

THE MILITANT

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

Carter inflation plan robs workers

· Why our paychecks are buying less
 · How we can protect our living standards

—PAGE 7

President Carter's Oval Office speech to the nation October 24 was a declaration of war. War against the lives, rights, and living standards of working people.

Carter told American working people it is up to us to end inflation through greater sacrifice. "A time of national austerity," he called it.

He claimed his plan to "restrain" wages and prices, cut federal spending, and eliminate "needless" federal regulations is "fair" and would be "applied equally" to government, business, and labor.

But what is fair and equal about a scheme to limit pay raises to 7

ministrations. Only now it is the program of a Democratic Party president and an overwhelmingly Democratic Congress.

Carter unveiled his plan exactly two weeks before U.S. voters go to the polls to "choose" once again between Democratic and Republican politicians.

If documented evidence were needed to prove that working people have no representatives among the elected officials of these two parties, it would easily be found in the official record of the Ninety-fifth Congress.

Throwing aside any promises they might have made during the heat of election campaigns, the Democratic majority joined the Republican minority to defeat, bury, or otherwise dismantle virtually every prolabor measure before it.

The nation's rich, however—the energy trusts, the war industries, the polluting corporations—fared well at the hands of the Ninety-fifth.

They gained bigger tax breaks, decontrol of natural gas prices, slackened environmental standards, and the biggest military budget in history—\$126 billion.

Working people, on the other hand, were slapped with:

higher taxes, in spite of the fabled "tax cut," through a hike in social security taxes;

higher fuel bills because of the gas decontrol vote;

not a single job provided for in the misnamed Humphrey-Hawkins "full employment" bill;

no protection for union rights with defeat of the common situs picketing bill and burial of the admittedly symbolic labor law reform bill.

Is it any wonder that millions of Americans—the majority of voters—stay away from the voting booth on election day?

These nonvoting Americans are fed up with politics, as they know it—not only the betrayals of campaign promises by both Democrats and Republicans, but the mire of corruption, scandal, and cover-up that characterizes capitalist government.

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Vote Socialist Workers

percent—when real wages are already falling but profits are at an all-time high?

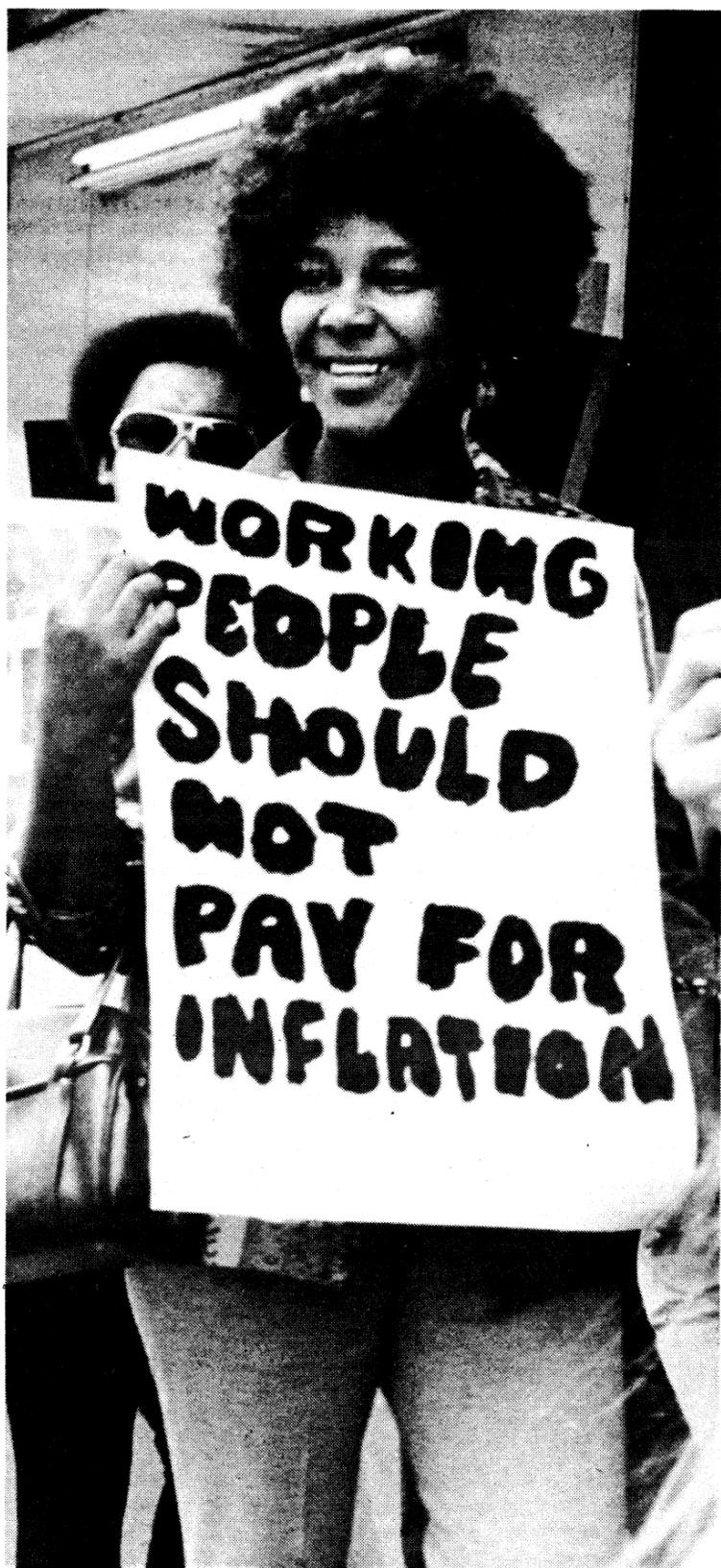
What is fair and equal about slashing government spending—not by abolishing the inflationary military budget—but by cutting social services and 20,000 federal jobs?

What is fair and equal about jeopardizing the health and safety of workers by dropping federal regulations in order to save employers money?

After all the sacrifices working people are expected to make, Carter's plan will do nothing to curb inflation (see news analysis, page 7).

Despite his effort to pawn it off as a fresh solution to the inflation crisis, Carter's plan has a familiar ring. It's the same demand for "sacrifice" and "austerity" we heard so many times from Nixon and Ford!

It is nothing more than a new round in the big-business offensive against labor launched under Republican ad-



Militant/Tom Vernier

...vote SWP

Continued from page 1

There is an alternative for voters on November 7—a working-class alternative. In twenty-five states plus Washington, D.C., the Socialist Workers Party is running candidates.

The socialists' program in the elections is first and foremost one that places human needs before profits.

It calls for a shortened workweek with no cut in pay to put the unemployed back to work. A massive public works project to build needed housing, schools, hospitals—financed with the

HELP US TALLY SOCIALIST VOTES

After using undemocratic election laws to keep socialist candidates off the ballot, the capitalist government then never wants to disclose how many votes the Socialist Workers Party got. In order to aid our vote tallying, we urge readers to send the 'Militant' all news clippings that list the vote of SWP candidates.

billions of tax dollars that now go for the U.S. war machine.

It calls for a cost-of-living adjustment for all workers based on the real inflation rate, not the government's phony consumer price index.

It calls for taxing the wealthy, not working people.

It calls for defending and expanding affirmative-action plans for women, Blacks, Chicanos, and other oppressed minorities in jobs and education.

It calls for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment, and full abortion rights for all women.

It calls for an end to the embargo against Cuba. U.S. out of Africa. Independence for Puerto Rico. And no U.S. aid to Israel, Nicaragua, Iran, and other dictatorships around the world.

It calls for a halt to nuclear plants, nuclear weapons, and for strict enforcement of pollu-



"As your representative in the great 95th Congress, it gives me true pleasure to present you with these crisp, new bills!"

tion and strip-mining controls.

This is where the socialist candidates stand. But they do more than talk about support to working people's struggles—they're part of them.

SWP candidates are unionists, fighting for better contracts, against attacks on affirmative action, and for a democratic union movement controlled by the ranks.

They're leaders of the women's movement, organizers and participants in mobilizations like the July 9 march of 100,000 for the ERA.

They're activists in the movement to get the United States out of southern Africa.

They're participants in the new and growing movement against nuclear plants and nuclear weapons.

The socialist candidates are working people who, like all working people, have a stake in these struggles.

The lawyers, businessmen, and millionaires of the Democratic and Republican parties have a stake in maintaining the status quo.

This never-changing line between the interests of working people and the interests of the two capitalist parties is why the socialist

candidates campaign for independent political action.

Labor can gain nothing by depending on Democratic and Republican politicians, the socialists say. The only rights we will win are those we fight for.

And when elections roll around, rather than resigning themselves to "lesser evil" Democrats, the unions should run their own independent labor candidates," the socialists say.

After the polls close November 7, members of the Socialist Workers Party will continue to campaign around these ideas. They will continue as activists in the struggles to better the conditions and living standards of the working class.

If you agree that the Democratic and Republican parties are controlled by big business,

if you agree that human needs should come before profits,

if you agree that a social system that oppresses and exploits millions at home and abroad must be changed. . . then you should be part of the socialist movement.

Join us in this fight—join the Socialist Workers Party.

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Prospects for Socialism in America

Jack Barnes, Mary-Alice Waters, Tony Thomas, Barry Sheppard, and Betsey Stone



This week's 'Militant' features a special ten-page feature on the November 7 elections—the Socialist Workers Party candidates, their program, and the party's stand on important election issues. (The articles begin on page 12; the candidates are listed on page 16.)

We hope new readers, and some not-so-new readers, will want to know more about the SWP after reading our election coverage.

'Prospects for Socialism in America' is a good place to begin. Written by leaders of the Socialist Workers Party, this book explains how a massive socialist movement can be built to take on the ruling rich and win.

226 pages, \$2.95
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The Militant

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Actions called for March 18-24 to protest apartheid in So. Africa

By John Hawkins

CHICAGO—"South Africa has become the cutting edge of the struggle of oppressed people around the world," said Dennis Brutus, exiled South African poet. He was addressing the opening session of the Midwest Conference on University and Corporate Involvement in South Africa. The conference took place October 20-22 at Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois.

"When we win [in South Africa]," Brutus continued, "we not only win for the people of South Africa but for the global struggle of oppressed people everywhere."

What the American people can do to support the liberation struggles in southern Africa was the theme of discussion at the conference.

Close to 400 anti-apartheid activists, from eight states in the Midwest, attended the three-day gathering.

Delegations came from more than thirty college campuses where student committees are actively pressing college administrations to sell stock in corporations doing business in South Africa. Ten Black student unions sent official representatives to the gathering.

Participants registered from twenty-nine unions, among them, auto workers, steelworkers, railroad workers, and Teamsters. Reflecting the growing opposition to apartheid among American working people, United Steelworkers Local 1010 sent two official delegates to participate in the conference sessions.

Carl Shier, international staff representative of the United Auto Workers, and Harold Rogers of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists also attended to help lead workshop discussions on labor's role in ending U.S. support to apartheid.

Also present were members of a dozen other organizations, including the Young Socialist Alliance, New American Movement, Chicago Committee for a Free Africa, Revolutionary Student Brigade, and Workers Viewpoint Organization.

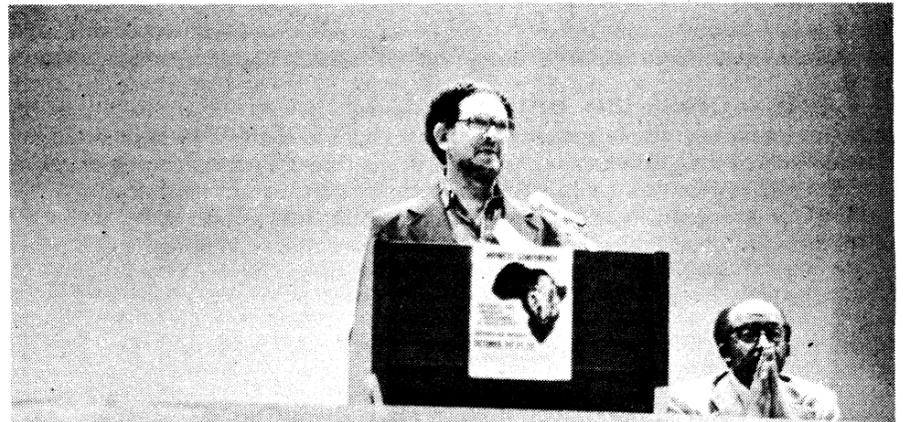
After discussions in plenary sessions and workshops, the activists adopted an ambitious plan of action.

March protests called

At the top of the list was a call for nationwide protests the week of March 18-24, 1979—the week of the anniversary of the March 21, 1960, Sharpeville massacre in South Africa. The conference also voted to circulate this proposal to upcoming conferences on South Africa in Raleigh and New York.

Many other proposals for action were adopted, including a proposal to help organize activities in defense of the Soweto Eleven—young Black South African activists currently facing political frame-up charges for their role in the June 1976 Soweto rebellion.

In order to coordinate the week of actions and other activities throughout the Midwest, conference participants voted to form a steering committee composed of representatives from organizations active in the anti-



MIDWEST CONFERENCE ON UNIVERSITY & CORPORATE INVOLVEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA

Militant/Lane Satterblom

Dennis Brutus addressing conference: Anti-apartheid movement 'can grow like the mobilizations we saw against the war in Vietnam, like the civil rights movement of the early 1960s.'

apartheid movement.

Conference participants responded enthusiastically when Brutus, the conference chairperson, announced at a Friday night rally that the proceedings were being taped by the United Nations for rebroadcast throughout the African continent.

Featured speakers at the rally were Ann Seidman, professor of economics at Brown University, and Drake Koka, secretary-general of the Black Allied Workers Union of South Africa and a founder of the Black People's Convention there. Both pointed out the need to intensify the "sell the stock" movement on college campuses and to organize a broad movement in solidarity with the freedom fighters.

Koka, currently on tour throughout the United States, received standing ovations from the crowd, who applauded his call for an end to U.S. economic, military, and political support to the white colonialist regime.

Also speaking at the rally were Basil Clunie, vice-chairperson of the Divestiture Working Group, the organization that sponsored the conference; Laszlo Hadas, member of the Hungarian delegation to the United Nations serving on the UN Special Committee On Apartheid; Ron Bailey, Northwestern University Coalition to End University Investments in South Africa; Paula Edwards, president of the Northwestern University Black students organization; and Mosonik Arap Korir, Divestiture Working Group chairperson.

After adopting rules and procedures

to ensure democratic discussion and decision making, conference participants heard reports from campus divestiture committees.

Among those campuses reporting activities were Carleton College, Associated Colleges of the Midwest, Earlham College in Indiana, Indiana University in Bloomington and Indianapolis, and University of Wisconsin at Madison.

Students also reported from Miami University in Ohio, Michigan State University, University of Illinois in Champaign-Urbana, University of Michigan, and Washington University in St. Louis.

Debate on campuses

Bob Van Meter of the University of Chicago Action Committee, reported that students there have made the divestiture issue "the most hotly debated issue on campus since the Vietnam War." U. of C., he reported, has more than \$65 million invested in corporations doing business in South Africa. Already more than 2,400 students and faculty have signed petitions demanding that the college administration sell the stock.

Sally Rees and Jay Kilbourn, leaders of the North East Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa (NECLSA), brought greetings to the conference from their area.

They reported on the developing divestiture movement at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst and

Continued on page 4

Nov. divestment conference winning support

By Omari Musa

The North East Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa (NECLSA) is stepping up efforts to publicize its conference slated for November 17-19 at New York University. The theme of the conference is "Organize to break U.S. ties to South Africa."

Leading up to the conference, NECLSA activists are carrying out a coordinated campaign of protests to target university board of trustees meetings. The actions are demanding that the universities get rid of investments in corporations operating in South Africa. Protests will also occur at offices of U.S. banks that provide loans to South Africa as well as IBM, Mobil Oil, Texaco, and General Motors.

NECLSA conference organizing committee member Sally Rees told the *Militant* that the protests so far this fall have led to the formation of new anti-apartheid groups at the University of the District of Columbia, Temple University in Philadel-

phia, and State University of New York in Albany.

Rees reports that Young Workers Liberation League chairperson James Steele has endorsed the conference.

United States Student Association President Frank Jackalone has also endorsed. The USSA was formed last August in a merger of the National Student Lobby and National Student Association.

The USSA will meet October 27-28 when it will discuss support for a proposal calling for a week of anti-apartheid actions March 18-24.

Rees also noted that activists in the J.P. Stevens Boycott Committee and Black Liberation Press in New York have expressed interest in participating in the conference.

Leaflets, posters, and educational material for the conference can be obtained from NECLSA, c/o American Committee on Africa, 305 East Forty-sixth Street, New York, New York 10017.

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NEXT WEEK

INFLATION: Who's to blame—workers or the profit system?

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW: George Novack on fifty years of American Trotskyism.

INTERVIEW WITH DRAKE KOKA: South African freedom fighter speaks out.

African solidarity notes



1,000 protest Ian Smith in L.A.

One thousand people turned out in Los Angeles October 16 to picket Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith and his three Black collaborators.

The picket line was held in Pershing Square across from the Biltmore Hotel, where Smith was being feted. The protest was organized by the Coalition Against Police Abuse (CAPA), the Los Angeles adult and youth chapters of the NAACP, and the Southern California Regional Coalition on Southern Africa.

Koka tours Massachusetts

South African trade-union and Black Consciousness Movement leader Drake Koka was in the Boston/Western Massachusetts area October 16-19.

Campuses in this area are in the forefront of the growing movement demanding universities get rid of stock they hold in U.S. companies investing in South Africa.

At Harvard University, Koka spoke to more than 150 students and supporters of the South African freedom struggle.

Mike Morgan, a white soldier who deserted the South African army, also spoke, along with Aggrey Mberu of the Harvard Graduate School of Education Black Student Union, and Jim Krieger of the Southern Africa Support Committee.

Koka also spoke at predominantly Black Roxbury Community College, and the University of Massachusetts in Boston. At U Mass Amherst 125 students attended a meeting sponsored by the Committee for the Liberation of Southern Africa and Distinguished Visitors Program, and the University of Massachusetts in both Boston and Amherst.

The Citywide Social Services Coordinating Committee (CSSCC) hosted a gathering for Koka in Boston. The CSSCC played a leading role in the struggle against racist violence and school desegregation in Boston.

Koka also spoke at a meeting of the Massachusetts Coalition for Full Employment.

NYU students picket trustees

New York University students picketed a board of trustees meeting October 17 demanding the university open its books to show how much it has invested in companies doing business in South Africa.

The action was organized by the NYU Coalition Against Apartheid.

The coalition also distributed material urging students to attend the anti-apartheid conference to be held November 17-19 at NYU.

The NYU action was part of the two weeks of coordinated campus actions endorsed by the North East Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa, which has called the November conference.

Other actions are slated for Amherst College, Columbia, Cornell, Dartmouth, Harvard, Princeton, Rutgers, State University of New York, Tufts, Vassar, Wellesley, and Yale.

For further information on the NECLSA conference contact: NECLSA, c/o American Committee on Africa, 305 East Forty-six Street, New York, New York 10017.

—Omari Musa

Carter moves ahead with neutron bomb

By David Frankel

Authorization for production of a new eight-inch nuclear artillery shell and a new Lance missile warhead, both designed as neutron weapons, was issued by President Carter on October 18. Neutron warheads are nuclear weapons designed to kill people with intense radiation while leaving buildings untouched.

News of the Pentagon's latest brainchild first came to public attention in June 1977. Appropriations for the deadly warhead had been hidden in the Department of Energy budget.

Worldwide revulsion and protests forced Carter to beat a temporary retreat. After some of the controversy had blown over, Carter adopted the tactic of going ahead with the neutron bomb one step at a time, while claiming at each step that the final decision to deploy the weapon had not yet been made, and that he was merely keeping his options open.

Thus, last April Carter claimed he was deferring production of the warhead while, at the same time, he pushed ahead with development of the missile and artillery shell designed to carry it. On October 18, Carter authorized work on the neutron warhead itself, but White House aides stressed that the final components for the weapon are not yet in production.

In short, Carter is building the gallows while deferring announcement of the sentence. As one key Carter aide explained to *Washington Post* correspondent Walter Pincus, "We're doing all we need to do now to fully produce the neutron component."

Carter's two-faced policy in regard to production of the neutron bomb has been matched by the hypocritical arguments attempting to justify its deployment. Pentagon officials have built up the neutron warhead as a defensive weapon for use against a hypothetical Soviet invasion of Western Europe.

But from the Pentagon's point of view, the neutron warhead would be perfectly suitable for taking an enemy-held city intact. It makes as much sense to call a B-52 bomber a "defensive" weapon as it does to label the neutron bomb this way.

The fact is that the neutron warhead represents a new escalation of the arms race. "Enhanced radiation warheads," as they are called by the Pentagon, will kill every living thing within any particular area, but their radius of effect is relatively small, making it easier to use them.

Production of neutron warheads thus makes the use of nuclear weapons more likely than ever.

And the first victims of the Pentagon's new weapon will not be Soviet forces in Europe, which have their own nuclear arms. Since the end of World War II, those who have felt the weight of U.S. military power the most have been the masses of people in the colonial world who have challenged imperialist domination.

From that point of view, the neutron bomb is really aimed at the Black freedom fighters in southern Africa, the liberation fighters challenging the Somoza dictatorship in Nicaragua, and the Iranian masses protesting the brutal regime of the shah.



...conference

Continued from page 3

at Wesleyan College, and invited activists in the Midwest to send representatives to the upcoming NECLSA-sponsored conference at New York University, November 17-19.

The growing solidarity movement, said Brutus, must be seen in the context of increased support to the South

African and Rhodesian regimes by Washington.

"We have succeeded," he said, "in organizing a movement that is already of enormous proportions. But more importantly, it is a movement with tremendous potential."

"It can grow—if we put our energy, our talents, and our guts into it—into a movement like the mobilizations we saw against the war in Vietnam. It can grow into a movement like the civil rights movement of the early 1960s."

Workshops were held on U.S. corporate and military support to the white minority regimes, university divestment, the fight against racism in the United States and South Africa, defense of South African political prisoners, and the role of the labor movement and Black movement in the fight to end U.S. support to apartheid.

The steering committee established by the gathering will have its first meeting in two to three weeks in Ann Arbor, Michigan. The conference delegated to it responsibility to choose a name for the new coalition and to begin organizing the week of actions.

Campus divestment committees and other organizations and coalitions active in the solidarity movement are invited to attend.

For more information contact Dennis Brutus, c/o English Department, University Hall, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, 60201 (312) 492-7294.

Sami Esmail released

By Arnold Weissberg

Bowing to international protests, the Israeli government agreed October 17 to parole Sami Esmail. Esmail, a twenty-four-year-old American of Palestinian descent, was imprisoned on false charges for eleven months.

He was arrested in Israel last December en route to visit his dying father, who was in the hospital in the Israeli-occupied West Bank.

He was charged with membership in the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, which is banned in Israel. He was not accused of being a member in Israel, but in the United States, where the PFLP is a legal organization.

The Zionist government's "evidence" against Esmail was supplied by the FBI and consisted of charges that he participated in legal pro-Palestinian and anti-Zionist actions while a student at Michigan State University.

The day before his release, an appeal on his behalf was sent to President Carter and to the attorney general of Israel. Signers included Sen. James Abourezk, Rev. Ralph Abernathy, I.F.

Stone, Daniel Berrigan, and more than 100 other prominent individuals.

"I dare to say that Israel bowed to American pressure," commented Esmail's attorney, Felicia Langer.

Esmail was paroled on condition that he leave Israel immediately.

DICK ROBERTS

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- Send me the 'Divest now!' button (50¢ each).
- Send me information about the YSA and its December 28-January 1 convention.

Socialists open special campaign, sales week

By Nelson Blackstock

This issue of the *Militant* is devoted to building support for Socialist Workers Party candidates in the November 7 elections.

Socialist supporters are campaigning for their candidates through a drive to get this paper into the hands of thousands of working people. In the *Militant* they will be able to read about candidates who have something different to say from the Democrats and Republicans, now flooding the airwaves and newspapers with their pro-big-business preachments.

As press time neared, the size of

bundle orders coming in for the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* were up sharply over past weeks. Reports indicate that some exciting plans are on the agenda.

In many places, socialist campaign rallies are coming up, and they will be publicized in conjunction with press circulation.

In most cities things will get underway with several hours of campaigning Saturday, October 28.

In San Francisco they will be getting out the word at a street rally in the

Continued on page 9

Weekly sales goals

CITY	MILITANT		PM		TOTAL		
	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Percent
Raleigh	125	172			125	172	137.6
San Antonio	75	110	25	25	100	135	135.0
Miami	80	113	20	15	100	128	128.0
Cleveland	115	131	5	4	120	135	112.5
Iron Range, Mn.	50	56			50	56	112.0
Los Angeles	400	418	100	129	500	547	109.4
Milwaukee	120	128	5	7	125	135	108.0
Seattle	145	159	5	3	150	162	108.0
Morgantown	125	132			125	132	105.6
Portland	90	95			90	95	105.6
Newark	140	152	10	6	150	158	105.3
Tacoma	125	131			125	131	104.8
Indianapolis	115	119			115	119	103.5
Albany	100	107	5	1	105	108	102.9
Oakland	160	175	15	1	175	176	100.6
Albuquerque	115	106	20	29	135	135	100.0
Louisville	100	100			100	100	100.0
Salt Lake City	125	130	10	5	135	135	100.0
San Diego	105	114	20	11	125	125	100.0
Toledo	115	118	5	1	120	119	99.2
Dallas	125	126	35	29	160	155	96.9
Minneapolis	135	124			135	124	91.9
Berkeley	135	130	15	5	150	135	90.0
San Francisco	250	221	25	20	275	241	87.6
Atlanta	200	171		3	200	174	87.0
San Jose	110	97	20	15	130	112	86.2
Kansas City, Mo.	100	90	8	1	108	91	84.3
Gary, Ind.	50	42			50	42	84.0
St. Paul	95	84	5		100	84	84.0
Tucson	30	24			30	24	80.0
New Orleans	140	109	10	7	150	116	77.3
New York	650	505	100	74	750	579	77.2
Baltimore	120	95	5		125	95	76.0
Pittsburgh	145	110	5		150	110	73.3
Cincinnati	100	73			100	73	73.0
Philadelphia	235	170	25	12	260	182	70.0
Detroit	250	146		2	250	148	59.2
Houston	300	178	50	21	350	199	56.9
Washington, D.C.	270	116	30	34	300	150	50.0
Phoenix	110	48	15	12	125	60	48.0
Chicago	385	176	65	29	450	205	45.6
Denver	120	43	20	15	140	58	41.4
Boston	225	85	25	6	250	91	36.4
TOTALS	6805	5729	703	522	7508	6251	83.3

*St. Louis not reporting this week

These figures report sales for issue 39 of the 'Militant' and the first week of sales of issue 19 of 'Perspectiva Mundial.'



Militant/Lori Towns

An invitation to a birthday party

By Harry Ring

"Happy fiftieth anniversary. Enclosed is a twenty-dollar money order for the anniversary fund. I hope you reach your goal.

"This November I'll be voting for the first time. In past elections I didn't vote, and for good reason. I didn't see anything worth voting for.

"So I'll need some information on the candidates you're running for governor and lieutenant governor of New York.

"I've been kicking around the idea of joining the Socialist Workers Party, and I would like to know what is required of its members.

"I'll be looking forward to your response. Signed, J.S., Peekskill, New York."

* * *

We have a tailor-made idea for J.S. Come down to New York City for the weekend of December 1-3, meet some members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, check out our bookstore and, then, on Sunday, join a mass trek over to Newark.

On Sunday, December 3, New Jersey and New York socialists will be holding an authentic gala celebration of this paper's fiftieth birthday.

The program is still in the making, but one plank's been nailed down.

Jack Barnes, the SWP national secretary, will make the principal address.

SWP candidates from New York and New Jersey will be on hand, along with a lot of other *Militant* supporters. For those who want to get better acquainted with the SWP, it's ideal. Fun, too.

And the suggestion about attending isn't just for J.S. It's for all the J.S.'s around the country. And—happily—there are a growing number of them.

Beginning November 4, Socialist Workers Party units across the country will be holding special affairs to celebrate our anniversary.

The opener, on that date, will be in Louisville,

Kentucky. Area readers should check the directory on page 31 for the address and phone number. Specifics on where and what will be available soon. One thing is already definite. Willie Mae Reid, the

1976 SWP candidate for vice-president, will be the featured speaker.

And, on Saturday, November 11, the Chicago SWP will mark our birthday with a dinner, party, and program at the Shoeworkers union hall. Among others, I'll be there, sharing the dais with Pat Grogan, SWP candidate for U.S. senator from Illinois.

The big national weekend of celebrations seems to be December 1-3. So far we've heard from seventeen areas planning events then. And we've heard from five areas that have slated celebrations for the weekend of December 8-9.

It's a wonderful thing to have supporters across the entire country who are excited about attending a paper's fiftieth birthday. And, of course, we never would have made it without that kind of support.

(We don't think we're revealing any secret in reporting that the celebrations will register financial as well as political support. Contributions will be solicited to help complete our Fiftieth Anniversary \$75,000 Fund.)

The celebrations will be well worth attending, both for longtime partisans of the *Militant*, and for those like J.S. who want to get better acquainted.

Meanwhile, if you've been thinking about mailing in a fund contribution, don't delay any longer. Clip the coupon today, and mail it in.

50th

Anniversary Fund

Goal=\$75,000

\$60,000

\$45,000

As of Oct. 24
\$36,403=49%

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Send check or money order to: Militant 50th Anniversary Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Strikers defy Trudeau's union busting

By Doug Jenness

TORONTO—More than 20,000 Canadian postal workers are on strike, in one of the most important confrontations in recent years between Canadian labor and the big-business-controlled government.

Like the coal miners' walkout in the United States last winter, the stakes for working people are high.

The Liberal Party government is trying to lay off thousands of public workers, cut back social services, restrict workers' rights, cripple the postal workers union, and lay the basis for weakening the entire labor movement.

A victory for the postal workers will deal a major blow to this antilabor drive. It could also slow down or stop the government's campaign to pass Bill C-28, which would apply permanent and discriminatory wage controls against public workers.

After eighteen months of negotiations and fifteen months without a contract, locals of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) voted with large majorities to strike.

By October 17 the country-wide walkout was under way, closing down Canada's entire postal system. The 19,000-member Letter Carriers Union of Canada is respecting the picket lines of the inside workers.

Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's administration reacted swiftly, driving special legislation through Parliament outlawing the strike and ordering the strikers back to work on the basis of the previous contract.

Union members are subject to fines of \$150 each day they are out. Union

officials are fined \$2,500 plus \$200 per day.

The government's move, calculated to get a back-to-work movement going, had the opposite effect. Angry postal workers defied the new law and organized mass picket lines. Support came from scores of other unions across the country as tens of thousands of workers saw the threat to their unions as well.

Hundreds of postal workers who had not previously been picketing, and even some who had voted against the strike, joined the picket lines in defiance of the government.

The Vancouver local had voted by a 70 percent majority at a meeting of 800 for the strike. It held another meeting after the antistrike legislation was imposed. Nearly twice as many members were present and they voted by more than 80 percent to defy the law.

CUPW President Jean-Claude Parrot declared that the union is not breaking the law, but is operating within a law adopted in 1967 legalizing strikes of public workers.

The new law, he charged, is being applied retroactively to the postal workers, who were already on strike legally.

The union's defiance was met by a government announcement that it would file for court injunctions against CUPW pickets in five major cities.

Union leaders throughout the country say that even if they are arrested the picket lines will continue.

The Post Office is also using the mass media in its efforts to get the

workers back on the job. Newspaper ads spread lies about the workers' demands. A radio campaign has been launched with thirty-second ads telling workers they can get safe conduct through the picket lines if they wish.

Rumors about an underground postal union of scabs are being circulated, as are threats about bringing in unemployed workers from Manpower.

It appears that the capitalist ruling class has made a serious miscalculation in this latest attack on Canadian labor. They believed that CUPW was one of the more vulnerable targets in their campaign to weaken the unions.

What strikers are fighting for

- Thirty hours' work for forty hours' pay in order to spread the available work as automation takes place.
- Union veto power over each change in the mechanization and reorganization of jobs.
- Catch-up wage increases and continuance of the cost-of-living clause, with no ceiling as in the previous contract.
- Full proportion of benefits to part-time workers.
- No electronic supervision of workers.

They counted on demagogically pitting the postal workers against the "public interest." They also hoped that the CUPW leadership's outspoken criticism of the top brass of the Canadian Labor Congress would cut postal strikers off from labor support.

Most important, the government believed that the leadership of the postal union is far more radical than the membership. They figured most of the members wouldn't follow the leadership if it defied government back-to-work orders and court injunctions.

But they didn't count on the anger that's been building up among the postal workers for years as a result of deteriorating working conditions and inflation.

The rulers also misjudged the readiness of other Canadian workers to rally behind the postal strikers.

Members of the Revolutionary Workers League, sister organization of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party, have joined picket lines and actively helped organize support since the beginning of the strike.

RWL member Dave Carrell, a CUPW shop steward and secretary of the strike committee at a Toronto letter processing facility, told the *Militant*, "One of the most important things to be done now is to generalize support in the labor movement and from other organizations, including in the U.S."

"Messages, resolutions, help on the picket lines—all this helps show that CUPW is not alone."

Telegrams of support can be sent to Canadian Union of Postal Workers, 280 Metcalfe Street, Ottawa, Canada.

Toronto: 'We want better working conditions!'

TORONTO—The militant spirit of the postal strikers was evident on the picket line at the South-Central Letter Processing Facility here. I visited the line during the evening shift change October 22.

South-Central is the largest postal facility in Canada. It employs 2,700 workers, about half of them women.

A couple of hundred people had gathered to picket. Many were supporters from other unions and from the New Democratic Party, Canada's reformist-led labor party.

Two NDP riding (district) associations had brought carloads of their members. Among them were several NDP aldermanic candidates and elected officials.

As I began talking to a couple of women strikers, several more, mostly women, crowded around and began explaining their grievances.

"Those big mojos in there," one striker shouted, pointing at the sprawling plant, "all they want is production! production! production!"

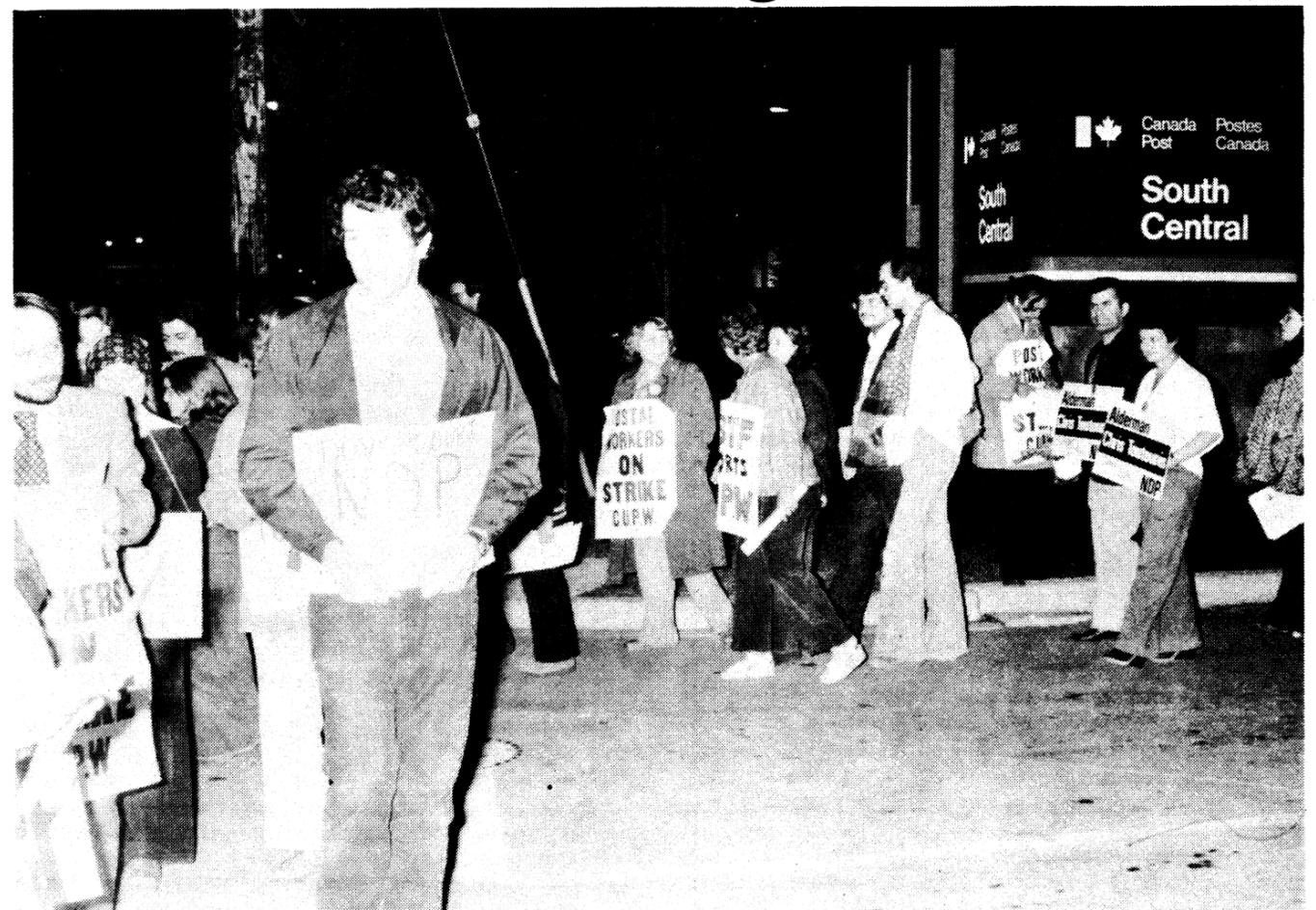
"We want better working conditions," another said, "that's all there is to it."

One young woman, who only recently began working at the plant, said that the discipline reminded her of high school.

"Every time we want to smoke or go to the lavatory we have to ask the supervisor for permission, just like asking a teacher. And they are always watching to make sure we're working."

Another striker angrily yelled out that, "Posties are always being attacked for stealing mail or losing it. But if you saw the condition of the machines and the speedup, then you'd know what happens to your mail! There's a machine in there called an LSM. They call it a Letter Sorting Machine. We call it a Letter Shredding Machine."

At this point a picket captain walked by distributing the latest issue of the *Strike Newsletter*, published by the



Postal strikers were joined by supporters from the New Democratic Party, Canada's labor party, on militant Toronto picket line

strike committee of the Toronto Local. Everybody grabbed a copy and started reading.

"The strike situation as of 2 a.m. Saturday Oct. 21/78 is as follows: The strike is solid, all lines are holding from coast to coast."

One striker whooped, "That's what I wanted to hear. The media have been saying that people are going back to work in other cities, and we weren't

sure what to believe. It's clear we can't depend on them for the facts."

The newsletter lists other unions and organizations that are supporting the strike. One is the Canadian Union of Public Employees, Canada's largest union, which has offered its offices, staff, and financial assistance to help fight the back-to-work law.

Also listed are Communications Workers of Canada; locals 707 and 363

of the United Auto Workers; Ontario Area Council of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union; Ontario Federation of Labor; Metro Labor Council (Toronto); and many others.

There's a note that in Sudbury, where nickel miners in the United Steelworkers are waging their own hard-fought strike, "a hundred steel workers joined our picket lines."

—D.J.

'Austerity' for workers only

Why Carter's Phase II won't stop inflation

By Andy Rose

OCTOBER 25—President Carter promised last night that if working people give his Phase II wage and price guidelines a chance, "the real buying power of your paycheck will rise."

That is a lie.

Prices are now rising at nearly 9 percent a year, by the government's own calculations. If workers get wage increases of only 7 percent, the buying power of their paychecks will fall.

The real situation is even worse. Prices of basic necessities—food, housing, health care, and energy—are rising faster than the Consumer Price Index, more like 15 percent a year. And Carter's 7 percent limit covers both wages and "fringe benefits" such as pensions.

But the money for "fringe benefits" doesn't go to workers. It goes into investment accounts controlled by the corporations and banks. So in terms of wage increases workers actually collect, Carter is talking about 4, 5, or maybe 6 percent.

The Phase II plan is also *discriminatory*. Under a flat percentage guideline, those who now make the least will get the lowest increases. Women, Blacks, *latinos* and other victims of job discrimination will be frozen onto the bottom rung of the economic ladder.

Carter says the wage limit doesn't apply to the very lowest-paid workers. But they are the ones in the weakest position to resist as the employers rush to do their patriotic duty and clamp down on wages.

'Inflation insurance'?

What about Carter's "inflation insurance" proposal? He says workers who accept the wage limits will get a tax rebate if inflation exceeds 7 percent. Let's assume Congress passes this proposal, which is hardly a sure bet. Even so, workers have at least four reasons not to put their trust in Carter's plan:

1. To be covered, workers must be part of a "group" that volunteers for the 7 percent guideline. It's up to the *employer* to certify who is eligible. In addition, millions of the poorest Americans—those hardest hit by inflation—have incomes so low they don't file tax returns. No rebate for them.

2. For those who do get a rebate, Carter offered no guarantee that it will actually make up for the full amount lost to inflation. It probably won't, since it is pegged to the federal Consumer Price Index, which notoriously understates the real rate of inflation. Moreover, the White House has specified that there will be a "cap" or upper limit on rebates no matter how high prices go.

3. The rebate plan takes no account of rising taxes, which are not counted in the Consumer Price Index. So even workers who keep abreast of the CPI will lose ground when huge Social Security tax increases take effect next year.

4. Even if some workers do get a rebate that partially compensates for inflation, they won't receive it until *after* they have been paying higher prices all year. So if the plan works exactly as Carter said, wages will permanently lag behind prices.

It is worth remembering, however, that Carter has already promised American workers two tax



rebates, and *nobody has ever collected a penny on either one*. His famous fifty-dollar-per-person rebate was scrapped within four months after his inauguration. The energy rebate, which was supposed to compensate consumers for higher gas and electric bills under Carter's energy plan, died a quiet death in Congress. Only the price hikes remained.

Why should anyone fall for this sucker-bait a third time?

Of course, Carter pledged to be "equally strict" on prices. His real proposals, however, are so shot through with loopholes that businesses can just sit back and laugh while they jack up prices at will.

In the first place, although Carter talked on television about a 5.75 percent price guideline, the more detailed explanation released by the White House made it clear that 9.5 percent is the real limit requested from business.

But there is no evidence that Washington will do anything to enforce that price limit or any other.

Carter talked of using the government's power to reward firms that show restraint and punish those that don't. That promise is belied by the government's record of cost-plus contracts and protection for monopoly price-gouging.

Import restrictions

Carter hailed competition as "the most powerful" weapon against inflation. Yet last year his administration imposed new restrictions on steel imports to protect the U.S. steel industry from competition! This scheme has allowed the steel corporations to raise prices 10 to 15 percent already this year and will add some \$1.25 billion to overall consumer prices.

To top it off, Carter's energy bill, just passed by Congress, will *remove* price controls from natural gas and will boost energy costs to consumers by \$30 to \$50 billion.

What these examples show is that the Carter administration is devoted not to keeping prices *down* but to keeping profits *up*.

A more honest forecast than Carter's was given last week by Barry Bosworth, director of the Council on Wage and Price Stability. Even if every aspect of the president's plan works, Bosworth admitted, "There is no room for improvement in workers' real incomes."

Deficit spending

What about the other aspects of Carter's Phase II?

Carter vowed to attack "wasteful government spending." Federal deficit spending is indeed the prime cause of inflation. To cover its multi-billion-dollar deficits, Washington borrows money from the banks—which have the power to *create* money (in the form of credit) to loan to the government. In just the past three years the U.S. government debt has soared 47 percent to the incredible sum of \$825 billion.

Because dollars are being created faster than goods are being produced, the inevitable result is that dollars are worth less in terms of goods—that is, goods cost more in terms of dollars.

The overriding reason for the huge federal deficits is the Pentagon war budget. "Defense" authorizations this year totaled \$126 billion, and Carter plans to *increase* that to \$172.7 billion by 1983.

So when Carter talks of spending cuts and balanced budgets, the axe falls on jobs, education, welfare, health, and other social services. The sick, the unemployed, the elderly, and the very young foot the bill for budget "restraint."

While war contractors reap billions in profits from our tax dollars, Carter tries to make federal workers the scapegoats for inflation. By limiting their pay increases to 5.5 percent he aims to undercut the fight by all workers to keep up with prices.

Carter's message further underlined the fraud of the recently passed Humphrey-Hawkins bill. One of the president's first acts under the "full employment" mandate was to announce he is cutting 20,000 federal jobs!

Carter also took aim at "the costs of government

Continued on page 22

British auto strike vs. fraud of 'equal sacrifice'

By David Frankel

OCTOBER 25—As the *Militant* goes to press, there have been few public reactions from union officials to Carter's Phase II wage limits.

Even before the plan was announced, though, United Auto Workers President Douglas Fraser explained his thoughts on inflation fighting. In an interview in the September 11 *U.S. News & World Report*, Fraser declared:

"We're willing to sacrifice, but only if there's an equality of sacrifice—if every segment of the economy sacrifices equally."

Fraser failed to explain one important point—*why should workers be asked to sacrifice anything?*

As Fraser himself well knows, real wages of American workers are lower than five years ago. Even government figures prove that. Workers are already sacrificing, while prices and corporate profits have soared.

Nevertheless, speaking in the name of 1.5 million UAW members, Fraser said, "As far as we're concerned, I would not be opposed to the principle of a social contract, as was done in Great Britain."

Just ten days after this interview appeared, 57,000 workers at the Ford Motor Company's twenty-three plants in Britain gave their answer to how "the principle of a social contract" was working there.

The British auto workers struck against the 5 percent wage limit set by the Labour Party government. Under the social contract, their living standards have declined by an estimated 25 percent since mid-1975.

Rank-and-file sentiment in the British labor movement was so strong against the wage controls that the Labour Party Conference voted by a two-to-one margin October 2 to oppose Prime Minister James Callaghan's 5 percent limit "and any wage restraint

by whatever method."

Solidarity with the Ford strikers among dockworkers, sailors, and other workers has stopped all Ford products from moving into or out of Britain.

Meanwhile, the militant example of the Ford workers has inspired other sections of the labor movement. The National Union of Public Employees is putting forward demands for increases in wages and benefits amounting to 40 percent, and strikers at British Oxygen have rejected an offer of an 8 percent raise.

British workers have been convinced by their own experience that talk about "equality of sacrifice"—even in a program administered by a government supposedly favorable to working people—is simply a cover for the bosses to squeeze out even greater profits.

In fact, it is illogical on the face of it to talk about "equality of sacrifice" under capitalism. *Inequality* is the

entire basis of the capitalist economy.

Where is the equality between the boss and his employees, between a corporation with billions in assets and a worker trying to make enough to get by?

When union officials talk about "equality of sacrifice," they only give credence to the notion that wages are somehow to blame for inflation. That undercuts the fight by workers to *keep up* with prices.

The capitalist profit drive is entirely responsible for inflation and the rest of today's economic ills. So let the capitalists do whatever sacrificing is called for.

* * *

British Ford strikers have appealed for support from around the world. Messages of solidarity should be sent to: Ford(UK) Workers Combine Committee, 25 Dearmer House, London SW2, England.

By Andy Rose

DETROIT—Leaders of 100 unions, civil rights and women's organizations, and liberal reform groups gathered here October 17 for a one-day meeting on political action initiated by United Auto Workers President Douglas Fraser.

The meeting was restricted to one or two top officials each from national groups invited by Fraser.

The meeting grew out of the UAW president's statement last summer condemning the "one-sided class war" being waged by big business and calling for "new alliances" to fight back.

In his call for the October 17 meeting, Fraser said it could "serve as a beginning of what must be a broad, grass roots movement with fresh initiatives to fight back against reactionaries who today possess so much momentum."

Labor, Blacks, Latinos, women, environmentalists, civil libertarians, and antinuclear activists could obviously form a powerful coalition.

As Eleanor Smeal, president of the National Organization for Women, told the meeting, these groups have "a strength that absolutely can wipe out the right wing, because united there is no way that the current power of unions, of civil rights, of the women's movement could ever fail."

Among activists in these social struggles, there is a growing realization that they share common interests and face a common enemy. Any moves to organize a common fight are sure to be eagerly welcomed.

'Fresh initiative'?

The October 17 conference, however, was not a step toward such a fighting alliance. It was a step in the opposite direction.

Instead of planning to mobilize union members and their allies to fight for the interests of all working people, the meeting aimed to harness such protests into support for the Democratic Party.

Far from being a "fresh initiative," this is a repetition of the strategy the union officialdom has followed for decades—the strategy that has led the unions into their current impasse and allowed the Democratic party to swing to the right without fear of losing labor support.

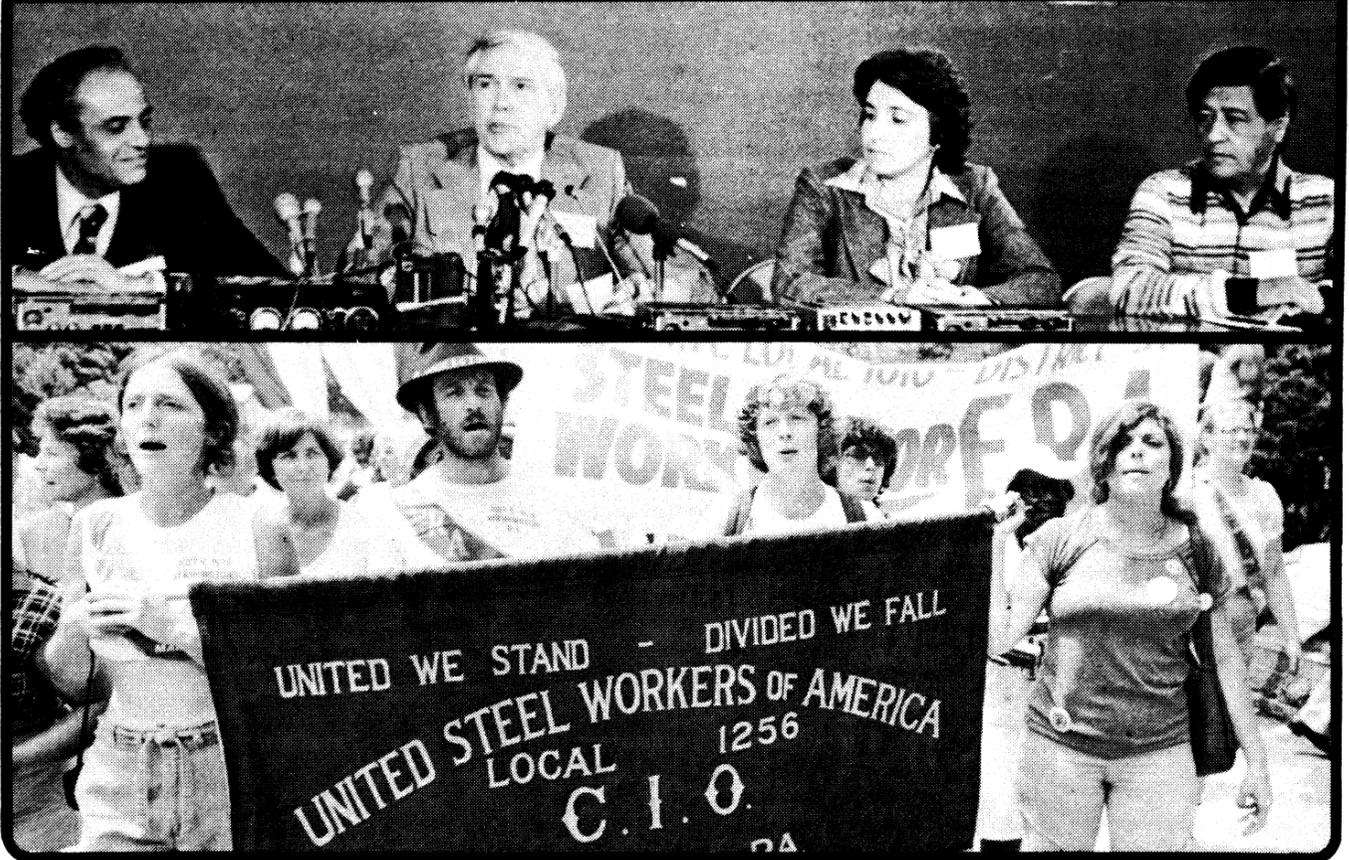
Since it is Democratic politicians—in the White House, in Congress, in state legislatures and city halls across the country—who are in the forefront of the antilabor assault, this shopworn strategy must necessarily be presented as one of "reforming" the Democratic Party.

Fraser calls for "the transformation of the Democratic Party into a genuinely progressive people's party . . . struggling against the reactionary capitalist money power of the Republicans. . . ."

In light of the record of the overwhelmingly Democratic Ninety-fifth Congress, such a transformation would appear no less miraculous than the biblical conversion of water into wine.

Speaker after speaker bemoaned the

UAW hosts political conference: 'Collision course' with Democrats?



Militant photos by Andy Rose and Lou Howort

TOP: Conference participants, left to right, NAACP head Benjamin Hooks, UAW President Douglas Fraser, NOW President Eleanor Smeal, United Farm Workers President César Chávez. BOTTOM: Unionists at massive July 9 ERA demonstration Conference pointed away from such independent actions and toward reliance on Democratic Party.

just-passed tax and energy bills as ripoffs of workers and profit bonanzas for the rich. They scored the refusal of Congress to pass labor law reform or national health care. They contrasted cutbacks in social services to the highest Pentagon war budget in history.

Carter & Congress

Some said Congress was to blame for this dismal antilabor record.

Others called Carter the culprit. Both had a good case.

Nevertheless, Fraser and the other conference organizers refuse to draw the conclusion that the Democratic Party's record reflects its real program—a program that puts capitalist profits first, a program in essence no different from that of the Republican Party.

Instead, the union officials and others present insist that they represent the "genuinely progressive" heart and soul of the Democratic Party.

Joseph Rauh, civil liberties attorney and long-time leader of Americans for Democratic Action, summed up the conference perspective:

"I don't want a new party. I want to make the one we've got work.

"You don't need a new platform in 1980. You can use the one for '76 because it hasn't been touched. . . ."

"Let's send President Carter a message. And the message is that in 1980 our enthusiasm depends on your working to uphold the Democratic Party platform of 1976 and living up to your promises.

"We're not making any threats. We're not saying we're going somewhere else. What we're saying is our enthusiasm in 1980 depends on your doing what you said you'd do."

Seeking 'discipline'

Imposing "discipline" on the Democratic Party and making Democratic politicians "keep their promises"—those were the overriding themes of the meeting.

The specific proposals for accomplishing these weighty tasks were meager. Fraser proposed:

- Cutting back on primaries, since "so-called open primaries subvert principles of responsibility and accountability."

- Not rewarding "faithless" politicians with desirable committee appointments (how this would be enforced was not explained).

- Going to the Democratic Party midterm conference in December to lobby for more progressive promises.

- Amending the Senate rules, since, according to Fraser, the current rules "force people to make compromises they shouldn't make."

The afternoon keynote speaker was U.S. Rep. Donald Fraser, who was recently defeated in the Minnesota Democratic primary for U.S. Senate. He explained that the purpose of these reforms was "not to transform our

party into a more liberal one" but rather "to make the party more effective."

As for attaining any of these goals, Fraser conceded that "in the short run, prospects for success are dim indeed."

ERA victory

Working people did wrest one victory from the Ninety-fifth Congress—extension of the deadline for ratifying the Equal Rights Amendment. Why was the ERA battle won when tax reform, health care, and so many other issues were lost?

It certainly was *not* thanks to good will on the part of the Democratic Party. In several states where women's groups had agreed in 1976 to stop demonstrating and put their efforts into electing allegedly pro-ERA candidates, the amendment went down to defeat.

Congress itself showed no inclination to act on extension until NOW, other women's groups, and a number of unions joined to mobilize tens of thousands of people July 9 to march on Washington for the ERA.

Joyce Miller, president of the Coalition of Labor Union Women, told the Detroit conference about an "off-the-record meeting held at the White House" earlier this year, where leaders of the women's movement were told, "It can't be done. You cannot get ERA extended and if you get it extended you're not going to get it without a rescission amendment."

But the massive, independent show of force on July 9—and the obvious readiness of women to continue demonstrating in the streets—got results where quiet "behind the scenes" lobbying had failed.

'Single issues' debate

No speaker at the Detroit conference, however, drew the conclusion of this experience. No one called for more mass actions by unions and the

Who was there

Officials were present from thirty unions, including some of those portrayed—along with the UAW—as the liberal, "social unionism" wing of the labor movement. These included the Machinists; United Electrical Workers; International Union of Electrical Workers; Communications Workers; International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union; Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers; and American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

However, such top union officials as Machinists President William Winpisinger and AFSCME President Jerry Wurf did not attend.

A number of union officials were

present who are usually seen as staunch followers of AFL-CIO President George Meany. These included representatives from the Carpenters, Laborers, Operating Engineers, Sheet Metal Workers, and American Federation of Teachers.

Other groups present ranged from the American Indian Movement to the A. Philip Randolph Institute, and from Tom Hayden's Campaign for Economic Democracy to the American Business Association.

The most prominent role was played by Democratic Party reform groups such as the Democratic Agenda, Democratic Conference, New Democratic Coalition, Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, and New American Movement.

oppressed—like the July 9 ERA march—to challenge the corporate right-wing offensive.

To the contrary, the thrust of the meeting was against mass action and against raising “single issue” concerns such as the demands of women, Blacks, and Latinos.

The morning keynote speaker, U.S. Rep. Ronald Dellums from California, argued against fighting for affirmative action and other “parochial concerns of yesterday,” which he said were the “issues that tend to divide us.”

The most extreme statement of this position came from John Brown of the Operating Engineers. He insisted that the corporate attack “hasn’t been on ERA or women or Blacks, it’s been on labor.” The only important battle, he implied, was to defend the unions “that gave you everything in this country”—as if it were possible to defend labor without defending the most oppressed and exploited in society.

This readiness to throw overboard the first victims of the corporate offensive is one logical consequence of the pro-Democratic Party strategy.

But it is not only the interests of the most oppressed that are sacrificed. To avoid a clash with the Democrats, the most elementary economic needs of all working people are downplayed. Although Carter’s wage controls policy was already in the wind, no one at the conference proposed any action to rally opposition to it or to mobilize support for workers who strike against Carter’s dictates.

DSOC chimes in

Unfortunately, even some who call themselves socialists joined in promoting this phony “unity” behind a program of minimal reforms designed to be palatable to some wing of the Democratic Party.

Heather Booth, a leader of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, warned the meeting to “avoid all efforts that might divide the progressive leadership.”

NOW President Eleanor Smeal was one of the few speakers to voice doubts about dissolving all issues into the Democratic Party “reform” effort.

“I frankly feel that the talk about just reforming the Democratic Party doesn’t really meet with the reality,” she said.

“The current deploring of single issues I do not think really speaks to the problem of why there are single-issue groups. The reason there are single-issue groups is most of us feel left out of the decision-making of any major party or coalition.”

Smeal warned, “If we have to work just within the current party structure it’ll be to the year 2050 before we ever have any kind of parity.”

Bill Means from the American Indian Movement was the only speaker who actually proposed a break with the two-party setup.

Referring to the Democratic Party as a “crippled horse,” Means said, “It is our firm position that we feel all this vitality, all this coming together, should be utilized in organizing a political party which would truly represent the people.”

The purpose of the conference, however, was just the opposite. Despite Fraser’s widely quoted statement that “we’re on a collision course with the Democratic Party,” the real course being charted was collusion, not collision.

Asked at a news conference beforehand if formation of a labor party was one option the meeting would consider, Fraser replied, absolutely not.

“We’re not in favor of a labor party,” he said. “We don’t think it’s feasible. We don’t think it’s a viable idea at this point in American history. It’s just not a good idea at the current time in the American political scene. It just simply cannot work.”

But Fraser never explained *why* it was not realistic. Any more than he explained why it is “feasible” to think that a few piddling reforms will somehow make the Democratic Party a

“genuinely progressive people’s party.”

It was often stated at the conference that working people are not moving to the right, as media commentators have claimed. Rather, workers are looking for radical solutions to their urgent problems. And the right wing, through such demagogic frauds as Proposition 13, is putting forward its own phony solutions more aggressively than the liberal politicians and their followers in the union hierarchy.

It was also noted that the right-wing offensive is being orchestrated not by tiny fringe groups but by the most powerful corporations in the country. A couple of speakers made the point that Congress is not “influenced” by big business, it is controlled by big business.

Independent political action

These circumstances would seem to indicate that the *most realistic* course for labor is to break with the two capitalist parties and launch independent political action around a program that offers far-reaching and fundamental solutions, solutions that defend workers’ interests regardless of the effect on corporate profits.

If such a labor party, based on the power of the unions, were to embrace all the issues that make the liberal Democrats squirm—that is, the needs of the oppressed—it would surely win the allegiance of the unorganized, the unemployed, women, Blacks, Latinos, and the young people who see no future in this system.

Fraser is well aware that millions of workers are eager for new answers. In his view, *that is the problem.*

He cited the low voter turnout and complained, “People are tuning themselves out of the system and fewer and fewer are participating in the democratic process. . . . They ask the devastating and dangerous question, what’s the use?”

When Fraser says “democratic process,” what he means is “two-party system.” And the reason growing numbers reject that system is that they know it is *undemocratic* and offers nothing to them.

They are finding better ways to fight back—using labor’s real power, the power seen in the coal miners’ strike and the July 9 demonstration.

Knowing that these rebellious unionists, women and Blacks are indeed on a “collision course” with the capitalist system, Fraser wants to divert their energy and attention into a futile and self-defeating campaign to reform the Democratic Party.

Rank-and-file discussion

It is little wonder, then, that this meeting was carefully restricted to top union officials and their ideological hangers-on.

Fraser urged those present to “report back” to their constituencies. There was no hint that the ranks of the organizations should have anything to say about what is decided.

But if a new political strategy for American labor is to be developed—one that can effectively take on the right-wing corporate offensive and build a labor party—it will not come out of conferences like this one. It will come out of political ferment and discussion and action by the union ranks.

The Lesser Evil?

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Judge postpones trial of Miami Black activist

By Rose Ogden

MIAMI—“Human rights begin at home! Drop the charges against Leo Harris!” These chants rang out from pickets in front of the Dade County Criminal Justice Building here October 17.

Later, at a hearing inside before Dade County Judge C.P. Rubiera, Harris won a postponement of his trial, originally scheduled for October 19. Prosecutors were hoping to rush to trial, although they had delayed until October 12 in providing Harris’s attorney with information needed for the defense.

The new trial date is expected to be in early November.

Harris is a Black activist and member of the Socialist Workers Party. He faces frame-up charges of disorderly conduct and criminal mischief.

In August Harris participated in a demonstration outside a Winn-Dixie store to protest racist statements by the store’s manager and a security guard. When Harris arrived to join the mostly Haitian and partly Afro-American picket, he was hit by a car driven by a cop.

Only after protest leaders insisted the cops provide Harris with medical attention did they agree to take him to a hospital. Instead, however, they took Harris to jail and put him under arrest.

The cops concocted a story that Harris had jumped on the car.

“The word of 500 Haitians and Afro-Americans is worth nothing against the word of one white cop in this so-called justice system,” Harris told his supporters before the October 17 hearing.

Pointing to the jail directly across the street from the picket, Harris yelled out, “How many Black brothers are in that detention center because of frame-up charges? Or because they had to steal to feed themselves? Those are my people in that jail. ‘How many Black heads have to be broken by cops before we get some justice?’”

Some people going into the building stopped to listen and show support.

“Carter keeps talking about human

rights. What about the Wilmington Ten or the Charlotte Three? What about human rights for Black people too?”

A Puerto Rican city worker interrupted Harris, “Throw Puerto Ricans in there too.”

“That’s right, brother,” Harris responded, “It’s time to begin a fight for all our rights—Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, Haitians, and Blacks. We have to fight together.”

At the hearing that followed the picket, Harris and his attorney, Louis Beller, asked Judge Rubiera to dismiss the case. Rubiera denied the motion, upholding the prosecutor on a technicality.

But the trial postponement was a setback for the prosecutor’s office, which had refused to turn over the names of its alleged witnesses up until only one week before the scheduled trial date.

It had taken more than two months for the state to put together the list—although it was made up entirely of cops and Winn-Dixie employees. Prior to the October 17 hearing, an assistant to Beller had attempted to question some of the witnesses. But they refused to cooperate, insisting they would have to be subpoenaed. This is costly and time-consuming.

On the other hand, six witnesses who can testify that Harris is telling the truth have fully cooperated with the prosecutor’s office.

Beller argued that more time was needed to get statements from the prosecution witnesses, and that the state should pay for these depositions since Harris could not afford to.

The judge agreed to both requests. This was a victory for Harris. The state had hoped to do a snow job with its less-than-credible witnesses.

The Leo Harris Defense Committee asks that messages of support be sent to the Dade County State Attorney Janet Reno, 1351 N.W. Twelfth Street, Miami, Florida 33135. Copies, along with needed financial contributions, should be sent to the committee at P.O. Box 380013, Miami, Florida 33138.

...sales

Continued from page 5

predominantly *latino* Mission District. Later that evening there will be a big city-wide rally.

One morning during the coming week San Francisco socialists will assemble for a large-scale blitz of major industrial facilities in the region, carrying the campaign to industrial workers.

Like many other cities, San Francisco will be passing out massive amounts of campaign literature.

New York City plans to distribute some 20,000 pieces of literature on its candidates. Much of it will be passed out Saturday at well-publicized street rallies for congressional candidates Ken Milner in Harlem and Sharon Grant in Brooklyn. In Brooklyn they will be inviting people to an afternoon open house in the Brooklyn Socialist Workers headquarters.

Cleveland’s plans include a trip to Lorain, home of big U.S. Steel and Ford plants. The socialist candidate for lieutenant governor, John Gaige, will be campaigning at plant gates, talking about the SWP’s program for working people. Gaige is a member of the United Auto Workers.

Friday is a target day for campaigning in Cleveland. Socialists will be staffing sales campaign tables at several points around the city.

Atlanta, which aims to sell 450 papers—well over its normal 200 goal—will dispatch special day-long campaign teams around the city. Socialists will start the day with plant-

gate sales, then move on to the campuses and to downtown streets. One team will visit the University of Georgia in Athens. The teams will publicize a forum at which gubernatorial candidate Don Davis will put forward the socialist stand on taxes.

Philadelphia socialists have tripled their normal bundle size, believing that Philadelphians will want to know what socialists have to say about controversial racist Mayor Rizzo.

In Berkeley, socialists have mapped out a round of door-to-door canvassing—distributing campaign literature and introducing voters to the socialist press. Subscriptions will get particular emphasis.

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'Labor's issues are feminist issues'

NOW: new sense of solidarity with unions

By Shelley Kramer

An important change is taking place in the National Organization for Women.

At NOW's recent national conference delegates enthusiastically adopted a resolution designed to strengthen the organization's alliance with the labor movement.

Among other things, the resolution calls for NOW to:

- launch a legal and educational campaign against Brian Weber's challenge to affirmative-action programs in the steel industry;
- aid in the unionization of women workers;
- work to defeat reactionary "right to work" laws; and
- push for the implementation of equal-pay laws.

This resolution is the product of a new sense of solidarity with labor. A spirit symbolized by July 9—and the thousands of women and trade unionists who linked arms that day to march for the Equal Rights Amendment.

Six months ago, a resolution opposing "right to work" legislation failed at NOW's Mid-Atlantic regional conference. But this time around most heads nodded with approval when Labor Task Force coordinator Sara Nelson said, "We've got to come out strongly on issues that are considered labor issues—like opposing 'right to work' laws. Because these issues are feminist issues too."

New thinking

The new thinking taking place in NOW reflects broader social changes that are reshaping political life in the United States.

For one thing, women are seeing their rights restricted at the same time business and government take aim at the rights of Blacks, Latinos, trade unionists, and all working people. This common plight gives rise to a sense of sharing "common enemies and common goals"—as NOW's labor resolution says.

Moreover, more women are in the work force and in unions than ever before. For the first time over half of all women work outside the home. Growing numbers are joining industrial unions. This sharpens an identification of interests between the women's movement and labor movement.

Finally—and most importantly—a big difference today is that labor is beginning to use its strength to fight back against the attacks on the rights and living standards of working people. Many feminists had associated the labor movement with conservative and antiwoman attitudes, an image fostered by the policies of top union officials.

But now a new image of labor is in the making—one that is being created



July 9 ERA march is example of powerful alliance women and labor can build

Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

by the ranks of the unions themselves. Beginning with the coal miners' heroic 110-day strike this image of a fighting labor movement has been reinforced by the resistance of both postal workers and rail workers to attacks on their unions. And by the spectacle of thousands of unionists—women and men—marching under ERA banners July 9.

Cathy Mickells, a member of NOW and the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks in Chicago, expressed the impact of these changes on her thinking as a feminist in a trade-union workshop at the NOW convention.

"When my union struck last month we stopped the country's railroads. It was the first time I really felt what the power of the labor movement could do," Mickells said. "And now that I know what it feels like, I want the same power thrown into the fight for the ERA and all women's rights."

She was one of some seventy-five women attending this workshop. Many, such as Mickells, were working women who belong to unions—steelworkers, auto workers, rail workers, hospital workers, electricians, teachers, shipbuilders and—to everyone's delight—a West Virginia coal miner. Members of NOW, the Coalition of Labor Union Women, and various union women's committees and caucuses, these women were particularly anxious to discuss how to combine the strength of their organizations for the fight for women's equality.

Labor workshop

Workshop panelists included Dorothy Haener, a founder of NOW and a United Auto Workers international representative; Marge Ratlin, chairperson of the AFL-CIO Labor Committee for the ERA; Nancy Stultz, president of New Jersey NOW; Madelyn Janover, organizer for the Amalgamated Meat Cutters; and Susan Holleran and Sara Nelson, co-chairpersons of NOW's Labor Task Force.

In her remarks, Ratlin encouraged NOW members to seek union resolutions and financial contributions in support of the ERA.

Later, in a plenary discussion of the labor resolution, St. Louis member Helen Savio seconded this idea. "As a delegate to this year's American Federation of Teachers convention, I worked with other NOW members to get my union to endorse NOW's boycott of unrated states. I hope other NOW members will do the same thing," she said.

Ratlin proposed public actions as a way to reach working women and men. "I particularly like the idea of more ERA rallies," she said. "There's not

enough public activity that helps educate workers about the ERA."

In a special report to the union workshop, NOW President Eleanor Smeal pledged increased collaboration with labor in the next round of the ERA battle.

"It's very important that we continue to build interrelations and interconnections between women and the labor movement," she said. "In the past ten months we've had more labor participation than ever before—from labor's rally for the ERA in Virginia to July 9."

Smeal added that in the coming year, NOW will "cast the ERA as an economic rights issue"—pointing out its role in the fight for equal pay and job opportunities—to tap the support of more working women and men.

Dorothy Haener discussed the need for "affirmative action in organizing unorganized women." Citing statistics that show how the wage gap between men and women widens in nonunionized sectors, Haener called for an aggressive unionization drive among women.

'A debt to women'

"The labor movement, particularly its industrial unions, has a debt to pay women," she said. "We were there to help organize the CIO in the 1930s; now the funds and resources of these unions should be used to organize women."

Janover supplemented Haener's talk with some "how to" tips about organizing women workers. Based on her organizing experiences in the field, she warned against putting any faith in legal guarantees. "The laws are just not in your favor in union organizing," she said. "The number-one thing is to rely on yourselves. . . to hold together with your sisters."

During workshop discussion Jane Van Deusen, one of six women steelworkers at Kaiser Aluminum's Chalmette, Louisiana, plant, introduced a resolution adopted by her New Orleans NOW chapter.

Added by unanimous vote to the overall labor resolution, the New Orleans motion called for NOW to file a friend-of-the-court brief with the United Steelworkers against Brian Weber and to launch an educational campaign exposing the dangers of the Weber case.

Weber, a white, male worker at Kaiser's plant in Gramercy, Louisiana, is challenging a company affirmative-action program that provides equal opportunities for women and minority workers—long discriminated against by Kaiser—in skilled jobs training.

"This is one of the gravest threats to

affirmative action yet," Van Deusen explained. "This training program is part of our union contract. If Weber is upheld, the burden will be placed on each individual worker to prove he or she has been discriminated against. That's what the judge has said. Weber means no voluntary affirmative-action programs unless discrimination can be proven."

Many women attending the labor and employment discrimination workshops had never heard of Brian Weber. But once they did, they were eager to see NOW enter the fight.

Spread word on Weber

Everyone agreed with Van Deusen when she concluded, "We've got to get the word out. We've got to let Weber and all the others know that we're just not going to take it anymore."

NOW's legal and educational campaigns against Weber can be a real boon to all those fighting to defend affirmative-action gains.

NOW's labor resolution also pledges the organization's support to November 13 actions commemorating the death of Karen Silkwood, union militant and antinuclear activist. And to a series of November 30 activities in support of the J.P. Stevens boycott.

Those attending the labor workshop seemed to be most excited by aspects of the resolution that promise to continue the discussion they have begun. All NOW chapters are encouraged to establish labor task forces. A special national conference on women and the unions is planned for sometime in 1979. These are opportunities for NOW to draw into its ranks more working women and strengthen its ties to the unions.



SARA NELSON

Militant/Susan Ellis



HELEN SAVIO

Militant/Susan Ellis

Demand fair asylum hearing!

Marroquin tour a success in Southwest

By Roger Rudenstein

As the articles below indicate, Héctor Marroquín's Southwest tour showed the growing support for this important political asylum case on campus, in the unions and in the Chicano movement. Marroquín is a member of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance who is fighting government attempts to deport him to Mexico.

Meanwhile the Immigration and Naturalization Service is still trying to ram through a decision on Marroquín's asylum request before the facts are in.

The INS, which earlier said it would rule October 27, has now told Marroquín's attorney, Margaret Winter, that the decision will be postponed one week.

This new date is still far too soon to obtain important evidence that the government is withholding from Marroquín.

While a student activist in Monterrey, Mexico, in 1974, Marroquín was framed up on charges of subversion and murder. Having witnessed the brutal killing of his roommate

by Mexican cops, Marroquín fled to the United States. His lawyer had warned him that he could not get a fair trial in Mexico.

Last year, after living in this country for three years, Marroquín was arrested at the Mexico-U.S. border by INS agents. The Carter administration has been trying to deport him ever since. If his asylum request is denied, he will face a quick deportation hearing.

Return to Mexico would mean certain imprisonment, torture, and possible death for Marroquín. To prevent that, he needs important FBI files as evidence to back his asylum request. But the agency has so far withheld all but a tiny handful. Those few files showed that the FBI kept tabs on him in Mexico and may even have been directly involved in framing him up.

Marroquín has also been denied INS files on his case, including 'la migra's' correspondence with the State Department and other government agencies.

Without this evidence there can be no fair ruling on his asylum request.

Emergency telegrams and letters are needed to protest the INS's rush to judgement. Send them to: Leonel Castillo, Director, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington, D.C.

Copies of protest messages and urgently needed financial contributions should be sent to: Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee, P.O. Box 843, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

Another way to put public pressure on the INS is to make the rest of Marroquín's speaking tour as big a success as in the Southwest. The next stops are:

Oct. 27-31	Philadelphia/ State College/ Newark, Del.
Nov. 1-2	Baltimore
Nov. 3-4	Newark, N.J.
Nov. 7-10	Detroit/ Ann Arbor
Nov. 11	Toledo
Nov. 15	San Diego
Nov. 16-18	Los Angeles

300 in Utah turn out for campus meeting

By Ken Morgan

SALT LAKE CITY—Nearly 300 students and faculty packed the East Ballroom at the University of Utah October 17 to hear Héctor Marroquín present his case for political asylum in the United States.

The meeting was sponsored by the Associated Students and cosponsored by the Chicano Students Association, Arab Students Association, Palestinian Action Committee, Young Socialist Alliance, Red American Student Association, Chicano Law Students Association, and the Salt Lake Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee (HMDC).

Also speaking on the panel were Dr. Ricardo Sánchez, visiting professor of Chicano studies and internationally known poet, and Dennis Vigil, a bilingual consultant. Vigil is co-chairperson of the HMDC, along with Frank Cordova, head of the University Chicano Students Association.

Many of the students felt that the

meeting reflected a new mood on campus. "These students didn't attend simply out of curiosity," said Clemens Bak, who helped organize the tour. "They came because they're angry, angry at the government. They came and solidarized with Marroquín and his struggle."

Vigil described the most recent threats to Marroquín by the Immigration and Naturalization Service. The INS has threatened to rule on his request for asylum on October 27, before the evidence on the case is complete. "As he explained the seriousness of a premature ruling," Bak said, "students began pulling out their notebooks and writing down the address of INS Director Leonel Castillo, so they could send protest messages."

The evening of October 17, the HMDC, together with other groups, held a community reception attended by more than eighty people. Dr. Sánchez read a poem dedicated to Marroquín and his struggle. El Conjunto Tejano, a Chicano band, provided music.

During his stay in Salt Lake, Marroquín also went to two steel plants, the Eimco Foundry and Eimco Fabrication, to talk with workers there. At the foundry, Bill Lewis, treasurer of Local 231 of the International Molders Allied Workers Union, greeted Marroquín and expressed his union's solidarity. Just prior to the tour, the members of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees Lodge for Union Pacific in northern Utah had voted to endorse his case.

Bak explained why he felt the tour was so successful. "We began our work in early September," he said. "About fifteen to twenty activists, many of them Chicano students, attended the weekly meetings. By meeting regularly, we were able to contact all the different groups on campus and win support for Marroquín and for his tour here."

The HMDC raised more than \$400 for Marroquín's defense during the tour.

Ariz. teachers union: 'Political asylum now!'

By Caroline Fowlkes

PHOENIX, Ariz.—"Hands off Marroquín! Political Asylum Now!" read a huge banner at an October 13 rally at the Arizona Education Association state headquarters here. Don Eklund, state president of the association, co-sponsored the event with the Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee and printed thousands of leaflets advertising the meeting.

"I want to extend a warm welcome to



Militant/Jim White

Marroquín speaking at July convention of National Education Association. NEA leaders in El Paso and Phoenix helped organize fall Marroquín tour.

Héctor Marroquín," said Eklund. "We in the AEA believe that teachers must set an example by taking a stand in favor of human rights."

Miguel Rojas, chairman of the state Chicano Hispano Caucus, chaired the meeting. In the audience were teachers from as far away as Flagstaff, some two and a half hours from Phoenix.

Also speaking at the defense rally was Rebecca Banister of the Glendale Community College MEChA. "As a Chilean," Banister explained, "I know how important Héctor's case is to thousands of other Latin American political prisoners who suffer the kinds of repression Héctor is fleeing from. By supporting Héctor, you are supporting them all."

Messages of solidarity also came from Jesús Romo, a leader of a committee organizing undocumented farm workers in the Phoenix area, and Licos Carreras of the Human Rights Defense League. Carreras explained the case of Jess López, a Chicano activist jailed on frame-up charges.

The day before, a spirited audience at Arizona State University applauded ASU MEChA leader Tom Martínez when he said that MEChA is behind Marroquín "all the way."

Warm welcome in El Paso & Albuquerque

By Joe Leone

EL PASO, Tex.—More than 200 people turned out here when Héctor Marroquín addressed two meetings at El Paso Community College October 9.

The meetings were sponsored by the Student Association in conjunction with Ace Sánchez, president of the El Paso Professional Association of College Educators.

Although Marroquín had never spoken in El Paso before, not everyone here was hearing him for the first time. It was Ace Sánchez who introduced the resolution of support for Marroquín passed by the National Education Association at its national convention last summer.

Both campus meetings voted unanimously to support a call by Student Association Vice-president Art Rocha to endorse Marroquín's case.

ALBUQUERQUE—Juan José Peña, chairperson of the New Mexico Raza Unida Party, joined Héctor Marroquín at two meetings in Albuquerque during his recent tour here October 10 and 11. "We should incorporate Chicanos and *mexicanos* into this society," said Peña at a meeting at the University of New Mexico. "Then Héctor Marroquín would not have to be a fugitive, but rather could spend his time in promoting creative ideas for a better society. This is why we as Chicanos support the issue of political asylum for Héctor Marroquín."

Peña and Marroquín addressed a meeting in Spanish at the Holy Family Parish. Also speaking were Linda Armas, editor of *La Cosecha*, a magazine of Chicano poetry and literature; and Javier Rivera of the Committee for Human Rights in Latin America.

Carrie Swanson, from the Committee for Human Rights in Latin America, described why her group feels it is important to support Marroquín's appeal.

If he wins, she said, "it will mean that refugees from right-wing dictatorships in Argentina, Haiti, Nicaragua, and many other countries in Latin America will have a better chance for asylum also."

Defense supporters in El Paso and Albuquerque raised close to \$400 for Marroquín's defense.

MY STORY

By Héctor Marroquín



The Struggle for Political Asylum in the U.S.

The story of a twenty-four-year-old student rebel, union activist, undocumented worker, and socialist forced to flee his homeland to escape political repression. 16 pages, 50¢. 35¢ each on orders of ten or more.

Available from: Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee, P.O. Box 843 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.



'Put a worker in Congress!'

By Rich Robohm

NEW YORK—Sharon Grant is the first Black woman pipefitter in the history of the Brooklyn Navy Yard. If her co-workers were amazed to see her wielding a pipe wrench and welding torch, they were even more surprised when they heard she was challenging the Democrats and Republicans for the right to represent the Fourteenth Congressional District in Washington.

Democrats have represented this two-thirds Black and Puerto Rican district in Brooklyn for generations. The Republican Party occasionally nominates a token opponent, but this year, thanks to the Socialist Workers Party campaign, there will be a real alternative to both big-business parties.

Grant, twenty-five years old, is a lifelong resident of New York. She grew up in the South Bronx and the Bushwick section of Brooklyn, two of the most impoverished and oppressed communities in the country. The very names of the neighborhoods—Bedford-Stuyvesant, Williamsburg, Crown Heights, Fort Greene—are synonyms for poverty, racism, unemployment, and police brutality.

Grant explains why she is running for Congress on the SWP ticket. "We need real solutions, because we've got real problems. We need jobs, especially for the millions of young people who are shut out of any chance for a decent life in this society. We need an end to white racist violence against Black and Hispanic people. We need an end to racial and sexual discrimination that slams the door in the faces of minorities and women when we try to get a better job or a better education to improve our lives."

Favorable response

The Sharon Grant for Congress campaign has gotten a favorable reception from residents of the Fourteenth C.D. More than 6,000 people signed nominating petitions for Grant in a ten-day period last August.

At a September Caribbean Day celebration in Brooklyn, campaign supporters passed out 10,000 copies of an open letter urging a vote for Grant. The letter also called for support to the September 28 anti-police brutality rally at city hall sponsored by the Black United Front.

Grant's campaign supporters organized an open house later that month during a week-long special *Militant* sales drive. "We had twelve new campaign supporters come by that day,

including three of my co-workers from the Brooklyn Navy Yard," Grant says.

Scott Ware, a shipfitter at the navy yard and a member of the SWP, is helping to organize campaign support activities at the navy yard.

"Some people don't understand why a worker like themselves is a candidate for office. Or else, they don't see how someone who's running for office could be working at the yard," Ware explained. "But," he added, "everyone is interested in finding out more about what Sharon stands for and why she's running."

Others are already enthusiastic supporters of Grant's campaign. One worker, a shipfitter from Trinidad in his late twenties, was upset that so few campaign posters for Grant had been put up around the area. He offered to take a team of people around in his car to ensure that the campaign was properly publicized. The "Put a Worker in Congress!" posters now cover the neighborhood.

Ware also reported that the first batch of campaign buttons bearing Grant's picture and the slogan "Grant For Congress. Vote Socialist Workers!" sold out in a few hours.

Democratic opponent

Grant's main opponent in this race is Frederick Richmond, a white multimillionaire. "Asking him to represent the people in the Fourteenth C.D.," she says, "is like asking the fox to guard the hen house. People like him can't do anything to solve our problems, because they're the ones who are causing them!"

It was while building Black and Puerto Rican participation in a 1977 International Women's Day demonstration that Grant became acquainted with members of the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance.

"I probably always had some socialist ideas, but I didn't become active in politics until I became active in the women's movement," Grant says.

"Through my activity in the National Organization for Women and other groups I met some sisters who were socialists. Their views on how to build the women's movement made sense to me. They were saying what I knew to be true: that if you want to win something, you'd better organize yourself and others like you to fight for it. If you wait for somebody else to 'give' it to you, it'll be a long time coming."

Grant has been an active supporter of the campaign to end U.S. support to the racist, white minority regimes of



Militant/Lou Howort

Sharon Grant, Brooklyn Navy Yard pipefitter and Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress.

Rhodesia and South Africa. She was also active in the Arthur Miller Defense Committee organized last summer after a police mob strangled the Black community leader to death in Crown Heights, Brooklyn.

Grant has used her campaign to help organize and build the Black community's protests against police brutality and the racist city hall administration.

Black political action

As a result of the continuing mobilization in Crown Heights against cop terror, many Blacks began to talk about a strategy for winning political power. Leaders of the Black United Front put their hopes in Bernard Gifford, a Black doctor running against the incumbent, Fred Richmond, in the Democratic primary.

Gifford had been a co-chairperson of Daniel Moynihan's successful campaign for the U.S. Senate in 1976, trying to help Moynihan overcome his well-deserved image as a racist. (Moynihan advocated a policy of "benign neglect" towards Blacks while serving as former President Richard Nixon's adviser on domestic affairs.)

Despite Gifford's credentials, many Black leaders in Brooklyn and throughout New York urged support for his campaign as a step forward for Blacks. The Socialist Workers Party candidates advocated a different strategy.

Together with Ken Miliner, running for Congress against Democrat Charles Rangel in Harlem, Grant issued "An Open Letter to the Black Community."

"The Democratic and Republican parties—including their Black elected officials—don't represent the Black community," the letter explained. "They represent the interests of the banks and corporations."

Grant and Miliner point out in the "Open Letter" that despite the promises of Democratic and Republican politicians, conditions for Blacks have steadily deteriorated.

As a result, says Grant, people have become disillusioned with the elections. "Many people don't even bother to vote anymore. They don't trust the Democrats and Republicans to do anything for them, so they say, 'What difference does it make?'"

But Grant and Miliner argue that rather than give up on political solutions, Black people should organize

independent campaigns to challenge the Democrats and Republicans in the elections.

They point to the civil rights movement, where millions of Black people, North and South, were out in the streets demanding their rights.

"As long as we relied on our so-called 'friends' in the two capitalist parties to do things for us," Grant says, "we never got anywhere. So we began to rely on ourselves and our own power, and that's when you began to see some real changes. That's how we got rid of Jim Crow segregation in the South, and that's the only way we can hope to make progress today."

Grant and Miliner advocate calling a conference of the Black community to discuss proposals for turning back the attacks on the rights and standard of living of Blacks and other working people. Such a conference should discuss the need to break with the Democrats and Republicans and form an independent Black party, they explain.

Grant has been using her campaign in the same way to explain the need for all working people to organize independently of the Democrats and Republicans.

"The big-business parties haven't done any better by the working class as a whole than they have by Black people," Grant contends. "We need an independent labor party that is responsible to working people and our unions, and will really unite and fight for all workers."

Navy yard rally

Grant and her supporters began the intensive final three weeks of campaigning by distributing leaflets and putting up posters for a lunch-time rally held at the navy yard on October 20. The next evening, she gave the keynote speech at a rally for the entire New York State Socialist Workers Party slate.

Dianne Feeley is the SWP candidate for governor. Ray Markey is running for attorney general; Kevin Kellogg for lieutenant governor; and Diane Shur is a write-in candidate in the Twenty-eighth C.D.

As the campaign enters its final days, Grant and her campaigners are busy getting the word out on the socialist alternative in the Fourteenth C.D.

And every day at work, of course, her presence is a constant reminder to "Put a Worker in Congress!"



Militant/Lou Howort

Grant has been active in Black community protests over cops' killing of Arthur Miller

Vote no on tax swindles!

Socialist alternative to rulers' cutback schemes

By Peter Seidman

The passage of California's Proposition 13 last June ensured that taxes would be a big issue in the fall elections. Since then, referendum measures promising tax cuts, or limits on taxation or government spending, have been placed on the ballot in sixteen states.

In Michigan, three hotly debated proposals will be on the ballot: the Tisch amendment, a property tax cut that would result in a 14 percent slash in social services; a voucher plan, which would permit the use of public funds for private education; and the Headlee amendment, which would limit increases in state spending to increases in personal income.

What's more, according to *Time* magazine, "just about every politician with a prayer of getting elected is offering some kind of tax-cutting program."

Advocates of these Prop 13-style measures argue that they offer urgently needed relief to homeowners.

But candidates of the Socialist Workers Party from coast to coast are warning working people not to be taken in by these phony schemes.

Robin Mace, SWP candidate for governor of Michigan, is calling for a "no" vote on all three measures there.

And Fred Halstead, candidate for governor of California, is urging people to take a close look at the impact of Prop 13 before they make the mistake of backing any other such measures.

"Wealthy corporations raked in some \$4.5 billion—two-thirds of the property tax relief offered by Prop 13," Halstead explains.

"But working people got wage freezes and cutbacks in vital social services—not meaningful tax relief."

California cutbacks

"Recipients of welfare aid to dependent children, blind, and disabled persons lost their cost-of-living adjustments," Halstead says. "Summer schools were closed.

"Prop 13 was also used to cut out funding for abortion under Medi-Cal.

"In most cases, government agencies put a freeze on hiring and also canceled the cost-of-living increases written into union contracts.

"And it could get even worse," Halstead warns. "Further cutbacks were avoided only because Gov. Jerry Brown was able to use this year's \$5 billion state budget surplus to make up for lost revenue.

"What happens next year, when this surplus shrinks?" he asks.

"Meanwhile, whatever gains homeowners got from their property tax reduction have been sharply offset by higher or newly imposed fees for services such as trash collections; the loss of previously available deductions on their federal income taxes; and cutbacks in social services.

"And contrary to Jarvis's claims, renters are not getting any breaks at all," Halstead reports. "In fact, landlords are raising rents instead of passing along their tax savings."

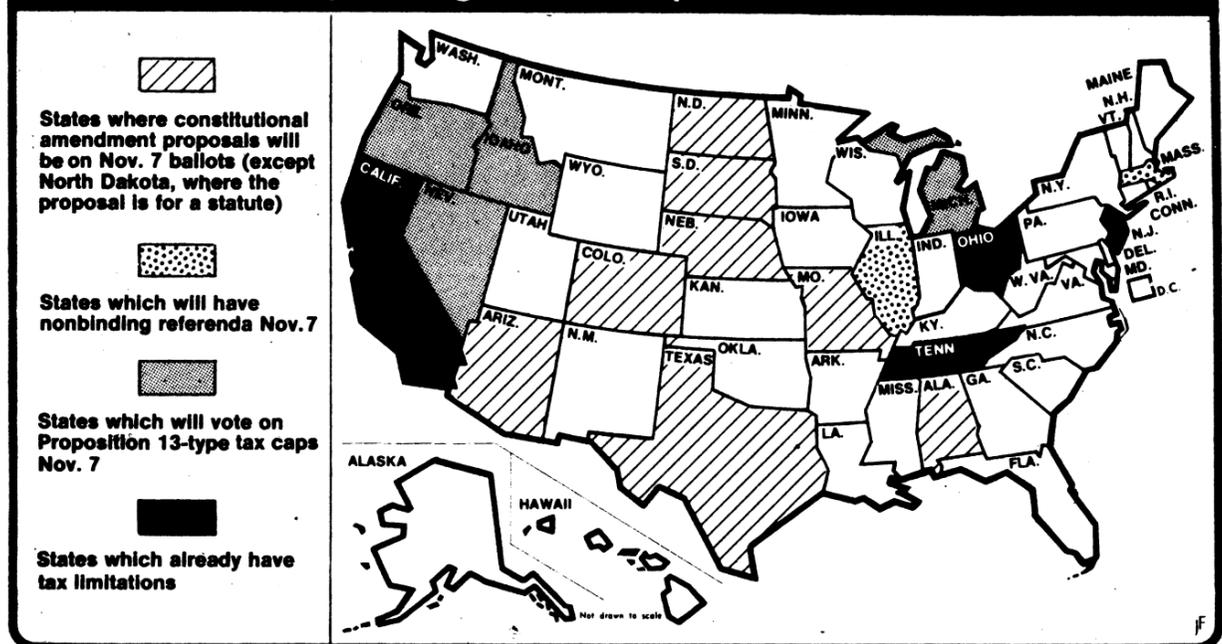
California shows that all the so-called tax reform measures are actually swindles to shift even more of the burden of taxation onto working people.

Right-wing shift?

These measures are demagogic schemes aimed at pitting working-class homeowners, and working farmers and the operators of small business, against the interests of public employees and the millions who benefit from the vital services they perform.

In the long run, only big business will benefit from this attempt to divide

Tax and spending limitation pattern across the U.S.



Christian Science Monitor

the working class and its allies.

The success of Prop 13 and the mushrooming of similar tax referenda in other states has led many commentators to claim there is a shift to the right under way in U.S. politics.

Halstead disagrees. "There is no question that Prop 13 was initiated by far-right groups," he says. "Jarvis himself is a right-winger. During his campaign for mayor of Los Angeles in

1976, for example, he even proposed abolishing public schools!

"But millions of homeowners voted for Prop 13 because they wanted to save their homes, not because they're right-wingers. And not because they wanted to see cuts in social services.

"It was the Democratic and Republican parties and their followers in the trade-union officialdom who consciously allowed Prop 13 to dominate the election. These parties of big business and their labor lieutenants offered only a weak alternative to Jarvis's swindle. They let Prop 13 appear to be the only way taxpayers could get relief.

"Governor Brown simply rolled with a right-wing thing and then adapted it to his own program—a general cut in the living standards of workers—and tax relief to the rich.

"This is why Brown and Jarvis have lately become very buddy-buddy," Halstead says. "Jarvis has not endorsed any gubernatorial candidate. But he has made TV commercials for both Brown and Brown's Republican challenger State Attorney General Evelle Younger.

"Jarvis says publicly that Brown really carried out Prop 13 and deserves credit for it. Brown accepts Jarvis's support and even goes out of his way to court it."

Both the Democrats and the Republicans are following a similar pattern in other states where tax referenda are on the ballot.

This convergence is no accident. It is being engineered from the White House. As *Time* puts it, "the conservative shift starts at the top of the [Democratic] party."

This fancy footwork with right-wingers is simply part of an overall offensive by the ruling rich against those they exploit.

'Bite the first ankle'

But as this corporate offensive intensifies, working people are growing angrier.

Democratic and Republican politicians themselves report this.

"I've never seen an electorate more apathetic, more cynical, and more unbelieving than this one," says Illinois Democratic gubernatorial candidate Michael Bakalis.

"There is anxiety, even animosity out there," Republican Sen. Howard Baker observes. "They tend to bite the first ankle that walks by them."

It is this anger that right-wingers—in the absence of a viable alternative posed by the trade-union movement—have been seeking to divert into the so-called tax revolt.

But a survey by the Yankelovich public opinion firm shows that working people do not really accept the claims by right-wingers and capitalist politicians that they must choose between tax relief or cuts in social services. The survey appeared in the October 23 issue of *Time*.

According to the poll, "most Americans . . . think high taxes are a result not of the public demand for services but mainly of the relentless growth of the bureaucracy. . . . They think the most obvious place to start . . . [tax] cuts is to eliminate government waste.

"Far from being ready to accept a serious reduction in government services, they think still more should be spent in such major areas as health and education."

Tax the rich!

Candidates of the SWP agree with these sentiments. They are finding a favorable hearing for the socialist alternative to the tax policies of the two capitalist parties.

SWP candidates call for abolishing the tax burden on working people, farmers, and the owners of small businesses. They want to put the burden where it belongs. *Tax the wealthy corporations and individuals whose interests the government serves.*

- Abolish all income taxes and Social Security taxes on incomes below \$30,000. Increase the rate to 100 percent on the portion of all incomes above \$50,000.

- Eliminate property taxes and other taxes that hit individual homeowners, small businesses, and working farmers the hardest.

- Tax the big corporations. As a step towards closing the loopholes through which they escape paying taxes, working people must force them to open their books for review by union inspection committees.

- Abolish all sales taxes.

- Abolish the war budget.

- Stop giving away \$6.8 billion through nontaxation of interest paid to the wealthy holders of state and city bonds.

- Place a 100 percent tax on the profits of polluting corporations, the war profiteers, and the profit-gouging energy trust.

Tax the rich! This is a program the whole labor movement should fight for.

This is the real answer to the phony referenda used by the Democrats and Republicans to convince working people there is "no money" for schools, hospitals, and other vital social services.



Right-wing tax swindler Howard Jarvis



. . . is now 'buddy-buddy' with California's liberal Democratic Gov. Jerry Brown.



A socialist proposal for

The socialist campaign for Sylvia Weinstein for San Francisco School Board has won considerable support among labor and feminist figures in the Bay Area.

Local 1100 of the Retail Clerks union, with more than 5,000 members, has endorsed the Socialist Workers Party candidate. Local 1100 President Walter Johnson initiated a letter signed by local union officials directed to delegates at two meetings last month of San Francisco COPE—Committee on Political Education, the AFL-CIO's political arm. (See box.)

At the September 25 COPE gathering delegates voting to endorse Weinstein represented 6,000 unionists. (Votes representing about 35,000 were required for endorsement.)

As the letter explains, Weinstein is a leading activist in the child-care and women's movements. Her campaign is also endorsed by Mary Spencer, president, San Francisco National Organization for Women; Kay Wylie, ERA chair, San Francisco NOW; Roma Guy, director, San Francisco Women's Center; Linda Festa, Child and Parent Action; and David Fishlow, former executive director, San Francisco American Civil Liberties Union.

A number of these endorsers were part of a group of 100 supporters who attended a fund raiser October 14 at Daisy's Deli, where more than \$1,700 was raised for the Weinstein campaign.

The socialist campaign has placed posters—a version of the one reprinted on this page, expanded to include parts of Weinstein's platform—inside 100 public buses that run primarily through the Black and Latino communities.

The socialist program for the schools follows.

The well-being of our children is our most precious goal. To achieve that goal, our children must have a first-rate education. But the quality of education in San Francisco, as elsewhere in this country, has been on the decline for years.

SCRAP THE REDESIGN PLAN

Superintendent of Schools, Robert Alioto, with the full backing of the present Board of Education, is systematically debasing the quality of our children's education.

An attack on educational standards is being

VOTE SOCIALIST WORKERS

It will be a great day when our schools get all the money they need, and the Navy has to hold a bake sale to buy a ship.

SYLVIA WEINSTEIN Board of Education

waged under the deceptive cover of the "school redesign plan." Under this plan, which is hypocritically touted as a plan to "improve education," the School Board is closing schools and children's centers; increasing the number of pupils per class; firing teachers, paraprofessionals and other vital school employees, cutting back such essentials as remedial programs, bilingual/bicultural programs, art and physical education; trimming programs for the disabled and the handicapped; "tracking" students into educational dead-ends (only two high schools will offer full college preparatory courses) and, finally, making a mockery of desegregation by cutting back school busing.

PRIORITIES MUST BE REVERSED

A course must be charted that points in a direction *opposite* to the one now being taken by the School Board:

- Reopen and KEEP OPEN all schools and children's centers. Children's centers must be expanded and staffed by credentialed teachers.
- Utilize all school facilities to reduce class size.

- Hire more teachers and paraprofessionals.
- Expand remedial instruction.
- Expand bilingual/bicultural programs.
- End "tracking." All students must be given the opportunity to reach their full potential.
- Expand busing, both to implement desegregation of schools and to assure the safe transportation of younger children to schools and children's centers.

EXPAND CHILD DEVELOPMENT CENTERS

Thousands of San Francisco children are waiting to be placed in our childcare centers. However, the present School Board policy is to cut back the number of childcare slots. A 50% CUTBACK IS PLANNED FOR THE COMING YEAR! The thousands of children who are waiting will never get in if Superintendent Alioto and the Board have their way.

Not only do economic factors—the need for parents to work to support themselves and their children—dictate an increased number of childcare centers. But all children need the social contact with other children and the developmental programs, led by credentialed teachers, that are available at our centers.

INCORPORATE CHILDREN'S CENTERS INTO SYSTEM OF PUBLIC EDUCATION

It is time that early childhood education be made a regular part of our educational system. A child's education should begin when individual parents feel their children are old enough—perhaps at age three or younger—to benefit from child development programs.

Our society is *rich enough* to support this extension of public education. All children, regardless of their parents' income, should have the right to the fullest free public educational system that our society can afford. Early childhood developmental programs have proven indispensable to children who have language or other special problems.

EXPAND INFANT CARE CENTERS

At present there are only two infant care centers in San Francisco. The rise of teen-age pregnancies underscores the urgent need for more infant care facilities.

Statistics show that close to 80% of young mothers who have had infant care available to them have gone on to finish high school and even college. Working two-parent families, not to mention single-parent families, must have such care available to them if they are to continue working to support themselves and their children.

WHERE WILL THE MONEY COME FROM?

We have all heard of the \$5 billion or more surplus in the state treasury. Both Democratic and Republican politicians on the School Board, as well as throughout the government, have worked a confidence game in which educational and other social needs of working people have been blamed for the increasing tax burden dumped on working people. This is a fraud.

Our tax money has gone, in increasing proportion, to bail out huge corporations like those in the

A letter to COPE delegates

The following letter was distributed to delegates at the September 18 and September 25 meetings of San Francisco COPE, the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education.

Dear Sisters and Brothers:

We, the undersigned trade unionists, are supporting Sylvia Weinstein for the San Francisco Board of Education. We urge the San Francisco COPE to join us in endorsing her. Let us explain why.

Sylvia Weinstein is a well-known leader in the childcare and public education reform movement. She has served as co-chairperson of Child and Parent Action, the group responsible for the Childcare Initiative approved by San Francisco voters in 1973. In 1976 when the San Francisco Board of Supervisors moved to repeal the Childcare Expansion Initiative, Ms. Weinstein headed up the ballot group, the Yes on Childcare Committee, that led the fight to save the program.

Sylvia Weinstein has been a prominent figure in the fight against the cutbacks in education in our City. She has been a staunch defender, along with the Teachers' organizations, of the interests of teachers, parents, and students.

Now we in San Francisco are again facing an attack on the quality of education. Teachers are being laid off, schools are being closed, children's centers are being shut down; and busing, vital to the desegregation of the schools and to the safety of younger children, is being curtailed. This attack on public education and quality children's centers—vital to working parents as well as our

children—is part of a broader offensive against our living standards. This drive to take back gains won by working people is being escalated.

Sylvia Weinstein has pledged to champion the defense of quality education. She wants to extend the educational gains made in the past—gains such as the early child development concept of children's centers and an expanded program of remedial classes to halt the tragic growth of so-called functional illiteracy. Her program is to expand educational opportunity, not to cut it back.

Sylvia Weinstein has many other credits to recommend her as labor's candidate for School Board. She was a founding member of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) and is currently a Vice-President of the San Francisco Chapter of the National Organization for Women (NOW).

Sincerely and fraternally,
 J.J. Cabezd, Financial Sec., Painters Local 4
 Percy Edmond, Recording Sec., United Steelworkers Local 50
 Walter Johnson, Pres., Retail Clerks Local 1100
 Joseph Mazzola, Financial Sec.-treas., Plumbers Local 38
 James McPartland, Business Rep., Carpenters Local 22
 James O'Sullivan, Business Rep. and Financial Sec., Carpenters Local 22
 Everett Walsh, Business Rep., Retail Clerks Local 1100

schools



SYLVIA WEINSTEIN

railroad, aerospace, and nuclear power industries; our tax money has gone into local boondoggles like the Yerba Buena convention center. And of course military related industries gobble up billions upon billions of our tax dollars.

There has been a systematic shifting of the tax burden from corporations to working people. At the present time, taxes that directly affect business account for only 16% of the total state income, while sales and personal income taxes make up 74% of all California state revenue. Sales and income taxes hit working people, and others with limited incomes, the hardest.

Decreasing the quality of social services such as education and increasing the charges for libraries, museums, transportation, water, sewer services, etc., means that workers will be paying *more hidden taxes* than ever before. Proposition 13 will pour two-thirds of the tax savings—estimated as high as \$7 billion—into the coffers of big business and millionaire landlords.

The myth that the tax burden *must* be borne by working people and small property owners intimidates them from resisting cutbacks in vital social services. We can cut through this myth with the demand, **TAX THE RICH, NOT THE WORKING PEOPLE!**

HOW WE CAN WIN

As working people we must stop voting for Democrats and Republicans, who double-cross us almost as soon as they are elected. Both parties vie with each other in playing Robin Hood—in reverse. They take from the poor to give to the rich!

Workers need a political party that they control, not a party that controls them!

Electoral actions such as Sylvia Weinstein's campaign for San Francisco School Board can point the way for other independent political action.

The concept of independent working class political action becomes real when we know what a socialist would do if elected.

As a member of the Board of Education, Sylvia would utilize her position to help unify parents, teachers, other working people, and students into a citywide coalition for real reform of our schools. All resources—the news media, official School Board meetings as well as citizens' rallies and protest meetings—would be used to blow the whistle on any backroom deals being cooked up against our children at 135 Van Ness.

Programs and budgets would be written, not in lengthy, incomprehensible legal gobbledygook, but in language that every parent could understand.

Political action would not end at the voting machine. Sylvia would work to organize thousands of trade unionists, students, parents, and teachers in massive actions in the streets of San Francisco. All the allies of working people, like women's organizations and organizations of oppressed nationalities, would join such a movement for our children. Such a movement, in the streets, ended the war in Vietnam. It can gain for our children the education they need.

Together we have the potential power to change society in the interest of the vast majority. We can start here in San Francisco, this year.

VOTE FOR SYLVIA WEINSTEIN

Sylvia's campaign for Board of Education is an action campaign—a campaign for breaking with the parties of the rich, a campaign for forming a mass party based on the unions. We hope you will join that campaign.

Georgia socialist hits Reidsville jail

By Don Davis

ATLANTA—Reidsville State Prison is Georgia's Attica. It was built in 1936 to hold 1,800 prisoners. This year there were 2,900. There is no air conditioning. Dangerously ill prisoners are assigned to medical wards that have no professional staff at night or on weekends.

Two-thirds of the prisoners are Black. Georgia's population is 25 percent Black.

Since March, five prisoners and one guard have been killed at Reidsville in three separate incidents. The remedy imposed by a federal judge: racial segregation—back to what had been abolished only in 1974.

Meanwhile, Georgia Gov. George Busbee, who slashed \$400,000 from the prison's medical budget this year, authorized \$1.2 million for beefed-up security and called for executing prison rebels.

I recently had the chance to learn firsthand about the inhuman conditions at Reidsville during a conversation with Chinyelu Lumumba and Charles Babu Bradley, former Reidsville inmates, and Rick Reed, director of the Clearinghouse on Georgia Prisons and Jails. Joining us was a third prisoner who preferred to be known only as "Ali" for fear of jeopardizing his parole.

"The fundamental problem is that prison officials refuse to accept the fact that prisoners are human beings and have a right to be treated as such," Reed said. "It's manifested in continuing harassment and intimidation from guards and continuous efforts to provoke antagonisms between Black and white inmates."

The administration feels "as long as there is turmoil, they have the inmates under control," Ali said. He gave several examples of guards taking weapons from Black prisoners and giving them to whites.

"One of the ways they keep the prison population divided is by giving certain privileges to certain prisoners, white prisoners in particular," he added.

The prison administration broke up the Inmate Unity Committee, which prisoners set up to head off possible violence after a Black inmate was stabbed last March.

Six hundred prisoners, Black and white, came to a meeting organized by Muslim prisoners.

The warden agreed to meet with representatives, and negotiations proceeded for a couple of weeks. He gave verbal promises to make some reforms, such as ending censorship of outgoing mail, improving the food, repairing showers, and allowing Muslim prisoners religious diets.

"There was a whole transition of the climate in the prison," Reed said. "Black and white inmates were consciously making an effort to go into the mess halls, eating together. A very positive climate was established."

Then the Inmate Unity Committee began to talk about investigating attacks on prisoners by guards.

The warden broke off talks at that point and

Don Davis is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Georgia.

disbanded the committee because, he said, it was trying to run the prison.

Several days later, there were several unexplained incidents of vandalism in the prison.

The warden immediately put the leaders of the committee in administrative segregation. His reason? He claimed they had advocated acts of violence.

The leaders are still in administrative segregation.

What's it like in Reidsville?

"Inhumane. Barbaric," Lumumba said.

"It's a madhouse," agreed Ali. "Every day is tension."

But that doesn't seem to matter to the elected officials of Georgia. "They've blocked every possible peaceful effort at bringing about some positive change in conditions at Reidsville," Reed said.

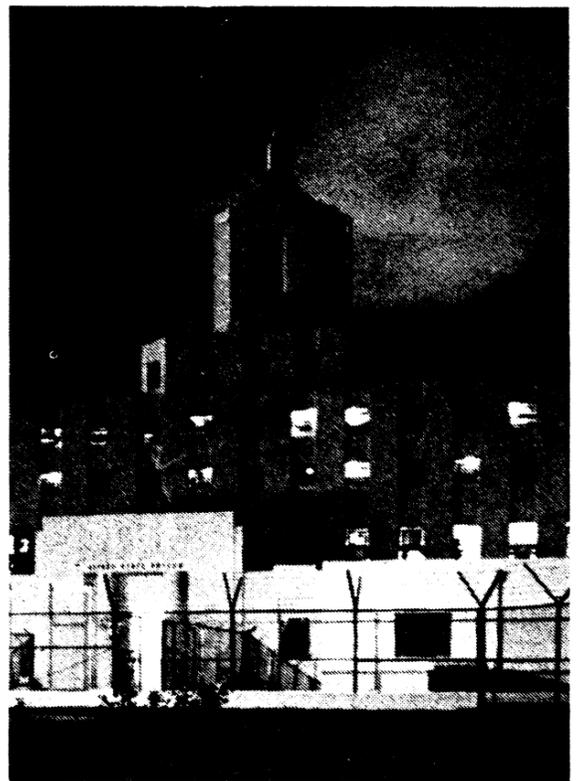
Several inmates have been charged with killing a guard. If convicted they face the death penalty.

Governor Busbee claims that these actions, along with his plan to build more prisons, end the Reidsville crisis.

In fact, he has done nothing to deal with the real problem. And he won't.

The prisons in this society are designed to dehumanize the inmates, not "rehabilitate" them. The real criminals are not the people behind bars but the rulers of this country. They deny millions jobs, education, and a decent life, forcing some to turn to crime in desperation.

Socialists are for tearing down the prison walls and creating a new society, one based on human needs, not profits.



Reidsville state prison

Louisville: campaigning at General Electric

By Debby Tarnopol

LOUISVILLE, Ky.—October 19, 5:30 a.m. It's forty degrees and dark outside gate number two of General Electric's Appliance Park, as Jim Burfeind, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress, and twenty campaign supporters arrive to begin a massive distribution of literature to the 20,000 workers there.

Because Democrats and Republicans have campaigned at the plant with GE's permission, Burfeind will too.

Most workers at the plant work in six massive buildings arranged in a half-mile-long line. They park in an enormous lot and walk into the buildings. The socialists station themselves in pairs at the doors.

One person sells the *Militant*. The other distributes Burfeind's campaign platform, "Put a GE worker in Congress."

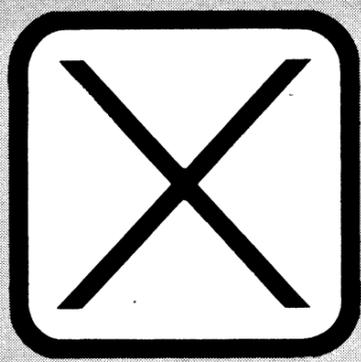
Burfeind greets the sleepy-eyed first shift at building number two: "Hi, I'm Jim Burfeind. I work in this building on second shift, and I'm running for Congress. Here's my campaign platform."

Liz Jayko is selling the *Militant*, when a woman pauses to say that she saw Burfeind on TV that Saturday.

Helen Kuester, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance at the University of Louisville, is holding a *Militant* aloft, calling out, "Buy the Socialist Workers newspaper." A worker stops dead in his tracks and buys one.

During the hour they are there, the socialist campaigners sell twenty-seven *Militants*, give away fifty back issues as samples, and distribute 5,000 campaign platforms.

The *Militant* has generated interest inside the plant. Socialist workers there sell four more copies to their coworkers that day.



VOTERS

Listed below are the Socialist Workers Party candidates in the November 7 elections. In cases where the SWP is urging a yes or no vote on ballot referenda, that also is indicated.

In some states, restrictive ballot laws prevented the socialist candidates from gaining ballot status. Write-in candidates are indicated with an asterisk (*). SWP candidates in elections that are officially 'nonpartisan' and have no party identification on the ballot are indicated with a dagger (†).

If you have questions about how to vote SWP or for more information on pre-election and election-night campaign activities, contact the SWP office nearest you, listed on page 31.

ARIZONA

☒ Betsy McDonald—U.S. Congress, 2d C.D. (Tucson)
☒ Jessica Sampson—Governor

CALIFORNIA

☒ Lucy Matthews—U.S. Congress, 25th C.D. (Los Angeles)
☒ Gwendolyn Marshall—U.S. Congress, 28th C.D. (Los Angeles)
☒ Fred Halstead—Governor
☒ Valerie Libby—Lt. Governor
☒ Sam Manuel—Attorney General
☒ Sylvia Weinstein—San Francisco Board of Education

Vote no on Proposition 6 (Briggs Amendment), which seeks to drive all gay rights supporters out of the California school system. No on Proposition 7, which would legalize the death penalty.

COLORADO

☒ Sue Adley—U.S. Congress, 1st C.D. (Denver)
☒ Elsa Blum—Governor
☒ Harold Sudmeyer—Lt. Governor

Vote no on Proposition 2 (Burch-Orr Amendment), which would clear the way for cuts in social services by putting a limit on government spending. No on Denver City Charter Amendment A, which would establish a mayor-appointed civilian police commission to whitewash cop crimes.

FLORIDA

☒ Lee Smith—U.S. Congress, 13th C.D. (Miami)

Vote yes on Dade County Full Equality Ordinance, which prohibits discrimination against gays. Yes on Proposition 2, which would add an Equal Rights Amendment to the state constitution.

GEORGIA

☒ Don Davis—Governor

ILLINOIS

Vote column 3.
☒ Pat Grogan—U.S. Senate
☒ Cecil Lampkin—Governor
☒ Dennis Brasky—Lt. Governor
☒ Marie Cobbs—Secretary of State
☒ Guy Miller—Attorney General
☒ John Eriksen—Comptroller
☒ Linda Loew—Treasurer
☒ John Pottinger—Univ. of Ill. Trustee
☒ Jo-Ann Della-Giustina—Univ. of Ill. Trustee
☒ Lee Kail—Univ. of Ill. Trustee

INDIANA

☒ Henry Slubowski—U.S. Congress, 11th C.D. (Indianapolis)

KENTUCKY

☒ Jim Burfeind—U.S. Congress, 3rd C.D. (Louisville)

MARYLAND

☒ Salm Kolis—Governor
☒ Ollie Bivins—Lt. Governor

MASSACHUSETTS

☒ Nelson González—U.S. Senate
☒ Brenda Franklin—U.S. Congress, 9th C.D. (Boston)
☒ Lisa Potash—Governor
☒ Gerald L. Cohen—Lt. Governor

MICHIGAN

☒ Florence Robinson—U.S. Senate
☒ Sidney Hunter—U.S. Congress, 1st C.D. (Detroit)
☒ Nan Bailey—U.S. Congress, 13th C.D. (Detroit)
☒ Tom Smith—U.S. Congress, 14th C.D. (Detroit)
☒ Terry Bell—U.S. Congress, 17th C.D. (Detroit)
☒ Robin Mace—Governor
☒ Don Bechler—Lt. Governor
☒ Jo Carol Stallworth—Detroit Central Board of Education

Vote no on Proposition E (Headlee Amendment), Proposition H (voucher plan), and Proposition J (Tisch Amendment). All three are tax measures that would provide relief for the rich, while clearing the way for cuts in social services for working people.

MINNESOTA

☒ Christine Frank—U.S. Senate
☒ Bill Peterson—U.S. Senate
☒ Jill Lakowski—Governor
☒ Marc Shaver—Lt. Governor

MISSOURI

Vote column 3.
☒ Mary Pritchard—U.S. Congress, 1st C.D. (St. Louis)
☒ Jim Levitt—U.S. Congress, 5th C.D. (Kansas City)
☒ Renita Alexander—State Senate, 1st Dist. (St. Louis)
☒ Glen White—State Rep., 76th Dist. (St. Louis)

Vote no on Amendment 23, the so-called right-to-work law, which would outlaw the union shop.

NEW JERSEY

☒ Alice Conner—U.S. Senate
☒ Tony Austin—U.S. Congress, 10th C.D. (Newark)

NEW MEXICO

☒ Carole Newcomb—U.S. Senate
☒ Floyd Fowler—U.S. Congress, 1st C.D. (Albuquerque)

NEW YORK

☒ Sharon Grant—U.S. Congress, 14th C.D. (Crown Heights, Brooklyn)
☒ Ken Milner—U.S. Congress, 19th C.D. (Harlem)
☒ Diane Shur—U.S. Congress, 28th C.D. (Albany)
☒ Dianne Feeley—Governor
☒ Kevin Kellogg—Lt. Governor
☒ Ray Markey—Attorney General

NORTH CAROLINA

☒ Rebecca Finch—U.S. Senate

OHIO

☒ John Stiller—U.S. Congress, 1st C.D. (Cincinnati)
☒ Pat Wright—Governor
☒ John Gaige—Lt. Governor

OREGON

☒ Louise Haberbush—U.S. Senate

Vote no on Proposition 6, and Proposition 11, tax measures that would provide relief primarily for the rich while causing cuts in social services. No on Proposition 7, which would outlaw state funding for abortion. No on Proposition 8, which would restore the death penalty.

PENNSYLVANIA

Vote row C.
☒ Ben Bailey—U.S. Congress, 2nd C.D. (Philadelphia)
☒ Mark Zola—Governor
☒ Naomi Berman—Lt. Governor

In Philadelphia, abstain on Question 1, the amendment to the city charter that would bar third-term officeholders from the mayoralty.

TEXAS

Vote column 4.
☒ Miguel Pendás—U.S. Senate
☒ Jim White—U.S. Congress, 5th C.D. (Dallas)
☒ Deborah Vernier—U.S. Congress, 18th C.D. (Houston)
☒ Sara Jean Johnston—Governor
☒ Andrea Doorack—Lt. Governor
☒ Agnes Chapa—Attorney General
☒ Derrick Adams—Treasurer
☒ Jana Pellusch—Railroad Commissioner

UTAH

☒ Bill Hoyle—U.S. Congress, 2nd C.D. (Salt Lake City)

WASHINGTON D.C.

☒ Glova Scott—Mayor
☒ Antonio Grillo—City Council, 1st Ward

WASHINGTON

☒ Mary Smith—U.S. Congress, 6th C.D. (Tacoma)
☒ Harold Schlechtweg—U.S. Congress, 7th C.D. (Seattle)

Vote no on Proposition 350, which would outlaw busing for desegregation. No on Seattle City Proposition 13, which would remove a gay rights ordinance. No on Seattle City Proposition 15, which would expand cops' "legal" right to shoot at will.

WEST VIRGINIA

☒ Rosalinda Flint—U.S. Senate
☒ Brian Williams—State House of Delegates, 27th Dist. (Morgantown)

WISCONSIN

☒ Adrienne Kaplan—Governor
☒ Bill Breihan—Lt. Governor

The SWP also urges a vote for Socialist Party candidate Joel Miller, who is running for Wisconsin State Senate from the 9th District.

*write-in
†no party designation on ballot



SWP candidates marched for the Equal Rights Amendment in Washington July 9. Above: Glova Scott (left), and Salm Kolis, for governor of Maryland. At

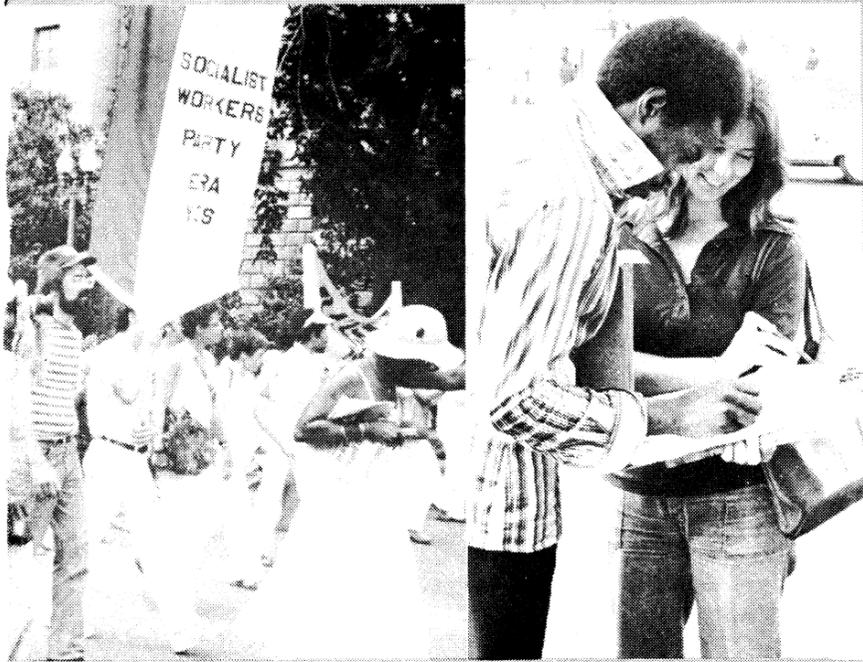


In the midst of his campaign for U.S. Congressman, Jim Burfeind (right) went on strike



Ohio gubernatorial candidate Pat Wright (left) and steel plants. Harlem congressional candidate K a protest demanding U.S. out of Nicaragua.

SWP



Militant/Susan Ellis
 Amendment in D.C. mayor, ght, campaign supporter gets one of the more than 200,000 signatures gathered across the country to put SWP candidates on the ballot.



ss, Louisville three months. Pittsburgh steelworker Mark Zola, SWP candidate for governor of Pennsylvania, has been on strike since August.



Militant/Lou Howort
 Militant/Bill Hovland
 campaigned at Miliner joined And California gubernatorial candidate Fred Halstead (right) made a fact-finding tour of the coalfields during the national miners' strike last winter.



The socialist alternative to the Democratic and Republican parties is not just in the voting booth on November 7. The Socialist Workers Party campaigns 365 days a year for—

- jobs and a decent standard of living for all
 - equal rights for women, Blacks, Chicanos, and gays
 - job safety and a healthy environment
 - a world free of nuclear power and war
 - a socialist society based on human needs not profits.
- Join us in the fight. Join the Socialist Workers Party.

Contact the SWP branch nearest you listed on page 31, or send the coupon below to SWP, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

- I want to join the SWP
- Please send me more information.
- Enclosed is \$2 for a ten-week subscription to the 'Militant.'

Name _____
 Address _____
 City _____
 State _____ Zip _____ Phone _____

Yes to human rights, no to death penalty!

The Equal Rights Amendment, gay rights, abortion, and the death penalty—these issues will appear on the ballots of several states this fall. The Socialist Workers Party is urging people to cast their vote for human rights.

Equal Rights Amendment

Nevada is having a nonbinding referendum on whether to ratify the ERA in that state. Opinion polls throughout the country have repeatedly shown that a majority support the ERA. A strong pro-ERA vote in Nevada will help put pressure on state legislators to ratify. **Vote yes.**

In Florida voters will be considering an ERA for the state constitution. The outcome of that vote will also affect the national drive for ratification. Florida has not yet ratified the amendment to the U.S. Constitution. **Vote yes.**

Gay rights

California is the national battleground for gay rights this fall. John Briggs's Proposition 6 aims to drive out of the state school system every gay or lesbian employee, along with anyone else who advocates gay rights. (See Fred Halstead's statement on page 22.) **Vote no.**

Seattle's Proposition 13 would re-

scind that city's gay rights bill. **Vote no.**

Issue 269 in Dade County, Florida, was put on the ballot just four weeks before the election and again raises the issue of gay rights in Miami. Issue 269 would ban discrimination on the basis of race, religion, language, sex, pregnancy, military service, matriculation, source of income, trade union or political affiliation, or sexual preference. **Vote yes.**

Abortion rights

Oregon's ballot includes a proposal to deny all state funding for abortion or for counseling that lets women know abortion is a possible option. Not only would women on welfare be denied abortion; state employees could not have abortion covered in their insurance policies. **Vote no.**

Death penalty

Oregon is having a referendum to decide whether to reinstitute the death penalty. **Vote no.**

California's Proposition 7 proposes broadening and extending that state's death penalty. **Vote no.**

In Seattle, voters are being asked to vote on what practically amounts to a death penalty. Proposition 15 would give cops greater freedom "to shoot at will." **Vote no.**

Texas RUP exposes Democrat's bribe offer

By Mark Schneider

SAN ANTONIO—An aide to the Democratic candidate for U.S. Senate from Texas made an offer of a job and patronage to the Raza Unida Party's candidate if he would drop out of the race.

The bribe offer was disclosed by Luis Diaz De Leon, the RUP candidate, in an interview with the Brownsville *Herald* and reported later in the San Antonio *Light*, which estimated that the inducement offered De Leon totaled \$2 million.

The offer was made to De Leon by an aide to Democratic nominee Bob Krueger.

De Leon said he rejected the offer and reported the incident to the U.S. attorney in Brownsville.

He said Krueger aide Mark Campos asked him to withdraw from the race, saying that Krueger feared that the Raza Unida vote might be sufficient to swing the election to incumbent John Tower.

De Leon says he was offered:

- A \$28,000-a-year government job.
- \$450,000 in scholarships for Chicanos to study in Mexico.
- Assurances that the Lo-Vaca utility would turn the gas back on that it cut off in Crystal City after the Raza Unida administration there refused to pay an exorbitant rate hike.
- Release of \$1 million in federal funds for a Crystal City-area cooperative farm, which Gov. Dolph Briscoe had succeeded in blocking.

De Leon charged that Campos asked him, "How much will it take to get you off the ballot?"

Candidate Krueger himself denied knowledge of the offer. To divert the issue he repeated the frequent but never proven Democratic slander that the RUP is in the pay of the Republicans.

The attempted bribe of De Leon was assailed by Miguel Pendás, the Socialist Workers nominee for U.S. senator. He saluted De Leon's exposure of the offer, which Pendás characterized as

one more major party "dirty trick" against the RUP.

The *partido's* candidate for governor is Mario Compeán, a party leader and a longtime Chicano movement activist.

In the Rio Grande Valley, the RUP is running Agustin Mata for Congress in the Twenty-third District.

In Lubbock, Bidal Agüerro is running for county commissioner, a post he lost by only 1,500 votes in the last election.

In Crystal City, birthplace of the RUP, the *partido* is contesting for various Zavala County offices. In the key race, Judge José Angel Gutiérrez is seeking reelection.

The Crystal City RUP has been strengthened in the campaign by a healing of divisions within the organization. A small group of dissidents went over to the Democrats, but the other groupings in the *partido* have united around a single platform and ticket.

In the state, other Raza Unida candidates include Daniel Bustamante for state representative in District 79, Juan Hernández for state senator in District 21, and Abelardo Nargui for Texas Board of Education in District 23.



Militant/Harry Ring
Raza Unida's José Angel Gutiérrez is running for reelection as Zavala County judge.

Campaigning for socialism

They do it all for who?

In an effort to boost sagging interest in elections, McDonald's outlets in California are offering return-address voter registration cards with their burgers. Some franchise holders give away a free hamburger to any customer with a ballot stub or voter's receipt.

The October 11 *Election Administration Reports* says the state figured "more people know where to find a McDonald's than their county courthouse."

And they can readily associate the two products by their quality and beneficial effects.

Free speech in Colorado

Steve Marshall, press secretary for Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor Elsa Blum, was arrested October 11 in Pueblo, Colorado, and charged with disorderly conduct. Marshall was handing out leaflets supporting Blum's right to participate in a "debate" between Democratic incumbent Gov. Richard Lamm and his Republican opponent, State Sen. Ted Strickland.

More than thirty prominent Colorado leaders had signed a statement supporting Blum's right to participate, including state heads of the Colorado Federation of Teachers, Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, American Civil Liberties Union, and Colorado Civil Rights Commission, as well as Carole Mangan, president of Central Denver National Organization for Women, and State Sen. Regis Groff.

When Marshall tried to distribute literature at the debate on the University of Southern Colorado campus, he was arrested by campus police and taken off in handcuffs.

He was later released after being ordered to stand trial November 1.

Messages protesting Marshall's arrest can be sent to: Dr. Richard Pesqueira, President, University of Southern Colorado, Pueblo, Colorado 81001.

'Let the socialists speak!'

That was the chant reported by the Albany *Times-Union* in its coverage of a picket line at the "debate" between Democrat Hugh Carey and Republican Perry Duryea, candidates for governor of New York. The Albany debate was sponsored by the Capital District Press Club. Picketers protested the exclusion of SWP gubernatorial candidate Dianne Feeley from the debate.

"Charging that Carey and Duryea were 'saying the same thing,' regarding campaign issues, Feeley said that her party's candidates were the ones giving the voters a choice," stated the *Times-Union* article.

—Bob Schwarz

Texas YSA goes on the road for socialism

By Diane Wang

It's 1962 on campuses this year, just like the film *Animal House*—or so the newscasters say. Commentators are seizing on the film's popularity to claim that students are so wrapped up in toga parties they have no time or interest for politics.

"The film's wild glance back at the carefree days before the protests set in has captured their imagination and fueled their frivolity," declared *Newsweek*.

Newsweek should have sent a reporter along with one of the Young Socialist Alliance teams visiting campuses this fall. The reporter would have gotten other than a frivolous picture of campuses today.

The YSA team that spent a week at University of Texas in Austin, for example, took part in a protest rally of 300 students. Students there were defending Professor Armando Gutiérrez and demanding an end to cutbacks. Gutiérrez, a respected teacher and a leader of the Raza Unida Party, has been denied tenure.

In addition to participating in and promoting that rally, the eight YSA members spent the week explaining socialist ideas.

Jeff Elliot, YSA organizer in Houston, reports the team sold 122 copies of the monthly *Young Socialist* and 99 copies of the *Militant*.

Miguel Pendás, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Texas, spoke to about 200 students in

three different classes, thanks to the team's work. About 40 came to a campus campaign rally. Articles about the team and the SWP campaign appeared in all the Austin daily papers.

By the end of the week, the YSA team had a list of sixty-three people who wanted more information about socialism.

YSA members not only support socialist candidates; some are candidates themselves. In Texas, for example, where young Chicanos have been the victims of an especially fierce cop

terror, Agnes Chapa is running for attorney general on the SWP slate.

Chapa is chairperson of the San Antonio Young Socialist Alliance and a student at San Antonio College. She became active in the Chicano movement while a high school student in Austin. In 1975 she was chairperson of the Farm Workers Support Committee of the University of Texas, Austin, MAYO.

It is 1978, not 1962, on campuses. Students are protesting investment in South Africa, trying to stop the con-

struction of nuclear power plants, working to win the ERA, defending their education from cutbacks.

Hundreds of students organizing these campaigns—YSA members and other activists—will discuss their work at the YSA national convention. The convention will be December 28-January 1 at the William Penn Hotel in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

For more information about the convention, contact the YSA chapter nearest you listed on page 31, or return the coupon on this page.

Come to a socialist convention

The fight against racism • South Africa divestment struggle • the drive to ratify the ERA and win women's liberation • the anti-nuclear power movement • defense against cutbacks • defeating racist frame-ups • the international socialist movement

These and other issues will be discussed in reports, panels, and workshops at the Young Socialist Alliance convention in Pittsburgh, December 28-January 1. If you want to attend, contact the YSA chapter nearest you listed on page 31 or return this coupon to the YSA national office.

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- Send me a copy of the *Young Socialist* (25¢ each, 20¢ for bundles).
- Enclosed is \$1.00 for a six-month subscription to the *Young Socialist*.
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How to defeat 'Rizzoism'

By Jon Hillson

PHILADELPHIA—The mayor of the fourth-largest city in the United States is an outspoken racist. His name is Frank Rizzo, and he is on a crusade for "white rights."

At recent speaking engagements, this former Philadelphia top cop has been introduced as the city's "last white hope."

The election for mayor will not be held until November 1979. But the race is already in full swing.

Rizzo is prohibited by the city charter from seeking a third consecutive term. His backers have filed enough signatures to place an amendment to the charter on the ballot this November 7. His rivals in the Democratic Party are organizing a countereffort to block the charter amendment, urging people to "stop Rizzo" by upholding the charter's ban on third terms.

Mark Zola, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Pennsylvania, believes that opponents of Rizzoism should not be conned into believing that upholding the charter ban on a third term is an effective way to combat Rizzo and his policies.

Zola, an activist in the Steelworkers union, argues that "Rizzoism" is another word for the policies of the Democratic Party—"policies that mean continuing Black oppression, high profits for the rich, layoffs, inflation, and cutbacks in social services for working people."

"Blocking Rizzo from running for a third term isn't going to stop Rizzoism," agrees Naomi Berman, the SWP candidate for lieutenant governor. "The Democrats will just give us another Rizzo, but maybe without his racist vocabulary. They want to dump Rizzo because he says in public what the bankers prefer to say only in private."

"Those who think we can change things by blocking Rizzo from running are falling for the same kind of 'lesser-evil' politics that the capitalist parties are always trying to put over on us."

More cuts, more attacks

A look at the three "saviors" the Democratic Party is putting forward to replace Rizzo if he loses on the charter vote makes this clear. All three believe that Rizzo has been "soft" on municipal workers. They complain that his cutbacks in city services haven't been severe enough and that he has spared city employees and school teachers from layoffs for too long.

Democratic candidate for mayor, William Green, launched his campaign at a \$1,000-a-plate dinner at the Union League, an exclusive watering hole for Philadelphia blue-bloods. Green did not say if those he broke bread with were the "little people" he claims to represent.

Democrat Charles Bowser, a Black politician, promises a program of "extreme austerity." He is the most outspoken advocate of cutbacks in city services and layoffs of public workers.

Al Gaudiosi was Rizzo's chief adviser for six years. He deserted Rizzo's listing ship several months ago to promote himself for mayor. He is, in the words of the Philadelphia *Daily News*, as "liberal as a butcher knife."

Rizzo's racist attacks

Rizzo's chief technique is all-out appeals to racist bigotry. His rabid anti-Black, pro-cop program has outraged not only the Black community but many white working people as well.

He publicly urges his backers to "vote white." He says that a victory for two of his announced Democratic opponents would result in the "destruction" of the city's white neighborhoods.

He accuses Black reporters critical of



Rizzo's cops about to brutally beat Delbert Africa, leader of Black group MOVE. Keeping present city charter won't stop police brutality or solve other problems faced by Philadelphia working people.

him of "wearing their race on their sleeves," urging the news media to hire more "white ethnics, Italians, Polish reporters."

Rizzo's rantings have reached the point that he has accused Black elected officials of being "hoodlums." Outraged by a criticism from NAACP President Benjamin Hooks, Rizzo blustered at a news conference that Hooks is a "social extremist" who is "Black all the time."

Rizzo's assaults on Blacks are not only verbal. He is the chief defender of police brutality in Philadelphia. Rizzo's cops made national news in August for their bloody attacks on members of MOVE, a Black counter-cultural organization. MOVE's leader, Delbert Africa—who surrendered to the cops unarmed and with his hands raised—was smashed in the face with a police helmet and kicked and dragged by the cops.

Alphonso Deal, president of the North Philadelphia NAACP and a member of the police force himself, demanded the arrest and firing of the cops who beat Delbert Africa. In response, Rizzo told a news conference that his police commissioner would "get a piece" of Deal.

Deal found his police radio jammed, realized he wasn't getting "back up" from other cops, and started touring his beat with a bodyguard of off-duty Black cops.

At an October 3 meeting of the Fraternal Order of Police, which is trying to expel Deal, the NAACP president was threatened by a white cop, who told him he would "blow out your brains."

What Blacks confront

It's clear why hatred of Rizzo runs so deep in the Black community. Ben Bailey, a lifelong resident of that community, knows that feeling well. Bailey is a school teacher and the SWP candidate for Congress from the Second District.

"Philadelphia is falling apart," Bailey told the *Militant*. "One-quarter of the housing is abandoned. Black adult unemployment is nearly 50 percent, while nine out of every ten Black youths aren't working."

"That's capitalism—that's Rizzoism—at work," Bailey said. "And people are getting fed up."

"Rizzo's racism can't cover up the economic crisis. And that's a national crisis, because the capitalist system says the banks come first, corporate profits come first, war spending comes first—and human needs, jobs, and social services are dead last."

According to Bailey, that means that "a big city mayor has to do the bankers' bidding, has to be 'effective' on their terms. And many of them believe Rizzo isn't effective any more. They brought him in, and now they want to get rid of him."

The city's major capitalist news media are opposed to letting Rizzo run again. So are the chamber of commerce, many bankers, corporate heads, religious leaders, and elected politicians.

These forces created Rizzo and elevated him to city hall. Now they are trying to convince the working people of this city that they can solve their problems by voting "no" on the charter change, thus "getting rid" of Rizzo.

Rizzo-style politics is a particularly vicious and poisonous form of Democratic Party politics. Its open appeals to racist prejudices give encouragement to the crudest race-baiters and right-wing forces. Rizzoism is an expression of the deepening class polarization, which has its roots in the escalating attacks by the ruling rich on the rights, income, and quality of life of American working people.

That is precisely why the answer to Rizzoism can't be found within the framework of "lesser evil" capitalist politics.

Groups such as the Philadelphia Workers Organizing Committee

(PWOC) and the Maoist Revolutionary Workers Headquarters and Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) have constituted themselves as the "radical" wing of the defend-the-charter movement. A group they are active in, the Stop Rizzo Coalition, presents the solution to the problems of working people in terms of blocking Rizzo from running for a third term:

"Join with us to defeat the charter change and prevent 4 more years of: racial polarization, police brutality, deteriorating housing, cutbacks in essential services, and high taxes on working people."

But blocking Rizzo's charter amendment won't solve these problems. It won't end Rizzoism. Nor will it even necessarily "get rid" of Rizzo. When the racist governor of Alabama, George Wallace, was blocked from succeeding himself in office, he simply put his wife in the governor's chair. Rizzo is capable of a similar maneuver.

Whatever their intentions, the radicals involved in the charter movement have actually ended up doing legwork for the Democratic Party. In fact, more than 76 percent of the city's 92,000 newly registered voters—the vast majority signed up by anti-Rizzo groups—are now on the Democratic Party rolls.

What's more, trying to bar Rizzo from running for a third term puts anti-Rizzo forces in the unfortunate position of advocating a restriction on the franchise, which includes not only the right to vote but the right to run for and hold office.

Rizzo has deftly seized on this by falsely portraying himself as a defender of democratic rights. He's put up billboards all over the city proclaiming, "Protect your right to choose."

Action needed

The Democratic-sponsored campaign to "defend the charter" and block Rizzo from running has actually taken the steam out of protests in the streets aimed at halting Rizzo's killer cops. A series of demonstrations against cop terror took place during the summer, increasing in size and militancy with every new outrage against the Black community.

But when a Black youth was shot by two cops on September 23—at point-blank range, face down on the sidewalk, with his hands cuffed behind his back—there was no visible protest. No action. Why?

Because the pro-Democratic Party misleaders of the Black community argued that the top priority was registering people so they could vote "no."

The way Ben Bailey sees it, "Every time a cop commits an act of brutality, there should be a march. Every time there are layoffs, there should be protests by the unions. When the banks demand cutbacks in the school system, there should be demonstrations."

"And we have got to break the chains of 'lesser evilism' in the elections. It is a dead-end policy for Black people and for all working people."

"To smash Rizzoism, we have got to break the strangler's grip that the Democratic Party maintains on the Black community and the labor movement."

"A candidate of the Black community for mayor, running against Rizzo and all the Democrats, urging a break from the Democratic and Republican parties, would be a big step forward."

"An independent party of labor, based on the labor unions, responsive to the real needs of the downtrodden and the oppressed, Black and white, would give us a powerful weapon in the fight to rid this city not only of Rizzo, but of Rizzoism and the forces it represents."

How to fight 'right to work'

By Harry Ring

Unionists in Missouri are working to pile up a big "no" vote on a so-called right-to-work proposition that will be on the state ballot November 7.

If passed, the measure would seriously weaken the labor movement and the fight of all Missouri workers—unionized, as well as those not yet unionized—for better wages, hours, and working conditions. Despite its phony name, "right to work" doesn't give workers any added rights—except the right to work for less.

The Missouri AFL-CIO has correctly declared, "Right-to-work is a ripoff!"

While RTW has been enacted in twenty states in the South and West, virtually all of them are states with small and relatively weak union movements.

In fact, it's been twenty years since the bosses tried to put through an RTW referendum in a big industrial state. Now they have their eyes on Missouri.

Before this, the last such state was Ohio in 1958.

In that election, the bosses' scab bill was defeated two to one. More than 2 million people voted against the proposed constitutional amendment, and just over 1 million voted in favor.

The landslide defeat surprised a lot of people.

In 1958 the United States was just emerging from the McCarthy witch-hunt era. Ohio was the home of arch-conservative U.S. Sen. Robert Taft, co-author of the antilabor Taft-Hartley bill that, among other things, provided for state RTW laws.

Yet Ohio voters rejected the "right to work" proposition by the biggest margin on a ballot issue ever recorded in the state's history.

How was this done?

Easy. The union ranks took over the fight. They gave it a dynamic character that the union officials—left to their own devices—never would have.

Jean Tussey, a veteran Cleveland unionist and socialist, played an important role in that fight. In an article in the November 17, 1958, *Militant*, she told how it was done.



In 1958 Ohio labor decisively defeated right-to-work proposition

The fight, she explained "was conducted under the clear-cut leadership of labor—united in its own independent political agency, United Organized Labor of Ohio, completely separated from the Democratic and Republican parties.

"The workers," Tussey continued, "did not depend on 'friends' in the Democratic or Republican parties in the fight to defend their union-won conditions; nor did they depend on the labor bureaucracy for leadership."

But these workers did not make the mistake of trying to go around the official union leaders either. "Thousands of rank and file volunteers,"

Tussey reported, "worked with any section of the labor leadership that could be prodded into action.

"They distributed literature, organized debates, voted contributions to UOLO from union funds and took up voluntary contributions.

"They went to the unemployed at unemployment compensation offices and offset demagogic attempts of the bosses to pit jobless workers against the unions.

"They went to the farmers and demonstrated how agricultural income is dependent on the standard of living won by organized labor.

"They went to Negro workers and

Blacks hit antilabor law

The October 6-12 issue of the *Call*, a widely read Kansas City Black weekly, ran a front-page account of an anti-RTW dinner featuring Benjamin Hooks, national director of the NAACP. Also at the dinner were representatives of the Urban League and National Council of Negro Women.

The same issue carried a strong anti-RTW piece by Jeremiah Cameron, writer of the *Call's* "NAACP in Action" column.

The column, like the speakers at the banquet, emphasized that Black people have a special stake in defeating the antilabor measure. As the last hired and first fired, Black workers would certainly suffer most from this threatened crippling of Missouri unions.

pointed out that the RTW was being pushed by the same elements who oppose fair employment practices legislation."

It may have been twenty years ago, but it's still an up-to-date way to fight.

The biggest mistake labor can make is to rely on the Missouri Democratic Party machine to conduct the fight for them.

The Democratic Party is controlled by the very corporate interests that stand to gain from turning Missouri into an open-shop state.

It should not be forgotten, for example, that the right-to-scab proposition was certified for the ballot by a Democratic secretary of state, even though labor presented evidence of fraud in the open-shoppers' petitions.

One St. Louis unionist reports that "more workers than ever are wearing 'Right to work is a ripoff' hats."

If those workers can be mobilized in action the Ohio way, the ripoff will be defeated.

Calif. socialist: 'Defeat Briggs initiative!'

Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of California, issued this statement on Proposition 6, the Briggs initiative. Proposition 6 calls for the dismissal of any teacher, administrator, or counselor in the California school system who is homosexual or advocates gay rights. It will appear on the California ballot November 7.

Every California voter should go to the polls on November 7 and help defeat Proposition 6. The proposition is not only a serious threat to gay and lesbian teachers and those who advocate human rights for homosexuals. It would strike at the democratic rights of every working person.

Proposition 6 would provide a legal basis for antigay prejudice. Further it would legitimize the dangerous idea that a boss has a right to dictate what employees can do with their private lives, where they can go, what they can say—both on the job and off.

Briggs says teachers can be gay only if no one knows, only if they are never seen going to a gay social, only if they never speak out for gay rights. What an outrage!

What if we told Jewish teachers, you

can be Jewish, but don't ever be seen going to a synagogue?

What if we told Black teachers, you can be Black, but don't wear your hair in an Afro and don't get caught near any civil rights demonstrations?

What if we told trade-union teachers, you can be in the union but keep your mouth shut and don't ever say anything about contracts or collective bargaining?

That is just the precedent Proposition 6 would set.

Last summer California workers suffered a defeat with the passage of Proposition 13, which mandated huge tax breaks to benefit primarily the landlords and corporations. For California workers, Proposition 13 has already meant cuts in social services, layoffs, lower living standards—and there's more to come.

Proposition 6 goes hand in hand with these cuts. If school officials get a new weapon to witch-hunt teachers, it will strengthen the bosses' hands in gagging all working people and forcing more Proposition 13s down our throats.

It is recognition of the danger the Briggs initiative poses that has convinced many trade-union leaders and others to speak out against it. Growing public pressure has forced Jerry Brown

and even Ronald Reagan and Howard Jarvis to say they oppose the anti-gay measure.

But we can't rely on the Democratic or Republican politicians to protect gay rights.

It is crucial that anti-Briggs forces depend on ourselves and on no politician to defeat Proposition 6. The ral-

lies, leafleting, speak-outs, union resolutions—those have all been important contributions to educating Californians to the threat of Proposition 6.

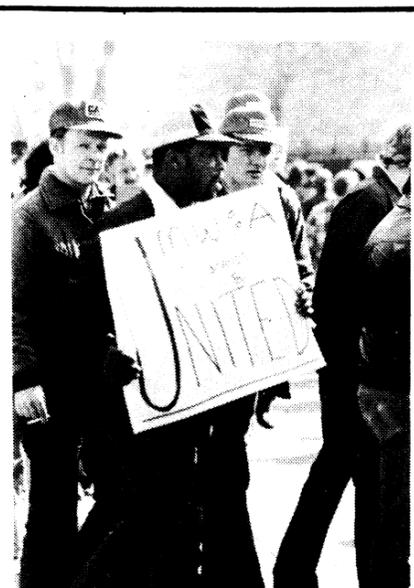
What remains now is for every person to do what they can in these final days to mobilize the growing support for gay rights into a giant "no" vote against Proposition 6.

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How the Communist Party hustles votes for Democrats

By Steve Clark

(First of two articles)

This fall the Communist Party is running election campaigns in six states.

Unlike the Socialist Workers Party, however, which is campaigning in twenty-five states and the District of Columbia, the CP candidates are not using the election period to convince American workers they need to break from the two parties of big business, the Democrats and Republicans.

To the contrary, the CP and its newspaper, the *Daily World*, have been drumming up votes for one or another Democrat this fall.

"Now hold on a minute," some readers may think. "I've heard CP candidates denounce the two-party system with my own ears."

Other readers may point to the editorial in the October 6 *Daily World* headlined, "A real alternative."

"The Democrats and Republicans are two sides of the same coin," the editorial said. "They both represent the interests of big business. To view one as a 'lesser evil' is disastrous.

"The long-term, fundamental interests of the working class and the people require that they establish their own political vehicle to advance their interests."

Independent from what?

But when the CP talks about political independence, it is not talking about a political break by the working class from the employing class. It is not even talking about a political break from the Democratic Party.

And you don't have to take the *Militant's* word for it.

For example, Simon Gerson, who headed the CP's 1976 national election campaign committee, wrote earlier this year:

"Independent political action . . . will undoubtedly take place in many forms, some in the old party primaries in collision with the Democratic Party leadership; some completely outside the two-party framework, while still others will combine struggles inside and outside the Democratic Party."

Even this fudges the CP's real position. Despite Gerson's lip-service to politics "outside the two-party framework," the CP actually condemns those who break with the Democrats.

For example, the CP opposes the Raza Unida parties, the independent Chicano parties in several southwestern states. When a national RUP convention in 1972 voted not to endorse Democrat George McGovern for president, the CP's West Coast weekly *Peoples World* wrote that these parties "insist on yelling from the sidelines like the religious fanatic who can't see past his damnation of a doomed world."

And the CP's 1975 main national convention resolution explained: "Those Black or other independent public officials who have utilized the Democratic column as the basis for their election are not apt to be misled by advocates of Leftist or premature breaks which separate them from their constituents."

Socialists, on the other hand, explain that the Democratic Party, as a political instrument of the capitalist rulers, is directly responsible for the escalating attacks on the rights and living standards of Blacks and other working people.

By running as Democrats, the Black candidates

supported by the CP postpone the day when the Black masses will escape political bondage inside the party of their oppressor.

Party of racism

Moreover, Black Democratic Party mayors in a number of major cities are carrying out the dirty work of cutbacks and layoffs for the business interests that control the party.

This summer, for example, Detroit's Mayor Coleman Young threatened to fire more than 3,000 striking municipal workers.

It's no wonder that one of Young's biggest backers is auto magnate Henry Ford II.

But the CP runs a close second to Ford. The *Daily World* never mentions, let alone criticizes, Young's antilabor policies. In fact, when Young was reelected last November, Michigan CP leader Thomas Dennis hailed it as a "clear victory for the people."

The CP also belied its fine-sounding phrases about political independence by pushing several candidacies during the fall Democratic Party primaries.

The *Daily World*, for example, gave positive coverage to New York Lt. Gov. Mary Anne Krup-sak's ill-starred challenge to incumbent Gov. Hugh Carey. And the CP backed the unsuccessful bid by U.S. Rep. Donald Fraser to run for the Senate seat vacated by Hubert Humphrey.

So even though the CP may admit that the Democratic Party is a big-business outfit, it still urges support to Democratic candidates.

In other words, it may be a company union, the CP tells workers, but go ahead and join anyway.

New Jersey race

One of the clearest cases of CP support to a Democrat whom even the CP doesn't think much of is in the New Jersey race for U.S. Senate.

In an article in the October 5 *Daily World*, the New Jersey CP singles out for attack Republican Jeffrey Bell's proposals on taxes. "Jeffrey Bell presents himself as a one-issue candidate—taxes. He is following the new right tactic of riding the wings of California's Proposition 13. This would be reason enough for opposing Bell's candidacy. . . ."

After raising the bogey-man of the "new right" and the "tax revolt," the CP concludes, "Clearly the people of New Jersey have an immediate stake in defeating Jeff Bell."

This is true, the CP insists, even though Democratic candidate Bill Bradley, "while not an outright reactionary like Bell," does "accommodate [his program] to the monopoly corporations' clamor for tax breaks for themselves and austerity for the people."

The CP advises that "the people of New Jersey should not simply throw their vote away on the 'lesser evil.'"

The operative words here are "not simply."

In other words, do throw away your vote on a lesser evil.

But, the CP adds, you should do a little bit more. A September 30 *Daily World* article reports, "The CP also called for maximum pressure on [Bell's] only opponent, Bill Bradley, the Democratic candidate, to move in a more progressive direction."

That shouldn't keep Bradley awake at night, so long as *Daily World* readers follow their instructions carefully: first, the lesser evil; then, a little nudge to the left.



Recent 'Daily World' cartoon depicts so-called prolabor representatives in Washington. But every single member of Congress represents one of the two big-business parties. Workers have no voice in Congress.

Moreover, Bradley is not—as the New Jersey CP asserts—Bell's only opponent.

SWP candidate Alice Conner is running a campaign on a platform of "Tax the rich, not working people." She is opposing the antilabor policies of both Bell and Bradley, and of their parties.

But the CP ignores this working-class political alternative.

Not new, but worse

The CP's orientation toward the Democratic Party is nothing new. It dates back four decades to Franklin Roosevelt. And so does the CP's stock justification: "Defeat the reactionary at all costs."

But the escalating antilabor, anti-Black, and antiwoman offensive by big business and its two parties makes the CP's policy even more treacherous than before.

Take, for example, how the *Daily World* sized up the recent Detroit conference sponsored by United Auto Workers President Douglas Fraser. (For the *Militant's* assessment, see the article by Andy Rose elsewhere in this issue.)

In a front-page story on the conference, the October 18 *Daily World* reported, "One of the main themes that ran through the discussion was the growing aggressiveness of the so-called 'new right.'"

In an editorial on the conference in the next day's issue, the *Daily World* made a correct point: "Slick propaganda tries to make it appear that the country is moving to the Right. Congress and the President have been, but the people are not."

Yes, the Congress and the president—in other words, the Democratic and Republican parties—have launched a major attack on our rights and living standards.

But what conclusion does the CP draw? That the opportunities are growing to convince working people to break from the big-business parties?

No. Just the opposite.

The *Daily World* chimes in behind Fraser's schemes to help the Democratic Party refurbish its image. "This gathering made an important contribution to forging the independent political stand the U.S. needs," the editorial says.

Yet the only proposals in Detroit were limited to tinkering with primary election procedures and other reforms of the Democratic Party.

The editorial drove the point home with this suggestion: "Only a few weeks remain before the election, but there is time for an extra effort for progressive labor-backed candidates."

Who are these so-called progressive candidates? The same Democratic Party politicians that union bureaucrats urge workers to support each election.

So to the question, "What should working people do about the employers' escalating attacks?" the CP answers: *Run for shelter in the Democratic Party.*

To the question, "How can working people respond to New Jersey's Republican tax swindler?" the CP answers: *Vote for the Democratic tax swindler.*

Of course, the CP tries to justify its position by explaining that work inside the Democratic Party is one "tactic" in moving toward an "antimonopoly peoples' party" sometime in the future.

Next week's article will contrast that argument to the longstanding socialist position of opposing all capitalist parties and candidates and fighting for the political independence of the working class.

Disrupters fail to break up Berkeley protest against shah

By Anne Chase

BERKELEY—Disrupters failed in their efforts to spoil a successful meeting at the University of California campus here on the topic, "Shah of Iran, Modernizer or Tyrant?"

More than 100 people attended the meeting, which was sponsored by the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran. The featured speaker was CAIFI National Field Secretary Bahram Atai.

Providing a vivid account of the massive upsurge that has shaken the shah's regime this fall, Atai called on Americans to protest Washington's support to the bloody dictator.

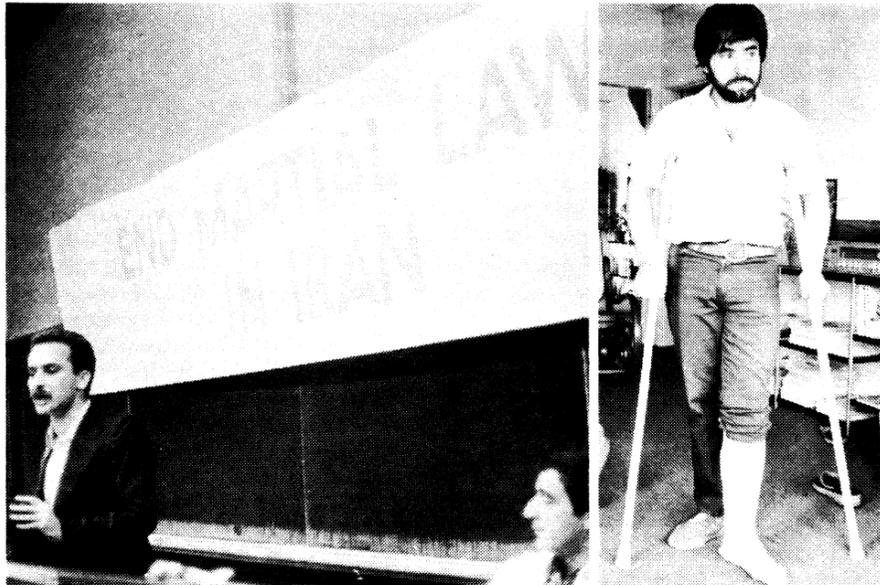
"It is important to get out the truth on American campuses," Atai explained, "because that is where most of the opposition to the shah is coming from in this country today."

The unsuccessful disruption was staged by fifty members of three factions of the Iranian Students Association, who attempted to force their way into the meeting. After this failed, the disrupters surrounded *Militant* salesperson Peter Buch and hit him repeatedly. Buch sustained eye injuries as his glasses were knocked to the ground.

The thugs also collapsed a table on the leg of monitor Carl Finamore. At the hospital, Finamore was treated with bandages and issued crutches. Several other monitors and a few ISA members were also treated for injuries.

A CAIFI spokesperson told the *Militant* that this is not the first time that these groups have sought to settle their differences with CAIFI by violence and disruption.

For example, two years ago 150 members of four ISA factions forced their way into a CAIFI-sponsored meeting at San Jose State University. The meeting featured former Pentagon Papers defendant Daniel Ellsberg; writers Kay Boyle, Jessica Mitford, and Lawrence Ferlinghetti; and exiled



CAIFI National Field Secretary Bahram Atai (left) spoke despite disruption attempt. CAIFI monitor Carl Finamore (right) was injured by Maoist thugs.

Iranian poet Reza Baraheni.

The disrupters at the San Jose meeting had chanted loudly and slandered the speakers, calling them agents of the shah. After repeated attempts by the panelists to speak over the din, the meeting had to be called off. Baraheni was unable to even appear due to threats on his life.

But the meeting here at UC Berkeley was different. The ISA members crowded into a narrow hallway outside the meeting room. They refused to pay the one-dollar donation and began chanting: "CAIFI leaders, system's agents, down with the shah!"

Meeting organizers concluded from these provocative actions that the group aimed to prevent Atai from speaking and to deny the audience the right to discuss the upsurge in Iran.

They informed the ISA members that their disruption made it impossible for them to enter the meeting.

After chanting for fifteen minutes more, the group then tried to force its way in. Monitors prevented this, ensuring that the meeting could take place.

As the group was escorted from the building, the disrupters broke two windows, overturned several tables, and attacked Finamore, other monitors, and Buch.

Once the disrupters were outside, the meeting got under way. Jeff Mackler, a member of the Hayward Teachers Association, chaired. UC Prof. Michael Buraway spoke, and greetings were read from Prof. Paul Von Blum.

Commenting afterward on the meeting, Atai told the *Militant* that unity among Iranian groups is critical to help spread the truth about the shah to American audiences.

"These kind of disruptions," Atai explained, "do nothing but help the shah confuse the issues and disorient his opponents."

...Africa

Continued from back page

Black African states have been demanding economic sanctions against the apartheid regime if it refuses to abide by United Nations resolutions on independence for Namibia.

The purpose of the Vance-Botha statement was to stall. By keeping the negotiations with South Africa open, Washington has put off any confrontation on economic sanctions. In the past, Washington has consistently vetoed such sanctions against South Africa in the UN Security Council.

Black African governments greeted the Vance-Botha statement with "anger, shock, and disbelief," according to *Christian Science Monitor* reporter Louis Wiznitzer.

Carter's treacherous stand on Namibia was not the only thing bothering Black leaders in Africa. During his visit to Pretoria, Vance presented Botha with a handwritten letter from Carter inviting the South African chief of state to visit Washington after a formula for defusing the guerrilla struggle in Namibia had been agreed to. It was the first such invitation to a South African prime minister since the National Party took power in 1948 and began installing the apartheid system.

After nearly two years of pretending that he was determined to turn over a new leaf in southern Africa, Carter is now openly espousing the same policy advocated by Henry Kissinger—reliance on the apartheid regime in South Africa as imperialism's fundamental bulwark against the mobilization of the Black masses.

The last week has made it clearer than ever who Washington considers its friends in southern Africa to be. Not the Black masses struggling for their basic human rights, but Ian Smith and P.W. Botha.

...inflation

Continued from page 7

regulations," meaning the meager standards that have been enacted to protect health, safety, and the environment.

When he said that "everything has its price," the message was that the cost of workers' lives, clean air, and drinkable water is too burdensome to industry profits. Carter actually boasted of slashing 1,000 occupational safety and health regulations.

Finally, Carter called for higher productivity as a means of fighting inflation. Under this heading he endorsed the recent tax bill, which lowers taxes for corporations and the rich while taxes for most workers will rise.

What this will do to slow inflation was not explained. Once again, Carter's "austerity" doesn't apply to government handouts to the rich. But the president pledged to oppose any future income tax reductions, guaranteeing that no tax relief for workers is in sight.

Carter insists that the only way to slow down inflation is for workers to accept *less*. Lower wage increases. Lower standards for pollution and job safety. Less government spending for jobs and social services.

But workers are the victims, not the culprits, of inflation. Wages are not pushing up prices; they are

vainly struggling to catch up with prices.

Carter told the television audience that "your decisions" will make the difference in fighting inflation.

That is perhaps the biggest fraud of all.

The real causes of inflation—war spending and monopoly control of prices—are completely beyond the control of working people.

All workers can do is strive to *protect* their living standards from the ravages of inflation. One of the best weapons for self-defense is cost-of-living escalators for all wages and social benefits, so that wages go up penny-for-penny with the real increase in the cost of living, not the government's rigged statistics.

The unions should stand together behind those—such as the postal workers, federal employees, and Teamsters—whose wage demands have been singled out for government strong-arming.

Instead of the phony trade-off of unemployment versus inflation, workers need a shorter workweek with no cut in pay in order to spread the available jobs to all those who need them.

Elimination of the war budget would free up society's resources for human needs.

Labor solidarity behind demands such as these—not acceptance of Carter's fraudulent schemes—offers real hope for safeguarding the living standards of the working-class majority.

Further reading...

Labor's Giant Step, Twenty Years of the CIO
by Art Preis. 538 pp., cloth \$20, paper \$6.95.

Black Liberation and Socialism

Tony Thomas, editor. 207 pp., paper \$2.95.

Prospects for Socialism in America

edited with an introduction by Jack Barnes and Mary-Alice Waters. 256 pp., cloth \$14, paper \$2.95.

The Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution

by Leon Trotsky. Contains section on "A Transitional Program for Black Liberation." 223 pp., cloth \$12, paper \$3.95.

The History of the Labor Movement in the U.S.

by Philip S. Foner. 4 volumes, paper. \$3.95 per volume.

Organized Labor and the Black Worker (1619-1973)

by Philip S. Foner. paper \$4.50.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Please add \$.50 for postage, \$.75 if order for more than one book.

A right-wing movement?

How revolutionists see rebellion in Iran

By David Frankel

Is it true that the shah of Iran is facing a right-wing rebellion?

As Marvin Garson notes in the letter printed on this page, the big-business media have pointed to the prominence of Muslim religious leaders in anti-shah protests as proof that this is indeed the case.

Leadership is certainly an important factor in any social movement. But the place to begin in trying to establish the political character of a movement is not with the leadership it happens to have at any particular point.

It is not unusual for progressive movements to have inadequate or even reactionary leaderships. The trade-union movement in the United States comes to mind immediately.

Nor is it unusual for a movement for democratic rights to have a religious leadership. Take the example of the civil rights movement in the United States during the 1950s and early 1960s. Many of its most prominent leaders were religious figures such as the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. Meetings often took place in churches, and hymns were frequently sung.

In Iran, because of the shah's repression, the mosques are one of the few places where groups of people can gather and speak out.

Not a religious movement

Although religious figures were prominent in the leadership of the huge anti-shah protests that shook Iran this September, the massive outpouring was hardly a religious movement, any more than the civil rights movement was a religious movement.

"Down with the shah!" was the universal chant. It was coupled with demands for an end to censorship, freedom for political prisoners, and the dismantling of the shah's repressive apparatus.

These demands reflect pressures that have been building up for years. Not a single one of the groups in Iran that have been fighting for democratic rights over the years viewed the mass movement as a right-wing development. On the contrary, they welcomed it as a confirmation of their predictions.

Of course, conservative religious leaders sought to interject their own ideology into the mass movement. Since large sections of the Iranian population are still swayed by Islamic ideology, the mullahs had considerable influence. But what is decisive is the direction that things are moving in, and the overall significance of the mass protests.

New perspectives

Millions of people have entered the arena of political activity for the first time as a result of the September



Protesters march in Tehran

demonstrations. It is only natural that they bring with them many prejudices and misconceptions from their past.

But a door has been opened for these millions. They have begun to hear new ideas and think of new perspectives. When masses of people are in motion, their ideas develop rapidly in the course of debate and discussion.

From that point of view, it is extremely important that masses of women took part in the protests. That act in itself was a break with reactionary tradition. And participation in such protests is part of the process by which Iranian women will come to a new awareness about their role in society and the need to change it. It is, after all, the collective political action of masses of women, not the phony reforms of the shah, that will secure women's rights in Iran.

When thousands of women high school students took to the streets in new protests early in October, for example, they did so without the long veils dictated by religious custom.

Another point that should be kept in mind is that even where its influence is greatest, the Muslim leadership does not control the movement in Iran. What is happening in Iran is a national rebellion involving every sector of the population. This independent movement of the masses is not controlled, and cannot be controlled, by

Question from a reader

Dear Friends:

I bought your issue of September 22, with the headline "Iran in Revolt," and read just about every word of it. Very interesting indeed, but also puzzling. So much on the extent of the fighting in Iran, and so little on the character of it.

According to the establishment press, the fighting in Iran was led by traditionalist Moslem religious leaders who were angry at the shah for bringing in alcohol, movie theaters, emancipation of women, etc., and who demanded a veto on legislation by a Moslem religious council. In other words, according to the estab-

lishment press, this was a *right-wing* revolt.

I saw nothing in your coverage, no facts that is, to counter that impression, especially on the crucial point of emancipation of women, which the revolt seemed to oppose. (Showing pictures of women in the demonstrations means nothing—plenty of Blacks defended their masters in the Civil War.)

I do hope you will be able to take the time to reply in full, as I am greatly troubled on this point.

Marvin Garson
San Diego, California

struck at the Beshar Industrial Group.

Hospital workers went on strike, schools were shut down by students and teachers all over the country, and even government ministries were forced to close.

Four thousand employees of Tehran's two major dailies, *Kayhan* and *Etela'at*, went on strike October 10 to protest censorship. Political demands such as the release of political prisoners and lifting of martial law have been raised in numerous other strikes, along with economic demands.

The earlier protests against the regime laid the basis for this broad mobilization of the Iranian working class. And already the workers have begun to push the religious dignitaries to one side.

As Parvin Najafi noted in the October 27 *Militant*: "As soon as the workers went on strike they immediately elected representatives. . . . Speaking in their own names, the workers of different factories issued statements explaining their strikes and setting forth their demands. This is new to the mass movement in Iran, and has already begun to push the religious leaders into the background."

Capitalist media

Before ending, it is necessary to take up the role of the capitalist media in reporting the events in Iran. Virtually without exception, the major capitalist dailies and the politicians who speak for the American ruling class closed ranks behind the shah's regime when it was faced with a challenge from the masses. In such a situation, it is naive to expect impartial or accurate reporting from the bourgeois media.

There are tens of thousands of U.S. military specialists now stationed in Iran. The shah is the Pentagon's single biggest client, having bought \$20 billion worth of U.S. arms since 1972. Iran's vast reserves of oil and strategic position in the Middle East and on the Soviet Union's southern border make it a cornerstone for U.S. imperialism.

When the British empire conquered Egypt, Sudan, Pakistan, and other Muslim areas in the nineteenth century, it found it useful to play on racist propaganda about supposedly fanatical Muslim hordes. Today, the American ruling class is trying to make its support to the butcher of Tehran more palatable with precisely the same racist imagery.

But such miserable devices cannot change the reality in Iran. As Parvin Najafi said after the shah's declaration of martial law:

"The massive protests and subsequent massacre of the first week of September were only the opening phase in which the forces of revolution and counterrevolution for the first time sized up each other's strength."

Open letter to Fidel Castro from a Spanish Trotskyist

On September 9-10, Spanish Prime Minister Adolfo Suárez and Spanish Foreign Minister Marcelino Oreja Aguirre paid an official visit to Cuba. The following open letter to Fidel Castro from M. Fernandez, commenting on the visit, appeared in the September 21 issue of 'Combate,' the newspaper of the Trotskyist movement in Spain. The translation is by 'Intercontinental Press/Inprecor.'

When I hear talk of columns, when I hear talk of the combat front, when I hear talk of greater or lesser numbers of troops, I always think: Here is our staunchest column, our best soldiers, the one army capable of winning the war by itself. This army is the people!

No army can be greater than the people. If I was asked what army I prefer to command, I would say: I prefer to lead the people, because the people are invincible. And it was the people who won this war. Because we didn't have airplanes, we didn't have artillery, we didn't have military academies, we didn't have recruiting stations or training camps, we didn't have divisions, regiments, companies, nor even squads.

But who won the war? The people. The people won the war.

This war was not won by anybody but the people. I say this in case someone believes that he won it, in case some army believes that it won it.

And therefore, before anything else, the people.

Fidel Castro
Victory Speech
January 8, 1959

* * *

Comrade Fidel:

You, your government, and your country recently gave a resounding welcome to Adolfo Suárez, head of the Spanish government and the main leader of the Democratic Center Union (UCD) party.

We do not doubt that you would have preferred to receive a delegation from a revolutionary government. But we also know that wishes are one thing and reality is another, and that relations between parties and relations between states are two very different things.

We have no objections, therefore (although it raised the hackles of a few of us) to the Cuban workers state's receiving the head of the Spanish bourgeois government. Nor do we object to the fact that Cuba, in its transition to socialism, wishes to improve its economic, political, and cultural relations with capitalist Spain. We too want that. We want to keep Spain from being a bastion of anti-Cuban reaction, and we do not see accomplishing this as something to be put off until after the socialist revolution, which is not for today, or, perhaps, for the immediate future.

However, we repeat: relations between states are one thing; relations between parties are another. Diplomatic relations are one thing, but certain opinions you expressed about the political process in Spain at the time of Suárez's visit are another matter entirely. Frankly, when we witnessed your final joint press confer-



Police beating demonstrators in Barcelona. 'What the peoples of Spain need from Cuba, Comrade Fidel, is not flattery of Suárez and the king, but just the opposite—solidarity with their demands and their struggle. . . .'

ence, in which you never stopped praising Suárez's virtues and swearing that he had no faults, many of us could not help feeling a vicarious sense of shame. Not only because we could not believe a word you said—seeing as how we have to put up with the UCD government every day in our own lives—but because we could hardly believe it was you saying it.

As an example, I am going to take two sentences that have been repeated by the bourgeois press here to the point of nausea. One is: "The transition in Spain is being carried out in a brilliant and progressive way. Spain's future seemed doubtful at first, but it has become clear that nothing amiss is happening there."

The other is: "Suárez is a brilliant and capable man, and, together with Juan Carlos, he has written a very important chapter in Spanish history." These sentences combined can be summed up as follows: the transition is terrific, and we have Suárez and the king to thank for it.

Let's take them one by one. "The transition in Spain is being carried out in a brilliant and progressive way." What is progressive about it? To be sure, the workers have won the right to organize, express themselves, and demonstrate with a considerable degree of freedom. No one questions this gain, which is vital for the struggles to come. But Fidel, don't you know that we already have a draft constitution that, while recognizing these rights, basically restricts them?

Don't you know that the right to self-determination, autonomy, and self-government for the peoples of Spain is virtually nothing but a worthless scrap of paper? Don't you know that the dictatorship's state apparatus has been preserved almost intact—its army, its police, its prisons, its bureaucracy? Don't you know that your fa-

ther's birthplace, Galicia, is presided over by a bloody family of petty tyrants whose power dates back to the civil war, by a henchman of Suárez? Don't you know that it is he who has really made this transition "brilliant" by managing to "change something so that nothing should change"?

"Spain's future seemed doubtful at first, but it has become clear that nothing amiss is happening there." Is that so? What about those killed and the many wounded in Pamplona and San Sebastián, the one dead and two wounded in San Sebastián, the police vandalism in Rentería—are they nothing? Are the trials and jailings of actors and journalists nothing? Are the closing of factories and the dizzying rise of unemployment nothing? Is

the impunity enjoyed by the fascist gangs nothing? Aren't these perhaps some of the most "brilliant" aspects of the transition?

To continue: "Suárez is a brilliant and capable man, and, together with Juan Carlos, has written a very important chapter in Spanish history." Since when are chapters in history written by individuals and not by the people? And since when, in class society, have the rulers and the ruled written the same lines together? The chapter in history you refer to consists of the winning of political and trade-union rights for the workers, the release of nearly all political prisoners, the recognition of some rights—only a few—for women and youth, and so on.

But this chapter was written by working men and women, by young people, and others. And how did they write it? Through their struggles. Against whom? First against the Franco dictatorship, then against the new representatives of the ruling classes, of the exploiters, of the oppressors—i.e., against Suárez and Juan Carlos first and foremost. The chapter written by Suárez and Juan Carlos is a very different one. It is the chapter of the resistance of the bourgeoisie and its state apparatus to the demands of the working peoples, of the repression of mobilizations, of the restriction of freedoms and rights. It is the opposite side of the story.

Shouldn't you know this in Cuba, of all places, a country that has experienced a wide range, not only of "transitions," but also of "revolutions" that have done very little to change things, that have brought in new rulers, but have changed little or nothing in the situation of the ruled, particularly their material conditions?

Now, if it were not for the fact that Suárez has already had to realize that the workers and peoples of Spain are not naïve enough to believe him, he could tell them without the slightest embarrassment: "You see? Fidel said it, the king and I have written this page in Spanish history. Vote for the monarchy in the constitutional referendum, and vote for me in the general elections." Yours would be a sad "transition"—from the leader of a revolution that gave a powerful morale boost to revolutionists here under the dictatorship, to providing a moral alibi to the chief political representatives of the bourgeoisie and its state.

What the peoples of Spain need from Cuba, Comrade Fidel, is not flattery of Suárez and the king, but just the opposite—solidarity with their demands and their struggle, against the UCD government today, against the monarchy tomorrow.

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Pollution, the shah, South Africa

Topics banned in Polish press

It is necessary to eliminate information about the direct danger to human life and health caused by industry and chemicals used in agriculture.

All publications presenting generalized facts and figures concerning safety and hygiene at work, and industrial diseases, must be withheld.

The above directives are contained in secret instructions circulated to employees of Poland's censorship offices and carried to the West last year by a former censor, Tomasz Strzyzowski. They provide a chilling glimpse of the extent to which the Stalinist regime in Poland tries to suppress not only political dissent but basic information that might cast doubt on its policies and leadership of society—even when that information is of life and death importance to the average citizen.

While former censors have previously given personal accounts of how censorship operates in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, this is the first time documents such as these have been made public.

The July-August issue of *Index on Censorship*, published in London, contains an article describing the documents, which are dated from February 1974 to February 1977.

The directives quoted above are from a document of more than seventy pages entitled *Memoranda and Recommendations From the Central Office for Control of the Press, Publications and Performances*. Strzyzowski worked at the Cracow Branch of this "Central Office."

Judging from another "guideline" contained in the same document, the regime wants to keep from citizens facts concerning not only potential hazards to life and limb but actual industrial disasters. "No information should be published about the catastrophe at the 'Katowice' mine, where four miners were killed," it stated.

Another sensitive question for the Gierek regime is Poland's economic relations with the Soviet Union and also with the capitalist countries.

For example, a long-standing com-

plaint of Polish workers has been the shortage of meat. The censors were told that "there should be no mention of Poland's meat exports to the USSR."

Apparently there have also been complaints about the shoddiness of goods purchased from the Soviet Union. A directive specifies that "there should be no criticism of drilling equipment produced in the USSR and used for geological purposes in Poland."

On the other hand, "All information about licenses obtained by Poland in capitalist countries should be eliminated from the mass media." Also, "No information should be passed out about the annual coffee consumption in our country so as to eliminate all possibilities of calculating the amount of coffee which is re-exported." And finally, "No information should be published concerning possible trade with Rhodesia and South Africa, or contacts between Polish institutions and South Africa."

Gierek was concerned about what

was said in the Polish press about the shah of Iran even before that "crowned cannibal" butchered thousands of peaceful protesters recently: "All material (including the briefest references, photographs, etc.) on Iran, past and present, the Shah, his family and persons connected with him, or 'predictions' on the future fate of monarchy in Iran, should be cleared with the Central Office for the Control of Press, Publications and Performances (COCP). . . . Emphasis should not be placed on Iran's role in the context of the policies pursued by imperialist forces in the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean." The Gierek regime has had friendly relations with the shah for some time.

Another chief of state highly unpopular with the citizens in whose name he ruled benefited from a similar news blackout. During the Watergate scandal it was widely noted that all the Stalinist regimes, from Brezhnev to Gierek to Mao, suppressed information on the problems of their friend in the White House, Richard Nixon. Now we have documentary evidence that the censorship office in Poland was specifically told to do exactly that. "Until further notice, material independently acquired on the Watergate affair in the United States will not be published," a directive stated.

From *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*

Syria: appeal for political prisoners

The following appeal has been issued by the Committee for the Defence of Political Detainees in the Middle East. It was accompanied by a list of sixty-five Syrian detainees accused of belonging to "Marxist" organizations.

Letters and telegrams demanding a halt to torture and the release of political prisoners in Syria should be sent to Syrian embassies or to President Hafez al-Assad, Damascus, Syria.

No one is ignorant of the fact that the most elementary human rights are practically nonexistent under military police dictatorships in various Third World countries. In such countries, the usual fate of any political opponent of the regime is prison and torture.

This is the case in Syria, where about one thousand Syrian political prisoners fill the regime's jails. Many have been there for a number of years, most notably the partisans of the previous regime, or those of the Baath party in power in Iraq (where repression is no less severe), not counting Palestinian militants arrested in Syria, and Palestinian and Lebanese militants arrested in Lebanon by Syrian troops and transferred to Syria in the most arbitrary fashion.

To the above-mentioned can be added since the beginning of 1977 around 150 men and women, students and workers, accused of membership in Marxist organizations. None of these can be charged with anything that is not in fact a simple exercise of

the elementary democratic rights: i.e., no act of "terrorism," no possession of arms . . . nothing but membership in the "League of Communist Action," the "Workers League," or other groups whose only crime is to have dared to oppose the established dictatorship and called for a democratic resistance of the masses against this oppression.

For the past eighteen months, dozens of arrests have taken place daily in Syria. Most of those detained were released after this routine practice of terrorism, while others are still imprisoned without any form of trial other than the interrogations carried out by the "security" services, often accompanied by maltreatment.

There has been no official accusation, no trial and lawyer until this day,

in spite of the fact that the regime has announced the annulment of emergency laws. If there was any such annulment, it only benefited the speculators and monopolists. As for political militants, arbitrariness still reigns.

Several cases of torture were reported, the most common forms being: beatings with rods, electric shock treatment, electric charges applied to the genitals, and sodomization. An innovation in this field—which was inflicted on two female militants—is hanging heavy weights from the breasts in front of their fiancé and brother respectively. *The fact that the torture of women is being practiced for the first time in Syria reflects an aggravation of the repression.*

There is an urgent need for action to demand a halt to torture and the liberation of political detainees. It is imperative that an international delegation visit Syria to investigate the conditions of prisoners. To this end, we address our call to all democratic organizations and democrats.

June 20th, 1978

Vietnam asks for emergency aid

By Matilde Zimmermann

In the wake of its most devastating floods since the early 1940s, Vietnam has issued an emergency international appeal for food, clothing, and medicine.

At a Hanoi news conference October 3, a Foreign Ministry representative detailed the damage wrought by Typhoon Lola: 2.3 million acres of rice-land submerged; 2.8 million tons of rice lost; 4.5 million persons affected, two-thirds of them in need of immediate relief; more than half a million homes destroyed; 10 to 20 percent of all livestock gone.

September's floods came after three years of disastrous weather in Vietnam, which had already taken a heavy toll on agricultural production. A drought in 1977 made it necessary to import more than one million tons of grains. Much of the 1978 summer crop was lost even before Typhoon Lola struck, because the Mekong River overflowed its banks in August, more than a month earlier than usual.

In addition, almost 900,000 acres of riceland has been destroyed by insects. Pesticides are in short supply, and much of Vietnam's U.S.-made spraying equipment is useless because spare

parts cannot be obtained. There exists a pest-resistant strain of rice widely used in Indonesia and the Philippines, but the seeds have not been made available to Vietnam.

The American government has a particular responsibility to respond to Vietnam's emergency appeal. Ten years of U.S. terror bombing destroyed dikes and flood-control equipment, defoliated forests, and scarred the countryside with 26 million craters. Vietnam has had to devote a major part of its resources to resettling abandoned farmland, clearing away live bombs and other war debris, and re-

building the water-control system.

The task has been made more difficult by the U.S. trade embargo imposed after the war and renewed by Jimmy Carter in September 1978.

The U.S. media, instead of supporting the appeal for humanitarian aid, has been escalating its propaganda war against Vietnam. The *Christian Science Monitor* of October 6, for example, picked up a charge that the food emergency in Vietnam is not really caused by the floods but rather by "bureaucratic corruption and the destruction of the economy in the name of ideology."

Washington was forced to end its shooting war against Vietnam and should not be allowed to continue a war of propaganda and economic sabotage. The least the White House should do is immediately provide whatever is necessary to feed, house, and clothe the victims of the recent floods in Southeast Asia.

From *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*

By Diane Wang

The National Organization for Women voted at its October 6-9 conference to launch a campaign against forced sterilization.

NOW members all agreed on the need for an aggressive educational and legal campaign. The conference voted support to the demand that every woman being sterilized get full information and consent forms in her native language.

A controversial issue, however, was a proposed requirement for a thirty-day waiting period between the time a woman consents to a sterilization and when it is done. Other women's and civil rights groups have demanded the waiting period as a means of curbing forced sterilization. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare has proposed guidelines for sterilizations funded by the government. These include the waiting period.

The following are answers to some of the most frequently heard questions about this issue.

Question. What is sterilization abuse?

Answer. The number of sterilizations in this country has increased—from 942,000 in 1970 to 1.3 million in 1975. As this has happened, a serious denial of women's right to choose has come to light: forced sterilization.

Lawsuits in Alabama, California, New York, Pennsylvania, and South Carolina showed that women were being coerced into sterilization or tricked into having it done without their knowledge. For example:

- Black women make up only one-third of the patient population but are 43 percent of the women sterilized with federal funds. White women, by contrast, make up 53 percent of that patient population but are 40 percent of those sterilized.

Three times as many Black women as white have been sterilized, according to one study done by the National Fertility Studies Office of Population Research at Princeton.

- That same office has reported that 21.7 percent of Chicanas under the age of forty-five who are not now or have never been married have been sterilized.

- The Government Accounting Office found that in just four Indian Health Service hospitals 3,406 American Indian women were sterilized between 1973 and 1976.

The record speaks for itself. Doctors, hospitals, and welfare and other government officials have consciously denied women the right to have children. Black, *latina*, Native American, and Asian-American women have been the main target of this vicious practice in this country. More far-reaching forced sterilization programs have been carried out in Puerto Rico, Latin America, and India, often with the aid of U.S. "population control experts."

Q. What is the thirty-day waiting period requirement?

A. The proposed Health, Education and Welfare guidelines would govern all sterilizations funded by HEW—an estimated 100,000 operations each year.

Under the guidelines, every person sterilized with government funds would have to receive information about sterilization in her or his native language and would sign a consent form in that language, in the presence of a witness chosen by the patient.

The sterilization would not be done until thirty days after the consent form was signed.

Q. Why is the thirty-day waiting period necessary?

A. Women have often been deliberately asked to sign for sterilization while they are in labor or while recovering from childbirth or an abortion—while they are in pain or drugged. Some are never told what the operation really is.

As one resident at the University of Southern California Hospital in Los

Q. and A. on curbing forced sterilization



Militant/Lora Eckert

Defense of women's right to abortion has to go hand in hand with defense of their right not to be sterilized.

Angeles put it, "I used to make my pitch while sewing up the episiotomy when the anaesthesia was wearing off."

Under those conditions it's no surprise that one statistical study found that about one-third of the women sterilized right after childbirth later said they regretted the decision.

The thirty-day waiting period gives a woman the chance to get out of the hospital—out from under the knife, so to speak—to make her choice.

It gives a woman the chance to consult with other women or doctors if she wants to. If a caseworker threatens a woman with a cutoff of welfare funds—as has happened—she has a chance to find out what her rights are.

In addition, the thirty-day period will make it easier to document crimes and get evidence for legal action when doctors or hospitals do rush a woman into a sterilization.

The waiting period is not the total solution to sterilization. It cannot substitute for an educational and legal campaign by the women's movement.

But the waiting period does offer women protection. It serves as a roadblock to those hospitals, doctors, and caseworkers who want to pressure a woman into being sterilized.

Q. Doesn't the waiting period go against the principle that a woman has the right to choose?

A. Absolutely not! Just look at the record and ask, whose right to choose is actually being denied?

It is true that women who seek voluntary sterilization also face sexism and harassment from the medical industry. It was only at the beginning of the 1970s that doctors stopped insisting that women consult two psychiatrists, be older, or have many children, before they could be sterilized.

But the thirty-day waiting period is not a denial of sterilization; it is not equivalent to required psychiatric consultations or spousal consent.

The thirty-day waiting period is a delay. But it is one necessary to protect women who are forced into sterilization, forced to undergo an irreversible procedure.

It is a mistake to point to the right to choose as an abstract principle that supersedes defending that right in

practice. Consider this analogy:

The women's liberation movement has fought for affirmative-action programs as a practical and necessary step toward equality, as a concrete remedy for past discrimination.

But opponents insist that equality means only strictly enforced equal opportunity. If women and oppressed minorities have problems to overcome, they say, that's too bad. "No special treatment." They use the "principle" of equality to argue against specific remedies to inequality.

In the same way, the thirty-day waiting period has been demanded by women's and civil rights groups as a special measure necessary for defending women's choice. It is a concrete safeguard to the right to choose, not a violation of that right.

Especially at a time when women must vigorously defend the right to choose abortion, it is important to also defend the right to choose not to be sterilized.

Both the denial of abortion—compulsory pregnancy—and forced sterilization put women at the mercy of someone else's decision. It is the same women, poor women, who are the main victims.

Defense of abortion rights and a campaign against forced sterilization are two sides of the same coin—defending the right to choose.

Q. But doesn't the waiting period treat women like children, as if they can't decide things for themselves?

A. Right now women aren't allowed to decide; they are forced or tricked into sterilization against their will. It's not the waiting period that's paternalistic. Here's paternalism—and racism: "After thirty years of delivering babies," said Dr. Curtis Wood, longtime president of a group advocating sterilization, "I found that if the doctor does a proper job of offering sterilization to these women on welfare, a high percentage of them would accept it."

The real paternalism to deal with is that of the medical industry, which holds women, especially minority women, in contempt.

Ninety-four percent of the gynecologists polled in a 1972 survey favored compulsory sterilization of welfare

mothers with three "illegitimate" children!

Time does play a big role. One hospital found that only 16 percent of the patients were dissatisfied about their sterilizations when they had been allowed the thirty-day waiting period. By contrast, 36 percent were dissatisfied when the waiting period had been disregarded.

At San Francisco General Hospital, of seventy patients scheduled for sterilization in one sample, twelve canceled during the waiting period.

Giving a woman time to make a decision that is irreversible in no way implies she cannot make that choice—it only affirms that it is *her* choice to make.

Q. Won't doctors use the waiting period to deny sterilization to those women who want them?

A. That has not been the experience. So far, the only complaints about the waiting period limiting access have come from doctors who felt the requirement would cut into their practice.

The complaint voiced by women over and over again is that they have been coerced or tricked into sterilization—not that they have been denied access because of the delay.

Q. But protective laws have been used against women before.

A. It's true that some protective laws have been used to keep women out of high-paying jobs. Women have fought to strike down those laws.

But women have also argued, correctly, that beneficial health and safety laws should be extended to men as well as women.

Each specific proposal has to be considered to see what it would accomplish. In this case the waiting period would help women defend their right to choose.

Q. But instead of making women wait thirty days, doctors and hospitals should be penalized for forced sterilization. The waiting period does not penalize doctors.

A. Actually, the guidelines would penalize doctors and hospitals where it hurts—in the cashbox. Those who violate the guidelines would not be paid for performing the sterilization.

This can add up to a lot of money. Take the case of Dr. Clovis Pierce, a South Carolina doctor who refused to deliver the babies of women on welfare unless they agreed to be sterilized. He raked in \$64,000 a year in government payments for sterilization!

Q. But the thirty-day waiting period won't be enforced. You can't trust the government.

A. Of course the government can't be relied upon to enforce the guidelines.

In 1975 the ACLU polled 154 hospitals to see if they were complying with current guidelines on sterilization. Only fifty-one hospitals even bothered to answer the poll. Of those, forty-eight were not complying with the guidelines.

It will take a powerful women's movement to force the government to enforce the guidelines. We need an aggressive campaign, using lawsuits and public activity, to educate people about the problem of forced sterilization.

If we are to oppose the sterilization guidelines because women can't trust the government, what about other women's demands? Should women oppose the ERA because it won't guarantee women's equality? Should women oppose affirmative-action programs because they are not implemented adequately?

No! We need to fight for these demands so that we can use them as weapons to win further gains.

Just as winning the ERA will give women a tool to fight for equality, getting the thirty-day waiting period will give women a tool for battling the medical industry and curbing forced sterilization.

Farm workers leader discusses Ohio strike

By John Gaige

TOLEDO, Ohio—At a Militant Forum here last month, Baldemar Velasquez, president of the Farm Labor Organizing Committee (FLOC), explained the issues in the recent month-long farm workers' strike in four north-west Ohio counties.

Velasquez said that more than 2,000 agricultural laborers participated in the harvest-time strike and that FLOC signed up 1,500 new members. The strike received official endorsement from the United Farm Workers and its president, César Chávez.

Over the winter, Velasquez said, FLOC will organize among migrants in Texas and Florida to renew the strike when the season opens next summer.

Currently, he explained, farm workers who hand-harvest the Ohio tomato crop are paid only twenty-four cents per hamper (a hamper is thirty-three and a third pounds). Even in the ten-day peak season period, a worker averages only 100 hampers per day.

The strikers demand \$.35 per hamper and a \$3.25 minimum hourly wage to offset poor picking conditions. They also demand a guaranteed twenty-eight-hour workweek; paid travel for

migrating; medical benefits; and better conditions in the temporary labor camps.

FLOC is seeking contracts not only with growers but with area canneries, such as Libby-McNeil-Libby, Campbell, Heinz, Hunt, and Stokely Van Camp. In the past five years, according to Velasquez, the growers have received a 100 percent increase in tomato prices from the canneries, while farm workers have only gotten a 30 percent pay hike. Ohio is second only to California in U.S. tomato production.

The government threw its weight behind the growers and canners during the strike. The courts limited picketing to two people outside canneries. Velasquez and thirty-three other strikers were arrested on one picket line and jailed overnight.

The federal Immigration and Naturalization Service also did its part, deporting twelve striking undocumented Mexican workers on the day after the walkout began.

FLOC is appealing for support from other unionists in Ohio and around the country, as well as from students. The union has also announced a boycott of Libby-McNeil-Libby and Campbell products.



Militant/Lori Towns

More than 2,000 farm workers struck Ohio growers during fall harvest

Steel notes...

IRON RANGE MINERS BACK INCO STRIKE: United Steelworkers Local 1938 at U.S. Steel's Minntac plant—the largest local on the Mesabi Iron Range—has voted to express its solidarity with striking nickel miners in Sudbury, Ontario. The 12,000 Sudbury miners, members of USWA Local 6500, shut down Inco's mines and refining plants September 16.

Inco provoked the strike with a four-cent-an-hour wage offer and demands to weaken the power of union shop stewards. The militant miners are determined to hold the line against the corporate "takeaway" offensive, which has hit unions across Canada.

The iron range steelworkers carried out a long winter strike of their own last year against the biggest U.S. steel companies, and they know the value of labor solidarity.

The "international" USWA officialdom does little to promote contact between union members across the border, or to inform U.S. steelworkers about the class struggle in Canada. But the Inco strike needs and deserves the support of all steelworkers and of other working people as well.

OSHA CITES BETHLEHEM, MURDERS CONTINUE: A thirty-six-year-old steelworker was killed in a blast furnace at Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point plant October 16. The company will be cited for excessively high levels of carbon monoxide concentration, announced Dr. Banks, Maryland Occupational Health and Safety Administration's chief of industrial hygiene. In its five-year existence, MOSHA has never inspected a Bethlehem blast furnace.

This citation comes right on the heels of another MOSHA finding against the company. For the first time, Bethlehem has been found guilty of a "willful safety violation" in the July 23 heat-stroke death of another Sparrows Point worker. The multi-million-dollar corporation was fined a mere \$7,000 for its murderous working conditions.

In explaining why Bethlehem's violations were determined "willful" in this case, Banks said, "When workers start collapsing and company ambulances start hauling them off, and you know about the conditions and do nothing about it, that is willful."

In response, a Bethlehem spokesperson said the company would review its heat-protection program, which currently consists of "salt tablets, availability of cold water, and safety discussions with employees."

REPUBLIC STEEL WOMEN ON THE MARCH: The women's committee of USWA Local 1033 (Republic Steel, Chicago) has sponsored a number of activities to educate and mobilize steelworkers on key women's rights issues.

On October 4 seventy union members heard Addie Wyatt speak on women in the labor movement. Wyatt is an international vice-president of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and a leader of the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

"Women work because they have to earn the money needed for their survival and that of their family," she said. Wyatt reported that women are the sole support of three out of ten Black families and one out of ten white families. She called for a union campaign to "make the promise of women's equality a reality and that will strengthen all of us."

Back in August the women's committee got Local 1033 to sponsor a showing of the film *Union Maids* and a discussion with Stella Nowicki, one of the women featured in the movie. About sixty attended.

The August issue of the *1033 News and Views* carried a front-page report on the local's delegation to the July 9 march on Washington for the Equal Rights Amendment.

—Andy Rose

...Carter deportation plan

Continued from back page

pointment of a Chicano as head of INS had failed to insulate Carter "from the fury of Hispanics who condemn his immigration proposals."

Carter ran into added trouble recently when the International Ladies Garment Workers Union filed suit against the INS challenging the use of blanket search warrants for factory raids. (See accompanying box.)

The Carter administration, of course, remains determined to scapegoat the undocumented for unemployment and other social ills.

This was underscored by Castillo's recent boast that 670,000 people had been apprehended at the Mexican border during the first seven months of 1978, an increase over last year.

Nevertheless, burial of the Carter plan represents a defeat for the administration.

The plan demagogically proposed "amnesty" for the less than half-million undocumented here since before 1970.

It included a proposal to permit those who entered between 1970 and 1977 to stay and work for five years—without any political rights. They would also have been denied all federally funded social services, even though they pay taxes like everyone else.

Hiring discrimination and victimization would have been intensified by a

proviso to fine employers who "knowingly" hired undocumented workers.

And the law would have doubled the number of *migra* cops from 2,000 to 4,000. Everyone who entered after 1977 would have been hunted down and deported.

In his initial interview about the plan in the February 22, 1977, *Los Angeles Times*, Labor Secretary Marshall explained the rulers' political reasons for the proposed clampdown:

"I believe we are now building a new civil rights struggle of the 1980s by having an underclass of people come into this country, unable to protect themselves, easily exploited, dissatisfied with their status and yet fearful of being deported.

"Their children will be even more dissatisfied and likely to revolt against such conditions, and they will demand their civil rights much in the fashion of the civil rights movement which began in the 1960s."

Carter and his cohorts seem to have feared they might not have to wait for the 1980s.

The united response of the Chicano movement and its allies dealt the racist rulers of this country a welcome setback. But they haven't thrown in the towel.

All supporters of the rights of the undocumented should continue to press the demand: Stop the deportations!

INS halts L.A. factory raids

As a result of court action by the International Ladies Garment Workers of Los Angeles, the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service has been forced to cut back on its gestapo-like factory raids to pick up undocumented workers.

A large number of garment workers in the Los Angeles area—perhaps a majority—are undocumented Mexican immigrants.

The area has been a target of constant factory raids by *la migra*. The raids were intensified after the ILGWU made it known that it would organize workers without regard to their legal status.

Last spring, the union went to court, demanding an injunction against the raids. Union lawyers argued that search warrants used in the raids were illegal since they

didn't name specific individuals, but were a blank check for picking up anyone who looked "illegal."

The courts have not yet ruled on that challenge. But the U.S. attorney's office apparently decided that the government should slow down. It has told the INS, at least in Los Angeles, that it will not approve any more such warrants until the ILGWU case is settled.

The result has been immediate and dramatic.

Previously in the Los Angeles, Orange County area, INS was scooping up about 4,000 workers a month.

In the month of September the number dropped by 70 percent.

That should mean that a lot of workers—documented and undocumented alike—will be winning the benefit of union contracts. —H.R.

SWEETZ ON TROTSKY & USSR

The October *Monthly Review*, a magazine widely read by radicals in this country, features a lead article on "Is There a Ruling Class in the USSR?" The article is by Paul Sweezy, the journal's founder and coeditor.

Sweezy holds that there is a new ruling class in the Soviet Union. He challenges the view held by Trotsky that the Stalinist bureaucracy is not a long-term social class of a new type, but instead a parasitic caste that has fastened onto the Soviet workers state. Trotsky believed that to complete the job of socialist construction begun by the Bolsheviks, the Soviet working class would have to throw out the bureaucrats while preserving the postcapitalist property relations established by the October revolution.

Trotsky's view is held today by the Socialist Workers Party and the Fourth International.

Despite Sweezy's differences with this position, his article is remarkable for someone who has long held a Maoist world view. For example, note the reasoned tone of his assessment of Trotsky and Stalin:

"Underlying the Trotskyist theory is a version of the Marxist theory of the state which was widely accepted at the time of the Russian Revolution and indeed may be considered a staple element of Bolshevik doctrine then and later."

On the other hand, Sweezy refers to the "miserable Stalinist bureaucracy."

Sweezy's objective treatment is a welcome development and deserves serious attention.

COURT DELAYS COTTON DUST RULES

Implementation of stricter limits on workplace exposure to cotton dust was postponed October 20 by the U.S. Court of

Appeals in Washington, D.C. The court said it would hold hearings in February to decide if a new standard is needed.

More than 300,000 workers are regularly exposed to cotton dust. Breathing it can cause a fatal illness known as "brown lung." The Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) says that 35,000 workers have brown lung, and another 150,000 have some symptoms.

The decision was only the latest delay of efforts to protect workers from the deadly dust. The Carter administration stalled for months on accepting OSHA's proposed standard, claiming it was "inflationary." Finally, under pressure, the president agreed to a watered-down version.

Even this mild protection was too much for the textile industry.

The court's ruling came only days after the Southern Governor's Conference—partially bankrolled by the textile industry—unanimously called upon the White House to roll back the new rules.

CARTER SIGNS ERA EXTENSION

President Carter signed into law a bill extending the time for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment October 20. The original deadline of March 22, 1979, is now extended to June 30, 1982.

The ERA must be ratified by thirty-eight states. Thirty-five have ratified it thus far.

The extension is an important victory for women's rights. Bottled up in Congress for months, approval of the extension emerged only after 100,000 people took to the streets of the nation's capital July 9 to demand it.

The extra three years will give ERA supporters the chance to mobilize their forces again and again, if necessary,

300 demand tenure for Gutiérrez

Three hundred people, half of them Chicanos, rallied on the University of Texas at Austin campus October 13 to demand that the administration grant tenure to Dr. Armando Gutiérrez, an assistant professor of government.

Gutiérrez is a prominent figure in the Chicano movement and a leader of the Texas Raza Unida Party.

A vote against tenure by a government department committee was announced October 10. It must still be

reviewed by the dean of the college and the university president.

Denial of tenure is tantamount to dismissal.

Gutiérrez labeled the decision racist and politically motivated.



Militant/Bruce Kimball

and show the Democrats and Republicans that the majority of the American people want the ERA.

RALLY SAYS NO TO NUCLEAR DUMPING

Three hundred people rallied in Carlsbad, New Mexico, October 8 against federal plans to establish a nuclear waste dump

nearby.

Protesters came from all over the southern part of the state. Some made the long drive from Albuquerque.

Local farmers donated loads of watermelons and apples to the rally.

Speakers included Roxanne Kartchner of the Carlsbad Nuclear Waste Forum and John

Redhouse of the National Indian Youth Council.

Although no one knows how to store the fiercely radioactive wastes, the federal government is pushing ahead with its Waste Isolation Pilot Project (WIPP). Millions of cubic feet of waste will be buried in salt beds. How long they will stay isolated is unknown.

What's Going On

CALIFORNIA LOS ANGELES: S.E.

REBELLION IN NICARAGUA—WHAT NEXT? Speakers: Henry Rojas, Xiomara Flores, and Sergio Amador from Frente Amplio (Broad Opposition Front Against Somoza). Fri., Nov. 3, 8 p.m. 2554 Saturn Ave. Huntington Pk. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 582-1975.

SAN FRANCISCO

NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR WOMEN PLANS STRATEGY FOR THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT: A REPORT FROM PARTICIPANTS IN THE NOW NATIONAL CONVENTION. Fri., Nov. 3, 8 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Ausp: Socialist Bookstore. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

COLORADO DENVER

WHAT SHOULD WORKING PEOPLE DO WITH THEIR VOTE? Speaker: Elsa Blum, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Colorado. Fri., Nov. 3, 7:30 p.m. 126 W. 12th Ave. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (303) 534-8954.

ELECTION NIGHT VICTORY CELEBRATION. Speakers: Elsa Blum, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor; Sue Adley, SWP candidate for Congress; others. Tues., Nov. 7, 7 p.m. 126 W. 12th Ave. Ausp: Socialist Workers Colorado 1978 Campaign. For more information call (303) 534-8954.

ILLINOIS CHICAGO

SOUTH AFRICA: THE ROLE OF FOREIGN INVESTMENTS IN SUPPORTING APARTHEID. Speakers: Drake Koka,

secretary-general, Black Allied Workers Union of South Africa; James Wright, assistant director of Region 4, United Auto Workers; Addie Wyatt, international vice-president, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America; Rev. George Riddick, Operation PUSH. Fri., Nov. 3, 7:30 p.m. UAW Local 453 hall, 1110 S. Oakley. Collection will be taken. Ausp: Drake Koka Tour Committee; UAW Region 4; Amalgamated Meat Cutters. For more information call (312) 524-1867.

FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION OF THE 'MILITANT.' Speakers: Harry Ring, former editor of the 'Militant,' Pat Grogan, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate; Bill Hampton; others; music by Carlos Torres, guitarist. Sat., Nov. 11, dinner 6:30 p.m., rally 8 p.m. Shoe Workers Union Hall, 1632 N. Milwaukee. Donation: \$5 for dinner and rally, \$1.50 for rally only. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

LOUISIANA NEW ORLEANS

PROSPECTS FOR A NEW TRIAL TO FREE GARY TYLER. Speaker: Juanita Tyler. Film: 'For the Crime of Being Black.' Fri., Nov. 3, reception 7:30 p.m., forum 8 p.m. 3319 S. Carrollton Ave. Donation \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (504) 486-8048.

MICHIGAN DETROIT

SOCIALIST WORKERS 1978 ELECTION RALLY. Speakers: Omari Musa, staff writer for the 'Militant'; Jo Carol Stallworth, SWP candidate for Detroit Central School Board; Robin Mace, SWP

candidate for governor; Florence Robinson, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate. Sat., Nov. 4, reception 6:30 p.m.; rally 7:30 p.m.; dance to follow. 6404 Woodward (grand opening of new SWP headquarters). Donation \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers 1978 Campaign Committee. For more information call (313) 961-5673.

MINNESOTA MINNEAPOLIS

MINNESOTA SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY. Hear the socialist candidates and others. Sat., Nov. 4, 7:30 p.m. 320 Coffman Union, Washington & Church sts., Univ. of Minnesota, Minneapolis. Ausp: Minnesota 1978 Socialist Workers Campaign Committee & Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (612) 825-6663 (Minneapolis) or (612) 222-8929 (St. Paul) or (218) 741-4968 (Eveleth).

ST. PAUL

WOMEN & THE 1978 ELECTIONS. Speakers: Jaqueline DeLong, executive council, DFL Feminists; Christine Frank, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate (four-year seat); Enid Griffin, GOP Feminists & candidate for Ramsey County Commissioner; Carol Klitzke, president, St. Paul National Organization for Women; and Marcea Staten, attorney, Minnesota Women's Political Caucus. Thurs., Nov. 2, 8 p.m. Weyerhaeuser Chapel, Macalester College. Donation. Ausp: St. Paul NOW, Macalester Feminists, St. Paul Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 222-8929.

MISSOURI KANSAS CITY

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN WEEKEND. Sat., Nov. 4, 2 p.m. 'The fight for democracy in the labor movement: a report on

the 1978 United Steelworkers national convention.' Speaker: Andrew Pulley, Steelworker and Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Chicago. Sat., Nov. 4, 7:30 p.m. Socialist Campaign Rally. Reception at 6:30 p.m. Speakers: Jim Levitt, SWP candidate for Congress and Andrew Pulley. Sun., Nov. 5, 1 p.m. 'The Weber case: new threat to affirmative action.' Speaker: Andrew Pulley. Donation: \$1.50. All talks at 4715-A Troost Ave. Ausp: Socialist Workers 1978 Campaign Committee. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

NEW YORK NEW YORK CITY

WHO KILLED KAREN SILKWOOD? HOW THE NUCLEAR INDUSTRY SILENCED THE TRUTH. A teach-in on the dangers of nuclear energy. Speakers: Kitty Tucker, Supporters of Silkwood national president; Jim Houghton, Harlem Fight Back; Norma Becker, Mobilization for Survival; Connie Hogarth, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, WESPAC; Michio Kaku, nuclear physicist, CCNY. Sun., Nov. 12, 3 p.m. Columbia Teachers College, Horace Mann Aud., 120th St. & Broadway. Ausp: NYC Shad Alliance and NY Mobilization for Survival. For more information call: (212) 249-7649.

NYC: QUEENS

TRADE UNIONS & THE NEW YORK ELECTIONS. Speaker: Ray Markey, Socialist Workers Party candidate for attorney general and delegate to AFSCME (American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees) District Council 37. Fri., Nov. 3, 7:30 p.m. 90-43 149th St., Jamaica, Queens. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 658-7718.

OHIO CINCINNATI

THE CAPITALIST ECONOMIC CRISIS AND THE SOCIALIST SOLUTION. Speaker: John Gaige, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Ohio lieutenant governor. Fri., Nov. 3, 8 p.m. Annie Laws Drawing Room, Teachers College, Univ. of Cincinnati. Donation: \$1. Ausp: 1978 Socialist Workers Ohio Campaign Committee. For more information call (513) 961-5870.

TEXAS HOUSTON

AN EVENING WITH THE SOCIALIST CANDIDATES, PREELECTION GALA. Meet Socialist Workers Party candidates Miguel Pendás, Sara Johnston, Jana Pellusch, and Debra Vernier. Sat., Nov. 4, 7 p.m. refreshments and buffet; 8 p.m. rally; party to follow. Rodeway Inn, 114 S. Richey (at 225 Pasadena). Donation \$1.50. Ausp: Texas Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call: (713) 861-9842.

WASHINGTON SEATTLE

BAKKE WAS JUST THE BEGINNING: THE WEBER CASE, NEW THREAT TO AFFIRMATIVE ACTION. Speakers: Joe Black, member of Boilermakers Local 104; Karl Bermann, Socialist Workers Party; others. Fri., Nov. 3, 8 p.m. 4878 Rainier Ave. South. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (206) 723-5330.



SUES TEXAS SCHOOLS

A seven-year-old Mexican girl has filed suit in federal court in Houston challenging a Texas law and a Houston school district policy of charging tuition to undocumented immigrants.

The September 19 action by Mayra Aracely Martinez came in the wake of an earlier ruling by a federal judge voiding such a tuition in Tyler, Texas. His ruling, however, applied only to Tyler schools.

The state law and Houston policy had been challenged and upheld last year by the Texas Supreme Court. The current suit will require resolution of the conflicting court decisions.

The Houston school district requires a \$135 a month payment from undocumented students. The claimant's stepfather, a U.S. citizen, said he cannot make such a payment.

NOW, JUST GO OUT AND FIND A JOB

Fifty thousand jobless workers in New York State lost their unemployment benefits October 22.

The 50,000 were receiving a special federal supplement that was supposed to run for thirteen weeks beyond the state-financed twenty-six weeks. But the feds can cut the money off if the unemployment rate among people getting unemployment compensation drops below 5 percent. The most recent official figures put that at 4.93 percent.

That doesn't include workers who have exhausted their benefits, workers laid off from jobs that weren't covered at all,

Quote unquote

"If we were required to abide by the rules of every corporation, every academic institution, it would become impossible to do the required job for our country."

—CIA Director Stansfield Turner, explaining why the CIA will ignore a Harvard University ban on secret recruiting of foreign students.

or people seeking their first jobs.

The state's official unemployment level is 7.7 percent.

JUSTICE WITH MERCY

The federal government announced October 6 that it had excused Republic Steel from paying \$3.1 million in fines imposed for polluting the air.

In violation of federal statutes, company mills in Warren and Youngstown, Ohio, were spewing some 2,700 tons of dust, soot, and other particles into the air annually.

Why was Republic excused from paying the fine? Because it promised to do better. It said that over the next four years it would install equipment that would reduce the pollution to "acceptable" limits.

So remember, if you get convicted of something, just tell the judge that if he lets you go, you'll promise to try harder in the future.

Calif. gay rights actions

By Anne Menasche

SAN FRANCISCO—A "Rally for Human Justice" at the Civic Center here, November 4 at 12:30 p.m., will urge defeat of Proposition 6 on election day.

Proposition 6 provides for dismissal of any California school employee who advocates gay rights.

Sponsors of the November 4 rally include the Bay Area Committee Against the Briggs Initiative/No on 6; San Francisco National Organization for Women; the Mexican American Political Association; California Federation of Teachers; Transport Workers Local 250A; Retail Workers Local 1100; and the Democratic and Republican central committees.

An October 11 rally spon-

sored by BACABI/No on 6 drew 1,500 people. The crowd saw a large-screen telecast of a debate between State Sen. John Briggs, sponsor of Proposition 6, and gay rights supporters. The debate was broadcast statewide on public television.

In Los Angeles more than 500 people rallied for "Stop 6 Saturday" on October 21. Speakers included Henry Dodson, president of the Los Angeles NAACP; leaders of the teachers' and longshoremen's unions; a member of the Order of Saint Joseph; and others.

Following the rally, gay rights supporters distributed more than half a million brochures, leaflets, and buttons.

Libros en español

<i>Alienación y Emancipación del Proletariado</i> por Mandel	3.25
<i>Democracia y Revolución</i> por Novack	3.50
<i>El Programa de Transición</i> por Trotsky	2.75
<i>Imperialismo, Fase Superior del Capitalismo</i> por Lenin	1.00
<i>Introducción a la Teoría Económica Marxista</i> por Mandel	1.45
<i>Marxismo y Feminismo</i> por Waters	2.95
<i>Manifiesto del Partido Comunista</i> por Marx y Engels	.75
<i>Sobre el Derecho de las Naciones a la Autodeterminación</i> por Lenin	.50
<i>Trabajo Asalariado y Capital</i> por Marx	.50

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Include \$.50 postage for orders under \$5; \$.75 for orders between \$5 and \$10.

Lesson for liberals—"[Gov. Edmund] Brown has no time today for liberal doctrine. Addressing the militantly liberal California Democratic Council (CDC), Brown delivered a fifteen-minute Chamber of Commerce booster speech. While the liberals looked on in utter amazement, Brown boasted about the state's rising corporate profits. The CDC has no place to go, and Brown knows it."—columnists Evans and Novak.

New price hike?—Merchants along Elvis Presley Boulevard in Memphis say they plan to phase out those chintzy souvenirs and peddle only "quality" mementoes of the late singer.

Didn't know where to stop—Daryl Gates is chief of the Los Angeles Police Department, notorious for its massive secret files on tens of thousands of citizens regarded as in any way suspect. Now it's disclosed that the FBI had a file on Gates, including some derogatory comments by J. Edgar Hoover. Commented Gates: "Why that arrogant SOB."

Class-struggle couture—John Molloy, who conducts \$1,500-a-day corporate seminars on dress, says: "Many critics may charge that my approach to successful dress is snobbish, conservative, bland, and conformist." But "class-conscious conformity is absolutely essential to the individual success of the American business and professional man."

Nonpartisan—Businesspeople don't simply have a bias against the poor. They'll rip off anyone. For instance, the International Association of Chiefs of Police warned that half the bulletproof vests used by cops won't stop a bullet. The chiefs charged that the vestmakers tried to suppress this finding.

March of culture—You can now enjoy fast food even faster. New home products include frozen hotdogs and cheeseburgers and a Big H Burger Sauce which provides "that restaurant hamburger taste at home." Or an aluminum chicken cooker, with which you can make fried chicken "as scrumptious as any you've brought home from takeout." How about an aerosol Add-a-Burp?

Women in Revolt

Diane Wang



A stake in D.C. vote

There is a new suffrage fight in this country. And there is a predictable line-up on the issue.

At issue is the new constitutional amendment that would finally let District of Columbia residents elect representatives to Congress. The amendment was passed by Congress this fall and, like the Equal Rights Amendment for women, must be ratified by thirty-eight states.

Women, who have fought our own battle for the right to vote and for political representation, have a stake in this effort to extend representation to the 75 percent-Black city of Washington.

The October 6-9 conference of the National Organization for Women voted overwhelming support for D.C. representation. The NOW resolution noted that the right to representation is "fundamental in a democratic society" and that feminists have a "lifelong obligation" to human rights.

Foes of the ERA and civil rights might have hoped that the issue of D.C. representation would serve a divide-and-conquer purpose. But NOW rejected any notion that a ratification drive for D.C. representation diverts attention or resources from ratifying the ERA.

As could be expected, those who are vehemently opposed to women's rights are against letting D.C. residents have any say over their lives too.

Pennsylvania has been holding public hearings on the question of D.C. representation. At an October 16 hearing in Scranton, one anti-Black, antiwoman spokesperson tied it all together.

Thomas Halligan (described in newspapers as "a conservative activist") opposed ratification because, he said, anyone elected to Congress by D.C. residents would probably be a Black who would vote to allow federal funding for abortion.

What an interesting admission! What seems to bother Halligan is that if people had a real choice, they would vote "yes" to abortion funding. That's quite a contradiction with the anti-abortionists' claim to speak for the majority.

What's more, Halligan tacitly admits that for Blacks the abortion issue is

crucial, since Black women have been the first to suffer from the government's denial of safe abortions.

Apparently, Halligan thinks that since D.C.'s population is predominantly Black, it should be kept disenfranchised, as though the White House were the big plantation. He sneers that D.C. Blacks are already represented by lobbying groups "including every civil rights and welfare group."

The other problem, Halligan says, is that a victory for D.C. representation might give others uppity ideas. Statehood movements might arise among Navajos and Eskimos, he suggests. "There would be no end to it."

It certainly is true that a victory for D.C. residents would encourage American Indians in their battles for land and fishing rights.

Puerto Ricans fighting for independence and other oppressed groups would take heart.

And so would women campaigning for our rights, particularly for the ERA.

Phyllis Schlafly, leader of Stop ERA, has also come out against D.C. representation. Unlike Halligan, Schlafly doesn't target D.C.'s Black population. Instead she vents her contempt for labor.

In other states, Schlafly claims in her October newsletter, residents have real interests to be represented. "In the District, however, there are no significant competing interests," she says, since "federal employees are the overwhelmingly dominant class."

Those who work for the government have no interests or rights, you see, because they are merely tentacles of what she calls "the federal octopus."

There will be more Halligans and Schlaflys lurking in every state legislature that considers ratifying the D.C. amendment.

We've learned from the ERA battles that it takes a powerful, united movement—the combined efforts of women, Blacks, trade unionists—to win equal rights.

That will prove necessary for winning D.C. representation too.

Our Revolutionary Heritage

Celebrating 50 years of the Militant, 1928-1978

Eugene V. Debs

Of all the figures in the history of the American labor movement, none is so widely known and respected as Eugene V. Debs. As a trade-union organizer and leader, as an agitator and popularizer of socialist ideas, and as a revolutionary of unflinching courage and principle, Debs was without peer.

He was born in Terre Haute, Indiana, 123 years ago—on November 5, 1855. Debs was already famous as the leader of the strike of the American Railway Union in 1894 when he came to socialism at the turn of the century. He began to study socialist ideas after he was jailed for violating an antistrike injunction.

James P. Cannon, the founding leader of the Socialist Workers Party, notes in his essay on Debs and the socialist movement of his time (available in *The First Ten Years of American Communism*), that "the transformation of Debs, from a progressive unionist and Populist into a revolutionary socialist, didn't happen all at once, as if by a sudden revelation."

It took Debs several years of study and thought, of checking the ideas of socialism against his own experiences, before he was convinced of the theory of Marx and Engels. "But when he finally got it," Cannon says, "he got it straight and never changed. . . ."

"Debs campaigned for the overthrow of capitalism by workers' revolution, and refused to settle for anything less."

In 1901, Debs participated in the formation of the Socialist Party of America, which regrouped people from earlier socialist movements and thousands of leftward-moving radicals from the Populist movement. As the presidential candidate of these forces in 1900, Debs polled nearly 100,000 votes.

By 1904, the vote for Debs had leaped to more than 400,000, and in the 1912 presidential election Debs polled nearly 900,000 votes—about 6 percent of the total.

In those days, the Socialist Party was able to play the role of a broad movement of social protest against the brutalities of expanding capitalism.

As Cannon notes: "Workers, exploited without the restraints of union organization; tenant and mortgaged farmers waging an unequal struggle to survive on the land; and small businessmen squeezed to the wall by the trend to monopoly—they all felt the oppression of the 'money power' and were looking about for some means of defense and protest."

And in Debs, the oppressed and exploited found an unequalled standard-bearer, a true tribune of the people.

But Debs, the most influential socialist leader of his day, was unwilling to play a role in the internal life of the Socialist

Party, which was torn by conflict between its reformist and revolutionary wings.

Cannon points out that Debs personally was in sympathy with the revolutionary wing, and "never deviated from the class-struggle line in his own public agitation."

However, "Debs believed that all who called themselves socialists should work together in peace and harmony in one organization."

Even today, this is a common sentiment. But how could the two wings remain in a single party when the reformists supported World War I and the revolutionists opposed it? How could they unite when the reformists denounced the Russian revolution and the revolutionists defended it?

As Cannon says, "At the moment of its greatest external success the contradictions of the 'all-inclusive party' were beginning to catch up with it and tear it apart. After 1912 the Socialist Party's road was downhill to catastrophe."

The great events of the next few years destroyed the Socialist Party of Debs. All the vital forces of American radicalism went down the road charted by Lenin and the Bolsheviks in Russia. Although Debs supported the Russian revolution, he remained behind in the SP.

Both Debs and Lenin, Cannon notes, "started out from the assumption that the transformation of society requires a workers' revolution. But Lenin went a step farther. He saw the workers' revolution as a concrete actuality of this epoch; and he concerned himself particularly with the question of how it was to be prepared and organized. . . ."

"The Socialist Party of Debs' time has to be judged, not for its failure to lead a revolution, but for its failure to work with that end in view and to select its membership accordingly."

"Socialism signifies and requires the revolutionary transformation of society; anything less than that is mere bourgeois reform. A socialist party deserves the name only to the extent that it acts as the conscious agency in preparing the workers for the necessary social revolution. That can only be a party of revolutionists; an all-inclusive party of diverse elements with conflicting programs will not do."

As for Debs "He deserves to be honored for his great positive contributions to the cause of socialism, not for his mistakes. The life work of Debs, as the foremost agitator for socialism we have ever had, as the man of principle who always stood at his post in the class struggle in times of danger and difficulty, will always remain a treasured heritage of revolutionary workers." —David Frankel

Letters

Prisoners' open letter

We are prisoners presently incarcerated in the Colorado State Penitentiary in Canon City. Our aim in writing this letter is to see that you, the public, become aware of the existing conditions and institutional policy directed towards prisoners here. We also hope to elicit some positive response and action from everyone concerned with prison reform and the success or failure of the rehabilitation process.

For the past two years, prisoners in Canon City have been forced to live under a quasi-lock-down restricted status.

The problems and resulting conflicts are directly attributable to ineffective programs and general incompetence on the part of the administrative staff. At the present time prisoners in Canon City are undergoing a form of treatment that reeks of the oppressive odor of cruel and unusual punishment.

Prisoners here are predominantly concerned with problems confronting them in the following areas: prison policy and the treatment of prisoners, visiting rules, restricted use of phones, various communities and constructive groups having

access to the prison to assist prisoners in becoming constructive members of society upon their return to society, reconstruction of self-help organizations.

We, the prisoners presently incarcerated in the Colorado State Penitentiary, ask that you share this concern with us by giving in any way your support in the direction of our cause. Contact your local, county, or state representative and issue support.

Senator double cross

Recently the Senate voted on extending the deadline for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. Right-wing opponents of that bill tried every trick in the books to hold back women's rights. One such attempt was a proposed amendment to the extension bill made by Sen. Jake Garn of Utah. Garn proposed that states should have a legal right to rescind their previous approval of the ERA.

This amendment, which fortunately was defeated, would have put the ERA in serious jeopardy. Four states—Nebraska, Tennessee, Idaho, and Kentucky—have already voted to rescind their earlier approvals.

During the Senate debate

Illinois CP protests arson attack on SWP

The following is a letter protesting police inaction in the October 3 fire bombing of the Chicago Socialist Workers Party campaign offices. It was sent by Illinois Communist Party Organizational Secretary Ted Pearson.

The arsonists destroyed campaign literature and stole files. Thus far, Chicago cops have refused to seriously investigate the crime. A group calling itself the Vietnam Veterans Against Communists claimed responsibility for the attack in anonymous phone calls to the cops and to the SWP.

October 13, 1978

Superintendent James T. O'Grady
Chicago Police Department
1133 S. State St.
Chicago IL 60605

Dear Superintendent O'Grady,

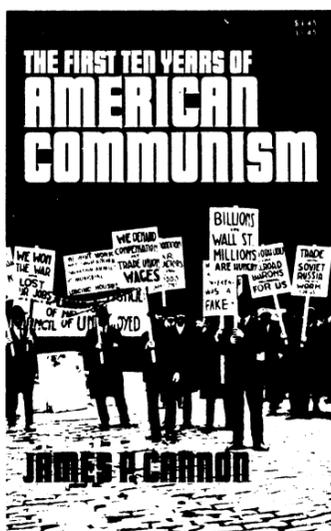
We protest the violent attack on the offices of the Socialist Workers Party last week. We join with those who have called for swift action to apprehend and prosecute those responsible.

Unfortunately we must take note of the fact that your department has knowingly participated in such violent attacks against left and democratic organizations in the past. We refer specifically to the participation of the Chicago "Red Squad" in the activities of the so-called Legion of Justice and the burglaries committed by officers of the Chicago Police Department working for the "Red Squad" against the offices of the Chicago Peace Council and other organizations. Please note, therefore, that we are sending a copy of this letter to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights with a request that they intervene to enforce the U.S. Constitution and the laws of the state of Illinois in Chicago.

Sincerely,
Ted Pearson
Organizational Secretary

cc: Mayor Michael A. Bilandic
Attorney Richard Guttman
Socialist Workers Party
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

FURTHER READING



The First Ten Years of American Communism
by James P. Cannon. 464 pp., cloth \$11, paper \$5.45.

Lucy Parsons American Revolutionary
by Carolyn Ashbaugh. 288 pp., paper \$3.95.

The Founding Convention of the I.W.W.
616 pp., cloth only, regularly \$15, on sale to individuals for \$3.95.

The Autobiographies of the Haymarket Martyrs
Philip Foner, editor. 198 pp., paper \$3.95.

Eugene V. Debs Speaks
Jean Tussey, editor. 320 pp., paper \$4.95.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Please include \$25 for postage and handling; \$50 if order of more than \$5.

Learning About Socialism

Art and revolution

On January 16, 1976, a number of Soviet artists were arrested after participating in an unofficial art show. Police told the artists that the show was illegal and "anti-Soviet."

In China, during the Cultural Revolution, Chinese artists were hounded and made to publicly "self-criticize" their own work. Western art such as the music of Beethoven and the plays of Shakespeare was banned.

Do these grotesque attempts at thought-control represent the socialist view of art? Of course not.

The Stalinist bureaucrats who rule in the Soviet Union and China have established monopolies on political life, aimed at perpetuating their privileged positions. To maintain this political grip, they must extend their control to all areas of public life. Ferment and free discussion anywhere must be halted, for if the monolith cracks in one place, the entire structure is threatened.

The Stalinist approach to art is miles away from the policies first established by the Bolsheviks after the October 1917 Russian revolution. The victorious socialists did their best to promote full self-determination in the creative sphere.

This policy was reversed under the Stalinist Thermidor, which decreed that all art must serve the "interests of the people"—by which the bureaucrats meant *their own* interests.

This policy that all art must have a directly political content is completely foreign to Marxism. We can see why simply by looking at the history of art itself.

Art flourished after society had accumulated sufficient wealth to sustain a separate category of people who could devote the majority of their time to creative activities.

Of course, art in class society was always the province of the privileged. It was they who commissioned works of art; it was they who purchased the art for their mansions and palaces.

Socialists are working to build a society in which there is vast abundance, where goods are produced for human use and not for private profit. In such a society, art will flourish, as the masses of people have the leisure time and the wherewithal to experiment with new creative forms, to bring their talents to new levels.

The coming socialist revolution will move people beyond the hand-to-mouth struggle for existence to an era of well-being. In doing so, it will be the harbinger of an artistic renaissance, the like of which the world has never seen.

Art can serve as a political weapon. A political poster can be a work of art. A novel can express profound political truths through a successful artistic medium.

But art can also falsify. And artists can be corrupted. Those artists forced by the bureaucrats in the Kremlin in Moscow or the Great Hall of the People in Peking to mechanically turn out adoring icons of the Great Father of the People, the Great Helmsman, the Respected and Beloved Leader—those artists have lost political and artistic truth. Their works become tools in the hands of Stalinism for retarding the struggle for liberation.

Art can serve political goals. *But art is not politics.* It has its own subject matter and its own governing laws of development. And it must be judged by those laws.

Artistic works have reflected the class relations of the societies that produced them. But they do not do so directly. They are affected by a whole set of other factors.

Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, Homer's *Illiad*, Shakespeare's plays, and the music of Wagner have all transcended the specific class societies that produced them. For us they strike a chord even if we know nothing about feudal land tenure in Chaucer's England or the economic structure of Homer's Greece.

Leon Trotsky, who wrote a good deal on these questions, did not believe that during the transition from capitalism to socialism the working class would immediately create cultural forms superior to those of capitalist society. During that transition, the workers struggle to simply lift the economic base of society to a new high. They must overcome the legacy of cultural and material backwardness bequeathed by capitalism.

Rather than dictate the cultural standards of the new society, Trotsky urged, the party's task "in relation to literature and culture is raising the level of literacy—simple literacy, political literacy, scientific literacy—of the working masses, and thereby laying the foundation for a new art."

Today, when we see the sad spectacle of artists in the Soviet Union and China prostituting their talents at the service of the bureaucracies there, it would be wise to remember Trotsky's advice to the French surrealist André Breton: "The struggle for revolutionary ideas in art must begin . . . with the struggle for artistic truth, not in terms of any single school, but in terms of *the immutable faith of the artist in his own inner self.* Without this there is no art. 'You shall not lie!'—that is the formula of salvation."

—Peter Archer

Phyllis Schlafly, open opponent of women's rights, sat in the gallery to give her moral support to the Garn amendment. The issue was clear, the sides were chosen.

Then the double cross.

Sen. Frank Church, who has the audacity to call himself a proponent of the ERA, voted for the rescission amendment. For "procedural" reasons (i.e., a dirty deal to further his own career) he threw his "commitment" to the ERA to the wind. A double cross, yes. But not unlike the dirty tricks dealt to women by so many of our so-called friends in Congress.

No trust in these liberal betrayers will ever win equal rights for women.

C.E.

Jersey City, New Jersey

'Crowned Cannibals'

MERIP Reports Number 70, the latest newsletter put out by the Middle East Research and Information Project, has a review by Fred Halliday of *The Crowned Cannibals, Writings on Repression in Iran*, by Reza Baraheni.

Halliday notes that Baraheni has been the victim of a "sustained vilification campaign," writing, "I have counted nineteen separate accusations of real or alleged substance against him—he is a SAVAK agent, a 'Trotskyist,' a spokesman for Carter, a political opportunist, etc."

But Halliday concludes that these charges "are unfounded and malicious, and objectively play into the Shah's hands. . . ."

"Suspicion and abuse of this kind are by no means peculiar to the Iranian left," Halliday continues, "but precisely because they are characteristic of exile politics—of isolation, defeat, and desperation—they must be seen for the political diseases they are. Some of the charges made against Baraheni are reminiscent of the worst degenerations of the international communist movement in the 1930s and 1940s. This kind of irresponsible sectarianism has broken up many opposition movements and sent many people to their deaths. It will be grim indeed for the people of Iran if politics of *this* kind dominate the opposition when the Pahlavi regime begins to crumble in the years ahead."

Halliday has some criticisms of Baraheni's book. But he judges it "a forceful indictment of the Pahlavi monarchy" that is "especially welcome" at this time.

Marion Davis
New York, New York

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 you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

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KENTUCKY: Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952 University Station. Zip: 40506. Tel: (606) 269-6262. Louisville: SWP, 1505 W. Broadway, P.O. Box 3593. Zip: 40201. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3319 S. Carrollton Ave. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.

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MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, c/o Rees, 4 Adams St., Easthampton 01027. Boston: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, Room 4321, Michigan Union, U of M. Zip: 48109. Detroit: SWP, YSA, 1310 Broadway. Zip: 48226. Tel: (313) 961-5675.

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NEBRASKA: Omaha: YSA, c/o Hugh Wilcox, 521 4th St., Council Bluffs, Iowa. 51501.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: SWP, 11-A Central Ave. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque: SWP, 108 Morning-side Dr. NE. Zip: 87108. Tel: (505) 255-6869.

NEW YORK: Binghamton: YSA, c/o Larry Paradis, Box 7261, SUNY-Binghamton. Zip: 13901. Capital District (Albany): SWP, YSA, 103 Central Ave. Zip: 12206. Tel: (518) 463-0072. Ithaca: YSA, Willard Straight Hall, Rm. 41A, Cornell University. Zip: 14853. New York, Bronx: SWP, 2271 Morris Ave. Zip: 10453. Tel: (212) 365-6652. New York, Brooklyn: SWP, 841 Classon Ave. Zip: 11238. Tel: (212) 783-2135. New York, Lower Manhattan: SWP, YSA, 7 Clinton St. Zip: 10002. Tel: (212) 260-6400. New York, Queens: SWP, YSA, 90-43 149 St. Zip: 11435. Tel: (212) 658-7718. New York, Upper West Side: SWP, YSA, 786 Amsterdam. Zip: 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000. New York: City-wide SWP, YSA, 853 Broadway, Room 412. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 982-8214.

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UTAH: Logan: YSA, P.O. Box 1233, Utah State University. Zip: 84322. Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. P.O. Box 461. Zip: 84110. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699.

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Rhodesian troops massacre Blacks

African leaders denounce Carter's complicity

By David Frankel

Not content with the repeated massacres of Blacks by its troops in Zimbabwe, the Rhodesian government ordered its forces into Zambia and Mozambique October 19 and 20. Hundreds were killed and wounded as Rhodesian helicopters and warplanes struck repeatedly at refugee camps.

Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith, in the midst of a two-week visit to the United States, hailed the bloody raids. "My guess is that there will be another raid today in Mozambique. Maybe another in Zambia tomorrow," declared the outlaw prime minister as he was wined and dined by supporters in Congress and courted by State Department officials.

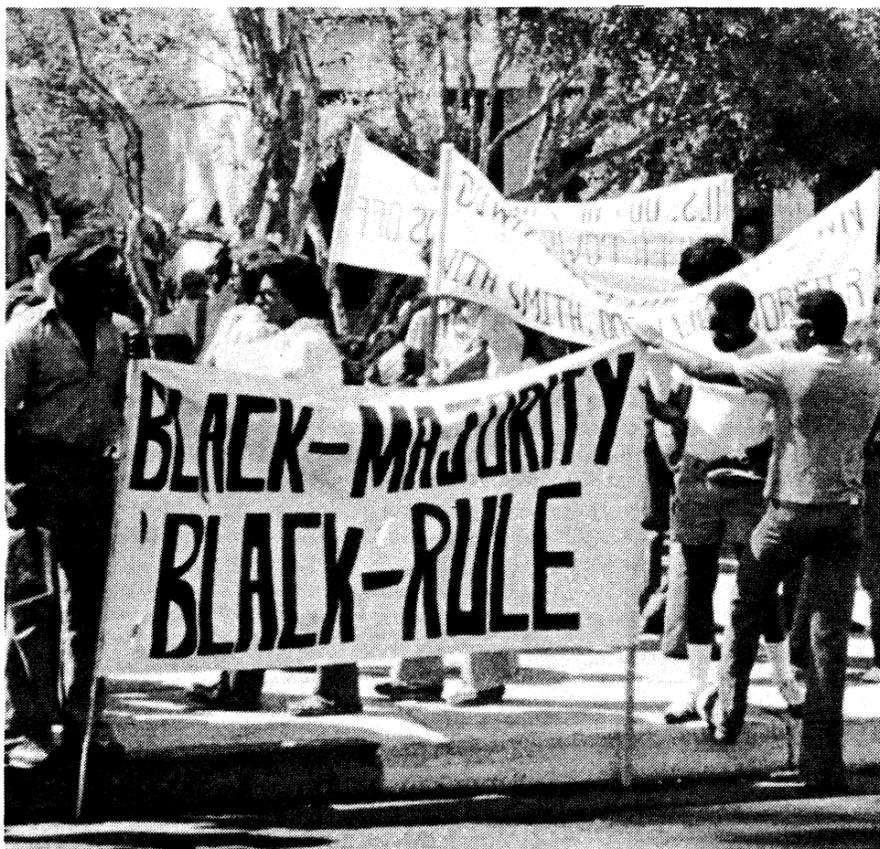
"I hope we go on having bigger and better raids every day until the terrorism ends," Smith added.

Smith, whose government represents 230,000 whites, calls the struggle of Zimbabwe's 6.7 million Blacks for majority rule "terrorism." Meanwhile, the Rhodesian racists are spreading death throughout southern Africa.

Joshua Nkomo, head of the Zimbabwe African People's Union, told reporters October 21 that nearly 3,000 refugees had been housed at Chikumba, twelve miles north of the Zambian capital of Lusaka. Of these, 226 were killed and 629 wounded in the Rhodesian attack.

Although Rhodesian officials claimed that Chikumba was a military base, Nkomo pointed out that United Nations agencies and the International Red Cross, which are barred from ZAPU military bases, had been involved in helping to settle refugees in the camp. *Washington Post* correspondent David Ottaway noted October 21 that UN officials in Lusaka confirmed Nkomo's account.

Elsewhere, nearly 200 people were missing and at least 100 were known dead in the Mkushi camp, which was inhabited almost entirely by young women.



San Diego demonstrators protest Smith visit

Militant/Lori Towns

Washington issued a pro forma condemnation of the Rhodesian attacks, but State Department officials went ahead and met with Smith the day after the raids began. Smith himself noted October 22 that "the U.S. government complained, as we expected them to, about the recent raids into Zambia, but it was a mild complaint."

Despite Smith's brazen declaration that there would be "bigger and better raids" in the future, State Department officials triumphantly announced October 20 that the racist leaders had agreed to enter into negotiations with

the Black guerrilla forces of the Patriotic Front.

In a telephone interview with the *Militant*, Dr. Callistus Ndlovu, the Patriotic Front's representative at the United Nations, denounced the proposed conference as "part of a grand design of imperialism to weaken and isolate the Patriotic Front." Ndlovu insisted that Patriotic Front representatives would not attend any conference designed to reach a compromise with the Smith regime.

The Carter administration is counting on the Black African regimes surrounding Rhodesia to put pressure on

the Patriotic Front to make a deal with Smith. As an October 23 editorial in the *Washington Post* cynically noted, "It will fall first to their [the liberation fighters'] patrons among the 'frontline' states to 'deliver' them."

However, the Black neocolonial regimes have to take into account the sentiments of their own people as well as the demands of imperialism. In Lusaka, *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent John Borrell reported, students demonstrated outside the British and American embassies October 20 to protest the raids. At the same time, they wanted to know why the Zambian regime had done nothing to combat the Rhodesian attack. They surrounded a Zambian Air Force vehicle and chanted, "Where were you? where were you?" at the men in the truck.

Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, who has long been known as one of the Black African leaders most subservient to imperialist interests, declared October 23: "I stand amazed at the lukewarm condemnation of this wanton and dastardly attack on Zambia . . . by the U.S. government and the British government."

"All they have said really amounts to saying to Smith, 'We don't mind what you do.' In other words, it is support."

Following Kaunda's statement, the Carter administration issued a slightly stronger criticism of the Rhodesian raids in order to take its distance from the racist regimes in southern Africa.

But actions speak louder than words. On the same day that Smith's forces were massacring noncombatants in Zambia, U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and South African Prime Minister P.W. Botha issued a joint statement on Namibia.

South Africa, which rules Namibia as a colony, is seeking to set up a puppet government there while declaring the territory formally independent.

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Chicano opposition forces Carter to shelve racist deportation bill

By Harry Ring

For the time being, at least, the Carter deportation plan is dead.

Carter had first presented his racist immigration scheme to Congress fourteen months ago. He shelved it October 5 by quietly signing a bill establishing a commission to "study" the question.

The commission is to report back by September 1980. There is little prospect of any major revision of the immigration laws before then.

The bill to establish the commission was passed by Congress in September, also without fanfare. It was guided through the Senate by Edward

Kennedy (D-Mass.), a supporter of the Carter plan.

A member of Kennedy's staff asserted that revision of the immigration code was too "complicated" to be done without a thorough study. This was echoed by Leonel Castillo, director of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) and also a supporter of the Carter plan.

This sudden desire to "study" the issue represents an about-face.

News of Carter's anti-immigrant plan was first leaked by Secretary of Labor Ray Marshall in February 1977. At that time, Marshall said the administration would "move in a hurry" on

the measure. He said it was "a high priority item for this administration, and it doesn't need any more studies."

But the reactionary measure evoked such broad opposition from Chicanos and others that Carter was on the defensive from the outset. Finally he had to beat a retreat.

The most decisive display of opposition to the Carter plan was the Chicano/Latino conference held in San Antonio, Texas, one year ago.

That gathering of 1,500 represented the broadest array of Chicano and Latino forces united around a single issue since the Vietnam War. It included such forces as the League of

United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), GI Forum, the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF), Socialist Workers Party, Raza Unida Party, and CASA.

Despite this diversity of political views, the gathering was unanimous in its opposition to the Carter plan.

A cover story on Chicanos in the September 11 issue of *New West* magazine commented: "Above all the Chicano leadership has united behind the issue of the undocumented Mexican immigrant."

The article noted that even the ap-
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