiction. And we're going to have a real viable labor party in this country. That's the hope!"

Kentucky judge jails 11 Stearns miners

By Nancy Cole

Kentucky Circuit Judge J.B. Johnson, Jr., has jailed eleven strikers from the Justus mine in Stearns, Kentucky.

The eleven were victims of the brutal October 17 state police attack on miners and supporters. They were ordered to jail immediately on October 26 despite plans for an appeal of their convictions. Each striker's sentence is six months.

Along with seventy-five others, the eleven men were tried October 26 on charges of violating Judge Johnson's order limiting the number of pickets allowed at the mine entrance.

Jail was reserved for those convicted of two violations—one on October 12 when seventeen strikers were arrested and again on October 17 when the arrest toll exceeded 100.

Sixty-eight were found guilty of violating the order October 17, but their six-month sentences were "conditionally discharged."

The "conditions" that now hang over their heads include "good behavior" backed up with "good behavior bonds" of \$1,000 each, no violation of the law in "any respect," and strict compliance with all court orders—current or future.

The nearly 160 Stearns miners went on strike in July 1976 after the Blue

Diamond Coal Company wouldn't agree to a United Mine Workers contract.

Since then, the company has refused to negotiate, opting instead for a nonstop campaign of provocation. The latest round began October 12 when a handful of scabs were herded into the mine.

On Monday, October 17, 150 miners and their supporters gathered near the mine entrance to demand that Blue Diamond halt the scab running and agree to negotiate.

After several hours, eighty state police in full riot gear moved in and attacked the strikers. More than a dozen required medical attention. The two hospitalized with serious injuries—Mahan Vanover and Roy Keith—were among those sent to jail October 26.

The nearly forty women arrested during the police attack go on trial November 28.

Judge Johnson has been in Blue Diamond's corner since the first bell. In August—after the company's hiring of private guards brought steady gunfire to Stearns—Johnson issued a series of orders. If they weren't carried out, he threatened, he would call in the National Guard.

His orders were aimed at disciplining the strikers, with a couple of finger



Mahan and Irene Vanover. Mahan and ten other strikers are in jail, says Irene, because the judge was 'paid off by the company.'

wagging at the company to appear "impartial." For example, the gun thugs were prohibited from wearing camouflage clothing and were permitted only shotguns and sidearms. Even this ban on automatic weapons continued to be violated with impunity.

The strikers' six-month jail terms imposed by Johnson are almost the maximum sentence possible.

After the trial, Johnson piously proclaimed that he had done it all for the strikers' own good.

"The main thing I'm trying to avoid is someone losing their life in this labor dispute, because I know it can happen," he said.

Johnson was a judge in Harlan County during the Brookside strike in 1974. The murder of a striker there finally forced the Duke Power Company to end the conflict. "This has been in the back of my mind ever since," Johnson said.

Not so much in mind, however, that he felt compelled to deliver justice for either the Brookside or Stearns miners. Johnson presided at the trial that acquitted the Brookside striker's killer—a mine foreman.

The Stearns strikers and their families are angry about the jailings, but not necessarily surprised. Asked why people around Stearns think Johnson did it, Irene Vanover told the *Militant*, "They figure the company bought him off."

Joyce Taylor, secretary-treasurer of the Justus Mine Women's Club, says the strike continues to gain public support. "We've been getting a lot of donations and kind words," she reports.

The evening before Johnson's kangaroo court session, more than 500 people crowded into the McCreary County High School gymnasium for a showing of the videotaped film of the October 17 police attack.

Film of cop attack shown

The October 28 Militant Forum in Louisville featured the videotaped film of the October 17 state police attack on strikers in Stearns, Kentucky.

Charles Rosenberg, a member of the Socialist Workers Party who was part of the *Militant* reporting team that went to Stearns after the attack, also spoke at the forum.

Thirty people attended, including several from the recently formed Stearns Strike Defense Committee at the University of Kentucky in Lexington. Participants contributed more than fifty dollars to the Justus Mine Women's Club.

The videotape will also be shown at the Militant Forum in Cincinnati November 4.

Anyone interested in showing the film to help raise funds for the Stearns strikers should contact the Highlander Research and Education Center, Box 245A, RFD 3, New Market, Tennessee 37820. Telephone: (615) 933-3443.

Contributions and statements of support may be sent to the Justus Mine Women's Club, Old Post Office Building, Whitley City, Kentucky 42653. Telephone: (606) 376-8047.

—N.C.

...steelworkers union under attack

Continued from back page
rights and living standards of working people.

In all too many cases, these attacks are succeeding. Unions have fallen for "divide and rule" schemes that pit workers against each other instead of uniting them against the common enemy—the employers.

The labor movement has become disoriented and disorganized by years of reliance on "friendly" Democratic and Republican politicians. Time after time, the same politicians backed by the unions have voted for antilabor legislation.

In the United Steelworkers, the company offensive has shaken the union and provoked a growing discussion over how to fight back.

These attacks are putting to the test the union leadership's strategy of collaboration with the steel companies. That strategy culminated in 1973 in the Experimental Negotiating Agreement, under which the union gave up the right to strike on a national scale in basic steel.

Now, the *Wall Street Journal* reports, top USWA officials "despair that a militant management may shatter the fragile interdependence they had developed in steel labor relations."

The *Journal* quotes Jim Smith, an aide to USWA President Lloyd McBride, as complaining that "the Sadowskis have temporarily won on the management side" and that industry bargainers want to "go back to the 1930s and fight out every difference."

In last February's election for USWA international officers, Ed Sadowski and the Steelworkers Fight Back slate challenged the strategy of collaboration with the bosses. They asserted that the basic interests of labor and management are antagonistic. The no-strike ENA is crippling the union, they asserted.

Above all, the Fight Back candidates championed *union democracy*. They demanded the right of steelworkers to vote on the ENA, on all contracts, and on all their officials and representatives.

What Smith is saying, then, is that the corporations have openly taken up *class-struggle methods* against the union.

But the McBride leadership remains determined not to respond in kind. Its outlook is for even *closer collaboration* with the employers, especially in opposing steel imports.

"I'm on the company side," McBride boasted at a recent USWA District 31 conference in Chicago. He insisted that union support to the company drive against imports and for higher profits was the only way to save steelworkers' jobs.

But the union leadership has been pursuing this procompany strategy for years. And instead of jobs being saved, thousands of jobs have been wiped out and the union weakened.

The iron range strikers know, for example, that the ENA has encouraged the steel companies to stonewall negotiations in the hopes of having

their strike declared illegal.

"I've got just one weapon—my atomic bomb—and that's the right to withhold my labor if I don't like the contract," a union negotiator on the iron range told the *Militant*. "The ENA takes that right away from me."

The strikers are learning that the McBride leadership's commitment to the ENA and the whole strategy it represents leads to sabotaging their struggle.

McBride has publicly called for "a change in attitude on both sides" to settle the strike.

He has refused to raise strike benefits above a pitifully inadequate thirty dollars a week.

He has refused even to send a letter to USWA locals asking for support to the strikers.

Steel Labor, while carrying page after page of company-inspired anti-import propaganda, has done next to nothing to inform the union ranks about the battle of the iron ore strikers.

The iron range strike is today the biggest challenge in *practice* to the steel corporations' antilabor drive. It is also the biggest challenge to the ENA and to the procompany policies of the McBride officialdom.

A victory for the strikers will inspire steelworkers across the country with an example of how the companies can be taken on and beaten.

It will put the fight to save jobs in a whole new light—making more realistic the prospect of fighting *against* the companies' layoff-speedup drive.

And it will give renewed confidence to the fight for union democracy and new, militant policies in steel.

What you can do

The strikers on the Mesabi Iron Range are in urgent need of financial aid from other locals of the United Steelworkers and from other sections of the labor movement.

Messages and resolutions of support are also greatly appreciated, boosting morale and cutting across company efforts to isolate the strikers.

In a recent letter to all USWA locals in District 33, which includes the iron range, District Director Linus Wampler appealed for support.

"The strikers and their families are depending on you," he wrote. "Don't let them down. Make that donation at your next Union meeting."

Send donations to: United Steelworkers of America, District 33 Strike and Defense Fund, 334 West Superior, Duluth, Minnesota 55802.

Copies of messages can also be sent to USWA Local 1938 (the largest of the fifteen striking locals) at 307 North 1st Street, Virginia, Minnesota 55792.

Women on the Iron Range

'We want dignity and consideration'

By Bob Schwarz and Joyce Stoller

MOUNTAIN IRON, Minn.—In June 1975 the management at U.S. Steel's Minntac plant here took action to institutionalize discrimination against its women workers. All of the women working in and around the iron ore mining pits were assigned to one all-female track gang.

"They were going to set us off somewhere—I think there were fifteen women then—to count spikes or pile plates, to do menial tasks that would be a drag," recalls Karen Hill, one of the first women to work in the open pit mines on the Mesabi Iron Range.

"There was no way that I was going to do that," Hill says. Having spent nine months working with both men and women on the crews that lay track for the heavy mining machinery, Hill knew that she and other women didn't have to be segregated in a "women's work" division.

"I'm well coordinated. I could drive down a spike with a hammer just as well as the guys. I didn't have quite as much power, but my accuracy was better. I could outspike a lot of the guys," she explains.

So Hill refused assignment to the all-women's gang, and she was suspended from work for five days.

"When I came back to work, I demanded to be a track boss [the worker responsible for the safety and work schedule of his or her crew]. And I got it because I told them I was filing a sex discrimination suit challenging the all-women crew. They laughed at first, but after a while they weren't laughing anymore."

U.S. Steel settled out of court and ended the segregated crews.

In a recent interview with the *Militant*, Hill, Lynne Henderson, and Debbie Erickson talked about some of the problems facing women on the iron range.

Some 18,000 iron ore workers have been on strike on the Mesabi Range since August 1 over 1,250 local issues. They are members of the United Steelworkers of America. Workers at Minntac are in USWA Local 1938.

Deliberate harassment

Some of the problems for the women iron ore miners stem from the companies' reluctance to adapt to a work force no longer exclusively male. Other problems result from deliberate and sustained management harassment of women.

The women say some of their most vicious persecutors are the temporary foremen bucking for permanent positions. Humiliating and victimizing women workers is a sure way to impress those above these lowly bosses.

Foremen feel free to walk in the women's "dry"—the area with lockers and toilet facilities—while women are changing clothes.

Women get the least desirable jobs—the dirtiest and hardest—or they get stuck with sweeping or kitchen and toolroom duty.

Henderson gives an example of how petty the company can be. In the women's dry there is one toilet and one urinal. "Since there were then eighteen women and only one half-hour break for lunch, Karen suggested they replace the urinal with another toilet."

Instead, U.S. Steel told the women to



From left to right: Lynne Henderson, Karen Hill, Debbie Erickson

Militant/Libby Moser

move upstairs to an area where there was already more than one toilet. The upstairs area had even less privacy and it was near the men's showers. It was also right by the top supervisors' area, a prospect totally unappealing to the women. So they decided to stick with their one-toilet area.

"Now the company calls all our complaints 'just another pissing contest,'" interjects Hill.

Lowest job class

After two years in the mine pits, Hill was job class two, the lowest you can get.

The track boss job, which she demanded and got, briefly interrupted those first two years. "I did a damn good job," she says.

But the company tried to make her new situation as miserable as it could. "Every time I turned my back there was a foreman watching." No track tools or vehicle were assigned her. Every day she had to wait until all the vehicles were given to the male track bosses, then she got whatever "wreck" was left.

"I couldn't take it any longer after two months." She demoted herself back to the track crew.

Meanwhile, says Henderson, the company continued to spread rumors and warnings to the new women hired about how Hill was "crazy" and a "troublemaker."

Henderson's friendship with Hill was one reason she soon got in hot water with plant management. Four hours short of completing her probation, Henderson was fired for "unsatisfactory work" and "absenteeism."

Hill immediately wrote up a petition in support of her co-worker. Within fifteen minutes most of the men who had worked with Henderson signed, vouching for her good work record.

The rumor sweeping the mine, both women report, attributed the firing to the company's charge that Henderson and Hill were lesbians. "The word was that if Lynne didn't have a job, maybe she would have enough sense to go back to her husband," said Hill.

Meanwhile, Henderson studied her pay stubs and discovered that U.S. Steel had made an error. In fact, she had worked 524 hours, not 516. Her probation ended at 520. Since this meant she was in the union, and

couldn't be fired for such flimsy and unsubstantiated charges, she was rehired.

Hill contends that "any man I ever worked with would say that I was a good worker and would work with me any day." Yet she received thirteen discipline slips and fifteen days suspension from April of this year until June. She recently quit U.S. Steel and is now unemployed.

Hill and Henderson aren't satisfied with the help they received from their local union. They feel the union leadership has been "reluctant" to confront women's issues.

"All we are asking for is a little more dignity and consideration from company representatives," says Hill. "We want more involvement and concern by Local 1938 officials."

Safety

"They won't let you take pride in your work," Hill commented. "Just get it done, and they don't care if you kill yourself doing it." One day Henderson and Erickson got tired of the way the foremen just throw new workers into the mining pits without explaining anything.

"The rubber balls are coming by and the shovel is going this way, and you don't even know the terminology," says Henderson.

"Debbie and I asked if we could get on the safety committee so that we could take the new employees aside for an hour and explain to them how to pull this cable. We didn't want extra pay or different hours—just the okay from the safety supervisor in the administration building."

"Well, he more or less took us like two little girls, and he patted us on the back and said, 'Well, girls, we don't have any openings for about three years, because there won't be anybody leaving our safety department.'"

"We weren't concerned about the position or the money, we were just concerned about safety. But they wouldn't listen to us. They don't care about that."

The clincher to the humiliating experience occurred when they got back—having taken their lunch half-hour to make the visit—and the foreman threatened them with a disciplinary notice for taking a company vehicle up to the administration building.

Solidarity sought for Pgh. steel strikers

By Mark Zola

PITTSBURGH—Eighty-five members of United Steelworkers of America Local 2584 went on strike October 28 against the Pittsburgh Gear division of Bucyrus-Erie Corporation.

The strike at Pittsburgh Gear, which is located on Neville Island just west of Pittsburgh, is expected to be a long and bitter one.

The contract expired at midnight October 31. But the company provoked a wildcat walkout three days early by

Mark Zola is a member of United Steelworkers of America Local 2789 and an activist in the Subdistrict 4 Council of Steelworkers.

trying to move machinery out of the plant, clearly intending to set up operations elsewhere and continue production during a strike.

The situation of Local 2584 is typical of the plight of small shops in the USWA. With wages ranging from \$3.98 to \$5.25 an hour, Pittsburgh Gear workers are among the lowest paid USWA members in the area.

The union is demanding substantial improvement in wages and benefits.

The company is trying to hold the line on wages and erode benefits won in past contracts. For example, the company is demanding a mandatory overtime provision that could require a fifty-three-hour workweek if management deemed it necessary.

The members of Local 2584 are also demanding reinstatement of their president, Len Barker, who was fired August 18 for "insubordinate behavior." His crime was raising his voice to a foreman during a dispute over a safety violation by the company.

One thing that makes this small strike unusual is the effort to organize solidarity among other steelworkers in the area.

The Subdistrict 4 Council of Steelworkers, a group of union officers and activists from small shops in the Neville Island-McKees Rocks-Coraopolis-Carnegie area, has begun a campaign to defend Barker and support the Pittsburgh Gear strikers.

The latest issue of the council's newsletter, *Steelworkers Voice*, is devoted to Barker's firing. It states:

"The firing of Len Barker at this time was clearly an attempt by the company to demoralize the members of Local 2584, disrupt the functioning of the union negotiating committee, of which Len is chairman, and by doing so to ram through the kind of contract they want and to substantially weaken the union."

Steelworkers Voice linked the firing to the general employer offensive against the unions:

"The Len Barkers of the workplace are obstacles to that drive by the employers to get more work out of fewer workers, to get around costly and time-consuming safety regulations, and to keep wages and benefits as low as possible," the newsletter stated.

"Len Barker is no special individual. There are people like Len in every plant in the country. There just comes a time when working people have to stand up and say: enough."

Within days of the beginning of the strike, the council organized distribution of 2,000 copies of their newsletter appealing for support to Barker and Local 2584 in mills throughout the Neville Island area.

Union-busting drive at Houston plant

Interview with fired steelworker



Tom Leonard distributes leaflets to co-workers asking for support in his campaign to be rehired

Militant/Stu Singer

By Joel Britton

HOUSTON—The employer offensive against working people takes many forms. Here in Houston, the Hydril Company continues a union-busting drive aimed at members of the United Steelworkers of America.

Since last spring, when Local 5801 signed a new contract with this Los Angeles-based oil tool company, some 100 workers have been fired or harassed into quitting. Hydril now maintains a work force of about 500.

The *Militant* discussed this offensive with Tom Leonard, a journeyman machinist whom Hydril fired in September on trumped-up charges of "excessive absenteeism."

Leonard detailed some of Hydril's attacks: mandatory six-day workweeks for an indefinite period and forced overtime with no advance notice. Management arrogantly states it can work everyone sixteen hours a day, seven days a week, if it feels like it.

Jobs usually done by two or more workers have been combined in an effort to squeeze more production out of fewer workers.

Wages under attack

Wages are also under attack. Workers are upgraded into higher job classifications without getting a pay increase, or they are kept at the lowest level of a three-step job progression even though qualified for full pay. The incentive-pay program has been computerized in such a way that workers who were making more than \$100 a week bonus pay a year ago now get \$30 or \$40 for the same amount of work.

Leonard notes that Hydril has long been considered a poor place to work. New workers often express surprise that a union even holds a contract with management.

But during negotiations for a new contract last winter, a team of industrial relations "experts" and a new plant manager were brought in. They set out to destroy any semblance of union conditions, stepping up disciplinary actions and firings.

Anonymous death threats were directed at Billy Roberts and Joe Cayton, two union stewards who were trying to answer the company attacks by filing a large number of grievances with management. As provided for by the

contract, stewards file grievances when disputes cannot be verbally resolved on the shop level.

In the face of the threats to themselves and their families Roberts and Cayton quit their jobs. Roberts, who was within a few weeks of a ten-year seniority step in the retirement program, thus lost retirement benefits he would later have been entitled to.

After the new contract was approved in March—providing for a wage increase but giving up previous gains in working conditions—Hydril's union-wreckers brought in about a dozen new young foremen.

Leonard says, "Most have no shop experience, and some are ex-army officers recruited at Fort Benning, Georgia. One has been dubbed the 'captain' by the workers. Their sole purpose was to enforce discipline and weed out resisters."

Need for discussion

The union was not geared up to counter management's moves, says Leonard. The union officials—who themselves work in the plant—didn't see the need for a discussion taking place in membership meetings, so "a number of us began to grapple with how best to get such a discussion going."

"We observed that on our shift (11:00 p.m. to 7:00 a.m.) there were only two stewards out of the six provided for under the contract," Leonard says. "So many workers had had bad experiences with the grievance procedure—either as stewards themselves or as workers filing grievances—that hardly anyone would agree to serve."

"We knew the union-company grievance procedure is of little value when dealing with an outfit like Hydril. If you don't win your grievance at the first 'step'—a verbal confrontation with the foreman—the other three 'steps,' ending with an 'impartial' arbitrator, are usually an exercise in futility."

"But after consulting with the union president and discussing the situation with most of the workers on our shift, we decided to put forward four names to fill the vacant stewards positions."

"We figured that if we worked with other conscientious stewards, convinced more workers to attend union

meetings, and reported to the members on the scope and severity of management's attacks, we could convince all concerned of the need for a democratic discussion on what to do."

In the meantime, Hydril fired Leonard as he was in the process of being elected steward. Of the other three men, who were not elected, two have been fired on phoney charges of "absenteeism" or "incompetence," and one is being harassed, denied pay for work he had done.

'Excessive absenteeism'

The charge against Leonard of "excessive absenteeism" was based on a sick leave last July for which Leonard had a doctor's excuse and for being absent on his birthday, a holiday he applied for and took but was never paid for.

Leonard protested his firing and is

fighting to get his job back. In addition to going through the grievance procedure, Leonard distributed copies of "A letter to the members of Local 5801 USWA" at the entrance to Hydril's parking lot.

"I accuse Hydril of firing me not because of excessive absenteeism," Leonard wrote, "But because of my union activity. You will recall that at a union meeting last March to discuss the upcoming contract, I spoke out strongly against the absentee program. Because of the way it is set up, the company can and does use it to selectively fire workers they consider undesirable, especially those who engage in union activity."

"Last April, three weeks after the contract was signed, I received a letter from management threatening to terminate me because I was supposed to have made ONE piece of scrap. Since then I have been working under the strain of this threat against my job."

Leonard, who had been nominated for the steward position at a union meeting in August, was elected at a meeting September 14, after Hydril had fired him. He appealed to his co-workers "for your support to defend my right to a job and the right to be an active member of Local 5801."

"I am confident," Leonard concluded, "that with your help and the continuing support of the union leadership I can win this grievance hands down."

Hydril management didn't take kindly to the idea that Leonard should have the right to appeal to his fellow workers for support. On the day Leonard passed out his letter, plant manager Paul Barringer arrived much earlier than usual—about 7:15 a.m.—and ordered Leonard to leave, despite the fact that he was within his rights to pass out this letter on public property.

Leonard had reached most of the workers leaving work and those arriving and decided to avoid a physical confrontation that would cloud the issue. In an earlier attempt to intimidate Leonard, Hydril Industrial Public Relations Director Joe Johnson had called in sheriff's deputies the night he was fired to escort him out of the plant.

The letter was well received by Hydril workers, some of whom posted it up around the shop and in the lunchroom.

Hydril has denied Leonard's grievance, and the union has agreed to take it to arbitration.

In a coming issue of the *Militant* Leonard will discuss other aspects of the struggle against Hydril's attacks and for union democracy.

Hughes Tool strikers return to work

By John Sarge

HOUSTON—Members of the United Steelworkers Local 1742 voted to return to work October 24. The 2,800-member local has been on strike here against the Hughes Tool Company since September 18. Hughes Tool is the nation's largest producer of oil field drilling equipment.

The return-to-work proposal was by no means accepted unanimously by the 2,000 workers attending the October 24 meeting. Several times boos interrupted reports on the negotiated settlement, and many strikers shouted questions at the international staff representative.

The new contract includes an average \$1.25-an-hour raise over three years, one additional holiday, increased retirement benefits, and a cost-of-living clause.

The gains fell far short of the union's demands, which included \$1.76-an-hour raise the first year for the lowest-paid workers, more vaca-

tions, sick leave, as well as a stronger safety clause.

The union negotiating committee reported that Hughes Tool hired more than 500 scabs during the strike.

The union also faces a court appearance October 26 to answer more company charges that strikers violated a court order limiting pickets.

In return for the settlement, the union negotiators agreed that Hughes Tool could fire up to fourteen strikers for alleged acts of violence against scabs and company property.

The company has ten days to call back striking workers, but it has announced plans to keep all scabs on the payroll. The returning strikers are guaranteed their pre-strike labor grades but not their shift or job classification. Scabs will be allowed to maintain the jobs they worked during the strike.

Calendar

BALTIMORE

CRISIS IN SOUTH AFRICA. Panel discussion. Speakers: Dr. Thomas Quaynar, professor, Morgan State U.; Clarence Davis, African Studies Association; Ollie Bivins, YSA. Fri., Nov. 11, 8 p.m. 2117 N. Charles St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (301) 547-0668.

BOSTON: ROXBURY

THE BATTLE OF BOSTON. A film showing. Speaker: Brenda Franklin, NSCAR. Fri., Nov. 11, 8 p.m. 612 Blue Hill Ave., Dorchester (corner of Columbia and Blue Hill). Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 288-0753.

CAMBRIDGE

THE DEATH PENALTY AND THE CASE OF THE DAWSON FIVE. Speaker: Dr. Hugo Bedau, professor of philosophy at Tufts U. and an expert witness on the death penalty at the trial of the Dawson Five. Fri., Nov. 18, 8 p.m. 2 Central Square, second floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 547-4395.

CHAPEL HILL, N.C.

CARTER'S FIRST YEAR: A SOCIALIST VIEW. Speaker: Maceo Dixon, SWP National Committee. Mon., Nov. 7, 7:30 p.m. UNC Student Union, room 215. Ausp: YSA, Black Student Movement. For more information call (919) 967-5425.

CINCINNATI

TEN DAYS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD. Eisenstein's film on the Russian revolution. Fri., Nov. 11, 8 p.m. 970 E. McMillan (Peebles Corner). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (513) 751-2636.

CLEVELAND

THE CRISIS IN CLEVELAND SCHOOLS. Speakers: James Hardiman, NAACP; Deborah Lloyd, candidate for Cleveland School Board; representative, Cleveland Teachers Union; Lynda Joyce, SWP. Sun., Nov. 6, 7 p.m. 2300 Payne Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 861-4166.

DENVER

RALLY FOR THE 'MILITANT.' Speakers: Willie Mae Reid, 1976 SWP vice-presidential candidate;

Everett Chávez, Colo. Coalition on Immigration & Human Rights; Ken Debey, business agent, Brewery Workers Local 366. Fri., Nov. 11, 7 p.m. Unitarian Church, 1400 Lafayette St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (303) 837-1018.

DETROIT: EAST SIDE

NUCLEAR POWER: DANGER TO HUMANITY. Speakers: representative from Safe Energy Coalition; Sandy Knoll, SWP. Sun., Nov. 6, 7:30 p.m. 12920 Mack. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 824-1160 or 961-5675.

DETROIT: WEST SIDE

TEN DAYS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD. A film by Sergei Eisenstein. Celebrate the 60th anniversary of the Russian revolution. Sun., Nov. 6, 7 p.m. and 9 p.m. 18415 Wyoming. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 341-6436.

HOUSTON

ELECTION EVE PARTY & RALLY FOR THE 'MILITANT.' Speakers: Linda Jenness, member of SWP National Committee; Diane Sarge, SWP candidate for mayor. Tues., Nov. 8, 6 p.m. Sebring Apts., Club Room, 105 W. Tidwell. Donation: \$1; buffet dinner: \$2.50. Ausp: the Militant, Houston Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, YSA. For more information call (713) 526-1082.

MILWAUKEE

TEN DAYS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD. Film showing. Fri., Nov. 11, 8 p.m. 3901 N. 27th. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (414) 442-8170.

NEW YORK CITY *

ELECTION NIGHT PARTY. Come hear the socialist candidates; refreshments, dancing. Tues., Nov. 8, 8 p.m. 140-42 2nd Ave., Manhattan. Donation: \$1. Ausp: New York Socialist Workers 1977 Campaign Committee. For more information call (212) 260-6461.

NEW YORK: BROOKLYN

UNION-BUSTING AT LONG ISLAND UNIVERSITY: CAFETERIA WORKERS UNDER ATTACK. Speakers: Mary Quinonez, LIU cafeteria worker; James Robles, LIU student; others. Fri., Nov. 11, 8 p.m. 220-222 Utica Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 773-0250.

NEW YORK: THE BRONX
DEFENDING ABORTION RIGHTS AND AGAINST FORCED STERILIZATION. Speakers: Sharon Grant, Minority Women's Task Force of N.Y. NOW; others. Fri., Nov. 11, 8 p.m. 2271 Morris Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (212) 365-6652.

INTRODUCTION TO SOCIALISM CLASS SERIES. Saturdays, 3 p.m. 2271 Morris Ave. Ausp: Bronx SWP. For more information call (212) 365-6652.

NEW YORK: CHELSEA

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION: THE TRANSITIONAL METHOD FOR SOCIALIST REVOLUTION. Speaker: Paul Montauk. Fri., Nov. 11, 7:30 p.m. 200½ W. 24th St. (just off 7th Ave.) Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 989-2731.

NEW YORK: QUEENS

THE FIGHT FOR INTRO 544—NEW YORK CITY'S GAY RIGHTS BILL. Speakers: Sheryl Adams, lesbian rights coordinator, New York NOW; Michael Maggi, Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights; others. Fri., Nov. 11, 8 p.m. 90-43 149th St., Jamaica. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 658-7718.

PHILADELPHIA: WEST PHILADELPHIA
TEN DAYS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD. A film showing and speaker. Fri., Nov. 11, 8 p.m. 218 S. 45th St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) EV7-2451.

SAN ANTONIO

FIFTY YEARS OF THE 'MILITANT' NEWSPAPER. Speaker: Linda Jenness, 1972 SWP presidential candidate; others. Sat., Nov. 12, 8 p.m. 1317 Castroville Rd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (512) 432-7625.

SEATTLE

CARTER AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN LATIN AMERICA: MYTH VERSUS REALITY. Speaker: Hugo Blanco, Peruvian peasant leader. Wed., Nov. 9, 12:30 p.m. and 7:30 p.m. HUB Auditorium, U. of Wash. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Associated Students of the University of Washington, YSA, UW Department of Latin American Studies, USLA, others. For more information call (206) 329-7404.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: GEORGIA AVE.
SIXTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION. Film: *Mother*. Fri., Nov. 11, 8 p.m.

Douglass Hall, Howard Univ. campus. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

Reports from San Antonio

OAKLAND-BERKELEY
STOP DEPORTATIONS: A REPORT FROM SAN ANTONIO. Speaker: Frobén Lozada, SWP; others. Fri., Nov. 11, 8 p.m. 1467 Fruitvale Ave., Oakland. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 261-1210.

PHILADELPHIA: GERMANTOWN
REPORT ON SAN ANTONIO ANTIDEPORTATION CONFERENCE. Speakers: Ron Melincoff, SWP; others. Fri., Nov. 11, 8 p.m. 5950 Germantown Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: SWP & YSA. For more information call (215) 387-2451 or 844-2874.

ST. LOUIS: NORTH SIDE
STOP RACIST ATTACKS ON UNDOCUMENTED WORKERS: EYEWITNESS REPORT ON THE NATIONAL CHICANO/LATINO CONFERENCE. Speaker: Mary Pritchard, SWP. Fri., Nov. 11, 8 p.m. 4875 Natural Bridge. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (314) 381-0044.

ST. LOUIS: WEST END
STOP THE DEPORTATIONS: A REPORT FROM THE NATIONAL CHICANO/LATINO CONFERENCE. Film, *The Unwanted*, a documentary on the plight of undocumented workers. Fri., Nov. 11, 8 p.m. 6223 Delmar. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (314) 725-1570.

WASHINGTON, D.C.
STOP THE DEPORTATIONS: REPORT ON OCT. 28-30 NATIONAL CHICANO/LATINO CONFERENCE ON IMMIGRATION AND PUBLIC POLICY. Speakers: Frank Shaffer-Corona, candidate, D.C. School Board at large; Afrodita Constantinidis, SWP candidate, D.C. School Board at large. Fri., Nov. 11, 8 p.m. 2416 18th St. NW. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7706.

...schools

Continued from page 4

commented on the growing crisis in education.

"The deterioration in public education will not be reversed without fundamentally reversing existing priorities," Garza said.

"Human and social needs will have to be placed ahead of corporate profits.

"Washington's monstrous arms budget will have to go.

"A basic restructuring of the entire tax system will have to be carried through.

"Neither the Democratic or Republican parties will support such a program. That's for sure. Public education cannot be defended without directly confronting the government, the big-business parties, and the major corporate and financial institutions of this country.

"That is a difficult task," said Garza. "It will require the kind of giant steps in social consciousness and class solidarity that originally made possible the building of the labor movement.

"But it is not as difficult as wasting your time trying to get Democratic politicians to grant some consideration to teachers and schoolchildren, while they impose a ruthless program of massive cutbacks.

"That," said Garza, "is the sure road to defeat."

... 'Bakke'

Continued from page 5

the lawyer who argued Allan Bakke's claim of "reverse discrimination" before the U.S. Supreme Court, told the gathering that quotas should not be used to make affirmative-action programs work.

The picket was organized by the Atlanta Student Coalition Against Racism, which called Colvin "the most eloquent spokesperson against the rights of minorities and women today."

Earlier Colvin had appeared at an AJC news conference, where a letter

from President Carter was released. The letter repeated the Carter administration's contention that affirmative-action quotas are "exclusionary," while claiming that the administration supports affirmative action.

Jeff Miller, Atlanta SCAR coordinator, scored the Carter letter. "Quotas have always been used to determine who gets a job and who goes to school," he said. "The problem is that historically the quota for minorities and women has been zero."

Pickets carried signs reading, "Full equality now, reverse the Bakke ruling," and, "Reverse discrimination equals 'whites only.'"

The picket followed an emergency planning meeting of eighty-five people organized by Atlanta SCAR October 12.

At the meeting Rev. Fred Taylor, director of chapters and affiliates of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, called on students to take the lead in protesting the Bakke ruling.

Peter Joy, assistant director of the National Law Students Civil Rights Research Council, described the Supreme Court's reaction to protest:

"The Supreme Court doesn't sit there in a vacuum," he said. "The myth is they don't read the newspapers. The number of protests going on does affect what they do."

Atlanta SCAR spokesperson Janett Brammer stated, "Some people say we should all sit quiet as mice waiting for the Supreme Court to rule. But we know that the Supreme Court is no friend of Blacks and women. We are here to protest."

...Kent

Continued from back page

October 23 issue of the *Akron Beacon Journal*, when the protest began, "about 50 university police lined up, armed with tear gas, shotguns and machine guns."

Meanwhile, as police armed with machine guns were breaking up demonstrations, and as students were being arrested for reading the Consti-

tution, university lawyer Anthony DeVenere insisted, "We're not muffling persons from speaking. All we're asking is that some reasonable conditions be imposed on free speech in an assembly form."

The university administration is asking Judge Jones to extend the temporary ban on protests to July 1, 1978. A hearing on this request is scheduled for November 10.

KSU President Golding has doubtless had some practice in using injunctions to prevent the exercise of democratic rights. A professional and management consultant to industrial concerns for twelve years, Golding serves on the boards of several corporations, including Armco Steel.

However, it appears as if Golding may have gone too far. The attempt to ban demonstrations, which follows moves to throw the Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB) off campus because of its involvement in the protests, has stirred extensive opposition.

The RSB's tactics in the protests have resulted in its becoming somewhat isolated. In the leadership of the May 4 Coalition, the RSB has concentrated its efforts on attempting to physically occupy the construction site, in defiance of court orders. This has naturally led to confrontations with the police and has given a handle to the university administration in its attempts to blame the violence on the protesters.

The KSU administration's most recent attacks on free speech and the right to assemble and protest have opened a new situation.

As a statement by the KSU Young Socialist Alliance explained:

"The KSU administration's actions represent the most serious attack on students' rights to occur on any college campus in years. . . .

"Many students disagree with the strategy used by the May 4 Coalition. We think that their strategy of organizing illegal activities to confront the police has limited the number of people willing to become involved in the struggle and has given the administration an opening to crack down on

students' rights.

"Despite these differences, we understand that the administration's attacks, which have focused on the activities of the May 4 Coalition, are attacks on every student's democratic rights.

"Last week, when the YSA attempted to have a leaflet printed, we were informed that the administration would not allow the KSU printing service to print anything critical of the administration's position. . . .

"We believe that Golding and the administration will not stop here, but will continue to escalate these attacks. Today the very elementary rights of freedom of speech, press, and assembly are threatened at KSU. The only effective way to fight against these attacks is by everyone joining together, no matter what our political differences.

"Not only must students at Kent unite in this free speech fight, but we also need the support of students nationwide, as well as civil rights, women's, and labor organizations."

Telegrams of protest to the Kent State administration may be sent to: KSU President Brage Golding, Rockwell Hall, Kent State University, Kent, Ohio 44242.

YSA convention

The free speech fight at Kent State, the struggle to overturn the Bakke decision, South Africa, and women's rights will be among the topics discussed at the December 28-January 1 national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance to be held in Detroit, Michigan.

For more information, contact the YSA National Office, P.O. Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

**Detroit
Dec. 28-Jan.1**

The Freedom Struggle in South Africa

by Tony Thomas



The Freedom Struggle in South Africa

By Tony Thomas
24 pp., 35 cents

Includes: 'The United States and Apartheid'; 'Southern Africa: Struggle on the Rise'; and 'A Call for Solidarity with South African Blacks'

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

Woman's Evolution

From Matriarchal Clan
To Patriarchal Family

By Evelyn Reed
512 pp., \$15.00, paper \$4.95
Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Rallies for the "Militant"

Hear national leaders of SWP

Albuquerque

Saturday, November 12, 7:30 p.m.
University of New Mexico SUB-North Ballroom, 312 Princeton SE.
Speaker: Willie Mae Reid.
Reception: 6:00 p.m.

Chicago

Friday, November 11, 7:30 p.m. St. Paul and the Redeemer Church, 4945 S. Dorchester. Speaker: Maceo Dixon.

Dallas

Friday, November 11, 8:00 p.m. 2215 Cedar Crest. Speaker: Linda Jennings.

Denver

Friday, November 11, 7:30 p.m. Unitarian Universalist Church, 1400 Lafayette. Speaker: Willie Mae Reid. Donation: \$2.00.

Detroit

Sunday, November 13, Downtown YMCA, 2230 Witherell, Room 601. Reception: 7:00 p.m. Rally: 8:00 p.m. Speaker: Maceo Dixon.

Salt Lake City

Tuesday, November 8, 7:30 p.m. West High School, Room 109, 241 N. 3rd West. Speaker: Willie Mae Reid. Donation: \$1.00.

San Antonio

Saturday, November 12, 8:00 p.m. 1317 Castrovilla Road. Speaker: Linda Jennings. Donation: \$1.00.

San Jose

Thursday, November 10, 8:00 p.m. 957 1st St. Speaker: Olga Rodriguez.

Help boost Militant \$50,000 Fund Drive

For more information, contact the SWP headquarters in your city at the address listed below.

Socialist Directory

ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 314 E. Taylor, Phoenix, Ariz. 85004. Tel: (602) 255-0450.

Tucson: SWP, YSA, SUPO 20965, Tucson, Ariz. 85720. Tel: (602) 795-2053.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley: SWP, YSA, Granma Bookstore, 3264 Adeline St., Berkeley, Calif. 94703. Tel: (415) 653-7156.

East Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 1237 S. Atlantic Blvd., East Los Angeles, Calif. 90022. Tel: (213) 265-1347.

Long Beach: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 3322 Anaheim St., Long Beach, Calif. 90804. Tel: (213) 597-0965.

Los Angeles, Crenshaw District: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 2167 W. Washington Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif. 90018. Tel: (213) 732-8196.

Los Angeles: City-wide SWP, YSA, 1250 Wilshire Blvd., Room 404, Los Angeles, Calif. 90017. Tel: (213) 482-1820.

Oakland: SWP, YSA, 1467 Fruitvale Ave., Oakland, Calif. 94601. Tel: (415) 261-1210.

San Diego: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 1053 15th St., San Diego, Calif. 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630.

San Francisco: City-wide SWP, YSA, 3004 16th St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103. Tel: (415) 626-6288.

San Francisco, Mission District: SWP, Socialist Bookstore, Libreria Socialista, 3284 23rd St., San Francisco, Calif. 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992.

San Francisco, Western Addition: SWP, 973 Page St., San Francisco, Calif. 94117. Tel: (415) 626-6814.

San Jose: SWP, YSA, 957 S. 1st St., San Jose, Calif. 95110. Tel: (408) 295-8342.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 916 Broadway, Denver, Colo. 80203. Tel: (303) 837-1018.

FLORIDA: Miami: SWP, YSA, Box 431096, South Miami, Fla. 33143. Tel: (305) 266-4381.

Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Linda Thalman, 1303 Ocala Rd. #140, Tallahassee, Fla. 32304. Tel: (904) 576-5737.

GEORGIA: East Atlanta: SWP, 471A Flat Shoals Ave. SE, P.O. Box 5596, Atlanta, Ga. 30307. Tel: (404) 688-6739.

West Atlanta: SWP, Militant Bookstore, 137 Ashby, P.O. Box 92040, Atlanta, Ga. 30314. Tel: (404) 755-2940.

ILLINOIS: Champaign-Urbana: YSA, 284 Illini Union, Urbana, Ill. 61801.

Chicago: City-wide SWP, YSA, 407 S. Dearborn #1145, Chicago, Ill. 60605. Tel: SWP—(312) 939-0737; YSA—(312) 427-0280.

Chicago, North Side: SWP, Pathfinder Books, 1870 N. Halsted, Chicago, Ill. 60614. Tel: (312) 642-4811.

Chicago, South Side: SWP, Militant Bookstore, 2251 E. 71st St., Chicago, Ill. 60649. Tel: (312) 643-5520.

Chicago, West Side: SWP, Pathfinder Books, 5967

W. Madison, Second Floor, Chicago, Ill. 60644. Tel: (312) 261-8370.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

Indianapolis: SWP, 4163 College Ave., Indianapolis, Ind. 46205. Tel: (317) 925-2616.

KENTUCKY: Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952 University Station, Lexington, Ky. 40506. Tel: (606) 233-1270.

Louisville: SWP, Militant Bookstore, 1505 W. Broadway, Louisville, Ky. 40203. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 3812 Magazine St., New Orleans, La. 70115. Tel: (504) 891-5324.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2117 N. Charles St., Baltimore, Md. 21218. Tel: (301) 547-0668.

College Park: YSA, c/o Student Union, University of Maryland, College Park, Md. 20742. Tel: (301) 454-4758.

Prince Georges County: SWP, 4318 Hamilton St., Rm. 10, Hyattsville, Md. 20781. Tel: (301) 864-4867.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, c/o Rees, 4 Adams St., Easthampton, Mass. 01027.

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Louis, Mo. 63130. Tel: (314) 725-1571.

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Columbus: YSA, Box 106 Ohio Union (Rm. 308), Ohio State Univ., 1739 N. High St., Columbus, Ohio 43210. Tel: (614) 291-8985.

Kent: YSA, Student Center Box 41, Kent State University, Kent, Ohio 44242. Tel: (216) 678-2489.

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Bookstore, 5950 Germantown Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 19144. Tel: (215) VI4-2874.

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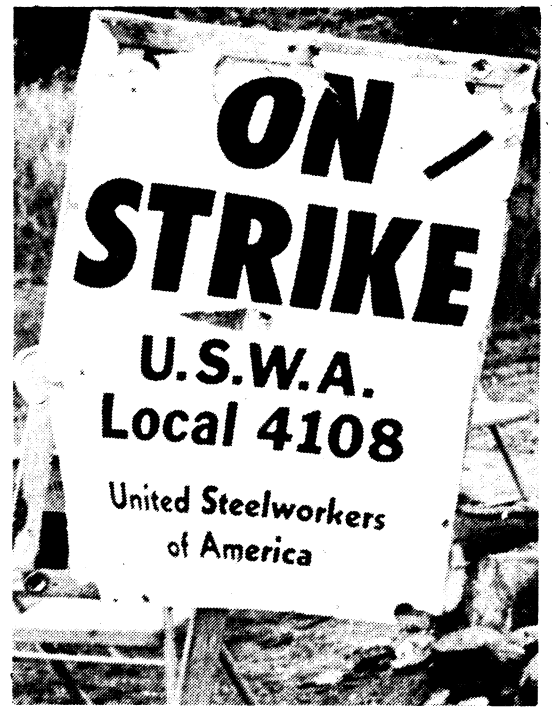
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THE MILITANT

STEEL UNION UNDER ATTACK

Support iron range strikers!



By Andy Rose

The jobs, wages, and working conditions of steelworkers are under attack across the country.

"Long, bitter strikes on rise," reports *Steel Labor*, official newspaper of the United Steelworkers of America.

The *New York Times* and other big-business papers gloat that the USWA, despite its size and strength, is "a union under siege."

- In St. Louis, Hussmann Refrigeration Company has brought in permanent scabs to replace 1,500 striking members of USWA Local 13889. Court injunctions, arrests, and violence by company goons have been used against strike pickets.

- Pullman-Standard Company has forced 6,500 steelworkers in four states on strike with a demand that the union give up a thirty-year-old contract clause allowing strikes over unresolved incentive-pay issues.

- Anaconda, owned by the giant Arco oil corporation, forced 2,500 workers in its brass division on strike by demanding wage cuts and elimination of the cost-of-living clause.

- U.S. Steel "settled" a strike at its cable division plant in Worcester, Massachusetts, by permanently closing the plant and firing the 450 strikers.

- Dozens of USWA locals with "me too" contracts—traditionally patterned after the basic steel agreement—are

finding that the employers now refuse to honor past practice and won't match the basic steel terms.

Mesabi strike

The longest and hardest-fought confrontation is on the Mesabi Iron Range. Some 18,000 iron ore workers in northern Minnesota and Michigan have been on strike since August 1 over hundreds of unresolved local contract issues.

The steel companies—which own and control the iron mining industry—refuse to negotiate seriously. They have branded the strike "illegal" and sued the union for \$1 million a day in

damages.

The companies' provocative stance in negotiations and strikes is only one side of the offensive.

At the same time, thousands of steelworkers have been laid off. The industry has launched a drive to close older plants, streamline operations, and increase productivity (speedup). The companies expect in this way to boost profits and improve their competitive position against Japanese and European steel.

By blaming the layoffs on imports, the industry hopes to divert attention from its own antilabor policies. It also seeks to blackmail steelworkers and

the public into accepting import restrictions, higher steel prices, tax giveaways to the corporations, and a roll-back of environmental standards.

Broader offensive

The steel company attacks are part of a broader anti-working-class offensive.

From layoffs of public employees and cutbacks in social services . . . to slashes in unemployment and welfare payments . . . to attacks on affirmative-action programs for women and minorities—the rich rulers of this country have taken aim at the

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Chicago locals step up solidarity

By Michael Gillespie

CHICAGO—Steelworkers here have stepped up their support to striking iron ore workers since the recent conference of United Steelworkers District 31.

After the October 14-15 conference—which passed a resolution of support and mandated a \$500-a-month donation from the district for the duration of the strike—two teams of Mesabi Iron Range strikers toured the Chicago-Gary district.

One three-member team led by John Perko, president of USWA Local 6115 at Inland Steel's Minorca plant, was invited south by Local 1010 at Inland's Indiana Harbor Works.

Minorca strikers, joined by Local 1010 members, leafleted the gates of Inland's huge 18,000-employee plant on October 25. The local's ranks responded with a collection of \$2,240 at the gates on November 1.

USWA Local 65 at U.S. Steel's South Works sponsored the visit of

four strikers from U.S. Steel's Minntac plant. Joe Samargia, president of Local 1938 at the Minntac facility, spoke to membership meetings at Local 65 and Local 1033.

Local 1033, representing 4,600 workers at Republic Steel's Chicago mill, donated \$300 to the strike fund after hearing Samargia's report.

Local 65 overwhelmingly passed a motion to sponsor an informational picket line at U.S. Steel's downtown Chicago headquarters blasting the company's strike-breaking tactics.

Free speech banned at Kent State

Students arrested for reciting 1st Amendment

By Bob Laycock

KENT, Ohio—In a move that has provoked wide protest, Judge J. Philip Jones has granted a preliminary injunction to the Kent State University (KSU) administration banning virtually all rallies, marches, and demonstrations on the campus.

Handed down October 26, the injunction follows months of protests against the plans of the administration to build a gym on the site where four Kent students were shot dead on May

KENT, Ohio—At a November 1 meeting here, called by the Committee Against Repressive Legislation, Kent State students set a legal, peaceful demonstration for November 9, to protest the injunction against campus rallies. The action will take place at Rugby Field, across from the student center, at 12 noon.

4, 1970, while protesting the war in Vietnam.

Although supposedly directed against the May 4 Coalition, an organization fighting construction of the gym, and any "persons and groups acting in concert" with the coalition,



Protesters flee tear gas at Kent State. In scene reminiscent of 1970, cops with machine guns broke up student demonstration on October 22.

the order is in reality aimed against all campus protests.

On October 24, police acting under an earlier injunction along the same lines arrested seven persons from the

Portage County Committee to Defend Free Speech. The seven had committed the crime of assembling to recite the First Amendment.

Among those arrested was Cate

Caldwell, executive secretary of the KSU student government. In the past, Caldwell has been active as a Young Republican.

An October 25 editorial in the *Daily Kent Stater*, the campus newspaper, protested that "KSU President Brage Golding and the courts of Portage County are abridging our constitutional rights by stating that we are not allowed to assemble on campus where and when we choose to voice our disagreement with the university or society in general."

"We abhor the ruling made Wednesday by Judge Jones," the *Kent Stater* declared in a second editorial October 27.

Robert App, a lawyer for the Portage County chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union, also condemned the injunction. He said that "what's happening at KSU is probably the largest concerted effort to abridge free speech in the state of Ohio since 1970."

The atmosphere on the KSU campus was indicated October 22 when as many as 1,500 persons protesting the construction of the gym were attacked by police. Nearly 300 cops from the northeast Ohio area were assembled, many on horseback. According to the

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