

# THE MILITANT

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

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## THE MILITANT

VOLUME 41/NUMBER 17  
MAY 6, 1977  
CLOSING NEWS DATE—APRIL 27

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

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

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscriptions: U.S., \$9.00 a year; outside U.S., \$14.50. By first-class mail: U.S., Canada, and Mexico, \$36.50. Write for surface and airmail rates to all other countries.

For subscriptions airmailed from New York and then posted from London directly to Britain, Ireland, and Continental Europe: £1.50 for eight issues, £3.50 for six months, £6.50 for one year. Send banker's draft or international postal order (payable to Pathfinder Press) to Pathfinder Press, 47 The Cut, London, SE1 8LL, England. Inquire for air rates from London at the same address.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

**WASHINGTON POST PRESS OPERATORS:** Felony charges against fifteen members of press operators Local 6 have been dropped after the unionists agreed to plead guilty to misdemeanors. The original felony frame-up indictments stem from alleged damage to the *Washington Post* presses at the beginning of a strike in October 1975.

Sentencing has been set for May 20 before Judge Sylvia Bacon in the District of Columbia superior court.

Fourteen of the defendants still face penalties of up to \$1,000 and one year in jail on the misdemeanor charges. A fifteenth, who asked to be sentenced immediately, was fined \$250 and given a ninety-day suspended jail sentence.

Local 6 President Everett Forsman explained that the union does "not admit guilt, but accept[s] reality. It is unlikely our men could have received a fair trial."

Forsman added, "Courts refuse to hear evidence which shows powerful corporations like the *Post* to be the real criminals."

Karen Moyer of the Local 6 Legal Defense Committee told an April 16 support rally that the press operators "could still face prison. Our first task is to rally community support so Bacon will know these men should not spend one day in jail."

**OFFICIALS DEFEND SEGREGATED N.Y. SCHOOL:** Andrew Jackson High School in Queens, New York, is 99 percent Black and Hispanic. Jackson's Parents Association in now asking a federal district court to order the state to desegregate the school. But federal and state officials are resisting.

On April 25 U.S. Rep. James Scheuer (D-Queens) opposed desegregating Jackson in testimony before Judge John Dooling. Scheuer said that any tilt of the racial composition of Queens schools—which are now 54 percent white—would cause "whites to flee the city." State Education Commissioner Ewald Nyquist testified April 19 that "changing Andrew Jackson would have kept us from having stable integration in the entire school district."

These arguments encourage efforts by racist whites to maintain better schools for their children at the expense of Blacks and Hispanics. Scheuer, Nyquist, and other New York capitalist politicians are catering to a sentiment expressed by Judge Dooling. "You can't make an integration order around this neighborhood without all hell bursting loose," Dooling said.

**COORS BEER ON UNION-BUSTING DRIVE:** The notoriously racist, sexist, antiunion Adolph Coors Company forced 1,472 employees at its Golden, Colorado, plant to go out on strike April 5. They had been working without a contract since December.

The major issue is not wages but "human rights," according to Dwight Sickler, executive board member of Brewery Workers Local 366. Sickler says the union was willing to accept a meager 7 percent pay increase offered by Coors. But, he says, "the company wants to be able to require workers to take a physical exam and a lie detector test at any time, and to discharge them if they refuse." The company also wants to roll back past union gains and institute the open shop.

The union says that a company telephone campaign has succeeded in pressuring a third of its members back to work by misrepresenting Local 366's bargaining position.

The union is calling for a boycott of Coors beer.

**LA. PUBLIC WORKERS DEMAND WAGE HIKE:** More than 300 angry public employees rallied in New Orleans April 15 to demand a long-overdue wage increase. Half of the state's 60,000 public workers now earn \$500 or less a month. It has been two years since state workers received any increase. The majority of workers at the rally—which was called by the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, District Council 17—were Blacks and women.

Last year, state legislators received a raise doubling their salary for an eighty-five-day work year from \$6,000 to \$12,000.

**ASSATA SHAKUR SENTENCED:** Judge Theodore Appleby sentenced Assata Shakur (Joanne Chesimard) to twenty-six to thirty-three years in prison on frame-up assault and weapons charges April 25. This sentence will run consecutively with the life sentence imposed on Shakur after her conviction last month for the murder of New Jersey State Trooper Werner Foerster in 1973.

Shakur, who was accused of being a member of the "Black Liberation Army," told the judge her trial had been "a sham, a charade, a lynching."

Reflecting the racist hysteria whipped up against Shakur throughout her trial, Middlesex County prosecutor Edward Barone called her "an animal" at the sentencing hearing. Defense attorney Lewis Meyers angrily shot back, "Mrs. Chesimard is a Black woman, not an animal."

Shakur will not be eligible for parole for at least twenty-one years. Her lawyers are seeking to have a mistrial declared.

**PROTEST TUITION HIKES AT U OF MIAMI:** More than 700 students attended an April 22 rally called by the student government at the University of Miami to protest a \$200-a-year tuition increase. The increase is the fifth in six years. Three thousand students have signed petitions opposing the tuition hike.

After the rally, 400 students walked into the administration building, seeking to discuss the increase with university President Henry King Stanford. Stanford was not in his office. He refused to have any discussions, saying he would call in the police to clear the students out.

The students refused to go. Police arrested thirty-one of them, including all participating student government leaders.

The next day Stanford threatened that the arrested students would "probably be suspended or expelled." *Militant* correspondent Jeff Feather reports that plans are under way to defend the victimized students and to continue the tuition-hike protests.

**BOSTON'S RACIST 'JUSTICE':** Following a sharp escalation of racist attacks on Boston's Black community last spring, Richard Poleet—a white motorist who happened to be driving through Roxbury—was dragged from his car and severely beaten by Black youths. One year later, on April 15, a Suffolk County District Court jury convicted two nineteen-year-old Blacks—Randolph Lewis and Darrel Weaver—of "assault with intent to murder and armed robbery" in connection with the Poleet beating. Another Black youth, Stanley Young, was cleared of all charges.

The two convicted youths now face a maximum life sentence for armed robbery and a minimum sentence of ten years for armed assault.

There were only three prosecution witnesses. They are all also facing charges of having participated in the beating of Poleet. All three admit that parts of their testimony were fabricated.

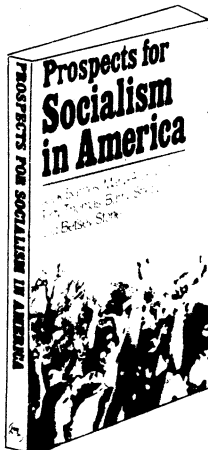
Several defense witnesses testified that Lewis was elsewhere at the time of the attack on Poleet. Weaver's attorney, charging that the prosecution "didn't prove its case," did not offer a defense. Weaver intends to appeal.

The April 15 conviction stands in sharp contrast to the failure to prosecute those responsible for hundreds of incidents of violence directed against Blacks by antibusing forces since school desegregation began in Boston three years ago. These racist attacks created the climate of frustration that led to the attack on Poleet.

—Peter Seidman

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## NYC District 1 school race

# Garza: 'Vote for Por los Niños slate'

By Jane Roland

NEW YORK—"Por los Niños is the parents' slate," says Catarino Garza. "I'm going to vote for them May 3, and I urge all my campaign supporters living in the Lower East Side to also vote for the Por los Niños/Save the Children slate."

Garza, Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor of New York City, is a resident and activist on the Lower East Side of Manhattan. He explained his support to the slate in an interview with the *Militant*.

"Por los Niños is dedicated to the fight for decent education for all children," Garza said.

The goal of the Por los Niños ten-point program is to secure the right of Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese parents in school District One to control the education of their children.

It calls for an end to cutbacks and to discrimination based on sex, race, class, or citizenship. It pledges support to bilingual and multicultural education reflecting the heritage of the children in the schools, who are overwhelmingly Puerto Rican, Chinese, or Black.

The main opponent of the Por los Niños slate is the "Brotherhood" slate, which now controls the school board. This slate was put together and is backed by the racist United Federation of Teachers officialdom headed by Albert Shanker.

Since its election two years ago, the "Brotherhood" board majority has followed Shanker's policies of subordinating the interests of teachers and students to the Democratic party and to preserving a white job trust in the union.

The board majority flatly refused a \$334,000 federal grant to implement bilingual programs. And, in the words of the Por los Niños program, it "has stood by taking a cowardly stance while our children's programs are destroyed, schools are closed, school days cut, and teachers and paraprofessionals fired."

"Look at the program of the 'Brotherhood' slate," Garza said. "It's full of

code words for racism. The 'Brotherhood' slate says: 'We stopped the reign of terror in District One schools,' and 'We replaced incompetent and inexperienced supervisors.'

"Their 'terror' is Black and Puerto Rican students confronting racism in school," Garza said. "Their 'incompetent' and 'inexperienced' supervisors were Luis Fuentes—who was the first Puerto Rican school superintendent in this city—and the Black and Puerto Rican principals brought in when community forces controlled the school board."

The "Brotherhood" slate also says, "We turned the bilingual program into a valuable educational tool, enabling students to learn while mastering English."

Garza—a bilingual teacher and UFT member who is on leave while running for mayor—responds, "The purpose of bilingual education is not only to teach English. Children have the right to learn their own language and culture, and to be taught by teachers who reflect their own background."

"The situation in District One is that 92 percent of the children are Puerto Rican, Black, or Chinese, but only 2 percent of the teachers come from those groups."

I asked Garza about the slate proposed by District-Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. D.C. 37 wanted to list together sixteen candidates for the nine community school board seats, including five Por los Niños candidates, five "Brotherhood" candidates, and six who are running as individuals. The Por los Niños coalition rejected this endorsement.

"Two years ago D.C. 37 endorsed the parents' slate in the last election," Garza said. "But what has changed since then?"

"Por los Niños is right in opposing D.C. 37's maneuver. These 'Brotherhood' people are the same racists we've been fighting for a decade. D.C. 37 should reverse its position and endorse the parents' slate as it has done in the past."

# CMU committee urges: don't gag free speech

By Meg Hayes

MT. PLEASANT, Mich.—Restrictive regulations cited in the arrest of three Young Socialist Alliance members at Central Michigan University should be thrown off the books.

That is the official recommendation made to CMU President Harold Abel by an advisory committee of students, professors, and administrators.

The twelve-member committee was created by Abel last fall in response to charges that Brigid Douglas, Jim Garrison, and Tom Smith—arrested while distributing socialist literature on campus—were victims of "arbitrary and restrictive" rules concerning political activity. Abel apparently expected the committee to brush these charges aside.

Instead, over the objections of administration representatives, the committee adopted a written statement defending the sales and distribution of literature by political groups as a matter of free speech. According to committee chairperson Bennie Graves, there should be "no restriction" placed on free speech except "where there is a clear threat to health or safety."

"The administration should accept its recommendation," wrote the *Central Michigan Life* editorial board April 1. Not to do so, the campus paper argued, would place the university in the position of denying students the right to "make up their own mind" and

to "decide for themselves."

Abel has so far refused to comment on the committee's recommendation. But the heat is certainly on for some kind of shake-up.

"I think we will make some changes," Abel told a *CM Life* reporter March 30, "but I'm not willing to state specifically at this time what they will be."

Not the least of the necessary changes is dropping the criminal prosecution of the three YSA members.

"The university's entire case for putting us behind bars has fallen completely flat," said Brigid Douglas. "Everyone can plainly see that the real issue at stake is political rights. If CMU continues to press its ridiculous charges, free speech itself will go on trial."

The Committee for Free Speech, a nonpartisan group of student leaders, professors, and civil liberties advocates, is organizing public support for the defense of the socialists.

Among its new sponsors is Florence Luscomb, longtime women's rights activist. Other sponsors include the National Student Association, Michigan American Civil Liberties Union, and U.S. Rep. John Conyers.

For more information contact the Committee for Free Speech, Post Office Box 626, Mt. Pleasant, Michigan 48858.

## Socialism: can it work?

By Diane Wang

If you go to the headquarters of the Socialist Workers party Fenway-South End branch in Boston on a Wednesday night you are likely to find eight to ten people talking about "What is Socialism."

It is a varied group. It might include Boston University students who are active in the Student Coalition Against Racism, members of a radical collective from New Hampshire studying socialist groups, a Puerto Rican high school student, and several young working people.

The Fenway-South End branch sponsors the weekly classes for

"But the question asked most often, what is in the back of everyone's mind," says Gurewitz, "is *can it be done?* How can we fight the cutbacks and racism and sexism? Can socialism be won?"

Five people attending the classes the last two months have decided it can be done, and that the best way to fight what is wrong in this society is to join the SWP.

For example, Janet Bracy, a social worker, recently joined. Janet has not been in any other political groups. But she was interested in feminist ideas. When she came across the *Militant* and pamphlets written by SWP members, Janet wanted to know what socialists had to say about feminism.

While attending Friday night Militant Forums (weekly discussions about topical political questions) Janet picked up a brochure inviting her to the "What is Socialism?" series. There she decided that people who want to fight for women's rights should join the SWP.

Dick Ely, a twenty-nine-year-old nursing student, did not get to attend all the classes. But he made a special effort to go to the last class about the SWP.

Dick had first bought the *Militant* at an anti-Vietnam War demonstration several years ago. He had come to a few socialist campaign rallies and forums. After hearing about the SWP's provisional membership (a three-month period that gives people a chance to be active and get to know the party before deciding definitely to join) Dick also decided to try it out.

If you would like to know more about socialism or want to join the SWP, contact the branch nearest you (listed on page 31) or write the SWP, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

## How to vote

Because of the complicated system of proportional representation, it's important to vote in the following manner: All candidates are listed as individuals, not by slate. Get a Por los Niños palm card when you go to vote. They will be distributed outside all polling places. To vote Por los Niños, rank the candidates on the ballot 1, 2, 3, up to 7. Use the order on the palm card you receive.

Do not put an X or other mark next to the seven candidates. They must be ranked by number or the ballot will be disqualified. Ballots are available in English, Spanish, or Chinese.

The seven Por los Niños/Save the Children candidates are:

os/Save the Children candidates are:

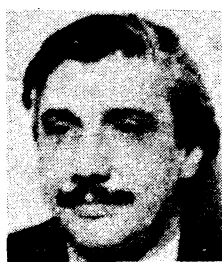
- Rosa Ambrose, parent at Public School 64;
- María Barreto, student at Seward Park High School;
- William Carlotti, parent at P.S. 34;
- Carmen Díaz, parent at P.S. 61 and member of the Puerto Rican Socialist party;
- Rev. David García of St. Mark's church;
- Hector LaVergne, parent and community activist; and
- Nicomedes Sánchez, chairperson of the Puerto Rican Association for Community Affairs and member of the Socialist Workers party.



Ambrose



Barreto



Carlotti



Sánchez



LaVergne



García



Díaz



# CARTER'S ENERGY PLAN:

## Higher fuel prices mean fatter profits

By Dick Roberts

The essence of President Carter's energy program was summed up by *New York Times* columnist James Reston, a week before Carter announced the program on national TV.

Reston asked what Carter and James Schlesinger, Carter's energy chief, have in common: "Philosophically," said Reston, "they are very much the same: They are troubled by the slackness of American life, and want the American people to face up and shape up. Both of them are talking, not merely about a higher price of gas but a new austere way of American life."

What the Carter administration is really after is not merely higher prices and higher profits for the energy trust. Its goal is to make working people tighten their belts: to accept less gas, less heat, less pay.

Above all the energy program that Carter proposed is part of the softening up process that the American ruling class wants to put working people through—softening us up for more inflation, fewer jobs, and less economic growth.

Here are Carter's main proposals, which along with others may require more than twenty-five congressional bills:

- **A tax on crude oil at the wellhead to raise currently lower domestic oil prices to world price levels.** The oil companies would pay the government a tax equal to the difference between the controlled domestic prices and world prices.

Of course the oil companies would then pass the cost of these taxes on to consumers, raising the prices of all gasoline and home heating oil. World prices are now about \$14.50 a barrel compared to domestic prices of \$5.25 per barrel.

- **Rebates of the oil, gasoline, and other taxes.** Consumers would be compensated for higher oil and gasoline prices by having the government refund the taxes it collects to consumers. The refunds would be credits on income taxes.

Carter offered this proposal in hopes of making the whole package more

salesworthy. And as such, it is the most negotiable part. In a press conference two days after submitting the energy plan, Carter admitted he couldn't "certify today that every nickel of taxes collected will be re-funded to customers."

- **A higher price ceiling for interstate gas and government control over the intrastate market.** (Intrastate natural gas is produced and sold in the same state and is not currently subject to federal price controls.)

This would immediately raise the prices of all natural gas about 20 percent. The energy trust is clamoring for even higher prices.

- **Establish a category of "new oil" and "new gas."** This would include any well drilled more than five miles from an existing well, even in oil fields. "New oil" would be allowed to rise to full world prices with no taxes over a three-year period.

This is the grand prize for the oil trust. As more and more gas and oil come from new wells, more and more domestic oil will sell at world market prices, allowing the monopolists to reap superprofits. This has been the main goal of the energy trusts for more than a decade.

- **Tax on "gas guzzling" cars.**

Combined with higher gas prices to begin with, this could be the toughest part of the proposal for working people who must drive to work.

Almost as if to underline the point that the White House is concerned about corporate profits and not people's needs, Carter's proposals completely excluded urban mass transportation. The government should undertake a major expansion and overhaul of the rundown mass transit system of the big cities.

- **Conversion to coal and nuclear energy by utilities.** Taxes would be imposed on utilities (and industries) that continue to use oil and natural gas to encourage them to use coal and nuclear energy.

This would require massive elimination of environmental and job-safety legislation in coal strip-mining and



Carter's warning to American workers to prepare for 'the moral equivalent of war' prompted this apt comment by 'Time' magazine's cover designer.

even higher energy prices. (For more on nuclear production see Arnold Weissberg's article on the next page.)

- **Standby gasoline tax.** Taxes up to 5 cents a gallon would be imposed each year gasoline consumption in the country exceeded some stated targets.

This is the red flag they'll wave in order to scare people and distract attention from the rest of the legislation, which, if passed, will already sharply raise gasoline, oil, natural gas, and all other energy prices anyway.

### Big business applauds

If there were any questions about the meaning of the program, its speedy endorsement by big business should have cleared them up. The American Petroleum Institute commended Carter for "bringing the nation's energy situation into focus." The National Coal Association commended the president "for [his] frank report to Congress concerning the costs and risks to the nation of not dealing with our energy problems."

In fact the energy trust was so effusive with its praise that Carter let it be known they should make some criticisms and take him off the hook. When they did, the *New York Times* reported on its April 25 front page that the energy trust criticism of Carter "appeared to confirm that the energy industries had grasped what the political grapevine [in Washington] has been saying—that the White House would welcome a broadside attack by big energy companies because it would tend to build support for the program in Congress and divert public attention from the fact that the essence of the Carter plan was higher energy prices."

If the *New York Times* had added "higher profits," the point would be complete.

### Imperialist aims

Buried below the myths about imminent global shortages of gas and petroleum are the real reasons why the energy trust and the White House are

demanding higher domestic oil prices.

Their aim is to strengthen the world power of U.S. monopoly. Carter's proposals themselves show that higher prices of Middle East oil are not now and never have been a concern of the energy trust. They want to make domestic oil as expensive as *Middle East oil*. They have always been able to pass on the high prices of imported oil to consumers.

The increased domestic production and higher profits that would flow from Carter's proposal will give the U.S. energy trust a freer hand in world competition with its imperialist rivals abroad and greater bullying power against the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC).

Imported oil now runs more than 40 percent of the oil consumed in this country and the White House has no prospect of eliminating these imports.

Although the OPEC countries own the oil in the ground and get some benefits from selling it, the overwhelming mass of the refining and global distribution of oil remains owned by imperialist monopolies like Exxon, Gulf, and Texaco. These firms reap vast profits from selling this oil internationally. And they are not about to relinquish those profits.

### Environment

Carter's proposals include a few verbal sops to environmentalists. The increased use of coal and nuclear energy that the proposals call for is supposed to be hedged with environmental and safety regulation.

But the whole thrust of the capitalists' energy program belies these promises. And it is such window dressing that will be whittled away in Congress.

A news analysis in the April 21 *Washington Post* listed some of the problems involved in increasing production:

- "It would require a huge increase

*Continued on page 30*

## Phony CIA energy study

President Carter claims that global oil and natural gas supplies are rapidly running out. But his only new "evidence" is a secret CIA report supposedly prepared especially for the White House.

Here's what the *Wall Street Journal* had to say about the CIA report:

"CIA's warning of future oil shortages was a cooked-up job. Energy officials concede that the report released by the White House contained nothing new. All the information had been previously published: none of it deserved a 'secret' label. 'Ex-CIA chief Schlesinger got together with some of his old buddies and put out this thing as a PR effort,' says one official."

Also commenting on the fake CIA report, the *Washington Post* revealed April 21 that the CIA "puts the remaining reserves in Saudi Arabia at 170 billion barrels. But Saudi government officials privately estimate their reserves at about 300 billion barrels."

Carter's scare-mongering was also disputed by energy experts who met under United Nations auspices last summer.

They "reported that the world probably has enough of both [gas and oil] for another hundred years," according to the April 25 *New York Daily News*.

The *News* continued, "A report compiled by geologists, engineers, economists and systems analysts at a United Nations conference stated that oil and gas would become increasingly available because of 'the ceaseless technical advances' in the industry."

A key part of combating Carter's program is the demand to open the books of the energy trust. Their secrets must see the light of day. Environmentalists and working people should fight together to expose the polluting and safety-threatening operations of the energy industries.

—D.R.



# WAR ON U.S. WORKERS

## 'Open the books of the oil corporations'

The following statement was released April 27 by Dennis Brasky, Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor of Chicago.

The White House energy plan is the latest salvo in a bipartisan assault on the living conditions of American workers.

Carter says that working people must respond with the "moral equivalent of war" to the so-called energy crisis. Harking back to World War II days, he hopes to whip up a "let's all sacrifice for the good of the country" atmosphere.

During the patriotic frenzy of those times, Washington and Wall Street—with the collaboration of the trade-union bureaucracy—were able to bar most strikes and impose severe belt-tightening measures on the American people.

That's what the ruling rich are after today as well. They want to boost their profits by driving down our living standards and expectations.

The new energy program was announced only a few days after Carter had successfully enlisted the aid of AFL-CIO President George Meany in a plan to police wages and promote speedup on the job. Meany agreed to serve on an "informal" joint labor-management "advisory" committee.

Carter called that antilabor scheme his "anti-inflation" program.

The government's target in this austerity drive is the entire American working class. But in each case—from cutbacks in funding for hospitals and schools, to Carter's broken promises on jobs, the minimum wage, and national health

insurance—it is Blacks and other oppressed nationalities who suffer first and the most.

The goal of the administration's energy proposals is to raise the profits of the giant energy trusts and utilities. How?

- By driving up the price of gasoline, electricity, and heating fuel.

- And by chopping away at pollution controls and job-safety regulations that interfere with their insatiable hunger for profits.

Despite a few verbal crumbs thrown to environmentalists, the thrust of Carter's proposals was clear: *More* strip mining. *More* "special exceptions" to clean-air standards. *More* reliance on unsafe nuclear reactors.

The capitalist government also wants to weaken the position of the United Mine Workers union in the contract talks coming up this fall. A



Militant/Cassandra Dowden

DENNIS BRASKY

national energy hysteria, the bosses hope, will turn public sentiment against the mine workers in the event of a coal strike, making it easier to break or defeat.

Carter tries to justify these drastic measures by warning of an impending energy "catastrophe."

But today the only source of information about the world's fuel reserves is the phony figures drawn up by the energy monopolies themselves. These trusts have billions of dollars in profits at stake in selling us on an "energy shortage."

Carter tried to counteract the mounting public distrust in the energy monopolies by having the CIA concoct a report on current reserves. *But this report was based on data provided by these very corporations.*

That aside, a supersecret agency of spies and assassins is hardly a source inspiring confidence among the American people.

The only way to uncover the truth is to open the records of the energy corporations and utilities to public scrutiny, so that committees of trade unionists and consumers can inspect them.

*The American people have a right to know the facts. And they're not going to get them any other way.*

Not from phony corporate reports.

Not from a CIA snow job.

Not from federal "regulatory agencies" that are tied hand and foot to the corporations they supposedly monitor.

Rather than looking to the employers' government to meet this need, working people ought to rely on their own power and their own organizations.

For example, unions whose members play a direct role in energy production, such as the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers and the United Mine Workers, could expose the energy fraud by initiating a conference of unionists and consumers to mount a national campaign demanding: "Open the books!"

The White House, Congress, and the two ruling parties that control them are all fronting for big business.

The Democrats and Republicans agree that oil and utility profits must be higher.

They agree that energy prices and electricity rates must be jacked up.

They agree that environmental and job-safety regulations are "too costly" and must be weakened.

In fighting these attacks on our living conditions, working people will find no friends or allies among Democratic and Republican politicians.

We need our own political party—a mass labor party based on a revitalized trade-union movement. A labor party would expose the energy trust and fight the employers' belt-tightening schemes—not only in Congress but also through mass mobilizations of working people.

A labor party would fight to open the books of the oil trusts and utilities.

It would fight to nationalize the energy corporations and to ensure that these industries are run by and for working people.

Only then will the world's vital resources be used to meet human needs, not manipulated and squandered for the profit of a handful.

## President pushes for more nuclear reactors

By Arnold Weissberg

Barely mentioned in the media analysis of Jimmy Carter's energy program—and passed over quickly by the president himself—is a plan to double the number of nuclear power plants.

Carter has tried to mollify opponents of unsafe nuclear power by cutting back on the extremely hazardous breeder reactor.

His April 20 speech to Congress, however, made his real intentions clear. The use of nuclear energy, Carter said, must now be increased.

Carter also wants to chop away at the already minimal safeguards on nuclear energy. He wants to standardize reactor design, he says, so that each one won't have to be licensed—and proven safe—individually.

That's because Carter thinks that nuclear reactors are already safe: "Light water reactors have a good safety record," asserts the president's "fact sheet" on his energy program.

His rosy view of nuclear energy isn't shared by a large group of outstanding scientists, including several Nobel Prize winners.

It isn't shared by three top General Electric nuclear engineers or a U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission engineer, all of whom quit their jobs last year because they knew how dangerous nuclear power is.

They don't agree with Carter because they know his optimism isn't supported by the facts.

Nuclear power plants are supposed to be the pinnacle of engineering and design. On paper, at least, every contingency is planned for.

But in practice, accidents happen.

For example, in an astounding chain of mishaps, a candle used by a maintenance worker at the Brown's Ferry, Alabama, nuclear reactor nearly led to a core meltdown—in which the radioactive core of the generator melts through the surrounding insulation.

Radioactive steam and gases would have been released into the atmosphere. A meltdown could kill up to 36,000 people.

If the reactor's main cooling system fails, a backup system is supposed to take over. But one such backup system failed a computer simulation six out of six times.

The near-disaster at Brown's Ferry is only one of a long series that have plagued nuclear power plants.

The main problem with nuclear reactors today isn't human error. The problem is that they aren't designed with safety as the most important consideration.

Nuclear energy is very big business. General Electric, the largest supplier of nuclear plant equipment, sold more than \$400 million worth in 1975. GE doesn't want to cut into its hefty profits by designing nuclear plants for safe use. Safety costs money.

The same profit-oriented, "cost cutting" outlook is shared by the giant utilities that operate the plants.

And the federal agencies that supposedly regulate nuclear power are notorious for their bias toward these giant corporations. Both the Republican party and Carter's Democratic party are controlled from top to bottom by these moneyed interests that put profits first and safety last.

A serious problem Carter only mentioned in his program is radioactive

waste. One of the by-products of uranium fission is plutonium, which stays radioactive for 500,000 years. No one has any idea what to do with it. The waste problem is compounded by a mounting volume of less radioactive items such as coveralls, gloves, and trash. Up to now, the stuff has just been buried. But burial site after burial site has proved leaky.

Plutonium and other wastes have been blown miles away by wind, dissolved in ground water, and spilled out of storage drums.

One problem Carter didn't mention at all is the skyrocketing cost of uranium. Pegged under six dollars in 1972, each pound of the nuclear fuel

now goes for forty-one dollars.

The *Wall Street Journal* revealed April 25 that the price had been jacked up by an international cartel that included Gulf Oil. Gulf is one of the international oil giants that rigged the very "energy crisis" that nuclear power is supposed to help solve.

Forty-one-dollar uranium means that nuclear energy won't be any cheaper than it is safe.

Another problem that the president didn't see fit to bring up is the terrible immediate toll on the environment wreaked by nuclear reactors.

Sucking up to a billion gallons of water each day from neighboring

*Continued on page 30*



# NOW national conference

## 2,000 feminists debate strategy

By Nancy Cole

DETROIT—Nearly 2,000 women gathered here April 21-24 for the annual conference of the National Organization for Women. The conference celebrated NOW's tenth anniversary, and a debate over political perspectives for the second decade worked its way to the surface.

The first scheduled event was a march and rally of 1,000 in pouring rain to demand ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. The women were angry about the latest ERA defeats, and the protest demonstrated a willingness on their part to do something about the assault on their right to equality.

Many members of NOW had come to the conference concerned that victories for women won during NOW's first decade—the right to legal abortions, affirmative action in hiring and promotions, child-care programs—were in danger of being lost.

Many of the 770 delegates and the 1,200 members (who had speaking but not voting rights) were in Detroit to discuss these problems, to exchange ideas, and to decide on a course to turn the tide against the enemies of women's rights.

These women succeeded in making their voices heard, initiating a discussion on how to respond to the dangers facing NOW and the women's movement.

### Avoid scrutiny

Other members of NOW, unfortunately, had a different kind of conference in mind. The new national leadership wanted to prevent a full discussion of political perspectives and to avoid any close scrutiny of their proposals for action.

One method used by newly elected President Eleanor Smeal and others was to stress the theme of "unity" within NOW over a strategy to win the Equal Rights Amendment. Those who differed with that strategy could then be branded disrupters, uninterested in building NOW and in winning the ERA.

On the first day of the conference,

In order to cloud discussion of this perspective, opponents of the resolution branded it a Socialist Workers party resolution. Supporters of this independent perspective were dubbed "dupes" of the SWP.

Leaders of NOW charged the SWP had brought a "hidden agenda" to the conference. This frenzied campaign to discredit the ideas supported by members of the SWP along with many other women at the conference finally erupted in a last-minute, hysterical red-baiting motion. The motion, which passed, "protested" the SWP's attempts to "use" NOW to bring the SWP's "agenda" before the public.

### 'Hidden agenda'

But who had the "hidden agenda"? Was it the women who came to the conference urging a full, open debate over NOW's future course? Or was it the NOW leaders who wanted to use the meeting to make official their plans to transform NOW into a "force" within the Democratic party?

Supporters of the resolution on Defending Women's Rights openly circulated their proposal. It was reported on and reprinted in several major women's publications, including *Majority Report* and *Off Our Backs*. Numerous NOW chapters had discussed it prior to the conference.

A caucus formed to support the resolution held daily meetings open to all conference participants. More than 250 women attended.

Members of the caucus took the floor during workshops and plenaries, explained their perspective, and urged those who disagreed to bring the debate into the open. The resolution, however, never officially reached the floor for discussion.

The conference agenda was set up to avoid such a debate. The campaigning and election of officers took up the bulk of plenary sessions. Discussion on resolutions for the coming year's activities was relegated to the very last four hours of the conference, on Sunday afternoon.

To many women this seemed backwards. The logical order—and that



Militant/Nancy Cole

NOW PRESIDENT SMEAL: Trying to make NOW a 'force' within Democratic party.

of our determination to build NOW and to make it grow," she continued. "But I think in terms of the strategy we have been using, there is a great deal of discussion that must come out on the floor.

"Karen DeCrow said today that it is not our fault that the ERA was not passed. But I would maintain that it is our default. . . . I think we need to discuss this out in detail and have these issues presented to the membership before we can have any decision on candidates."

The proposal to amend the agenda was defeated.

Two resolutions constituted the program of the NOW leadership. They were a proposal to set up a National ERA Strike Force, and a proposal to launch a national Political Action Committee.

The strike force, a small committee appointed by and headed by the NOW president, would be "charged with planning overall strategy" at all levels of the organization to win the ERA.

The Political Action Committee would collect contributions and deliver them to the candidates of NOW's choice.

"There is no way we're going to get the ERA without changing the composition of state legislatures," national board member Toni Caraballo said under discussion of the PAC proposal.

Unlike other votes during the plenaries—when about 75 percent of delegates voted with the leadership—the vote on the PAC proposal was close. The chairperson called for a standing vote before declaring the resolution passed.

As the Defending Women's Rights resolution gained wider circulation and became a topic of discussion in more workshops, the NOW leaders demagogically stepped up their claims to favor a "multiplicity of tactics."

Yet in a workshop on the ERA, Smeal declared she would "work against" a resolution submitted by New York City delegate Dianne Feeley. That proposal urged NOW to call a demonstration for some date in the fall to protest all the attacks on women's rights.

Smeal and others charged that supporters of a massive, independent women's movement favored only one tactic to the exclusion of all others. Members of the Defending Women's Rights caucus took every opportunity to explain to the entire conference that the debate was not over one tactic versus many—but rather, over the strategy for winning women's rights.

### 'Militancy'

By the time Smeal gave her acceptance speech on Sunday, she was promising an ERA campaign that would include "high visibility and militancy."

But the discussion at the conference and the methods employed by the leadership here proved this to be rhetoric.

To organize a campaign of "high visibility and militancy," NOW would have to turn to the women most willing to be visible and militant. These are the women with the most to lose in the current war against women's rights—Black, Puerto Rican, Chicana, and other working-class women.

To reach these women, NOW would have to place high priority on their needs; it would have to defend their rights, including abortion, affirmative-action programs, child care, and protection against sterilization abuse.

Rather than declare NOW's desire to recruit these women in massive numbers during the next year, Smeal chose to emphasize a campaign to reach out to "homemakers."

The message of this focus is clear: NOW leaders intend to maintain the image of the group as a white, middle-class movement.

The NOW leaders failed to address any issues except the ERA, and they actually stifled discussion on the other issues of vital concern to Black and other working women.

A conference resolutions committee "prioritized" resolutions in the order they were to be discussed. Some resolutions were prioritized right out of existence.

A resolution from NOW members in Minneapolis was declared a "local matter" and referred to the national board. The resolution sought reversal of a racist Twin Cities NOW report charging that state affirmative-action programs profited Black men at the expense of women.

Another resolution, from California NOW members, asked the conference to reaffirm NOW's stand against forced sterilization and to go on record in support of guidelines to curb sterilization abuse. The proposal was intended to counter a California state board stand against such guidelines in that state.

This resolution was omitted from the list of proposals to be discussed, with no explanation given.

The first category of resolutions was the ERA. Of seven resolutions, the ERA Strike Force proposal was first, the resolution on Defending Women's Rights, last.

The entire time allotment for all seven was thirty minutes. Needless to say, only the first resolution—the strike force—was voted on. It passed.

A resolution on Women of the Oppressed Nationalities was also omitted from the resolutions committee list. This resolution had been endorsed by the Minority Women workshop, which met several times during the conference.

The proposal urged NOW to organize activities that could reach out to and



Militant/Nancy Cole

Defending Women's Rights caucus meetings attracted more than 200 women

before any political discussion had taken place, outgoing President Karen DeCrow told reporters that "every NOW member agrees on political action." She went on to describe that action, which included working to elect "pro-ERA" Democrats in 1978, urging President Carter to set an ERA blitz campaign, and launching an economic boycott of unratified states.

As early as February, more than eighty women from around the country had submitted a resolution for discussion at the conference that proposed a road for NOW in stark contrast to the one outlined by DeCrow.

Called "Defending Women's Rights in the Second Decade," this resolution would have NOW launch a drive, independent of the Democratic and Republican parties, to counter the right-wing attacks on women's rights with a massive educational and action campaign.

most productive and democratic—would be for the political discussion and decisions on priorities for the coming year to precede the elections.

Supporters of the Defending Women's Rights caucus—and participants in the Minority Women workshop, abortion rights workshop, and others—urged remedying this somewhat. They requested that a two-hour slot be inserted in the agenda on Saturday for an initial discussion of the resolutions.

### Unity

"Yesterday at a press conference, Karen DeCrow said there was unity in NOW," Clare Fraenzl said in arguing for the agenda adjustment. Fraenzl, vice-president for liaison of the Philadelphia chapter, was an initiator along with Rhonda Rutherford of the Defending Women's Rights resolution.

"Well, I think there is unity in terms



Militant/Anne Teesdale

FRAENZL: 'Unity in building NOW, but not on strategy.'



# for movement

recruit Black, Chicana, Puerto Rican, Native American, and Asian women. (See page 9.)

Participants in the Minority Women workshop demanded that this proposal be put on the plenary floor for discussion. This motion was passed.

The resolution as amended called for concrete activities as well as a national committee on minority women to help carry out these actions.

Opponents of the resolution, who did not want to come out and openly oppose a campaign to recruit Black women, sought to disguise their objections. Jeane Bendorff, California state coordinator of NOW, moved to separate the action part of the resolution from the proposal to establish a committee.

The rest of the scheduled half-hour discussion was taken up with parliamentary filibustering. Delegates then voted up the committee proposal and defeated the proposals for action.

Not one person had expressed her objections to the defeated resolution.

To the outrage of many delegates, opponents even applauded and cheered this insulting vote against the Black and Latina members of NOW.

Pat Wright, a Black NOW member from Brooklyn, went to the microphone. "What this conference has just done here in front of the press is a scandal for NOW," she said.

"By voting against this resolution, we have hurt NOW's ability to reach out to Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicana women."

## Rumors

Throughout the conference, rumors circulated about threatened "disruptions" by members of the Socialist Workers party.

The leading role played by Black, Chicana, and Puerto Rican women in bringing to the fore issues of concern to the most exploited women was attributed to a "take-over" of the Minority Women workshop by "militant" Black SWP members.

There was even an insidious effort to incite white NOW members against Black and Latina women. As the resolution on Women of the Oppressed Nationalities was defeated, rumors of a "riot" swept the plenary. Security guards were obviously alerted and an unusually large number milled in the hallway.

This atmosphere was bolstered by a slanderous article in the Los Angeles County *NOW Times* called "SWP: A Study in Political Parasitism." It was widely distributed to those attending the conference.

This attack backfired right from the start.

At the first meeting of the Defending Women's Rights caucus on Friday night, Esther Kaw, NOW national vice-president for public relations, stormed to the front of the room.

She explained that she had come to the conference "fully prepared to vote against this resolution" on Defending Women's Rights. But after reading the piece of "yellow journalism" in the *NOW Times*, she decided to support the resolution.

"I'm not a member of the Socialist Workers party," she said. "I'm not going to ever be. . . . But I don't think this is the way to handle disagreements."

Kaw went on to refute the charge that the SWP was "using" Black, Chicana, and other women of oppressed nationalities.

"I'm going to tell you. I'm Chicana, and it ain't all that easy to use me!"

At the scheduled adjournment time, supporters of the Defending Women's Rights resolution and the resolution on Women of the Oppressed Nationalities held a brief caucus meeting to discuss

their next steps in carrying forward this discussion in NOW chapters across the country.

After these women left the conference hall, Smeal took the microphone to call the press into the hall for an important announcement.

## Near hysteria

Women attending the caucus meeting learned of this and immediately returned to the hall, where an atmosphere of near hysteria prevailed. Valerie Coffee, a Black woman who is co-coordinator of Trenton, New Jersey, NOW, was at the microphone, objecting to a news conference allegedly called by the Minority Women workshop to denounce NOW as "racist."

"I think it's about time the Socialist Workers party stopped using the issue of minority rights as a tool to recruit people," she said.

But no "news conference" had ever been scheduled by the Minority Women workshop. In fact, no one seemed to know how this mysterious rumor originated.

Esther Kaw demanded the floor to refute the rumor. "Speaking for the Minority Women workshop, I can tell you that such a news conference was never called," she said.

Several reporters also asked for the floor to confirm that they were never contacted about such a news conference.

No one from the Minority Women workshop could be found to authenticate the news conference story. But Black and Latina women attempting to refute the myth were abruptly cut off when they demanded the floor and were shouted down by other delegates.

In the heated atmosphere clearly sustained by the podium, Nada Chandler, president of Philadelphia NOW, placed a red-baiting motion on the floor. The motion charged that the SWP was trying to "use" NOW and to "exploit the feminist movement."

Dianne Feeley, a longtime leader of the New York NOW and a member of the SWP, took the floor, stating, "This



Militant/Anne Teesdale

KAW: 'Not the way to handle disagreements.'

motion is a red-baiting tactic that is no different from lesbian-baiting or any other form of witch-hunting in NOW. It is the same tactic that has been used against the Black movement, the suffrage movement, the labor movement. We must reject it and declare that NOW is open to all women, regardless of their political affiliation."

## 'Enemies' tactic

Several other members of the Socialist Workers party tried to get the floor to respond to the outrageous motion. The chair ruled them out of order. The red-baiting motion passed. Then the conference was adjourned.

Angered by the introduction of McCarthyism into NOW, more than

## Ratify the ERA!



Militant/Ginny Hildebrand

## By Ginny Hildebrand

DETROIT—A steady stream of rain did not dampen the spirits of nearly 1,000 women rallying in Detroit's Kennedy Square April 22 to demand ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

Detroit shoppers and workers on lunch break joined members of the National Organization for Women to hear speeches by Gloria Steinem, Betty Friedan, and local politicians.

Umbrellas pumped up and down, signs waved, and women cheered when Mayor Coleman Young urged women to keep marching for their rights. Another burst of applause

greeted the comments of Barbara Rose Collins, a Black state representative: "The same people who fight against women fight against minorities."

A small group of these "same people" circled the crowd behind a dripping wet "Stop ERA" banner.

Women bank workers were picketing within earshot of the rally. As these strikers crossed the street to join the ERA rally, another cheer erupted.

The rally closed with the all-Black Wayne County Community College choral group singing the traditional civil rights song "Oh Freedom."

100 NOW members met at the back of the hall to protest this attack on democracy in their organization.

"Red-baiting is the tactic of our enemies, a well-known trick of the FBI," said one delegate.

The meeting drew up a petition stating, "We are opposed to the resolution against the SWP, which is also a resolution against NOW. NOW should be open to all women regardless of their political persuasions."

One hundred twelve NOW members had signed the statement by the next morning, when the petition was presented to a meeting of the NOW National Board.

At the board meeting, Lois Reckitt, an eastern regional coordinator of NOW, introduced a motion to reaffirm that NOW is open to all women and does not discriminate against or exclude any woman for her political affiliations.

Zel Andrews, New York state coordinator of NOW, spoke in favor of the motion, saying she "deplored" the red-baiting resolution passed by the conference. She urged the board to "recall our statement of purpose," which declares that NOW is a nonexclusionary organization.

Shelley Fernandez, a board member from San Francisco, said that the conference resolution against the SWP "takes us back to the days of red-baiting and the McCarthy era when people's lives were destroyed."

But the board majority had no intention of rescinding the attack on the SWP, an attack they had supported. They succeeded in reversing the meaning of the nonexclusionary motion, so that it read:

"The national board affirms its support of the resolutions passed by the national conference. The board also reaffirms NOW's traditional policy that it is an open and democratic organization that does not exclude or otherwise discriminate against any member on the basis of political affiliation."

This contradictory motion, which was aimed at reinforcing the red-

baiting resolution, passed.

"NOW members must urge rescission of the conference resolution against the SWP," said Rhonda Rutherford. "We must bring this destructive attack to the attention of NOW at the chapter, state, and regional level."

In the final caucus meeting of Defending Women's Rights supporters, Rutherford had told women: "For the first time in NOW's history, we have had a discussion of strategy—how we are going to move forward to combat the attacks on our rights, how we are going to bring thousands of Black and Latina women into NOW, and how we are going to get back out into the streets again. This discussion is an important victory for all NOW members."

"Through this discussion we have explained the dangers of the opposite strategy—the perspective put forward by NOW's leadership. We have to bring this debate back to our local chapters."

"This discussion has just begun, and we are going to win."



Militant/Anne Teesdale

RUTHERFORD: 'Discussion has just begun.'



# SWP answers red-baiting

## 'An attack on all NOW members'

By Mary-Alice Waters

DETROIT—In the final hours of the 1977 national conference of the National Organization for Women, with only a few hundred of the nearly 2,000 delegates and other members present, a motion was placed on the floor and stampeded to a vote.

It stated that "this conference protests attempts by the Socialist Workers party to use NOW as a vehicle to place before the public the agenda of their organization and to exploit the feminist movement. We bitterly resent and will not tolerate any group's attempts to deflect us from pursuit of our feminist goals."

In order to win passage of the motion, its sponsors had been obliged to wait until most of the delegates had left. Moreover, they used slanderous rumors conveniently circulating on the conference floor in order to whip up an intimidating lynch atmosphere.

The rumor, quickly confirmed to be false, was that women from the Minority Women workshop were holding a news conference to denounce NOW as a racist organization.

Despite outright harassment, insults, and abuse aimed at provoking a physical confrontation on the floor of the conference, the Black and Latina women present had led the debate in the afternoon plenary session urging the delegates to adopt a resolution that would commit NOW to fight for the needs of women of the oppressed nationalities. To the cheering and clapping of those delegates who thought NOW should continue to orient to more affluent white women, the resolution was defeated.

Throughout the weekend, Black and Latina NOW members were repeatedly told they were being manipulated by the SWP because they shared the opinion that NOW must fight for the needs of the most oppressed women if it is to be a viable feminist organization. They bitterly resented the insulting implication that they were incapable of thinking for themselves.

While the red-baiting motion was ostensibly directed at Blacks, Latinas, and SWP members who belong to NOW, the real target was the entire NOW membership.

Red-baiting, agent-baiting, lesbian-baiting, and other forms of witch-hunting have one central purpose: intimidation. They are used to scare people away from objectively considering all ideas and openly expressing their opinions. They are intended to sow division and discord in order to divert attention from the important questions under debate.

### Real issues underneath

The conference motion did not fall from the sky unprepared. It was the final expression of a red-baiting drive that began long before the delegates gathered in Detroit. The campaign of intimidation then picked up momentum as the conference discussion revealed that many NOW members strongly disagreed with the political perspectives proposed by the leadership.

The meeting was billed as a "unity conference." But the depth of the differences in NOW was perhaps best indicated by the vote on the resolution establishing a Political Action Committee. The purpose of NOW-PAC will be to endorse and give funds to candidates for public office deemed by the NOW leadership to be supporters of feminist issues.

But the delegates were split down the middle on this proposal. The vote on the resolution was so close that the chair had to call for a standing vote and even then had to hesitate before ruling that the motion had passed.

Instead of subordinating the feminist movement to the electoral needs of some candidate, many NOW members had a different perspective for building NOW as a mass feminist organization. They wanted NOW to chart a course toward independent action aimed at mobilizing millions of women to win ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment and counter the concerted attacks on our rights to abortion, maternity benefits, affirmative-action programs, child care, and other gains of the past decade.

Instead of openly and objectively discussing out these two alternative perspectives for how to build NOW and achieve our goals, the oldest game in the books was tried. If advocating and arguing for the independent mobilization of women could be branded as an SWP "hidden agenda" and a "disruption," then perhaps fewer women would stop to seriously consider the merits of the arguments presented.

### Long campaign

So the campaign of intimidation began last January, when two members of Philadelphia NOW who are also members of the SWP drafted and began circulating an alternative perspectives resolution entitled "Defending Women's Rights in the Second Decade."

In the weeks leading up to the NOW conference, signers of the resolution and other supporters around the country were subjected to an organized pressure campaign, trying to convince them to take their names off the resolution. Despite the fact that only a few of the hundreds of supporters of the resolution were members of the SWP, it was branded as "the SWP resolution."

As the red-baiting campaign gathered steam, NOW members who belong to the SWP were undemocratically excluded from being delegates to the conference in a number of cities.

For example, both Clare Fraenzl and Rhonda Rutherford, the originators of the resolution, were excluded from the Philadelphia delegation.

On the first day of the conference, the May 1977 issue of the *NOW Times*, published by the Los Angeles County chapters of NOW, was distributed to all participants. It featured a full-page article entitled "SWP: A Study in Political Parasitism." Both style and content were reminiscent of material unearthed in FBI files in recent years. The gist of the article was to accuse NOW members who belong to the SWP of trying to infiltrate and manipulate NOW.

How? By openly trying to win support for a resolution that "is an attempt to have [NOW] commit ourselves to an action that by itself will get us absolutely nothing."

"We should be wary of those who would divert us into activity that consumes our time, energy, and money—without producing the desired result," warned the *NOW Times*.

How is openly advocating the independent mobilization of women manipulative?

Because, the argument goes, the SWP has ulterior motives. It doesn't really care about women's rights. It is "largely dominated by white men." Presumably, that is why women members of the SWP deviously pretend to be feminists and try to get NOW to adopt a losing strategy.

According to the *NOW Times* editors, the SWP advocates the mobilization of masses of women in action to win their demands because such activities "attract crowds and press coverage SWP could never gather in its own name. Such crowds offer SWP recruiting opportunities as well as fundraising opportunities."

Furthermore, mobilizations "build the frustration of the masses by their very ineffectiveness and presumably may make converts to the SWP and its revolutionary purpose."

The accusations of the *NOW Times* editors are false from start to finish. Leaving aside the gratuitous and unsubstantiated slander that the SWP collects money for itself under false pretenses, let's get to the real political issue.

### What SWP stands for

The SWP advocates activities such as rallies, picket lines, demonstrations, teach-ins, educational conferences, and other similar activities because we believe that all historical experience has confirmed that women can win their rights only by convincing larger and larger numbers of women and our allies to join in the struggle. In order to publicize our demands and inspire women with confidence in our collective power and our ability to win, we

must engage in united action that demonstrates our strength—even to ourselves.

A campaign to bring millions of women into the streets in the next twenty-three months, demanding ratification of the ERA, would have more impact on the spineless legislators NOW is trying to coddle into voting for the ERA than a million dollars spent on election campaigns, cocktails, dinners, telephone calls, and quiet discussions in carpeted chambers.

That is not only the opinion of the SWP. It is the perspective that hundreds of women at the NOW conference were arguing for.

The reason the *NOW Times* felt compelled to brand them all as dupes of the SWP, incapable of thinking and deciding for themselves, is spelled out clearly in their article. "A 'show of force' in the streets is no substitute for the exercise of political power in the next elections, and that's where we need to put our money, our time, our energy, and our organizing efforts for the foreseeable future."

Talk about a perspective that builds frustration by its very ineffectiveness!

Absent from the *NOW Times* strategy is any talk of "multiplicity of tactics," which was alleged by the leadership to be the heart of its ERA strategy. The real "hidden agenda" came to the fore in the *Now Times*.

To win approval for this rightward course, however, the atmosphere of intimidation was essential. Even after an intense red-baiting campaign against the most outspoken opponents of this perspective, the motion to turn NOW more and more into an electoral pressure group could barely muster half the votes.

### Against feminist goals?

The red-baiting motion placed before the NOW conference claims that the SWP is trying to deflect NOW from its feminist goals and use the women's movement for some other end. If such were the case it would certainly be a self-defeating perspective.

An uncompromising fight for women's liberation has always been a touchstone of our program and politics. We believe an independent mass feminist movement must be built. We believe that women must organize to fight for their needs and their demands. We state our goals and our strategy openly. If anyone has any doubts they need only read our resolutions, articles, pamphlets, and books.

If SWP members were trying to deflect NOW from the pursuit of feminist goals, we would be deflecting ourselves.

It is not the common goals shared by all NOW members that are at issue, but what course of action must be

*Continued on page 30*



Labor contingent in NOW's 1976 national ERA march. SWP supported conference resolutions urging NOW to mobilize Black and other working-class women in defense of women's rights.

# Oppressed nationalities resolution

## A proposal 'to win these sisters to NOW'

The following Resolution on Women of the Oppressed Nationalities was submitted by Black and Puerto Rican members of the National Organization for Women for discussion at NOW's Detroit conference.

The Minority Women workshop, which met several times during the conference, endorsed the resolution and took it to the plenary for debate.

During the discussion of the resolution, opponents of the proposal refused to state their objections to it. Rather, they filibustered with parliamentary moves. Before a real discussion could develop, time was called and the resolution soundly defeated.

The relationship of NOW to women of oppressed nationalities was a central political issue at the conference. The defeat of this resolution shows the firm resistance by the group's leadership to any aggressive campaign of activities that could attract hundreds and even thousands of Black, Chicana, and Puerto Rican women to NOW during the next year.

The resolution was initially signed by Reba Williams Dixon, Boston; Magdalena Gonzales, Brooklyn; Viola Williams, Brooklyn; Rosita Perea, New York City; Rhonda Rutherford, Philadelphia; and Tania Shai, Pittsburgh.

The racist and sexist character of the recent attacks reveal the government's attempt to destroy the women's movement by dividing us along race and income lines. President Carter's announcement March 16, that the Hyde Amendment will become national policy to eliminate Medicaid abortions, makes it clearer that the right of all women to safe, legal abortions is under attack.

Whereas, to protect this right and all gains women made in the last decade, we must again unite all women in a powerful movement to protest the attacks right now;

Whereas, poor women, mostly Black, Puerto Rican, Chicana, Asian and Native American, have been targeted in this first assault. As a result these sisters have become more active in protest actions around women's issues. They are looking for an organization that will fight for their rights; and in many cities, they are looking to NOW;

Whereas, to meet this increased active interest and win these sisters to the women's movement, NOW must chart a course of action now to reach out to Black, Puerto Rican, Chicana, Asian and Native American women. NOW's success as a viable women's liberation organization depends on our ability to win these sisters in much greater numbers;

Therefore be it resolved that NOW launch a special campaign of activities around women's issues that particularly interest Black, Puerto Rican, Chicana, Asian and Native American women. Local discussions and forums on women and racism, abortion, child care, maternity benefits, forced sterilization, ERA, and affirmative action should be an important part of this campaign. In planning marches, rallies and picket lines around these issues women of oppressed nationalities should be included as speakers and organizers.

Be it resolved that all task forces are urged to include materials when activities are planned, that reach out to these sisters. Special leaflets addressed to Black women, Chicanas, Puerto Rican women, Asian and Native American women should be prepared to be distributed where they live and work. Public Service announcements of Black and Spanish-language radio stations and newspapers, and on their television programs should be planned as a normal part of all publicity work. Events should be scheduled in meeting places that are convenient to and comfortable to these sisters to attend;

Be it resolved that a task force that could participate in community discussions on the role of women of the oppressed nationalities in the women's liberation movement, their right to choose abortion, the importance of the Equal Rights Amendment to these sisters, and similar women's



Minority Women workshop

Militant/Nancy Cole

issues would help in this campaign. Black, Puerto Rican, Chicana, Asian and Native American NOW members on all decision-making bodies would show that we are serious about involving these sisters in helping to direct NOW;

Be it resolved that to strengthen our ties with our allies in the communities of the oppressed nationalities and to further implement our statement of purpose, NOW should support actions organized to protest racial inequality, i.e. those for busing to desegregate schools and bilingual/bicultural education and against the death penalty and other reactionary legislation.

### Motivation

The Hyde Amendment, that cuts off all Medicaid abortions, is being used by the government to drive a wedge into the women's movement. President Carter announced March 16 that he would call on Congress to do all in its power to eliminate federal funds for abortions. This statement consolidated the president's drive to join the White House with the Congress, the courts, the Catholic church hierarchy, and other reactionary forces to destroy the women's movement.

The right of all women to safe, legal abortions is under attack. Poor women, mostly Black, Puerto Rican, Chicana, Asian and Native American, have been singled out in this first assault. As a result these sisters have become more active in protest actions around women's issues. Their everyday conditions give them a special determination to fight the attacks.

For example, almost half (49%), of all Black women are in the labor force. They are locked in their majority in low-paying, menial jobs as clericals (24%), or service workers (37%). Black women earned 92 cents for every \$1 paid to their white sisters in 1974. More Black women are the sole support of their families. In fact, 35% of all Black families have female heads and 52%, over half, of these families are living below the poverty level.

### Brunt of attacks

The U.S. Supreme Court's ruling against maternity benefits, the reduction in funding for child-care facilities, increased use of forced sterilization, the reduction in jobs and equal opportunities on the job and in education, are forcing women of the oppressed nationalities to bear the brunt of the attacks. And, the gains all women made in the last decade are being slowly eroded.

To protect these gains we must rebuild the women's liberation movement. The success of the movement depends on our ability to protest these attacks effectively by mobilizing women and our allies in the labor movement, on the campuses, and in the Black community, the Chicano community, Puerto Rican community, Asians, and Native Americans.

NOW, the largest women's liberation organization, must be strengthened to accomplish this task. NOW's success in becoming a viable women's liberation group depends on how fast NOW can win greater numbers of Black, Puerto Rican, Chicana,

Asian and Native American women to our ranks.

These determined fighters have historically been involved in the struggle against oppression. Harriet Tubman and Sojourner Truth are two Black women who fought slavery and were prominent in the women's rights movement in the 1850s. Ida B. Wells Barnett was instrumental in organizing NAACP chapters to mobilize public support against the legal lynching of Blacks in the south in the early 1900s. As working women, students, housewives, and trade unionists, Black women like their sisters of other oppressed nationalities have everything to gain and nothing to lose in the fight for their liberation.

### Special campaign

NOW can win these determined women to the women's liberation movement by launching a special campaign of activities around women's issues that especially interest women of the oppressed nationalities. In addition, NOW can strengthen our ties with our allies in communities through joint action in issues that affect both of us like affirmative action. By struggling together as we have in the past for more opportunities, we can again win more job opportunities for all.

NOW must begin to implement our statement of support for the "equal rights for all those who suffer discrimination and deprivation" by becoming visible at actions organized by Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Asians and Native Americans demanding their rights. NOW can endorse and bring their banners to demonstrations protesting the attacks on busing to achieve equality in education, attacks on bi-lingual/bi-cultural programs, violence against Native Americans, opposition to the death penalty and other reactionary moves and legislation that particularly victimize oppressed nationalities. NOW can issue public statements of support for political prisoners and speak at conferences and rallies organized to protest government complicity in the apartheid system in southern Africa.

### Actions already begun

These support actions have already started in some chapters. Boston NOW organized a panel discussion on women and racism in late March. The chapter also endorsed the demonstrations and rallies of Boston's Black community and participated in them. In November, Boston NOW had a speaker at the anti-racist conference in Boston. New York NOW worked in a coalition of women's groups to build activities during International Women's Day. New York NOW members were especially active in the task force of that coalition to reach and involve more Black and Puerto Rican women in the week long activities.

These examples must be generalized throughout national NOW. It is by reaching the most victimized—Black, Puerto Rican, Chicana, Asian and Native American women—through special women's issues and their organizations, that NOW can set in motion all of the forces needed to make gains.

The April NOW conference must use this opportunity to discuss and map out nationally this winning strategy.

## Health vs. missiles

Two stories, printed one above the other on the front page of the April 26 *New York Times*, illustrate exactly what Carter's austerity drive is all about.

The top story said Carter wants to cut back health care. Supposedly he's trying to hold down hospital rates. But you can bet health industry profiteers—from the bondholders who finance hospitals to the insurance companies who charge extortionist rates for inadequate coverage—won't be the ones to suffer. What will be cut back are services to the sick.

The *Times* reported Carter would forbid building new hospital facilities "because of an excess of 100,000 hospital beds in the country." How they figure that is anyone's guess: there are 122 persons for every hospital bed in the United States, compared with 103 per bed in Britain, 100 in Italy, 90 in West Germany, 83 in Japan, and 50 in Ireland.

In passing, the article noted Carter has reneged on his campaign pledge to institute national health insurance.

The second *Times* story reported that the House of Representatives overwhelmingly approved \$36 billion in new weapons for next year. This was "only" (as the *Times* put it) \$60 million more than Carter asked for, thanks to "a mood of some austerity" in Congress.

The article neglected to mention the \$36 billion was "only" \$2.7 billion more than is being spent this year.

Fewer hospitals and health services for working people, more bombers, submarines, and missiles for the Pentagon. That's what Carter's "austerity" is all about.

## Defend teachers

Racine . . . Cincinnati . . . Milwaukee . . . Kansas City.

In city after city, school boards have put teachers up against the wall and forced them out on strike. When teachers do strike, authorities use every union-busting tactic in the book to smash them. (See stories on page 24.)

Hundreds of teachers have been fired in Kansas City. Five have been jailed. One hundred fifty more face imprisonment. A county judge has forbidden "outsiders" from even saying they support the strike.

Schools have become a prime target of the rulers' austerity drive. And the Democratic and Republican party politicians have made teachers scapegoats for rising taxes.

But the striking teachers are fighting for the interests of all working people. They are opposing cutbacks and layoffs, which lead to more work and less pay per teacher and less education per student. They are opposing union-busting by cops, courts, and city administrations, which are a threat to all labor, and most directly to government employees.

All working people—especially the organized labor movement—should rally to the defense of the embattled teachers. Their struggle is our struggle.

## Battered students

The Supreme Court ruled April 19 that if teachers or school officials hit students—no matter how hard—they do not violate the Constitution's Eighth Amendment ban against cruel and unusual punishment.

In the case before the court, two Miami junior high school students had been beaten with a two-foot-long, one-half-inch-thick paddle. The court ruled that this kind of abuse is not unconstitutional.

As a result, while prisoners in jail are at least formally protected by the Eighth Amendment, students now are not. As Justice Byron White protested, "If it is constitutionally impermissible to cut off someone's ear for the commission of murder, it must be unconstitutional to cut off a child's ear for being late to class."

The National Education Association sided with the students in the case. Unfortunately, the American Federation of Teachers favored legalized beatings. "Teachers want to maintain a healthy atmosphere and they need options," an AFT spokesperson explained.

Threatening students with violence does not produce "a healthy atmosphere." It only produces battered students.

To create "a healthy atmosphere," we need desegregated, quality schools. We need to end the cutbacks of teachers, books, and supplies. We need to restore the bilingual-bicultural and other special programs that have been dropped.

Students have already been badly brutalized by inferior, segregated education—and, now, by a vicious court decision.

Since Arnold Weissberg's article in the April 1 *Militant* defending the saccharin ban, we've received a large number of letters on the subject. This week we're turning over our letters page to our readers' comments. Two previous letters attacking the ban appeared in the April 15 issue.

All the letters have been excerpted.

### 'Hapless mice & rats'

I don't know whether cyclamates and saccharin are harmful or not, but stuffing hapless mice and rats with absurd quantities of these substances and passing off the results as good coin proves only that the sugar industry will go to great lengths to protect its profits.

I don't feel it's exaggerated to say that refined sugar is a worse threat to public health than cigarettes. The number one killer is not cancer, but heart disease. The number one cause of heart disease is the inability of the

## The saccharin debate

body to dispose of fat that forms deposits on arterial walls. The arteries become congested and blood pressure increases.

The principal cause of the body's inability to deal with these fats is bad blood-sugar chemistry. Bad blood-sugar chemistry is caused by the frequent "fixes" of excess sugar that is literally stuffed down our throats.

Cane sugar can do all this even if it's pure, but it rarely is. First of all it is burned in the fields to remove the leaves, so it contains charcoal. It is then bleached to make it white. Bleaching adds formaldehyde and xylene.

Saccharin and cyclamates are held up as scapegoats to hide the real killer. *Walter Shaffer*  
*Oakland, California*

### 'Missed the point'

David Keepnews's letter missed the point of Arnold Weissberg's article on the saccharin ban.

The food we eat has declined in quality as agribusiness has sought more ways to mechanize production. The industry, though, has learned that a dollop of sugar can replace the taste lost in processing.

Today, sugar is loaded into ketchup, baby food, canned fruits, even the phony "100 percent natural" cereals.

With millions turned into "sugar junkies," it is not surprising that agribusiness would introduce a form of methadone—saccharin—to make more millions of this trend, instead of reducing the amount of sugar in processed foods.

Weissberg was right to applaud any effort to expose and halt this pollution of our food supply by profit-hungry corporations. It does little good to "name your poison," whether sugar or saccharin.

Saccharin was the subject of a much earlier fight by consumer advocates. Food and drug manufacturers sought to undermine the work of Dr. Harvey Wiley, head of the federal Bureau of Chemistry, precursor of the Food and Drug Administration.

Wiley had Teddy Roosevelt's support until he dared to declare that saccharin was "a coal tar product totally devoid of food value and extremely injurious to health." He

didn't know that Roosevelt, himself a prediabetic, was a saccharin user. A board of scientific "experts" more sympathetic to free enterprise was appointed to oversee Wiley. The board's head was Dr. I. Remsen, who discovered saccharin. Wiley was eventually forced to resign.

It is wrong to defend a crutch like saccharin. We have a right to an adequate diet free of hidden poisons. *Steve Beck*  
*New York, New York*

### Sugar's not sweet

I believe that saccharin and cyclamates are carcinogenic. Even the slightest possibility that cancer may be produced should caution everyone against the use of a chemical. The chemical industry uses the American people as its laboratory by dumping hundreds of new chemicals onto the market and into our food.

A look at the contents of supermarket items such as ice cream, hot dogs, beef, baby food, and margarine reveals a chemical feast. Of the more than 2,500 chemicals currently used in our food, a large percentage have proven to be harmful to living tissue. Why, then, the big commotion over saccharin?

We needn't look too far for the answer—the multi-billion-dollar sugar industry. For years the industry's Sugar Information Council has extolled sugar's "virtues." In reality, the American people have been nutritionally misled on the actual properties of refined sugar (white sugar). The average consumption of sugar per person is now up to a quarter of a pound daily.

Scientists and doctors have warned about the effect of high sugar intake on the human body. Some of these effects are heart disease, hypertension, obesity, tooth decay, and blood-sugar-related diseases such as diabetes and hypoglycemia.

I believe that the sugar industry spent huge amounts of money and lobbied endlessly in order to get cyclamates removed from the market. It is also my opinion that this same course was repeated in the banning of saccharin.

*Angie Remedi*  
*Los Angeles, California*

### Scientific question

The experimental method used in the Canadian study is the normal method of testing chemicals for cancer-causing activity.

High doses must be given to relatively few test animals because of the difficulty in estimating potential effects among millions of consumers.

Huge doses are tested to increase the incidence rate far above that expected with normal doses. The idea is to find cancer-causing chemicals with reasonable numbers of test animals.

At the same time, scientists have not found a higher bladder cancer rate among diabetics, who use ten times the average amount of saccharin. Nor have researchers found any "epidemic" caused by the increased use of saccharin during World War II, when sugar was rationed.

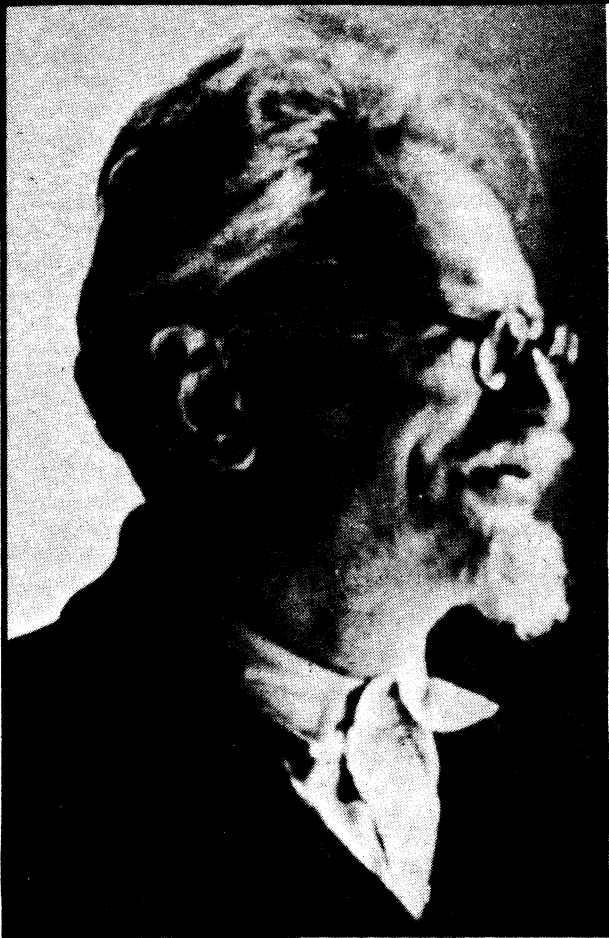
Thus, two scientific methods for detecting cancer-causing chemicals disagree.

What position should revolutionary socialists adopt on this question? I don't think they should take a position on saccharin. A scientific controversy can't be judged on the basis of which

*Continued on page 23*

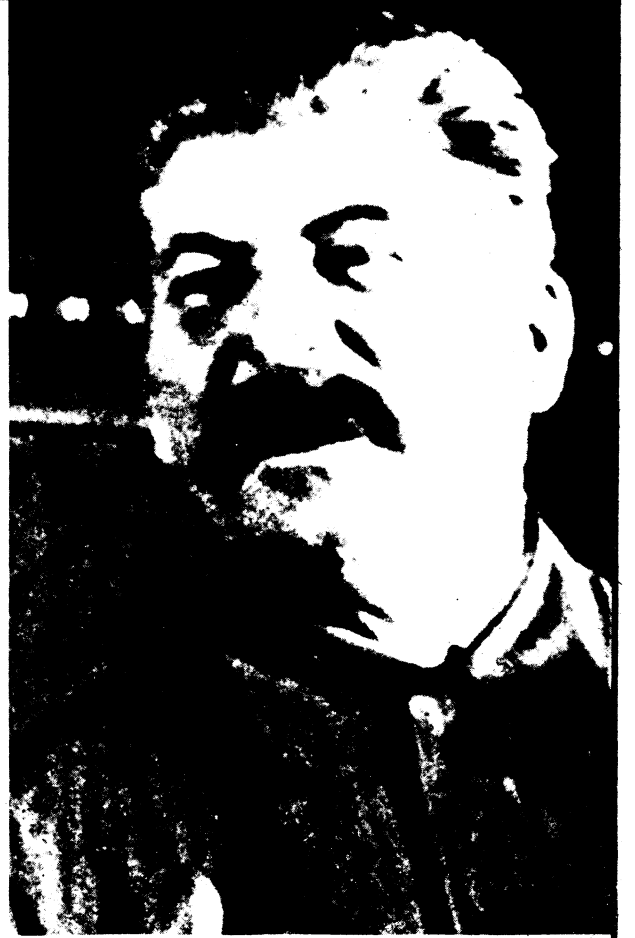


# international **socialist** review



TROTSKY

## How the Moscow Trials Were Exposed



STALIN

## Women's Liberation in Spain



SEN. JOSEPH McCARTHY

## The Debate over McCarthyism

# THE MONTH IN REVIEW

## Andrew Young's Act

Since his appointment as United Nations ambassador, Andrew Young has stirred a bit of controversy over African questions.

First he provoked criticism by saying that Cuban troops had contributed to "stability" in Angola. Then he accused the British government of being "a little chicken" on racial questions at home and in Africa. He went on to charge that the British had institutionalized racism "more than anyone else in the history of the earth."

More exhibitions of "frankness" followed. At a news conference April 11, Young said that Washington should not "get paranoid about a few communists [in Africa]—even a few thousand communists." Three days later, when asked by an Associated Press reporter whether he considered the South African government illegitimate, Young replied "Yeah."

Criticism of Young's "outspokenness" mounted. The April 25 issue of *Time* magazine reported, for example, that some State Department officials dub Young "Motor Mouth." The magazine cited rumors that President Carter would try to muzzle "Motor Mouth" by assigning Vice-president Mondale a key role in Africa policy making.

Carter himself publicly took issue with Young's statement on the South African government's legitimacy. He said that South Africa "has a legally constituted government and is a stabilizing influence in the southern part of that continent."

Columnist Nicholas von Hoffman got into the act, branding Young's remarks "suitable to a civil rights leader or a Georgia congressman" but "reckless and dangerous coming out of the mouth of one so highly placed in the administration."

The impression given by the media is that Young is an idealistic crusader against racism who is bucking the old-line foreign policy makers.

A closer look at Young's statements and actions reveals a different picture. Far from being out on a limb, Young is exactly where he needs to be to carry out U.S. imperialism's policy in southern Africa.

The growing instability of the racist regimes in southern Africa poses a threat to imperialist investments. The imperialists, led by the United States and Britain, know it is impossible to continue their old policies of naked white-supremacist rule. They must do something to defuse the struggle for Black majority rule. Thus they have shifted to a policy of seeking a neocolonial solution in Namibia and Zimbabwe—that is, the orderly transition to a government of Blacks who can be trusted to do the bidding of the imperialists. In South Africa, Washington is pushing the apartheid regime to make some cosmetic

reforms to reduce the explosive tensions there.

Andrew Young agrees with this perspective. In an interview published in the March 1977 issue of *Southern Africa* magazine, Young was asked what kind of options Washington has in southern Africa. He responded, "I don't think the United States has but one option and that's neo-colonialism. As bad as that has been made to sound, neo-colonialism means that the multinational corporations will continue to have major influence in the development and productive capacities of the third world. And they are, whether we like it or not."

That is, Young supports a transition to new, more refined forms by which the capitalists can continue to maintain their control over the wealth and resources of southern Africa and over the lives of the Black masses.

Young has frequently referred to himself as the Carter administration "point man" in carrying out this policy.

"My whole policy on southern Africa has been moderate, too moderate," Young told reporters on April 18. Graham Hovey reported in the *New York Times* that Young "said that he regarded it as part of his function to mediate between what he called the militants in black Africa and white cynics elsewhere, including white American businessmen with investments in South Africa."

To play this role, Young must cultivate his credibility with the various nationalist groups in southern Africa. Criticizing apartheid helps to establish this credibility. His past record as a civil rights activist also helps.

Young openly discusses his search for credibility. In an April 19 dispatch, *Washington Post* correspondent Lee Lescaze paraphrased Young as saying that "he doesn't mind attacks by South African politicians because they bolster up his credibility with black African representatives at the United Nations."

Although Young didn't mention it, his antiapartheid statements are directed at another audience as well: the twenty-two million Black people in the United States, who see the Black masses of Africa as their brothers and sisters in struggle.

It is becoming clear how Young intends to use his credibility and carry out his so-called mediating function.

One example could be seen in Young's proposals to the Senate subcommittee on African affairs. He argued for stepped-up contributions by the United States to the African Development Fund, which provides low-interest loans to capitalists who want to invest in Africa. According to Lescaze in the April 19 *Washington Post*, Young maintained "that a larger contribution to the African fund would be very beneficial to long-range U.S. interests."

What "interests" did he have in mind? Lescaze described how Young and other witnesses before the subcommittee had pointed out that U.S. capitalists are more and more dependent on the African continent for essential raw materials, such as oil, bauxite, chrome, copper, cobalt, manganese, and platinum. Increased loans can help cement control over these crucial materials.

The grooming of Young's credibility also coincides with new maneuvers by Washington, London, and Pretoria to convene another conference on Rhodesia. This follows repeated appeals by Ian Smith of Rhodesia and John Vorster of South Africa for greater U.S. intervention in the negotiations.

David Owen, British foreign secretary, is slated to chair the conference, and Washington, as cosponsor of the talks, is expected to appoint a "cabinet-level" official to work with Owen.

"Who might this cabinet-level official be? A prime candidate might be Andrew Young. And whether he is or not, Young's job will be to convince the nationalist groups in Zimbabwe to go along with the British and U.S. proposal for a solution—as well as to help convince Blacks in the United States that such an imperialist-sponsored deal is just."

Young's admiration for the imperialists was revealed in his now famous remarks about "paranoia" over "communists" in Africa. At that State Department news conference on April 11 he expounded on the virtues of capitalism: "We don't have to fear communism in the area of economic competition. We do almost everything so much better than they do that the sooner the fighting stops and the trading starts, the quicker we win."

The "we" Young is referring to is not the masses of working people in the United States, or the Black masses of southern Africa, but rather the imperialist corporations and their government, headquartered in Washington, D.C.

His view is that the imperialists are all-powerful; that the poverty-stricken Black mine worker and the lowly domestic servant can never hope to challenge the ruling rich who keep them degraded and in chains. Young explained in his interview with *Southern Africa* magazine that "the problems of Africa directly relate to the fact that their wealth is mineral wealth and nobody has the technology to extract that wealth other than the multinational corporations. . . . I just think that the capital and technology happens to be in the hands of the people who are called neo-colonialists." He concluded that the only possibility is to learn to "relate to it [the multinational corporation] and to live with it and to control it."

But despite Young's preachings, the Black masses of southern Africa are coming to understand *their own* power. It is *they* who create the wealth of the corporations, who bring the minerals out of the ground, who operate the factories, who produce the food. As the Soweto students and workers demonstrated, when the Black and Coloured masses move together, they can strike terror in the hearts of the ruling white minority, which knows its own real weakness before the rage of the millions whom they have held down for so long.

In their struggle for freedom, the Black masses of Africa will be impelled to take the road of the Cuban people, the Chinese, the Vietnamese, and others who have dared to take control of the wealth and technology out of the hands of the exploiters and put it to the use of the majority.

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The *International Socialist Review* appears in the *Militant* that is published the first week of every month.

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# How the Moscow Trials Were Exposed

## A Memoir of the Dewey Commission, Forty Years Later

By George Novack

Forty years have gone by since Stalin staged the Moscow trials of the Old Bolsheviks and the Commission of Inquiry headed by the American educator and philosopher John Dewey journeyed to Mexico to take Leon Trotsky's testimony. That was in April 1937.

The world political situation has been vastly transformed in many respects since then. One conspicuous change is the reversal in the attitude of American liberals and radical intellectuals toward the Soviet Union and its regime. The revulsion against the Moscow trials set this process into motion.

Up to that time most progressive-minded people were sympathetic toward the land of the October revolution and the five-year-plan whose economic and social progress contrasted favorably with the paralysis of U.S. capitalism after the 1929 crash. Even those who were seduced by the promises of the New Deal looked upon Moscow as a firm ally in halting the spread of fascism and preserving world peace. Washington had finally recognized the Soviet Union in 1933 and soon the Communist party, which had originally branded Roosevelt as a "fascist," was backing his administration in the name of the Popular Front for the defense of democracy.

This harmony was broken by the consternation provoked by the three big show trials involving the foremost living leaders of the Russian revolution and Soviet state, who abjectly confessed to the most despicable deeds, masterminded by the arch-villain Trotsky. These were "the trial of the sixteen" held in August 1936, "the trial of the seventeen" in January 1937, and—later—"the trial of the twenty-one" in March 1938. After the second trial Marshal Tukhachevsky, actual commander of the Red Army, and numerous other top generals were charged as traitors and shot.

The first of these fraudulent self-accusations was conducted after Hitler had occupied the Rhineland, Blum's Popular Front government had taken office in France, and Franco's fascists had risen up in Spain. Stalin hoped that these absorbing developments would divert attention from the fate of the victims and stifle questioning about the purges.

However, the stage managers of the proceedings could not get around the fact that two of Lenin's closest associates, Leon Kamenev and Gregory Zinoviev, had been promptly executed after making degrading confessions. Trotsky, the principal target of all the frame-ups, was then residing in Norway; he was charged with plotting to murder Stalin and to commit other abhorrent crimes. The only one of the accused in a position to speak out, he at once denounced Moscow's juridical frame-up as "one of the greatest falsifications in the history of politics."

Public opinion abroad was by and large bewildered by the affair and no better prepared to understand what was at stake than it could

figure out the meaning of the convulsive over- turns among the Chinese top leaders a third of a century later. Difficult as it was to explain what was going on behind the scenes, it was still harder to face up to the issues that were posed. Every socialist, every partisan of the October revolution and the Soviet Union, was confronted with the necessity of deciding what position to take toward the trials. Who were the real criminals? Was Lenin's Political Bureau composed of traitors and were all its surviving members except Stalin guilty of abominable crimes—or was Stalin perpetrating monstrous frame-ups?

The American Trotskyists were catapulted into the midst of the furor generated by these events and, because of my role in their defense work, I was at the center of the turbulence. In 1934 when Trotsky was living incognito in France and being hounded by fascists and Stalinists alike, the call came to us to find a safer refuge for the exile. Through my connections an ad hoc committee of prominent intellectuals was set up to secure a visa for him from Washington. Our appeal to Roosevelt was turned down and we discontinued the search for asylum when the newly elected Norwegian Labor government opened its doors to him in 1935.

The Kamenev-Zinoviev trial abruptly changed the attitude of these Social-Democratic leaders and, deferring to the Norwegian shipowners and the Kremlin, they put Trotsky and his companion Natalia under house arrest. While the Stalinist slander machine was pouring forth calumnies against him, the principal accused was silenced and unable to make any public reply to them. In his first statement to the press, on August 15, 1936, Trotsky called for the nomination of an impartial international commission by labor and socialist organizations to investigate the charges. "I maintain that their report would expose the charges in all their falsity. . . . In this matter I have nothing to fear and nothing to hide. As for myself, I am only concerned with establishing the truth." None of the major workers organizations dared offend Moscow by taking up this proposal.

In New York we set about to reactivate the ad hoc committee as the American Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky. We established an office at 22 East Seventeenth Street staffed by Felix Morrow, Martin Abern, and Pearl Kluger with myself as its national secretary. The committee had two objectives: one was to free the

Trotskyists from internment and find asylum for them; the other was to promote the formation of an international commission of inquiry.

The committee enlisted the support of an imposing array of well-known figures in American life. Among the more notable were the anthropologists Franz Boas and Alexander Goldenweiser; the philosophers John Dewey, Horace Kallen, Morris Cohen, and Sidney Hook; the playwright Sidney Howard; Joseph Wood Krutch; the Columbia educator William Kilpatrick; the Italian antifascist scholar Gaetano Salvemini; Norman Thomas; Lionel Trilling; Edmund Wilson; the painter John Sloan; the poet William Ellery Leonard; and Max Eastman.

The controversy over the Moscow trials sliced like a cleaver through intellectual circles, leaving little room for neutrality on the issues. At that time the Stalinists were at the peak of their influence both in the unions and the intellectual and artistic fields. It took some fortitude to withstand the pressures their adherents exerted and stand up for Trotsky's right to be heard.

I recall a publisher's party given that fall for Art Young, the beloved socialist cartoonist, where a cross section of New York's left literati had come to honor his work. The salon was abuzz with fervid debates between Trotsky's defenders and his opponents. The novelist James T. Farrell, who had recently publicly broken with the Stalinists, aggressively buttonholed people, demanding to know whether they favored asylum for the exile and giving him a chance to answer his accusers and, if they did, to endorse the aims of the committee. He noted in his diary that, when the professional liberal Max Lerner refused to sign, he argued with him and then "let George Novack sic into him."

Mary McCarthy has recorded in her memoirs (*On the Contrary*, p. 95) how Farrell approached her. "I was standing, rather bleakly, by the refreshment table, when a question was thrust at me: Did I think Trotsky was entitled to a hearing? It was a novelist friend of mine, dimpled, shaggy-headed, earnest, with a whole train of people, like a deputation, behind him." After she agreed on democratic grounds, she was harried by Stalinists and their fellow travelers to withdraw her name from the committee and repudiate the "Trotskyites." She stubbornly refused. That experience was for her—and others—the beginning of the end of political innocence about the nature of Stalinism.

We could not get a visa for Trotsky to the



The Commission of Inquiry headed by John Dewey held its hearings in a barricaded room in Trotsky's new home in Mexico. In this scene from the hearings are: (left to right) Jean van Heijenoort, Albert Goldman, Leon Trotsky, Natalia Trotsky, and Jan Fraenkel.

George Novack, an associate editor of the ISR, is an author and lecturer on Marxist philosophy and history. In addition, he has been active in most of the major civil liberties defense campaigns over the past forty-five years—from the campaigns in defense of Tom Mooney and Warren Billings, to the Scottsboro Nine defense case, to the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, the Civil Rights Defense Committee, the James Kutcher Defense Committee, the Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students, and the Political Rights Defense Fund.





Trotsky and John Dewey (right), the educator and philosopher.

United States, or to Cuba or any other Latin American country. Luckily, a committee member, the writer Anita Brenner, who was in Mexico, told the muralist Diego Rivera of Trotsky's plight. Rivera went to see President Lazaro Cardenas in Michoacán. After overcoming some obstruction from high officials friendly to the Stalinists, we learned in mid-December that the Mexican government would welcome the Trotskyes.

Max Shachtman and I excitedly telephoned the glad news to Oslo and some days later their jailers hustled Trotsky and Natalia aboard a tanker bound for Mexico. He was uncertain what awaited him at the end of his second voyage to the New World (the first was to the United States a few months before the February 1917 revolution) and feared a trap. Upon landing he told me that his first assurance came when the ship's wireless operator relayed a news dispatch to him that two of his friends, Shachtman and I, had left New York to meet him upon arrival in his new home.

Through Rivera the secretary of communications, General Mújico, placed the presidential train with a detachment of troops at the disposal of our party and, together with Rivera's companion, the painter Frida Kahlo, we rode in splendor from Mexico City to greet the Trotskyes at the port of Tampico. It was a startling transformation for a couple of revolutionaries from the land of the Yankee dollar to be treated so ceremoniously by a neighboring government; we were unaccustomed to such grandeur. Trotsky himself was somewhat dazzled by the sudden transition from his imprisonment and maltreatment in snowbound Norway to the warm hospitality accorded him in the semitropical atmosphere of Mexico.

As the presidential train chugged its way through the mountains and plateaus the next morning, we brought Trotsky up to date on world politics, the reactions to the trial, and the activity of the committee. Most of its members were unknown to him and he asked us to characterize each one listed on the letterhead. He was impressed by the presence of John Dewey and asked whether Suzanne La Follette was related to Wisconsin Sen. Robert La Follette, whom he knew by reputation. (She was his niece.) He urged us to give top priority to the constitution of the commission of inquiry.

While we were still with him in Mexico the second Moscow trial, centering on Karl Radek and Georgi Pyatakov, was announced. As soon as the cables reported Pyatakov's testimony about an airplane flight he claimed to have taken to Oslo to confer with Trotsky, Trotsky demanded postponement of the completion of the judicial proceedings until his documentary evidence refuting this specific falsehood could be verified. The postponement was not granted and Pyatakov, along with most of the other defendants, was shot. Trotsky emphasized that, apart from the question of his own guilt or innocence, it was imperative for the projected commission to arrive at a verdict sufficiently authoritative to stay the hands of the executioners from exterminating the entire older generation of revolutionists.

His fears were fully justified. It was later disclosed that thousands of Old Bolsheviks were arbitrarily imprisoned and killed and millions of

Soviet citizens sent to labor camps for many years in the 1936-1938 purges. Andrei Sakharov has estimated that more than 1,200,000 party members were arrested and that the lists for execution personally signed by Stalin contained at least seven to eight thousand names. (See *The Great Terror* by Robert Conquest [New York: Collier Books, 1973] for a comprehensive account of the purges of the thirties.)

We hastened back to Manhattan where the committee was preparing a big mass meeting to give Trotsky an opportunity to speak. It would be the first time he directly addressed an American audience since his departure for Petrograd in 1917. On the evening of February 9, 1937, some 6,600 men and women jammed New York's Hippodrome to listen to Trotsky over a telephone hookup. I have participated in hundreds of defense meetings over the past half century but this was the most dramatic. The audience leaned forward expectantly, straining to hear the voice of the man who was being so virulently denounced by the Stalinists. At the slightest sound from the amplifying apparatus indicating that a good transmission had been established, a deep hush gripped the assembly. But as one moment of high tension followed upon another, it finally became evident that, for causes still unknown, Trotsky's voice would not come through.

### 'I Stake My Life!'

Disappointed as they were, most of the audience stayed until after midnight as Shachtman read the text of the speech, which had been mailed in advance for distribution to the press. In it Trotsky declared: "If this commission decides that I am guilty in the slightest degree of the crimes which Stalin imputes to me, I pledge in advance to place myself voluntarily in the hands of the executioners of the GPU. . . . But if the commission establishes—do you hear me?—that the Moscow trials are a conscious and premeditated frame-up, constructed with the bones and nerves of human beings, I will not ask my accusers to place themselves voluntarily before a firing squad. No, the eternal disgrace in the memory of human generations will be sufficient for them! Do the accusers in the Kremlin hear me? I throw my defiance in their faces. And I await their reply!" This speech, entitled "I Stake My Life!" is reprinted in *Leon Trotsky Speaks* (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1972).

After hearing this challenge, the audience voted a resolution appealing for the creation of the impartial commission on whose decision Trotsky had staked his honor and his very life.

The next month Pioneer Publishers issued a selection from Trotsky's writings entitled *In Defense of the Soviet Union* to establish his real views on this crucial question and rebut the vicious misrepresentations that the architect of the October insurrection and commander of the Red Army had plotted with the German Nazis and the Japanese general staff to overthrow the Soviet system and put in its place a fascist regime. This pamphlet proved useful in buttressing Trotsky's testimony in the hearings.

During February and March the American Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky explored the possibilities of bringing together the Commission of Inquiry in association with companion bodies in France, England, and Czechoslovakia. The journalist Herbert Solow and Prof. Sidney Hook played key roles in this effort. We drafted a model plan for the commission to be circulated in an edition of 25,000 copies in a broad campaign for support; and we began canvassing a list of more than thirty personages who would be suitable to serve.

Suzanne LaFollette, former editor of the *New Freeman*, consented to be the commission's secretary. It was an excellent choice since she devoted herself utterly to forwarding its work and functioned in the most scrupulous manner. It was unanimously agreed that, because of his impeccable record as a defender of civil liberties and unionism and his known friendliness to "the Soviet experiment," Dewey would make the perfect chairperson. We also invited the participation of two distinguished liberals and historians, Charles Beard and Carl Becker, but both declined. Beard argued that "a commission could not arrive at anything like a true verdict without hearing both sides, and the Russian government will not submit to an inquest there."

His agnosticism was more shamefully shared

by a section of the liberal press, notably *The Nation* and *New Republic*, which tried to wash their hands of the whole affair. Although the *New Republic* editors doubted certain aspects of the trials, they felt that an investigation such as Trotsky demanded "is unlikely to be held, or to have any value if it were" (February 3, 1937). Two weeks later they decided that truth concerning the trials couldn't be ascertained and the question of the innocence of the condemned in Moscow was distracting from the unity of American liberals on matters of greater importance like the Spanish Civil War and the organization of American labor.

As the quest for commissioners was going forward, the Stalinists unloosed a battery of intimidation and slander designed to torpedo the committee and discredit the commission in advance. In March eighty-eight of their followers (or dupes) issued an "Open Letter to American Liberals," published in the *Daily Worker*, demanding in effect that Trotsky remain muzzled and objecting to any sort of inquiry, which would only "lend support to fascist forces." Among its signers were Heywood Broun, Malcolm Cowley, Theodore Dreiser, Lillian Hellman, Corliss Lamont, Dorothy Parker, Paul Sweezy, and Nathaniel West, several of whom subsequently repented their action.

The committee members were pelted with foul epithets, badgered, and beset by after-midnight phone calls. Some were visited by delegations and made to understand that they might lose their friends or jobs if they persisted in their stand. Attempts were made to bribe others with offers of official visits to the Soviet Union or guaranteed sales of their books.

Ten of the endorsers did buckle, following the lead of Freda Kirchwey, editor of *The Nation*, who resigned after having been assailed by the *New Masses* as a "Trotskyist mouthpiece" for raising a few timid questions about the authenticity of the trials. One who withdrew privately admitted that he had acted out of fear and volunteered to make a secret contribution to the committee. But most of the members of the committee remained firm, and we managed to bring in new ones. I wrote Trotsky a report of this episode under the heading of "Ten Days that Shook the Committee," paraphrasing John Reed's celebrated account of the October 1917 days.

Early in 1937 preparations for the third trial began, although it was not actually held until March 1938. This trial was to link Trotsky with Nikolai Bukharin, former editor of *Pravda* and the official head of the Communist International from 1926 to 1929, and Alexei Rykov, Lenin's successor as chairperson of the Council of People's Commissars. The committee asked the Soviet government to permit us to send an observer and inform us in advance of the date of the trial. These requests were denied, although Moscow invited compliant foreign guests of its own choosing.

Chafing in Coyoacán and irked by the delay in the commission's formation, Trotsky felt that we in New York were lagging behind the tempo of events and the urgent needs of the counter-campaign. On March 15 he dispatched a letter to La Follette pressing for the immediate creation of the commission or at least its nucleus. He cautioned us not to wait until an ideal one had been assembled, fearing that if the birth of the commission was further held up, the Stalinists would move in and set up their own substitute to whitewash the trials, as they were trying to do in Mexico.

The committee cannot lose another hour, Trotsky wrote. "The next step can consist of a trip to Mexico (alas, I cannot at the moment come to New York) of a preparatory commission of three or five members, in order to hear my case and to decide if the facts and arguments are sufficient for the immediate opening of the inquiry. If Mr. Dewey is prevented by his age and his work from participating in the investigation itself, which will require months, all the more important is his participation in the pre-commission."

Under this prodding the committee executive called an emergency meeting, which voted to send a subcommission to Mexico forthwith. This was made possible by Margaret De Silver, widow of Albert De Silver, one of the founders of the American Civil Liberties Union, who donated

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# The Debate over McCarthyism

Victims of the witch-hunt period are speaking out in such works as 'The Front' and 'Scoundrel Time.' Cold war liberals long for 'the good old days' when dissent could be silenced.

By Stacey Seigle

During the 1950s American citizens who dared express socialist or other radical convictions courted real danger. They could lose their jobs and be barred through blacklisting from working in their trade or profession. They could be forced to appear before congressional committees assigned to investigate "subversion." If they refused to inform on friends and acquaintances accused of being "Communists," they could be imprisoned. It was a time when any violation of civil liberties was supposed to be justified when the clarion call of patriotism issued forth.

But times have changed. One sign of this change is the growing number of people who hold that the First Amendment freedoms of speech, press, association, and assembly apply to all without exception—and should have applied to all three decades ago when the witch-hunt that destroyed or scarred so many lives was launched.

The witch-hunt years are being widely discussed and reevaluated today. The tone for such discussion is no longer set by such exhibitions of police-state mentality as the late J. Edgar Hoover's *Masters of Deceit*. Today it is the victims of the witch-hunt rather than its perpetrators who receive a sympathetic hearing.

Among the recent works that have sought to expose aspects of the witch-hunt are *Thirty Years of Treason*, by Eric Bentley; *Inquest*, a play about the Rosenberg case by Donald Freed; *The Front*, a film by blacklist victim Walter Bernstein, starring Woody Allen; and *Scoundrel Time*, by Lillian Hellman.

It is as though a floodgate had been opened, releasing a torrent of emotions that built up during those years. These works present the bitterness, the triumphs, and the capitulations of the victims—the stories of the survivors and the stories of those who failed to survive.

Watergate played an important part in this great reversal. The downfall of Richard Nixon, who rose to prominence and power as one of the top witch-hunters, provided an apt symbol.

But the atmosphere that encouraged these works began to develop even before the Watergate scandal exploded. The change began with the sit-ins and mass demonstrations in the South, and with the massive movement against the Vietnam War. Many of those who suffered at the hands of the witch-hunters felt a surge of hope as a new generation defied the anticommunism of their old foes.

Lillian Hellman's *Scoundrel Time* is a short remembrance of the era of McCarthyism, as the witch-hunt came to be called. Hellman is a playwright, author of *The Little Foxes* and *The Children's Hour*. *Scoundrel Time* is the third volume of memoirs she has produced.

Her book is a personal account, less a history than a mental journey through a time that was difficult for her. Although Hellman makes no pretensions to historical insight, one sometimes wishes that her perception of the origins and end of the witch-hunt would rise above comments like "the time was ripe for a new wave" and "nothing can last in America more than ten years."

Hellman writes of her life in this period with her companion of many years, Dashiell Hammett. Hammett, the author of *The Maltese Falcon* and other novels, refused to answer questions before Sen. Joseph McCarthy's Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. The prison term



Dashiell Hammett (center), friend and companion of Lillian Hellman and author of 'The Maltese Falcon' and other mysteries, refused to answer questions of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee and went to jail for doing so. Cold war liberals such as Hilton Kramer and Nathan Glazer think the witch-hunt victims got what they deserved.

he served for this crime broke his health. Having little money and barred from most jobs in their fields, Hammett and Hellman were forced to sell their farm.

Hellman herself was subpoenaed by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. She read a letter to the committee agreeing to speak about herself, but refusing to testify about others. She expected, but never received, a jail term.

Hellman's attitude toward McCarthy, the young Richard Nixon, and the rest of the congressional inquisitors is one of bored contempt. She considers them unworthy even of her anger. Hellman's ire is reserved for the intellectuals of that time who failed to stand by their democratic convictions, who crumbled and named names, scrambling for a place on the anticommunist bandwagon.

"Many stood up to the witch-hunt with all the backbone of a bowl of mashed potatoes," Hellman told the audience at the March 28, 1977, academy awards extravaganza. (The changing mood of our day was indicated by the fact that Hellman received a standing ovation.)

*The Front* is probably the most popular of the current spate of anti-witch-hunt productions. The film depicts the efforts of blacklisted screenwriters to sell their works through a "front," a small-time entrepreneur who permits them to use his name for a price. In the end, the front himself is called before the Senate investigators and, in a heartwarming scene, musters the courage to tell Congress where to get off. The audience, apparently all over the country, applauds.

## Squawks from the Liberals

The challenge to the legitimacy of the anticommunist frenzy of the fifties has ruffled the feathers of some cold war liberals. The resulting squawks have served to draw attention to that quarter.

The cold war liberals include intellectual figures like Norman Podhoretz, the editor of *Commentary* magazine, and Prof. Sidney Hook. Cold war liberals are distinguished from flagrantly right-wing anticommunist crusaders by their expressed sympathy for the economic reforms of the Roosevelt era and their ties to the Democratic party.

Liberals of this stripe have a personal stake in preserving the blind anticommunism of the cold war era, which the witch-hunt helped to create. Many of them carved out careers as advisers to the U.S. government on how to "fight communism" at home and abroad, while others function

as publicists for the virtues of U.S. imperialism.

While some of the cold war liberals are blunt supporters of capitalism, others claim to be socialists. The Social Democrats USA and their monthly publication *New America* speak for this current.

The Social Democrats USA are closely linked to the trade-union bureaucracy, particularly AFL-CIO President George Meany and American Federation of Teachers President Albert Shanker. They fear the dissipation of the witch-hunt atmosphere. It was the witch-hunt that enabled the bureaucrats to eliminate opposition trends in the unions, drive radicals out of the plants, and establish a bureaucratic power monopoly in the American labor movement. The way they use red-baiting to try to maintain their grip on the unions was shown in the vicious campaign waged by the Abel-McBride leadership of the United Steelworkers of America against the insurgent campaign led by Ed Sadlowski.

The cold war liberals feel threatened by the fact that the American people just don't seem to fall for this kind of red-baiting the way they used to.

In an article entitled "The Blacklist and the Cold War" in the October 3, 1976, *New York Times*, art critic Hilton Kramer blasted *The Front* and *Scoundrel Time*, mocking these works as "a form of cultural chic." (In cold war liberal circles these days, it is considered sufficient to call a progressive idea or movement "chic" to justify dismissing it.)

The target of Kramer's denunciation is not only the victims of the 1950s witch-hunt, but also the radicals of today. He writes: "The point, it seems, is to acquit 60's radicalism of all malevolent consequence, and to do so by portraying 30's radicalism as similarly innocent, a phenomenon wholly benign, altruistic, and admirable."

Like the witch-hunters, Kramer presumes that membership in or sympathy with the Communist party is a crime, and that Hellman and other witch-hunt victims were therefore "guilty." Thus he attacks the film documentary *Hollywood on Trial* for omitting to mention that the late screenwriter Dalton Trumbo was a member of the Communist party for five years. According to Kramer, this omission meant that the film was upholding "the myth of total innocence."

The liberal view has been forgotten, Kramer wails. "What has been swamped in the new wave of revisionism about both the 60's and the 30's is the . . . view that regarded both Stalinism and the blacklist as threats to democracy—the view

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that looked upon both the conduct of the House Un-American Activities Committee and the values of the Communist party as plagues to be resisted."

### 'Plague on Both Houses'

Kramer's "plague on both your houses" posture toward the victims of the witch-hunt and their persecutors is typical of the view cold war liberals put forward today. (Their stand during the witch-hunt was a little less evenhanded, as Hellman and others have pointed out.) Writing in the December 1976 issue of *New America*, Elias Schwartzbart (a former Communist party member who was called before HUAC in 1953 and subsequently lost his position in government service) provides another example.

He baits *The Front* and *Scoundrel Time* as "neo-Stalinist" and charges them with the "demeaning of American democracy and democratic institutions." Stoutly predicting that "American democracy will . . . survive *The Front*," he links these works to "the assaults [on democracy] of all totalitarianisms in all their guises." He opines that "in the balance of history, the Communists and their fellow-traveling apologists must accept their share of responsibility for creating the conditions which gave the demagogues their opportunity."

Writing in the June 1976 issue of *Commentary*, Nathan Glazer is not content with the pose of attributing equal guilt to the red-baiters and to those they hounded. It was necessary to "expose the Communist organizers," he writes.

Kramer tries to justify his refusal to solidarize with the victims of the witch-hunt by pointing to the pro-Stalinist stands taken by Hellman at one time. He wonders whether "she has forgotten that she had joined in attacking the philosopher John Dewey, a pillar of the liberal establishment, for convening a commission of inquiry into the truth about the Moscow Trials."

It is a fact that Hellman took this position, which was to her discredit. But Kramer's stance is a particularly sickening bit of hypocrisy. John Dewey and others who helped expose Stalin's frame-ups were hardly anticommunist "pillars of the liberal establishment." At the time of the Moscow Trials, these figures were consistent defenders of civil liberties for all, including Communists. That is why they came to the defense of Trotsky and other victims of Stalin's purges.

This consistency put them on a higher plane than either the Stalinists and their sympathizers, who defended the frame-ups, or cold war liberals like Kramer. "Pillars of the liberal establishment" who fail to defend civil liberties in the United States are hardly likely to be reliable defenders of democratic rights in the Soviet Union or anywhere else.

Hellman states in *Scoundrel Time* that she no longer sympathizes with Stalinism and now recognizes the repressive character of the Soviet regime. She answered critics like Kramer and Glazer in advance by asking a simple question: "Since when do you have to agree with people to defend them from injustice?"

Kramer, Glazer, Schwartzbart, and others of their ilk hold that the Communist party members and sympathizers persecuted during the witch-hunt got what they deserved, although some now hold that the witch-hunt may have been a morally questionable way of giving it to them.

In their view, the witch-hunt was an understandable overreaction—at worst—to the totalitarian practices and crimes of the Soviet bureaucracy, and to the defense of these crimes by the American Stalinists. The U.S. rulers, they argue, were devoted to democracy and used the witch-hunt to protect democracy against Stalinist plotters.

### Origins of Witch-hunt

The real objectives of the anticommunist campaign were very different. The witch-hunt came at the conclusion of a long period of working-class radicalization in the United States. This radicalism reached a pinnacle in the formation of unions in the mass production industries under the aegis of the Congress of Industrial Organizations. Socialist ideas had won a significant degree of popularity.

Events at the end of World War II showed that this radicalization had not been completely dissipated by the patriotic sentiments generated by the war. U.S. troops in Asia organized massive demonstrations demanding, "Bring us home!" These actions forced the U.S. imperialists

to demobilize the armed forces, and forestalled efforts to intervene militarily in China in support of Chiang Kai-shek's dictatorship.

This upsurge was followed by the biggest strike wave in American history, which dealt a severe setback to big-business efforts to smash or severely weaken the industrial unions.

The main purpose of the witch-hunt was to reverse this radicalization, and to introduce sweeping new restrictions on democratic rights aimed at preventing a repetition. Such restrictions were seen as particularly necessary if the U.S. imperialists were to mobilize U.S. military and economic power for a global anticommunist crusade.

The Communist party was not the only target of the witch-hunt—it was not even the main one. The anticommunist persecutions were designed to intimidate anyone and everyone from speaking out in opposition to capitalist exploitation, repression, racism, and misrule.

The Taft-Hartley Act, containing severe restrictions on the right to strike, was passed in 1947. This law also forced labor-union officials to take a special "loyalty oath," swearing that they were not Communists or "subversives" before being allowed to participate in collective bargaining. This was a blow to union members' right to elect the leaders of their choice.

Teachers and other government employees were purged on the slightest suspicion of radicalism. In some cases, charges of "premature antifascism" (referring to those who opposed Hitler or Franco before the opening of World War II) or friendship with Blacks were considered sufficient evidence.

The House and Senate red-hunting committees were supplemented by witch-hunting bodies set up by state and local legislatures. These bodies subpoenaed individuals who had done nothing more than sign a petition in defense of Republican Spain or Russian War Relief.

The movie industry was purged and the resulting "self-censorship" practiced by the big companies sought to guarantee the conformist content of films.

At the federal level and in most localities, new legislation was adopted restricting freedom of advocacy and association. The Communist party and sometimes other political parties were banned by federal and state laws.

While socialist and progressive ideas were forced underground, racism, sexism, anti-Semitism, and other reactionary views gained—after all, there was nothing "communist" or "un-American" about them! The racist McCarran-Walter Act, which set up restrictions on immigration, was adopted, while antilynching legislation went down to defeat.

The congressional committees and the Smith Act and "spy" trials were only the tip of the iceberg of repression. Support for any view critical of the status quo—indeed, nonconformity of any kind—became a risky business. Such ideas and behavior could always be labeled "communist."

The rulers were successful to a large degree in accomplishing the goal of reversing the radicalization that had taken root during the depression. Economic prosperity contributed to this process as well. Anticapitalist ideas were isolated, and even forced into a semilegal existence.

### An Easy Target

The Communist party was chosen as the first victim not because it presented a threat to capitalist democracy, but because its adherence to Stalinism and defense of persecution in the Soviet Union made it an easy target.

It had alienated civil libertarians by supporting the prosecution of the Minneapolis Trotskyist and Teamster union leaders, first victims of the Smith Act, in 1941. It had alienated oppressed minorities by denouncing Blacks who demonstrated for equal opportunity during World War II as "pro-fascist," and by its support for the racist relocation of thousands of Japanese-Americans into concentration camps on the flimsy pretext of "national security." It had alienated labor by its ultrapatriotic denunciations of strikes during World War II.

Even in the midst of the witch-hunt against the Communist party, the U.S. Stalinists could not bring themselves to stand up for the rights of other socialist currents. When James Kutcher, a member of the Socialist Workers party, was fired from his job with the Veterans Administration because of his socialist views, CPers slanderous-

ly denounced him as a "fascist."

Many pointed to this abysmal record to try to justify no defense of the Communist party when it came under attack. Liberals like Glazer saw the CP's record as a made-to-order "moral" justification for joining the witch-hunters. By attacking the Communist party first, the ruling class was able to rally some popular support for a broad assault on democratic rights.

The witch-hunt also played a part in the imperialist effort to win public acceptance for a vast arms budget, for the new U.S. role as world cop, and for the prospect of a third world war against the Soviet Union. The red-baiters sought to suppress any criticism of U.S. imperialism's foreign policy.

For liberals like Kramer and Glazer, the cold war was an effort by the Soviet Union to conquer the world for totalitarianism. Hilton Kramer is alarmed by the fact that "revisionist" historians of the postwar period are challenging this thesis. These historians, writes Kramer, "have been laboring to persuade us that the Cold War was somehow a malevolent conspiracy of the Western democracies to undermine the benign intentions of the Soviet Union."

However, the assumptions of the cold war liberals simply don't fit the facts about the cold war and the role of the Soviet Union. Far from being a grab at world dominion by Stalin, the cold war began as an attempt by the U.S. rulers to use their nuclear monopoly to impose their will on the postwar world—in particular, to overturn the remaining conquests of the Russian revolution and smash the colonial uprisings. This has been confirmed by the facts collected by "revisionist" historians, to Kramer's consternation.

Hellman makes a good point about the prowar, proimperialist logic of the stance of the cold war liberals: "Many who were right about [repression in] Russia," she writes, ". . . made use of their anti-Communism to play ball with the wrong people and many of them are still at it."

### An Injury to One. . .

However, not everyone who opposed Stalinist repression in the Soviet Union became an anticommunist or "played ball" with the imperialist rulers in their attacks on civil liberties. There were some who stuck with the old slogan of the labor movement that "an injury to one is an injury to all."

Among these forces was the Socialist Workers party. Recognizing that the battle to protect the right to dissent is vital to the working class, the Socialist Workers party defended the Communist party against the congressional inquisitions and frame-up trials that were launched against it. They rejected the false assertion of the cold war liberals (echoed by the Stalinists) that the only choice was between supporting Stalinist totalitarianism or aligning with the State Department and the CIA. Instead, the SWP continued the battle for socialist democracy at home and abroad.

Consistent defense of democratic rights of all prepared the SWP for its current effort to expose the antidemocratic practices of the U.S. government and its police agencies, through its path-breaking \$40 million lawsuit against government harassment. This suit in turn has played a part in creating the political atmosphere in which the witch-hunt victims have begun to expose the crimes that were committed against them.

One does not have to agree with the past or present political views of Hellman or others who suffered during the period of McCarthyism in order to be cheered and inspired by the appearance of books like *Scoundrel Time* and films like *The Front*. All it takes is a commitment to the defense and extension of those basic human and democratic rights that came under such fierce attack in the period described by these works. It is precisely that commitment which the cold war liberals lack.

Today we can see the first stirrings of a renewed fighting spirit among working people in this country, a spirit that promises to have even more profound results than the radicalization that the witch-hunt helped bring to an end. The "radicalism of the 1960s," far from fading away, as the Kramers and Glazers may have hoped, has spread far beyond the college campuses. It is this development that is sweeping away the remnants of the anticommunist witch-hunt atmosphere of the 1950s.



# The New Rise of Women in Spain

After nearly forty years of silence, women in Spain are again demanding their rights and helping to batter down the repressive laws and institutions of the Francoite dictatorship.

By Joanna Rossi

Today is an inspiring time for feminists in Spain. After almost forty years of silence, angry voices of women are being raised throughout the country, demanding equality and liberation for their sex. Few days pass without some protest gathering of women—meetings, demonstrations, study sessions, conferences, picket lines. It's a development that is reverberating throughout the country, challenging an extremely reactionary view of women and retrogressive laws, which have held sway since the end of the 1930s.

## The First Wave of Feminism in Spain

As in other countries, this new wave of the women's movement in Spain is not the first time women have radicalized and demanded their rights. A short chapter was written forty years ago prior to and during the civil war that ended with the victory of Francoist fascism.

For decades prior to the 1930s, the workers and peasants of Spain had been struggling to abolish the grinding poverty and misery in which they lived. In 1931 the monarchy collapsed and the second Spanish republic was installed. Its coming was enthusiastically hailed. For the vast majority, the Republic, in theory at least, held out the promise of a bright future, where oppression and exploitation would be ended. Many believed that a socialist revolution was both necessary and just around the corner.

As in all such periods, the voices and demands of the most oppressed, including women, were raised. Women began to organize and become politically active, even before they won the right to vote. Under the Republic, for the first time women were elected to parliament. Meetings were held, pamphlets written, and debates raged in the press.

In response to these pressures, the Republican government passed a series of laws in support of women's rights, including the right to vote, to legal divorce, to abortion, and to civil marriage. Women won greater access to a wider variety of professions and jobs.

Sara Guillén, a seamstress in a corset factory, who was seventeen years old in 1938, recalled the atmosphere of those days in an interview in *Vindicación Feminista*, a women's liberation magazine, which recently began publishing in Barcelona. "I was very impatient to do something for the revolution," she said. First she joined the National Workers Confederation (Confederación Nacional del Trabajo), a large anarchist union. Later she joined the anarchist women's group, *Mujeres Libres* (Free Women).

*Mujeres Libres* was the most widely known women's organization in Spain at that time. Founded in June 1936 it was active until February 1939. Its primary struggle was for the emancipation of women, but it also was in favor of a socialist revolution. At its first national congress, held in Valencia in August 1937, the number of activists in *Mujeres Libres* was reported to be 20,000.

*Mujeres Libres* also published a magazine with the same name as the organization. Reminiscent of the writings that emerged in the early days of the North American women's movement of the 1960s and 1970s, and of articles in Spain today, the magazine discussed such topics as women's social situation, the double moral standard,

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Vindicación Feminista

A mass women's movement arose in Spain in the 1930s. Women were prominent in the propaganda of the Republican forces, as this poster of the civil war days exemplifies.

women in work and education, sexuality, maternity, prostitution, and much more.

During the years of the civil war, women's activities intensified. Sara Guillén recalled, "There was not a single inactive woman in my neighborhood." Suceso Portales, vice-secretary of the national committee of *Mujeres Libres*, was asked by *Vindicación* what women did in those days.

According to Portales they did almost everything, "... from the work of building barricades in the intersections of streets on the outskirts of Madrid, pulling up cobblestones, shoveling dirt, filling sand bags, to guaranteeing the smooth functioning of the movie theaters, because it was necessary at all costs to maintain morale. Women were always involved, in every way."

They worked in large numbers in the collectivized or war industries, took part in the street fighting arms in hand, and fought at the front against the Franco forces. Many gave their lives, either at the front or during bomb raids, for the struggle they thought would usher in a new society, one in which women would no longer be treated as inferior.

But their expectations and efforts were betrayed, and much of the responsibility rests with the misleaders of the workers movement, whom the vast majority of the population, men and women included, trusted to lead them in a struggle for socialism.

The Socialist party and Communist party leaders subordinated the demands of women, working people, and the peasantry to their deals with the capitalist rulers who remained on the side of the Republic, but who were mortally opposed to any thorough-going social change. As a consequence, not one of the major tasks that faced the Republican regime was fully accom-

plished. All of them affected the position of women.

Land was not given to the peasantry, who were literally starving to death in the countryside. The peasants comprised some 70 percent of the population.

The reactionary and privileged army caste was never dismantled and continued to be a grave threat to all gains. The Catholic church, which held vast amounts of wealth and economic power, was permitted to continue its sabotage of the unfolding revolution.

The Republican government continued the subjugation of the Spanish colony of Morocco, which helped enable Franco to stage his uprising from there. In regard to the oppressed nationalities within Spain, the Republican regime advanced timid half-measures or did nothing.

Finally, the Republican government proved unable to develop the productive forces of transportation and industry. By the end of 1933 there were a million and a half unemployed.

The policy of the Stalinist and social democratic leaderships was to limit the mobilization and demands of the masses to the level acceptable to the liberal capitalists and landlords. This policy crippled the resistance to Franco's revolt. The working people of Spain, the peasants, and women, lost the civil war and saw their revolution betrayed. The iron heel of the "Caudillo" descended on all of Spain.

Women were among the prime victims of the savage reprisals against Republicans, which took place during and immediately after the war. There were, for example, many cases of women's breasts being cut off and of other sexual tortures and rapes before women were killed by the fascist troops.

The fascist attitude toward women, soon to be

elevated to the level of official ideology, was expressed unambiguously from the beginning. All the pro-women laws were overturned. On December 28, 1939, Franco entrusted "guardianship" over all women to the Women's Section of the Falange, the fascist movement. This soon became part of the gargantuan repressive machine whose aim was to bring women, as well as every other sector of the population, under its control.

Placed at the head of the Women's Section was Pilar Primo de Rivera, herself a prominent fascist and sister of José Antonio Primo de Rivera, founder of the Falange.

Their goals were clear. An official statute declared: "The State recognizes and protects the family as an institution and as the basis of society, with rights and obligations before and superior to all human law." Article 57 of the Civil Code stated, "The husband must protect the woman and she must obey the husband." As early as 1938, while the war still continued, a fascist labor decree stated that the future state "will liberate the married woman from the workshop and factory." Men were declared to be sole head of the family because "nature, religion and history" so decree.

In brief, women's destiny was to serve husband, home, and children. The Women's Section of the Falange was expressly charged with training women for their family duties, including spiritually, by means of a compulsory "social service," a period of domestic training that all women between eighteen and thirty-five years of age had to undergo.

These principles have continued to be enshrined in law to this day. In the 1960s and 1970s a few minor modifications were introduced into the legal code, but the spirit of the laws remained the same. In fact, Franco's minister of justice commented when one of these changes took place, "When I speak of equality, I am referring to the judicial situation which the dignity of the human individual requires. Of course I am not referring to a nonexistent utopian, and even ridiculous equality of possibilities or capabilities between the sexes. This is something that science, prudence, and, above all, nature unanimously reject."

Such antediluvian theories formed the ideological basis for a brutally repressive body of anti-women legislation. In the first place, women are steered toward and then locked inside the family. Divorce is illegal. Women can be indicted for leaving the family home without their husband's or their father's permission. People can be prosecuted for living in common-law relationships.

Many laws detail duties for and restrictions upon married women. Adultery is a crime, with possible sentences of up to six years in prison and stiff fines. Adultery laws seldom apply to men. Wife beating is common.

There are few child-care centers. Abortion is totally illegal, with possible sentences of up to six years in prison. Although the actual use of contraceptives is not prohibited, the Catch-22 clause is that it is illegal to manufacture, prescribe, advertise, or sell them. Sex education is non-existent. Single mothers rate special scorn. Children born outside of legal marriage are officially designated as illegitimate.

There is no equality in work, either in access to jobs or in wages. Fifty percent of Spanish women are housewives, but many of them work in their own homes doing poorly paid piecework. Discrimination exists throughout the educational system. Of seventeen technical schools, only two are for women.

### Women in Spanish Jails

Although it is difficult to get precise figures, there may be as many as six to seven hundred women in Spanish jails, with some 80 percent of them there for so-called female crimes. Thirty percent are serving time for having had or cooperated in performing abortions or attempted abortions. It is estimated that there are around 400,000 abortions each year, all of them clandestine. In some cases accumulated abortion sentences for individual women can run as high as twenty to thirty years. Between 1969 and 1973, 248 people were found guilty of this "crime."

A smaller category of women prisoners are those jailed for adultery, abandoning their family home, or living in common-law relationships. A smaller number are those designated political prisoners, in jail for "illegal associa-

tion," distributing illegal propaganda, and similar activity.

Lydia Falcón, the Spanish lawyer, author, and feminist, who was herself arrested for political reasons six times and who spent a total of fourteen months in Franco's jails, has described them as "warehouses of misery and pain." The worst prisons, according to Falcón, are those run by an order of Roman Catholic nuns called the Cruzadas (Crusades—a reference to Franco's "crusade" to liberate the country from communism and atheism in the 1930s).

The repression in these prisons is complete, says Falcón. There are no books or newspapers, nor is there any place to study or read. Students cannot take examinations. There is only one shower allowed per week. Women cannot wear slacks, short skirts, or dresses without sleeves.

Political prisoners are separated from other women. Political prisoners cannot see a doctor or even, if they wish to, attend church alone. They must always be accompanied by one of the nuns.

In an especially difficult position are pregnant women. Of course they cannot have abortions. According to Falcón, there are cases of women with several small children being raised in the cells with their mothers.

The partial amnesties decreed with such fanfare by Franco's heirs do not touch the majority of these women. They continue to rot in jail, victims of a sadistic, sexist way of life. For most of them their only crime was to try in some way to break free from the straitjacket placed on them by fascist society.

### The New Rise of the Women's Movement

The recent upsurge of women is part of a broader radicalization of Spanish society. Assuming massive proportions since the death of Franco, the militant strikes and political demonstrations of the working class have begun to challenge the overall repression that has so long stifled Spanish life.

It is a new and young working class, fed up with a low standard of living, inflation, wage freezes, and the lack of political rights. It is a new generation, which has not hesitated to stand up to the bullets of the fascist forces of law and order to wrest some rights from a dying dictatorship.

The period of economic development that got under way in the mid-sixties brought changes in the situation of the working class, as well as changes for women. Many migrated from the countryside into the working-class neighborhoods or slums that grew up around the industrial centers. More women were drawn into the work force.

The first steps toward organization by women around their own demands occurred in the late 1960s and early 1970s in a manner similar to early developments in the North American women's movement. Students and professional women, including some who had come into contact with the women's liberation movement outside Spain, began reading and discussing their situation. A few books began to appear.

Since any kind of opposition political organizing was prohibited, during these early years meetings often took place within the framework of legal bodies such as university associations. By 1970 small meetings of women were occurring frequently, not only in universities or among more conscious feminists, but also on the neighborhood level, in housewives associations or neighborhood committees.

But it was the death of Franco, combined with the new militancy of the workers movement and the partial opening up of the political situation, that really impelled the emerging women's movement forward. International Women's Year, with its broad publicity for, and legitimization of, women's rights, also had an impact.

Since then the movement has blossomed out in all directions. There has been an avalanche of articles and debates in the newspapers and magazines. All taboo questions are being discussed, all myths and reactionary laws challenged. Feminist ideas are being expressed everywhere, from the factory to the university, within political parties, in the streets. A strength of the new movement is its tendency to turn to direct action—conferences, strikes, pickets, sit-ins, teach-ins, and militant street demonstrations.

Some examples show this. The first national "Women's Liberation Days" were held in Madrid

in December 1975. This was the first conference of its kind since the 1930s. Although it was illegal, some 500 women attended. There was broad discussion and debate on all questions concerning women, and the conference closed by adopting a platform of women's rights. On January 15, 1976, 5,000 women demonstrated in Madrid around the conference's demands.

On March 8, International Women's Day, 1,000 people, mostly women, demonstrated in front of the "Trinidad," the central women's prison in Barcelona, protesting the inhumane conditions of the women prisoners. Mother's Day saw another Barcelona demonstration of some 6,000-7,000 people. The main demands were for rights to unmarried mothers, free and legal abortion and contraception, and abolition of "patria potestad," the control fathers have over children.

In early May more than 1,000 women, men, and children organized by a university women's group demonstrated at the University of Madrid demanding child-care centers. Marchers chanted, "No to the police; we want child care" and "Amnesty and freedom."

At the end of May came the legal Catalan Women's Days, held in a stately university hall in Barcelona. Some 4,000 women attended during the course of the conference, engaging in a lively and at times emotional exchange of ideas and polemic. The conference ended with a demonstration that was abruptly dispersed by the cops.

In June in Madrid, more than 50,000, mostly women, demonstrated against the rising cost of living and for legalization of the neighborhood associations in which many women are active. In May and June fourteen Barcelona child-care centers were occupied by their staff, parents, and children. The main demand: Free, public, and democratically run child-care centers for everyone.

November 24, 1976, saw a number of simultaneous demonstrations in Madrid. Some 7,000 people braved continued cop charges to demonstrate around the theme of "Women's Rights." On this same evening in Barcelona, 2,000 women and men turned out to hear U.S. feminist and leader of the Socialist Workers party Linda Jenness speak on the topic "Feminism and Socialism."

Throughout these months various strikes by women workers occurred. One example was the militant strike conducted by saleswomen in the Simago chain of department stores in Madrid. Women also continued their role of strike support, as in the case of the bitterly fought Motor Ibérica strike in Barcelona. In several workplaces, such as banks and health centers, women began meeting to discuss their specific demands as women.

As in other countries, the women's movement in Spain has seen the emergence of currents with differing political approaches. These currents include the traditional reformist workers parties and groups connected with them; radical feminists; various groups of independent socialist feminists; and revolutionary socialists.

### The Reformists

The Democratic Women's Movement (el Movimiento Democrático de Mujeres—MDM) was formed in 1965. In 1974 "Women's Liberation Movement" (MLM) was added to the name. In an interview published in the newsmagazine *Triunfo* in April 1976 several MDM/MLM spokespersons defined their organization "as a social-political movement that gives priority to the demands raised by the entire woman question and, flowing from undertaking responsibility on this, we propose linking all women into the broader framework of the general struggle for democracy in Spain."

The MDM/MLM is generally acknowledged to be linked closely to the Communist party of Spain (CP). The CP is by far the largest workers party in Spain. Its written positions concerning women appear to be in advance of those of many other CPs around the world. It calls for equal pay for equal work, for child-care centers, for legal contraceptives and divorce, and for abolition of all legislation that discriminates against women. It says it is against the domestic slavery of women in "the traditional family." The CP calls for a democratic and socialist society that will eliminate women's inferior status. "At the same," states the party's program, "there is nothing automatic between the conquest of liberty and socialism and the full liberation of women. Even in the socialist societies—despite conquests



attained—women continue to suffer discrimination on many levels, and a good part of society considers it 'natural' that women are inferior to men in certain spheres."

The CP document states that discrimination against women has existed even in their own ranks, and that this must be ended. It claims: "... we are, we must be a feminist party. We are the party of the liberation of women."

Despite these fine words, in practice the MDM/MLM and the CP have a policy of subordinating women's demands to the liberal capitalist wing of the "democratic opposition." For example, prior to the Catalan Women's Days, members of these groups tried to maneuver the conference into supporting the Catalan Assembly, a political front that joins both bourgeois and workers parties in a class-collaborationist strategy to make deals with the Francoist regime.

The second major reformist party in Spain is the social democracy, the Spanish Socialist Workers party (Partido Socialista Obrero Español—PSOE). It is much smaller than the Communist party and does not have a good record in the feminist movement. Most feminists I've spoken to say it has not participated in the movement, and it is scarcely ever mentioned in newspaper articles that cover feminism.

On the other hand, the PSOE and the union affiliated to it, the UGT (Unión General de Trabajadores—General Workers Union) have distributed brochures that generally support women's demands, and the recent convention of the PSOE adopted a women's platform supporting demands raised by the feminist movement, including the right to free, legal abortion.

One other reformist group deserves mention. Founded in March 1976 the ADM (Asociación Democrática de Mujeres—Democratic Women's Association) is led by the Workers party, a sizable Maoist grouping.

### The Radical Feminists

The radical feminists, grouped into various feminist "Collectives," are not large in number but are well organized. Their ideas have spurred wide debate within the women's movement and the left in Spain.

Women of the Collectives support all the immediate and farther-ranging demands of the women's movement. They depart from other groups in that they call upon women to leave the existing political parties and build a woman's party. They are opposed to "dual membership," that is, women belonging to both a political party and to a feminist group.

The September 1976 issue of *Vindicación feminista* carried an article on the views of the radical feminists entitled, "The Feminist Collectives Define Themselves." Collective women claim to base themselves on the Marxist method. They begin by stating that women are a class because they have a specific relationship to the means of production; that is, they are engaged in "production" within the family—domestic labor. All women who work in the home are "exploited," as the Collectives define it, by this work.

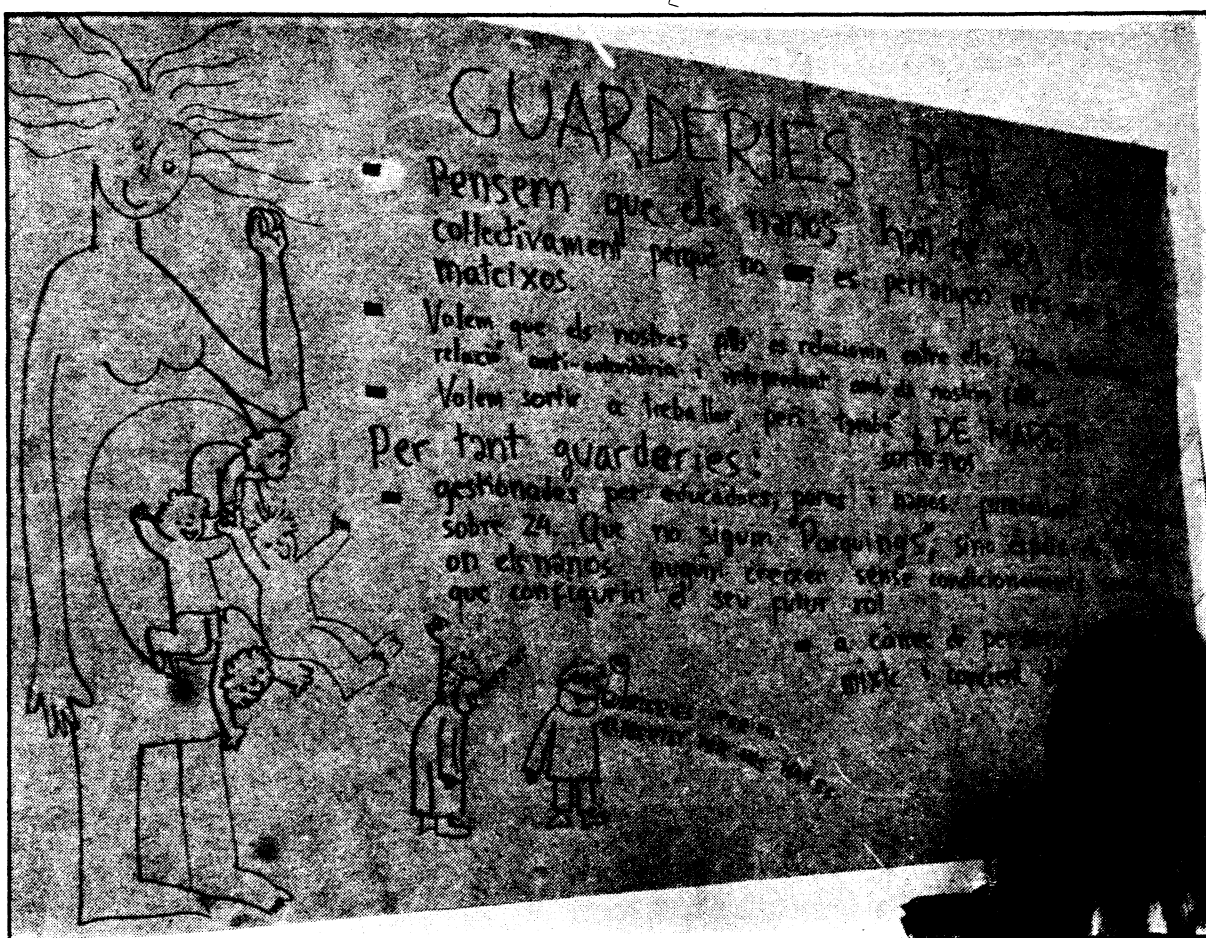
Men of all social classes benefit from this exploitation of women, and this means that the primary contradiction in society is between women as a class and all men.

Radical feminists reject the idea that the institutions of class-based society are the cause of women's oppression as a sex. The radical feminist thesis of sex against sex was rejected by a majority of women present at both the large women's liberation conferences.

### Socialist Feminists

A third important current is represented by socialist feminist groupings, two of the most prominent being ANCHE (Asociación Nacional para la Comunicación Humana y la Ecología—National Association for Human Communication and Ecology, a name inherited from the days of organizing within umbrella legal groups) in Barcelona and the Women's Liberation Front (Frente de Liberación de la Mujer, commonly known as "Frente") in Madrid.

Shortly after the December 1975 Madrid Women's Liberation Days, a group of women who had opposed the radical feminist theses formed the Frente. Frente defends and fights for all women's demands, calling for "the abolition of all the economic, juridical and ideologic structures of domination, and the traditional family, as well as the incorporation of all women



Joanna Rossi

Display at Catalan Women's Day Conference of 4,000 women in May 1976. Poster reads: 'Why do we need child-care centers? We think that children should be taken care of collectively because they belong to no one but themselves. We want our children to get along together. We want to have an anti-authoritarian and independent relationship with our children. We want to go out to work but also get out from under the pressures of child care. So we need child-care centers run by teachers, parents, and children, operating twenty-four hours a day. We need child-care centers that will not be just "parking lots" for children but areas of freedom where they can grow up without being sexually conditioned to fill predetermined roles.' The children are saying: 'Freedom for me and for our mothers.'

into socially, politically and creatively productive tasks, and the socialization of domestic work and education."

Frente members have participated in many demonstrations and activities in Madrid. They advocate unity with all feminist groups in concrete actions. They do not prohibit their members from belonging to political parties.

Also participating actively in the feminist upsurge are the two Trotskyist organizations, the Communist League (LC) and Revolutionary Communist League (LCR). Both give wholehearted support to the new movement and have participated in it from its earliest public beginnings. They support the independent organization of women around all their demands.

A leaflet distributed by the LCR summed up these demands. They call for equal pay for equal work and for equal job opportunities. They advocate 100 percent maternity pay, and free and permanent child-care centers at workplaces and in the neighborhoods. They call for equal education and training within a coeducational system. In place of the present repressive and compulsory family life, they propose social services to free women from domestic drudgery.

Full equality before the law is stressed, including legal divorce and free abortion and contraception. They join with others calling for amnesty for all those accused of "women's" crimes.

At the same time, the LC and LCR point out that the full emancipation of women cannot be met under patriarchal, capitalist society, that only a socialist society can meet women's needs. They stress, however, that women must not subordinate their struggle to an alliance with liberal capitalist politicians. They warn feminists of the danger of this approach of the Communist and Socialist parties, even though these parties may cover it with sometimes radical verbiage. This is the very approach, they point out, that led to defeat in the 1930s.

They also diverge from the radical feminists, pointing out that women's oppression originated with the development of private property and the division of society into classes, and that the struggle for liberation can only be successful if directed against the entire system of capitalist exploitation. They explain that it was not working-class men, but a reactionary bureaucratic caste that closed the doors to women's complete emancipation in what the radical feminists call socialist societies.

Members of the LC and LCR are firmly in favor of united actions amongst all women's groups, in spite of the differences that the

various groups have.

In an interview in the December 15 issue of *Combate*, the LC newspaper, Dolores Tomas, a feminist and member of the LC Catalan National Committee, explained: "We are for the coordination of all existing groups with a single objective: to propel forward mass mobilizations around demands specifically against women's oppression."

The desire for unity in action is very pronounced amongst all groups today. Coordination committees have sprung up in a number of cities. Two of the most prominent issues are adultery and divorce. Revulsion toward the adultery laws is evident everywhere, and polls on divorce show between 52 and 73 percent of the population (depending on the poll) supports legalized divorce. Massive campaigns around these and other issues can win gains and have a powerful impact, not only for women, but for the entire population struggling to divest itself of the chains of the Francoist dictatorship.

It is also clear that many of the women now organizing will not be satisfied with crumbs, or mere cosmetic changes. An example of this was given by a leaflet distributed by a women's committee of a neighborhood association on the eve of the December 15, 1976, referendum in Spain.

The referendum was a flagrantly rigged poll asking Spaniards to approve a face-lifting "liberalization" of the regime. The women from this neighborhood called on all women to boycott the referendum, explaining its fraudulent character. Among other things they noted that "access to the media is denied to political parties, union organizations and the rest of the popular organizations, including the feminist movement, so they cannot present their alternatives."

"... the Law on Political Reform which is offered to us," the leaflet continues, "does not deal in any way with the specific problems of women, and opens no doors to their liberation. ... A valid political alternative cannot be worked out without the active participation of women."

Active political participation of women is very obvious in Spain today. Women are serving notice to Franco's heirs that they will no longer tolerate their degraded position. Their combativity, their demands for equality and full liberation, demonstrated in the past and becoming more and more explosive today, will not easily be turned aside.

—March 1977



# ...Commission

Continued from page ISRI/4

\$5,000 on the spot to defray its expenses.

After Sidney Hook had sounded out Dewey's reaction to the proposal, James P. Cannon and I went to see the philosopher at his apartment and set forth the reasons why he should accept. He agreed to do so, although he was seventy-eight years old, was in the midst of his major work on logic, and members of his family opposed the journey. The Stalinist campaign of disruption only hardened his resolve to go.

He wrote in a letter at the time: "Those of us who believe that a Commission of Inquiry is a practical way to resolve this problem must ourselves accept the responsibility of constituting the Commission. As you are undoubtedly aware, I hold no brief for Mr. Trotsky's politics. What is at stake is not Mr. Trotsky's politics at all, but the basic principles of democratic rights. The liberal and labor movement is unfortunately divided on this issue. The division cannot be healed by keeping silent, for this is a method of intellectual stultification. The division can only be healed by a thorough airing of the issues through a body of Commissioners who cannot successfully be libeled as enemies of the Soviet Union."

The day before the Dewey delegation departed, I announced for the committee that the Soviet government, through its ambassador in Washington, had been invited to send representatives to the hearings with full rights of cross-examination and that a similar invitation had been extended to the American Communist party, "which supports the official version of the trials." Needless to say, neither took advantage of the opportunity to expose Trotsky face to face.

Six of us left New York on April 2 via the Sunshine Special: Dewey and two other commission members, Suzanne La Follette and the labor journalist Ben Stolberg; Pearl Kluger, who served as secretarial assistant; James T. Farrell; and myself. I had proposed Farrell for the commission but Stolberg objected for petty reasons. Nonetheless Farrell came along out of his intense interest in the mission, which he considered of historic importance.

He gave a vivid account of the whole experience in an article "Dewey in Mexico," published in *John Dewey: Philosopher of Science and Freedom* (New York: Dial, 1950), a symposium tendered to the philosopher on his ninetieth birthday. Farrell noted that on the train Dewey "did quite a bit of studying and reading [to prepare for the hearings] . . . He also did everything for himself and would let no one help him . . . He always looked spic and span for meals. He is a very shrewd man, and a very wise one, and he gets the gist of things in a quiet and unobtrusive way. He does not get fooled by speeches, or tricks. . . . He states his impressions slowly, honestly, in a rather colorless language, but you see that when he does, he usually 'states' a point which goes to the gist of the question . . . Dewey has tremendous humility . . . Dewey has real fiber."

I too was put at ease by his sociability and had several conversations with him about contemporary philosophy. When he learned that I had been a pupil and disciple of Whitehead's at Harvard, he gave me a paper he had just published about the latter's ideas and indicated that, though he admired Whitehead's gentleness and erudition, he had little use for his metaphysical system.

Dewey was pleased to have me along (he wrote his wife-to-be that I was "very nice"), but the other two felt differently. The Stalinist press had carried threats that the subcommission would never reach Mexico City and it was feared that the train might be derailed en route. Although the possibility didn't seem to disturb Dewey, the younger commissioners were quite jittery. They wanted me to stay away from them on the pretext that too close association with a Trotskyist might undermine the autonomy and prejudice the impartiality of the commission. This concern was grossly exaggerated since it was no secret that the committee of which I was secretary had helped bring the commission into being and was publicizing it widely.

When Stolberg and La Follette met Trotsky in Coyoacán, they insisted that I should have nothing to do with the commission's arrangements. Trotsky invited me in to discuss this as

well as other complications connected with the hearings. He explained that it was necessary to make concessions to the objectors and mollify personal frictions so that the commission could get on with its task. I did not need any persuasion to comply with this policy. Accordingly, all the facilities for the commission while it was in Mexico City were handled—and very capably too—by the non-Trotskyist contingent of the committee, including Herbert Solow, John McDonald, and Charles and Adelaide Walker.

As soon as this matter was disposed of, Trotsky showed me the summary speech to the commission upon which he was working and asked my opinion of it. I suggested the addition of several minor points, which he incorporated in the final text. It was his way of solidarizing with a comrade and co-workers against the nonparty critics. I learned a lesson from this incident for my own future guidance.

## Barricaded Hearing Room

The hearings began on the morning of April 10 at the home of Avenida Londres that the Riveras had turned over for the Trotsky household. They were held in a rectangular room that had been barricaded with cement blocks and sandbags so no assassin could shoot through the French windows. Trotsky sat at his desk by the wall flanked by his secretaries, Jean van Heijenoort and Jan Frankel; Natalia was near him on his left. The subcommission was disposed around a table at one end of the room. Present, in addition to the three from New York, were Otto Ruehle, former member of the German Reichstag and friend of Karl Liebknecht, and Carleton Beals, the writer on Latin American affairs, who asked compromising questions that jeopardized Trotsky's security in Mexico, refused to collaborate with the other commission members, and resigned in the middle of the hearings. Trotsky's counsel, Albert Goldman of Chicago, and John Finerty, the commission's counsel, faced Trotsky. Finerty had previously acted as attorney for Tom Mooney, Eamon De Valera, Sacco and Vanzetti, and even Earl Browder. I sat with the news reporters and other visitors at the opposite end of the long room and fixed my gaze on Trotsky as he submitted to the questioners.

Dewey made the point in his introductory statement that: "The simple fact that we are here is evidence that the conscience of the world is not as yet satisfied on this historic issue. This world-conscience demands that Mr. Trotsky be not finally condemned before he has had full opportunity to present whatever evidence is in his possession in reply to the verdict pronounced upon him in hearings at which he was neither present nor represented. The right to a hearing before condemnation is such an elementary right in every civilized country that it would be absurd for us to reassert it were it not for the efforts which have been made to prevent Mr. Trotsky from being heard, and the efforts that are now being made to discredit the work of this Commission of Inquiry."

He concluded by saying in his own name: "I have given my life to the work of education, which I have conceived to be that of public enlightenment in the interests of society. If I finally accepted the responsible post I now occupy, it was because I realized that to act otherwise would be to be false to my lifework."

In a brief reply Trotsky apologized for his inadequate English. It is, he stated, "the weakest point of my position. For everything else I do not ask the slightest indulgence. I do not demand any *a priori* confidence in my affirmations. The task of this Commission of investigation is to verify everything from the beginning to the end. My duty is simply to help it in its work. I will try to accomplish this duty faithfully before the eyes of the whole world."

Dewey privately observed that "Trotsky's English was better than we expected." Indeed, his week-long capacity to answer all the questions directed to him on so many events and subjects in so unfamiliar a tongue was an amazing intellectual tour de force.

In the middle of the eighth session, after expounding the ebbs and flows of reaction and revolution in his lifetime, Trotsky concluded: "I have patience. Three revolutions have made me patient. It is absolutely necessary for a revolutionist to be patient. It is a false idea that a revolutionary must be impatient. Adventurists are impatient, but a revolutionary is patient."

The listeners were puzzled by his pronunciation because Trotsky pronounced the word "patient" as "passion" and "patience" as "passions," which hardly seemed fitting. Then the point dawned upon the interpreter. "You mean 'patience'."

"Yes," Trotsky replied, "a revolutionary must also know English and with the help of patience I will learn English." The laughter that exploded at this sally was a rare moment of lightness during a weighty interrogation.

The hearings lasted from April 10 to 17 and went through thirteen sessions. The verbatim record, which was expertly transcribed by a Chicago comrade, Albert Glotzer, is available in *The Case of Leon Trotsky* (New York: Merit, 1968). That obviates the need for this anniversary memoir to retrace the ground covered in it.

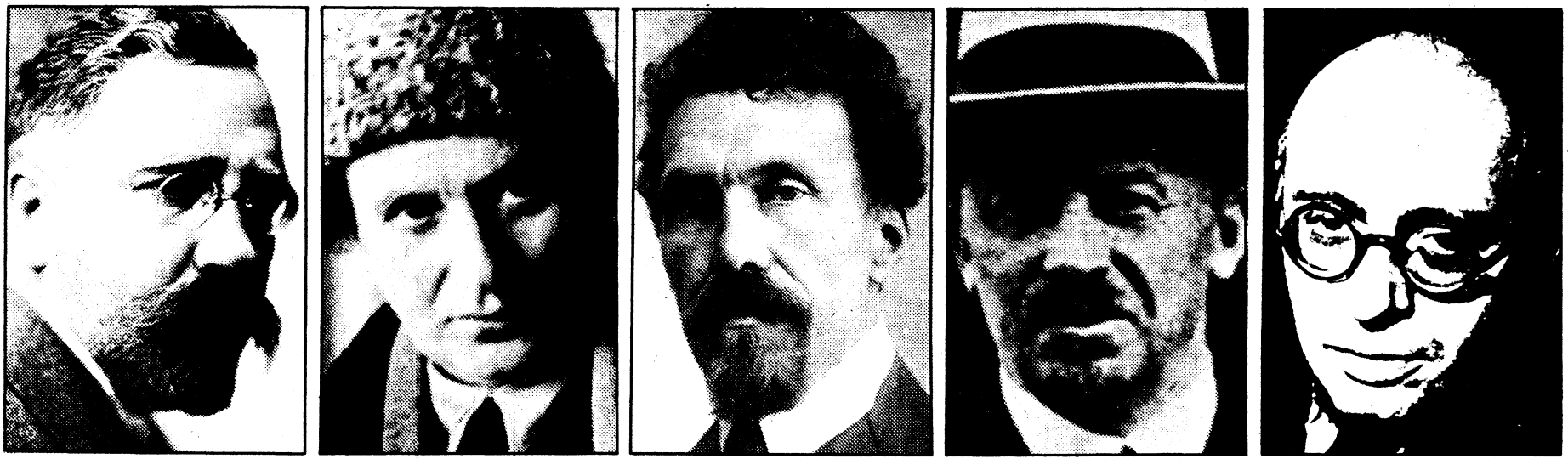
"By the end no question had been left unanswered, no important issue blurred, no serious historic event unilluminated," wrote Isaac Deutscher in *The Prophet Outcast*. "Thirteen years later Dewey, who had spent so much of his life in academic debate and was still as opposed as ever to Trotsky's *Weltanschauung*, recalled with enthusiastic admiration 'the intellectual power with which Trotsky had assembled and organized the mass of his evidence and argumentation and conveyed to us the meaning of every relevant fact'. The incisiveness of Trotsky's logic got the better of his unwieldy sentences, and the clarity of his ideas shone through all his verbal blunderings. Even his wit did not succumb; it often relieved the gloom of his subject-matter. Above all, the integrity of his case allowed him to overcome all external restraint and constraint. He stood where he stood like truth itself, unkempt and unadorned, unarmoured and unshielded yet magnificent and invincible."

On April 15 in the middle of the hearings I reported to New York in a similar vein. "At 1.45 this afternoon the defense rested its case. Rested, that is, the case that will not rest until the accusers become the accused and are properly punished by the verdict of history. Long before Goldman asked his last question of the old man, however, he had convinced everyone in the room who was capable of being convinced that he was absolutely innocent of all the accusations against him. Unfortunately, not more than fifty people were present at the hearings, and the news reports are, I am sure, fragmentary and superficial. But the complete report answers almost every question, illuminates almost every dark corner in the frame-up. The abundance of proofs at the old man's disposal (even positive proofs of negative facts, i.e., that he could not have been in Paris to meet Romm or that Pyatakov could not have visited him in Norway), the complete consistency of his case buttressed by thousands of documents, his utter sincerity and powers of logical persuasiveness utterly captivated the commissioners—with one exception.

## Greatest Day of His Life

"Trotsky was at the top of his form yesterday when he was cross-questioned on terrorism and the defense of the Soviet Union. At the close of the session John Dewey remarked that it had been the greatest day of his life. And Stolberg commented that one doesn't have the opportunity to meet Oliver Cromwell among school superintendents. Even the counsel, the old Irish Republican revolutionist (Finerty), was finally satisfied after he drew from the old man the statement that, as a Marxist, he opposed individual terrorism, not on moral grounds, but because of its political ineffectiveness. And he was tickled when the witness went on to say that in some countries the oppression of the masses was so brutal that individual terrorism against the ruling powers was morally justified. That left the Irish revolution undefiled."

Trotsky closed his eloquent summary speech on the following note: "Esteemed Commissioners! The experience of my life, in which there has been no lack either of successes or of failures, has not only not destroyed my faith in the clear, bright future of mankind, but, on the contrary, has given it an indestructible temper. This faith in reason, in truth, in human solidarity, which at the age of eighteen I took with me into the workers' quarters of the provincial Russian town of Nikolaiev—this faith I have preserved fully and completely. It has become more mature, but not less ardent. In the very fact of your



The foremost leaders of the Russian revolution were slandered and murdered by Stalin. From left to right: Kamenev, executed; Zinoviev, executed; Rykov, executed; Bukharin, executed; Radek, fate unknown.

Commission's formation—in the fact that, at its head, is a man of unshakable moral authority, a man who by virtue of his age should have the right to remain outside the skirmishes in the political arena—in this fact I see a new and truly magnificent reinforcement of the revolutionary optimism which constitutes the fundamental element of my life.”

“Anything I can say will be an anti-climax,” replied the chair, and he adjourned the sessions. He had been deeply touched not only by Trotsky's words but also by the sight of Natalia sitting there silently throughout the long hearings by the side of the man with whom she had known so many triumphs—and terrible tragedies. Dewey later wrote several correspondents that the hearings had been the “greatest intellectual experience of my life.”

By a quirk of circumstances the life-and-death combat between Stalinism and Trotskyism had incidentally produced an interesting encounter between the outlooks of liberalism and revolutionary Marxism. In Mexico Dewey remarked that Trotsky had spoken for eight days and said nothing foolish. But neither succeeded in swaying the other. While Dewey received an education in Marxist ideas, he rejected them all the more vigorously in favor of the ideals of bourgeois democracy. Though both men were concerned with uncovering the truth about the trials, there was no meeting of minds between the pragmatic reformist and the dialectical materialist on the fundamental issues of politics and philosophy.

Having poured all his intellectual and nervous energies into the hearings, Trotsky felt depleted once they were over. I glimpsed the stresses he labored under one morning before a session when, angered by the negligence of one of his secretaries, Bernard Wolfe, in performing an assignment, he strode across the patio and slammed the French doors shut with a bang that broke a pane of glass. Such an outburst was unusual; he was ordinarily calm and self-possessed despite an intense concentration upon the tasks at hand.

After the commotion of the hearings had subsided, the Americans present went on a picnic up in the mountains with Trotsky and Natalia. This was a merry and relaxed occasion in which the Old Man jostled with Solow over his differences with our movement and discussed contemporary American literature with Farrell, and we chimed in with our own labor songs after the tall, young Mexican police guard warbled “El Rancho Grande,” which Trotsky had first heard from Frida Kahlo on the train from Tampico.

\* \* \*

The full commission worked under high pressure for the next eight months, gathering evidence, questioning witnesses in the United States and other countries, and studying hundreds of documents and affidavits. Its conclusions were presented at a mass meeting in New York on December 12, 1937. The verdict was clear and unconditional. “On the basis of all the evidence herein examined and all the conclusions stated, we find that the trials of August, 1936, and January, 1937, were frame-ups” and “we find Leon Trotsky and Leon Sedov not guilty.” (The full report of the findings is contained in *Not Guilty*, the commission's final report, republished by Monad Press in 1972.)

Trotsky had been on edge from January to December, apprehensive that some mischance or

disruption would block the consummation of the commission's inquiry. The delivery of its final judgment was a cause for jubilee. In a telegram to the commission he declared: “The commission condemned nobody to death or to prison. Yet it is impossible to imagine a more terrible verdict. The commission says to the rulers of a great country: ‘You committed a frame-up for the purpose of justifying the extermination of your political adversaries. You tried to deceive the toilers of the world. You are unworthy to serve the cause which you invoke.’”

“The commission, which includes people of different political views, could not follow our political aims. But its verdict has an immeasurable political importance. The methods of lies, slander, and frame-up, which contaminate the inner life of the USSR and the workers' movement of the world today received a terrible blow. Let the official friends of the USSR and the other pseudoradical bigots say that the verdict will be used by reaction. Untrue! Nowhere and never did the truth serve reaction. Nowhere and never is progress fed on lies. The commission, it is true, delivers a blow to the Moscow bureaucracy. But this bureaucracy has become the main brake upon the progress of the Soviet Union. Aiming to serve the truth, the commission served the liberating struggle of all mankind. From now on the work of the commission as well as the names of its participants belongs to history.”

The publication of the verdict did not deter Stalin but accelerated the holding of the third trial. This was announced on February 27, opened on March 2, and ended on March 13, 1938 with the execution of Bukharin and Rykov along with the sinister Henry Yagoda, the GPU chief who had himself organized the previous frame-ups. Anyone caught in Stalin's net was expendable.

The American Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky held a rally on March 9 at Hotel Center in New York to protest this infamy. La Follette, Bertram Wolfe, the Lovestoneite leader who had belatedly recognized the frame-ups, Carlo Tresca, Shachtman, and I spoke there. The following message from Trotsky was read:

“From inside the fortress won by the proletariat Stalin deals socialism such blows as no one has yet dealt. If anyone sabotages the economic and cultural development of the USSR it is Stalin. If anyone undermines the military power of the USSR it is Stalin. If anyone poisons the ranks of the revolutionary vanguard by treachery and betrayal it is Stalin. Were united world reaction to seek an agent of its own choice, it could find no one more suited than Stalin. The Moscow trials represent the lone attempt in history to deceive all mankind. However, if there is no limit to baseness, there is a limit to gullibility. Strangled thought and horrified conscience are awakening. Progressive mankind is preparing to disgorge the venom of Stalinism. In our thoughts Natalia and I are present at your meeting of protest and challenge. We see in your ranks the spirit of Leon Sedov, fallen at his battle post. With us or without us you will lead our great liberating struggle to victory.”

Shortly afterwards the ACDT was disbanded; this was its last act. Once its two specific objectives were realized, the united front no longer had a sufficient basis for continuing. Moreover, the politically diverse elements that had constituted the committee and collaborated throughout the trials were beginning to pull apart. Liberals now took the opportunity to laud

the virtues of bourgeois democracy over totalitarian communism without distinguishing between Stalinism and Marxism, and many of the radical intellectuals, including the ex-Trotskyists, were becoming transformed from anti-Stalinists into anti-Leninists. These developments prefigured the wholesale desertion from the cause of socialist revolution by the generation that had marched leftward in the preceding years.

Trotsky was critical of our conduct in New York at several points along the way. He expressed the opinion that here and there we had yielded too much to our Social Democratic allies such as Norman Thomas and Fenner Brockway, and to the liberals. In that united front the Trotskyists had to navigate in a very narrow channel under constant crossfire without any independent organization since we then belonged to the Socialist party, which we had entered as the trials began. Our campaign received minimal response from the union movement, which was either indifferent to the issues or dominated by the Stalinists.

Under the circumstances it was not easy to hold together a committee made up of such divergent forces and enable the commission to carry its work to completion. This we did succeed in doing and at the end Trotsky wrote in a letter to James P. Cannon on December 21, 1937: “Our American comrades accomplished a magnificent work.”

Stalin's agents still had one deadly deed in view. Just before the third trial, Trotsky's son Leon Sedov died in a Paris hospital in an enigmatic manner that pointed to the hand of the GPU. That left Trotsky alone of all the defendants alive, free, and vocal. Through the trials the vengeful tyrant in the Kremlin had aimed to get the head of his unbreakable opponent. Two years later, one of his assassins struck at Trotsky's skull in Coyoacán and killed him. The Stalinist scoundrels believed that they had polished off the last of the unfinished business connected with the trials and that they could keep on deceiving the world about the enormity of their crimes.

After the commission had done its work Trotsky declared to the press: “The hour of truth has struck. No one will be able to turn the wheels of justice backward. Every new revelation will reinforce the crushing verdict and extend the radius of its action.”

So it has come about in the decades since. The truth about Stalin's frame-ups have sometimes surfaced in the most unexpected ways. Who could have foreseen that his faithful henchman Khrushchev, one of his successors as head of the Soviet government, would divulge so much damaging information about the pogroms of the dead dictator in his famous speech to the Twentieth Congress of the Soviet Communist party in 1956? He also revealed the methods by which the confessions of guilt were extorted from the prisoners in the dock; they were fabricated “through the crudest kind of pressure . . . by physical means” and “gained with the help of cruel and inhuman tortures.”

Nowadays, apart from the leaders in China and Albania, few even in official Communist circles dare uphold the genuineness of the frame-ups or defend Stalin's role in them. The rest of the world long ago ceased to credit these lies. As Trotsky predicted at the time: “Stalin and the GPU are branded forever as the perpetrators of the greatest crimes in history.”



# BOOKS

## This Way for the Gas

**This Way for the Gas, Ladies and Gentlemen**

By Tadeusz Borowski. Penguin, New York, 1976.

By Paul Siegel

Tadeusz Borowski's first book of poetry was run off on an underground mimeograph machine in Nazi-occupied Poland when he was twenty-one. Some weeks later he was captured. He was in the Auschwitz and Dachau concentration camps from 1943 to 1945. At the end of the war, he returned to Poland, where his short stories of concentration camp existence created both a sensation and a scandal. Although people were shocked by them, his great talent was recognized. He became a member of the Communist party in 1948 and devoted himself to political journalism. In 1951, at the age of twenty-nine, Borowski, who had escaped the gas chambers of the Nazis, committed suicide by turning on the gas in his Warsaw apartment.

Jan Kott in his introduction to *This Way for the Gas, Ladies and*

*Gentlemen*, suggests that a complex of reasons lay behind his suicide. The day he committed suicide he saw his wife in the hospital, where she had just borne him a daughter while he was having an affair with another woman. A couple of weeks before, an old friend, the one in whose apartment Borowski and the fiancée who was to become his wife were caught by the Gestapo, was arrested by the Stalinist security police and tortured, as he had been by the Gestapo eight years earlier.

Borowski himself in "The World of Stone," the last story in the book, movingly describes his sense of the nothingness of existence, his own inner emptiness and inability to feel even for his wife, and his contempt for the governmental bureaucrats, "people of importance," who were too busy having the walls painted and windows reinstalled in the "massive, cool building made of granite" that was being restored from wartime devastation to take care of the things to which he was entitled. He had been liberated from the concentration camp, but he could not escape from "the world of stone."

*This Way for the Gas, Ladies and Gentlemen* is a selection from among Borowski's concentration camp stories that constitute only a small part of the five volumes of poetry, journalism, short stories, and novels of his collected works. The stories are told in the first person, and in three of them the narrator is called Tadeusz. Much, if not all, in the stories is autobiographical: the narrator, like Borowski, has a fiancée in the women's barracks and, after having been severely ill in the camp hospital, is made a hospital orderly.

In thus identifying himself with his narrator, Borowski is writing with unflinching honesty, for the narrator is shown to be, like the other prisoners, degraded and corrupted by the prison system, in which prisoners were made to cooperate in its workings, performing such tasks as unloading the transports of people going to the gas chambers.

The stories are told with seeming artlessness as anecdotes of incidents in the camps, but they are informed with an irony derived from the author's awareness of the fact of the prisoners' having taken on the characteristics of their guards and of the obviousness of the rationalizations that permitted them to hate others for doing what they were doing themselves. The icily dispassionate manner in which these incidents are recounted intensifies the horror and the sense of self-loathing.

The title story, the first in the book, strikes the keynote. The narrator asks a French prisoner, Henri, assigned to unloading people being sent to the gas chambers, to obtain a pair of shoes for him from the belongings of the victims, exclaiming, "What if there aren't any more 'cremo' transports? . . . Dammit, they'll run out of people!" Henri replies, "They can't run out of people, or we'll starve to death in this blasted camp. All of us live on what they bring." The narrator remonstrates, saying they have their food packages from home. Henri retorts that in the recent relaxation of prison conditions some of the Poles are able to get packages, but if the unloading gangs were not able to loot from the belongings of the crematoria victims the recipients of the packages would not be permitted to eat their food in peace.

Allowed as a favor to fill in for an absentee on the unloading gang, the narrator, eager to get his shoes, joins it. The transportees are divided into two groups, those who are young and healthy and are ordered to the camp, where they will join the present prisoners on the labor gangs before eventually going to the gas chambers, and the rest, who are sent directly to be exterminated.

Terror-stricken, those being sent to the gas chambers ask where they are going, but the unloading gang obeys the camp law of not telling them. When a transportee begs to be allowed to keep an umbrella as protection against the devastating sun, a member of the

unloading gang barks at him "Verboten!" in the language of the Nazi guards. "There is an S.S. man standing behind your back, calm, efficient, watchful." Ironically, the S.S. man speaks courteously to the transportees: "This way, ladies and gentlemen, try not to throw things around, please. Show some goodwill." The surging mass of humanity, somewhat reassured, proceeds obediently to its destruction, but when a woman reaches to pick up her handbag the S.S. man lashes at her with his whip, causing her to stumble and be trampled by the herd.

The narrator is nauseated by all he experiences—"corpses dragged from the train, trampled infants, cripples piled on top of the dead"—but he finds himself furious at the transportees, treating them brutally. "It is natural, predictable, calculated. . .," says his experienced French comrade. "The easiest way to relieve your hate is to turn against someone weaker." But it is too much for the narrator. He sneaks off into the darkness, no longer caring about the shoes.

In one of the last stories the prisoners are released from the concentration camp by the Nazi defeat, only to be placed in a "displaced persons" camp by American soldiers who, though shocked and stupefied by what they saw, "felt an instinctive contempt" for those who had "dropped to the very bottom of society" but had "friendly admiration" for "the courteous German bourgeoisie who had managed to preserve their culture and their fortunes."

After two months of struggling with bureaucratic red tape, the narrator and three other prisoners obtain an apartment, where they talk with a Polish poet writing reports on the "displaced persons" situation. Auschwitz has taught them, they tell him, that "the whole world is really like the concentration camp. . . . The world is ruled by power and power is obtained with money." But they do not want to die changing the world. They only want to live. "We vote for capitalism."

Released from the concentration camp, they ironically retain the concentration camp mentality of longtime survivors in accommodating themselves to that which is and to the powers that be. The concentration camp is indeed in many respects capitalist society carried to its extreme limits. As in the concentration camp, some of the exploited of this society are given special favors, and different segments of it—private industry workers, public service workers, employed, unemployed, whites, Blacks—are pitted against each other. As in the concentration camp, frustrations are relieved by being directed against those at the bottom. "Pigs!" exclaims the narrator about the ravenous Greek prisoners who devour everything they can lay their hands on that is at all edible—just as embittered persons in the United States today will exclaim about those on welfare.

But in the world outside of the concentration camp more than the individual acts of heroism that took place in Auschwitz is possible. Collective action is not only possible; it is necessary if the barbarism of the concentration camp is not to continue to lurk over us, ready to descend on us. In having the courage to tell about the concentration camps, Tadeusz Borowski has told us what we have to do.



Nazis round up Jewish victims in Amsterdam in 1941.





## Chicanos in the media

AUSTIN, Tex.—The second annual “Chicanos in the Media” conference was held April 1 and 2 at the Austin campus of the University of Texas.

The gathering was organized by Chicanos Interesados en Comunicaciones, a group of students there majoring in journalism, speech, radio-television-film, and advertising.

The turnout of some 100 persons seemed to be quite representative of Chicanos working the mass media in Texas, as well as those involved in publishing alternative Chicano newspapers.

Chicano reporters, announcers, and producers in radio, television, and daily newspapers came from San Antonio, Austin, and Houston. Some participants came from outside the state. Spanish-language radio and TV were also represented.

It was surprising to see how many alternative Chicano papers are alive and well in Texas. Among those participating were *El Paso del Aguila*, Eagle Pass; *La Voz de Tejas*, Lubbock; *Claridad*, Laredo; and *El Mestizo*, El Paso. The San Antonio correspondent for *Sin Fronteras*, published in Los Angeles, was also there.

The *Militant* was represented by this reporter, speaking to a plenary session on how the mass media have given credibility to the government's attacks on undocumented workers. The very use of the term “illegal alien” prejudices millions of people by making *mexicanos* appear to be criminals.

The discussion after the presentation showed that there is much interest in this issue among Chicano reporters, and a desire to combat the anti-*mexicano* poison.

It is difficult enough for any Chicano to get a job in the mass media. But for Chicanas it is many times

more difficult than for men. This was the theme of a panel discussion in which Chicanas related their experiences trying to break into, and keep, a media job.

A theme that came up throughout the conference is what might be called “The Dilemma of the Chicano Reporter.” Many people wonder how one can work for the Anglo-dominated media that have promoted racist stereotypes and discriminated against *la raza*, and still be able to do something that will be of service to the Chicano community.

Is a Chicano selling himself or herself out by working as a reporter for the capitalist news media?

The conference showed that Chicanos who have fought their way into media jobs have made many positive contributions.

One of the most interesting presentations was that made by David Cruz, anchor/reporter on KMOL-TV in San Antonio. Cruz explained how he doggedly pursued a story on the Hayes-Morales case, the brutal murder of a young *mexicano* by a gringo cop.

While all the other mass media virtually ignored this scandalous case, Cruz unearthed a story of corruption and cover-ups that is still unraveling. *All the President's Men*—Chicano style.

But, as many participants acknowledged, just reporting the straight facts about their people is a struggle. Editorial policy is something else. That is determined by the corporate bigwigs.

That is why, in addition to fighting for the right of Chicanos to be admitted to jobs in the mass media, it is necessary to have Chicano movement papers that answer to no one but the community itself.

By maintaining their independence, they can tell it like it really is about the full range of the oppression of Chicanos.

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individuals line up on each side.

Socialists should continue to demand that the Food and Drug Administration take action against the already proven hazards that contaminate our food, and to demand further research on saccharin and other suspect additives with restrictions on their use until they're proven safe.

Kendall Green

New York, New York

### 'Another con game'

Most people in the U.S. understand that much scientific research is done to increase profits, not to improve life. Unfortunately, in some cases the confusion and mistrust created works to the corporation's benefit.

Tobacco is an example that points up this contradiction. The government banned television advertising of cigarettes, but not advertising in magazines, billboards, or other places. By allowing advertising, the government is in effect saying that it is really OK to smoke.

In the case of saccharin, the government has played another con game. The food industry pushes candy and soda on children, puts sugar in baby food, coats most breakfast cereals with sugar.

The government cooperates by touting cereal as one of the four basic foods. They have created a population addicted to sugar and sweet-tasting foods.

The government has not said one word about these practices.

Then, when you reach middle age and can't burn off all the excess calories, they give you saccharin as your salvation.

People who are mentally addicted to saccharin can't choose to become unaddicted in two weeks. Instead, they protest the saccharin ban and try to have it—or something just as dangerous—available on the market—just what the corporations want.

Sally Rees

Easthampton, Massachusetts

### Defend Delaney

The two letters attacking the proposed ban on saccharin presented false, misleading, and poorly researched information.

First, the entire issue was confused. At stake is the Delaney clause, which requires the banning of all additives known to cause cancer in animals or man. Big business would love to see this clause repealed, leaving consumers vulnerable to unsafe and potentially carcinogenic additives. People opposing the Delaney clause join the company of General Foods, Monsanto Chemical, Dow Chemical, and so on.

More pressure should be applied to food and chemical producers to create safe additives. Consumers shouldn't be pressured to use potentially carcinogenic additives.

It is a myth that there are no saccharin substitutes. Currently, Diet Delight Foods uses saccharin in only 8 percent of its low-calorie foods.

From 1911 to 1938, saccharin was banned from food because its safety was questioned. From 1938 to 1959, saccharin was to be used only by persons with special dietary needs.

Whether or not saccharin causes cancer can be debated. But American consumers should not act as guinea pigs.

L.K.

Belleville, Illinois

## Free Lance

Dave Freeman

## Buying the pennant

This may be the most extraordinary season in the history of major league baseball. The all-American game is in big trouble. Star ballplayers are being moved around like pawns in a multi-million-dollar chess game. Baseball is becoming a battle of conglomerates.

Thanks to some progressive court decisions, some of the crudest aspects of the slavish relationship between professional ballplayers and baseball owners were abolished last year. Previously, ballplayers had to accept whatever contracts their front offices offered them; a player could not quit and move on to another team. He was “property” with few rights.

Last year the rules changed.

Baseball players who thought they were worth more than the owners would pay them played out their options at a 20 percent cut in pay and, under the new rules, went looking for a team over the winter that would pay them more money.

The players who played out their options were, for the most part, stars or near-stars who could be an asset for any team. Not only would they help their team to win, but they would be good box office as well.

During the winter scramble, the richest teams began buying up the free agents. There was a limit of three to a team, but several teams improved themselves considerably at an enormous cost.

The New York Yankees may have bought themselves a pennant and a world championship. They purchased Reggie Jackson, a superstar outfielder, for a cool \$3 million and Don Gullett, the pitcher with the best winning percentage in baseball, for \$2 million.

The California Angels also went on a spending spree, plunking down \$5.24 million for three standout performers, Joe Rudi, Bobby Grich, and Don Baylor. It transforms the Angels from an also-ran into a contender, although the Kansas City Royals are still favored to win the title in the American League West.

The San Diego Padres signed Gene Tenace and Rollie Fingers of the Oakland As, and may be a year away from a championship team.

Karl Marx wasn't a baseball fan. In fact, there

wasn't even a game called baseball when he wrote the *Communist Manifesto*. But he wrote about the contradictions of capitalism, and if there's any business that's choked full of contradictions, it's major league baseball these days.

Not all the major league clubs could afford to lay out the necessary cash the stars demanded last winter. Some teams lost ground, and they'll lose even more ground next winter, when more baseball stars play out their options.

More than ever, on-the-field strategy is taking a back seat to cold-blooded cash. The cast of characters is astounding. George Steinbrenner, Yankees owner, is a million-dollar contributor to the Democratic and Republican parties (he's a man for all seasons). Padres owner Ray Kroc made his millions giving the rest of us indigestion—he owns the McDonalds hamburger chain. And the Angels are owned by Gene Autry, the singing cowboy movie star, who doesn't sing half as well as he makes money.

Hopefully, sports fans will begin to draw some anticapitalist conclusions from the current state of the game. Workers like baseball, but they don't cheer for corporations.

A trip to the ballpark this year will be depressing for many. In some cities a Coke will go for ninety cents, a beer for a dollar. Prices for seats and parking will be up. Don't shed a tear for any ball team. No matter how poor the owner says he is, believe me, you are a lot worse off.

Whether baseball can long survive its current problems remains a question. It will most likely have to put new and illegal restrictions on the right of a player to shift teams, in order to keep the balanced nature of the leagues viable.

Baseball has already come under attack from a number of quarters. There are no Blacks to speak of in management and corporate levels. There are virtually no women at any level of the game, including none on the field.

That's two strikes against baseball. And you know the old saying. Three strikes and you're out.

# Boston teachers, parents unite to fight cuts

By Michael Sullivan

BOSTON—More than 500 parents and teachers at a special meeting here April 14 protested the Boston School Committee's plans to increase classroom overcrowding and lay off 800 teachers and aides.

Parents at the meeting presented the school committee with petitions signed by 18,000 parents demanding that class sizes not exceed twenty-six students. The signatures represented about half of all parents with children in the Boston schools.

The meeting marked what can be a great step forward in the struggle for school desegregation. On one side was the school committee calling for cutbacks, supported only by a small group from South Boston ROAR, the antibusing outfit. On the other side were more than 500 parents and teachers, Black and white, opposing the proposed cutbacks as an attack on decent education and desegregated schools.

The class size petition campaign, initiated by the Citywide Parents Advisory Council (CPAC) and the Boston Teachers Union (BTU), was the first example of joint parent-teacher action in years.

Since last fall, Mayor Kevin White has blamed the schools for the city's "fiscal crisis." This is a calculated move to win the support of the racist antibusing forces, who support cutbacks in the schools and other social services.

While Black and other minority children, mostly Puerto Rican, now comprise 53 percent of the Boston school population, minority voters are still less than 20 percent of the voting population.

Boston Globe columnist Robert Healy pointed out the essence of Mayor White's strategy last week: "... as Boston more and more becomes a city of voters with little interest in the school system because they have no children in it, the pressure will grow for a committee which will make sharp cuts."

In other words, White is appealing to the school boycotters to unite against the gains of desegregation.

Bob Pearlman, a Jamaica Plain High School teacher representing the



Parents United/Bob Nakashian

Parents and teachers at Boston School Committee meeting

BTU, explained how the mayor had misrepresented school costs when he attributed the city's fiscal problems to schools. Pearlman showed how school debt and interest payments to the banks had increased from \$6.9 million to \$22 million in the previous five years. Utility bills had also tripled.

"What we want you to do," Pearlman told the school committee, "is go with the mayor to the banks and utility companies and say—'Sorry, but we've got a lot of angry parents who say that the school costs are fixed. Sorry, but we're going to have to cut back on those high utility and interest bills you've been sending us. They won't let us cut back on the children.'"

The Boston School Committee is notorious for its patronage system. From 1972 to 1977 the costs of central administration nearly tripled, from \$2.6 million to \$7.1 million. Most of this increase, beginning in 1974, was for putting racists on the payroll to help "implement" desegregation.

Parents at the meeting counterposed their own priorities to those of the school committee. Jean Walsh, a parent and teacher, told the gathering, "Whatever else you do with the school budget, do not take away the sub-

stance, the meat and potatoes. It is our money, and we choose to buy basic education in the classroom."

Gertrude Reid, a Black parent and member of the CPAC, received sustained applause when she said, "We've got to eliminate racism in the school system."

The meeting was a lesson on the spot for many white teachers and parents who saw the 100 Black teachers and parents at the meeting become their strongest advocates and allies in the fight to save the schools.

Many of the white teachers had in the past capitulated to the racist, antibusing movement. But the role of ROAR has become much clearer to them. From a movement that initially attacked the "bus," ROAR now attacks the schools.

Speaking for the antibusing South Boston Information Center, James Kelly, who reportedly plans to run for school committee this coming fall, charged that the school committee's cuts were "inadequate." Kelly called for cutting 1,634 teachers, a third of all teachers in the system. He said this could save the city \$30 million.

Kelly's only support came from a small band of followers who heckled

every other speaker as a "commie."

But ROAR is becoming increasingly isolated as its antibusing program becomes antischool and antiunion. During the meeting Black and white teachers and parents shouted ROAR down, and under pressure from the gathering the police removed some of the disrupters. Shaken by their isolation, the remaining disrupters left.

The members of the school committee, planning to run again next fall on a "cutback" platform, made no response to the demands of the parents and teachers. They indicated they would take up the class size issue the following Tuesday morning, at a time when most parents and teachers would be unable to attend.

In an attempt to divide parents from teachers, school committee members attacked the \$2 million a year paid by contract into the BTU's health and welfare fund.

These amounts are negligible compared with interest payments, utility costs, and administrative patronage. But the union's poor previous relations with Black and Puerto Rican parents—the union was "neutral" on desegregation—make this a difficult problem to tackle.

The only political solidarity offered the parents and teachers came from Hattie McCutcheon, Socialist Workers party candidate for Boston School Committee.

In a written statement issued for the meeting, McCutcheon called for "no cutbacks in education. What is needed now is a united effort by the Black community, the BTU, CPAC, and other unions and community organizations to stop these cutback proposals before they become a reality."

"The developing struggle against the proposed educational cutbacks provides an opportunity for the BTU to work together with the Black community, along with other parents and students, in pursuit of our common interests," McCutcheon said.

"The possibility now for beginning to build a broad, active, and visible movement against the cuts provides a framework for this kind of relationship, one in which hopefully the BTU will defend school desegregation."

## Teachers jailed, fired in strike-busting assaults

### Kansas City

By Michael Laird

KANSAS CITY, Mo.—The Kansas City school board is using jailings, firings, and unconstitutional court orders to try to break a strike by the Kansas City Federation of Teachers.

Most recently the board fired fifty-five members of service employees Local 12 who refused to cross teacher picket lines.

Earlier the board fired 500 nontenured teachers and tried to split the union with a unilateral, non-negotiable offer of a 7 percent raise for tenured teachers.

The board has filed contempt of court charges against a total of 154 teachers. Five teachers have already been jailed for contempt. A special prosecutor is now seeking massive fines against the union.

Public anger is growing against these victimizations. More than 1,500 people marched April 15 in a show of solidarity with the strikers. Representatives of many local unions joined the march on the jail where the five teachers were held.

The major unresolved issue is the union's demand for no reprisals against strikers. The board insists it will deal with returning teachers on an individual basis.

About 150 parents attended the regular school board meeting April 21

and overwhelmingly supported the no-reprisals demand.

School board members refused to state their position openly. Instead they tried to blame parents for not passing referenda for higher property taxes.

Another response to growing solidarity with the teachers came April 22 when the Jackson County Circuit Court issued an injunction barring picketing by "outsiders." This means the students and members of other unions who have joined teachers in picketing schools.

The court order also calls on these "outsiders" to rescind and recall any statements made in support of the teachers!

A coalition of student groups at the University of Missouri at Kansas City who have been picketing in support of the teachers issued a statement condemning the court order as an attack on constitutional rights of free speech and association.

A group of parents is also planning to challenge the order.

The school board has been trying to open district schools step by step. Alex Kornfeld, a member of the union negotiating team, told the Kansas City Militant Forum April 15 that the schools will be in chaos if the board tries to open junior high schools. He said the schools open now are staffed by administrators from the closed schools.

### Milwaukee

By Tony Prince

MILWAUKEE—Seven picketing teachers were arrested here April 21 and two more the next day as the Milwaukee Teachers Education Association resumed its strike after spring vacation.

During the week the percentage of teachers going into the school had climbed slowly from 9 percent to about 15 percent of Milwaukee's 9,000 teachers, aides, and substitutes.

But on April 21 the MTEA sent teams of teachers for mass picketing at some of the schools with many scabs. This more militant tactic has reduced the number of scabs slightly.

*Tony Prince is a member of the Milwaukee Teachers Education Association.*

The strike was forced by the Milwaukee school board's insistence on "restoring management rights" by rolling back teacher gains. The MTEA is asking little more than extension of the old contract.

Under pressure from the strike, divisions on the school board have sharpened. The majority voted April 20 to cut off health insurance benefits for strikers and to cut the pay of the 350

substitute teachers who are most often called.

Three members of the board angrily walked out of that meeting. The minority fears that a long strike may radicalize and embitter teachers. They feel that this danger is not worth the gains the board might make in the strike.

The MTEA Black Teachers' Caucus continues to withhold support from the strike and send its members across picket lines. It is protesting the MTEA leadership's failure to act on Black teachers' demands for faculty desegregation and affirmative action. The majority of Black teachers, however, support the strike.

Apparently because of this division, Youth Against War and Fascism, a small sectarian group active in Milwaukee, has opposed the strike as "racist."

The Milwaukee Socialist Workers party issued a statement backing the strike. The SWP said in part:

"In spite of the MTEA's failure to deal with the issue of Black rights, the strike is in defense of teachers and education. If the board defeats the strike the result will be lower wages, less job security, larger classes, and a decline in the quality of education."

"What is necessary is a militant and united defense of teachers' rights. Solidarity from the Milwaukee labor movement is urgently needed."



# AFL-CIO political strategy backfires

By Frank Lovell

(third of a series)

Frustration and defeat in the Textile Workers Union's thirteen-year southern organizing drive convinced union officials that they could not succeed without changes in the national labor laws.

That was the situation last year when the merged Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union launched the J.P. Stevens boycott and the AFL-CIO stepped in to support it. But the boycott now serves a larger purpose.

The election in 1976 of a union-endorsed Congress, with a two-thirds Democratic majority, and a Democratic president in the White House, led the AFL-CIO political strategists to believe the time was ripe to push for major revisions of the labor laws.

At its February meeting in Bal Harbour, Florida, the AFL-CIO Executive Council announced their legislative demands for Congress and the Carter administration. At the top of the list was passage of the common-site picketing bill to give a new lease on life to the ailing building-trades unions. Other demands were:

- Revise the 1935 National Labor Relations Act, giving the National Labor Relations Board power to impose fines and enforce its rulings.



## To organize the South...

- Repeal Section 14-B of the Taft-Hartley Act, wiping out the antiunion "right to work" laws that have been enacted in twenty states, including all the states of the "Old South."

- Extend collective bargaining rights to all public employees, the same law to apply as in private industry.

- Increase the federal minimum wage from \$2.30 per hour to \$3.00, with periodic raises geared to average manufacturing wages.

Another change in the law that AFL-CIO President George Meany wants is elimination of the section in the Landrum-Griffin Act that allows union members to inspect the finances of their unions and petition for honest union elections. Union officials dislike this law, claiming it inhibits their "responsibility" to discipline workers and suppress strikes.

## 'Bare bones' contract

Union officials would also like to see some sort of authority for the NLRB to conduct collective bargaining elections and then impose contractual relations, the dues checkoff, and arbitration machinery—the details to be worked out later by union and management.

In explaining the legislation this is sometimes referred to as a "bare bones contract," but whenever it was effectively used it was known as a sweetheart contract.

The only thing the workers are asked to do under this proposed government regulation is to vote whether they want a union to represent them. Everything else follows by law . . . and the good graces of labor-management relations.

The AFL-CIO's grand legislative plans were blown up within weeks when the Democratic Congress rejected the common-site bill and Carter turned down the minimum wage proposal.

Meany called it "a bitter disappointment," but there will be no change in course. "You lose, you come back the following year," Meany says. ". . . Our timetable in this area is infinity." In May the federation will begin collecting some \$800,000 through a special dues assessment to finance the infinitely patient legislative drive.

The J.P. Stevens boycott is useful as an example of uncontrolled corporate greed, serving to win sympathy for the cause of organized labor and the legislative goals of the AFL-CIO officialdom. "The Stevens boycott has already become today's cause with a lot of liberals and church groups," one union official told *Business Week* magazine. "We have to attract the same broad, liberal coalition that supported the farm workers if we hope to get labor-law reform."

It is a delicately balanced strategy that Meany and his friends have devised, a continuation of their long-established policy of union-management col-

laboration (often collusion) at the bargaining table and political support of the capitalist two-party system. This strategy requires the support of an influential section of the capitalist class, some employers who believe that unions as currently constituted are a necessary and useful social institution and ought to be accorded national recognition.

## Employers not convinced

There is no evidence that most employers are convinced that unions are necessary. Nor is there any reason to believe that the Democratic party is committed to the cause of unionism and the organizational expansion of the unions. But that remains the hope of the union bureaucracy. It will be tested in the political arena, and probably on the economic front as well.

At the present juncture the capitalists—including the major industries that have contracts with the largest industrial unions—are determined to retain the status quo, above all the open-shop conditions in the South. Their purpose is to further weaken the existing union movement, not strengthen it.

R. Heath Larry as chief labor negotiator for the steel industry always preached labor-management collaboration, as long as the steelworkers union cooperated with management to raise productivity and boost profits. Larry was the architect of the infamous Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA) in steel, under which the union gave up the right to strike.

But Larry is not in favor of a government-imposed national ENA for all industry everywhere in the country, which is what Meany and the AFL-CIO Executive Council would be more than happy to settle for.

Larry has recently become head of the National Association of Manufacturers. In that capacity he takes a dim view of the union strategy and is preparing to counter it. "The union program goes in exactly the wrong direction," says Larry. "They have dusted off everything they have wanted for fifty years. It all points to compulsory unionism for everyone, regardless of choice."

That is the hard line of U.S. industry and no amount of soft talk by Meany will coax them out of it. Nor are they moved by threats. Larry, like others of his class, says he is working to "get our troops lined up again." They are preparing for battle, as always.

## Behind J.P. Stevens

The politically influential Business Council, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the Business Roundtable, the National Right to Work Committee, and similar big-business associations have formed a solid phalanx against the spread of unionism. They have control of the political machinery, and the money to keep it oiled.

These are the larger forces behind J.P. Stevens. Big business does not take lightly the threatening encroachment of unionism—which they see as something different from George Meany and the officialdom surrounding him.

A vice-president of Chase Manhattan Bank, Paul Shaw, recently cautioned that "management didn't believe the Wagner Act [on union recognition]

would ever happen or that it would be upheld by the Supreme Court—but it did happen and it was upheld."

This is still thought to be a major catastrophe, corrected to a certain extent by the Taft-Hartley law in 1947. But the "business community" does not intend that anything like this shall happen again.

A former Nixon adviser, Harry Dent, last year advised the South Carolina Textile Manufacturers Association that "the reason we in the South lead the nation in so many sectors is that we have a free-enterprise system without so much unionization."

Robert Coleman, president of the textile association, says, "Unions are obsolete." He thinks that "if they make headway, it is only because management is not doing its job of treating workers with fairness and dignity." Little does he know that his idea of "fairness and dignity" is different from the workers' view.

It is clear that few employers support the AFL-CIO labor-management scheme, and a very large sector of the employing class is not reconciled to the existence of unions.

What about the politicians? The debacle of the AFL-CIO lobbying effort for the common-site picketing bill and the minimum wage increase should have settled all doubts there.

There is no change of labor policy by the Carter administration from its predecessor. And as for Congress, some of the old faces are gone but the new ones look and sound about the same. The majority is the face of the Democratic party, and that remains a mask for big business.

## Textile politics

The textile industry has always wielded considerable influence in both the Democratic and Republican parties, partly because of its importance in the national economy and as an integral part of the structure of monopoly capital. But also because of its successful antiunion policy.

Bruce Raynor, education director of the Textile Workers Union before the merger, writes that "politically the textile industry totally dominates the Carolinas and exerts a major influence in Alabama, Georgia, Virginia and Tennessee."

He says, "In nearly every Presidential cabinet over the past decade there has been a direct representative of the industry." As examples he cites Frederick Dent and "Bo" Calloway in the Nixon/Ford administrations, and Robert Stevens of J.P. Stevens, who was Eisenhower's secretary of the army. This makes it appear as if only the Republicans are partial to these antiunion industrialists. But the Democrats have gone further by putting one in the White House.

Despite recent defeats, union political strategists cling to hope. "There are a lot of Democrats who voted against us on situs, [common-site picketing] who now feel they owe us one," a union official told *Business Week*, anonymously.

This is praying for miracles, in the manner of trusting Christian believers who find in every earthly calamity renewed faith that a benevolent deity will reward them in the hereafter.

But in the drive to organize the South, there are no miracles in store.

(Next week: forces of change in southern industry)





## Raza Unida loses local races

# Behind the Crystal City election results

By Miguel Pendás

CRYSTAL CITY, Tex.—The Raza Unida party is undergoing a severe test in this small South Texas town where the independent Chicano party was born and won control of local government in 1970.

A breakaway group called the Barrio Club squeaked out a victory in the April 2 elections for city council and school board over the group led by party founder José Angel Gutiérrez.

The Barrio Club now has complete control of the city council, and six out of seven seats on the school board. The other school board seat is still in the hands of the "Gutierristas."

It was a nonpartisan election, with only the two contending slates in the running. The three city council and two school board candidates receiving the highest totals were elected.

While this is the third election the Barrio Club has won, its margin is narrowing with each election. Elected to the city council from the Barrio Club were Blanca Gámez (1,206 votes), Rodolfo Espinoza (1,198 votes), and "Monche" Mata (1,140 votes).

Raza Unida regular Olivia Serna came in fourth with 1,124 votes, trailing Mata by only 16 votes. Then came José Cuevas (1,121) and Hilario Lozano (1,102).

### Anglo vote

It is clear that without the reactionary Anglo vote, the Barrio Club would not have won.

The results of the school board election corroborate this. Crystal City



JOSE ANGEL GUTIERREZ

has a population of about 8,000, 85 percent Chicano. The school district however, extends beyond the city limits, taking in a couple of thousand more people—mostly Anglos, including wealthy ranchers.

As expected, the margin of victory for the Barrio Club in the school district was larger, reflecting a larger Anglo vote.

The Barrio Club electoral bloc also includes pro-Democratic party Chicanos who have never supported Raza Unida, as well as a couple of hundred people they have broken away from the RUP.

### Why the split

José Angel Gutiérrez attributes the breakaway to two main factors: patronage and confusion. The Barrio Club controls close to 500 government jobs, he said. To get one of these jobs, especially the high-paying ones, you are expected to support and vote for the Barrio Club.

Secondly, going back to the original split in June 1975, the Barrio Club has always claimed to be the real Raza Unida, thus confusing many people.

They claim to support all the gains that Chicanos have made in *Cristal* and have centered their attacks on Gutiérrez, calling him a "dictator" who runs a political machine greased by patronage.

With the coming to power of Raza Unida in *Cristal*, there came, of course, control over many jobs. The question facing Raza Unida was who the jobs and contracts for services should go to.

By and large Ciudadanos Unidos—the community organization that formed the core of the party—decided these questions. A couple of hundred of the most active people attended its weekly meetings and voted on who would be the candidates and appointed officeholders.

In June 1975 a division developed over the appointment of a new chief of police. Gutiérrez estimates that 180 people voted to appoint Victor Castillo, with 60 favoring Barrio Club nominee Ramón Garza.

But the Barrio Club happened to have a majority of the city council. In defiance of the Ciudadanos Unidos vote, Garza was appointed.

Unable to win a majority of Raza Unida, the Barrio Club split.

### Politics behind split

At the beginning there was no apparent ideological basis for the Barrio Club split. It seemed simply a fight over jobs.

However, subsequent events have shown that the Barrio Club is a split away from the original goals of Raza Unida and that it is moving toward the Democratic party.

At the time the split took place, the Crystal City Raza Unida party came under stepped-up government attack.

Although a very small party, Raza Unida has a significance far beyond the local offices it has controlled in southern Texas. It stands as a living example to the Chicano people and working people as a whole of the gains that can be made through political action independent of and in opposition to the Democratic and Republican parties.

For this reason, the government has spared no effort in trying to disrupt, discredit, and destroy the fledgling party.

Democratic Gov. Dolph Briscoe launched a red-baiting tirade against the RUP after a party delegation made a visit to Cuba.

State Attorney General John Hill, together with the Texas Rangers, set up a special office in Crystal City to investigate alleged "corruption" in government.

### Barrio Club joins attacks

The Barrio Club, instead of fighting government attacks on Raza Unida, embraced the charges and used them against Gutiérrez in the spring 1976 elections.

The Barrio Club-appointed police chief, Ramón Garza, became the chief witness for John Hill and the Texas Rangers when phony charges of corruption were brought against former RUP School Supt. Angel Noé González.

At the trial, the testimony of Ramón Garza and other Barrio Club witnesses was found to be shot through with lies. González was acquitted. But in the minds of many, Noé González and Raza Unida were tainted with the accusations of shady dealings.

In one of the few objective accounts of the frame-up trial, Rick Casey wrote in the March 25 *Texas Observer* that if justice had been served, Noé González would never even have come to trial.

In the administration of the town, the Barrio Club has shown that it is

far from committed to the goals the Chicano community fought for.

When Raza Unida was formed and took over the school board, it replaced the principal of the high school, who had not been receptive to the demands of the community.

*Chicanismo*—pride in being Chicano—was given full rein in a school system that used to repress Chicano culture and the Spanish language. Murals extolling the *movimiento* began to cover the walls. Experienced Chicano educators were brought in to formulate Chicano studies programs.

A bilingual-bicultural program was instituted from kindergarten through high school. Arbitrary, repressive rules were abolished. Attendance went up. The dropout rate plummeted.

The Barrio Club has reversed this trend.

The former high school principal is once again at the post. The murals have been replaced with pictures of Donald Duck and Pluto. Chicano teachers who were brought in are pejoratively spoken of as "outsiders." The principal speaks of the need to restore "order" and "discipline."

### Back to Democrats

The logic of the path being taken by the Barrio Club is to head back into the Democratic party. This is happening. In last fall's race for Zavala County sheriff, the Barrio Club supported and worked for the Democratic candidate against the Raza Unida candidate. The Democrat was elected.

Barrio Club leader Ninfa Moncada confirmed this in an interview with *Texas Monthly* magazine. Reporter Tom Curtis writes that "she would like to see those who made up the third party take over the Democratic party."

Moncada told Curtis: "We wouldn't have to change our philosophy or our politics or how we educate our kids just because we call ourselves Democrats. . . . The gringos supported us in the school election, or we would never have won. We supported them, but not

openly, in the sheriff's election."

The irony of this statement is that changing the "philosophy, politics, and how we educate our kids" is precisely what the Barrio Club is doing.

Raza Unida still controls the Zavala County government. José Angel Gutiérrez holds the highest elected post, county judge. This office, along with tax assessor and the county commissioners, will be contested again in 1978.

Gutiérrez is confident the internal contradictions of the Barrio Club will eventually tear it apart. There have already appeared splits among Barrio Club members over jobs.

It is also interesting that Raza Unida has been able to maintain its internal cohesion, although it no longer controls jobs in the city. This contradicts the contention that it is nothing more than a patronage machine.

### Power of Raza Unida

The most important factor holding Raza Unida together is that it continues to uphold the Chicano nationalist sentiment that brought it into being.

The Crystal City experience shows that even while winning the support of the Chicano community, the RUP will not always win elections. This is even in a situation where Chicanos are the overwhelmingly majority.

But this does not negate the viability of the Raza Unida party. Winning elections is not the only—or even the most important—reason for the party to exist.

Raza Unida can be a means of organizing Chicanos to fight against all aspects of their oppression. *Cristal* has become a symbol of Chicano power nationally. What needs to be done all over Texas and the nation is to emulate the high degree to which Raza Unida has become the voice of the Chicano community in Crystal City. Even without winning a single election, that would be a powerful movement.

## Chicanos protest 'la migra'



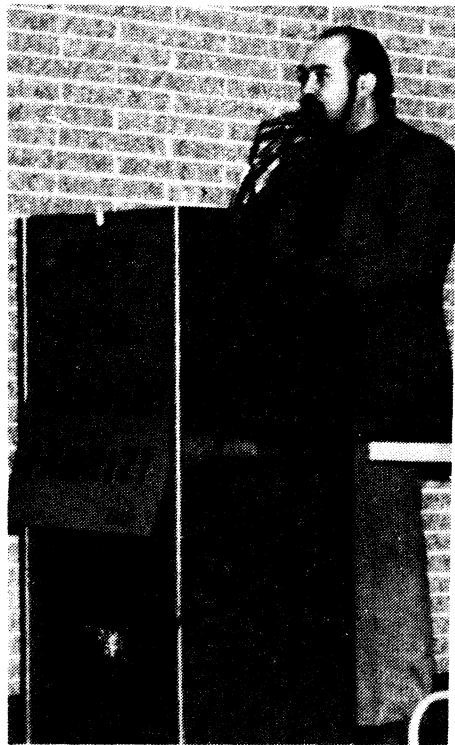
A coalition of Chicano and other groups picketed a conference on border crime April 21 in San Diego while Attorney General Griffin Bell was speaking inside. Picketers protested the exclusion of representatives of the Chicano community from the conference and the racist practices of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. Among the groups supporting the protest were Committee on Chicano Rights, Chicano Federation, San Diego State MEChA, G.I. Forum, La Raza Lawyers Association, and Student Coalition Against Racism.

# D.C. meeting scores repression in Iran

By Steve Bride

WASHINGTON—A crowd of more than 250 packed George Washington University's Marvin Center Ballroom here April 12 to hear panelists I. F. Stone, Reza Baraheni, and others bring the case for Iran's political prisoners to the city that pulls the strings for the shah.

The meeting was organized by the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI). It proceeded



REZA BARAHENI

without incident, breaking a national pattern of attempted disruptions of CAIFI-sponsored events.

Joining Stone and Baraheni on the platform were Morton Halperin, director of the Project on National Security and Civil Liberties, Livette Echolf of the International League for Human

Rights, and CAIFI National Field Secretary Bahram Atai.

Atai and Echolf outlined the systematic use of imprisonment and torture in Iran. They were followed by Halperin, who attacked Carter's role in backing the shah.

"Florence Nightingale once said that hospitals should begin by not spreading disease," Halperin declared. "Carter's human rights policy should likewise begin with that assumption—that the government should stop spreading the disease of repression. Only then can we proceed to discuss the cure."

Veteran journalist I. F. Stone linked the 1953 CIA-backed overthrow of Iran's elected government with similar covert U.S. activities in Guatemala and Vietnam. He traced the development of SAVAK (the shah's brutal secret police) from its founding in 1956 by the CIA.

Baraheni was the evening's final speaker. A noted Iranian poet, Baraheni was subjected to 102 days of torture in Teheran's Comité Prison.

Baraheni said that the shah now holds an estimated 100,000 political prisoners in Iran's jails. Many of them, he said, are subjected to barbaric treatment.

He also detailed some of SAVAK's activities in this country, including wiretapping, illegal break-ins, kidnapping, and threats on the lives of Iranian dissidents.

Baraheni himself has received two death threats.

The successful meeting followed by only a little more than a month a CAIFI rally in San Francisco that was repeatedly interrupted by heckling from individuals claiming to represent the Iranian Students Association (ISA). A subsequent CAIFI event, scheduled for March 23 in Houston, was postponed after threatened massive disruptions by purported ISA members (see box).

Some ISA factions have slandered Baraheni, charging that he was permitted to leave Iran because he is a SAVAK agent.

In fact, Baraheni's release from Comité Prison and later emigration to this country came only as the result of a massive campaign waged by prominent artists and writers around the world. Those ISA factions that use the "agent" smear do so to prevent discussion of their political differences with CAIFI's approach of mobilizing the broadest possible support for the release of Iranian political prisoners.

Veiled accusations of this sort were made by some participants in the April 12 meeting. Asked to substantiate these charges, these individuals could produce only a statement by Baraheni declaring his opposition to terrorism.

Baraheni responded that he is indeed opposed to terrorism, and that this stems from his belief that only actions that involve masses of Iranians can succeed in changing his

country's economic and political system.

In anticipation of a possible disruption of the April 12 meeting, CAIFI supporters in D.C. had earlier circulated a statement affirming the right of Baraheni and CAIFI to voice their opposition to repression and torture in Iran.

The statement, which appeared in the George Washington University student newspaper, was signed by Imani Kazana and Rev. Ben Chavis of the Wilmington Ten Defense Committee; Kate Millett; Ramsey Clark; Daniel Berrigan; critic Eric Bentley; Nat Hentoff; Arthur Waskow of the Institute for Policy Studies; columnist Les Whitten; Washington Teachers Union President William Simons; representatives of several international student groups; and many others.

For more information on political prisoners in Iran, contact CAIFI at 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10003. Telephone: (212) 673-6390.

## Threats postpone Texas rally

A panel discussion on repression in Iran, scheduled to take place March 23 at the University of Houston, was called off because of threats of physical disruption.

The panel, sponsored by the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI), was to have included Daniel Ellsberg; humorist John Henry Faulk; Reza Baraheni; Gertrude Barnstone, president of the Texas Equality Action League; Babak Zahraie, CAIFI national field secretary; and James Calaway, president of the Texas American Civil Liberties Union.

The meeting was canceled after the Iranian Students Association

(Confederation) and the Iranian Students Association (Houston) publicly threatened to physically prevent it from taking place. The two groups have a long history of physical attacks against opponents of the shah with whom they disagree.

CAIFI has rescheduled the Houston meeting for next fall. It invites all individuals who oppose the shah's tyranny and support freedom of speech to make the fall meeting a successful effort in defense of political prisoners in Iran.

CAIFI can be reached at Campus Activities Office, Box 32, University of Houston, 4800 Calhoun Street, Houston, Texas 77004.

# Racists fall short of goals in L.A. election

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—Perhaps the most significant thing about the mayoral election here is that only 42.4 percent of the registered voters turned out.

Among those who did, 59.4 percent voted to return incumbent Thomas Bradley, this city's first Black mayor, to a second term.

Bradley's strongest rival, State Sen. Alan Robbins, polled 28.1 percent of the vote. Robbins campaigned on an antibusing program. Howard Jarvis, a right-wing tax protester, got 9.8 percent of the vote. The remaining 2.7 percent was divided among nine other candidates.

Sam Manuel of the Socialist Workers party was credited with 918 votes, finishing ninth in the field of twelve.

Bradley, a Democrat, drew his heaviest vote in the Black community, where he outpolled Robbins by as much as thirty to one. But he also led among white voters, carrying all but one city district.

Racist antibusing forces did not make the gains they hoped for in this election. This was also indicated in the vote for school board.

A superior court judge here is now considering whether a phony plan submitted by the school board complies with a court order to desegregate city schools. So busing was a major election issue.

However, the returns implied that the voters did not care for any of the school board incumbents, without regard for their position on desegregation. The three incumbent school board members were all forced into runoffs.

Of the three, only Robert Docter is regarded as probusing. He received just 36 percent of the vote. But his

principal opponent, Bobbi Fiedler, received only 24 percent.

Fiedler is executive secretary of Bustop, the main racist, antibusing outfit here. Her campaign was a major focus for the racists.

In the mayoral race, Bradley first ducked the busing issue. As election day approached, however, he declared he was opposed to "massive crosstown busing."

## School board returns

LOS ANGELES—Four members of radical political parties campaigned for education posts in this election.

Virginia Garza of the Socialist Workers party and William Taylor of the Communist party ran for board of education, Office Two.

Luis Rodriguez of the Communist Labor party ran for Office Four.

Arnold Lockshin of the Communist party ran for community college board, Office Two.

The Socialist Workers party called for a vote for Rodriguez and Lockshin.

Garza ran sixth in a field of seven, polling 22,734 votes, 5.4 percent of the total. Taylor ran seventh with 16,840 votes, 4.02 percent of the total.

Rodriguez ran fifth in a field of seven, receiving 21,982 votes, or 4.94 percent of the total.

Lockshin finished last with 19,110 votes, 4.57 percent of the total.

Among the twelve mayoral candidates, only SWP candidate Sam Manuel supported busing.

Early in the campaign Manuel challenged Bradley and Robbins to debate the desegregation issue. Bradley refused, but Robbins accepted. Their debate took place March 29. That night the debate was broadcast over Pacifica radio station KPFFK.

Despite Bradley's position on busing, the pressure on Blacks and progressive-minded whites to vote for him was strong. In the Black community many voters believed their only choice was between a Black incumbent and a white openly bidding for racist support.

The Communist party also supported Bradley. Following its customary practice, the CP did not give its support openly and honestly. Instead, it simply didn't run a candidate to challenge the capitalist party contenders. Then, on the eve of the elections, the CP signaled its supporters to vote for Bradley in a statement asserting the need to block "reactionary forces trying to regain control of City Hall."

In this way, the CP helped bolster the false idea that Blacks and other working people can solve their problems by relying on the Democratic party.

The Bradley campaign was a good example of why the opposite is true.

It has been nearly fourteen years since the Los Angeles school board was taken to court for running a segregated school system. Since then, Democratic and Republican politicians have successfully thwarted desegregation.

This year Bradley's antibusing

stance gave aid and comfort to the racists.

Many Black leaders here who are committed to school desegregation nonetheless supported Bradley. To avoid embarrassing him, they soft-pedaled their desegregation demands.

In contrast, Sam Manuel explained that Blacks and other working people cannot defend themselves from attacks on their struggles for equal education, jobs, or decent wages by subordinating these goals to the needs of Democrats like Bradley. Manuel called for a break with the Democrats and Republicans and urged a vote for the SWP as a vote for this perspective.



Socialist Sam Manuel



# Steel contract spurs big plant-gate sales

By Larry Seigle

Helen Scheer knocked on the door of the house in Mountain Iron, Minnesota, cradling a bundle of *Militants* under her arm.

"Well, come on in," boomed the occupant. "I've been waiting for you."

Mountain Iron, near Virginia, Minnesota, is in the heart of the Iron Range, north of Duluth. It is the site of the Minntac plant, where some 3,500 workers process taconite—a kind of iron ore. Minntac, the largest plant on the Iron Range, went five-to-one for Ed Sadlowski in the recent election in the United Steelworkers of America.

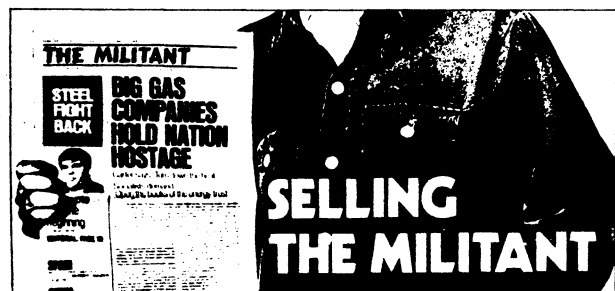
Helen Scheer's visit was expected because the *Mesabi Daily News* had reported that the *Militant* was printing the entire official summary of the basic steel contract and that the paper would be sold on the streets in the area. The story was the result of a news release sent out by the Socialist Workers party in Minneapolis.

All told, more than 300 copies of the *Militant* were sold on the Iron Range on Saturday, April 23. Several carloads of supporters of the *Militant* made the trip from the Twin Cities. They were joined by a carload of Young Socialists who were hitting campuses in the Upper Midwest.

One hundred fifteen copies were sold in Mountain Iron, eighty of them at the gates of Minntac. "People lined up in cars as they drove out," reports Dave Freeman. "We just stood at the gate and held up the back cover."

And, echoing a complaint heard from other cities around the country this week, he added: "We could have sold more but we ran out of papers."

Nonetheless, in one Saturday of sales to steel-



workers on the Iron Range, Minneapolis surpassed their previous high mark for a whole week of sales.

Across the country, wherever steel sales were organized, the results were similar.

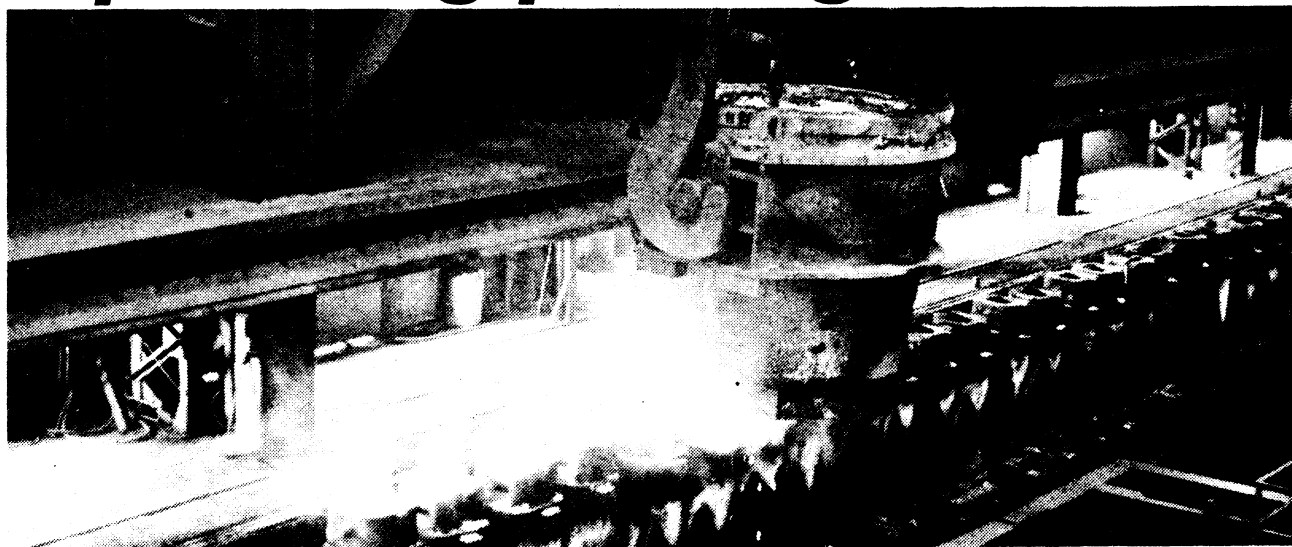
The week marks a gigantic step toward the goal of expanding sales of the *Militant* to industrial workers, especially those in steel. Establishing and regularizing these industrial workplace sales is the central goal of the spring circulation campaign of the *Militant*.

This sales drive, which began last February and will continue through May, also aims at boosting total single-copy sales to 10,000 a week. (The scoreboard below reports on sales of the April 22 issue, the one preceding the special steel issue.)

As a result of this week's efforts, thousands of steelworkers have had a chance to read the *Militant* and to learn what's in their own contract. And a number of steelworkers whose language is Spanish have bought copies of the special edition of *Perspectiva Mundial*, the Spanish-language biweekly magazine that translated the contract along with the *Militant's* explanation and analysis.

## Right to know

Members of the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance turned the special sales efforts into a media event, sending out notices to newspapers, radio, and TV. They invited reporters



to come down and cover the reaction of steelworkers to the *Militant* and to the contract.

In a statement released to the national media, Jack Barnes, SWP national secretary, explained that the *Militant* was publishing the text of the contract summary "because we believe every steelworker has the right to know what is in this contract. It has not been published in any paper, including *Steel Labor*, the union newspaper.

"Steelworkers have a right to know the details of this deal worked out between the Abel-McBride leadership of the union and the steel companies. Abel did not give steelworkers a chance to vote on giving up the right to strike four years ago. Now he doesn't want them to vote on, discuss, or even know the truth about the new contract."

At plants where the *Militant* has been sold regularly, sales were up substantially. In Houston, sales were "about twice as high as usual" over the weekend, and thirty-five workers chose to read their contract in Spanish in *Perspectiva Mundial*.

## Reaching new areas

The special steel issue also provided an opportunity for reaching into new areas. Special teams were organized to sell in a number of steel centers where there are not yet SWP branches.

Los Angeles socialists drove down to Kaiser Steel's big plant in Fontana, where they sold 360 copies over the weekend! Most of them at the plant gates, and some in town. After three days, Los Angeles had already sold more than 400 papers to steelworkers, nearly two-thirds of their total weekly goal of 650.

A three-person team sold fifty-nine papers in San Manuel, a copper mining town near Tucson. Salt Lake City socialists went to nearby Midvale, a town with many Chicano steelworkers, and sold more than fifty papers.

And a team from Cleveland went to Lorain, Ohio, where the huge U.S. Steel plant is, and sold thirty-seven *Militants* and fifteen copies of *Perspectiva Mundial*.

"Everybody we talked to was disgruntled with the contract," reported Al Budka, who went with a team from Atlanta to Birmingham, Alabama. Some 200 copies were sold at steel plants there (and another 114 copies sold on local campuses "in our spare time").

"Many workers related the contract to the issues that were raised in the USWA elections. One older fellow told me, 'We're gonna elect Ed next time. If the election were held today, he'd win for sure.'"

A younger worker added that he thought the union was in for some changes. "They're going to be hiring more workers at this plant soon, and that will mean more younger workers, and we're going to make some changes in the union once we can."

Budka concluded, "We really underestimated the response to the *Militant*. We sold all our papers in a

little over a day." They had to return to Atlanta, but planned to hit Birmingham again later in the week.

Teams from Philadelphia and New York City combined to cover the vast Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, plant. "This local had gone for Sadlowski," says Susie Winsten, "and most workers did know something of the new agreement and didn't like it.

"It's not worth thirty-five cents!" one person grumbled.

"But as soon as they found out we had printed the entire official summary, and had articles on the impact of the contract and other news on steel, they began to buy the paper. Three of us sold forty-four copies in the one hour the shift was changing."

Many people were eager to buy the paper once they were sure that the *Militant* had backed Sadlowski and not McBride in the elections.

Ruth Robinett, Pittsburgh SWP organizer, sold at Shenango, a small plant on Neville Island west of Pittsburgh. The plant is represented by USWA Local 2258.

## 'Who did you support?'

"One guy stopped and looked at the *Militant*," she says, "and demanded, 'Who did you support?'"

"I told him we backed Sadlowski because we thought he was the best for the union. But then he insisted, 'You're sure you didn't support that other guy?' I told him to look through the paper for himself. Finally he bought it.

"Then, as some other workers walked by, he called out, 'Hey, come buy this paper. It's for Sadlowski and it's got our contract in it.' I sold a bunch more that way."

Report after report indicates that once a few copies of the *Militant* or *Perspectiva Mundial* began circulating inside the plants, sales went up.

The key to the next few weeks will be going back to the plants and steel towns to reach those we missed this week, and to establish repeat sales. As always, the success of these sales depends on organizing them regularly—at the same time on the same day each week—so that people who get to know the paper can follow it from week to week.

With this in mind, the *Militant* has prepared a special reprint of the contract and analysis. The reprint is available in either Spanish or English. These can be given away to every steelworker who buys a copy of the *Militant* over the next few weeks. Bundles can also be ordered for distribution by themselves.

At the U.S. Steel Gary (Indiana) Works, where forty copies were sold during a shift change last Saturday, a number of workers made a point of asking the salespeople, "Why don't you come back here and sell every week? We'd like to see you more often."

"We told them we would be back," says Cecil Lampkin from Chicago.

"And we will, too."

## Spread the truth...

...about the basic steel contract and what it means for all working people, with a four-page reprint from the *Militant*.

Contains the complete text of the official summary of the contract voted on by union presidents, with analysis by the *Militant*. Three cents each, two cents each on orders of 1,000 or more. Available in English or Spanish.

Send me \_\_\_\_\_ copies of the *Militant* reprint in (check one) ☐ Spanish ☐ English. Enclosed is \$\_\_\_\_\_

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City/State/Zip \_\_\_\_\_

The *Militant*, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

## Sales scoreboard

Area	Goal	Sold	%	Newark, N.J.	225	170	75.6	New York City	1,100	505	45.9
Dallas	120	157	130.8	Seattle	215	158	73.5	Albany, N.Y.	75	33	44.0
Indianapolis	135	139	103.0	Portland, Ore.	200	136	68.0	New Orleans	200	86	43.0
Miami	75	75	100.0	Kansas City, Mo.	120	79	65.8	Pittsburgh	175	70	40.0
St. Paul	80	80	100.0	Salt Lake City	100	65	65.0	Oakland, Calif.	250	90	36.0
St. Louis	300	272	90.7	Toledo	75	48	64.0	Total			
Louisville	105	91	86.7	Denver	200	126	63.0	April 22 issue	10,000	5,626	56.3
Tacoma, Wash.	70	60	85.7	Detroit	625	388	62.1	Young Socialist teams			
San Antonio	125	107	85.6	Richmond, Va.	75	46	61.3	Mid-Atlantic	90	90	100.0
San Jose	200	171	85.5	Milwaukee	200	118	59.0	Northern California	90	90	100.0
Raleigh, N.C.	40	33	82.5	Houston	400	233	58.3	South	90	71	78.9
Los Angeles	650	523	80.5	Atlanta	400	230	57.5	East Great Lakes	90	63	70.0
Cincinnati	125	98	78.4	Baltimore	150	85	56.7	Midwest	90	28	31.1
Cleveland	180	139	77.2	Boston	520	287	55.2	Total	450	342	76.0
Washington, D.C., Area	400	307	76.8	Philadelphia	400	205	51.3	Combined total			
Phoenix	125	95	76.0	Berkeley, Calif.	250	121	48.4	(3 areas not reported)		5,968	



## ...steelworkers speak

**Continued from back page**

was give us back the *power* to strike, because that's the only way we'll ever be able to win anything."

Bowen agreed that if the election were held today, he would vote differently.

### LOS ANGELES

USWA contracts with major can companies expire in October, and the new can contract will be modeled on basic steel.

"There are several things we already have in there, and there are several other things I hope to hell we don't get," Lalo Sánchez told the *Militant*. Sánchez has worked at National Can in Los Angeles for eight years and is recording secretary of USWA Local 5504.

Sánchez noted that the "lifetime job security" benefits promised by Abel and McBride apply only to workers with twenty or more years' seniority. "People with twenty years' seniority don't suffer much anyway as far as cutbacks and layoffs are concerned," he said, "with the exception of a plant closure."

He saw little or no gains on working conditions in the basic steel contract. "We've always had a somewhat better contract on working conditions than basic steel. I wonder if this will hinder our contract negotiations."

Walter Lippmann of the Los Angeles SWP was selling at the Bethlehem Steel plant in Maywood, California. Workers there are represented by USWA Local 1845 and voted heavily for Steelworkers Fight Back.

"I'm retiring this month and I don't give a damn," a Chicano steelworker with thirty years' seniority told him. "We didn't get nothing in this contract. I've fought and fought and fought for thirty years and we didn't get nothing."

Lippmann talked to some workers

who thought the contract was "OK," and one who had heard it was "very good." But they were outnumbered by those who dismissed the pact with an obscenity.

"I don't know enough about it," said one white worker with seventeen years in the plant. "I'd like to vote later, after I find out more about it. Abel sold us out on that strike deal, him and [District 38 Director Frank] McKee. We haven't got anything in our favor. No way. No way."

### IRON RANGE

The presidents of USWA locals from the Minnesota Iron Range voted as a bloc against the contract in the Basic Steel Industry Conference. Workers in the area, traditionally militant, are angry about the pact.

Joe Samargia, president of Local 1938 and a leader of Steelworkers Fight Back in northern Minnesota, said the contract fails to remedy the wage disparity between iron ore workers and workers in steel plants. He estimates the wage gap at eighty cents an hour.

Samargia also feels the contract does little for pensioners and fails to place more stringent restrictions on contracting out of work to outside, nonunion employers.

"It gave us money on the top and that's all," he said.

**What do you think about the basic steel contract? What will it mean in your plant? What should be done about it?**

**Send your comments and opinions to the Militant (14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014). Unlike Steel Labor, the official USWA newspaper, the Militant will provide an open forum for workers to discuss and exchange views on all the issues in steel.**

## District 20 activists launch 'Council of Steelworkers'

By Mark Zola

PITTSBURGH—Forty steelworkers picketed in front of the United Steelworkers of America international headquarters in downtown Pittsburgh April 14.

They carried an effigy of union President I.W. Abel and placards condemning the recently negotiated basic steel pact.

The demonstrators, most of them from U.S. Steel's Homestead Works and USWA District 15, had come out

*Mark Zola is a member of United Steelworkers Local 2789 in Pittsburgh.*

in response to a motion passed a week before by USWA Local 1397 to protest the contract.

Also on April 14, steelworkers in USWA District 20, west of Pittsburgh, met to map out a strategy for strengthening the position of workers in small shops.

The group had initially come together as supporters of Ed Sadlowski's campaign for USWA president. They decided to set up a Subdistrict 4 (District 20) Council of Steelworkers.

Twenty union activists, representing nine locals, attended the meeting.

A focal point of discussion was the impact of the basic steel pact on the

small shops. There was unanimous agreement that the settlement means bad news for fabricators, foundry workers, and others outside basic steel.

As one fabrication worker put it, "Our employers saw the strongest section of our union get shafted. The message was clear that the international would not stand behind the weaker sections of the union—that's us in this room—as our individual contracts come up for negotiation."

The local union officers and rank-and-file members at the meeting took some initial steps toward giving the small shops more muscle in the district and in dealing with the industry.

The council decided to publish a newsletter. It began a discussion on how to move toward coordinated bargaining among small shops. And it made plans to come to the aid of a small local in the area now in the fourth month of a strike.

PITTSBURGH—More than 100 people picketed the USWA international office April 22 to protest the basic steel contract.

The demonstration was called by the *Steelworker* newspaper, published by the Maoist Revolutionary Communist party. It also attracted steelworkers from a number of locals in the Pittsburgh area.

**MICHIGAN FIGHT BACK SETS TASKS:** Activists in District 29 (Michigan) Steelworkers Fight Back met April 17. Marvin Weinstock, former Fight Back candidate who had been scheduled to speak, was ill and unable to attend. A taped message from him was played.

The meeting discussed getting subscriptions for the *Voice of Steelworkers Fight Back*, which is slated to be published from Chicago as the national newspaper of the Fight Back movement. The national basic steel pact was also discussed. At upcoming meetings of District 29 locals, Fight Back activists plan to demand that the contract be discussed and that locals take a position on it.

Distribution of the first issue of the District 29 Fight Back newsletter is continuing, with a special effort now scheduled for the northern Ohio part of the district. Reports from upstate areas such as Alpena indicate the newsletter is being well received there, as well as in the big Detroit-area plants.

**LOCAL 65 MEMBERS BLAST NATIONAL CONTRACT . . . :** More than 100 workers turned out on April 13 for the regular meeting of Local 65 at U.S. Steel South Works in South Chicago. They voted overwhelmingly to condemn the basic steel contract and commend local President John Chico for voting against it.

**. . . DEMAND RIGHT TO VOTE ON LOCAL ISSUES:** Then, at a special local meeting April 25, a heated debate took place over local issues. Chico informed the meeting that a local agreement had already been signed by Kass Tomasik, chairperson of the grievance committee, and Robert Hatch, international staff representative. Local grievors and other members objected strongly, pointing out that some 140 local issues were still unresolved. They demanded a full report to the membership on the remaining issues and a local referendum on whether to accept the agreement.

Members declared that they had been fighting for the right to vote on their own affairs for a long time, and had backed Chico for local president last year as a Sadlowski supporter supposedly committed to democratic functioning.

Many of the unresolved grievances center around seniority, transfer rights, and other implications of the consent decree. Black workers made up about one-third of the meeting. In demanding their rights, they did not hesitate to take on staff representative Robert Hatch, who is Black.

When it came to a vote, the motion for a local referendum carried decisively. The local is to print the unresolved issues and circulate them to all members. If the "signed" agreement is rejected, the local negotiators are mandated to go back and get better terms. Whatever the final outcome, the meeting indicated that a growing number of union activists are unwilling to see their rights disregarded—by anybody.

**REPUBLIC LOCALS TO ASK STRIKE AUTHORIZATION:** The strike committee of Local 1033, Republic Steel in Chicago, voted unanimously April 13 to request authorization from the international union to conduct a local strike vote. Local President Frank Guzzo said there were seventy-eight outstanding issues at the plant, with the key ones around safety provisions and money. According to Guzzo, fourteen different USWA locals representing Republic employees across the country are actively considering strike votes.

**YOU'D THINK ABEL HAD TO PICKET:** From the degree of bureaucratic control the USWA international president exerts over local strikes, you might think he was the one who suffered the hardships. Basic steel locals cannot even conduct their own strike votes.

*First*, they must inform the head of the national bargaining committee with the given company (District 28 Director Joseph Kender, in the case of Republic) that the local strike committee would like to see a vote taken.

*Second*, the national negotiating head informs the international president.

*Third*, the international president sets the date for a local strike vote.

*Fourth*, the local finally gets to vote.

*Fifth*, the international president still has final say over whether and when the local can strike.

**THREE BLIND MICE:** To no one's surprise, the USWA international tellers have declared the February 8 union election clean as a whistle. The three tellers—Abel cronies all—rejected Ed Sadlowski's evidence of widespread vote fraud. They said that in traveling to 300 locals in twenty-four cities they found only minor "technical" violations. Voting up to 500 percent of your local membership (like some locals in Québec) or having the ballot box well-filled before voting begins (like some Deep South locals) is apparently just a "technicality."

Even the official figures show powerful support to the ideas the Steelworkers Fight Back slate campaigned for. They credit Sadlowski with 249,281 votes—43 percent of the total—to McBride's 328,861. The report says Sadlowski carried ten of the USWA's twenty-five geographical districts. It also confirms that Fight Back won a majority in basic steel.

**A BLACK-TIE AFFAIR:** If you're going to be in St. Louis anyway, and if you happen to have fifty bucks to drop, be sure to take in the Lloyd McBride reception and testimonial dinner at the Chase-Park Plaza May 13. That's a Friday.

The gala event is sponsored by "labor and management friends" of the USWA president-elect. Cochairing will be James Meyers, president of the Greater St. Louis Labor Council, and Harry T. Morley, Jr., president of the St. Louis Regional Commerce and Growth Association. I. W. Abel will be the special guest speaker.

Cash bar opens at 6:00 p.m. Dinner is at 7:00. Don't forget your tux.

—Andy Rose

# Calendar

## BALTIMORE

**STEELWORKERS FIGHT BACK & THE PROSPECTS FOR AMERICAN LABOR TODAY.** Speaker: Jack Barnes, SWP national secretary. Fri., May 6, 8 p.m. 2117 N. Charles. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (301) 547-0668.

## CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

**CUBA TODAY.** Speaker: Steve Craine, Vencemos Brigade participant and member of SWP. Fri., May 6, 8 p.m. 2 Central Sq. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Socialist Forum. For more information call (617) 547-4395.

## CHICAGO

**HEAR SOCIALIST MAYORAL CANDIDATE.** Speaker: Dennis Brasky, SWP candidate for mayor of Chicago. Fri., May 6, 7:30 p.m. South Shore YMCA, 1833 E. 71st St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 734-7644.

## CHICAGO: NORTH SIDE

**BLACK WOMEN'S LIBERATION.** Speaker: Pat Wright, SWP National Committee. Thurs., May 5, 8 p.m. 1870 N. Halsted. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 642-4811.

## DALLAS

**HOW WE GOT THE VOTE.** A film on the women's suffrage movement. Also a talk by Barbara Kohnke, SWP. Fri., May 6, 8 p.m. 2215 Cedar Crest. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (214) 943-6684.

## DENVER

**EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CHICANO LIBERATION AND SOCIALISM.** Fri., May 6, 8 p.m.: *New Attacks on "Illegal Aliens."* Speakers: Miguel Pendás, SWP candidate for Denver school board;

Josephine Pérez, immigration counselor. Rm. 258 Student Center, Auraria Higher Education Center. Sat., May 7, 4 p.m.: *Aztlan—Myth or Reality?* Speaker: Miguel Pendás. Rm. 254 Student Center. 8 p.m.: *Prospects for Socialism.* Speaker: Olga Rodríguez, SWP National Committee. Rm. 254 Student Center. Donation: \$1 each session or \$2 for entire conference. Ausp: SWP and YSA. For more information call (303) 837-1018 or 629-3323.

## EAST LOS ANGELES

**THE FROZEN REVOLUTION.** Epic film of the 1910 Mexican revolution. Fri., May 6, 8 p.m. 1237 S. Atlantic Blvd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 265-1347.

## LOS ANGELES: CRENSHAW

**BLACK LIBERATION NOW.** Speaker: Tony Thomas, editor, *Black Liberation and Socialism.* Fri., May 6, 8 p.m. 2167 W. Washington Blvd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 732-8196.

## MINNEAPOLIS/ST. PAUL

**THE MEANING OF THE STEEL CONTRACT.** Speaker: Andrew Pulley, Chicago steelworker, Fight Back supporter. SWP National Committee. Sat., May 7, 8 p.m. United Electrical Workers Hall, 3055 Central Ave. NE, Minneapolis. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 870-1284 or 222-8929.

## NEWARK: BROADWAY

**WHICH WAY FOR THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT: A REPORT FROM THE NOW CONVENTION.** Speaker: Helen Schiff, delegate to NOW convention, SWP. Fri., May 6, 7:30 p.m. 256 Broadway. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (201) 482-3367.

## NEW ORLEANS

**SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN CLASSES.** Weekly classes and discussions dealing with political issues. Find out the Socialist Workers Campaign

positions and what Joel Aber, socialist candidate for mayor of New Orleans, stands for. Every Sat., 2 p.m. 3812 Magazine St. Ausp: 1977 Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (504) 891-5324.

## NEW YORK: THE BRONX

**CLASSES ON SOCIALISM.** Wednesdays. 8 p.m. 2271 Morris Ave. (near 183rd St.) Ausp: SWP. For more information call (212) 365-6652.

**PUERTO RICO: STATEHOOD VS. INDEPENDENCE.** Speaker: Catarino Garza, SWP candidate for mayor of New York. Fri., May 6, 7:30 p.m. 2271 Morris Ave. (near 183rd St.). Donation: \$1.50. For more information call (212) 365-6652.

## NEW YORK: QUEENS

**CARTER'S FIRST ONE HUNDRED DAYS: CUT-BACKS, INFLATION, BROKEN PROMISES.** Speaker: Steve Beren, treasurer, Queens Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. Fri., May 6, 8 p.m. 90-43 149th St., Jamaica (just off Jamaica Ave.). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 658-7718.

## NORTHERN CALIF. BAY AREA

**GALA NORTHERN CALIFORNIA MAY DAY PICNIC.** Sun., May 1. Orchard Grove, Redwood Park, Oakland. For more information call in San Francisco (415) 824-1992; in Berkeley (415) 653-7156; in Oakland (415) 261-1210; and in San Jose (408) 295-8342.

## OAKLAND, CALIF.

**PROSPECTS FOR SOCIALISM IN AMERICA.** Speaker: Sam Manuel, SWP National Committee. Fri., May 6, 8 p.m. 1467 Fruitdale Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 261-1210.

## ST. LOUIS

**SOCIALISM AND INTERNATIONALISM.** Three Classes. Speaker: Art Sharon, longtime SWP leader

and former CIO organizer. Sat., April 30, 2 p.m.: *The First Three Internationals*; 4 p.m.: *Founding of the Fourth International and the War Years*; Sun., May 1, 11 a.m.: *Fourth International, 1953-1968*. 6223 Delmar. Donation: \$1 per class. Ausp: SWP and YSA. For more information call (314) 725-1570.

## ST. LOUIS: NORTH SIDE

**AFTER THE CITY ELECTIONS: WHICH WAY FOR BLACKS IN ST. LOUIS.** Speaker: Ed Warrén, SWP chairperson. Fri., May 6, 8 p.m. 4875 Natural Bridge Rd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (314) 381-0044.

## ST. LOUIS: WESTEND

**WOMEN'S RIGHTS UNDER ATTACK.** A panel discussion. Fri., May 6, 8 p.m. 6223 Delmar. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (314) 725-1570.

## SALT LAKE CITY

**PROSPECTS FOR SOCIALISM IN AMERICA.** Speaker: Olga Rodríguez, SWP National Committee. Fri., May 6, 8 p.m. Orsen Spenser Hall, Rm. 231, Univ. of Utah. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (801) 521-6624.

## SEATTLE

**MAGNET SCHOOL PLAN: ROADBLOCK TO DESEGREGATION.** Speaker: Harold Schlechtweg, SWP. Fri., May 6, 8 p.m. 5623 University Ave. NE. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (206) 522-7800.

## WASHINGTON, D.C.: ADAMS-MORGAN

**WORKING WOMEN: UNDERPAID, NONUNIONIZED, RIDICULED . . . AND FIGHTING FOR CHANGE.** Speakers: Sara Nelson, NOW National Labor Task Force coordinator; Anne Springer, member of CLUW and of SWP; Kitty Tucker, Supporters for Silkwood; Fri., May 6, 8 p.m. All Souls Church, 16th & Harvard St. NW. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

## ...energy

*Continued from page 4*

in strip mining at a time when state and federal strip-mining laws are tightening environmental requirements and making it more difficult for strip-mine operators to function."

- "Another endemic problem in the industry is labor-management relations. They are not good and industry officials are even now predicting a strike by the United Mine Workers in December."

- "Productivity in underground mines has dropped by nearly 50 percent since 1969. . . . This decline reflects, in part, the declining experience level of miners and tough mine safety standards."

The real aim of the bipartisan energy campaign is to roll back environmental protection, to break union opposition, to speed up production, and to undercut safety standards.

Leading environmental groups like the Sierra Club, Friends of the Earth, and the Natural Resources Defense Council have endorsed Carter's energy program because of its promises about pollution control and nuclear safety protection. They should not forget the main lessons of Carter's presidential election campaign.

Within three months of taking office Carter sacked most of his main campaign promises—to cut military spending, to fight against unemployment, and even the tax rebate, which he dropped the same week the energy program was proposed.

Meanwhile Carter assured business that inflation, not unemployment, was his main concern. He upped the military budget, and he has strongly

hinted that he will not veto investment tax credits for business that are assured congressional passage.

It will not be different with the energy proposal. As time goes on, Carter and Congress will seek to eliminate the few promised benefits to working people as they strengthen the inducements to industry.

## ...NOW

*Continued from page 8*

followed to achieve them.

After the conference Eleanor Smeal told the press that the "problem" at the conference was not the SWP's ideas, but its "tactics." Unfortunately, she had the source of the problem misplaced.

It was evident to all that there was something seriously amiss at the NOW conference. The treatment afforded Black and Latina NOW members was outrageous. (Some were even stopped at the door and asked to produce special identification!)

Workshops were designed to prevent any discussion on the perspectives before NOW. Hours and hours of plenary time were wasted on trivia and parliamentary maneuvering. Officers were elected on the basis of petty personality contests, not their programs for building NOW.

Then there was the campaign to place an SWP label on any woman who was disturbed by all this and had some ideas of her own about the kind of organization NOW should be. The result was an atmosphere in which no real democratic discussion could take place.

The goal of hundreds of women

present at the conference, including NOW members who belong to the SWP, was to have a democratic conference that discussed and decided the real questions. That was our "tactic." The source of the problem at the NOW conference was the "tactics" of those who were determined to prevent a full and democratic discussion from taking place.

To decide upon a correct course of action to build the feminist movement we must have a democratic organization in which all members are able to present their ideas as convincingly and as effectively as possible, without fear or intimidation. Democracy is not a moral question, but an organizational and political imperative if we are to be able to pool all our experiences and abilities, discuss the alternatives before us, and arrive at the correct course of action.

That is why racism, red-baiting, agent-baiting, lesbian-baiting, and similar attempts to divide women against each other only hurt NOW and cut across our ability to pursue our feminist goals. They are aimed at creating a category of second-class members, whose ideas should not be considered on their merits.

Such tactics of divide and destroy are as old as the oppression of women and serve no one but our enemies.

Only a handful of NOW's 55,000 members voted for the red-baiting attack on their own organization at the close of the conference. We are confident it does not represent the opinion of the organization as a whole. The overwhelming majority of NOW members are determined to preserve the democratic foundations on which NOW has been built, and they will make that opinion heard in the months to come.

## ...nuclear

*Continued from page 5*

rivers and oceans, the reactor's cooling system dumps it back forty degrees hotter. This creates havoc among aquatic life. Whole species of fish can be wiped out, destroying local fishing industry in the process.

Nuclear power was once touted as the magic solution to our energy needs. But right now it isn't safe. And it won't be safe while it's controlled by the giant corporations.

Only a government genuinely concerned about human lives, not with protecting corporate profits, can be trusted to determine when, how, and if nuclear power can be made safe—a government made up of working people, and responsible to them alone.

## Corrections

Two errors were edited into Mike Taber's article "'Gang of four' purge debated in Chicago," which appeared in the April 22 *Militant*. Dr. Quentin Young, medical director at Cook County Hospital, was incorrectly described as being on the staff of the University of Chicago. Also, the New World Resource Center in Chicago was incorrectly called the New World Information Center.

Two errors appeared in Kendall Green's "Danger: Cancer At Work" (*Militant*, April 22). The maximum temperature of a coke oven is 2,800 degrees, not 28,000. And the article incorrectly reported that the death rate from cancer doubled from 1950 to 1965.

# Texans protest against apartheid

By Arturo Ramírez and Gene Lantz

HOUSTON—More than 100 people heard Stokely Carmichael and other panelists speak on South Africa at an April 17 meeting here sponsored by the Student Coalition Against Racism and the Pan African Student Union.

Carmichael urged the enthusiastic audience to solidarize with the struggles of Black South Africans.

Jesus Luna, Houston organizer for the Texas Farm Workers, said, "I truly hope that this day will mark the beginning of Chicanos and Blacks uniting

to struggle against one kind of experience—oppression!" Eddie Canales of the Raza Unida party pointed out how race hatred has kept apart natural allies.

Rene Fontenot described the organizing efforts of the Northeast Houston SCAR chapter.

Arturo Ramírez of the Socialist Workers party told about U.S. complicity in South Africa and what must be done to get the United States out of southern Africa.

All the speakers also expressed solidarity with the struggle against police brutality and with the panel's first speaker, Demas Benoit, Sr. Benoit's son was recently beaten by Houston cops.

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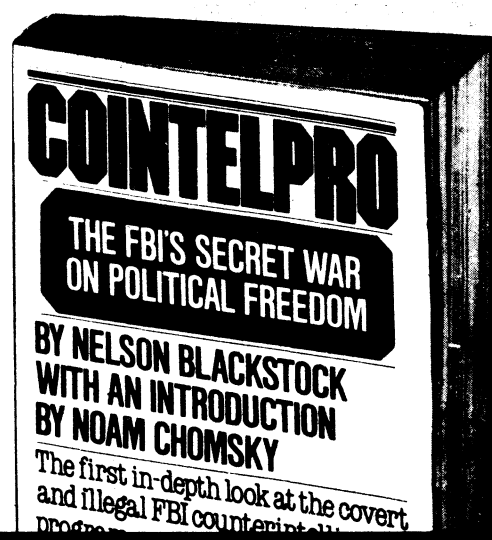
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# STEELWORKERS SPEAK OUT

## Angry reaction to new contract

By Andy Rose

"They sold us down the river."

"We got shafted."

"I guess it's better than nothing."

"We didn't get nothing."

"Too late to do anything about it."

Last week the *Militant* printed the official summary of the new contract between the United Steelworkers of America and ten basic steel companies, along with commentary and analysis.

As members of the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance sold the *Militant* at steel plants across the country, they were in a good position to hear hundreds of steelworkers sound off about the new pact.

If what *Militant* salespeople heard is representative of the rest of the union, the ranks are deeply dissatisfied.

Many steelworkers see this contract as a test of union President I.W. Abel and his successor Lloyd McBride. They

feel that Abel and McBride failed to deliver on promises they made while trying to defeat the leadership bid of Ed Sadlowski and Steelworkers Fight Back.

Among some steelworkers the new contract is also seen as a test of the Experimental Negotiating Agreement, which bars a national strike in basic steel.

The experience of the contract seems to have already disillusioned some who voted for McBride. Reaction to the contract points to the potential for Steelworkers Fight Back to build an ongoing rank-and-file movement for union democracy. Below are some initial reports:

### PITTSBURGH

"The company got a good contract, the union didn't," said Coyote Chalfa, an activist in USWA Local 1211 at the big Jones & Laughlin plant in Aliquippa,

Pennsylvania. "The mill was totally disgusted. No one has a good word for the contract."

Chalfa believes the eighty-cents-an-hour wage increase over three years "will be totally wiped out the first year by inflation." And he called the joint company-and union-financed "Orientation Program" (to teach new employees the virtues of productivity and the evils of imports) "the biggest farce I've ever seen."

"It looks like signing the ENA meant signing a six-year contract," Chalfa said. "The company is in it to get all they can. The only way to get a fair shake is to fight them. And that means with the tools that organized the union. Times may have changed, but the way we're going to win hasn't changed."

Asked if the contract had prompted discussion among McBride voters, Chalfa replied, "If Sadlowski were to

run again today, he'd win hands down. There's no question about it."

He reported that signs around the plant reading "Support the McBride team" had been handwritten over to read "Deport the McBride team."

Ruth Robinett, Pittsburgh SWP organizer, was selling at Shenango, a small plant under the basic steel contract, when she got into a conversation with Art Bowen, a young white worker, and Jim Lucky, an older Black.

Both were talking about how bad the contract was. Robinett asked who they had voted for in the union election. "I'm a Sadlowski man," said Lucky.

Bowen said he'd voted for McBride because he had heard Sadlowski would take them out on strike.

Lucky told him, "You know, you people misunderstood what Sadlowski meant. He didn't mean we would just go out on strike. What he wanted to do

*Continued on page 29*

## Zaire protest



NEW YORK CITY.—Chanting 'No more Vietnams—Hands off Zaire,' opponents of French, Belgian, and U.S. intervention in Africa marched outside Air France offices here April 21. The emergency protest action was called by the New York Student Coalition Against Racism.

## Antiapartheid picket line scores Davis Cup match

By Joanne Tortorici

LOS ANGELES—Thami is a sprinter. In high school he ran the 100-meter dash in 10.3 seconds, breaking the record for high school athletes in South Africa.

But Thami is Black. And like other Blacks in South Africa, he is a nonperson. His all-Black team was a nonteam. So the official record for the 100-meter event remained the slower one set by a white athlete.

On April 16 Thami joined with some 900 others at the Newport Beach Tennis Club near here to protest the Davis Cup tennis match between the all-white South African team and the U.S. team. The demonstration was called by the Committee to Stop the U.S.-South Africa Davis Cup Match.

Transportation to Newport Beach was organized from three Los Angeles campuses and from San Diego by the Student Coalition Against Racism.

South Africa has been barred from the Olympics since 1968 and excluded from almost all international competition because of its racist apartheid policies. This system legally relegates Blacks and other nonwhites to second-class citizenship.

Apartheid extends into the selection of national and international sports teams. Recently, as a result of international pressure, the government there has placed a few Blacks on international teams. This is only a cosmetic change, however. Apartheid remains the national policy.

Sport there is ruled by all-white councils. Leaders of groups that advocate open competition have been arrested, banned, and otherwise harassed.

Organizers of the April 16 demonstration urged the United States Tennis Association to cancel the Davis Cup match and to suspend South Africa from the International Lawn Tennis Association.

Before the match U.S. player Stan Smith told the *Los Angeles Times*, "Tennis should be apolitical. I don't feel apartheid is just, but you can't solve it in one week."

Replying to Smith, protest organizer Bob Edgar said, "The South African government has imposed its racist political ideology on sports. We have no objections to the individual athletes, but when they represent their country, they are representing their country's sports policies."

Among those calling for the cancellation of the match were Sen. Alan Cranston (D-Calif.); California Lt. Gov. Mervyn Dymally; the state legislative Black caucus; and the L.A. Parks Association.

Endorsers of the demonstration included Dennis Brutus, organizer of the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee; Harry Edwards, organizer of the Black athletes' 1968 Olympic protest; and the United Nations Committee Against Apartheid, which cabled a message of support from Paris.

As the South African and U.S. national anthems signaled the beginning of the match, demonstrators chanted, "South Africa, get out!" and U.S. out of South Africa, South Africa out of the cup."

When the audience cheered points during the game, the picketers outside spontaneously booed. The spirited chanting could be clearly heard on the courts. As the match progressed—and the protest steadily grew—spectators began turning around to watch the picket, which could be seen from the bleachers.

The demonstration was planned and publicized as a legal and peaceful action. The coalition that organized the picket unanimously decided to avoid a confrontation with the police, which would tend to obscure the real focus of the demonstration—the racist nature of the South African regime.